Form and Meaning in Paiwanese Art and Material Culture

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Declaration of authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or part from a thesis by which I have qualified for.
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Abstract

The thesis is centred on the art and material culture of the Paiwanese, an indigenous Taiwanese society. The thesis begins with an analysis of Paiwanese social organization and hierarchy in which primogeniture plays an important role. I explore the ways in which the dominant ordering structure is expressed in the forms of material culture and the ways in which cultural meanings are reflected in their art forms. I show the ways in which the underlying order that is expressed in certain art forms parallels aspects of Paiwanese social structure. I explore the aesthetic dimensions of Paiwanese art and the ways in which aesthetics is associated with cultural values. Aesthetic forms are closely involved in the value creation process of Paiwanese society. Finally, I discuss contemporary art production and tourist art development within their own historical trajectories to reveal changing attitudes towards the production of art objects as well as changes in their functions.
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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is based on ethnographic and historical research into the characteristics and social significance of the indigenous artefacts produced by one particular group – the Paiwanese people in Taiwan. This is one of the fourteen ethnic groups indigenous to Taiwan who live in mountainous areas. Today, the Paiwanese are renowned for their artistic practices. Paiwanese villages are mainly located in Pintung County, in the southeast part of Taiwan. Their social structure is based on a highly developed, hierarchical system, comprising a number of aristocratic classes and commoner classes. My research into Paiwanese art dates from 2002, when I collected data and resources for my M.A. research. From that time, the focus of my research for both the M.A. and PhD theses has been on art and craft production in Sandimen, a village located in the northern part of Pintung County. Sandimen village is famous for its artistic products and creativity in various types of media, including ceramics, glass, woodcarvings and leatherwork. It has developed into a major tourist site because of its flourishing indigenous artefacts production and the preservation of strong cultural traditions. Artistic production is very dynamic in Sandimen compared with that of other Paiwanese villages.
My thesis has a number of related objectives or topics. The first objective is to research the social contexts of key material artefacts and their roles in facilitating cultural continuity over time. Secondly, I will explore how different representational systems encode meanings and convey aspects of Paiwanese cultural ideology. Thirdly, I will explain the ways in which the production of art reflects the structure of Paiwanese society. Fourthly, I will examine how aesthetic properties of certain artefacts are associated with cultural meanings and relate them to value-creating processes within Paiwanese culture. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which contemporary tourist arts have developed in continuity with traditional Paiwanese cultural production.

Each of these objectives engages with its own theoretical discourse: those of representational systems, revealing how forms of art encode meanings; the semantic aspects of art forms viewed as a cultural system; aesthetic expression associated with value creation processes; and the process of dynamic change in art forms and their continuing, related, cultural functions.
1. **A discussion about studying art and material culture in the context of a particular society**

My research is interdisciplinary, adopting methods from social anthropology, material cultural studies, and ethnographic art history. In my study, I have included as many voices as possible, by conducting qualitative research among artists and members of the aristocratic families and other Paiwanese people, both inside and outside the village of Sandimen. In addition, I actively participated in the process of creating artefacts as well as taking part in rituals and ceremonies within the village during my research period. I undertook fieldwork from May 2011 until February 2012, in December 2012, in April 2013 and in April 2014. During these periods, the time scope was divided into four sections.

From the first to the fifth of May, 2011, I documented Paiwanese traditional materials in the Taiwan National Museum of Prehistory. The museum has major collections of materials of Taiwanese indigenous culture including significant collections of Paiwanese objects. My aim in researching the museum collections was to enable me to make a comparison between “traditional” and contemporary art works. In addition, I carried out a literature review of Paiwanese history and material culture, to provide me with the background to understanding how creative activity has developed in Sandimen village over time.

I undertook fieldwork in Sandimen village for a total of some twelve months between May 2011 and April 2014. From fifteen of May to thirty of September of 2011, I focused on the activities and artefacts within a still functioning aristocratic house in Sandimen village. My research included collecting, analysing and categorizing the
traditional artefacts as well as recording the original myths and oral history belonging to this family.

From October 2011 to the end of January 2012, I focused my research on the production and contexts of art making including both ‘traditional’ ceremonial contexts and the marketing of art to the outside world. I subsequently conducted follow up research visits in 2013 and 2014.

I observed the artists working in Sandimen village and collected contemporary artworks from art studios. This enabled me to engage with the diversity of art forms being produced in the village, I interviewed the artists who produce the artworks in order to understand the technologies of art production and the way art is developing in Sandimen today. Participation in rituals and ceremonies helped me to engage with the society and to understand how the ideas and concepts located in and expressed by the art objects related to the ritual performances and contemporary practice.

The anthropology of art provides the overall framework for this thesis in which the forms of certain artefacts are the main focus of analysis. Franz Boas played an important role in the development of an anthropology of art and his work continues to be influential. His research focused on the analysis of form and the relationships between style and meaning (Boas 1927). Boas also saw studies of form in art as having the potential to reveal historical patterns and relationships between groups (Morphy & Perkin, 2007, p.5). My analysis is grounded in a formal analysis of Paiwanese art and in tracing historical connections over time. However it is also focused on the meaning of art both in the context of Paiwanese cultural system, as Geertz (1976) might frame it, and in the processes of change which have taken place in recent years including the
local development of tourism. Researching the role of tourism in contemporary art production in Sandimen has set my argument in dialogue with the anthropologist Nelson Graburn’s theoretical approach to tourist art.

Howard Morphy (2007) stresses that “an anthropological approach to art is one that places it in the context of its production within a society”. He also states that “the art of a particular society has to be understood initially in relation to its place within the society where it was produced, rather than in relation to how members of another society might understand it” (Morphy & Perkins, 2007, p. 15). Positioning art within the society where it was produced helps viewers to really understand the meanings the art is intended to convey. As Firth claims, “art is viewed as an integral element to the society that produced it”. Accordingly, to understand the production of artworks, they should be analysed in the contexts of their producing cultures. Firth points out that “…all art is composed in a social setting: its cultural context. To understand this content it is necessary to study more than general human values and emotions; they must be studied in specific cultural terms at a given period of time” (Firth, 1966, p. 17).

Phillip Dark argues that such research needs to be centred on four factors: “the personnel of the activity – the people involved in it, the system of reference – the standards to which the personnel refer, the experience of the activity – the social-psychological states experienced, and the social institution of which the activity is a part – the cultural domain in which action takes place” (Dark, 1978, p. 48). Dark claims that, “in the performance of their roles in an artistic activity, the personnel – the artists, the actors, the audience – make reference to their cultural systems of standards or canons of taste. The tastes in art and aesthetic judgments thus come from the productive society of its own” (Dark, 1978, p. 48).
Firth notes that the two central problems for the study of primitive art are “the effects on the society of producing and using the art object,” and “the nature of the values which are expressed by the formal characteristics of the art object” (Firth, 1966, p. 18). He further explains that the social correlates of art have two aspects: “On the one hand, the creation—the actual making, and use—of objects of art affects the system of social relations. On the other hand, the system of representations conveyed by the objects of art, in particular the system of symbolism, corresponds to some systems of social relations”. He concludes that “Consequently, understanding and examining how art influences the systems of social relations, and seeing how the representational systems of art organizations are related to social systems, are the main subjects of anthropology” (Firth, 1966, p. 18).

The other approach to examining the social function of artefacts is within the theoretical framework of material culture. Thomas J. Schlereth defines the term, “material culture”, as “the totality of artefacts in a culture; the vast universe of objects used by human kind to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, to delight our fancy, and to create symbols of meanings” (Schlereth, 1985, p. 4). Woodward suggests that “Artefacts” are the physical products or traces of human activity. They have importance because of their materiality or concreteness, and become the subject of retrospective interpretation and ordering (Woodward, 2007, p. 15). Artefacts are generally regarded as symbolic of some prior aspect of culture or social activity. In other words, cultural meanings can be encoded in physical forms; and therefore, certain objects can be identified as symbols of a culture. As Daniel Miller claims, “When we set out to present a set of objects, the dimensions by which an order is constructed either explicitly or implicitly give meaning to the array of forms. Some artefacts stand as symbols of power and are to be used by the rulers in society” (Miller, 1994, p. 400).
From the perspective of material culture, the forms of objects and architecture have social relations with the people within a society. These material forms thus convey specific values inside that particular society. Within the approaches to analysing aspects of material culture, such as structuralism and semiotics, material forms also overlap the social structures in the society. According to Lan Woodward (2007), “Objects are material things people encounter, interact with and use. Objects are commonly spoken of as material culture. The term “material culture” emphasizes how apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people … by carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity” (Woodward, 2007, pp. 3-16). This author also claims that “material objects can reflect the symbolic aspects of a culture such as cosmologies and one group’s identity. As a result, by studying culture as something created and lived through objects, we can better understand both social structures and larger systemic dimensions such as inequality and social difference, and also human action, emotion and meaning” (Woodward, 2007, pp. 3-16).

Architecture also transmits cultural meanings by means of its concrete forms. According to the anthropologist, Signe Howell (2003), “houses are more than physical structures. As buildings, they are expressions of social and cultural categories and values; disparate domains united in the single structure. For the analyst they are goldmines of symbols and meaning because buildings reveal indigenous ideas, and values about social life and activities, as well as cosmology, personhood and gender. In the study of the physical aspects of a house, one should recognize the symbolism of the spatial organization, interior as well as exterior, of the building” (Howell, 2003, pp. 16-33). As Waterson (1988) puts it, “Architecture involves not just the provision of shelter from the elements, but the creation of a social and symbolic space – a space which both
mirrors and moulds the world view of its creators and inhabitants.” She also claims that “inhabited spaces are never neutral; they are all cultural constructions of one kind or another. A building, in any culture, must inevitably carry some symbolic load. The house, then, is a microcosm, reflecting in its layout, structure, and ornamentation the concept of an ideal natural and social order” (Waterson, 1988, pp. 34-60).

In my examination of the Paiwanese case, one particular house will be analysed as a form of material culture, including its conceptual functions: to enable a derived chiefly family to trace its link back to the natal family. Some physical features of the house, including the carved wooden eave beams and the heirlooms, are also items of traditional material culture which can have social functions in contemporary Paiwanese society.

2. Categories of analysis within the relevant theoretical framework

2-1. Representational systems in different material forms

The first stage of my analysis in this thesis is to decode representational systems found in various material forms. In this thesis, I introduce three different material forms whose decorations can be categorized as meaningful forms because they encode cultural meanings. They are: the motifs on the two wooden eave beams and the clothing belonging to a particular chiefly family, and the glass beads owned by villagers in the Sandimen area. I examine the encoded systems in order to better explain the cultural meanings conveyed by their decorative forms. As Howard Morphy claims, “the focus on forms provides a ‘point of entry’ into understanding other aspects of art, and of cultural processes more generally” (Morphy, 1994, p. 662). He also stresses that studying a culture requires “attention to formal aspects of the art in order to answer certain questions: how does art convey meaning, how does it affect its audiences, how does it represent subject matter, is it viewed as a manifestation of a God or spirit, or as the genius of a creative individual? And, these questions link form to content” (Morphy
& Perkins, 2007, p. 16). When we try to understand the meanings within a culture, an art object can be seen as a medium for expressing cultural ideology. Robert Layton also points out that anthropologists view art as a meaningful and communicative system as “a tradition of artistic representation can itself provide a systematically organized mode of expression at the heart of social interaction” (Layton, 1991, p. 86), so it is important for anthropologists to understand how art can encode and convey meanings (Hendry, 2008, p. 4).

The concept of a representational system is central because there is an interrelation between meaning and the way it is encoded or represented; in other words, how something is encoded may influence its meaning as well as affect how that meaning can be communicated to others (Morphy, 1994, p. 664). Therefore, art can represent the different attributes of a culture. Layton mentions that we must keep in mind that an art object probably has representational qualities at a number of cultural levels (Layton, 1991, p. 29). To conclude, art can be viewed as a vehicle for the expression of culture, and can be looked upon as a means of accessing cultural meanings.

In this thesis, the three different material forms that I analyse, all feature motifs or patterns with meanings that can be viewed as a sign system and interpreted using Saussurian sign theory. According to Howard Morphy, “The central idea behind the Saussurian sign theory is that a sign consists of two components: the signifier and the signified, each of which has an independent existence in its respective system of similarity and difference… From a Saussurian perspective, the object comes into being through its encoding in a sign system and can then be used in communication with others who know the code” (Morphy, 1991, p. 143). Applying Saussurian sign theory, I will analyse different representational systems manifested in various forms.
underpinning a whole cultural semiotic system. I will analyse the particular characteristics of those different systems to explain how meanings are conveyed in different ways. Among these various representational systems, there are two distinctive sign categories: the first one is figurative, and the other is non-figurative. In the figurative sign category, the relationship between signifiers and signified is based on formal resemblance or iconicity – the figure looks like the thing represented and is intended to be interpreted on that basis. In the non-figurative sign category, the relationship between the signifiers and signified is more arbitrary; the motifs do not appear to be motivated by the formal characteristics of the object but the idea symbolized by the sign. However although the shape of the non-figurative signs are not primarily motivated by formal resemblance with the object represented, elements of iconicity can be built into the system and influence how they are seen.

Howard Morphy argues that a work of art can have an iconic component without it “looking like” something else and without iconicity being a factor in its interpretation (Morphy, 1980, p. 18). Therefore, there are not rigid boundaries between these figurative and non-figurative sign categories in terms of the iconicity between the signifier and the signified. For instance, the patterns on the glass beads, produced under the technical constraints of mass manufacture, are listed in this thesis as parts of a non-figurative representational category, although the signifiers on most of the beads are interpreted by the Paiwanese as having some references to the form of the natural phenomena.

The representational systems employed in the carvings on the wooden beams and the design elements of traditional clothing show considerable overlap both in figurative and non-figurative (abstract) elements. At the level of initial interpretation in the figurative
category, meanings are more fixed. There is more direct resemblance between the motifs and the things they depict, such as human head, snake and the sun. However, the exegesis of those motifs extends their meanings to connect with different cultural and symbolic themes: for example, human heads denote ancestors or the head cut from a battle and thus represent spirits, and the snake pattern is always referred as the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. The biological name of this specific snake is *Deinagkistrodon acutus*, a type of viper\(^1\). Those figurative motifs in conjunction with the oral traditions of various families create individual family or tribal history.

In the non-figurative category, motifs like triangles or diamond shape have more generalised meanings. However iconicity is still a factor in the interpretation and experience of the motifs, for example with triangular or diamond shape motifs commonly being explained as the scales on a *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. Some of the motifs are representations of abstract ideas, such as a cross design represents “being united”. The non-figurative motifs are more generalized representations and thus have the characteristic of multivalency: a triangular shape can be explained by the motif designer as snake, mountain or the movement of the feet of dancing people. Appreciating the iconicity of the non-figurative designs requires information or cultural knowledge which is external to the representations.

The signs or formal components of the beads cannot be divided into figurative and non-figurative designs in the same way as they can be on the wooden beams and clothing. From the perspective of the outside observers the patterns on the glass beads are all abstract in forms, however, they have feature of iconicity between the signifier and

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\(^1\) According to the website, “Encyclopaedia of Taiwan” ([http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/](http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/)), it is one of the six poisonous snake species in Taiwan.
signified according to the Paiwanese interpretation: they all involve the identification of an iconic relation between the patterns and the natural elements they are associated. The relationship between one design on a bead and its meanings is relatively speaking fixed and range from associations with natural species and phenomena to connotations that link the beads to core values of Paiwanese society. Overall the beads are a manifestation of a conceptual system in which iconicity is a factor but which is not determined by formal resemblance. The representational system of the glass beads also conveys symbolic meanings, based on correlations between the characteristics of the objects and their connotations in Paiwanese culture.

2-2. Viewing Paiwanese culture as a semiotic system

Geertz in framing art as a cultural system (1976) writes that “to study an art form is to explore a sensibility, that such a sensibility is essentially a collective formation, and that the foundations of such a formation are as wide as social existence and as deep…that is, that works of art are elaborate mechanisms for defining social relationships, sustaining social rules, and strengthening social values” (Geertz, 1976, p. 1478). In the Paiwanese case, the forms of different objects can be seen as components of an overall semiotic system, which can be connected to Paiwanese cultural ideology and the trajectory of the society as a whole. Woodward also claims that “material objects can reflect the symbolic aspects of a culture such as cosmologies and one group’s identity. As a result, by studying culture as something created and lived through objects, we can better understand both social structures and larger systematic dimensions such as inequality and social difference, and also human action, emotion and meaning” (Woodward, 2007, pp. 3-16).

Art forms are a kind of sign system. As Evelyn P. Hatcher claims: “Art can relate to the structure of society by visual forms that in some way reflect the structure not simply by
labeling, as with insignia, but by communicating common values and patterns that reflect the basic postulates concerning what life is all about and how things, including society, are or should be structured" (Hatcher, 1985, p. 128).

This thesis will show that looking at Paiwanese art as part of an overall system of meanings, which belong to different semiotic systems whose signs can be organized in different contexts to represent different kinds of things. In many cases meanings overlap, and the signs are just different ways of communication. All of the different representations are tools for transmitting cultural knowledge, and thus strengthen of values and key knowledge from generation to generation.

2-3. Analogous structures in an art form and Paiwanese society as a whole

My analysis of Paiwanese art is an exploration of the underlying order that is expressed in an art form, which reveals analogical relationships with the form of social structure. According to Dorothy K. Washburn, art forms are seen as belonging to a cultural system just as other behaviors and objects belong to the system (Hanson, 1983, p. 1). Washburn also quotes Arnheim in explaining how a vision is organized. In Arnheim’s view, vision is not a mechanical recording of elements, but rather the apprehension of significant structural patterns. According to Arnheim, “perception consists of three stages: first, the filtering and selection of information necessary to focus on the general character of objects – especially their shape and structure; second, recognition of the shapes in their cultural context and categorization of the shapes into general classes of things; third, filling in details of the shapes from prior knowledge and visual experience” (Hanson, 1983, p. 2). Consequently, as Layton points out, the implication of this for the anthropology of art is clear: we have seen how fundamental a characteristic it is of cultures to select and organize experience into characteristic patterns of meaning (Hendry, 2008, p. 171).
Some anthropologists have sought to show that the structure they find in the art of a particular culture is similar to that of the other systems in that culture. For example, in his article on split representation, Levi-Strauss systematically appraises the formal stylistic features which he feels are shared by the art of four distinct cultures, addressing the manner in which certain stylistic motifs are representative of both social and psychological dispositions. He rejects the claim that split representation arises merely as a natural result of the extension to flat or angular surfaces. The dualism between plastic and graphic components of objects displaying split representations reflects other kinds of dualism in society as well, including “…person and impersonation, individual existence and social function, community and hierarchy” (Silver, 1979, p. 279). Art forms can also offer meaningful ways to organize order among various cultures. As Washburn remarks, “the very organization inherent in verbal and visual representational systems suggests that art styles also can be analysed by structural principles.

These structural principles such as symmetry seem to reinforce these people’s conceptual order of their world” (Washburn, 1983a, p. 4). In this thesis, I explore how a particular Paiwanese material object – one type of necklace composed of glass beads – reflects the formal structure of Paiwanese society. Other structural aspects of Paiwanese society, such as gender division and differences in hierarchical status, are related to the usage of different material objects.

2-4. Aesthetic expressions of various Paiwanese artefacts

The level of analysis is the exploration of the aesthetic properties expressed in different artefacts, and how these properties are integrated in Paiwanese value creation processes through the performance of a ritual: the wedding ceremony. The ordering principles of the aesthetic compositions in different material forms will be explored first, and then I will analyse how the most frequently-occurring aesthetic attributes contribute to the
creation of a Paiwanese value system. In the Paiwanese case, one kind of aesthetic property operates in different ways across different forms of artefacts to create a classical feeling, which the Paiwanese people call *samiring*. *Samiring* is expressed as a “wistful feeling” emotionally; it can be represented as “looking primitive” as in the case of the carvings on wooden eave beams; or the way people dress spectacularly in those classical costumes for a formal occasion; and the process of making new glass beads to be old-looking. This aesthetic expression of *samiring* demonstrates how the production of artefacts has facilitated over time in this society, the preservation of cultural values that can be linked to the ancestral past.

In his definition of art, Howard Morphy lays an emphasis on the aesthetic properties of objects. He adds that, “in the case of material culture, “aesthetic” refers to the effects of properties of objects on the senses, to the qualitative dimension of the perception of objects. Salient properties include such physical ones as an object’s form, texture, feel, and smell” (Morphy, 1994, p. 673). Firth has also noted this kind of aesthetic appeal of the forms of artefacts produced in non-literate societies, although little study has been made of the aesthetic tastes of such peoples. He mentions, however, that “there is strong indirect evidence that they share the same kind of aesthetic sensibilities and judgments as Western people” (Firth, 1992, p. 13). Joy Hendry also argues that “there exists a universal aesthetic sense possessed by human beings, no matter where their societies are located. It’s a capacity of human being to appreciate beauty and experience a sensory reaction to the physical qualities of an object, such as form and texture” (Hendry, 2008, p. 121). Aesthetic sensations caused by the physical forms of particular artefacts can be appreciated across cultures. Although Firth argues that most people shares the same kinds of aesthetic sensibilities and judgments. He comments, however, that “similar psychological impulses can emerge in very different forms because of different social
conditions” (Firth, 1992, p. 17). It cannot be claimed, therefore, that the same art forms evoke the same emotional reactions across cultures. Aesthetic values should be assessed inside a particular culture for one to understand the meanings within that cultural system. As Hendry points out, “there is a view that the whole idea of aesthetics is culturally bound, like the notion of taste, so that an aesthetic appreciation is itself a product of a particular society which can only properly be applied within those social contexts” (Hendry, 2008, p. 121). She also argues that “those who hold that view see others who apply this culturally-bound aesthetic sense to other societies may feel that their judgments are misplaced” (Hendry, 2008, p. 121). Bohannan notes that it is not enough to use art objects to explain an exotic culture, nor to subject the objects to aesthetic judgment without a knowledge of that culture (Bohannan, 1971, p. 172). To conclude, Morphy’s comment on this issue is that anthropologists would argue that there is a cross-cultural dimension to aesthetic values and that some properties and even interpretations may be shared widely, but that this is a matter to be demonstrated in the particular case on the basis of relevant ethnography (Morphy & Perkins, 2007, p. 14).

