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原視界

INDIGENOUS SIGHT

ya mikepkep o vayo aka no adan a iweywawalam
Cultural Diversity when Old Merges with New

sicyakwaya am, ya miparo o ya makeyras a da papoen no yancomin a apzapzatan, ori am ya pakacitan so mitaretarek a iweywawalam no yancomin. o tovil no asaka itetngehan a vatek am, ya rana nimiamoamoon do awawan o na kepkepan so nakenakem no makeykeylian, am da rana sazapen no tao o pininizpian sicyakwaya, ta da patneken o kaveyvohan a apzapzatan, yapia o akma sang a vazay, ta ipipakatkat no cicirawat no tao.

am nomapapo so vazay am, neymakdeng o ka pakatopos do makakaday a iweywawalam. no ikakza da no malavayo a tao o ka pacinanao do iweywawalam am, masanib a macikaop do keymimilian, ipaka topos do ikoikod no tao do ili,akma so kalovotan no asaka ili a vazay, aka no misidosidong do pihahakawan, ano mikawnayan rana am, arako rana o pipakatkatan no pannaknakman mo.

amian ko rana noka 2019 a awan do panirsirngen am, patneken ko o vayo a vazay do jia, neymanma am, pipakatkaten o tizibi, pacirain o pimasaodan no ya mivahay do rako a ili a yancomin, aka no kavakavavatanen da ; ikadwa na am, macisirisiring do panpanirsirngen do matarek a koka, macilovot do vazay no 紐西蘭、加拿大 do tizibi; ikatlo na am, tazotoan o ipareng so tizibi a nizpi, karo no macita da no tao a makakaday a vazay; manowji rana am, ka pipakatkat no vazay do Pulima 藝術獎, ikaro no tao a macilovot do vazay ya.

o makatotoing a laklaktat a ingingnen ya am, yamia so vayo a namen pacirain do tizibi ya, ngaran na am 《uninang 健康站》, da malavat do tizibi o makatotoing a ingingnen aka no vazavazay do pininizpian . do na ikakmaso sya no yamakdeng a makatotoing a ingingnen ya am, yanbongay o ya mapatwaw so vatvatek no vazay ya , da ikakeykai no yancomin a makamizing so da ipaci no seyvo a vazavazay.

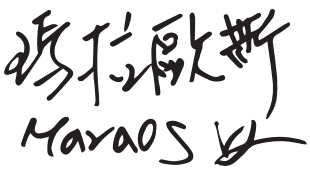
In recent years, there has been a great increase in indigenous peoples using creative and novel means to demonstrate our traditional culture, as a result of cultural diversity. Take traditional totems as an example. Totemic symbols have, for hundreds of years, signified sacredness, collective ideology, and sense of identity. As we move into a new economic era, new meaning has been given to those totems. They are to demonstrate the uniqueness of each individual. I personally think this is a good sign because it moves culture forwards.

However, before starting to create, we need to have thorough and precise understanding of our own culture. The young indigenous people living in urban areas want to learn more about traditional cultures. In this case, they can reconsider how frequently they move, which means how often they visit their hometown to acquire knowledge of their culture, or to find issues such as the ecology, or rice harvest of their villages that directly impact them. By so doing, they will redefine their outlook on life.

To enable our peoples to develop a broader cultural perspective, after taking office as the chairman at the end of 2019, I have planned and proceeded with a few new projects. First, emphasis will be laid on acting programmes/plays to portray the life of indigenous peoples dwelling in metropolises, and stories of our people working hard and fighting for life. The second initiative is to reinforce communication with the international community, with a special focus on the collaboration with the TV networks of indigenous peoples in New Zealand and Canada. For the third project, more resources will be invested in new media, so that our people can receive more information via mobile communication. The last is to strengthen and diversify the Pulima Awards, so it can have further outreach.

Due to COVID-19, we have also launched a brand new medical programme “uninang” to do our part as a member of mass media. The programme reports on preventive measures against the coronavirus with economic relief and stimulus packages. This is the first time that IPCF has served as an information platform at the time of severe pandemic, with the hope of communicating the latest virus preventive news to our peoples in an efficient and effective way, so that we can fight the coronavirus and stay healthy.

Panirsirngen do yanbonkay
Chairman of the Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation



tiakahiwan kazakazash numa faqlhu a saran
Novel Path to Cultural Awareness

isa Taiwaan mawalhnak a pruq manasha sa palhkakrikriw, numa sa parhaway shiminatantu malhkakrikriw, numa ya thuini a tiakahiwan a kazakazash ya mriqaz, mawalhnak a pruq mathuaw maqarman tu shisasaz.

mawalhnak a pruq thau maqa mathuaw a numanuma, lhmazawaniza mafazaq ananak wa Thau, inangqtu ananak uka sa aniamin numa. lhai a munsai min'ananak a kazakazas masbut. kataunan a pruq mat mawalhnak a pruq, lhmazawaniza kmilhim tiakahiwan kazakazash. mathuaw tmara a mafazaq ananak a, mamzai ananak ani inangqtu mafazaq, antu ukaiza sa Thau inangqtu painan.

thuini mathuaw wa Thau mafazaq ananak a kazakazash, katdaudauk minfazaq kmalawa tiakahiwan numa faqlhu a aniamin. tiakahiwan kazakazash wa tiakahiwan a ininthawan, numa sa ininthawan ya burabura, yamin mafazaq a tiakahiwan, ya kmalawa faqlhu a aniamin, anafaw sa maqitan a aniamin, shduu mafazaq a tiakahiwan ya inqagunu, amaqa antu muririw.

lhkananai sa kazakazash a mafazaq, numa tuali mingkalangkan faat a thau Miniahala inai a thau a qbit sa kazakazash a kalawan naur ansuunin sa tuali dai tanai sa paziwat. numa tiansi mat laziyo lhai mawalhnak a pruq a thau mafazaq kataunan a lalawa, lhai a kataunan wa thau ya mriqaz mawalhnak a pruq a ininthawan masa lalawa. numa thuni 網路 miaqawan intamatamal, maniun munsai mita Thau a lalawa mathuaw mia'aza, itia maniun masa kataunan makiqualh, antu miazai kahiwan tu ihazish.

Approximately as high as fifty percent of Taiwan's indigenous population has flocked to urban areas. For those, the biggest challenge of preserving cultural heritage lies in the attitude of being accustomed to the status quo.

As a response to all kinds of reasons, indigenous peoples in the metropolitan districts will start to be aware of their own identity and come to think about what is missing from their culture. This realisation will come as a shock only when the comparison and contrasting made by those indigenous peoples set stage for a sense of crisis. The idea of tracing roots will then start to form. Whether this process takes place is determined by an individual's awareness. Unless an indigenous person cuts himself out of this idea, it would be utterly impossible to break himself free from this sense of identity.

Nowadays, many people with cultural awareness slowly incorporate innovative elements into traditional culture. Traditions demonstrate the living patterns in the past, but life is a rolling stone; it changes constantly. We do not have to stress excessively the need to stick to time-honoured approaches, but to be flexible and add some modern design or value. These are all worth trying, but the focal point is to first understand the culture thoroughly, so as not to misuse it.

The Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation serves as a window on the indigenous cultures. IPCF's TV and broadcasting programmes keep the indigenous peoples in the cities updated on everything that is happening in the communities, and vice versa. Along with the advances in Internet technology, it has become hassle free to get first-hand information about indigenous peoples, and hence shortens the distance, which is no longer as far as it used to be, between our peoples and their villages and bind us together.

tuali mingkalangkan faat a thau Miniahala inai a thau a qbit sa kazakazash a kalawan naur ansuunin sa tuali makarishkish wa Thau
CEO of the Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

pimasaodan namen

Life, with Indigenous peoples

Moving beyond just preserving traditions,
indigenous peoples are adding modern life elements into old ways
and creating a new path for culture representation.

Food memories fused with the spirit of village cuisine,
historical patterns transformed into fashion trends,
vernacular architecture that passes on the wisdom of ancestors.
As modern community members slowly piece them together,
they are rediscovering lifestyles suitable for this generation.

Traditional culture are our strong roots
and we are responsible for nurturing them.
We are reinterpreting and representing the face of modern communities,
and showing the world a new generation of Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

Note: pimasaodan namen means the “our life” of Tao People.

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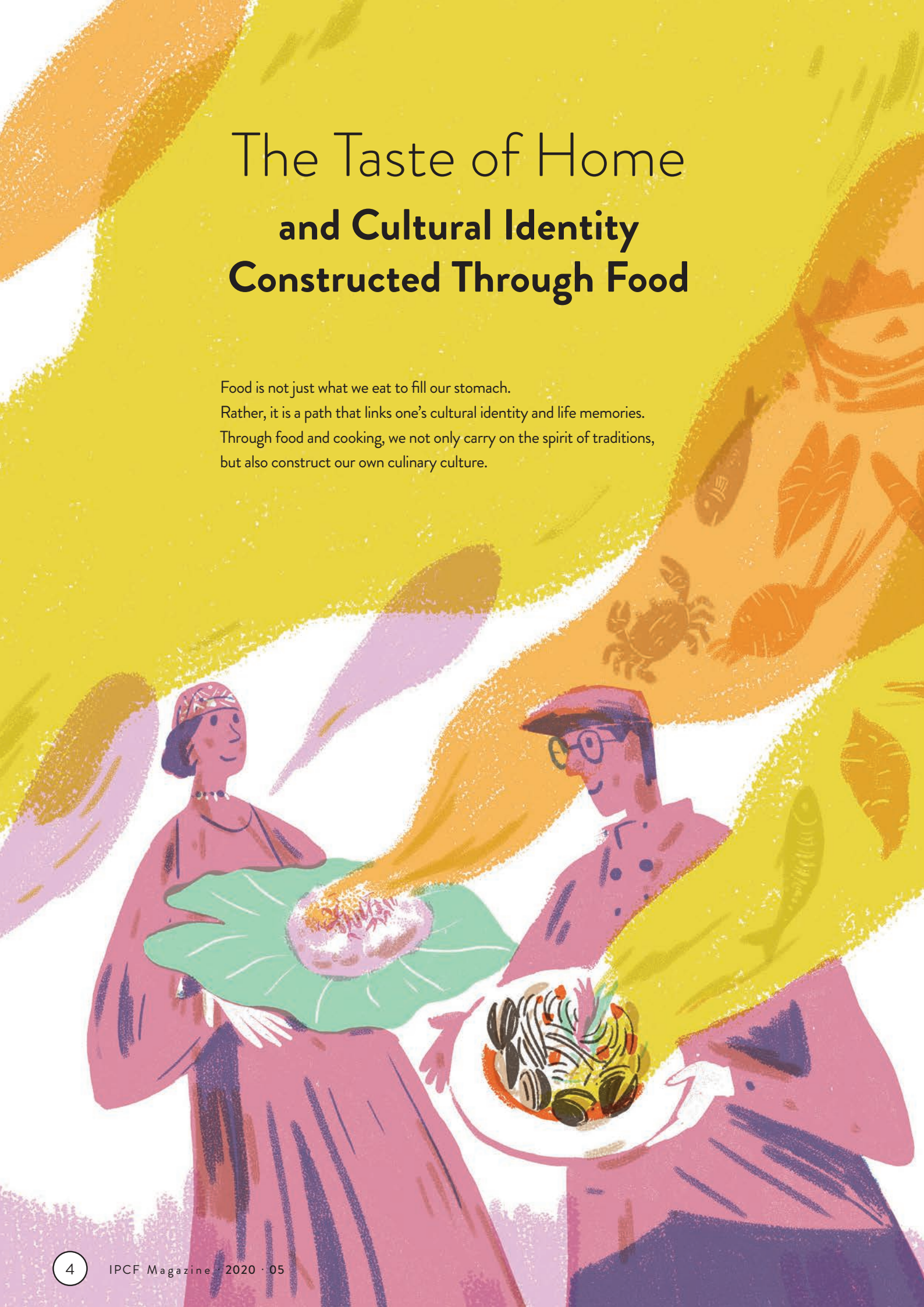
The Taste of Home
and Cultural Identity Constructed Through Food

Food is not just what we eat to fill our stomach.
Rather, it is a path that links one's cultural identity and life memories.
Through food and cooking, we not only carry on the spirit of traditions,
but also construct our own culinary culture.



The Tao's Rapidly Disappearing Culinary Culture

Where has Taro on the Dining Tables Gone?

Written by **You Tai**; Photo credit: **Zeng Xin-Yao**

In Lanyu, taro fields used to spread all over hills and plains across the island, but now most of them have been left abandoned due to a shortage of manpower. Today, since young people are not interested in farming, it is common to see that taro fields are tended by a single female elder, who takes up all the farm work from planting to harvesting on her own.