2-5. Tourist art development

The fifth topic covered in this thesis is the discussion of tourist art. In his introduction to the book Ethnic and Tourist Arts, Nelson Graburn (1976) addresses himself to the contemporary role of the arts among the communities of the “Fourth World”, which he defines as “the collective name for all aboriginal or native peoples whose lands fall within the national boundaries and techno-bureaucratic administrations of the countries of the First, Second, and Third Worlds” (Graburn, 1976, p. 1). This implies that the people don’t have independent countries of their own and their arts are rarely produced solely for their own consumption or according to their own unmodified tastes. Accordingly, as Graburn argues, the study of the arts of the Fourth World is different from the study of “primitive” art, for it must take into account more than one symbolic
and aesthetic system, and the fact that artefacts may be produced by one group for consumption by another. Since the Paiwanese population falls into the category of Fourth World peoples as defined by Graburn, one of the aims of this research is to examine how contemporary Paiwanese art has been able to become a new symbol of both the ethnic identity of this group and the way in which it is regarded by outsiders as well as insiders.

A study of the contemporary development of tourist art in an indigenous society is a study of changing arts – of emerging ethnicities, modifying identities, often in the contexts of commercial and colonial stimuli and sometimes in encounters with repressive regimes. One of the aims of this research is to investigate the changes that took place in Paiwanese society as they are reflected in the contemporary art production of Sandimen village. By examining the position of indigenous art and craft production in modern Paiwanese society in relation to the categories of the development of Fourth World art set up by Graburn, I will analyse how these artefacts convey their ethnicity and express the external and internal identities of the Paiwanese group.

According to Graburn, the arts of Fourth World peoples are of two major types: firstly, inwardly directed arts made for local consumption, and secondly, arts produced for the external, dominate world. In other words, art objects stand as the symbols of internal and external boundaries. As Graburn argues, “The means by which material items express identity is through symbols” (Graburn, 1976, p. 24). The inwardly-directed arts are thus symbols used by peoples within their own part-societies to maintain ethnic identity and social structure, and to instil important values among group members. According to Graburn, “all societies contain social categories within which members are similar, but between which they are different but complementary; these categories
are marked, often by material symbols, to enable society to function and for people to know how to behave properly toward each other. If a society is stratified, as most are to some degree, then possessing or wearing certain symbols are marks of prestige leading to deferent behaviour by other members” (Graburn, 1976, p.24). Therefore, art can provide the symbols that maintain social order in a society that recognizes them. In the case of the Paiwanese, I will argue that their traditional artefacts are symbolically integrated within, and help strengthen, the hierarchical social system.

As society changes, however, the arts become part of a “boundary-defining” system for Fourth World peoples, as symbols of their ethnic images in the outside world. Their artefacts are produced for trade with an external, dominant world but in turn they may become part of the ways they look upon themselves. Although they might be defined by art connoisseurs as unimportant or ethno-kitsch, the artefacts produced for sale present to the outside world an “ethnic image” of indigenous peoples.

In his book, Graburn proposes several art production categories within Fourth World societies that have undergone social changes, and they include: extinction, traditional or functional fine arts, commercial fine arts, souvenirs, reintegrated arts, aku fine arts and popular fine arts (Graburn, 1976, pp. 5-7). I will explore the categories Graburn defines and suggest some terms that fit the Paiwanese case. In addition, I will examine the changes that developed in response to the wider art market, which grew to need a variety of different artistic styles, and thus caused changes that are reflected in the decoration of artefacts, form composition, and the subject matter of more recently produced glass bead products. These changes reflect values influenced by the market, public consumption tastes, and other commercial considerations. I will argue, however, that nonetheless, artefacts act as symbols that maintain Paiwanese social order, in a stratified society comprising an elite upper class and commoners.
The study of Paiwanese culture has received considerable attention for decades in Taiwan. Several authors from the Paiwanese cultural study have contributed to the building of knowledge of this thesis, including: Li-Fu Pan and Bidn D. Chiang provide a discussion of framework of the Paiwanese social structure; Masegseg Zengror Gadu’s research constituted a background of Paiwanese history; Chi-Lu Chen and Chang-Guo Tan’s work on Paiwanese material culture; Mei-Jr Shiu offers an excellent review of the Paiwanese bead culture and Tai-Li Hu’s study addresses important claims regarding Paiwanese aesthetic characteristic.

3. Structure of this thesis

This thesis is organized into ten distinct chapters. In chapter two, I will explore the social organization of Paiwanese society, including the geographic distribution, sub-groups division, and the kinship system. In chapter three, I will explore the formation of a particular chiefly family – the Pakedavai – in terms of its historical development, based on oral histories provided by various family members. I use this as a means of introducing Paiwanese social structure, and how it has been influenced by a history of colonization. Certain material objects, which are meaningful to this chiefly family as well as in wider Paiwanese culture, are discussed in this chapter. I include a summary of general aspects of Paiwanese society, including geographical distribution, the nature of sub-groups, social organization, and the kinship system.

In chapter four, I will discuss the cultural meanings which are conveyed in the motifs on the wooden eave beams of the Pakedavai family house. I will examine the ways in which these motifs convey cultural meanings by means of a particular representational system, by focusing mainly on those eave beams. I will also analyse one symbolic motif with encompassing cultural significance – the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. In addition, I will also examine the aesthetic attributes of the motifs on the beams.
In chapter five, I will discuss the motifs applied on the traditional Paiwanese costumes worn by members of the Pakedavai family. These motifs carry great social significance, representing distinctions between classes as well as bilateral kinship relations. The representational systems inherent in the motifs on the Pakedavai costumes will also be explored. In this chapter, I will also outline the linkage of motifs wooden eave beams and traditional costumes to their social functions. I will discuss the aesthetic principles reflected in the use of adornments costumes, and illustrate the ways they influence and are reflected in the structure of the motifs.

In chapter six, I will explore the way in which the visual patterns on Paiwanese glass beads encode social meanings. In a formal analysis, the patterns on the beads are viewed as a representational system encoding social meanings. I also relate the meanings of the beads to their social functions, finding that certain traditions have survived to the present day.

In chapter seven, I will analyse the patterns on Paiwanese glass beads, and explain how they convey a wide range of cultural values and also compose a part of the Paiwanese cosmological belief system. I will also investigate a particular necklace composed of glass beads, finding that the structure of this necklace reflects the structure of Paiwanese society.

In chapter eight, I will explore the relationship between the internal and external demands for Paiwanese beadwork in the context of a changing society. I will discuss the re-creation of this cultural product under the Taiwanese government’s policy of cultural product promotion. The glass beads produced today also reflect different aesthetic pursuits emerging from both within and beyond Paiwanese society. The variety of
manufactured glass beads also represents the various internal and external ethnic identities of the consumers.

In chapter nine, this thesis concludes by focusing on the properties of Paiwanese aesthetic expression and their relations to the creation of a system of social values. The analysis is based on the rituals and the accoutrement of aristocratic wedding ceremonies, which generate the most exquisite aesthetic expression in this culture. The generation of Paiwanese aesthetic properties is related to the hierarchical social system as well as the ancestral past. Aesthetic expression both strengthens the social status inherited from ancestors as well as memorializing the ancestral past. Certain artefacts manifesting aesthetic attributes will be discussed in this chapter.
Chapter Two: The social organization of Paiwanese society

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine aspects of Paiwanese society in general, including geographical distribution, sub-groups, social organization, the kinship system, and the traditional Paiwanese socio-political unit – a tribe. The influence of colonial historical developments outside Paiwanese society will also be considered. As well as presenting an outline of the structure of Paiwanese society, I will describe the natal-derivative relationships on which social organization and genealogical connections are based. This organization is based on a ramage-like system, which people trace their lineage from either parents through the house lines and normally identify their lineage with the side which has the higher hierarchical status.

The argument in this chapter is: the establishment of a political unit – A tribe – reflects natal-derivative relationships based on the Paiwanese rule of primogenitary succession. This rule is the dominant ordering system throughout Paiwanese society, ranging from single households to the entire social organization.

Fig. 2-1: The distribution of the indigenous groups in Taiwan.
From web: http://klol.pixnet.net/blog/post/43368864

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2 This term is used by Bien Chiang (1993) in his PhD thesis, *House and Social Hierarchy of the Paiwan*, to describe that the Paiwanese social organization is based on ambilateral lineages.
2-1. Distribution of the Paiwanese

The Paiwanese are one of the fourteen Austronesian-speaking indigenous groups in Taiwan and are mostly located in the southern part of the central mountain ranges of the island. A prominent reference point in Paiwanese ethno-historical accounts is Mt. Djakalaus/Tjagaraus (Mount Ta-wu in Chinese). Djakalaus is the name of a god of creation. Where the god lives is the highest, as well as the most sacred place. Therefore, Mt. Tawu is named Djakalaus by the Paiwanese because it is the highest mountain around this area and it is believed to the place to which the spirits of the Paiwanese ancestors return. This mountain stands 3,090 meters above sea level in the north of present-day Paiwanese territory. The majority of Paiwanese communities believe that the mountain is the place from which their ancestors came, and to which all the deceased return. A major rite, the “leve-leveg-an” (Five-year-rite), used to be held periodically in the majority of Paiwanese villages in order to reinforce this connection with Mt. Djakalaus/Tjagaraus, the sacred “homeland” (Chiang, 1993, P55).

Paiwanese territory extends from the northern area around Mt. Djakalaus to the southern and eastern parts of Taiwan. It is bordered by a number of
minority groups, such as the Rukai, Puyuma and Amis, and all these cultural groups tend to have influenced each other in various ways.

2-2. Sub-groups

The Paiwanese are divided into two sub-groups, according to their original homelands. Those from the upper north in the region of Mt. Tavuvu called themselves the Ravar. The people of this group believe that their ancestors came from a place named the Parilaiyan, consisting of three old tribes named Tavaran, Djuvuen, and Djelau, located on Mt. Tavuvvu. The succession rule of this Ravar group is primogeniture and they do not observe the five-year rite (Chiang, 1993, p. 55).

The other sub-group is the Vutsulj, or Butsul. It is more widely distributed than the Ravar group. Its sacred homeland is Mt. Djakalaus mentioned above. The Vutsulj/Butsul group can be divided in turn into four further divisions distributed around the south central mountain range in Taiwan. These divisions are based on their regional separation rather than any cultural differences. The four groups are the Paumaumaq in the north, the Caupupulj/Chaobobool in the northern part of the south and the Paljizaljizawin/Palilalilaw in the southern most part, and the Paqaluqalu in the east (Mesegseg Zengror Gadu, 2011, pp. 14-15). The people of the Paumaumaq group mainly come from the areas named Padain, Caljisi and su-Paiwan, which are believed to be the original homelands of the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group (Mesegseg Zengror Gadu, 2011, p. 14). The other three sub-groups are believed to have migrated from their original homelands to southern and eastern parts of Taiwan.

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3 Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 26 April, 2014
“Paiwanese” is now a term which all people in the large area of traditional Paiwanese territory use to refer to themselves. There are two villages named “Paiwan”. One is located in Ravar and is called “ka-Paiwan”, meaning old Paiwan. The other, in Butsul territory, is called “su-Paiwan”: “su” is a prefix used for the name of any village. The ethnic name “Paiwan” was presumably derived from the village names and may originally have been applied to these people by other ethnic groups in the plains (Matsuzawa, 1989, p. 36). According to a Paiwanese acknowledged linguist and historical scholar, Mesegseg Zengror Gadu, the Paiwanese did not have a collective term to refer to themselves as a group before the Japanese colonial period. The people’s concept of group is based on regional (tribal) differences, instead of a whole group. Therefore, they used names of regions to refer to where they belong and came from. For instance, people came from the local area “Payuan” would call them “se-Payuan”, meaning “I am the person who comes from Payuan”.

2-3. The original homeland--Padain

The two Paiwanese sub-groups, today identify themselves as having separate places of origin. However there is an underlying belief that in the distant past both groups originated from the same place: the Padain region. The Padain is associated with Mt. Djakalaus and is where the Vutsulj/Butsul subgroup originated (Mesegseg Zengror Gadu, 2011, p. 104). The people of the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group personify Mt.

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4 According to Gadu, the Japanese researchers believed that su-Paiwan is one of the original places of Paiwanese culture, and therefore, the used “Paiwan” to refer to the entire Paiwanese group (Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 18, August, 2014).

5 Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 18, August, 2014

6 The translation of “Padain” is the place to create human life in Paiwanese.

7 As Tung states that some Paiwanese elders believe that Paiwan group was separated from Padain and some encountered with other groups to form different sub-groups. However, the Ravar sub-group may have different statement.
Djakalaus: they believe that the top of the mountain is the head of the life-creating god, Sa-Djakalaus. They also believe that the place where human life originated, Padain Kiniveqacan, was located at mountain’s heart (Mesegseg Zengror Gadu, 2011, p. 104). The central Padain area contained the sacred place where life was generated, Padain Kiniveqacan; and the tribes of the Kalicekuan, the Tjulinaulj, and the Caljisi. Two other tribes the Piuma, and the Payuan were located near central Padain. These tribes were considered to be among the oldest tribes of the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group.

According to oral tradition, an earthquake occurred a thousand years or more near the central Padain area, and the people fled to places around Mt. Djakalaus and to the plain regions. However the Padain area has been memorialised as their sacred homeland by the people of the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group, because most of the original myths came from there. The myths include those of the life creating god, and of the relationship between god and human beings. They also tell of the relationship between ancestors and living people. When talking about the genesis myth, the people of the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group will say: “Saljaran i Padain”, which means that the Padain is the area where the life creating god turned an embryo into life (Tung, 2001, p. 14). The Padain region, is therefore the most sacred area for the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group, and its significance is connected with the people’s genesis myths, as well as their identity, historical development, social organization and cultural knowledge. The cultural system of this Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group is thus called the Padain system by the Paiwanese. The other cultural system belonging to the Ravar sub-group is the Parilaiyan system. It should be

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8 Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 26 April, 2014
9 Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 26 April, 2014
10 The Parilaiyan is the oldest tribe in Ravar sub-group (Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 26 April, 2014).
noted here that the Sandimen area has been influenced by both these systems because of its location is close to both central part of these sub-groups. In this thesis, the exegesis of the meanings of various artefacts, including motifs on wooden eave beams and costumes, glass beads and legends belonging to a particular chiefly family are all influenced by these systems.

2-4. The formation of a tribe

In this section, I will outline the theory of the development of Paiwanese tribe by the formation of an original tribe and its organization. In interviews Masegeseg Zengror Gadu, he explained to me his understanding of the historical process out of which the present system of tribal organization evolved. As a Paiwanese scholar he provides a perspective on, and insight into, the ways in which contemporary Paiwanese see their own society in the light of their oral traditions. According to him, there were several households clustered together in the sacred Padain homeland areas thousands of years ago\textsuperscript{11}. Each household had its own appointed heir, called the “\textit{vusam}”. The \textit{vusam} was, and still is, the first born of each generation in a family, regardless of gender\textsuperscript{12}. In the Paiwanese language, the term “\textit{vusam}” means “eldest brother or sister who remains at the natal house” and “seed millet” – the bundles of best millet from a harvest that are selected and stored away to be used as seed for the next growing season (Chiang, 1993, p.133). In theory, a “\textit{vusam}” is the real “owner” of a house, the one who remains in that house and takes care of it (Chiang, 1993, p125). The \textit{vusam} child thus inherits all the property belonging to the family including the family name, the most significant family artefacts, and the social status belonging to the family.

\textsuperscript{11} The time period is uncertain among the Paiwanese people.

\textsuperscript{12} The Paiwanese terms \textit{vusam}, “eldest child” and “seed millet”, are very close to the combined meanings of “heir” and “successor” (Chiang, p.94).
Clusters of households living together would gradually form a group, consisting of all of the *vusams* of those households, to deal with local issues. In one area like the Padain region, several “*vusam* groups” representing clustered households were formed. The “*vusam* groups” elected a representative *vusam* to be the leader of all the *vusam* groups, and then all those households, led by the representative *vusam* finally formed a tribe. The representative *vusam* of a tribe was called “*ka-vusam*”, which means “the principle *vusam* among all the *vusams*”. The term *ka-vusam* was replaced by “chief” after the Japanese colonial period\(^{13}\).

According to Gadu, the precise process of selecting the original *ka-vusam* in the first stage of tribal formation is unknown and mysterious. He speculated that it might have been a person who had control over a sacred *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper (see page 89), and could act as a medium between humans and the spirits, or gods\(^{14}\). The status of *ka-vusam* came to be inherited by the first-born child of the office holder. At the time of formation of the originating tribes in the Padain region, there

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\(^{13}\) Personal communication with M.Z. Gadu, April 05, 2014

\(^{14}\) Personal communication with M.Z. Gadu, April 05, 2014
were five *ka-vusams*, and they formed the five “core” families of origin in the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group. A traditional Paiwanese tribe\(^{15}\) was centred on a “core” (chief) family. The marker of such a core family was that there was a stone pillar (*saulji*) in the courtyard in front of his or her house (see Fig. 2-3). The *saulji* sometimes has carved image(s)\(^{16}\) on it to represent the ancestor(s) of the tribe and thus it is an intermediate monument between ancestors and the *ka-vusam* (chief) in a tribe. The *saulji*, which I discuss in the following chapter, is the symbol of the *ka-vusam* family in a tribe, and the people can communicate through it with the ancestral spirits residing at Mt. Djakalaus (Gadu, p.108).

**2-5. Paiwanese social organization and genealogy**

In this section, I will introduce the genealogical system, which, together with the principle of primogeniture, is central to Paiwanese social organization. I will summarize the characteristics of Paiwanese social organization as it has been discussed and analysed by previous Japanese and Taiwanese researchers, including Wei (1960), Matsuzawa (1989), Chiang (1993) and Tung (2001).

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\(^{15}\) “Tradition” refers to the era before the Japanese colonial period because the structure of Paiwanese society and tribal organization hadn’t yet been destroyed.

\(^{16}\) A *saulji* normally has either an image of the first ancestor or a collective representation of ancestors of a tribe.
According to Chiang (1993), Paiwanese society is a “house society”. The notion of this kind of society was first raised by Levi-Strauss. In her book, Susan D. Gillespie (Gillespie, 2000) quoted Levi-Strauss’s notion of house as a “type of social structure” to be added alongside the familiar taxa of family, lineage, and clan, with the following definition: “a corporate body [personne morale] holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transformation of its name, its goods, and its titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both” (Gillespie, 2000, p. 7). In the Paiwanese case, a “house” is a cultural entity which can be treated as independent from descent principles and is fully capable of providing a foundation for social continuity. A Paiwan house, “uma” or “umag”, is more than a familial dwelling on a plot of land. It represents a perpetual socio-cultural entity that is, in a sense, separable from the people who dwell in it (Chiang, 1993, p.173).

The typical Paiwanese dwelling in the homeland area is an asymmetrical, gabled building, made of slate and wood. Every dwelling has a name. The name refers to membership of a household; the people who dwell in the house have the house name as their family name. However, when people separate from their natal houses in order to marry, they cannot take the house name with them and will be given another house name according to where they have moved. Upon marriage, all the children of a domestic group except the heir are expected to move out of their natal house to establish new houses with new names (Chiang, 1993, p.61). The names attached to Paiwanese houses have no necessary connection with the genealogy of the people who live inside them. They are used on a regional basis to distinguish between people of different social
status within the system of hierarchy. As a cultural corporate entity, a Paiwanese “house” is separate from the people who live inside it. The scholar, Chiang, thus uses the term “dwelling” to designate a physical structure that is used as a residence and “domestic group” or “household” to refer to the group of people who reside in a dwelling (Chiang, 1993, p.62).

According to Japanese scholar, Matsuzawa Kazuko (1971), a Paiwanese household is the basic and most important social unit through which villagers in any given village identify themselves and relate themselves to other households as kin (Matsuzawa, 1989, p.74). In terms of laterality and lineality, Paiwanese kinship structure has long been identified as “cognatic”. There is no sign of a unilineal bias in either kinship recognition or kin-group organization. The rule of primogeniture does, however, result in the perpetuation of households that have been established on a cognatic basis (Chiang, 1993, p.137-138). Primogeniture is assigned to the first born whether male or female. Matsuzawa argues that another key to understanding Paiwanese culture and its systems of kinship and chieftainship lies in the clear difference in ritual and social status between elder and junior siblings (Kasuko, 1989, p. 107). The status of eldest sibling, together with equal recognition of the father and mother in family and kinship relations and of the husband and wife in a household, is reflected in the Paiwanese bilateral system of kinship. The Paiwanese recognize a wide range of kin in a network, emphasizing collateral relations rather than descent or genealogical linear (Matsuzawa, 1989, p.107). In a village, descent is recognized in the way that the Paiwanese relate ancestors to their own village chief’s household line, through a continuum of recognized

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17 Houses names can be used repeatedly in one region. The hierarchical names have regional differences; the highest hierarchical names in one region can be used to represent a lower social status in other regions. The Paiwanese as a whole have a sort of “name pool”, a set of customarily accepted house names from which new names are chosen (Chiang, p.61).
filial links between each ancestor and his or her parents (Matsuzawa, 1989, p.108). According to Chiang, in the history of the founding of a village, the earlier a household is established, the more prominent the position it tends to occupy in the conceptual frame of reference that people usually resort to in assessing the hiving-off or segmentary structure of relationship between households. The relationship between natal and derived households is clearly recognized by the Paiwan themselves, both conceptually and ritually. Chiang thus describes this tracing of roots back to an original household as a “natal-derivative” relationship (Chiang, 1993, p.138). Wei, a Taiwanese scholar, pointed out that the particular characteristic of this cognatic system is that it had dwellings rather than persons as its constituents (Wei, 1960). In other words, in this “natal-derivative” relationship, people trace their lineage from either of their parents through the house lines. Normally, people would identify their lineage with the side which has higher hierarchical status.

In this kind of kinship system, the position of a chief – the ka-vusam - as the firstborn in a direct line of descent from the originating house of the village, is regarded as the senior elder among all villagers. The chief is believed to possess the innate power to control the fertility of the land in his or her territory (Matsuzawa, 1989, p.245). Any household descending from that of a chief has decreased or less social status than that of the natal one. This primogenitary system is also applied to formations of tribes established by the descendants hiving off from natal chief families and is even reflected in Paiwanese migration history. According to Gadu, traditionally, when a new tribe was formed because of the growing population in its original tribe, the people who found new territory would go back to ask their original chief family to grant the new tribe a
chief. This chief would be a direct descendant from the original chief of the natal tribe but not an heir. Through this practice, the sphere of influence of the original family would expand into other areas. Also, descendants could trace their connection to the natal family, the source of their authority. I will take a chiefly family as an example to explain how this kind of “natal-derivative” relationship between households is established.

At the beginning of this chapter, the Padain area was identified as the original homeland of the Butsul/Vutsulj sub-group, and there were five originating chiefly families established in the area; the chiefly families descended from those five are identified as the Padain system within the Butsul/Vutsulj sub-group. Chapter three will examine how a chiefly family descended from its natal family in the Padain system to form a new chiefly family in a new territory. In addition, this chiefly family case study also reveals the influence of another Paiwanese sub-cultural system: the Parilaiyan system. All these examples demonstrate that Paiwanese society is cognatic, and that family lineages can be traced bilaterally.

2-6 Social structure – the hierarchical society

Paiwanese society can be divided into two different classes: aristocrats (mamazangilan) and the commoners (aditan or tsinautsau). An intermediate group, named pualu, is found in some northern villages. The origins of this hierarchical divisions are to be found in certain myths (Chiang, p.223-224). The leader among the mamazangilan is called “ka-mamazangilan-an”; he or she is regarded as the paramount chief of the tribe. In traditional Paiwanese villages, land resources – farmland, hunting fields and

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18 Personal communication with M.Z. Gadu, 26 April 2014
19 Personal communication with M.Z. Gadu, 26 April 2014
dwelling plots – were considered to be property associated with a few noble households, especially the chief households. Commoners allied themselves as clients and tenants with noble landlords, who, in turn, had the right to collect rents, or tribute, from them (Chiang, 1993, p.62). The hierarchical distinctions of social status will be introduced in more detail in chapters seven and nine.

2-7 Historical development – Inland migration and the colonial period

The Paiwanese had participated in several inland migrations before the 17th century. According to Mabuchi’s study, the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group seem to have migrated from their ancestral homeland gradually moving toward the south and the east across the Central Mountains. On their way south, they established new settlements in their colonial lands, and then migrated further to the south and the east, possibly absorbing non-Paiwan populations into their own. This migration was almost complete by the early 17th century. The evidence for this is in the names of many important villages.
throughout traditional Paiwanese territory that appear in Dutch census reports from 1647, 1650 and 1695 (Matsuzawa, 1989, p. 40).

The Japanese anthropologist, Matsuzawa, uses a ritual event, the Five Year Festival, to prove that the migration route was from north to south. This festival is not held as often as it used to be; there are just two or three Paiwanese villages which still perform it nowadays. Matsuzawa, states the following about the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group.

The festival (Five Year Festival) began in the villages of Padain and su-Paiwan, in their ancestral homeland. Thus, ancestral spirits, according to the shifting dates of the festival from one village to another in turn, travelled to the east and the south in order to check whether their descendants were leading happy lives with an abundance of harvested grain and game animals. …Approximately one year after they began, the festivals were celebrated at the last village in the southern end of the Paiwan territory…On the way back to Mt. Tjagalas (Djakalaus), the ancestral spirits returned to each village again in the same order in reverse, when a post-festival was held… It is noteworthy, however, that there was no ethnic cohesion culturally and politically among the Paiwan even through they are of the same derivation. Villagers held festivals according to their traditional calendar, not in recognition of the entire route travelled by the ancestral spirits. Villagers knew only the dates of the festivals in their adjacent villages (Matsuzawa, 1989, pp.42-43).

The Five year Festival held by most of the Paiwanese villages was thus in accord with the route of inland migration. As Tung states, this festival is a commemoration of Paiwanese ancestors in their sacred homeland –Mt. Djakalaus.

According to Chiang, this inland migration is significant for the understanding of Paiwanese social structure and organization because it provides a frame of reference in which each village conceives of its state of existence and defines its relationship with

20 This means the time sequence of the five-year-rite festival was not regulated by a cultural or political force, but spontaneously accorded with a time sequence from north to the south, following the inland migration routes.

21 Personal communication with Tung, April 26, 2014
other villages. People of one particular village can always point out the village or 
villages from where they came from and they boast about those villages that were 
-founded by their emigrant ancestors. Ideally, a natal village founded earlier in time 
-retains a degree of ritual and political superiority over its offspring villages (Chiang, 
1993, P59). Thus, the inland migration history provides evidence for proving the “natal-
derivative” relationship among the villages of the Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group. Chiang 
states that: “crucial to the migratory history are the episodes that detail the causes of 
hiving off by villages, the process of migration, and the disputes between the different 
social units which were formed by the migration” (Chiang, 1993, p.60).

2-8 Colonial period
Taiwan has experienced rule by several colonial authorities since the Dutch arrived in 
1624. Here, I will investigate the development of the historical period after 1895, when 
the Japanese took over Taiwan. My account of this historical colonial period is 
summarized from the work of Bien Chiang (1993). In his thesis, Chiang mentions that 
Japan took over Taiwan in 1895 after it had defeated China in the war of 1894. The 
Japanese administrative office in charge of Aboriginal Affairs was a well-organized one 
(Chiang, 1993, P51). It remained a two-track system with two objectives: economic 
development and law enforcement. Police stations and schools were established in most 
major villages. In some Paiwanese villages, one chief was chosen from a number of 
competing chiefs and installed by the Japanese to serve as the village leader. This, in 
some cases, aggravated ambiguities that were inherent in the social hierarchical system.

Another administrative project that had the same effect on Paiwanese social structure 
was “forced relocation”. After 1920, and decades of military confrontation, the Japanese 
authorities felt it necessary to “improve the living conditions” of the pacified 
Aborigines (Chiang, 1993, P51). They introduced wet rice farming, cattle herding and
the silkworm industry. Some of the least accessible villages in the mountains were relocated in order to facilitate the overall economic reforms. Some Paiwanese villages were dis-incorporated and relocated with populations from other Paiwanese villages. With the end of World War II in 1945, the Nationalist Chinese government (KMT) regained control of Taiwan. The most important administrative campaign to be launched by the Chinese authority, one that has greatly affected the Paiwanese social hierarchy, was a land reform project of the late 1960s (Chiang, 1993, P51). The project was carried out over the entire mountain reservation and among all indigenous groups in Taiwan. Under this system, every man and woman who was capable of agricultural work was granted plots and given legal title to them. Thus, some Paiwanese chiefs were deprived of their nominal titles and the privileges they had enjoyed in the past.

In spite of the loss of land and titles and formal political power to the modern state system, many Paiwanese chiefs continue to exercise influence in local politics by manipulating elections and party machines. In their contacts and confrontations with foreign powers, Paiwanese chiefs were invariably regarded as de facto rulers, or even monarchs in their villages. In peace time, they acted as administrators, and were held responsible for outbreaks of violence. After more than three hundred years of colonial history, however, because of the loss of their political and economic privileges, the present situations of the chiefly families are quite varied. Thus, the colonial period set the distinction between the traditional and contemporary Paiwanese society.

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22 The abbreviation of “Chinese Nationalist Party”: Kuomintang

23 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, July 08, 2011

24 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, July 08, 2011
Conclusion

This chapter explored the natal-derivative relationships through the introduction of Paiwanese social organization and structure as well as its inland migration routes. In the first part of the chapter, the Paiwan sub-groups and their geographical distribution was introduced. Secondly, I introduced the sacred homeland, Padain, which is believed to be the life generating place in Vutsulj/Butsul sub-group. Through the formation of a tribe at this Padain area, the basic rule of organizing of Paiwanese society has been demonstrated. Primogeniture plays a central role in Paiwanese social organization and the structuring of genealogical relationships. The principle of primogeniture is integral to the reproduction of hierarchical structure of Paiwanese society. The succession rule underlies the structure of relationships between families and villages. The route of Paiwanese inland migration can also testify this natal and derivation relationship. The five-year-festival held by the newly established villages following the migration route can be seen as a memorization toward their ancestors from the original homeland – Mount Djakalaus.
Chapter Three: The history of the Pakedavai chiefly family

Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the formation of a tribe according to the oral history of a particular chiefly family – the Pakedavai. I show how the family’s oral history establishes its connection with their natal family in the locality where their culture originated. I discuss some of the key material objects which are significant, both for this family, and in the context of Paiwanese society as a whole. These objects, referred to in the family song as symbols of its power, are also featured in the family stories. They are insignia of the power and authority of upper class families and commemorate the establishment of the chiefly family in a tribe. My analysis shows how certain material objects are integral to the process of demonstrating power in Paiwanese society.

The Paiwanese upper class can be divided into two: chiefly families and the other *mamazangilan* families. The chiefly families also can be classified as originating families or branch families that are derived from the originating families. Originating families have their own specific myths, called *mirimiringan*, to explain how the families came into being, and thus to substantiate their authority (Rulji, 2003, pp. 63-97).

Although the Pakedavai family can be connected genealogically to its natal family belonging to the Butsul sub-group, it cannot claim the same myths. The originating families, when they separated from the originating lands – the Padain regions – did not preserve their myths intact. Many of the myths of origin, or genesis myths and stories, changed as a result of interactions with other groups during the inland migration period. The Paiwanese incorporated elements from the stories of other indigenous groups to add to their own. In addition, chiefly families modified the myths or stories based on their
own family histories. Thus, it is now very hard to trace the myths of origin belonging to the Padain system and Pakedavai family members have no idea about the myths of origin of their natal family that belonged to Padain system.

Part One: History of the Pakedavai

Fig. 3-1: The Pakedavai slate house in Sandimen village

The chief family in Sandimen is named Pakedavai and its members have their own story about where its ancestors came from, as well as their own history of the creation and establishment of the family. The Pakedavai family trace their history back for a period of eight hundred years; stretching its ancestry back to a particular person. The Pakedavai family was defined as the core family of a tribe named the Tjaravacalj, located to the north of the Sandimen area. Sandimen used to be one part of the family’s territories. In 1944, in order to take control of the area, the Japanese imperial administration ordered the Pakedavai family to leave the Tjaravacalj tribal region and

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25 Personal communication with M.Z. Gadu, April 28, 2014

26 Tjaravacalj tribe was the largest tribe living in the northern areas of the Butsul sub-group before the Japanese colonization (Pakedavai, 2011, p. 3).
move to Sandimen village\textsuperscript{27}. As a consequence, some villagers of the Tjaravacalj tribe went to Sandimen to build a slate house for the Pakedavai chief family and hold a ceremony to inform the ancestral spirits of the Tjaravacalj tribe of their people’s impending arrival. The family then moved to the place had assigned to their tribe by the Japanese\textsuperscript{28}.

\textbf{3-1-1. Myth as history}

The Paiwanese have been divided into two sub-groups (see chapter two, page 23). Each has its own main genesis myths. Those myths explain how humans were born into the world through the actions of gods or other mediums, such as the pot, the snake and the sun. These myths of origin still have profound associations with the original \textit{mamazangilan} families in the tribal region where Paiwanese culture originated. Traditionally, the right to tell genesis myths is restricted to the members of \textit{mamazangilan} or the members and the middle-classes; a shaman could also tell these stories. Commoners don’t have the right to tell any of these stories.

Reflecting on my interviews with Paiwanese elders, I have concluded that they tend to view myths as we regard history. The Paiwanese language has a word, \textit{mirimiringan}, which refers to myths and stories. According to the research of Hu (2011), the linguistic root of the word, \textit{mirimiringan} is \textit{miring}, which means “passing by”, and \textit{miringan} means “forever”; thus, \textit{mirimiringan} refers to stories passed on from generation to generation (Hu, 2011, p. 145). In her thesis \textit{The sense of history reflected in Paiwanese folk narratives}, the author, Yan-Siou Lin, discusses the sense of history incorporated in

\textsuperscript{27} During Japanese colonial period in 1930s, the Paiwanese people dwelled in scattered tribes were forced to move to flat mountain area to be centred in certain colonial administrative organizations (Tung, 2001, p.151).

\textsuperscript{28} Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, June 15, 2011
Paiwanese stories and myths (Lin, 2005). She includes in her research data individual accounts of their own history by Paiwanese scholars, such as Chung-fa Tung (Tung, 2001), and Kui Wang (Wang, 2002). When these authors discuss the origins of Paiwanese culture, they refer to myths, including those about people being born of the sun, the snake and the sacred pot, to account for the birth of their culture. Lin takes myths and stories as representing the Paiwanese sense of history. Other Taiwanese researchers, however, acknowledge the differences between “imaginative” history and “real” history. According to Taili Hu (2011), Paiwanese oral history can be divided into two kinds: tjautsiker and mirimiringan. In tjautsiker, or “stories with historical attributes”, the characters and contents of the story are constant and are not transformed over time. The listeners believe that the stories are all true. The other kind of oral history is mirimiringan. In the case of mirimiringan, the characters in a story can change their forms, and also, no one can trace their origins (Hu, 2011, pp. 144-145). The oral history of the Pakedavai family thus belongs to the first type, tjautsiker, which traces the family origins back to the first ancestor, a real person. The story has been passed down for over eight hundred years. The details of the oral history of this particular family can be related to histories from other tribes and can be used to establish their truth.

The Pakedavai family is not one of the originating families that mythologized their past. Its own history, however, is an example of that of a branch tribe which was separated from its natal family. The family’s historical accounts help descendants identify the natal family from which they are derived. The material objects mentioned in the family

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29 According the oral history told by members of the Pakedavai family, the time frame of their history is about eight hundred years. However, they probably miss some records of past generations because there are only twelve generations which are clearly accounted for in the history of this family.
song, and the stories created by family members have helped the family to enhance and justify their leadership because of their link to the power of the originating family.

3-1-2. The tjautsiker of the Pakedavai

The following historical story was told to me while I was in Sandimen during the period of my fieldwork. I have taken the liberty of interpreting what several individuals told me. The story is as close as possible to the original accounts. The people who told me this story were all members of the Pakedavai family. Their names are: Aluwai, Zepulj and Ahlifu Pakedavai. Aluwai and Zepulj belong to the tenth generation of Pakedavai and Ahlifu belongs to the eleventh. Zepulj’s father was Basulang Pakedavai, who was a ninth generation descendant of the Pakedavai family, and inherited the Pakedavai house. His first-born daughter was named Zuljezulje, and she was supposed to have inherited the house, but, she died of a fever at the very young age of 22. Her son, Ljaucu Pakedavai, succeeded her position. The story is as follows:

Hundreds of years ago (according to the family tree of the Pakedavai family, it may have been over eight hundred years ago) there was a chiefly family, called Taluzalun, belonging to the Tavadawan tribe located in the northern part of Sandimen village. At this time, there were two daughters and a son in the Taluzalun family. The boy was very fond of hunting wild

Fig. 3-2: Painting of Saulalui by Zepulj Pakedavai

30 During June to October, 2011

31 The family members are not so sure about the exact time of the beginning of their family; they told me that eight hundred is an approximate time of their family history.
game. When he grew up, he went to the western part of his family’s territory, far from his hometown, to hunt wild game. On the way back, he and his followers passed through a place named Tjaravacalj. Their dogs, however, did not want to leave Tjaravacalj. The dogs were so determined to stay that the boy and his followers left them there and went back to the Tavadawan tribe without them. When the boy explained this to his parents and the tribal elders, some of the elders said: “The place where your dogs chose to stay must have plenty of water resources, and the land must be very fertile. That’s why the dogs didn’t want to come back.” The boy loved his dogs so much that he wanted to go to the place where they had chosen to stay and dwell there with them. So, he chose some followers to take with him and set out for Tjaravacalj to form a new tribe. After they arrived at Tjaravacalj, they began building dwellings and planting food crops. After a period of time, the boy’s second sister began to miss him and wanted to visit him. She took several families with her to Tjaravacalj to look for her brother. When they appeared, the boy was so glad to see her that he gave her the house in which he lived, and built another one for himself. After that, the population of the Tjaravacalj tribe grew steadily, as many people were attracted to join the tribe because the fertility of land and its water resources. Because the population increased so much, the people of the tribe formed several new family groups.

The dominant mamazangilan family of this Tjaravacalj tribe at that time inherited their status from, or traced their status back to, the Taluzalun, the tribe the sister and brother belonged to before they set off to establish the new tribe. The later chiefs who governed the tribe, however, became lazy; they cared nothing about the tribespeople, and they wasted the tribe’s resources through personal overuse. No matter how much the elders and wiser men tried to persuade the members of the chief family to care for their people, they refused to listen. The people of the tribe therefore became unhappy and fearful of
neighbouring enemies. Meanwhile, neighbouring tribes, such as the Wudai (belonging to the Rukai group), and the Paiwan (a central tribe of the Butsul sub-group) also discovered this fertile land; they discovered too, that this Tjaravacalj tribe lacked adequate leadership. These neighbouring tribes therefore made plans to invade the Tjaravacalj tribe and take over their territory so that they could enlarge their own lands.

When the invasion began, some big game areas and rivers in Tjaravacalj territory were taken over by their enemies. Members of the Taluzalan *mamazangilan* family in the Tjaravacalj tribe did nothing to prevent or counteract the aggression. They cared nothing for their people’s suffering, which made the situation even worse. Finally, the people of the Tjaravacalj tribe lost complete trust in their *mamazangilan* leaders and began to seek help elsewhere. The elders assembled the remaining tribespeople and said to them: “Our *mamazangilan* leaders care nothing for us, they don’t even care that our lands and our lives were taken. Many people have left us, and there are just five families left in this place. We must defend ourselves, to save our lives and survive. So, we need to find another leader who can protect us.” The tribespeople agreed, and so all the remaining villagers set out to find another leader who would be able to lead them against their enemies. When the people sent out to seek a new leader returned, they reported that they had found one *mamazangilan* family that would be equal to their expectations. The name of this family was Kazangizan, and it was located in one of the original homelands called, Padain, of the Paiwan group. The Kazangizan family was the most powerful originating family in the Padain area. Some people from Tjaravacalj tribe were sent to this family to ask them to provide a leader to help the Tjaravacalj tribe. The chief of the Kazangizan family told them that, in order to meet this request, the people of the Tjaravacalj tribe must provide for this future leader a house, land, rivers, and rights of leadership. The Tjaravacalj people agreed, and said that they would like to give
a house, land and authority to the new leader. So, the youngest daughter of the heir of the Kazangizan family came with them, offering to save the Tjaravacalj tribe. This youngest daughter was named Saulalui, and she was a woman of great ability and wisdom.

When Saulalui arrived at Tjaravacalj, the elders and the people welcomed her and presented her with the lands, rivers and hunting areas that had once belonged to the Taluzalun family, and started to build a house for her to dwell in. The house was named Pakedavai and it became the centre of authority for the Tjaravacalj tribe. When Saulalui first set out for the Tjaravacalj tribe, she had asked some families to go with her to assist her. Five families had accompanied her. They were the Luvaniau, the Cukinalimen, the Kalavayan, the Dalianie and the Dadake families. These five families, along with the Pakedavai, formed a new family group and the Pakedavai has become the core family among them. Although there were still other family groups in the Tjaravacalj tribe, when Saulalui took leadership of the tribe, she became its chief and her family became the chief family. Today, all these five families have moved to Sandimen village to keep their connection with the Pakedavai family.