At noon, as the bell rang at Lanyu's Yayu Elementary School, the schoolchildren walked out of classrooms one after another and lined up in the hallway for the school lunch. On the cart were fried rice, scrambled eggs, stirred-fried bok choy, and radish soup. But there were no fish and taro, the traditional staple foods of the Tao people native to the island.

For all the four primary schools on the island, ingredients for the school lunch are prepared by the central kitchen in downtown Taitung and delivered by ships twice a week. At lunchtime, we went to the first-grade classroom to do a simple survey, inquiring all the fifteen pupils whether they had ever had taro.

Everyone nodded their heads, replying that their moms or grandmas would cook it at home. Apparently, taro as a staple food was no foreign to them. But when asked to choose between fried rice and taro, they appeared not so consistent in their responses.

Some of them replied shyly after a long thought, saying "Either will do;" some answered "fried rice" immediately, while still others claimed that French fries were what they liked best. During this constant exchange of ideas and comments, however, no such answer as "I like taro" was heard. This reminded us of a scene from the movie *Long Time no Sea*, where an angry Tao boy complains to his grandma, "Why do you always want me to eat taro while everyone else can have pork ribs rice?"

An Indispensable Offering for Traditional Rituals

"When I was a child, every time I got hungry from playing in the sea, I would go home to find something to eat. Grandma then would feed us with taro wrapped in the giant taro leaves, which was the best snack I have ever had," recalls Yiyukusyaw suning, director of Educational & Student Affairs Division of Yayu Elementary School, who is a native of Lanyu. Taro has played an indispensable part of his childhood memories. He told us that the Tao people

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2

Fig 1: To promote healthy eating and prevent obesity in children, a nutritional lunch program is launched in primary and secondary schools across Taiwan, featuring a nearly identical menu nationwide. This has resulted in school children in Indigenous communities gradually losing connection with their roots and knowledge of their own cultures in terms of diet.

Fig 2: Having worked with Yayu Elementary School for years, the kitchen worker rarely sees local ingredients used for lunch.

prefer a simple way of cooking without excessive seasoning so that the original flavor of ingredients can be preserved. Take taro for example. The steamed taro served with soy sauce, along with alibangbang (flying fish), would simply make for an authentic delicacy.

Traditionally, the economy of the Tao people is principally based on fishing and farming, with men going out to fish and women taking care of the fields. In the past, every household had its own taro fields. The Tao women bending over to work in fields under the scorching sun was a common scene throughout the island. They did not apply fertilizers and pesticides, but simply used such aquatic plants as floating ferns or duckweed as a source of nutrients and relied on birds and frogs that feed on insects to protect taros from pests. In the Tao language, there are seven different names for taros depending on their growing environments and uses. This fully demonstrates the significant role that taro has played in the Tao's cuisine culture and how much emphasis is placed on it.

"As I remember, when a ritual was to be held to celebrate the completion of a new Tatala boat, stack upon stack of taro plants would be placed inside

1 2 3

Fig 1-3: In the past, the Tao women would make nimay as a special treat for their husbands to replenish their energy after returning from fishing. However, as the process is too laborious, today few young people are willing to take the time and effort to make this traditional dish. Across the island, only a few seniors remain who still knows how to make nimay.

and around the boat as offerings. That scene was what impressed me most when I was a child," recalls Yiyukusyaw suning. In Lanyu, it is a local custom to hold a ceremony when a new large boat is to be launched during the alibangbang season. To match the growth cycle of taro, people have to start planting it the year before, and even relatives are called upon to assist. A few days before the launching ceremony, women in the village would dress themselves up in traditional attire and go on to harvest taros from fields as offerings.

In Lanyu, clan members are strongly bonded with each other. After a ritual, the host would give guests "gift taro" and "gift pork" as souvenirs, and upon the completion of a new house, plenty of taros would be prepared as gifts as well. Taro, apart from being a common food on the dining table, serves as a representation of joy on such ceremonial occasions as mentioned above.

A Culinary Culture with a Clear Division of Labor

Apart from taro, alibangbang is another important ingredient in the Tao people's cuisine. Every spring, when alibangbang migrate to the waters of Lanyu, the six villages around the island will hold Mivanwa (fish-beckoning ceremony) in turns to pray for a good harvest, which usually takes place in mid- or late March. Yiyukusyaw suning tells us that the way people deal with alibangbang varies from village to village, with some giving three cuts on each side and one on the bottom, or four on each side and two on the bottom. But no matter which approach is adopted, it is always men who are to give cuts and women to handle the innards, and cooking is then left to men.

While men go out to sea to fish, women staying at home are far from sitting idle. To appreciate the hard work of their men, women often have to get up early in the middle of the night to peel taro to make *nimay* (taro cake), the traditional delicacy offered as a special treat only on *mirayon* (Alibangbang season) and *minganangana* (crab season).

"If your taro fields are not well-tended, no one would dare to marry you," says Lee Feng-Ying, an elder from the village who tells us how committed the early Tao women are in tending their taro fields as she peels taros deftly with a knife. Although making *nimay* requires much time and effort, it is a way for the Tao women to show their love and gratitude for the loved ones. To make the dish, first of all, you have to boil taro in a pot; then mash the boiled taro with a wooden pestle until it turns sticky. Finally, flavor the taro cake with a little salt and melted lard from pork skin smoked by burning reeds. The dish is served with crabs and smoked pork skin, featuring a solid mouthfeel with a delicate fragrance of taro and rich aroma of lard. This is undoubtedly the most magnificent comfort food for exhausted family members after a good day of hard work.

"It used to be that every Tao woman tended to make *nimay* themselves, except for lazy ones. But now things have changed...," laments Lee. Nowadays, young people prefer buying taro directly from Taiwan proper and use a blender instead of their own hands. The scene that Tao women sat on the ground mashing the boiled taro with a wooden pestle using the whole body strength has gradually become a little-known piece of oral history from village elders.

Revitalizing Culinary Traditions through School-Community Collaboration

"How will we be able to revive our own culinary culture if taro fields are being replaced by cement buildings?" says Yiyukusyaw suning worriedly. The reality we are faced with, however, is that our children are eating school lunch centrally prepared by the government and are fond of seeking new and surprising snacks in convenience stores after school. The traditional Tao culinary culture featuring taro as a staple food seems to have vanished into the memories of the older generation. Although traditional cuisine is still valued at homes and communities, at school children are fed with rice or noodles every day. Their eating habits have been assimilated into those of Non-indigenous people, like the now-ubiquitous abandoned taro fields turning desolate over time.

Today the number of taro fields being farmed on the island has been shrinking. This is partly due to the invasion of the dominant rice culture, which causes a decline in the demand for taro. On the other hand, the massive outflow of the youth has led to villagers giving up on farming as the main means of livelihood. Few and fewer households are dedicated to growing taro. The scene that every household has its own taro field has been difficult to see.

To familiarize the younger generation with their own culture, every year on Mother's Day, Yayu Elementary School makes it a routine to organize a flying-fish cutting experience activity for its pupils under the instruction of village elders. The purpose is to offer children from non-fishing families an opportunity to learn about the Tao's distinctive alibangbang culture. Apart from this, Yiyukusyaw suning also proposes that the school designate a day every five weeks to offer lunch made with traditional ingredients to foster students' ethnic identity via food education. The authorities can play a leading role by adopting local taro fields or signing contracts with local farmers for sustained provision of taro. Besides, restaurant operators suggest making changes to traditional foods by applying modern ways of cooking to cater to children's preferences. Take nimay for example, it can be transformed into small taro cakes deep-fried with a sugar coating. As children become more receptive to traditional foods, they will naturally grow less addicted to fast food.

Only when taro and alibangbang appear on the dining table frequently will the traditional Tao culinary culture be able to be sustained. Just as the Tao boy in *Long Time no Sea*, who keeps asking for pork rib rice most of the time, should turn to his grandma for taro when he feels most vulnerable, taro and alibangbang indeed not only serve as traditional ingredients but also the carrier of warm memories shared by close family members.

The Tao culture has a deep connection with Christianity. Children are taught to say grace before meals to thank God for the food.

Aaron Kitchen

Finding His Way Home through Italian-French Fusion Cuisine

Written by **You Tai;** Photo credit: **Hsieh Dong-Jun**

Chocolate Shrimp, Aaron Kitchen's signature appetizer, features shrimp sautéed with garlic and bits of chili until aromatic, cooked with high heat in Kahlúa then drizzled with house special chocolate sauce. Both savory and sweet, fragrant and spicy, its conflicting yet surprisingly harmonious flavor makes this a "must-order" dish among regulars. Unlike your average restaurant, customers at Aaron Kitchen can see Chef Sung Chin-Lung and his two assistants busily working about in the kitchen through a large glass window. On the wall there are two Chinese characters "persevere" written in a childlike hand and framed in a wooden frame.

"A lot of people supported my dreams along the way. That's how I managed to keep on going to this day." Known among his friends as Brother Lung, Sung Chin-Lung is of Pinuyumayan and Pangcah descent. He started out with a small café in Taipei, which later became an Italian restaurant, and then moved to Hualien and opened Aaron Kitchen. Each shift brought him closer to his childhood home in Likavung Community, Taitung, and increased his sense of indigenous identity.

Grandma's "Who are you?" Made Him Start to Think About His Indigenous Identity

Likavung Village was deeply Japanized during the Japanese Occupation Period: the area had the highest education prevalence rate in Taitung. Sung Chin-Lung, the eldest grandson in the family, was raised by his grandmother. He grew up in a poor household, therefore most of his memories of Likavung involved hard work and grandma's punishments. Sung went to school in the western part of Taiwan when he was older and suffered much ridicule from schoolmates because of his indigenous heritage. Young Sung Chin-Lung fought hard to detach himself from all indigenous stereotypes. He even swore he would never marry an indigenous woman.

Sung described his experience of leaving the community and living alone in the city as "I was a child running in the rain – no one was there to hold out an umbrella for me, so I could only keep on running." Sung Chin-Lung spent 22 years in the city, and eventually became a skilled chef working in hotels who specializes in Italian and French cuisines. Feeling very proud of himself, Sung returned to Likavung and was eager to share his accomplishments with his grandma. Yet his elderly grandmother, who had not seen him for a very long time, did not recognize her adult grandson. "Who are you? " asked the puzzled old woman.

Top: Sung Chin-Lung estimates the amount of ingredients he will need for the day's orders. He shops at the market daily for produce and meat to present the freshest tastes to his customers. Sung Chin-Lung and his assistant are pictured here selecting suitable ingredients at the indigenous wild vegetable stall.

Bottom: Ingredients may taste different due to season and environment. Sung Chin-Lung carefully monitors the quality of every dish, but does not deliberately adjust the original taste of the food. Instead, he explains to the customers why the dish tastes different when he serves them.

Grandma's initial response hit Sung's heart like a rock - causing ripples and then falling heavily. He rode his scooter to the top of the hill and looked at the distance village where he grew up. He asked himself, "she's right. Who am I?" Sung Chin-Lung realized no matter how successful his career was, he would never feel like he belonged anywhere if he cut all connections with his hometown. The indigenous legacy he had been running from all these years lies deep in his heart and can never be severed.

Recreating Community Atmosphere and Pleasant Memories in Taipei

So Sung Chin-Lung returned to Taipei and opened Likavung Cafe, which later expanded into Likavung Italian Restaurant. The restaurant offered a rare relaxing atmosphere on Yitong Street, a street filled with restaurants. There were no fancy decorations in Likavung Italian

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2	4	

Fig1-3: Aaron Kitchen's dishes may seem very Italian, but they are actually blended with Pangcah seasoning styles and offer flavors with a generous amount of indigenous flair.

Fig4: Wild vegetables and spices are grown at the door of Aaron Kitchen. They are picked and used in the dishes.

Fig5: Sung Chin-Lung (second left) and Zhang Xiao-Ru (second right) opened Aaron Kitchen in Hualien City. But Sung Chin-Lung still hopes to open a restaurant in Taipei someday to challenge his limits.

Restaurant, only village children's school bags, photos of the community's everyday life, and unique indigenous-style items. Sung even painted a border at the entrance at the ground floor, indicating customers arrive in Taitung when they enter the restaurant.

"I hoped Likavung Italian Restaurant would become the Likavung Village in Taipei. I wanted to bring the community vibe into the city." Sung Chin-Lung remembered when he was a child, he lived with his Pangcah maternal grandmother for a while. Pangcah women care for their sisters' children as their own, so when meal time came, he would ride his bicycle to one of his five aunties' homes for food. This has long been a treasured piece of memory for Sung and one he hopes to share with others; thus, honoring the Pangcah spirit, Sung cooks in the city to feed fellow community members, family and friends.

Sung also made many friends with similar mindsets via social media where he shared his thoughts on realizing his dreams in the food & drink business. Sung Chin-Lung believes that an authentic Italian restaurant should allow friends to be loud, merry and have a good time. The chef should not be cooking alone in another room; rather, he should be yelling at raucous customers who have their own opinions. Other customers wouldn't mind the friendly shouting and would carry on enjoying their meals. Another interesting turn was that Sung eventually broke the declaration he made in his youth (not to marry an indigenous woman) and married Zhang Xiao-Ru, who is from the same village. Since Zhang is very close with her family, Sung Chin-Lung was offered a second chance to "re-know" his community. They began to return to Likavung Village almost every month, and even collected donations to buy bicycles for local children for several consecutive years.

Six years ago, with encouragement from the late head of My Humble House Group Tsai Chen-Yang, Sung Chin-Lung moved his business back to eastern Taiwan and opened Aaron Kitchen in Hualien City. Sung did not bring many things from Taipei with him. In fact, only two things from Taipei are on display in his new restaurant: a photograph with his grandmother in 2009, when he first returned to Likavung community as an adult; and the two Chinese characters for "persevere", written by an elementary school student who often visited Sung's first café in Taipei to do his homework.

Italians and Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples: Romantics who Share Similar Cooking Styles

When it comes to cuisines, Sung Chin-Lung doesn't really specify whether a dish he made is "Italian" or "indigenous". He believes Italians and Taiwanese indigenous peoples share similarities in food and ingredient handling. For example, seafood have a distinctive smell, but after you stir-fried them with garlic over hot fire, the stink becomes a delicious smell that bounces through the air, just like cooking anchovies in European

cuisine – the seafood stink becomes the best natural flavor enhancer. And Sung's recent new dish, alibangbang roe spaghetti, has juicy flying fish roe that pops in your mouth, which is similar to caviar spaghetti.

Those are not the only similarities the two groups of people share. Italians live close to the Mediterranean Sea and often use seafood in their dishes–the Pangcah people also view the sea as their ingredient fridge. The famous Italian prosciutto is not cooked but only cured with salt and air-dried, a food processing method that is also used on the Pangcah's cured pork. Both use curing to preserve food for a longer time. The warm spinach salad, which is very popular in Italy, triggers another childhood memory. "When we were little, we would just put salt on wild vegetables and eat them!" said Sung with a laugh.

"And Italians, like the indigenous peoples, they are a romantic bunch who go with their feelings and don't like to be restricted." Sung Chin-Lung pointed out this is the reason he enjoys making no-menu meals. Cooking is a specific area where Sung can let his imagination run wild, from choosing the ingredients and how to prepare them into fusion dishes, to the tableware and plating.

Food Cooked by Indigenous Peoples is Indigenous Cuisine

Sung Chin-Lung also uses popular traditional indigenous ingredients such as may chang, rattan palm heart, and Japanese prickly ash in his cooking, but does not abuse them just because he wants to emphasize his indigenous heritage. He believes the cook need to prioritize ingredients according to the essence of the cuisine. When he employs western cooking methods, which call for an exact amount of strong seasonings to enhance the dish's flavor, he would pair may chang olive sauce with rib eye steak, and pigeon peas in butter bacon risotto to bring out the strong bean scent.

"I've always wanted to build an indigenous team." During his many years in the business, Sung Chin-Lung has trained a couple of indigenous assistants who now each have their own careers, some are even working overseas. Now Sung still insists on passing on the iron will he gained firsthand in the kitchens to indigenous youths. In fact, Sung is happy to share his secrets. He set up the Cuisine Experiment Lab where he shares his own experience and results in fusing local ingredients with Italian and French cuisine with local mothers who love cooking and B&B owners.

From running from his indigenous roots to gradually gaining confidence through cooking and returning to his hometown, Sung Chin-Lung doesn't need external clothing or adornments to know where he belongs anymore. Now he can proudly say, "I am indigenous and I make indigenous cuisine."

Kaiana Workroom

Working Together to Reintroduce and Create a New Millet Culture

Written by **You Tai**; Photo credit: **Lin Jing-Yi**

If you go along Minzu Road, which is in front of the bustling Guanshan train station, and drive uphill for about six minutes, you will see Haiduan Township's Kanding Community. On the ceiling of Kaiana Workshop hang bunches of millet, all harvested by the Bunun community members living here in Kanding.

"We can only harvest millet once every year. We hang them on the kitchen ceiling where smoke from the cooking stove smokes them daily to keep away bugs and humidity during rainy seasons." Ciang, a sixty-four years old Bunun man in a traditional vest, shared the life wisdom of his ancestors with visitors. The word "Kaiana" comes from the Bunun language, which means "to hang". The Workroom adopted this name to symbolize the sight of kitchens with bunches of millet hanging from their ceilings after each year's harvest.

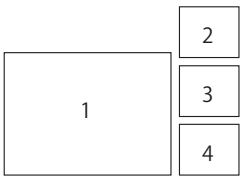

Fig1-4: Millet is the essence of Bunun culture. To carry on the millet culture, Kaiana Workroom organizes activities to demonstrate how millet is handled from stalk to table. The process includes removing millet from the stalks, pounding, sieving, and steaming the grains.

The Essence of Bunun Culture Almost Disappeared At One Point

The Bunun people live near the mountains and grow millet as their main food crop, which is usually planted on arid hillsides. Plowing the fields, harvesting and storing the grains all have to be completed manually. Since he was a little boy, Ciang had to work in the millet fields with his father. Every year they would plant millet seeds in February and harvest in June; and during other periods, the family would grow non-staple foods such as sweet potatoes and taros. Ciang's mother often told him that only hard-working people have food to eat. If he was lazy and squandered his days, he will have nothing to eat in the following year.

"Everything in Bunun culture is related to millet." Ciang said as he pointed to the working schedule of the Bunun people. The annual Bunun rituals are all centered around millet. For example, during the well-known Harvest Ritual, community members gather to sing Pasibutbut ("prayer song for millet harvests", a type of singing commonly known to the general Taiwanese public as "eight-part chorus"). The better the voices sound, the more pleased the gods would be, and thus would grant the community a bountiful millet harvest this year. In addition, Bunun people also have different rituals for plowing, rock-throwing (to scare away evil spirits), seed planting, storing, and the New Year. All rituals have different functions and follow the planting cycle of millet.

The Bunun people have many customs and legends related to millet. In the early days, every household in Bunun villages had a large stove. People believed that only those who have shared a same pot of millet can be considered as family. Therefore, newlywed brides had to live in the barn after the wedding and would only be accepted into her husband's family after she had eaten millet rice cooked at her husband's house for a period of time. Married daughters could only return to her maiden home after the millet has been harvested and stored so that she would not eat all of her maiden home's millet.

However, it is not easy to find and enjoy a bowl of springy pure millet rice nowadays. Since community youth usually move to cities, the growing local elderly population means there are fewer and fewer people available to grow millet, which is labor-intensive work. Ciang's parents gave up growing millet in 1997 and Ciang began to take on odd jobs in Guanshan Township. Every month he could bring home NT 3,000 to 4,000 dollars, which he used to buy rice to feed the whole family. There were a lot of similar cases in the village, and as time passed, millet gradually disappeared from the community diet.

The Tears of a Ninety-year-old Granny Triggered the Reintroduction of Millet

In 2011, Ciang suddenly found himself jobless. He remembered the piece of land his father left him and thought about growing millet again. Relying on his childhood memories, Ciang planted the crops. Maybe his parents were blessing him from the heavens, for he managed to have a successful harvest the very first year.

Ciang's wife Liu Jin-Jiao joyfully cooked a pot of millet rice and invited neighbors to share it. Everyone sat down in a circle around the large iron pot, dipped the millet in lard and popped it into their mouths. A ninety-year old granny began to weep, "I have not eaten millet like this for forty years." She said emotionally. Her words triggered memories deep in everyone's hearts, and the remaining millet was eaten with silent tears until there were no more food left.

1 | 3 | 4

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Fig1: Bunches of millet hang from Kaiana Workroom's ceiling. Hot air keeps the millet dry and extends its preservation time.

Fig2: Hu Yu-Ru visits the fields to check on the millet's growth status.

Fig3: To further promote millet culture, Kaiana Workroom developed European-style millet dishes. They hope the unique fusion cuisine can further introduce the grain to the public.

Fig 4: Dedicated to preserving their traditional culture, Ciang (center) and his family reintroduced millet to the community. The Bunun work schedule on the back wall details the people's annual rituals, all of which are related to millet.

This pot of millet with tears inspired Ciang and Liu Jin-Jiao. They began to ask elders how to properly grow millet and gradually expanded their planting areas. Seeing that the young couple was dedicated to this issue, the elders started to lend out their own planting fields. Ciang also gave out millet seeds to community members and a handful of families in the village joined them on the journey to reintroduce millet to the community.

As the planting areas increased, more workers were required in the fields. Ciang turned to other community members and invited everyone who could still move and work to join them. Single mothers, unemployed individuals, elders who have nothing to do at home, dozens of community members came together to revive Kanding Community's millet fields. Now, the Community has nearly three hectares of millet fields.

Handmade Cooked Millet Rice, Only Available at Kanding Community in Taiwan

Millet from Kanding Community are all grown locally and sold from Kaiana Workroom. To promote the brand and pay

the workers, the Workroom also planned out a series of tours to let visitors learn more about the importance of millet in Bunun culture.

Taking a small bunch of millet stalks from the ceiling, Ciang uses his feet to rub the grains off from the stalks. Next, he pounds the grains in a wood mortar with a wood pestle to separate them. The grainy mixture is later placed on a bamboo sieve, continuously flipped and shook to sieve out clean light yellow millet grains. Finally the millet is steamed in a large wood burner then continuously pounded and stirred for two hours until it is sticky, thus completing the entire preparation process. The steps may seem simple, but each requires secret skills. It is

worth noting that the Bunun language has different names for millet still in the fields, millet that are harvested and tied into bunches, and millet that have been dehusked, indicating the people have detailed understanding of the crop.

When Millet Meets Western Cuisine: Using the Memory of Taste to Pass on Bunun Culture

Back then when resources were scarce, a tasty meal usually meant simple millet rice with lard. Ciang's daughter Hu Yu-Ru returned to her hometown from Zhuoxi in Hualien in 2013. Tasked with the job to develop millet meals with a traditional flair, Hu decided to wrap the sticky, springy millet rice in shell ginger leaves, and pair it with village specialties according to the season so that visitors who come to Kaiana to experience local millet culture can taste a variety of village flavors in one visit. These specialty side dishes include millet lees braised pork, rakkyo, Bunun pickled vegetables, and roselle.

Once, a customer commented offhandedly, "this millet lees braised pork is like the braised pork in Taiwanese gua bao!" Inspired by the feedback, Hu Yu-Ru looked at the ingredients in the Minnan-style gua bao and added a new ingredient to her dish - homemade peanut powder, which became a hit among customers. Hu realized that one of millet's attributes - it does not overpower other flavors, makes it perfect to pair with other ingredients from different cultures. From there Hu began to develop new dishes and create a new generation of modern millet meals.

When Hu Yu-Ru was traveling around Europe, she sampled a classic Italian dish, Arancini - cheese cubes and other fillings wrapped in butter risotto, breaded and deep fried. Paired with tomato sauce, the dish tastes rich and creamy, and also has the al dente mouth feel of rice. Inspired by the recipe, Hu created a Bunun version of Arancini: she used steamed millet instead of butter risotto, and made the filling with Bunun pickled vegetables, stewed mincemeat, morelle, and cheese cubes. One creative adjustment, which was suggested by Liu Jin-Jiao and realized by Hu Yu-Ru, is that this localized fare is not paired with tomato sauce, but with Korean kimchi. "The Taiwanese palate is not used to that degree of sourness, so we use Korean kimchi, which is more widely accepted in Asia." She explained.