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32 The basis of the formation of this kind of “family group” is corporation rather than genealogy.
Saulalui had been married to the eldest son of the Vavulengan family of the Makazayazaya tribe before she went to the Tjaravacalj tribe. She already had two sons, the older one named Palu and the younger one, Kui. She left her older son with the Vavulengan family as heir and took Kui to the Tjaravacalj tribe. When Saulalui and the five other families arrived, the house for her and her family to live in had already been built. Saulalui settled in and helped the other five families who followed her to build their houses in a very short time. After they had all settled in, they started to plan to attack the enemies from other tribes. Saulalui encouraged the people of the Tjaravacalj tribe to change their life style and become more enterprising, so the people started to plant crops such as millet, sweet corn and taro. She also told the people to economize on the use of provisions, and made a granary to store food in preparation for possible bad harvest seasons. Saulalui collected the women together and had them weave, knit and dye their own cloth. After this, the people no longer lacked food or clothes, and they lived in comparative affluence. Saulalui then urged the people to construct facilities to defend themselves against possible enemies. They built a watchtower, a wooden wall and a gate. She also had the men of the tribe make weapons such as lances, arrows, knives and ash missiles (the ash was wrapped in taro leaves). When these preparations were completed, Saulalui declared war on their enemies. The tribes of Wudai and

33 This Vavulengan family was also descended from one of the originating family at Padain area. However, its status is lower than the Kazangizan family. Therefore, the Pakedavai house was descended from Kazangizan through Saulalui instead of from Vavulengan.
Paiwan, although taken aback, retaliated and joined the fight. When those two tribes arrived on the riverbank opposite the Tjaravacalj tribe, they saw Saulalui sitting on a big rock, nursing her child. The tribes consulted with each other and said: “Isn’t she the chief named Saulalui from the Padain area? If she is sitting there, we can’t go past her and fight with the people of the Tjaravacalj tribe.”

Saulalui was a clever woman. She ordered the people of her tribe to make several sets of clothing for each person, so all the people could change their clothes more often than once a day. Using this strategy they tricked their enemies into thinking that they saw certain people entering a house, but different ones leaving; and so they couldn’t count how many people were in the village. Saulalui led her people to victory in several battles. In their final fight against the Payuan tribe, they hurled ash bullets at the enemy. The ash went into their eyes so they couldn’t see. Nearly all the warriors of the Payuan tribe were killed in this battle: just one man survived to go back to his village to tell his people to end the war. After these battles, nobody dared to attack the Tjaravacalj tribe again. The people of the tribe started to lead prosperous lives and the name of the Pakedavai family was widely recognized from then on. However, Saulalui didn’t settle for just defeating her enemies, she also wanted to expand her territory. She took a number of men with her on an expedition to achieve this. At first, they travelled to the

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This is because Paiwanese people believe that chiefs cannot be killed because they are mediators between man and God.
north and arrived at Maulin village. There, they made contact with the chiefly family, the Lasalian. When the Lasalian asked who she was, she replied that she was Saulalui of the Pakedavai family of the Tjaravacalj tribe, and she wanted her territory to extend into theirs. The Lasalian family asked her to go inside their house and gave her a sacred pot called Kulali, which represents power and authority.

Asking her inside and giving her the pot symbolized that the Lasalian family agreed that Saulalui’s lands had been extended into their territories, and they would make a boundary line between the lands in peace. The Kulali pot also played an important role in that it signified that the seeking of land was a peaceful endeavour, and that authority was given to Saulalui because of her supreme power at that time. The Kulali is a special pot because normally a Paiwanese pot wouldn’t have had its own name. It was evidence of Saulalui’s power, and also the power of the Pakedavai family. Saulalui didn’t take the pot back home herself; instead, the Lasalian family carried the Kulali to the Tjaravacalj tribe in their own hands. Today, this event is still commemorated by the two families on special occasions and the Kulali is displayed to represent this shared history.

After that success, Saulalui moved rapidly to the south to claim more land. The southern tribe she visited was the Kapiyan. When she arrived there, she claimed her right to the

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Figure 3-4: The pot Kulali belonging to Pakedavai family
land before the chief’s family, the Rielulje of Kapiyan. She did not, however, go inside the chief’s house; but, having achieved her goal, returned home. After this, Saulalui successfully incorporated lots more land into the Pakedavai dominion. This expansion of territory symbolized the power and wisdom of Saulalui, and together with the pot Kulali, represented the power of the Pakedavai family.

These exploits of Saulalui’s are said to have occurred over eight hundred years ago, and are even now recounted by the Tjaravacalj tribespeople. The Pakedavai, the leading family of the Tjaravacalj, and its tribespeople were moved to Sandimen village under the Japanese. The descendants of the Pakedavai family claimed that the area of Sandimen was under its control before the Japanese invasion of Taiwan. However, Sandimen village was for a long time occupied and ruled by several chiefly families separately and the Pakedavai was one of them. The other other chiefly families with their tribespeople were also forced to move to the Sandimen town by the Japanese authority. Those chiefly families all claim the main leadership upon the Sandimen tribe. Tung, in his book *The history of Formosan aborigines – Paiwan*, argues that Sandimen (Tjimur) village had been occupied by three main tribes before the Japanese, the biggest one being the Tjaravacalj, and the other two the Sidure and the Pinaula (Tung, 2001, p. 72). Another research, Wang, also records that the Pakedavai family owned the majority of the lands of the Tjaravacalj tribe and the Tjimur (Sandimen) tribe (Wang, 2005, pp. 70-72). These statements fit in with the Pakedavai oral history. Today, political leadership has shifted from members of the chiefly family to the Sandimen Township.\footnote{In modern Paiwanese society, the authority that used to belong to members of the *mamazangilan* class has shifted to governmental or political institutions like police offices and regional governments since the KMT government took over Taiwan.}
but the villagers spiritually follow their own chiefly families and those families still maintain a certain degree of authority and influence in this area.

**Part Two: The significance of this oral history**

**3-2-1. The Pakedavai – a derived household**

In contrast to the myths which explaining the birth of the first human being or the universe, the oral history of the Pakedavai family explains the formation of a *mamazangilan* family, deriving from an originating chiefly family, the Kazangizan, in one of the earliest places where Paiwanese culture emerged. The oral history recounts the formation of the leadership in one tribe and the nature of relationships between tribes including warfare, the granting of lands, and the making of alliances. It also explains the basis of the power of this particular family and through its relationship with the originating family. The case introduces the concept of a natal-derivative relationship between an originating family and one that hives off from it. The leading chief, Saulalui, of the Tjaravacalj tribe came from the Kazangilan family of the Padain area. Saulalui is a direct decedent (the youngest daughter) of the chief of the Kazangilan family and the establishment of the Pakedavai family exemplifies the extension of power from the natal household to the derived one. The story also shows how a material object—the pot Kulali—played the role of objectifying the authority of the powerful family and became an object of agency, demonstrating power from then on.

Saulalui, the apical ancestor of the Pakedavai family, is believed to have been a historical person and the stories are understood to be evidence as to how the house and the family became powerful. However, there are also stories attached to the family which have emerged and been embellished over time that are not confirmed by historical facts. The family developed its own oral stories, passing on these stories from
generation to generation, often with beads and eagle feathers as the main characters. All of these stories, including the stories and the oral histories, have enhanced the cultural power of this chiefly family.

3-2-2. The power of a chiefly family

The Paiwanese emphasize the importance of households. The essential elements comprising the Paiwanese concept of a “household” are: a house, a house name and the members of the family who live in the house (C. Tan, 2004, p. 13). The power of a Paiwanese chief comes from his/her own lineage, which can be traced to his/her originating family, and his/her own power derives from these related families. The power of a chiefly family is also proportional to the amount of property it owns. Members of the most powerful chiefly families display their wealth, and the declaiming of the house name in public is equivalent to itemizing the family lands, treasures, gaming animals, and crops grown by its tenants. The more property a house had, the more people attest to its authority. The property owned by the main family is therefore, both an indication of the size of the tribe and a measure of the allegiance of its members.

The story of the Pakedavai family described above is an illustration of the legitimation of power. From the beginning of Pakedavai history, the power of the Pakedavai house was derived from Saulalui’s family- the Kazangizan of the Padain region. Padain is viewed as one of the most sacred places in Paiwanese territory, because it is one of the oldest regions. Many Paiwanese creation stories are believed to have originated in the Padain region (see chapter two, pp.3-4). The Kazangizan family is the most powerful chiefly family in Padain. Saulalui came from this family, which is sacred among the Paiwanese tribes, so she carried the status and authority from this family. Saulalui’s derived her power from there, and so the Pakedavai house originated there.
Part three: Relating stories to objects inside the house

The oral traditions of the Pakedavai family along with its family song and stories (mirimiringan), attest to the authority of a mamazangilan family. In this section I will describe the material objects referred to in the family song and stories, to show how they can act as social agents to enhance the hierarchical power of an upper class family. The stories and history relating to a particular chiefly house are deemed to be the collective history of the tribe, and the whole tribe shares the same myths and stories.

My main informant Zepulj Pakedavai belongs to the tenth generation of the family. When she was very young, Zepulj was eager to learn her family’s history and the cultural significance of various artefacts. She was a well-known teacher at elementary schools in the Sandimen area and is now retired. Her teaching materials and ideas came mainly from Paiwanese culture. She was very good at combining cultural elements with creative approaches to teaching. Some of the most famous artists in Sandimen village today were her students. Zepulj is not only a highly regarded teacher but also a respected member of the mamazangilan class. She bears the responsibility of passing cultural knowledge on to further generations. During my fieldwork at Sandimen village in 2010, I stayed with her for three months to learn about the cultural knowledge associated with this Pakedavai family.

Fig. 3-5: Zepulj Pakedavai is explaining the meanings of her bracelets to a tourist at a harvest ceremony in Sandimen village, 2012
3-3-1. The transmission of knowledge

The Paiwanese people did not have a writing system for transmitting knowledge before Japanese colonization. Before the school system was established by the colonial governments of Japan and KMT, the Paiwanese used the spoken word to convey and transmit their cultural knowledge. Those who passed on knowledge were normally upper class elders: people with a history of experience, and great hunters who have the skills and experience necessary for living in the mountains. Commoners could go to the old slate house of a chief and listen to stories of tribal history and cultural significance.

In order to learn systematically they needed to be persistent. The members of a mamazangilan family could not deny requests from people who wanted to learn from them. The Paiwanese believe that systematic organized tribes were established after the emergence of the mamazangilan class, so some aspects of cultural knowledge are considered to be a right of this class. Commoners respect the upper class and are shy about asking for knowledge of histories, ceremonies and the meanings of some artefacts. This protocol is still commonly followed. During my investigations, some commoners told me that they have no right to talk about some things, including the origin myths. Just as the commoners seem not to have had access to some aspects of cultural knowledge, the members of the mamazangilan class consider it’s their right to preserve that knowledge and transmit it. This is given as the reason why, before certain ceremonies, especially weddings, senior members of the mamazangilan class are consulted regarding particular details.

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36 According to a descendant from the Talimarau family, the famous Paiwanese artist Sakuliu, when he was young, he went to the Talimarau chief house every day to learn cultural knowledge with the chief and his wife. Sakuliu has become a famous cultural mediator to convey the Paiwanese knowledge to the outside society later.

37 Personal communication with Zepulj, July 12, 2011
In the next sections, I will introduce two cultural forms through which the Paiwanese transmit cultural knowledge: one is a family song, and the other is stories. The songs and stories are the cultural property of the Pakedavai family. Knowledge is transmitted in part through the meanings conveyed by the material objects. The objects can be viewed as symbols that convey cultural meanings. And although the exegesis may differ and interpretations may vary, the cultural meanings that are activated through objects generate broadly similar understanding of Paiwanese culture.

3-3-2. The Paluvake (family song) of the Pakedavai

In this part, I will discuss the words of a family song and some concepts of the cultural knowledge of the Pakedavai family. The song words and the objects complement each other in the process of oral transmission, and the exegetical tradition involves the interrelationship between the two. I will present the words first, then analyse the material objects which are referred to the song and discuss their cultural significance. In the second part of this section, I will introduce the stories (mirimiringan) associated with the Pakedavai family. The argument here is that the objects that are endowed with social significance in the family song and the stories demonstrate the social agency of power in Paiwanese society.

The song of a chiefly family tells of the family’s power and wealth. The song manifests the prestige of the family and its origins, lands and rivers. Among the northern Paiwanese, only the Pakedavai and the Talimarau families have their own family songs. These songs are sung by the senior members of the tribe before a ceremony begins. I was told that the family song of the Pakedavai is always sung by one elder of this family. Lavauz Pakedavai is the only person who knew the words of this song before it was written down for the first time. Today, the song is printed on canvas and hangs on the wall of the old slate house of the Pakedavai family. Whenever a family ceremony is
held, part of the song is sung by the elders of the family. The song is said to have been passed on with the same tune from the time of Saulalui. Below, I will reproduce this song translated from Chinese into English. An exegesis of each phrase will be given under the translation or be introduced as footnotes. The song refers to certain material objects that are viewed as insignias of the power of mamazangilan families. The exegesis of each line is taken from the Chinese translation that accompanies the Paiwanese texts as well as from the interpretation given by members of the Pakedavai family.

The First line
Ai~ aui~ malice ngn seketayan urimamiling naken malic

The walls of the Pakedavai chief’s house were made of sacred pots. The power of the house extended beyond the house and the tribe. The chief’s house was honoured by the tribespeople, we called it lalauc, meaning “the most powerful of all Paiwanese houses”.

The first section describes that the power of the Pakedavai family. The sacred pots (reretan) symbolize the power of the house (umaq), and the Pakedavai are known as the lalauc family among the mamazangilan families. That means that members of the Pakedavai family have very great power over the people in their tribe.

The second line
Ai~aui~ilaniyane tu linisu ilaivane tu vulavan ai~aui~

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38 The translations from Chinese to English are done by me in each line and will be put in italic style.

39 A Paiwanese house has its own name according to the social status of the persons who dwell inside. The Paiwanese endowed a house with life as if it is a person.

40 The house of the family, leading all the mamazangilan families in a tribe, is called the lalauc.
The very significant tjakit (sacred bronze knife) was shining on the wall, and the heavy baliyuk (a small granary) is smoking with food within it.

The sacred bronze knife here symbolizes the power of the specific house, and the small granary signified the peaceful and wealthy lives Saulalui brought to the tribespeople.

The third line

Ai~aui~utataveavan tu engnlangai ai~aui~

The treasured ada (glass beads) were strung on several strings then hung up to be clotheslines. These beautiful ljavuan (costumes) were shining like rainbows in the sky.

The glass beads and the splendid costumes in this line symbolized the great power and wealthy condition of the Pakedavai house.

The fourth line

Ai~aui~nguvevevabaali seberaatitatumuan ai~aui~

The tiuma for the wedding ceremony was built so high! It was swinging to the east and to the west. It was swinging over the roof of the house and the tip of a tree.

The tiuma is constructed using four slim, high tree trunks. The tree trunks are tied together at the top, which makes the four trunks into a pyramid shape. A rope is hung from the top point of the pyramid, where the tree trunks are tied together. During her wedding ceremony, a bride from a mamazangilan family holds the rope and the groom pushes her so that she swings. The tiuma is believed originally comes from the Talimarau family in Ravar sub-group. In traditional times, only the girls and women from this family, or having a blood association with it, could swing on the tiuma.

However, the tiuma has now become a feature of all mamazangilan weddings. This line also indicates the huge areas of land the Pakedavai families own. Their boundaries cannot be seen.
Fig. 3-6: A *tiuma* was erected during two chief families' wedding ceremony at Sandimen village
The fifth line

Ai–aui– tubukuagukukang nukubainakulaten selemanakemaduan nuingiti ai–aui–

The boars that are carried in are still alive; the grain is heavy. The amount of prey is huge and the harvest of the grain is also great. The line of people carrying the offerings is long.

During wedding or other ceremonies, live boars and bountiful harvests symbolize the Pakedavai house’s supreme status among all the mamazangilan houses.
One legend of the Pakedavai family tells of a giant banyan tree in front of the old slate house. On the tree there were qacai (pork liver), qavuvang (pork heart) and kalipa (precious shells). The leaves of the banyan tree could turn into lots of Mulimulitan.

The pork liver, pork heart and the precious shells symbolize the power of the particular family. Mulimulitan is the Paiwanese glass bead with the highest status among all glass beads produced in this culture. This line says that the descendants of the Pakedavai family increase gradually in number.

In the harvest ceremony, the volume of bananas, taros and millet is formidable. The amount can turn a river into a deep pool.
This line means that the Pakedavai family was supported by its own tribesmen. It also implies that under the leadership of Saulalui, the Tjaravacalj tribe’s people had ample food and clothing, and lead contented lives.

**The eighth line**


taenganai ilavai upinatatetake ai–aui

*Sounds came from everywhere in the tribe, saying that we like to share the warmth of the sunlight, the moisture from the rain and the fertilizer from the land.*

This line expresses how, under the leadership of Saulalui, the tribes everywhere enjoyed peaceful and harmonious lives.

**The ninth line**


taetalutuengetan usitalukaluvun ai–aui–

*The Pakedavai house was paved, inside and out. The path was made of reretan (sacred pots), and when people go out of the house they stepped on the path of pots, which gave them the courage to face their challenges.*

*Fig. 3-9: The sacred pots beside the wall in the Pakedavai slate house*
This line describes the energy and power of the Pakedavai family and its responsibility for preserving Paiwanese culture and history.

**The tenth line**

*Ai–aui–adausiliku ngipaipailti inavaiai–aui–aui–*

This is the end of Paluvake (the family song), telling the navai (world) that we will persist with our appointed tasks. Please lead us in a righteous way, and we will fulfil our responsibilities and do what we should do, overcoming all the problems we might face.

This line proclaims that the Pakedavai family’s history and culture will succeed from generation to generation, and it will never end. The material objects which are referred to in the family song are: the sacred pot (*reretan*), the bronze knife (*tjakit*), glass beads (*ada*), costumes (*ljavuan*) and the framework of the swing (*tiuma*). The sacred pot and bronze knife are associated with the genesis myths of the *Ravar* sub-group, symbolizing the exclusive power of the originating *mamazangilan* family which has a relationship with a creator god (see chapter seven with more detailed demonstration); glass beads and costumes are objects which symbolize the wealth of the family and the swing framework, *tiuma*, is an indication of the power of a bride’s family at a *mamazangilan* wedding ceremony. The crops and hunting animals mentioned in this song represent the high status and considerable wealth of this family (Pakedavai, 2011, p. 84).

The objects mentioned in the song are symbols of the rights of a *mamazangilan* family within a Paiwanese tribe. However, they are significant throughout Paiwanese society: the sacred pot (*reretan*) and the bronze knife (*tjakit*) denote the original birth of human life on the earth; the framework of the wedding swing (*tiuma*) symbolizes the continuity of life; while glass beads and elaborate costumes are representations of wealth. They are
material culture objects that are integral to value-creation processes in Paiwanese society and to people’s ways of thinking about the world. As Daniel Miller argues: “If culture is understood not in the narrow sense of some particular element of the human environment, but in the more general sense of the process through which human groups construct themselves and are socialized, then material culture becomes an aspect of objectification, consisting in the material forms taken by this cultural processes. Hence to study material culture is to consider the implications of the materiality of form for the cultural process” (Miller, 2002).

**Part Four: The stories of the Pakedavai**

In this section my focus is on stories that I was told by members of the Pakedavai family. The stories have been passed on by the elders of the chiefly family from generation to generation. The stories of Saulalui, the founding ancestor of the Pakedavai, have considerable currency throughout the Tjaravacalj tribe. The Pakedavai, though not a family with myths of origins have had descendants who created stories

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41 A descendant of the Pakedavai family, Zepulj Pakedavai has published her thesis about her creative art associated with this family. In her thesis, she refers to the stories which influenced her art works. The stories I recorded primarily came from Zepulj Pakedavai.
(mirimiringan) belonging to the family. The stories are often woven around objects that become main characters of the stories – objects that are also central to the family song.

The stories are one of the ways in which objects that are not exclusive to any particular family, but are collective representations of the power for all mamazangilan families, become linked to a particular family. The stories were all created by members of the Pakedavai family by taking collective symbols to be the main characters in their stories. Those symbols with authority and power, such as pots, banyan tree, and glass beads, appear in different contexts such as songs and stories, with various interpretations. However, the shared meanings conveyed by them are all integral to broader processes of cultural production within Paiwanese society.

3-4-1. The story of the banyan tree

It is said that there was a banyan tree in front of the Pakedavai house in Tjaravacalj village. The tree was sacred because it was used by God in heaven to convey messages to the people belonging to the tribe. This banyan tree could also reveal miracles to the people. When leaves were sprouting on the tree, lots of kalipa (seashells) appeared on its eastern side; while many boar livers and hearts sprouted on the western side. Saulalui had someone climb the tree to pick kalipa to give to the warriors and great hunters, while livers and hearts were roasted and

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42 The chief’s house was marked with a banyan tree in its yard. The easily bred banyan tree with its twisted roots and intertwined joints symbolize the deep-rooted power of the chief family of a tribe (Zepulj, 2011, p.53). According to Zepulj, at the time when the Japanese colonial government forced the Pakedavai to move to the Sandimen area, the villagers of the Tjaravacalj tribe went to Sandimen to choose a place to plant a banyan tree. After the tree was established and growing well, the Pakedavai family group had started to move to the Sandimen village area.

43 In the genesis myth which describes the birth of first chief ancestor of the mamazangilan family in the Ravar sub-group, the first ancestor was provided with boar’s livers and hearts after she has been breast feeding (Pan, 1997b, p. 28)
given to the senior elders of the tribe. This story thus explains the traditional significance of food used on ceremonial occasions.

Saulalui had a daughter, named Mulimulitan, who liked to pick the leaves from the banyan tree in front of the Pakedavai house and play wonderful music on them. When she was playing her music, the fruit on the banyan tree turned into transparent glass beads. The beads fell onto the ground, and the people of the tribe picked them up to make necklaces and bracelets. There were so many beads that the Pakedavai families gathered them to string on rope to decorate clotheslines. This story illustrates the relationship between the status of particular bead, the Mulimulitan, and the most important chief family. In addition, it portrays the Pakedavai family as a very wealthy family because they have a lot of valuable beads. When autumn came, and the leaves of the banyan tree fell to the ground, the people of the tribe also picked them up, and kept them in their houses. Whenever the men went hunting, or the women planted crops on their farms, or new babies were born, the leaves were placed beside them to ward off harm from evil spirits.

3-4-2. The story of Aljis44 (The son of Deinagkistrodon acutus viper)

Zepulj told me that she heard this story from her father when she was a child. The story was repeated again and again as she grew up, and now, she wants to pass down the

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44 “Aljis” is the name of eagle in Paiwanese. Some Paiwanese call eagle feathers Aljis, too. This feathers features several duplicated triangular markings, representing the shapes on the sides of the one-hundred-paces snake (*Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper), which is viewed by the Paiwanese as a sacred animal. The Paiwanese believe that the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper is different from other species of snakes. When
same story to her descendants. An outline of the story is as follows: Long, long ago, there was a severe drought in the Tjaravacalj tribal area. The millet died, and there was no harvest of the sweet potatoes or taro; even the rivers ran dry. The people in the village cried in despair. They were afraid that they wouldn’t survive long in this situation. They burned sacrifices on the village altar to ask God in heaven to send them rain. Suddenly, there was a violent wind, and thunder sounded and lightning flashed from all directions. The Deinagkistrodon acutus viper descended to earth surrounded by clouds. At the same time, there came voices saying: “You will have plenty of rain and gentle breezes again. Your people will be happy again.” The sky turned very dark and a strong light shone from the peak of the mountain. When the people gathered to walk up the mountain, they saw a huge egg beginning to crack. With the thunder roaring, the egg finally broke open, and out came a handsome young man. He raised his hand to greet the people and announced: “I am the son of the one-hundred-paces snake; my name is Aljis.” Everyone was astonished.

Aljis waved his hand and called out to Fali, the god of wind, and suddenly the wind began to blow again. The people were glad of the delightful warm breeze. Aljis carried on calling out to the god of rain. He asked the god of rain, Wudale, to wake up and bring rain to the land, and rain began to fall on the earth soon after. Finally, Aljis called out to the god of flowers. He asked the god of flower to bring fragrance and beauty to the land, and it happened just as he asked. The people became very happy because the land had come to life again. Aljis also taught people how to plant crops, and how to make wine and rice cakes for their ceremonies. The tribe became rich and lived in

the snake is young, it is longer than when it grows old. A Paiwanese legend tells that when the snake became old and short, it eventually turned into an eagle (Aljis) and flew to the sky (Pan, 1998, p104). The eagle then became the chief to rule the sky; its feathers dropped to the ground, and then became the insignia of certain mamazangilan members (Personal communication with Zepulj, August 21, 2011).
harmony under his supervisions. When the villagers were happy again, evil spirits entered the tribe to spread diseases among them. Aljis saw that the people were suffering from the sicknesses caused by the devil, and he took up his sword to cast out the evil spirits. He also used the leaves of the banyan tree to heal the sick people. People were so appreciative of what Aljis had done for them that they wrote songs and poems in praise of his bravery.

A few years later, when Aljis had finally completed the task of saving the tribe, he had to go back to heaven. The people were so reluctant to part with him that they cried loudly, asking him to stay with them for good. But Aljis turned into an eagle and flew off to the sky. When he reached the sky, Aljis pecked at his feathers and they dropped to the ground. He said to the people: “These feathers signify my courage and my care for you. Those who pick up the feathers up will be images of me on the earth. They should
take care of the people in the tribe and help them to lead better and more peaceful lives.” This story is a very important source for the explanation of the significance of the eagle feathers to the Pakedavai family. Among all the ornaments and decorations that have symbolic meanings, eagle feathers are the most powerful and important. The restricted rules for wearing the eagle feathers will be further elaborated in chapter nine.

3-4-3. The stories of the glass beads

Paiwanese people share stories concerning glass beads with other tribes. Here I will introduce two bead stories specific to the Pakedavai family. Pakedavai family exegesis of other beads will be discussed in chapter six. Exclusivity and synthesis are significant features of Paiwanese culture, especially as these characteristics can be reflected in artefacts. These following stories of particular glass beads reveal these two contrasting notions.

Glass beads are looked as one of the three treasured objects in Paiwanese culture. Those objects are: the bronze knife (tjakit), the sacred pot (reretan), and glass beads (Personal communication with M. Z. Gadu, 28 May, 2012)
A. The story of the Mulimulitan bead

Every Paiwanese bead has its own story and role in society. The Mulimulitan is the most important of all the Paiwanese beads. Paiwanese people view this bead as the most elegant of beads. Therefore, the Mulimulitan bead is essential for every chief's wedding ceremony.

The groom should offer a “real” old glass Mulimulitan to express his sincerity to the bride. The description of the meaning of Mulimulitan bead is in chapter six (see pages: 169-173).

A Pakedavai story recounts that: the daughter of Saulalui was called Mulimulitan. She liked to swing under the banyan tree planted by her mother. When she was swinging, she also liked to sing. The higher she swung, the louder her voice became. Her songs turned the leaves of the tree into lots of transparent glass beads.

Mulimulitan is the name given to this particular bead. Normally Paiwanese people won’t give their children the same name as an artefact. The daughter of Saulalui was a character in a legend, so she was not necessarily a real person who had once lived. When I was in the field, however; I was told about a talented artist who gave his daughter this name. The issue had become quite controversial because he belonged to a common family and had used the name of an artefact exclusive to chief families. He has been criticized for doing so ever since because he has had no right to use this name. In contrast, my informant, Zepulj, has a five-year old granddaughter named Zalum (water).
When Zalum started to make sentences, Zepulj told her a simple story: “There is a girl called Mulimulitan. She is so lovely that everyone likes her very much. When she sits under the banyan tree, birds come to her to be her friends, the one hundred-paces snake also comes to her side, and then finally, everyone comes, including me”. This chiefly child learned about the Mulimulitan bead when she was very young, and so the meaning of Mulimulitan became an unobtrusive and imperceptible influence on her life early on. The right to access the object – Mulimulitan – including its name and meanings thus delineate a distinction between different classes and objectify the differentiation between classes.

B. The story of Luseq-na-Adau

Luseq-na-Adau means “tears of the sun”. *Luseq* is tears, and *Adau* is sun in Paiwanese. The bead is blue with white spots, representing the water drops from the sky. The story of this bead comes from a legend of the Talimarau family belonging to the Tavaran tribe of Ravar sub-group. The Luseq-na-Adau bead belonging to the Pakedavai family was brought by the wife of the ninth heir of the Pakedavai, Elayum, who came from the Talimarau family. However, the Pakedavai family has slightly changed the exegesis of the legend (compare with the similar story in chapter six, pages: 181-183). In stories, the original chief ancestor of the biggest northern tribe, Tavaran, was born of the sun.
This ancestor was a girl named Maljeveljev. She was the original ancestor of the Talimarau family. Maljeveljev became a leader of great ability when she grew up and led the tribe to create a wonderful society for people to dwell in. The sun in the sky was pleased to see this and he was moved to cry. The tears of the sun dropped on the ground and turned into glass beads. This bead is very rare in Paiwanese society. Some people in Sandimen even believe that the bead can only be found in stories and is too rare to be real. This story of the Luseq-na-Adau bead is borrowed from the original one belonging to the Talimarau family, illustrating the syncretic features of Paiwanese culture and reflecting the ways the natal-derivative relationship works between two influential families.

The Pakedavai have turned objects that are shared by *mamazangilan* families throughout Paiwanese society into components of their own family stories. The Pakedavai family have given the objects their own particular significance in recording their family history and representing its power. Some stories can trace their origin through the rights to ownership of particular objects. For instance, the Luseq-na-Adau bead was brought by the wife of the ninth heir who came from the Talimarau family in the Ravar sub-group. The story of this bead told by the Pakedavai connects the family to that sub-group through marriage.

**Conclusion**

This chapter can be divided into two parts. The first part of this chapter explores the formation of a chief family in one tribe through oral practice. The significant point raised in the oral history shows that the first ancestor of a particular family became the leadership of a tribe, and explains where the power of the chief family comes from. The oral history also expresses the natal – derivative relationship between this family and its originating household as well as showing cultural significance of traditional Paiwanese
tribal culture, which are: starting battles between tribes; expanding tribal territory; making alliances and showing how objects expressed authority. The oral history also reflects the impact of Japanese and Chinese colonial authority on indigenous groups of Taiwan.

The second part of the chapter examines how certain objects represent social agency in themselves and through their incorporation into the song and the stories of chiefly family. As Christopher Tilley has stated in his discussion the significance of things in a society, that “Things provide a powerful medium for materializing and objectifying the self, containing and preserving memories and embodying personal and social experiences” (Tilley, 2006). Through using of objects mentioned in their stories, such as eagle feather, sacred pot and glass beads in certain ceremonies, the Paiwanese people are activating the symbolized meanings of those objects through different contexts in their own culture. The objects are endowed with cultural or family significance and operate as an adjunct to memory in the recording of history and the transmission of authority from generation to generation in a family. The objects reflected in these stories and the songs are collective representations that demonstrate authority of the chiefly family. The objects, songs, and stories in their particularity emphasise the power and authority of the chiefly line of the Pakedavai family as well as reflecting and reinforcing a sense of shared identity among upper class of the Paiwanese society.
Chapter Four: The Paiwanese house and the symbolism of motifs on eave beams and of other forms

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the meanings of the motifs on the old Pakedavai slate house, explaining how these motifs convey cultural meanings as well as representing family history. The chapter is divided into three parts: in the first, I explain how the authority of the chief of a tribe is displayed on carvings in various positions on his/her dwelling. In the second part, I examine the ways in which motifs convey cultural meanings by means of a particular representational system. In general, carved motifs can be divided into two categories: figurative and non-figurative representations. I will explain how these two different types of representation encode meanings: first, by categorizing the sign system of motifs on beams, according to the kind of representational system they belong to, and then by outlining the ranges of meanings associated with those motifs.

The aesthetic quality of the motifs on eave beams will also be examined. In the third part of the chapter, I will analyse one symbolic motif: the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper, which occurs on eave beams as well as in other places of the traditional slate house.

The arguments in this chapter are, firstly, that different representational types of motifs reflect the different ways in which patterns encode cultural information. The motifs depict the continual transformation of cultural meanings over time, as well as being endowed with particular family or personal interpretations. Secondly, I consider the aesthetics of the motifs on the eave beams and argue that they should be appreciated in terms of Paiwanese cultural concepts as well as physical forms. Finally I focus on one of the key encompassing symbols of Paiwanese society: the *Deinagkistrodon acutus*
viper, which is the subject of many representations in a chief’s house and indeed is a component of its structure.

**Part one: The places of authority**

There are three locations where a chiefly family demonstrates its power: they are the eave beams and the main posts in the slate house, and a slate pillar in the courtyard. According to Chiang, “the usual or standard aristocratic dwelling, is distinguished by its carved eave beams and main posts” (B. Chiang, 1986, p.49). Chilu Chen notes that “One of the noteworthy features of Paiwanese houses is that the posts and eave beams of many of them, especially those of the nobility, have carved designs of human figures, human heads, snakes, deer, and other animals on them” (C. Chen, 1968, p. 293). These carved items include a slate pillar, sauljai; the main posts, referred to as the ancestor posts, supporting the ridge pole of a house; and the wooden eave beams, sasuayan. I argue that these carved objects are statements of chiefly authority and emphasize the hierarchical differences between classes. I was told by several villagers that the sauljai standing in the front court of a chiefly house\(^{46}\) is viewed as a ladder between heaven and earth (see Fig. 4-1). The Paiwanese people believe that they can communicate through the pillar with their ancestors and the spirit world, including the spirits of animals and plants.

There are three different forms of the sauljai: a plain slate stone pillar; a pillar carved with ancestral figure(s); and the third features a range of motifs illustrating a myth of origin connected to a family. The post(s) inside the slate house (see Fig. 4-3) are a manifestation of chiefly authority. According to Chiang, “usually a qeluz (the general name of a post in Paiwanese) is carved either with one human figure or a figure with

\(^{46}\) The chiefly house is in the central part of a tribe’s territory (Shiau, 2003, p. 70).
snakes or other animals. The human figure is either known by a personal name and remembered as the founder of the house, or is known as a heroic ancestor of the household” (Chiang, 1986, p. 51). The ancestor may appear as a character in the ancestral myths of the owning family. Some images on the sauljai and ancestral pillars are considered to be standardised representations of ancestors, instead of images of real persons. As I will discuss in the concluding section of this chapter the pillars and the eave beam that are central to the structure of the house are connected to the form of the Deinagkistrodon acutus viper.

The pillars inside and the sauljai outside the chiefly house mark the places where ancestral worship is conducted. During a ritual, the sacrifices are put in front of the sauljai as presentations to the ancestral spirits. In the case of the Pakedavai family I studied, the family members perform this ceremony once a year. Motifs on the posts focus on ancestral connections, while the motifs on wooden eave beams have a wide variety of cultural meanings. In the next section, I will focus on these meanings.
Fig. 4-1: A sauljai telling the myth of a family at Ching-shan village

Fig. 4-2: An inner house ancestral pillar displays in the Cultural Affairs Department of Pintung County

Fig. 4-3: A drawing of the Pakedavai slate house by Zepulj Pakedavai
4-1-1. Motifs inspired by Paiwanese myths and history

The motifs on the post and eave beams represent myths belonging to the particular families occupying the house. Originally the designs were viewed as “family marks,” distinguishing different chiefly families from each other. In the past, according to Kadrangian, they were recognized as a form of “copyright” in Paiwanese culture (Kadrangian, 2011, p. 238). Each chiefly family had its own style of carving, or used a particular combination of motifs to depict the myth belonging to the family. However, some thousands or so years ago, a flood occurred in the area where the Paiwanese originally dwelled, and forced the people to move southward. After the move, some tribes were reconstructed, and the centre of authority was altered or reshaped among groups of families in different localities. This situation influenced the use of motifs: they were distributed among several families and then spread from their places of origin to other families because of marriage affiliations. Restrictions on the right to use motifs eased, and each chiefly family in a tribe claimed the right to carve their own family story on their house (Kadrangian, 2011, p. 233). Interpretations of motifs have increased since then, and their use has become less restricted\(^47\).

Carved motifs no longer belong exclusively to particular families connected with originating ancestors, and have become the authority marks for certain powerful mamazangilan families. The originating families can sometimes have disputes over the rights of inheritance and as a result may divide their authority between different descent families. Sometimes the heir of this kind of family may not inherit exclusive authority in a region where other mamazangilan families have. In contemporary society, authority has shifted from some of the members of chiefly families to the Taiwanese Han Chinese

\(^47\) The relationships of the carved motifs on the posts and eave beams between the families of origin and their descendant families need are unknown now and need to be further examined.
government; some symbolic motifs have become the marks of power of families who serve in the governmental system; some of the motifs, such as the triangle and the snake, have become ornamental decorations on the houses of ordinary people, representing general Paiwanese cultural identity.

Paiwanese motifs not only help to record family histories, they are also integrated into the myths and legends of various villages. Tribal history was mainly passed on by oral practices, and the carved motifs played an important part in preserving and recording that history. Today, oral practice continues to play an important role in transmitting histories. Zepulj told me that the Pakedavai family always had carvers who recorded major tribal events on the eave beams of their house. Because the core mamazangilan family is considered to be the “vusam” of all tribal families, the motifs on that family’s house can be seen as the “marks of this tribe”. People share the same memories and stories through the motifs on the wooden or stone structures of the house.

Since my main focus is on the motifs carved on the Pakedavai family’s house, I will go through the meanings of the motifs of this particular house and discuss the relations between the motifs and the family’s oral history. Zepulj Pakedavai explained the meanings of these motifs to me. In addition, some information about the motifs on the beams came from other members of the Pakedavai family as well as some villagers in the Sandimen area.
4-1-2. The motifs on the wooden eave beam, *sasuayan*

According to the Paiwanese artist, Sakuliu, the purpose of the carved wooden eave beams, called *sasuayan*, of a chief’s house is to commemorate significant events in the family history (S. Pavavaljung, 2011, p. 60). The motifs featured on the chiefly house reflect the specific accomplishments or stories of the particular families.

I was told by many elders of the Pakedavai family that the themes and motifs on the *sasuayan* can be originally traced back to the time of Saulalui, the first ancestor, when the people built the slate house to welcome her to dwell in Tjaravacalj village. The motifs represented the momentous events that had occurred during Saulalui’s time. The themes include battles with other tribes, victories in head-hunting wars, alliances made with other tribes and the enlargement of the tribal lands. The practice continues today and in the contemporary context has been widened to reflect changes that have occurred in the political structure. Successful politicians commission motifs to be carved on the door or wall of their houses, or onto a board erected in front of them. In one case, a person had his door carved with human figures to demonstrate his success in being
elected in as a political officer in Pintung County, where the Sandimen area is located. This case illustrates the continued power of carvings to glorify peoples’ achievements and at the same time it reflects the process of change by opening up the use of motifs to a broader sector of society. The extension of the practice beyond the elite families is, unsurprisingly, contested. In this case, the person was criticized by the chiefly members of the village because he is not a member of a chiefly family.

4-1-3. The historical interpretations of the eave beams

During the period of Japanese colonization (1890 –1940), the Japanese authorities initiated on a “new life movement”. This movement aimed to transform the social structure and the use of material resources in indigenous societies. The “movement” aimed at “improving the living standard of the Mountain Peoples”. It also included prohibition of traditional spiritual belief, rituals, healing magic. (S. Pavavaljung, 2011, p. 80). In the case of traditional slate houses, the Japanese asked the Paiwanese to make the ridge poles in their traditional slate houses higher up than they were before; this changed the nature of the sacred spaces in the houses. They also required them to eradicate the motifs on sasuayans and ancestral pillars, and prohibited them from carving patterns on eave beams, doors and pillars. In addition, the Japanese banned the traditional practice of burying the dead inside slate houses (S. Pavavaljung, 2011, p. 80).

Some Paiwanese resisted the Japanese demands where possible. The ninth descendent of the Pakedavai family, Basulang, refused to destroy the motifs on the sasuayan and the old ridgepole, and decided to bury them. When the Japanese forced the Tjaravacalj people to relocate to where they are now, the people of the village took the sasuayan and the ridgepole of the Pakedavai house with them to build a new slate house in the
Sandimen village. When the colonial period ended, the wooden items were dug up and the *sasuayan* was returned to its original place, but the ridgepole had rotted away.

I asked Zepulj whether the motifs on the eave beams had all been carved at one time, or sequentially in different periods. Zepulj replied that this cannot be determined now, and that all she could tell me is that the motifs on the eave beams recorded significant events from the time of the first ancestor, Saulalui, which were recounted by the members of this family from generation to generation. Although the original beams were not handed down, the motifs on them can still be interpreted, from those copies into newer beams, as a record of historical events during that time. The beams do not represent such family events in sequence; in contrast, meanings are conveyed by relating the motifs to events that happened during certain periods of time. Normally the interpretations of carvings signifying historical events are within tribal cultural constraints. Thus, the motifs on the wooden eave beams, accompanied by the family’s oral history, tell how certain wars were fought and how the Pakedavai family made alliances with other tribes during Saulalui’s time, in recognizable carved patterns which are believed to have originated in that period.

Zepulj told me that the numbers of event motifs depicted on the beams of the Pakedavai slate house are not the actual times an event occurred, but are meaningful symbols. It has been confirmed that the two eave beams were

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48 The themes of the carved motifs in Paiwanese chiefly houses are mainly the stories describing the originating ancestors.

49 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, June 15, 2012
originally brought from the Tjaravacalj tribe to Sandimen village during Japanese colonization. After they were moved to Sandimen, the carvings done by the ninth family heir, Basulan, were made on the available spaces on window shutters, frames and doors, to tell the stories of his generation. For example, he carved a person holding a gun on the door (see figure 4-5). According to Zepulj, this motif demonstrates that her father, Basulan, wanted to protect his tribe by using the Japanese weapon. The motifs are thus used to tell stories from different historical era.

Part Two: Forms and meanings of the motifs on the wooden eave beams

4-2-1. Paiwanese recording systems -- *Venesik*

According to the Paiwanese artist, Etan Pavavaljung, the Paiwanese refer to visual representation as “ve-ne-sik”. The root of the word, *venesik*, is *vecik*, which means “words” in Paiwanese, and the word *venesik* refers to the visual representations in lines and patterns on clothing, dwellings and utensils. Visual representations that appear on artefacts can be viewed as elements of a traditional Paiwanese writing system.\(^{50}\)

Another researcher, Chang-guo Tan, who is doing research on some aspects of Paiwanese material culture, claims that the narrow meaning of *venesik* is either the lines or circles drawn by people, or patterns in nature. According to him, broadly speaking, this word can refer to all materials that have lines or stripes on them, including embroidery on cloth, paintings, carvings and tattoos. When writing was introduced into Paiwanese society, it was also called *ventsik*\(^{51}\) (C. Tan, 2004, p. 127). The artist Sakuliu told me that this *venesik* is a kind of recording system, and includes the carvings on artefacts that records certain periods of the history of one’s family, or a tribe, or

\(^{50}\) Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, July 25, 2013

\(^{51}\) The spelling of this word in eastern Paiwan used by Tan is a bit different from the word in northern area.
Sakuliu also said that the artists who did the carvings or paintings are like storytellers; they inscribe accounts of meaningful incidents that have happened over time, on wood or stone slates, so that the tribespeople can learn about and remember these events. Before a writing system was introduced to the Paiwanese during Japanese colonization, in most cases, knowledge was transmitted by means of oral communication. Venesik, also played an important part in the transmission of knowledge among the Paiwanese and continues to do so even today.