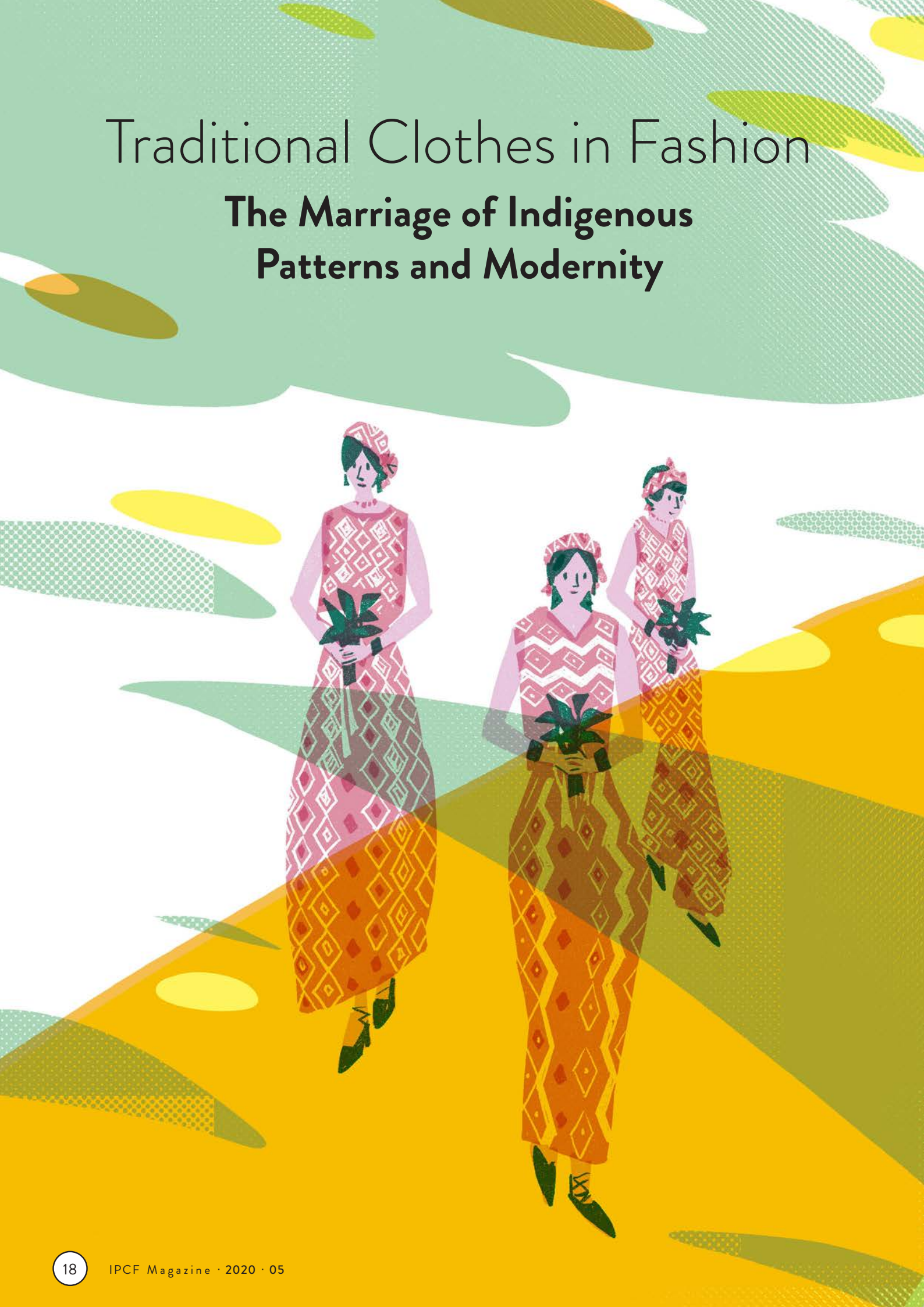
Hu Yu-Ru has another signature dish: millet bread. The filling is made with cooked millet stirred with sugar, and the outer layer is made with red quinoa flour with raisins soaked in millet wine. The spongy, slightly sweet bread is very popular among children.

"I like it when visitors ask to try different specialty meals." After seeing how hard her parents are working to reintroduce millet to the community, Hu Yu-Ru wanted to come home and contribute as well. She always feels encouraged when she successfully joins millet rice with different ingredients and creates new dishes or when the customer is very pleased with the meal. "I would think, 'this is wonderful, one more person knows the beauty of millet.' "

Kanding Community's millet not only has been reintroduced to the fields, but like the Bunun people's Pasibutbut, it has become a cultural indicator and identity that links the community together through their taste buds.

Traditional Clothes in Fashion

The Marriage of Indigenous Patterns and Modernity



Skirts swaying in rhythm,
suits sleek and clean cut,
in a bold and brand-new style,
indigenous designer clothes are writing a new chapter in fashion.
Trends change as generations pass,
the spirits of indigenous peoples
recreated using the languages of contemporary apparel,
traditional patterns rich in ancient wisdom combined with fashion
demonstrated in the form of clothing.

Tefi Takano

Skills and Inspirations Deep-Rooted in Indigenous Cultures

Written by **You Tai**; Photo credit: **Tefi Takano** and **Hsieh Xiao-Ming**

Tefi Takano designs clothes that are trendy and fused with the cultural elements of the Pangcah people, taking clothing to a whole new level.

Tefi Takano draws infinite inspirations of colors from the lush green kalotungang (Mt. Kingkong), the blue Pacific Ocean, and the coastal rice terrace lining between the mountains and the ocean. One professional model after another strut down the catwalk in front of the Dongli Train Station during the autumn harvest season, with the golden waves of rice in Yuli Township, Hualien County as backdrop. Among which, themed "Love of the Ocean and Mountain", Pangcah fashion designer Tefi Takano combined Pangcah embroidery patterns with modern clothing, demonstrating a novel grace that captured the attention of many.

Tefi Takano, dressing the professional models in clothes designed by her, stood out amongst all designers in the Yu Fu Fashion Show three years in a row, and qualified for the TOTEM Fashion Show hosted by Taiwan Textile Federation for eleven consecutive years. Even A-Lin, the famous indigenous singer, and Kolas Yotaka, spokesperson for the Executive Yuan, requested her for their tailor-made outfits.

Practicing Since Childhood Mother as Her Mentor

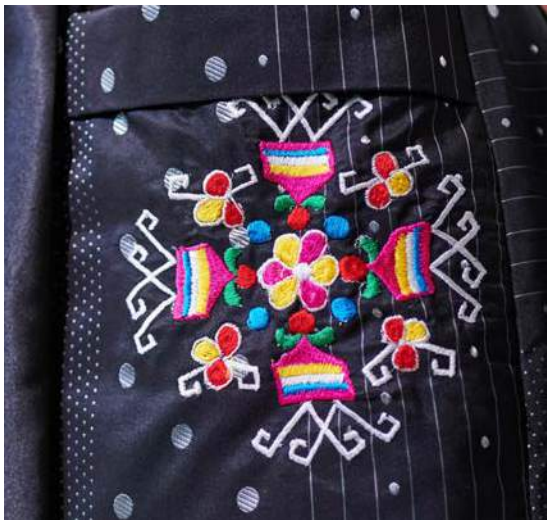
Tefi Takano grew up in Kakacawan (Changbin township), Taitung County, where elders in the family present their coming-of-age children with a full set of hand-sewn traditional indigenous gown, symbolizing their independence. However, as devoted Christians, no one in her family wore traditional indigenous clothing anymore, and the earliest gowns she came to know were instead glamorous modern couture.

"Mother once made lace-embroidered dresses for my older sister and I, and they were gorgeous." Tefi Takano's mother was the master tailor in the village, and her aunt owned a tailor studio providing bespoke tailoring for people in the Kakacawan village. As Tefi recalls, whenever her mother found the time between house chores and farming, she would huddle in front of the sewing machine, working her magic to make beautiful clothes. Back then, almost everyone in the village would ask her mother and her aunt to make them glamorous new clothes for important events, festivals and ceremonies, be it a kimono, dress or suit. The mixture of indigenous and non-indigenous cultures was common, with people dressed in either traditional indigenous gowns or modern clothes for important events in the village.

Influenced since young age, Tefi Takano learnt early the skills of sewing, and started making clothes for people beginning junior high. The various styles of clothes were also ingrained in her that they all became inspirations she drew on later in life.

Strict Training in the Fashion Industry Paved for Her Debut in the TOTEM Fashion Show

Upon graduation, Tefi Takano left for Taipei and worked as a template maker in the fashion industry for 10 years. She said that the pattern maker, designer and sample maker form the holy trinity in a clothing company. The pattern maker turns sketch design into cardboard patterns, the template maker on the other hand needs to discuss repeatedly with the designer to turn the image the designer had in mind into tangible clothes. It was very hard work, but Tefi Takano, the forever optimist, was very happy. She considered herself lucky to have met a teacher who was willing to teach her everything, "it's usually the details that determine the success or failure, even the ironing has its tricks." To this day, Tefi Takano is grateful that her teacher taught her everything there is to know.



The traditional clothes of the Pangcah people is colorful and bright, adding the perfect touch to the sleek modern clothing. With simple cuttings, patterns accentuate the quality.

Two decades ago, with the designing and tailoring skills and experiences under her belt, Tefi Takano finally established her very own Tefi Indigenous Studio, and made her debut in the first ever TOTEM Fashion Show. When asked why she wanted to merge elements of indigenous cultures with modern clothing, Tefi Takano said that traditional indigenous apparels are often worn in rituals and ceremonies, glamorous but too heavy for the busy modern society. With a little modification combined with simplified tailoring, the meaningful traditional elements can also thrive in everyday life.

Discover stories in the Villages Cherish the Trust of Every Elder

For more inspirations, Tefi Takano often returns to her home village on the east coast, learn from the elders stories behind the traditional gowns, and ask very carefully whether certain patterns may be used for recreation. There are many varieties to the Pangcah embroidery patterns and rainbow colors, Tefi Takano explains. People in the Kakacawan village used to live on fishing, so fishes in the ocean became patterns embroidered on their clothing; the diamond pattern symbolizing the ancestors' eyes, on the other hand, is not found in the Kakacawan village.

As a fashion designer, Tefi Takano has great admiration for the Atayal people who excel at weaving. The Pangcah people began trading with the non-indigenous people since the early days, she said, and lost the art of weaving very early on, but the Atayal people retained the craft really well. In the early days, they mainly used sisal and banana fiber as filament, and produced stripes with small diamond patterns with on-floor loom, the patterns record in detail the stories of their villages and families. An old Atayal lady once gave Tefi Takano a woven band she treasured, and asked for it to be made into beautiful clothing. Unfortunately, when Tefi Takano finally made it into a gorgeous coat and brought it back to the village, the old lady had already passed away.

Top & Bottom Fig: Growing up intimately connected to sewing, Tefi Takano is trained with excellent tailoring skills.

Tefi Takano believes that proper field research is her way of respecting indigenous cultures. Being an optimist, she never really encountered any setbacks in fashion design. But what really upsets her is when she sees how contemporary fashion designers tend to carelessly copy ethnic clothes from other countries and produce what they call “traditional clothing for Taiwan indigenous peoples”. Not only are they nothing alike, but they undermine the format and traits of traditional indigenous clothing, which really makes Tefi Takano sad.

Learn from Foreign Experiences Turn Culture into Fashion with Practicality

“My clothes are all about the tailoring. 40% of the design elements come from indigenous cultures, and the rest are in line with fashion trend.” Tefi Takano does not design clothing series for a specific group of people, because each piece is unique.

She visits her clients to understand the use of the tailored clothes, at what event and in what season will the clothes be worn, before she tailor the clothes to their request.

Many indigenous people choose to wear modernized indigenous clothing at weddings, and ask Tefi Takano to design clothes for the entire family, everyone from the bride and groom to the best man, maid of honor and officiator are all placed in her hands. She points out that unless clients insist, she tends to tone down her design without following blindly the trend, because she wants her clients to feel comfortable wearing the clothes she made in everyday life as well.

Elements of fashion are always changing, Tefi Takano flies overseas for fashion shows from time to time and flip through many foreign fashion magazines to keep up with the trend. She believes that innovation is possible in traditional indigenous cultures as well, and she always think outside the box. Over the years, she has had many overseas clients who fell in love with her design during fashion shows and placed orders directly during the show. Her long-time patrons include wives of European diplomats and geishas from Japan. Ethnic styles have always been a favored element in the fashion world, Tefi Takano said, and often used by designer brands as well. She hopes that her works can take off internationally as well.

In 2019, Tefi Takano brought her 92-year-old aunt to see the fashion show in Taitung. When her aunt saw models walk down the catwalk with bamboo baskets she made on their backs and dressed in clothes designed by Tefi Takano, her eyes welled up. Having witnessed the little girl in her studio learning how to sew, and seeing her now as an independent and well-established fashion designer, filled with affection, her aunt said, "well done, I will tell your mother all about it when I meet her on the other end of the rainbow bridge."

Those words from her aunt were the best recognition Tefi Takano received ever. Inheriting the exceptional skills of her mother, tailoring clothes that are exquisite beyond words, her confidence towards her culture lend extra pride to the indigenous peoples wearing them in the modern world.

Tefi Takano digs into the history of indigenous patterns and checks repeatedly with elders in indigenous villages when combining the design with other patterns, just to avoid abusing the cherished culture.

Juan Chin-Chun

Recreate Traditional Clothing with Contemporary Ideas

Written by **Liang Wen-Jing**; Photo credit: **Tseng Hsin-Yao**

The human and serpentine patterns are usually presented in black and red colors, they are the most commonly used patterns of the Southern Paiwan group in Pingtung.

Unlike what people usually expect of indigenous fashion designers, there is not a trace of indigenous pattern found on Juan Chin-Chun. “I have never worn traditional indigenous clothing before, and I will probably still find it awkward,” Juan Chin-Chun said after some thought.

Perhaps, it's because he grew up distant from his traditional culture. Although he is now a professional designer of traditional indigenous clothing and spends much of his time researching the context of changes to the Paiwan patterns on clothing, for Juan Chin-Chun, he is still somewhat conflicted about putting on indigenous clothing or the traditional indigenous clothes he personally designed.