4-2-2. Representational system of the motifs on wooden eave beams

In this section, I will explain the representational system of the motifs on the eave beams of the Pakedavai family house. Carved motifs appear in different styles according to their geographical locations, although similar themes occur. The themes of carving patterns are similar throughout the Paiwanese regions, and they are given the same names in different areas or families. For example, snake motifs are all referred to as the “Deinagkistrodon acutus viper” throughout the Paiwanese regions. The interpretation of how motifs encode or convey meanings, however, depends on contexts, such as tribal or family histories. Before I discuss the meanings of the motifs on the eave beam, I will first explain the representational system employed in these carvings.

Most of the motifs appearing on wooden eave beams can be classified into one of two representational categories: figurative and non-figurative. Figurative motifs have formal resemblances to the things they represent, such as human heads, fish and snakes, and their meanings can be taken directly from what they represent. In contrast, the meanings of non-figurative motifs are arbitrary and have to be interpreted by their owners, who

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52 Personal communication with Sakuliu Pavavaljung, July 12, 2011
are mostly members of chiefly families, and others who have learnt their meanings. Although figurative motifs have more direct meaning associated with their referents, they can be included in particular family stories to signify certain characteristics. For example, a human head motif can refer to a particular ancestor of a chiefly family. Thus, the family can associate their oral history with the carved motifs on their eave beams.

The figurative motifs appearing on beams can be roughly divided into four types. The first is human heads, which can have three kinds of meanings: they represent ancestors; they depict the creative god, “kumas”; they represent the heads hunted during battles between tribes, before Japanese colonization\(^53\). Human heads on eave beams here are not representations of ancestors, although an image of this family’s ancestor can be found on the old ancestral pillar inside the house\(^54\). Human heads on beams either represent heads from headhunting or the *mamazangilan* class members. The difference is in the bands worn on their foreheads.

The second type of figurative motif consists of patterns relating to the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers. These have different meanings, according to the region they come from. In regions where the myths tell of people being born of this particular snake, the snake represents those ancestors of the tribes. However in the northern Paiwanese area, especially among the Ravar sub-group the snake is viewed as a “protector” of the group. In this case the snakes here do not represent a family’s ancestors, but instead, the qualities of bravery and strength.

\(^{53}\) The Japanese authorities banned this tradition of hunting human head.

\(^{54}\) The image on the ancestral pillar in the Pakedavai slate house was destroyed. Now the family members have tried to repair it with the image of first ancestor, Saulalui, on it.
The third type of figurative motif found on eave beams is the human figure. Human figures can either denote ancestors of the family that owned the beams, or priestly powers to assist the tribe. The human figure can also be the insignia of the carvers who produced the beams. The fourth type of figurative motifs on the beams consists of animal figures. Some of these motifs, such as the fish and the butterfly come from the natural world while others are unidentified beasts. The predominant figures are deer and wild boar, which occur in the local mountains.

The second category of representational systems comprises non-figurative motifs. To understand the meanings conveyed by these geometric signs requires cultural exegesis. Two motifs exemplifying this kind of representation are, a compound geometric design inside three concentric-circles called *cinigipuali* in Paiwanese (Fig.4-12), and the cross design with curved sections that represents “being unified” (Fig.4-13). I argue that both designs share the meaning of “defence” which is represented by the geometric design in their centre. Therefore, a non-figurative element can represent a core meaning, and then be linked to multiple representations. It can be argued that with the core meaning conveyed by similarly-shaped, non-figurative designs, the cultural meanings can be determined in a more systematic way through decoding.

### 4-2-3. Introducing the meanings of the motifs on the two Pakedavai wooden eave beams

Before I discuss the meanings of the motifs, I will divide them into two separate compositional types. The compositional types do not necessarily apply across all Paiwanese areas, but rather reflect an individual family’s classification. One of the compositional types is the single motif; the other comprises motifs that are combined. Single motifs with particular meanings include: the human head with or without a headdress, the human figure, a fish, a bird or a butterfly, as well as two kinds of abstract
motifs. Combined motifs include: a pair of coiled snakes, coiled either inward or outward and sometimes with fish; a human head with snakes; a combination of human heads, and a combination of human figures. The images have the same meaning when the subject matter is the same, even when the two motifs are represented differently. This is reflected in the fact that the same name is given to them despite variation in form.

The carving starting from the right end of the inside beam should be linked to that on the right end of the outside beam. Therefore, the time sequence of carving and reading these beams should be from the inside one to the outside one, and from the right to the left on each beam. The following discussions of motifs on eave beams will start with the inside beam and move on to the outside one, which is in accordance with the time sequence of the carving of the motifs on the beams.
1. The motifs on the inside wooden beam

Single motifs *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper

**A. Deinagkistrodon acutus viper**

The snake that appears as a motif on Paiwanese cultural objects is always referred to as the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper is viewed by the Paiwanese as a sacred animal. The common name used in Taiwan for this snake is “one-hundred-paces snake”. The name refers to a local belief that if someone is bitten by this snake, the person will die quickly within one-hundred paces. The name emphasizes the strong poisonous attribute of this snake. This snake is recognisable by the shape of its nose, by its short and fat body shape, by the triangular head and by the black triangle patterns along its body. The snake habitat is in land under 2000 meters altitude in the mountainous areas of Taiwan, especially around the places where people dwell in the southern part of Taiwan."55.

![Fig. 4-6: A motif of Deinagkistrodon acutus viper](image)

The Paiwanese don’t use the common name of the snake, *gavavalung*, instead they use a variety of different terms for referring to the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper: *vulung*, or *vulungvulung* which means “elders in the society”; *Kamavanan*, meaning “real”; and *tasalad*, meaning “company, friend”56. The snake is also called *Kavulungan*, which means “ancestors”57. Zepulj told me that in order to understand the significance of the snake, two terms *vulungvulung* and *tasalad*, should be joined together to denote the whole meaning conveyed by the image of the

55 From “Encyclopedia of Taiwan” (http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/)

56 Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, July 23, 2012

57 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, July 12, 2012
snake. She glossed this as “the spirituality of the ancestors who accompany the people”. This reflects the belief that spirituality and power comes from the elders and the instruction of the elders accompanies the people all the time. It is because of its spiritual dimension that people do not refer to images of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper by its biological name\(^\text{58}\). The snake in this sense is not viewed as a natural creature at all. Each snake conveys the idea of the wisdom of the elders and assistance from friends.

The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper is the most poisonous of all the snakes and is projected symbolically onto the power from the Paiwanese ancestors. Its image thus expresses power and authority. In addition the Paiwanese people endow the snake with physical characteristics that they share in common with them. The snake should be depicted as short and fat to show its power, similar to the physical traits of the Paiwanese. In the northern Paiwanese area, the snake is looked upon as a guardian offering protection and strength to all members of the tribe. The snake motif, therefore, standing for “power and bravery”. Certain objects associated with power and masculinity are shaped as the body of the snake. The knife that men carry and that boys wear when they were initiated into manhood are shaped in this way. The knife is viewed to be as important as a man’s life\(^\text{59}\).

\(^{58}\) I’ve learned that some Paiwanese people in the northern area, when they see this kind of snake, would kill it because it is poisonous. Nowadays, some people even catch them for money. One elder in the Sandimen village told me about his experiences of catching the snake in order to earn money; however, he still respects the snake for its power and spirituality.

\(^{59}\) Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, June 11, 2012
The relationship between Paiwanese people and the snake can be traced in their myths. In certain areas, the snake is considered to be a spiritual ancestor of some tribes. In the northern region, one legend tells about a girl (she is a commoner) who was married to the snake, while another records that the people offended the snake so that the friendly relationship between people and the snake was broken. Thus, the people in this area had to rebuild the relationship by carving the patterns on the objects or on their clothing to pay respect to the snake. In the northern Paiwanese area, the snake is not looked on as a representation of people’s ancestor, but a symbol of strength and power. In the case of the Pakedavai family, the snake has its own particular significance to the family but it also carries meaning related to Paiwanese culture in general. The motif has layers of meanings depending on the context in which it appears and the persons who interpret it.

The snake is always carved with a spiralling body, which is believed to convey its intense power. According to the Paiwanese artist, Sakuliu, the curved position of a carved snake indicates that it is ready to attack its enemies, and so makes it appears more lifelike. Zepulj also told me that if a snake is carved straight, it indicates either that it is unhealthy, or that it is already dead. Some elders told me that the Deinagkistrodon acutus viper is the protector of their mountains. Therefore, the out-stretched heads represent defence against an external enemy, and the intention to attack, while the inwardly-coiled forms signify cooperation with, and protection of, the tribe.

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Fig. 4-7: An image of a Deinagkistrodon acutus viper. From web: www.flickr.com

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60 Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung March 8, 2012
B. A human head with headdress

Three kinds of human representation appear on the wooden eave beams in the Paiwanese culture: ancestors, warriors and victims of headhunting. The spiritual ancestors are delineated by the Paiwanese as the human with special ornaments. In this family, they are the heads with headdress on the eave beams. Warrior will be manifested by the weapon, normally a knife, carried by them. Finally there are the heads that have been taken in battles and they have no decorations on them.

The human head shown on this inner beam is called “caucau” in Paiwanese. There are eight of these heads with headdresses on the inner beam and they can be divided into two types. The first type is a human head with repeated circular shapes on the forehead (see appendix A: A-a1, A-a2, A-a11, A-a12, A-a18, A-a22). The circles represent the fruit called lasalas, which is worn primarily by the mamazangilan people as head ornaments to represent their status. The second type comprises human heads with headdresses (A-a27, A-a28) which, in addition to circles representing their head bands, also feature extra elements to represent status. The motif A-a27 shows a headdress with a snake and linear markings in the centre while A-a28 represents a headdress with a fan-shaped motif resembling the sun. Such special elements on headdresses symbolize masculine bravery, and in addition signify that those who wear them are mamazangilan men -- as well as being warriors. They are also the ancestors of the family in whose house the beam has been placed.

61 In the Pakedavai family, the warrior is shown on the door of their slate house.
C. The fish

Both the fish and its pattern are called “ciau” in Paiwanese.

There are two fish patterns carved on the inside eave beam (A-a17, A-a24). The body movements of these fish are different, with the head in one case turned right (A-a17), and in the other turned left (A-a24). All of them have scales on their bodies.

Fish patterns symbolize abundant resources in the rivers of the tribe’s territory.

D. The beasts (unknown animals)

Two figures representing “beasts” – animals that do not represent any known species – are included on the inner beam (A-a16, A-a26). I was told that these animals were carved this way intentionally, that is, to be unidentifiable.62 As Howard Morphy states, “Composite animals can have a cultural reality that may be more revealing than representations of known species because they create sets of species that cross-cut our categories and force us to ask questions about the relationships between those creatures in the cultures concerned” (Morphy, 1989, p. 5). The motifs remind people of the great variety of animal species in the areas where they live. The figure connotes wealth, referring to the abundant animal resources that can be hunted in the mountains.

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62 Personal communication with Ming Chang, 12 August, 2012
E. The bird (*Phasianus colchicus*)

This bird motif (A-a10, A-a25) represents a specific species, named *tiativ* in Paiwanese. Its biological name is *Phasianus colchicus*. This bird is noted for its tail feathers, containing black and white sections. The feathers are used for the headdresses of men (commoners) who make a special contribution to the tribe. The actual feathers look like eagle feathers that can be worn only in the headdresses of *mamazangilan* people; however, the distinguishing feature between these two kinds of feathers is that the eagle feathers have triangular markings while the *tiativ* feathers do not. Now, common people who are elected to political positions also wear *tiativ* feathers on their heads. It is a symbol of a person’s contribution to society.
**F. The butterfly or kalasuazon (Atlas Moth)**

The butterfly motif represents a particular species of moth called the *Atlas Moth* (A-a23) \(^{63}\). In Paiwanese, the moth’s name is *kalasuazon*. A moth specimen is included in *lailai* headdresses (a decorative headdress indicating a person’s status or positions, discussed further in chapter nine). The actual moth is special because of the patterns resembling snakeheads on both its upper wings. If possible, people will use an actual moth on their headdresses. However this moth is rare in the Paiwanese mountainous areas, so people there often use an artificial one. The butterfly motif has two different meanings. It can be worn by people who show a particular aptitude, such as those who are quick to respond to emergencies. For example, when the chief dies, the person who arrives first to help at the funeral will be praised and can wear an actual moth specimen on his or her head. The second group of people granted this privilege are those with special skills. Today, people who achieve success in the business of making or selling artefacts can be granted the right to have this butterfly pattern on their clothing. The motif does not function as a marker of social

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\(^{63}\) The biological name of the moth is *Attacus atlas formosanus*. According to Digital Taiwan – culture and nature (http://culture.teldap.tw/culture/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=814): The Atlas moth, *Attacus atlas* (Linnaeus), is considered as the world largest moth in terms of the total wing surface area, which is up to 400 square centimetres. The adult has a wingspan of 20-25 cm or greater, and the females are larger than males in general. Each wing is featured with a scale-free, transparent cell in the middle. The forewing tip is moderately projecting outward, tapering more in males than in females. The Chinese vernacular names of the species are “snake-head moth” or “emperor moth” in literal English. The former is referring to the shape of the forewing tips which resemble a snake’s head; the latter is referring to the grand size of the moth. It is widely distributed in Southeast Asia from India, Malay Peninsula to southern China and Taiwan and has many described subspecies.
class; rather, it is a symbol of virtue recognising those who have made contributions to Paiwanese society. If members of chief families do not make such contributions, they are not allowed to wear it.

**G. The abstract motif representing alliance**

This motif, named “cinigipuali” in Paiwanese, means “making friends”. The motif is composed of three concentric-circles, and inside the central circle, there is a geometric design shaped as a simple flower. This motif has connotations of peace, contentment and the creation of friendly relationships with other tribes. In the mountainous areas, fights between neighbouring tribes over land and food resources used to occur, and it was important to establish friendly relationships with neighbouring groups to avoid such clashes. Zepulj said that whenever a tribe established a peaceful agreement with another tribe; their carvers would carve the *cinigipuali* motif to commemorate the agreement and to symbolise the alliance made between these tribes to strengthen them in encounters with enemies. Patterns of this kind also appear on the shields used by warriors in battle and have the meaning of “defence”.

**H. The abstract motif meaning unity**

According to Zepulj, this abstract motif representing the unity of the family was designed by the carvers of the eave beams in the age of Saulalui, and belongs exclusively to the Pakedavai family. This is given as the reason why the motif does not have a Paiwanese name. There are four angular heads making the shape of a cross in the centre, with four curved lines between each pair of heads. The motif refers to the unity of the family. The angular faces embody the idea of unity; while the curved lines represent unity and strength within the tribe, as well as extending its influence among other tribes. The whole design therefore symbolizes tribal unity and
the extension of tribal power, authority and control over other tribes, as well as the sharing of land and resources with them.

**Combined motifs**

This category refers to certain motifs which can be combined to convey specific meanings. The same symbols or similar combinations of symbolic figures, usually convey the same meanings.

**A. The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper combined with human head(s) or human figure(s)**

![Fig. 4-17: A snake and human heads](image)

In the most common form of this compound motif the snake’s head stretches toward a human head or a human figure. This signifies the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper passing power and strength to the human beside it. The power and strength, associated with the snake, is transmitted to the human it touches or reaches toward.

**B. Combination of animal figures**

![Fig. 4-18: A pair of snakes](image)

A second set of combined motifs comprises interacting or closely associated animal figures. *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers usually occur in pairs; and these pairs can be divided into outward-looking couples and inward-looking couples. Another set is comprised of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers and fish. This set can be divided further, according to whether the snakes’ heads face outwards or inwards. I will discuss them separately below:

**C. The combination of a pair of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers**

There are two methods of representing the two snakes pattern: one with snakes with outward looking heads, and the other featuring inward-looking heads. No matter which

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64 The motifs on a whole eave beam is seen at Fig. 4-4 (p.81).
ways the heads of the snakes are turned, they have the same overall meaning, that is, they symbolize bravery.

**D. The combination of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers and fish**

![Fig. 4-19: A pair of snake and fish](image)

There are two distinct combinations of these subjects, depending on whether the snakes have outstretched heads or inwardly-turned heads. The pattern commonly occurs as a pair of coiled *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers with one or two fish around them. This illustrates the abundance of natural resources, such as fish, in the river. In the past, the land belonging to a particular tribe was demarcated by rivers. Rivers are important for the Paiwanese, not only because they are the boundary lines of their lands, but also because they provide the protein contained in fish and other aquatic animals. Accordingly, when the tribes went to war, the winning tribe would appropriate the rivers and thus gain food resources and broaden its lands. This motif mainly occurred on the inside beam of the Pakedavai slate house. Zepulj told me that during Salalui’s time, she led the people of the Tjaravacalj tribe in battles with other tribes and thereby gained lots of new lands and river access. The motif connotes the power and bravery transmitted from the ancestors, yielding wealth, land-ownership and resources for their descendants.

**E. Two human figures**

![Fig. 4-20: A pair of Human figure](image)

There are two special human figures seen Fig. 4-19, their positions are not frequently shown on the eave beams of the Paiwanese culture. These two human figures are not warriors because they do not carry weapons. They appear on the inside eave beam and, according to Zepulj, are likely to represent a
wise elder and a priest. In Zepulj’s interpretation, the composition of these two figures facing each other shows them in a ritual position. The scene depicts one figure demonstrating how to conduct a ceremony that the other is going to perform. The instructor is a wise elder; whose job is to help the chief of the village to govern and instruct the villagers.

F. The combination of abstract figures

![Combination of abstract figures](image)

This compound motif appears twice on the inside beam of the old slate house. The motif signifying “unity” is in the centre with an “alliance” motif on each side. This combination denotes the harmony achieved when Saulalui led the Tjaravacalj tribe to make peace with the two tribes in the Maulin and Kapiyan areas. The two occurrences of this motif are interpreted as records of the peace making. Friendship was achieved in an environment where tribes fought with each other for resources and land. The motifs refer to the fact that the ancestors of the Pakedavai family had successful negotiations with other tribes. The presence of two instances of the combined motifs is today interpreted to reflect a historical fact that alliances were made with other mamazangilan families. The three families would also mention the events sometimes when family members met together.

G. The carver’s mark

![A pair of snakes with reclining person](image)

On the left hand end and of the outside eave beam there is a pair of snakes, with one fish on the right and a reclining person on the left. The reclining person is almost too small to be noticed, and according to Zepulj, it could be a representation of the carver himself, added when he finished the work.

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65 The informant did not tell the differences between these two human figures.
2. The motifs on the external beam of the house

There are in total thirty-two individual motifs on the external beam of the Pakedavai house. Originally, the right hand side of the beam began with three human head motifs. However, according to Pakedavai family members, two have been cut off. The sequence now begins with the third human head. The subjects of the motifs on this outside beam can also be divided into single motifs and combined motifs. The dominant motif is a representation of the human head without a headdress, and this motif covers most of the beam. According to Zepulj, these human heads without headdresses represent the people who were hunted in tribal battles. The combined motifs on the beams are pairs of snakes with heads extended to the outside or inside, carrying the same meanings as those on the inside beam.

4-2-4. The significance of the motifs on the eave beams, Sasuayan

The eave beams of the Pakedavai’s slate house illustrate significant events of the past that are commemorated by the descendants. The wooden eave beams of the family have the function of protecting the family by demonstrating its ancestors’ achievements. The beams also indicate that the family has considerable territory and resources, by means of the carvings of animal figures including fish, beasts and a butterfly. The animal figures show that the Paiwanese people valued their animal hunting grounds and river resources and reflect the economic importance of hunted food. Traditional Paiwanese social life was oriented around hunting and fishing. As Chiang states, apart from wild pigs, “other major sources of animal protein for the Paiwanese include game animals and fish. Most Paiwanese villages are located within a short walking distance of streams…Hunting is exclusively a male occupation…there are also rather elaborate regulations regarding the presentation of specific portions of game animals to certain chiefly houses as tribute. In addition to food, most game animals also provide useful
materials—such as fur, leather, feathers, jaw bones, and teeth—which can be made into exquisite personal or house ornaments (Chiang, 1993, pp.36-37).

The human heads without headdresses on the eave beams indicate that the family was involved in wars during the historical times. The existence of abstract motifs of alliance and unity is evidence that there were cases of friendly relations between tribes. As mentioned in chapter three, the Pakedavai family made alliances with the Maulin and Kapiyan tribes, and the two compositional abstract motifs of unity and alliance on the eave beams have survived as evidence of these two historical events.

Just as Panofsky states (cf. by Robert Layton), “the study of art in iconography is associated with the realm of culture-bound analysis, because specific motifs whose imagery is evoked are instantly understood by members of cultures as referents to particular, consciously-held ideas” (Layton, 1981, p.30). The iconography of the motifs allows both for broad cultural interpretations and simultaneously enables the beams to be connected to the historical narrative of particular families.
4-2-5. Aesthetic expression in the motifs on eave beam

I discussed the formal principles of organizing motifs on eave beams, in my MA thesis, and identified the key principles as symmetry, balance and repetition (H. Chen, 2005, p. 84). The organization of these motifs on the horizontal eave beams is based on structural rules governing their representation. The eave beams are long, and narrow in shape, and are placed horizontally, and this influences the forms of designs. Human heads, snakes, deer, wild boar or other kinds of animals that appear frequently in the mountain regions are the main subjects appearing on the beams. Sometimes, but not often, geometric designs and human figures are also included on the beams. These various elements alternate in a horizontal series (C. Chen, 1968, p. 294).