Born in Neishi Village in Shizi Township, Pingtung County and as a member of the Southern Paiwan group, Juan Chin-Chun's village was relocated to the current site during the Japanese ruling, far away from the mountains where they live their lives no different from non-indigenous people. “As far as I recalled, I never really noticed any difference between myself and the non-indigenous people,” said Juan Chin-Chun.

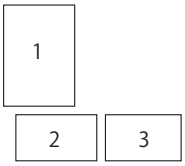


Fig 1: The abstract curve patterns are often seen in black and white colors, and mostly interpreted as the butterfly pattern. In addition to the North Paiwan group in Pingtung, the pattern in also widely used by the Rukai people.

Fig 2 to 3: The geometrical diamond and octagonal patterns are often seen in red, yellow and green, and also commonly used by the Northen Paiwan group in Pingtung and the Rukai people.

Growing up with a keen interest in design and arts, Juan Chin-Chun chose fashion design as his major in university. In 2008, he was invited back by his hometown library to curate an exhibition on traditional Paiwan clothing. Originally more into western styles of design, as he sieved through materials for curation, he realized that the culture he never really knew was in fact filled with treasures so rich and beautiful.

Pattern Design as Record of the Present

At the end of the exhibition, Juan Chin-Chun decided to stay home and established the Parucunuq Craft Studio. Through literature review and interviewing elders in different indigenous villages, he slowly researched the embroidery patterns, crafts and changes occurred to the techniques of Paiwan clothing, and gradually accumulated a vast database of hundreds of patterns and styles for the Paiwan group according to the Northern, Central and Southern Paiwan group.

Using the pattern database as foundation and out of respect to the cultural symbolization of traditional patterns, he disassembled the patterns and used them as design elements, rearranged them according to the concept of modern fashion design to create traditional clothes with a sense of modern aesthetics. He further introduced the western tailoring to improve the creases which often occur in traditional 2-dimensional cutting, demonstrating a sleeker style.

The more conservative groups may criticize him for the disassembling and rearranging of traditional patterns, but Juan Chin-Chun believes that “patterns reflect the record of thoughts and creations of the present, regardless of the ethnic group.” The patterns created by our ancestors document their thoughts of nature and life, not only do the patterns demonstrate the variant and colorful lifestyles back then, but how the lifestyles have become the customs and norms we follow after years of succession and development.

Juan Chin-Chun believes that we must first bear in mind that the meaning of pattern “creation” outweighs “the rules”. He also noticed that the displays of same patterns somewhat vary in different areas and different indigenous villages, which also goes to show that the patterns were not defined in the first place, but gradually evolved through time to contain the cultural meanings we see nowadays, “recreating traditional patterns is also a way for us to record our understanding and demonstration of the Paiwan culture.”

Fusing Tradition with Modernity Creating a Fashion Trend Unique to the Paiwan People

Under the influence of modern civilization, traditional clothing is often considered attire for important occasions only. But, as explained by Juan Chin-Chun, "we have traditional indigenous clothing for everyday wear and important occasions, other than dressing up for rituals and weddings, many Central and Northern Paiwan people are still in the habit of wearing indigenous clothing every day."

Even though the habit remains to wear traditional clothing, the tradition of weaving and sewing your own clothes in the family no longer suit the modern lifestyle. Such demand and supply gave rise to the industry of traditional indigenous clothing. "Albeit small, this market has always existed. For example, my studio mainly served the Paiwan and some Rukai people." Juan Chin-Chun said that amongst the upstream, midstream and downstream of the traditional indigenous clothing industry supply chain, clothing design is the midstream. After he completes the pattern and style design, it will be completed by the downstream according to the requirements of beadwork, cross-stitch, and embroidery appliqué, before the garment is ready to be sold.

Clothing is a part of our daily life and carries more than the meaning of cultural heritage, it requires change due to practical demands, modern life and fashion trend. For example, Juan Chin-Chun mentioned, the everyday wear of the Paiwan female is a set of long shirt plus leggings. Over a decade ago, to make it easier for movements, the long shirt was shortened and waistline accentuated. In recent years, tulle skirt is in trend and many indigenous female like to wear traditional long shirt with different colors of tulle skirt, or pair it with jeans and boots. Not only is it unique, it is also a very fashionable fusion.

"We have our own 'trend' in terms of wearing Paiwan traditional clothing." Juan Chin-Chun smiled and mentioned that he noticed a significant increase in the Paiwan population in wearing traditional clothing, partly because of the increase of indigenous awareness and identity, but also because the church encourage indigenous peoples attend church in indigenous clothes. "Especially the younger generation, they have a very strong sense of ethnic identity, they put on indigenous clothes to demonstration self-identification, and portray their character by the uniqueness of indigenous clothes."

Pattern Print in Fashion Only in Pingtung

Juan Chin-Chun picks up a sleeveless one-piece from the window display, the black ribbon accentuating the waistline and bright-colored print fabric showing butterfly patterns, elegant and graceful. This dress is a fusion of Paiwan pattern and western design, very

popular amongst tourists, “I noticed that those who tried it on and placed orders are mostly non-indigenous people.”

The studio focuses mostly on traditional clothing, but also designs modern clothes fusing traditional patterns. Three years ago, combining the butterfly pattern common to the Northern Paiwan and the Rukai people, Juan Chin-Chun produced a print fabric for his clients to turn into clothes, bags and home accessories, hoping to expand the market. In order to demonstrate the variety of uses for this print fabric, he also designed a one-piece.

At the end of 2019, he set up a showroom, No. 83 Ching-Dao, in the VICTORYSTAR in Pingtung Zone. He originally designed the one-piece for window display, but surprisingly it attracted many non-indigenous tourists, a true embodiment of an uniqueness found only in Pingtung. With the recognition received, Juan Chin-Chun saw a potential in the fashion market and it inspired him to continue his development in print fashion, “this is what I've always wanted to do, break free from the boxes of ethnicity and indigenous cultures, and bring them closer to the public through patterns.”

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Fig 1: Feeling the stereotypical errors of traditional culture inheritance, Paiwan designer Juan Chin-Chun cleverly combines western elements and indigenous patterns into a beautiful long dress, attracting the attention many non-indigenous people.

Fig 2 to 4: Juan Chin-Chun can combine elements of the Paiwan patterns with different designs and cuttings, from formal attire, everyday wear to contemporary fashion.

Ready-to-use Embroidery Appliqué
A Continuation of Indigenous Cultures

Juan Chin-Chun sees all too clearly the urgency of cultural heritage, so he developed ready-to-use embroidery appliqués with local patterns for Paiwan groups from different areas, so his clients can apply them to bags or clothes themselves. He admits that people criticized his action, claiming that commercialized machine-made embroidery appliqués will “further draw people away from hand-embroidered traditional patterns”. But he believes that the reason the Paiwan traditional hand-made embroidery skill is facing extinction is precisely because it is time and labor consuming. Right now, the most important work is to record the different patterns from different areas so that our future generations can understand the context of the patterns of the group.

Cultural heritage relies on more than just the sense of mission, through popularized commercialization coupled with the introduction of creative energy, we will see continuation of the vitality of culture. “I am from the Southern Paiwan group, not the mainstream Paiwan culture. I, too, am concerned that once the skills are lost or if the market becomes too small, no one can make clothes using the Southern Paiwan patterns and can only replace them with patterns from other groups. When that happens, our future generations will never learn of our culture.” Even though Juan Chin-Chun still finds it awkward wearing indigenous clothes, he is more than determined when it comes to the promotion and heritage of traditional indigenous clothes.

Musasu

Fusing Traditional Patterns with Fashion

Written by **Chen I-Ju**; Photo credit: **Musasu** and **Huang Chien-Bing**

1 2 3

Fig 1: Musasu makes elegant and simple designs that appeal to the younger generation, their kimono stand out in form, attracting many lingering tourists.

Fig 2-3: Musasu not only apply the indigenous patterns onto clothes, but to accessories including face masks, hang bags, bracelets and shoulder bags as well.

Colors blue, red and white woven into gorgeous patterns. V-neck sleeveless long gown, enchantingly beautiful and elegant. The somewhat western modern design is, surprisingly, a rare indigenous wedding dress. Musasu, a creative Atayal studio is the magical hand behind the twist to the traditional gown.

Situated inside the Zhudong Cultural Creative Art Village, Musasu echoes the natural surrounding of indigenous villages and the mountains, with the entire venue filled with timber and walls painted beige, clean and simple, highlighting the colorful indigenous clothes. The surrounding trees paint an infinite green, and the sun shines brightly through the glass window with mesmerizing shadows cast on the floor, adding an extended touch of nature inside the studio.

Showcasing Miciang's Superb Couture Skills

Musasu is established by thee Atayal women. MU is for Miciang, with M short for mother as well; SA is Sabung, the daughter, and SU is for Su-chin, the mother's girl friend. The experienced and skillful Miciang is in charge of all the clothing design and making at Musasu, Su-chin is her helping hand while Sabung with all her ideas takes care of the operation and marketing at the studio.

The Atayal people is one of the best weavers amongst indigenous peoples in Taiwan. According to traditional Atayal culture, weaving is the most important skill. A young girl must learn from female elders in the family how to weave, before she is qualified to get her face tattooed and get married. The quality of an Atayal woman's weaving skill is also key to determining her social status.

"My grandmother was also a master weaver!" Sabung shared with good humor. As the same blood runs through their systems, under the influence of her mother, Miciang grew up with a fondness of making clothes and have been making Atayal clothing for two or three decades. She graduated top of her sewing class at the Vocational Training Service, operated her own couture studio, and taught indigenous women how to weave and create to provide for their families. With her excellent skills, Miciang was invited by the Council of Indigenous Peoples to participate in the World Trade Center Fashion Show and visit New Zealand on behalf of Taiwan to promote cultural exchange.

Having worked hard for many years, Miciang was worn down and had to cease the operation of her studio for quite some time. But things changed when Zhudong Cultural Creative Art Village came into being. The original site of the Art Village was the abandoned dormitory for Taiwan Railway. When Miciang learnt that it was to be turned into an Art Village, she encouraged her daughter Sabung, who has been dancing for 30 years, to establish a dance studio there. However, Sabung was set to leave for Spain for her postgraduate degree in dance and was worried that she wouldn't be in Taiwan for much longer. So instead, she convinced her mother Miciang to reopen her couture studio. And that's how Musasu, the embodiment of the spirits of three women, was established in December 2017.

Traditional Diamonds and Horizontal Stripes Forming Delicate Patterns

Traditional Atayal weaving involves scraping the fiber from inside the ramie stem, boil and dry the fiber until they become soft and white before being spun into thread, and finally dyed with natural vegetable or mineral dye. When weaving, the base color is usually white or red, with different colors of geometrical lines crisscrossing between, forming delicate and complicated patterns.

Having just had a baby, Sabung thought that it would be really cute if they designed clothes that children can wear as well.

Musasu's clothes are based on traditional Atayal patterns. Some of the materials they use are hand-woven fabric from indigenous villages using the most authentic ramie thread, some are prints they designed or patterns they wove themselves but replaced the ramie thread with a lighter and softer Japanese cotton thread; they also bought ready-made fabric with indigenous patterns from domestic or overseas companies that are of airy cotton linen material, which is more suitable for modern daily wear.

Sabung points to the traditional patterns on the clothes and said that red, white and black are the most commonly seen color coordination in Atayal clothing. Red symbolizes the proactiveness and vitality of the Atayal people. According to their traditional belief, evil spirits are afraid of the color red, therefore wearing a red top also serves to ward off bad omen. The patterns are composed of the two basic elements of the diamond shape and horizontal stripe, with different combinations and twists. The diamond shape represents "the ancestor's eye", as in the ancestor's gaze towards their people, and is the most iconic and classic pattern of the Atayal people. The multicolored horizontal stripes pave the way towards the "rainbow bridge", where the ancestors rest in peace.

Innovative Styles Presenting a Refreshing Image of Indigenous Clothing

Musasu's creative designs are what gave these traditional patterns a new look. "We want Musasu clothes to be popular among not just the indigenous peoples, but also the non-indigenous people," Sabung explains. Musasu may be traditional in the patterns, but they are creative in form with a simplified western style, "indigenous clothes are brightly colored with distinct patterns, so we don't need to complicate the designs."

Sabung goes through the different styles in store, the simple shirt, sleeveless top, the high waist dress for children, each piece is modern and sleek in cutting. The spaghetti string short top paired with high waist long skirt shows a charming waistline, the fashionable style is far from what people expected of indigenous clothing, with a hint of laid-back Bohemian flair, it takes the aesthetics of indigenous clothing to another level. The vest is a popular item in the store, it is easy to wear and stylish with a touch of indigenous culture, a couple of sisters bought one for their father as birthday present.

Not Just Everyday Wear Also Known for Wedding Dress and Kimono

In addition to regular clothes, Musasu also specialize in wedding dresses and gowns. When Miciang operated her couture studio in the past, people would come to her for bespoke gowns and wedding dresses, "the younger generation wants to get married in modern gowns, but not many tailors actually can make wedding dresses, neither the sewing nor the ratio is the same as regular clothes. It requires a really skilled and experienced tailor," explained Sabung.

The bride's mother's dress and groom's vest is another speciality of Musasu. A non-indigenous violinist once wore Musasu vest at his recital, demonstrating indigenous cultures in a different way. Kimono is yet another style they specialize in. It was Sabung's idea to combine traditional patterns with Japanese clothing, "I love the Japanese culture, so I wanted to see what it would be like to blend the two, and it was surprisingly fantastic!"

Although Miciang is in charge of all the clothing design and making, Sabung pitches in creatively from time to time as well. Sabung's

artistic talent is displayed in not only dancing, but painting. She prints her smudge paintings onto clothes, and you can see her paintings of clothes on the wall.

Act First
When it Comes to Promoting Culture

Musasu mainly takes bespoke orders, each piece of clothing requires approximately two weeks to a month to complete. With its start in custom-made clothing, Musasu began its transformation in 2019 to provide coffee and light meal in the store, and starting this April they also host musical events, "we want to attract more people inside with the different elements, to take photographs and even check in online, so that more people know we offer indigenous clothing here." Sabung shared that two curious kids once came inside the shop asking

3

1

2

Fig 1: Sabung had an artistic upbringing and shares all her inspirations for clothing design with Miciang, who then transforms them into reality.

Fig 2: To reach more people, Musasu turned part of the store into a cafe and performance area, where tourists can take a rest while admiring the products they have on display.

Fig 3: Miciang is the soul of Musasu, performing magic with her hands, making one after another elegantly dazzling clothes.

about the clothes, and through the interactions, they introduced the Atayal culture to the kids.

"If we only sell our clothes to indigenous peoples, we will make limited impact; only when we reach more people with our clothes, will we be able to further promote our culture. If we stick to the traditions only, it will die out again very soon," Sabung said with a sigh.

Musasu's determination to promote the Atayal culture has long been implied by its namesake. Not only is Musasu the abbreviation of the names of the three founders, it also means "to take action" in the Atayal language. Sabung said that they chose this name because, "we should act first! When you are promoting culture, you just need to act first, learn from your mistakes and then improve."

To Musasu, the most important thing is this determination to take "action", with each attempt there will be feedback, and with it comes the chance to further promote their culture. "Nothing is more important than sustaining our culture," Sabung said with firmness. Not only is Musasu reinterpreting the beauty of indigenous clothing, but they are sewing firmly onto the beautiful clothes the culture of the Atayal so that more may bear witness.

No More Concrete:
Indigenous Houses

Piled log wall buildings

Main residents: the Atayal, Truku, Sediq, and Saysiyat.

Locations: mountain areas north of central Taiwan, at altitudes between 1000 and 1500 m.

Features: the cold and wet mountain areas have abundant bamboo and wood, which the locals use to build their houses.

Bamboo buildings

Main residents: the Pangcah, Pinuyumayan, Kavalan, and Sakizaya.

Locations: the eastern plains.

Features: bamboo offers better ventilation in the hot climate.

Bamboo and wood buildings

Main residents: the Thao, Tsou, Kanakanavu, and Hla'alua.

Locations: central Taiwan mountain areas.

Features: residents use local resources to build bamboo houses with grass roofs.

Stone slab houses

Main residents: the Bunun, Rukai, and Paiwan

Locations: Yushan area and the south of the Central Range.

Features: the temperature inside the house is not easily affected by external environment, making it very suitable for climates that have hot and humid summers and cold winters.

Underground Houses

Main residents: the Tao

Locations: Orchid Island

Features: in an oceanic climate, an underground house can keep out wind and rain. The underground portion of the house also has drainage systems.

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Indigenous Vernacular Architecture

Sustainable Solutions from Wisdom and Experience

Written by **Shi Ren-Jie**; Illustrated by **Lin Jia-Dong**

The term "vernacular architecture" is used to describe architecture built with local knowledge and materials. The most common example would be indigenous architecture which coexists with nature organically. This type of architecture can vary in shape and size according to local climate, sunshine, wind direction, flora and fauna, and local indigenous beliefs and social structure.

In order to understand the wisdom within indigenous architecture, we need to view the relationship between building and environment as a coexisting relationship, instead of a conflicting one. Architecture is an extension of the people and environment, and the characteristics of local culture and environment can be fully reflected in the location choice, building materials, construction method, and structure and form.

The Most Common Building Material – Bamboo

Buildings in different locations may show drastic differences due to respective local conditions, but most indigenous buildings would use bamboo as one of their building materials.

Taiwan has approximately 89 species of bamboo which grow abundantly all over the island. The different width, height, and density of each species make them ideal for different parts of the building. For example, solid long-shoot bamboo has thorns on its long bamboo clums and is usually used as fences to mark out borders and fend off enemies. Slimmer and smaller, solid arrow bamboo is often tied up in bunches and used as walls and roofs since the tightly-fastened bamboo bunches can keep out wind and rain when set closely together.

Taiwan does not have a lot of bamboo species with solid clums - most of them have hollow ones. However, hollow clums means that these bamboo species are not ideal for bending; thus Taiwan has relatively less buildings with bent bamboo structures compared to Southeast Asian countries, which also have a lot of bamboo. Nevertheless, Taiwanese indigenous peoples still managed to develop two unique construction methods to treat hollow-clum bamboo material: splitting the clum in half and cutting them into thin bamboo strips (for weaving).

The "splitting the clum in half" method means the builder cuts the hollow clum of bamboo (mao bamboo, for example) into two semi-circular columns, then they link the halved bamboo pieces together with their hollow sides. Indigenous builders used this technique to create walls or roofs with very narrow gaps. When it rains, the pieces with its opened hollow sides facing up will form natural gullies which can direct rainwater off the roof and keep water from leaking into the house. The other method creates thin bamboo strips which are weaved into mats. The mats can be assembled into walls that are light, rain-proof and offer good ventilation.

The diversity of bamboo makes it quite common in indigenous architecture. Some people may point out that bamboo eventually rots and attracts bugs, but the indigenous peoples had ways to overcome those problems. The Pangcah, who lived near the sea, and some Plains Indigenous Peoples in the western part of Taiwan would bury the bamboo in beaches or place them directly in seawater to let the salt preserve the bamboo and prevent bugs. And the Kavalan smoked out bugs and pests with indoor fires.

Stone Slabs- Best Choice for Blocking Rain and Wind Yet Hard to Come by

Stone slab houses only exist in Bunun, Paiwan, and Rukai villages; however, not all communities have this type of architecture. For example, communities closer to southern Taiwan mainly used wood and bamboo as building materials and communities in the north near the Central Range and in higher altitudes were more likely to build stone slab houses. This trend reflected how location can affect building material choices, for indigenous peoples use materials available in their surroundings to build houses, and stone slabs can only be found in near the Central Range.

Sheets of stone slabs fall from the Central Range, often referred to as the "protector mountain of Taiwan", after storms during typhoon season. These thick, hard consolations gifts after the tempests can block out strong wind and rain when used as building material: as long as the stone slabs are set properly, rain cannot get into the house and strong winds cannot destroy the building. They can even preserve the warmth from the fire inside the house and help to keep the interior warm.

The properties of the slabs also affect how the stone slab houses are constructed. Stone slabs found in different locations may have different features. Bunun communities in the north chose to use thin, straight slabs for their houses. The hard stone were pounded into appropriate shapes and sizes and then stuck onto wood supporting frames as roof tiles and walls, forming a larger interior space. The Paiwan in the north preferred strong, thick stone slabs and stacked them together to build walls. The Paiwan and Rukai in the south chose to use sandstone slabs. Compared with the slate slabs only found in the north, sandstone slabs are made up of grit and are thicker and stronger. These do not break into thin sheets as slate rock does and are larger in size. When used as building material, these large slabs form a completely different type of stone slab house.

An Elevated House is Not the Only Flood Prevention Solution in Rainy Taiwan

Although it rains a lot in Taiwan, stilt houses are not as prevalent here as they are in Southeast Asian countries. This is mainly because flood issues in Taiwan are rarely caused by heavy storms. For people living near water, keeping dry and preventing floods are very important, and they know the most effective way to prevent floods from destroying houses is to elevate the houses and avoid building them on sites where water may run through. In addition, elevated houses offer better ventilation and also helps reduce bug and mosquito problems.

Since they lived close to the rivers and streams, the Kavalan developed stilt houses built with crepe myrtle and bamboo. The soil near river areas tend to be looser, therefore they used crepe myrtle, which has strong water absorbing and soil conservation attributes, to keep the stilt houses from leaning or even collapsing.

Water sources are crucial to the formation of villages, yet most Taiwanese indigenous peoples chose to live a

slight distance away from rivers and mainly set their houses on the ground. However, houses directly set on the ground meant rain water would run into the houses when large storms came. Therefore indigenous peoples built small dams at their house entrance with piles of earth and rocks to keep the water out. To make the interior more comfortable to walk on, some houses would lay down stone slabs or wood planks on the floor.

The Higher in the Houses, the Deeper the Foundations?

The Atayal, who lived near the mountains, developed a sunken-in pit style foundation: they would dig down into the earth to about half a person deep and put their bedding at the bottom of this hole. This unique construction helped them keep warm at night and avoid getting ill when they were asleep since wood and bamboo are not completely wind-proof.

The Bunun who lived near the Central Range and indigenous peoples on offshore islands would dig even deeper into the ground (to nearly the height of a child). These semi-sunken residences appeared because of typhoons. Locals moved their living spaces downwards and built stone slab roofs to keep out strong winds. If the storm caused the house to collapse, the people living under it would not be immediately injured and could evacuate later when the typhoon had passed.

Continuous Improvements, Suitable References

During the Japanese Occupation Period, traditional indigenous buildings were often viewed as unhygienic and against public order and good morals, therefore the ruling powers would try to intervene and "improve" the houses. The original structure of indigenous houses, which relied on a center pillar to carry all the weight, was changed to being supported by a wooden truss structure. This adjustment increased the house's interior space and improved its ventilation. The Japanese, who had never visited Taiwan before, also looked to one indigenous structure found all over Taiwan – barns - for ventilation ideas as they prepared to build their official dormitories.

The Japanese was not accustomed to the rainy, humid and warm climate in Taiwan, which was very different to their home country in the temperate zone. Termites and mosquitoes were another nuisance. Later the Japanese realized that Taiwanese indigenous peoples and Southeast Asian countries all used elevated barns to keep grains and food safe from bugs and humidity. So when they were thinking about how to improve their "Taiwanese Japanese-style houses", the Japanese also added "elevate the foundation" into their *Taiwan Family Residence Building Regulations.*

Nowadays modern technology and materials can overcome challenges in different environments and situations. But only those who have lived in a place for a certain period of time can accumulate the wisdom and knowledge to observe "vernacular issues" and utilize resources in the surrounding environment to solve local problems. For a lot of indigenous peoples, a house is not an awkward structure in nature, but the most external layer of skin that coexists with the surroundings and protects the people living inside.