The longitudinal form of the beam influences the ways in which particular motifs are going to be carved. For instance, the human figure which is a common motif, is usually arranged in a straight vertical style on a house post in contrast to the motifs on the horizontal eave beam which are reclining. The two wooden beams of the Pakedavai old slate house exemplify these organizing principles. The styles of the motifs on these eave beams reflect regional differences. Chen classified and named the four styles of motifs

Fig. 4-24: A wooden eave beam on a traditional slate house at Indigenous Park, Pintung County
on the beams according to regional variations (C. Chen, 1968, p. 294). Those forms on the eave beams have the function of conceptualizing the Paiwanese value system. In his book *Primitive Art*, Boas also related the form of art to meanings to show how they contribute to aesthetic effect:

> The emotions may not be stimulated by the form alone but by the close associations that exist between form and ideas held by the people. When forms convey meaning, because they recall past experiences or because they act as symbols, a new element is added to enjoyment. The form and its meaning combine to elevate the mind above the indifferent emotional state of everyday life (Boas, 1955, p. 12)

Apart from the formal principles that influence the aesthetics of the design forms on the beams, aesthetic effect is also integral to the ways in which the designs express aspects of Paiwanese ideology. In interviews about the aesthetic qualities of carved wooden motifs, Zepulj and Sakuliu\textsuperscript{66}, stressed that the carved lines have to appear as “powerful, fluent and rhythmic”. The artists also said that the motifs on the Pakedavai wooden eave beams, which were produced a long time ago, are more aesthetically appealing than similar motifs recently carved by contemporary artists\textsuperscript{67}. “The forms of those motifs look more powerful. The new ones (Fig: 4-8, 4-16),” Sakuliu told me, “are too neat, so that they

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\textsuperscript{66} They both can produce carving motifs on wood and stone.

\textsuperscript{67} The Pakedavai family conducted a repair of their old slate house in 2010 and the motifs on the eave beams were imitated to carve on a new beam. In my own view, the contemporary motifs look more beautiful than the old similar ones.
cannot express power in their lines”. Zepulj also informed me that the forms of the motifs of eave beams are meant to demonstrate spiritual power. She explained that the shape of a spiralling snake is intended to depict bravery and strength, to evoke the protective role of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. Others, like the more conventional forms of human heads and animal figures, either demonstrate masculine bravery in the hunting battle or the natural resources needed for survival in earlier times. The conventionalized forms, with simple and pure outlines, are manifestations of Paiwanese cultural concepts, as Zepulj explained. Another Paiwanese elder told me that “the ambiguous shapes of the unknown beasts (Fig. 4-12) were not a failure of carving skill, but intended to recall our memories of the beasts in the mountains”⁶⁹. This “powerful” expression of the lines of the wooden motifs, is intended to create a “classical feeling”, which can be referred to the ancestral power, because as Sakuliu told me strength is shown in the carving of the line. The carved wooden motifs on the eave beams, are expressions of both “powerful” and “classical” forms. The art forms, as well as the representational systems of the carved motifs, connect the people with natural environments and help them to visualize their history and cultural ideology as they listen to oral accounts. The concepts implied in those motifs transcend their physical forms and are linked to essential characteristics of Paiwanese culture.

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⁶⁸ Personal communication with Sakuliu Pavavaljung, July 24, 2012

⁶⁹ Personal communication with Ming Chang, August 12, 2012
Part Three: The different forms of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper associated with the old slate houses and its cultural connotations

The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper is a prevalent symbol in Paiwanese culture and it is produced in many design variations and those design are applied on different types of objects. Natural objects which have similar patterns will be related to this snake. The forms of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper, its shape and the triangle patterns on its body, the diamond patterns on the back of its body, are favoured subjects in Paiwanese woodcarving, and other kinds of decorative art. The snake in its many representations is a central motif in all aspects of lives of the Paiwanese, reproduced on the decorated objects, dance, clothing, housing and utensils which are discussed in this thesis. In this section, I will discuss the representation of the form of snake associated with the Paiwanese old slate houses and discuss its cultural significance.

4-3-1. The form of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper associated with traditional old slate houses

A. The slate houses on the mountain slopes

During my fieldwork, the replica slate house in the Taiwanese Indigenous Cultural Park near Sandmen was repaired. The workers told me the Paiwanese people looked on the slate house as the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper’s body, where people lived inside. This confirms what others have written about the relationship between the houses as the snake’s body: the artist Sakuliu Pavavaljung, in his book about the construction of slate house writes:

Traditionally, the slate houses were built on the sides of the hills on the natural terraced fields following the course of the river. As the river meanders down The hill, it resembles a snake slithering down the hill. As the houses follow the Meandering shape of the river, they also resemble the slithering of a snake Down the hill. This resemblances further enhanced by the slate tiles on the Roofs of the houses, as they look like the scales on the snake body. Also, the Positioning of the houses on the slope further enhances the image of a moving Snake, as the houses are situated on higher and lower ground along the gradient Of the hill with the houses being a little to the left and right of the house above
It. As the houses follow the meandering of the river, the image created is one of a moving snake slithering down a hill (Pavavaljung, 1993, p.15).

The clusters of slate houses ceased to exist after the Japanese colonial period. There is just one village named Tjuvecekadan, located in the middle part of Paiwanese region, which preserves around fifty intact slate houses. The slate houses in this village are kept as cultural heritage. Most of the people dwelling in this village have moved out since 1960 and there are just very few people live in the village now.

B. The pillars of the chief house

Fig. 4-26: A construction of a slate house with its ancestral pillar at Taiwan Indigenous Cultural Park

The pillar(s) inside slate house are referred to as “ancestral pillar(s)”. Sakuliu told me that the main pillar in a slate house is similar as ancestral board as worshiped by Chinese people. The carved image on the ancestral pillar represents the ancestor of the family, and representations frequently are in the form of human figures, or include the one-hundred paces snake associated with human figures or a human head. Sakuliu notes that most of the ancestral pillars were shaped in the form of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus*

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70 Personal communication with Vauvauni Hung, May15, 2014

71 Personal communication with Sakuliu, 04 June, 2012
viper with its head supporting the house ridge, guarding family members, bringing them good fortune and ensuring their fertility (S. Pavavaljung, 2011, p. 71).

C. The eave beam (sasuayan) of the slate house

According to Sakuliu, the carved wooden eave beam itself has the shape of a hundred-pace snake and can be divided into the snake’s head, belly, back and tail. The methods to cut the wood vary, depending on which part of the wood associated with the body parts of the snake.72

4-3-2. The cultural connotations of the snakes

The motif of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper, including the image of its whole body and triangular or diamond patterns on its body parts, are the most significant symbols among the Paiwanese. The symbolism conveyed by this snake demonstrates two layers of meanings. The snake motifs are traditionally used exclusively by families which have mythical association with it. In the northern area, the myths are associated with some commoner families as well as aristocratic ones. Therefore, in this area, the right to use motifs of this snake is not exclusive to the upper class. The other symbolic connotation associated with the form of the snake is male fertility. In order to explain this association more clearly, I offer my own experience as an example. When I was in the field, I had a recurring dream about lots of white snakes. As I know the importance of the snake to the Paiwanese people, I started to ask what that dream could mean. Most Paiwanese people, when they heard my dream, gave the same explanation. They said to me: “That means you are going to give birth to a baby.” However, the type of snakes that appears in the dreams is also significant. I was told if people dream of a *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper, that means he or she will marry to nobility and have an aristocratic baby. However, if you dream of a different snake species, that still means

72 Personal interviews with Sakuliu Pavavaljung, June 04, 2012
you will have children, but not aristocratic ones. I heard several examples of people’s
dreams coming true, confirming their interpretations. One elder woman told me that
“the snake is a representation of spermatozoon”, making the snake patterns a very
explicit symbol of male fertility. The patterns can also be viewed as general images of
fertility while the house posts and the *tiuma* connote increased fertility in the family.

**Conclusion**

The analysis of the motifs discussed in this chapter shows the ways in which they
operate as elements of sociological systems which are integral to communicating
cultural knowledge over time. I begin by discussing how the iconography records the
historical events associated with a particular family. The patterns and motifs, together
with the associated oral traditions, help the Paiwanese people to remember and pass on
significant events from their past history. General cultural concepts conveyed by the
motifs can also be reflected by the given names of the carvings. Human heads, for
example are called *cacao* or *kumas*, depending on the different iconographic contexts.
Although motifs usual have generalized meaning, they can be associated with multiple
and often quite specific exegesis depending on the context of occurrence. For instance,
the generalized meaning of a “human figure” can be an ancestor of a family or a tribe or
just to represent a generalised person depending on its context.

Despite the iconography operating a general level that cuts across Paiwanese society
and regions, the motifs also operate both as markers of identity and differences. Locally
their meanings are linked to the history of particular images and they operate to mark
particular status differences; between different villages they reflect an overall
Paiwanese identity and fit in with the general structure of Paiwanese society.
I concluded the chapter by focussing on the encompassing nature of the motif of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper which is central to the symbolism of the traditional slate houses to show ways in which cultural ideology is reflected by the form of the snake. The motifs that comprise the representational systems on the slate house provide one of the main ways in which the history of families have been transmitted over the generations. The houses embody the particular history of the families and associate them with the spiritually powerful imagery of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper.
Chapter Five: The cultural meanings and aesthetic of motifs on Paiwanese costumes

Introduction

The motifs on traditional Paiwanese garments indicate the social status of the individuals wearing them, as well as expressing the aesthetic values of members of the aristocratic class. These motifs, along with ornaments on other artefacts, are insignias of a particular family or a class. In this chapter, I will analyse the motifs on the costumes of the Pakedavai family. I will explore how meanings are encoded through motifs on costumes by analysing the aesthetic principles and systems of the representations employed. I locate meaning in the contexts of social functions and interpretations of the motifs. My other purpose is to point out the cultural connections between the motifs found on costumes and those on the eave beams of the family house. Some motifs play the role of distinguishing hierarchical status while others are viewed as signifying contributions to society. Motifs can also reflect kin relations or lineage connections. My analysis will explain the continuing tradition of wearing costumes, and the ways in which motifs and the contexts of their uses reflect a changing society. I will start with a discussion of the styles of Paiwanese costumes of each gender, and then analyse the social values of motifs sewn on to costumes. The aesthetic principles reflected in the use of colours and materials, and the structure of the motifs on clothing will also be explored in this chapter.
Part One: The social content of the costumes in Paiwanese society

5-1-1. Styles of Paiwanese costumes

Paiwanese society has gone through considerable changes since the period of Japanese colonization. The quality of cloth used to make clothing is now dependent largely on people’s economic status, and is no longer dependent on social status. However, the basic components of the costumes are still the same, and in accord with the traditional social rules. In other words, social divisions can still be reflected in the clothing worn in modern society. Paiwanese wear the traditional costumes at special occasions, such as wedding and funeral ceremonies, birthday parties, important political or church events. Wearing the traditional costumes is a way to show respect to the host family as well as demonstrating social status.

Styles of Paiwanese costumes are classified according to regional differences: forms of traditional clothing differ among the northern, middle, eastern and southern areas. The main outfits for all regions include a tunic or robe-like garment that extends below the knee for women, and to the waist for men. For women, this garment is buttoned down the right side to allow ease in putting it on. The eastern costume styles have been influenced by other groups around the area and so have turned out to be combination styles. In the south, women’s tunics tend to be wider and rounder at the hem than in the north. Northern tunics are narrower and more rectangular in style compared with the southern ones. The characteristics of the men’s tunics are that they lack a front lapel, and have an embroidered round yoke and long sleeves. Sandimen clothing designs are in the northern style which will be introduced below. There are marked differences

73 The Paiwanese wear traditional costumes to attend important occasions, and wearing these garments is deemed to be polite behavior, showing respect for the host family or the conducting people. In daily lives, the Paiwanese often wear clothing like that of the Taiwanese, but women also wear a simplified Chinese-style robe and both men and women sometimes wear a cloth as headband.
between male and female costumes. The styles of male clothing can be classified into casual, for daily life, and formal, for more important occasions. Male casual dress for members of the *mamazangilan* class consists of a headband, a short tunic with long sleeves, a scarf, a short kilt and cloth leg coverings fastened with tied tags at the back. The Paiwanese male, short, pleated kilt is made of dark coloured cloth with a waistband at the top. The waistband is of a plain fabric with ties attached on each side; it is usually decorated all over with embroidery featuring a range of human figures and other motifs. The leg covering is made from two rectangular pieces of cloth joined together by a solid piece at the top. The pieces tied at the waist are long slashes, which form a waistband and joined the split sections.
Fig. 5-1: A mamazangilan male's costume
Fig. 5-2: A mamazangilan male's costume
Fig. 5-3: A formal young male’s costume
Fig. 5-4: A commoner’s outfit
Fig. 5-5: Casual commoner’s clothing at work

Fig. 5-6: A woman with casual clothing at work
The formal dress for men of the *mamazangilan* class is usually comprised of a headband, a decorative headdress made of ferns, flowers or fruit, a short embroidered jacket, a shawl, a short kilt and embroidered leg coverings. Male commoners wear headbands and plant headdresses, short jackets with round yokes, and short kilts. The quality of the fabrics and the style of the embroidery distinguish the *mamazangilan* class from the commoners. Although the styles of the costumes worn by the two classes are the same, members of the *mamazangilan* class wear clothes of better quality that are embroidered with exquisite designs. In addition, male members of the *mamazangilan* class wear a short kilt along with leg coverings while the male commoners don’t wear leg coverings (Lee, 1998, pp. 189-191).

In the same way that male dress differs according to class, so too do female costumes. Casual dress for *mamazangilan* females consists of a headband, a robe-like garment with an under-skirt and cloth leg coverings. The formal costume is comprised of a headband, headdress, tunic and skirt, necklaces, a detachable yoke, leg coverings and socks. Women’s leg coverings are different from those used by men. They consist of two separate pieces of embroidered cloth tied at the mid-calf, and extending down over the top of the foot. The skirt covers the legs and to the top of these leg coverings. Female commoners wear headbands, tunic with under skirt and leg covers when they go out (Lee, 1998, pp. 191-192).
Fig. 5-7: An upper class woman costume

Fig. 5-8: Commoner women’s costume

Fig. 5-9: A young upper class girl’s costume

Fig. 5-10: Backs of upper class girl’s costumes
The colour of the northern style base cloth, for both male and female, is usually deep blue, created with indigo dye. The coloured patterns are mainly embroidered in yellow, orange and leaf green. The patterns themselves represent shapes from plants, such as flowers and leaves, or are comprised of geometrical designs. Normally, these embroidered patterns are applied beginning with the yoke, then up and down the splits on both sides of the costume, and covering the cuffs of the sleeves. Traditionally, the front part of the outer robe was left plain; however, those areas are now used as background for sewing on attached patterns. Headdresses in the northern style are decorated with fresh or dried flowers and fruits above headbands decorated with dangling silver ornaments, shells and tiny coloured beads.

Wearing elaborate Paiwanese costumes, using decorated utensils and decorating a family house were all privileges of members of the mamazangilan class. Families of this class have the right to wear ornaments as well as to possess sacred artefacts, including antique glass beads, bronze knives and sacred pots. Traditionally, ornamented clothing could only be worn by members of the mamazangilan class, and even now, commoners tend to wear simpler ornaments.

In the traditional society, most women learned how to weave cloth. Since the mamazangilan class enjoyed more leisure time than the commoners, who did all the manual labour; women of this class developed very sophisticated weaving skills. The styles of embroidery and weaving used on the costumes of the mamazangilan class are still used by members of that class. The most intricate patterns were in the possession of the aristocratic women. These highly developed embroidered patterns help to fulfil the desire to “look good”. Intricate embroideries on clothing are a way to satisfy this aesthetic need. Zepulj remembered that her mother continued weaving all her life, and
liked to dress herself up by using many accessories and embroidered clothing all the
time. She told me that in the remote mountain area where the Talimarau family was
located, women routinely dressed well in order to express politeness and to please the
people around them. The motivation to dress well extended to the commoners. When
women went to the fields to work, they would put their good, embroidered clothing
beside the river, until they finished doing their jobs. They would then clean themselves
up and dress in those elaborately decorated clothes and put on headdresses made of
flowers or plants.

5-1-2. the changing styles of Paiwanese costumes

One characteristic of Paiwanese costume-making is the ability to use material forms in
various ways, often within constraints. This includes both the use of raw materials to
produce costumes, and the changing variety of patterns chosen to decorate them.
Costume-making in this society is inspired by natural surroundings, and also concepts
from outsiders such as the Chinese and the Japanese. For example, the robe-like
garment worn by women was influenced by the style of the Ming period when the
earliest contacts were made with mainland Chinese. The Paiwanese word for this
garment sounds very similar to the Chinese word for “robe”.

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74 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai June 02, 2010
Fig. 5-11: A creative formal costume made by Eleng Pakedavai
Within the Pakedavai family, we can see continuing creativity in costume style. This is exemplified in the various styles created by Elayum, the wife of Basulan, head of the tenth generation Pakedavai family. Zepulj told me that the traditional northern Paiwanese costumes originally had motifs only on the edges of the robe-like garments, the designs had appeared on the yokes, sleeves and hems. Elayum was the first person to apply motifs to the front and back of a costume. Later, this style came to be the leading fashion in the northern Paiwanese area. She also changed the basic colours of the fabrics used to make costumes. Traditionally, the colours had been plain and deep, mostly navy blue and black. Elayum initiated the use of various other colours, such as maroon and light indigo blue for making dresses. The process of innovation was continued by her fourth daughter, Eleng, who became a clothing designer in the Sandimen area. She introduced a great variety of colours through the importation of textiles from outside Paiwanese society. Elayum was, however, the person who begun this trend.

Eleng has tried a number of ways of making subtle changes in her styles. She makes innovative use of textiles, colours, designs and adornments in creating her costumes, so they reflect material changes that have taken place over time. One example is flat appliqués transformed into a three dimensional designs by using knitting wools, shells and coins to make a sun pattern (see Fig. 5-12). She likes to use little metals ornaments to function as buttons on her costumes. She also tries to make costumes using colour tones that will fit
the wearers’ personalities. Eleng told me when she was asked to make clothing for specific people, she would spend time with them, to learn about their personalities in order to decide on colours to suit them as individuals. She likes to make costumes using different tones of the same colour – particularly green, dark red or brown are the colours she most likes to use. A variety of textiles for making costumes can be found in shops around the Sandimen area and from larger towns nearby. Through her careful choice of clothing designs and textiles, Eleng has become a leading seamstress in the Sandmen area. In making costumes Eleng emphasizes the design on the split sides and the designs of buttons. She said that in doing so, she was giving the costumes some extra elegance. Her clothing designs look striking, luxurious, and aesthetically appealing.

5-1-3. Development in the application of motifs

The techniques for applying motifs to traditional Paiwanese clothing started with weaving, and then were followed by embroidery, appliqué and beadwork. Some woven patterns and costume styles were influenced by the Chinese during the Ming and Ching dynasties when the Chinese came to Taiwan for commercial reasons. They exchanged cloth, thread, silver, salt and iron with the indigenous people for supplies of rice and wild meat. Patterns such as the reversed swastika shape (Buddhist symbol) on clothing are products of this period (see Fig. 5-13). Other patterns, such as human heads, the one hundred-paces snake, the sun, and pot were created within Paiwanese culture. The intention of placing the patterns on clothing is primarily one of conveying meaning, but the effect is decorative regardless of whether the patterns were introduced from outside cultures or derived from the Paiwanese culture.
5-1-4 The changing technology of applying motifs to traditional costumes

I identify the traditional and contemporary patterns by means of the different materials and skills used to produce them. The forms of patterns belonging to the same categories, such as the sun motif, the snake, and human figures, vary according to the families or individuals who apply them, even in traditional society. Patterns on the Pakedavai family’s costumes reflect these changing materials and skills. Analysis of an embroidered floral pattern for example (see Fig. 5-35) shows the development of materials in a historical trajectory. The skills of creating the patterns and the style of the patterns reflect this change. Hand-embroidered floral patterns are rare and precious in Paiwanese society today. Some women still do hand embroidery on clothing or bags. However, the machine embroidery created by Paiwanese elder Umass Zingrur, has gained in popularity and since 1993 is sometimes used instead of hand embroidery. The embroidery patterns have been chosen from nine earlier embroidered styles. These embroideries made by machine save people a considerable amount of money and time, but their effect is, of course, not as delicate as that of the handmade ones.

The floral pattern, Fig. 5-35, also reflects a changing society. Such intricate, handmade embroideries were a symbol of the mamazangilan class in traditional Paiwanese society. The skills involved in creating the patterns, and the styles of the patterns also reflect the trajectory of history. The traditional style is represented by the embroidered floral patterns produced by Eljayum. The social function of those floral patterns was to indicate the class status. This function no longer exists in part because machine-made embroideries are easy to buy – the distinction implied by the labour that went into them no longer applies. People buy them freely without any knowledge of the class distinctions represented by the patterns now.
5-1-5. Categories of motifs on Paiwanese costumes

The motifs used on Paiwanese people’s costumes can be divided into several categories. The first comprises motifs that are used to signal social status. Use of these motifs was once strictly confined to members of the mamazangilan class. These patterns include those portraying a human head with a headdress (see Fig. 5-14), the sun, the pot, eagle feathers and the tiuma, which is used in the aristocratic wedding ceremonies. In addition to marking the class that people belonged to, they can also be used to reflect subdivisions according to family rank.