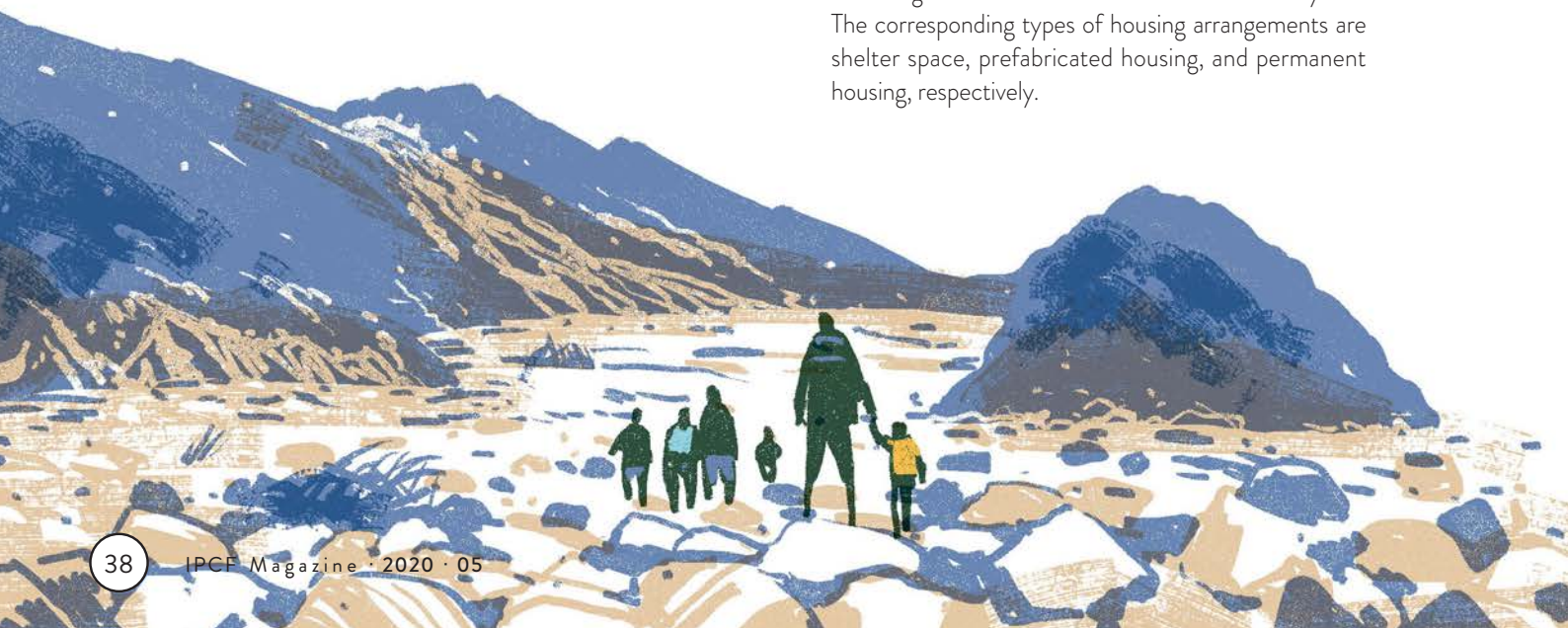
Losing Roots to Relocation

The Battle Against Permanent Housing for Preservation of Indigenous Cultures

Written by **Chen I-Ju;** Illustrated by **Lin Jia-Dong**

On August 8, 2009, Typhoon Morakot devastated Southern Taiwan, with up to 70% of the affected households being indigenous people. The typhoon not only caused the largest composite disaster that Taiwan has suffered in the last century, but also brought about a series of irreversible impacts on the lives of indigenous communities thanks to the permanent housing policy that was immediately launched after the disaster.

Hsieh Chih-Cheng is the former director of the 921 Earthquake Relief Foundation and deputy director of the National Alliance for Post-Earthquake Reconstruction (both are now disbanded). As he points out, the governmental resettlement program for disaster victims can be divided into three types in terms of the length of time: the "temporary resettlement" for less than three months, the "intermediate resettlement" for between three months to two years, and "long-term resettlement" for more than two years. The corresponding types of housing arrangements are shelter space, prefabricated housing, and permanent housing, respectively.



An Immediate Permanent Housing Policy In One Go

Post-disaster reconstruction work involves a wide range of complex issues. Take the 921 Earthquake and Typhoon Morakot Disaster for example. The attitudes and approaches taken by the authorities were completely different. For the 921Earthquake, the intermediate resettlement program was adopted, providing three alternative programs for disaster victims to choose from to meet their various needs. These programs included prefabricated housing, rental subsidies, and sale of public housing.

As to the subsequent reconstruction, such financial support as low-interest or interest-free loans, as well as funds from private donations, were offered, with the former provided by the government and the latter distributed by the 921 Earthquake Relief Foundation. The affected households were in full charge of the reconstruction plan, and a committee was formed to implement it with the assistance of the private sector. In cases where relocation was required, the site was still in the vicinity of the original residence.

However, in dealing with Typhoon Morakot Disaster, the government took a completely different approach. The reconstruction policy was originally based on the principles of "moving away from the danger without moving away from the community" or, if necessary, "remaining in the township even if leaving the village." Yet, in just less than 20 days, the authorities expeditiously finalized the permanent housing plan as a once-for-all solution without going through the intermediate resettlement phase, which formed a sharp contrast to the response to the 921 Earthquake.

Hsieh suggests such a difference can be due to three reasons. Firstly, as the typhoon caused large-scale landslides across the mountains, reconstruction in the original place became extremely difficult. Hence the central government advocated placing the conservation of national land in top priority to allow mountain forests a chance to recover. Secondly, the permanent housing policy was backed by several NGOs which actually dominated the process of decision-making. Among them, the most avid supporter was Taiwan Buddhist Tzu-Chi Foundation, which had been actively lobbying for permanent housing as the solution and received a positive response from the government. Thirdly, to make reconstruction a success in one go, issues of prefabricated housing from the 921 Earthquake resettlement program were revisited in a wider context. Several problems were highlighted such as oversupply, unnecessary demolition expenses, and a few communities being unable to support themselves and therefore relying on prefabricated houses for permanent shelter. In light of this, the NGO-driven relocation became the core objective of the reconstruction policy for Typhoon Morakot Disaster.

Flawed Relocation Plan and Challenges for Residents in Hazardous Areas

Besides the expeditiously finalized permanent housing policy, the Legislative Yuan passed the Special Act for Post-Typhoon Morakot Reconstruction on August 27, 2009 (now annulled). According to Article 20 of the act, for

residents on the land determined as "having safety hazards" or "designated as specific zones", the central or local government is empowered to impose restriction of occupancy or forced relocation within a limited time period. This practice was quite rare in the world at that time. In compliance with the Act, within five months, the central government approved 160 areas to be designated as specific zones, of which those formerly belonging to indigenous peoples making up 72.5%. This has made a tremendous impact on the affected indigenous communities.

The enforcement of this article aroused considerable controversy and debate." For us, to 'relocate the village' means the relocation of the entire community, including our homes, farmland, and communal territories altogether. However, the 'designation of specific zones,' as proposed by the government, entails enclosing the entire territory that belongs to us and prohibiting us from using it. Restrictions are also imposed on land use. Despite the fact that we have the ownership of the land, in reality, we are denied any access to it. What we are given in return is a just permanent house and nothing else. They must be aware that separating indigenous people from their native land is tantamount to killing the entire community. Therefore, we consider designating specific zones an essentially 'genocidal' act and it should not be linked to 'relocating villages away from hazardous zones,'" notes Binnaliu (transliteration), a resident representative from Rukai Indigenous Groups Youth Alliance.

According to information provided by the Morakot Post-Disaster Reconstruction Council, up to 88.7% of the 3,096 households that ultimately accepted the permanent housing plan became diaspora. The contract drawn by the government explicitly required that accepting occupants change their household registration and that they shall not return to their original residence to spend the night. "It's like swapping their houses and land in the mountains for permanent houses in the lowlands," commented Hsieh, adding that for indigenous people, they have lost not only their homes, but also the connection to their roots and culture.

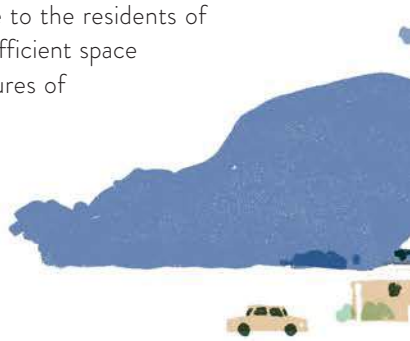
Equal Emphasis on Infrastructure and Livability for Relocated Communities

As Hsieh points out, when the environment of a community is damaged to such an extent to endanger its residents, relocation becomes a must. Hence relocation as a solution to post-disaster resettlement is not completely rejected worldwide. But the question is what to do and how to do it. The permanent housing plan is advantageous in that it requires less time for construction and ensures quick completion of the reconstruction task. But in the case of Typhoon Morakot, the controversy was aroused because the government settled on the permanent housing plan too hastily without allowing indigenous people to fully participate in the process of decision-making. The affected residents could not make their voices heard and as it turned out, they were left with no choice but to resign themselves to the result.

These affected residents are unable to express their expectations and requirements for their new homes during the reconstruction process. Particularly as far as indigenous communities are concerned, their lifestyles are closely connected to the land thanks to the special nature of indigenous culture. Apart from permanent houses, they also need areas for farming and hunting, a gathering space for discussions on public affairs, venues for traditional rites and rituals, and so on. The elimination of affected residents' participation in decision-making will result in a series of problems.

Back then when they lived in the mountains, indigenous people had their own farmland and vegetable gardens, which allowed them to be self-sufficient and maintain a living. But after relocating to permanent communities, they lost their farms and were forced to work away from home for livelihood.

What's more, these newly-built communities were criticized for their restrictive and poor space planning. Since additional construction was banned in the area around permanent houses, the relocated indigenous people found the existing public space insufficient to meet their needs. Take Kucapungane Village, a Pingtung-based Rukai community, for instance. After the typhoon Morakot, the village was relocated to Rinari. There the residents were confronted by the problem of lacking space to serve as *balriw* (graveyard) for the deceased. This is a serious matter with the Rukai people, because they belief that people must stay together after they die and that the *balriw* is the place where souls call home. Such a place is therefore of great significance to the Rukai culture, and the absence of it is unbearable to the residents of Rinari. Apart from the insufficient space planning, the cultural features of indigenous communities are also wiped out by the uniformity of permanent houses.



A sound relocation plan should involve not just an ideal planning of housing infrastructure; more importantly, it has to be able to provide residents with a livable environment to meet their multiple needs, such as reconnection to families and communities, schooling, livelihood, religious beliefs, and leisure activities. Only by doing so can it truly support relocated residents to stand on their own two feet and prevent the irreversible decline of indigenous cultures and diaspora of communities.

Full Participation of Victims should be Aallowed by Social Consensus

Hsieh believes that the relocation plan must be implemented with caution, considering its profound impacts on the lives of the disaster victims. The authorities have to hold intensive discussions and negotiations with affected residents on issues such as site selection, residential layout, space utilization, public facility planning, community connections, and livelihood recovery, etc. The World Bank has also suggested several critical factors for the success of relocation, including the participation of relocated people, adequate communication, cultural compatibility, sense of belonging, low social risk, similar residential design, and comprehensive public facilities.

"The public should be aware that democracy is a learning process. Although the involvement of disaster victims' participation will inevitably make the reconstruction more time-consuming, this is the price to be paid for." Hsieh suggests that the period of discussion should last at least as long as one year to allow for tolerance of society, for "it is still unknown to what extent the public will be tolerant of the delay caused by the victims' participation."

The varying degrees of damage and impacts make the planning and implementation of post-disaster responses and reconstruction tasks a complex issue. So far, there has not been a universally applicable set of standard operating procedures. Hsieh advocates that the government should take preemptive action to engage in "pre-disaster recovery planning," covering such issues as evacuation measures, resettlement plans, and housing construction. "The post-disaster reconstruction plans must be initiated right at the moment when a natural disaster occurs. It would be too late to wait until houses are about to be built for relocation." The situations of indigenous disaster victims in recent years can justifiably provide us with precious lessons to learn from, enabling us to rethink what kind of post-disaster responses and relocation mechanisms are needed in Taiwan to achieve the goals of reconstruction and satisfying the needs of victims.

Andoulan

Making Miniature Traditional Pinuyumayan Houses

Written by **Jhen I-Ju**; Photo credit: **Andoulan** and **Hsieh Xiao-Ming**

The bread-grass roof has to be arranged layer by layer, from bottom to the top. Not one to skimp on details, Andoulan made sure even the bottom-most layer of bread-grass, which is not visible, is also trimmed neat and tidy.

While modern building materials such as sheet metal and concrete are gradually replacing traditional stone slabs and bamboo in communities, 64-year-old Pinuyumayan artist Andoulan chose to spend eight years to painstakingly build a detailed mini version of a traditional family house and a Takuvakuvan. These two miniature buildings will be submitted to the Pulima Art Award and Taiwan Craft Competition this year.

If you ever visit Andoulan's home, before seeing any miniature houses, you will first be welcomed by the fragrant scent of bamboo and beard-grass. Prior to making these two miniature houses, Andoulan had never made any models, nor had any training in handicrafts. But now when he is working on his models, he talks with such enthusiasm his eyes light up. "I have never been so passionate about anything in my life!" Andoulan exclaimed with a laugh.

Miniature Houses that Represent the Traditional Community Lifestyle

The key incident that dramatically transformed Andoulan from someone with zero experience to expert of miniature houses was a bet in 2012. Back then

1 2 3

Fig1-3: Andoulan's unwavering dedication to preserve and represent traditional architecture can be found in the miniature house's pulled doors, knots, and supporting main structure. He does not overlook any step or detail.

Andoulan was working as a driver for the Taiwan Indigenous TV interview bus. Chief Director Masao Aki played some music by indigenous singer Panai Kusui and asked Andoulan to guess whether the deep rich voice belong to a male or female singer. They made a bet and the loser would have to buy the winner a beer.

Andoulan lost the bet, and suggested switching the prize to a miniature house. The reason was that during an interview assignment with a reporter, he saw a stone slab house model made by Rukai community members. The detailed piece reminded him of his hometown and the beautiful old houses back in Katratripulr community in Jhihben. Andoulan recalled the change with a smile. "Initially I just wanted to build a tiny house, but later I wanted to make it even better. So I asked the Chief Director to give me more time. And in the end it took me three years."

Andoulan spent his free time working on his miniature model. He slowly built four rooms: a bedroom, kitchen, outhouse, and woodshed. The assembled interior area is approximately one square meter. Miniature houses are like a realistic tiny world. It encourages viewers to imagine how community members used to walk on the gravel floors, and how they pushed open the wood doors to enter the house and go about their daily lives.

A meticulously woven straw mat in the master bedroom is the bedding. In the kitchen, there is a delicate little stone slab stove made with small pebbles. Spare firewood made with short pieces of wood are placed next to the stove. Even the outhouse roof, dirt walls, and bamboo structure are exact replicas.

Reconstructing the Takuvakuvan Including All Details Inside

After completing the family house, Andoulan spent another two years collecting information and started his second miniature house in 2017. This time he recreated the Pinuyumayan Takuvakuvan (youth training hall/youth association) which is pretty much non-existent nowadays. Traditional Pinuyumayan culture has strict coming-of-age training rituals for boys. Boys under 12 will enter the Takuvakuvan to train their courage and fighting skills, then they graduate to Palakuwan for further training until they reach adulthood and establish their own family.

The imposing Takuvakuvan is a stilt house built with many interlocked round logs or thick bamboo sticks. The elevated structure protects the young boys from wild animal and enemy attacks. The circular main house is surrounded with bamboo fences and covered with umbrella-shaped beard-grass roofs.

The miniature Takuvakuvan is 110 cm tall and wide. Andoulan not only took care of the details on the building's exterior, but also meticulously recreated the original interior as well. If you look up from the small bamboo staircase, you will surprisingly find a fence set at the entrance to prevent children from falling. Along the wall there are several long benches. There

Whenever he has free time, Andoulan stays at home to work on his miniature houses. He plans to submit his soon-to-be completed Takuvakuvan to the competitions and introduce indigenous architecture culture to more people.

While he was figuring out the miniature house-making process, Andoulan created suitable tools along the way. He even made the short knife handle himself.

is even a mini roasting rack over the fire in the house for people to roast their meat or food.

To make it as realistic as possible, Andoulan carefully attended to the tiniest detail. Look closely and you will find scorch marks on the firewood which were made by actually burning the wood. The wooden structure shows a worn-out sheen which is artificially dyed with coloring agent. “The more I wanted to make it as realistic as possible, the more I felt invested in it!” Andoulan happily explained.

Carrying Tools with Him Wherever He Goes Always Looking for Useful Materials

Because the Pinuyumayan assimilated into the Non-indigenous society relatively early, their traditional architecture has almost all disappeared, and elders who know how to build them are also few and far between. Andoulan had to spend many years doing research and slowly taught himself the relevant knowledge. He found that the most effective way to learn is to visit the locations and observe village buildings and structures.

Tagging along interview assignments, Andoulan visited hundreds of villages around Taiwan in the past eight years. At every village, he would carefully study the buildings’ structures and features, document them with photos, and ask the local elders questions. Traditional architecture that are disappearing, such as the Tsou people's beard-grass assembly hall “Kuba” and the Atayal's semi-sunken residences, are all invaluable treasures to Andoulan. “Although they are not Pinuyumayan architecture, but we share a lot of similar construction methods that I can borrow.” In addition to site visits, Andoulan also studies books, documents, and old photos. His computer and smart phone are filled with data and reference material, and his smart phone’s home screen is a black and white photo of a Takuvakuvan.

Finding and using the right materials is key when Andoulan begins his construction process. Traditional Pinuyumayan architecture uses wood for beams and columns, bamboo for pilasters, and the roofs are made with beard-grass. Andoulan always leaves his house with a short knife and saw. Whenever he sees wood or bamboo material he may need, he would cut some down for future use. Sometimes he would go down to the riverbed to collect small pebbles. “No matter what I'm making, I always think about the material first,” said Andoulan, “and I'm always collecting them!”

When selecting materials, Andoulan considers their toughness, hardness, and durability and replaces them if needed. For example, traditional Pinuyumayan architecture uses tropical crepe myrtle in their buildings, but the wood may attract termites. In the past, homeowners would build a fire inside the house to smoke away pests and keep the house dry. But since you cannot build a fire inside a miniature house, Andoulan used common jasminorage, which is not appealing to termites, instead.

After the materials are collected, the next step is to dry them in the shade so they can last for a long time. Wood and bamboo need two to three months, and beard-grass would require up to six months –this is the main reason why miniature houses take so long to make.

Devoted to Studying and Restoring Traditional Construction Methods

Andoulan is dedicated to learning any construction method or skill needed to build his miniature house. For example, he had no idea how to shave off the surface layer of vines and weave them, so he diligently practiced for two months. In the end he should shave a strip of vine that is 2 cm thick into a thin string which is only 1.5 mm wide. “If you are interested in it, you will want to perfect it.” Andoulan explained as he pointed to his vine string. Assembling the main structure is the most important step in making miniature houses, and the vine string knot must be knotted very tight or else the house would topple and collapse.

After explaining the process of building the main structure, Andoulan moved on to the key points in creating dirt walls. “You have to mix grass bits into the mud, then fill in the cracks in the wall. This is to ensure that if the mud dries and cracks off, it will not fall off directly, because the grass fibers will still support it.” And the step of filling in the cracks cannot be completed in one go. Andoulan repeated the process three times to achieve the smoothness and thickness he wanted.

He remembered when he was seven or eight years old, his relatives and friends were building their large family houses. Back then they mixed cow dung, which also had a lot of fibers, with the mud. Andoulan laughed and said, “I helped stomp the mud!” Although there are no more traditional houses in the village now, Andoulan still managed to recreate the building methods of family houses from memory.

Not Just Making Models But Also Reconstructing Pinuyumayan Architecture

Because there are no actual houses to refer to, Andoulan often had to redo certain steps because the ratio was not right. For example, if the bamboo clums were too long for the house, he had to take them down one by one and cut them shorter. The five layers of grass roofs on the Takuvakuvan cannot be woven too tight or too thick, so he spent six months just to tie the grass perfectly.

Andoulan is completely dedicated to making miniature houses. If he has a day off, he would spend the entire day at home constructing them. In addition to Pinuyumayan architecture, Andoulan already has plans to make six more miniature houses, including an Atayal semi-sunken residence, an Orchid Island underground house, and a Tsou Kuba. After he retires from his day job, Andoulan plans to go back to his village and build an actual Takuvakuvan for the public to visit. “I’ll invite young community members to help me build it. I want to pass on the traditions.” Said Andoulan. He also plans to hold a small exhibition in the community after the six miniature houses are completed so that more people can see and experience the beauty of indigenous architecture.

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Fig1-3: The Pinuyumayan family house is Andoulan's first piece of work. The materials and exterior are all selected and built according to traditional construction methods. Viewers can enjoy the miniature house and imagine how the Pinuyumayan ancestors lived in it.

Witchcraft that Connects Humans and Nature

A Look into Taiwanese Indigenous Shaman Culture

Written by **Liang Wen-Jing**; Illustrated by **Lin Jia-Dong**

In the remote past, our ancestors lived in harmony with nature and all creatures, believing that every living thing has a soul. This belief forms the basis for the animism shared by all the indigenous peoples. Community members who are endowed with special energy are selected as shamans to communicate the words of spirits and solve problems for their fellow villagers. These shamans play a pivotal role in maintaining the order of their communities.

Medium, priest, or shaman?

In Chinese, "wu" (shaman) refers to a person who can connect with gods and the spirits to pray for their blessings or healing, while "Ji" (ritual) focuses on the actions performed as part of worshipping ceremonies. A shaman is defined specifically as one who can communicate with gods and spirits. To become a shaman, one must receive a sign indicating their "preordained fate". For priests, on the other hand, there are usually no restrictions on their identity or status, and they can be trained to conduct various rituals and religious ceremonies. Due to the differences in beliefs and functions, the term for a person with spiritual abilities may vary among different indigenous communities, ranging from shaman, priest, to medium. The term "shaman-priest" is also adopted by some scholars.

Summoning a Shaman!

Terms for Shamans in Various Indigenous Cultures and Their Duties Explained

Paiwan: pulingaw, malada
Conduct rituals, dispel infestation or disease, and dispel calamities

Pangcah: sikawasay
Conduct rituals and ceremonies, pray for blessing, treat illnesses, and dispel calamities for the villagers

Thao: shinshi
Host rituals and ancestor-worshipping ceremonies on occasions such as wedding, funeral, and house construction and demolition

Siraya: inibs
Host rituals, dispel evils and calamities, treat illnesses, do divination, and maintain the environment of kuwa (shrine)

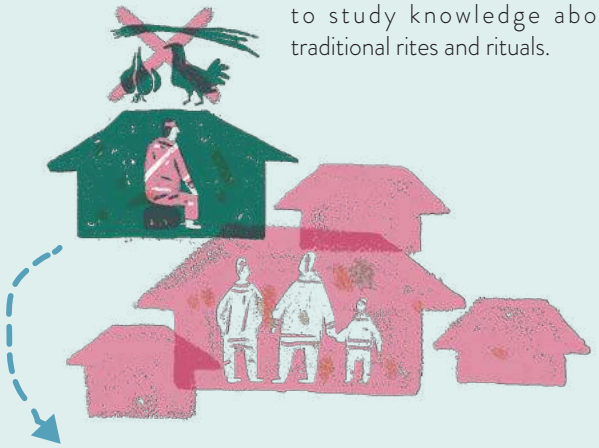
Kaxabu:
katuhu: heal illnesses and wounds
daxedaxe: able to fly, cast spells

The Making of a Shaman

Most shamans are born to their roles. In some indigenous societies, like Paiwan, shamanhood is passed on through hereditary succession and a "master-apprentice" system. Clansmen who are endowed with spiritual abilities or those who are interested in the trade are selected as candidates. They then have to learn from a master shaman and pass a series of special tests given by the spirits before getting qualified as a successor. The training process is described as follows:

The spirits will make the chosen one to fall into a series of mishaps, such as getting seriously ill for no reason, having a major car accident, or undergoing a near-death experience, to give him/her a hint of their potential. To dispel these calamities, he/she has to go through a formal ritual of shamanic initiation, which would otherwise result in life-threatening mishaps.

A solemn "god-descending" / testing ceremony is held. The chosen candidate becomes an apprentice to the village's shaman to study knowledge about traditional rites and rituals.



A certified shaman must abide by shamanic taboos and disciplines for the rest of his/her life. For example, a Pinuyumayan shaman from Puyuma village in Taitung has to live separately from his/her family in a designated house, while Pangcah shamans must refrain from eating green onion, garlic, and chicken throughout their lives.

A Profession that is Open to Both Genders

Since shamans are usually born with a destined mission, they could be chosen by the spirits regardless of identity, social status, and gender. But conventionally, it is women who are selected for such a role. The Paiwan people, for example, is known to have only female shamans, or malada, as is called in the Paiwan language. Scholars speculate that this is because a shaman's duties are mostly centered around traditional ceremonies related to the harvest of millet, rather than the male-dominated hunting rituals.

Communicating with Spirits

Step1:
By chanting, dancing, and with the help of sacred objects, the shaman gets to see the "thread" or "path" that connects to the spirits, and thereby establishes a link to them.

Step2:
When the connection is established, the shaman will enter a trance-like state and begin to tremble uncontrollably. He/she is believed to be possessed by the spirits as their medium to communicate messages, instructions, and display spiritual power.

Step3:
At the end of the ritual, the shaman will chant scriptures or dance to send off the spirits. He/she usually feels exhausted after regaining consciousness and therefore needs to take a good rest. The commissioning clansmen or community leader would reward the shaman with gifts or money to thank him/her for their help and hard work.

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Declining Shaman Culture in a Time of Modernity

As the heart and soul of animism, shamans not only shoulder the responsibility of communicating between humans and spirits, but also serve to pass on the collective memories and wisdom of indigenous communities. However, due to the advance of modern civilization and the introduction of foreign religions, community members have gradually lost their faith in shaman's spiritual abilities, and various indigenous peoples are all confronted with the problems of the aging of shamans and lack of successors.

Typically, a shaman is in charge of hosting traditional rituals and the main rites of passage for the community. As times change, they also conduct ceremonies for blessings in terms of public affairs, such as the completion of new roads and bridges. This year, with the world being severely hit by the contagious coronavirus outbreak, some Taitung-based Bunun shamans even display compassion that knows no borders to hold a plague-dispelling ceremony praying for the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

The decline of shamans implies the discontinuation of indigenous cultural transmission. To save the precious shaman culture from vanishing, many indigenous communities have worked proactively to establish cultural associations, community schools, and shaman workshops as a means to revitalize shamanic practices and preserve the knowledge of rituals.

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