Today changes in society have affected the restriction on the use of motifs according to people’s social status. Members of the higher classes do not now have the same rights as they did in the traditional society and members of privileged families cannot prevent people from copying their family motifs. The makers of rank have shifted status. In the northern area, the pot motif that used to belong to the privileged Talimarau family has now become a popular class marker among the mamazangilan class in general. In this
chapter, however, I will discuss what was the traditional, and is still seen to be the “proper” way of passing particular motifs from one family to another.

The second category of motifs I identify comprises those that are used to express individual or family contributions or achievements. The butterfly motif is an example (see Fig. 5-15). In the past, people wearing butterfly motifs on their costumes were those who had been recognized for their contribution to the community. The Paiwanese admired the high-speed action of the butterfly, and use this motif because they believe that butterflies fly straight to save time.

During traditional times, when something important happened in the village requiring urgent action, such as the death of a member of the chiefly family, the people who came first to help would be praised for their fast reaction and were awarded a butterfly motif to wear on their headdress or clothing. This butterfly motif is not a marker of social stratification since it was awarded to those who benefitted society irrespective of class divisions. In today’s society, this may explain its widespread use as a decorative motif on people’s clothing since wearing it does not cause controversy and arguments between different classes.
A further category of motifs comprises those used to represent daily life. The large area on the back or front of clothing has become the place where motifs concerning daily affairs are displayed. Hunting, for example, can be represented by a scene of two people carrying their prey on a stick. Another motif could also represent a part of a wedding ceremony. Today, these motifs can signal the wearer’s occupation; for instance, a policeman might have a motif from his badge on his clothing (see Fig. 5-16).

A final category comprises motifs that do not carry specific social meanings. Some examples include: representations of other snake species in place of the Deinagkistrodon acutus viper, or sewing Chinese dragons on to one’s clothing (see Fig. 5-17). Such motifs are primarily manufactured outside Paiwanese society and traded in their villages. They are more flexible and their use is unrestricted because they reflect characteristics of individuals without reference to class division. In summary, the distribution of the motifs used on costumes varies according to a number of different factors, ranging from being restricted to a particular class to individual choice.
5-1-6. Motifs on the costumes of the Pakedavai family

The social stratification of the people in the Sandimen area today is visible both in the clothing worn in daily life and in the costumes used on special occasions. The evidence is not so much in the forms of the garments but in the particular motifs applied to them. Pakedavai family members have tried hard to preserve the meaning of motifs which are important in conveying key elements of their family history, and which symbolize their social status and authority. However, today the arena is certainly a contested one and Pakedavai family members expressed their concern to me that motifs were being used by people who do not know or understand their meanings. According to them, such inappropriate use of motifs began to occur during the Japanese colonial period, when the traditional social hierarchy was first disrupted.

In order to clarify the ideas of the motifs on the clothing of the Pakedavai family, some background information is needed. The tenth generation of the Pakedavai family, including the couple who were Zepulj’s parents and heirs to its leadership, were born in the traditional society (before the Japanese came). At that time it was customary for every Paiwanese woman in the northern area to learn to weave cloth. Zepulj’s mother Elayum was an especially good designer and maker of clothing. She followed traditional guidelines in making clothing but was also very creative in her use of colour and placement of designs in order to create her own family style. For example, the motif known as kumas illustrated in Fig. 5-18 was designed and made by Elayum. This motif falls into the traditional category of human heads, which were
embroidered by hand with tiny beads. However, her use of alternating bands of colour in the featured headdress and head exemplify her creative use and choice of colour.

Elayum brought certain ideas about making costumes from the Talimarau family she originally came from and incorporated them into her Pakedavai family style after her marriage. The creative styles of her garments and the applied embroidery she developed, in turn influenced other people in the Sandimen area (see Fig. 5-19). In reviewing Pakedavai dress I will discuss costumes made in the traditional styles in the era of Elayum, and newly-developed styles worn by the eleventh generation of the family.
Fig. 5-19: A contemporary-styled costumes designed by Eleng Pakedavai
Part Two: Aesthetic principles governing the motifs on traditional costumes

In this section, I will explore several formal aesthetic principles governing the motifs on family costumes. The embroidered patterns on clothing demonstrate consistency in the practical application of Paiwanese aesthetic principles, such as flat designs and filling in space. They also express the changing dynamics of creative formal representation.

The first principle is tonal variation. In the case of Pakedavai family costumes, aesthetic ideas embedded in the use of colour are seen in two different contexts: the use of coloured bands in different shapes to compose motifs, and also in the use of varied tones of the same colour. The sun motifs (see Fig. 5-20) demonstrate the interplay of tonal variation for aesthetic effect. In Fig. 5-18, variation in colour usage is seen in two identical human heads with reversed colour schemes. In appendix B, Fig. B-a5 also shows two similar human heads with green and yellow reversed on their headdresses. The colour used for the outside bands of both headdresses is orange, following by bands of tiny green and yellow beads reversed from outer to inner bands in accordance with these two heads. The colours composing these two faces are divided into stripe sections. In another case, Fig. 5-20, colour is used to create a particular aesthetic effect by the use of different tones of the same colour family. The tones are ordered so as to give the effect of the colour fading or becoming brighter, which is
much more vibrant than a single tone. This technique of using different tones belonging in the same colour family originated with Elayum.

![Fig. 5-21: A motif in flat design](image)

The second aesthetic method concerning motif is the creation of motifs that can be expressed in flat, embroidered designs (see Fig. 5-21). In the contemporary production method employed by members of this family, some motifs are first drawn on paper, cut out, stuck on wood, and then carved as a seal for printing on textiles. The clothing makers then stitch tiny beads along the outlines of the print. This sequence of production makes motifs embroidered on clothing appears flat.

![Fig. 5-22: The aesthetic principles of filling in space](image)

The third aesthetic principle is the filling of spaces between motifs, similar to carving done along wooden eave beams. For the costumes, an intricate and complex pattern is created by infilling the spaces between motifs and using different techniques to overlay the surface by combining embroidered or appliqued motifs with other decorative elements, including bells, shells and pieces of silver. Examples of this technique occur on costumes where the empty space
has been filled in with triangular or diamond-shaped patterns. Fig. 5-22 demonstrates this filling-in-space principle: the space between the two rows of heads is filled in with variously coloured, geometric shapes, shiny metal studs, and coins.

In addition to the visual impact and form of the designs, Paiwanese aesthetic values are expressed in sound, by the tinkling of the metal bells or silver accessories sewn on girls’ clothing. These ornaments are worn by unmarried girls to signal their single status. When the girls dance or walk, the ornaments tinkle and jangle to please the people around them (see Fig. 5-23).
Fig. 5-23: A girl with silver accessories and metal bells
Part Three: The representational systems of the motifs on costumes

As was the case with the designs on the house beams, the motifs on traditional Paiwanese clothing can be divided into figurative and non-figurative forms. The figurative forms include: images of the complete human body, or animals, and patterns based on flowers, with four, eight or sixteen petals. Some human images were of a complete figure, and others were just heads. Animal figures include both realistic and abstract forms of the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper, and realistic representations of wild deer, leopards and domestic dogs. Non-figurative motifs can be categorized according to different design elements such as the square, triangle and diamond, as well as arcs and crosses. According to the Paiwanese elder Umass Zingrur, some non-figurative patterns were influenced by textiles from China. These included the reversed swastika design, eight trigrams (a set of symbolic signs created in ancient China), and the butterfly motif. I argue that the motifs on traditional costumes share the same representational system as those on the wooden eave beam. The figurative motifs on the costumes also can be viewed having formal resemblance between the signifier (the patterns) and signified (the cultural meanings those patterns denote). The non-figurative motif, on the other hand, has an arbitrary relationship between its signifier and signified. Non-figurative motifs encode meanings through multiple properties of the same elements, as is also the case with the non-figurative motifs on eave beams discussed in chapter four.

5-3-1. Categorizing the forms of motifs on costumes

In this section I will discuss the social significance of motifs on costumes; the ownership of particular motifs and artefacts; ways of passing down family property such as costumes and accessories; and, how styles of clothing reflect changes in society.

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75 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, April 21, 2012
The discussion of motifs here will focus on those appearing on costumes belonging to the Pakedavai family.

There are thirteen themes depicted in the motifs on the clothing. The same subject matter can be represented both figuratively and non-figuratively. For example, the human head can be depicted in realistic or abstract forms. No matter how it is presented, each particular subject basically expresses the same meanings. The use of patterns on clothing is not gender exclusive. The patterns on the family’s costumes can be analysed, and categorized into the same set of themes regardless of gender differences. My aim is to explore each subject and design according to its shape, cultural meanings, family explanations and forms of aesthetic expression. Some motifs on these traditional costumes also reflect a process of changes in style. The primary difference between traditional and contemporary styles of the motifs is the use of currently made materials to make the same subject look different. Therefore, the same subject can vary in terms of the creativity of the artistic designs which represented it. However, some traditionally-styled motifs are still being produced using new materials.

5-3-2. Motifs on the costumes

Figurative motifs

(1) Human head

The human head is a symbol of social status. Figurative and abstract human heads appear on costumes as pointed headdresses called kumas, meaning the creative god. Only members of the mamazangilan class have the right to attach the kumas motif to their clothing. The pointed shapes on the headdress represent eagle feathers and so indicate the wearer’s social status in Paiwanese society.
Some human head motifs have attachments, such as earrings or a headdress that can have cultural importance. In appendix B, Fig. B-a1 depicts a human head wearing a headdress and earrings, indicating a female figure with authority. According to present family members, the figure represents the first ancestor of the Pakedavai family, Saulalui. The other item attached to the human head is the headband, which can be seen in Appendix B, Fig. B-a3. According to my observations, the headband is a soft cloth tied around the head at forehead level, and worn under the headdress. Female headbands sometimes have round tinkling bells of silver hanging from them. In Appendix B, Fig. B-a3 and B-a6 show the hanging rings at both ends of the headbands on the human heads; these signify the silver accessories worn mostly by the girls in Paiwanese society.

These decorative representations can distinguish status and gender differences in the same way as the objects themselves. The earrings and the headbands with silver attachments are made from materials worn by unmarried girls who are the members of the chief lineage. Representations of accessories on clothing also have the same function as the real items themselves. In addition, the human head is often related to associate elements such as the sun and eagle feathers, building on their cultural significance. The human heads can be interpreted differently based on the kind of scenes in which they are incorporated. For example, Fig. 5-27 shows different coloured horizontal lines under the human heads, they represent the land. The human heads above the land are said to be the people in the tribe, leading a harmonious life under the chief. However, according to Zepulj, if human heads appear on the costumes being held by dancing people, the heads denote the beheading of people from an enemy tribe.
Human head designs have changed in style. The contemporary designs depicting human heads appear in Appendix B, Fig. B-a2, B-a3, B-a4 and B-a6. They are designed by Eleng, a member of the eleventh Pakedavai generation. Others are traditional ones designed by Elayum, of the tenth generation. The contemporary designs are more abstract: in Appendix B, Fig. B-a2 the human head is replaced by the sun pattern. Some of the traditional motifs also have more abstract forms, as seen in Appendix B, Fig. B-a5, which is comprised of coloured bands. The eyes are formed of embroidered black and white dots.

(2) Human figures

Motifs representing human figures often appear in a long band on clothing. In the Pakedavai family, all the human figures are in the figurative category. They appear as a set of dancers, hand in hand with heads facing toward the front. The sequence of figures is often enclosed or framed by linear forms – parallel lines or triangles (see Fig. 5-25). The space between the figures is filled with certain patterns such as suns, flowers, sea shells or geometrical designs such as diamond shapes. This is in keeping with the Paiwanese aesthetic principle of filling in space.

In contrast with other representations on costumes, the set of dancing figures can be seen as being placed in a landscape. The figurative and non-figurative motifs are interrelated and thus create a context for the family members to interpret their meanings within a cultural framework. The figurative human figures are thus embedded by family exegesis to authorize the power of a chief who comes from this family; and the non-figurative motifs here illustrate the multivalent meanings within one particular type of
motif. The most relevant ideas about these figurative and non-figurative motifs suggested by the family members are listed below:

Firstly, the figures convey an atmosphere of peace and joy through the depiction of dancing, which is an essential activity during any important Paiwanese ceremony. Other non-figurative motifs filling in the spaces between human figures also convey cultural messages, or refer to geographical space. Those motifs include the sun, plants and flowers. Other non-figurative representations such as straight lines on top of or at the bottom of human figures, can be interpreted as the belly of the snake, and those beneath some human figures are described as land (see Fig. 5-27). Most of the time the triangular and diamond shapes under those human figures are explained as the scales on the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper’s body (see Fig. 5-26). The triangle patterns can be interpreted as mountains and lands.

Motifs that can be interpreted as landscape provide a background for people who are dancing, and this shows the world in harmony. According to oral communications from members of this family, human figures in a row appearing in the landscape represent tribal people who are encouraged by their chief (*ka-vusam*) to cooperate with each other within the tribe. Some motifs attached on these figures convey messages about gender
division just as they do when real humans display them. For instance, the figures
wearing earrings are representations of females (see Fig. 5-26 and 5-27), while the
figures without earrings and wearing short black skirts are males (see Fig. 5-25).

(3) The sun

The sun motif represents the creator of the universe.

According to a Paiwanese myth, the first ancestor of the
talimarau chiefly family was born of the sun and a sacred
pot. Hence, the sun is viewed as the ancestral creator in
the Ravar sub-group. The sun motif traditionally belonged
exclusively to the Talimarau family. Members of the
Pakedavai family also have sun designs on their clothing,
and they have given them the more general meanings of warmth and hope.

There are twelve sun motifs used on the clothing of the
Pakedavai family. The forms of the sun are varied, but the
main characteristic of them all is the radiating light coming
from the sun. An excellent example of this radiating
pattern is seen in Fig. 5-29. The light can also be
represented by the triangle patterns outside the round core
(see Fig. 5-28). One circle with a cowrie shell at its centre
can also be considered to be a sun pattern.
Sun motifs reflect the trend of changes in style from traditional to contemporary designs by using materials. For example, a contemporarily-styled sun motif uses half-dome pieces of silver attached to the sun by threading (see Fig. 5-30), while a traditionally-styled sun motif is made up of bead embroidery (see Fig. 5-28) or is woven with thread. Another example of material used to create contemporary motifs can be seen in the use of wool yarn as the radiating arms of a sun motif, as seen in Appendix B, picture B-c9. Woollen yarns are much easier to buy now, so they have become another material used for representing the sun motif. From looking at these contemporary sun motifs, it is easy to understand how the members of the Pakedavai family absorb new materials and ideas into their creative work.

(4) The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper

This snake motif is very seldom seen alone but primarily in pairs. This motif can be either figurative (see Fig. 5-31), or non-figurative (see Appendix B, Fig. B-d3). Sometimes it is seen with a human figure between the snakes (see Appendix B, Fig. B-d2). When the snake motif is combined with a human figure, it signifies that the snake is giving strength and courage to that person. According to Zepulj’s interpretation, the strength itself can be represented by an infill of tiny beads as seen in Fig. 5-31.

The snake motif is viewed as a mark of class division and is used by members of the *mamazangilan* class, according to the genesis myths in some Paiwanese regions. However, in the northern area, where Zepulj’s mother came from (the Ravar sub-
group), a myth was told of a young girl, belonging to a commoner’s family, being married to a one-hundred-paces snake. The snake pattern therefore has been shared with commoners and no longer restricted. The pattern is now interpreted to represent the spiritual ancestors which give power and wisdom to Paiwanese people in the north.

Although the snake motif can be used by commoners in the northern area, social status can still be indicated by the styles to represent the snake. For instance, if the snake has ears as in Fig. 5-31 above, it has special power and can only be used by the chiefly families. When commoners wear snake patterns on their clothing, the snake cannot have ears, or any other embellishments.

(5) The sacred pot

The right of the Pakedavai family to use the pot motif on their costumes derived from the marriage relationship with the Talimarau family. The Pakedavai family members have converted the meaning of that pot, which originally belonged to the Talimarau to strengthen their story. The Pakedavai family members interpret pot motifs on their costumes with reference to Kulali, the sacred pot belonging to their family. Paiwanese pots do not normally have their own names. The pot in general is viewed in this culture as a womb. Kulali is the specific name given to the pot when Saulalui was asking for land to the Lasalian family at Maulin village (see chapter three). The name denotes power and peace-making between these two chiefly families.
(6) The butterfly motif

The butterfly motif actually represents a particular kind of moth because the upper side of its wings looks like a snake’s head (see Fig. 5-33). Its pattern is used as a symbol to denote people who have intelligence, and who are bright and clever in doing things. When people have made great contributions to the village, they will be given the gifts with the moth pattern on it. The number of this species has decreased so much so the Paiwanese use butterfly patterns to resemble the moth. In general, the butterfly pattern represents intelligent people who are able to quickly respond to tribal affairs and can provide assistance.

(7) The floral patterns

Generally speaking, floral patterns represent the plants growing on the land owned by the chiefly family. The flowers are representations of their property. The Paiwanese word for those floral patterns means “flourishing flowers on the earth” (see Fig. 5-34).

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76 Paiwanese people now call the moth motif as “butterfly” and seldom refers it as a moth.
There are four floral patterns used by the Pakedavai on their textiles. The oldest embroidered patterns are those done in black and white, shown in Fig. 5-35. In this family, when clothing becomes old or even threadbare, the women detach the embroidered patterns and reattach them to new fabric for making new costumes.

This black and white pattern is an example. It is now attached to an article of clothing which is not the original one it belonged to. This distinct pattern is composed of repetitions of two vertically arranged flowers with eight petals, and these two flowers are enclosed by zigzag lines that virtually form a diamond where the patterns join. This pattern is duplicated horizontally in a row. Outside the diamond, the empty spaces beside the diamonds are filled in with the same floral patterns. The diamond shape resembles the marks on the back of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper while the floral patterns are plants. The aesthetic principles expressed in this black and white pattern are symmetry, repetition and regularity.

The pattern shown in Fig. 5-34 is comprised of four floral patterns, each is at the tip of a cross mark with four lines stretching from the four edge sides of the cross to delineate the space into four squares. Each floral pattern is contained within a square outlined by those four lines. This floral motif is enclosed by four duplicated diamond shaped patterns with repeated triangles outside the diamond. The four flowers can be divided into two symmetrical pairs; one is vertically formed while the other is horizontal. The colours chosen for the patterns are also symmetrical. The embroidery pattern is a traditional one and was made by Elayum for her third child, Zepulj. The pattern is used on the bands that occur on the edges of clothing, such as sleeves. Zepulj wears this clothing for important ceremonies because it fits her status.
The pattern shown in Fig. 3-36 is made up of five floral shapes stretched out from the core point with two tiny leaves at the bottom. Red and green flowers in pairs are placed symmetrically. This pattern is structured in a row without being enclosed by any outlines. However, beside the row there is also a row of diamond shape patterns which represent the back of the snake.

The last motif in this floral section is the one shown in Fig. 5-37. This motif is special because it depicts the combination of snake head and flowers. This pattern is a contemporary one composed of a black octagon floral pattern inside a red square. At each side of the square there are four horn shape patterns with a snake head in the middle of the horn representing a variation in the form of the Deinagkistrodon acutus viper.

These four patterns are the main embroidered floral patterns of the Pakedavai family. Others floral patterns including some small ones such as octagon shape and fan shape are used for the purpose of infill in the decoration of the clothing.

My analysis of the floral designs shows that the distinction between figurative and non-figurative forms is not absolute and that particular when included in complex patterns the design tends to play on the relationship between the two, with figurative and geometric patterns shifting according to the viewers focus.
Non-figurative representations

Fig. 5-38: Diamond-shaped patterns

I have defined five categories to cover main sets of non-figurative designs. They are: triangular (see Appendix B, Fig. B-h3), diamond (see Fig. 5-38, and in Appendix B, Fig. B-h1), cross (see Appendix B, Fig. B-h5 and B-h6), straight line (see Appendix B, Fig. B-h7) and herringbone (see Appendix B, Fig. B-h3 and B-h4). The Paiwanese use many geometric patterns on their costumes, and the most common ones are the triangle and diamond patterns which are symbols of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper’s body decorations. The Paiwanese called patterns on the snake’s body: “kinawat watsan”. When the snake moves, the patterns move with it and look very beautiful. So therefore, the patterns on the snake’s body were made into the embroideries on *mamazangilan* people’s costumes (Pan, 1997b, p. 117).

The diamond, triangle and herringbone patterns resemble the markings on the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper; they also symbolize natural phenomena such as mountains or land. The meaning of the individual element depends on context and the process of oral transmission. Non-figurative patterns are usually small and some are used for decorative borders or to fill in spaces between figurative motifs.
The design of the specific, complex cross pattern shown in Fig. 5-39 and 5-40 belongs exclusively to the Pakedavai family. This design is similar to the pattern on the wooden eave beams comprised of four diamond shaped human heads; between each pair of heads are three curve lines joining them. However, there is a slight difference between the motif used on the eave beam and those on the clothing. The heads on the beam are turned outward while those on the clothing are turned inward. The diamond heads have turned into more and more abstract forms as the result of the development of contemporary design.

The symbolic meaning of the motif on clothing is the desire of the members of the Pakedavai family for unity. The meaning of the motif on the beam denotes that the family’s desire in the past was to extend their land outside their territory. In today’s society, while facing the challenges of the outside world, family members need to be united. Therefore, the family members designed and made the heads turn inward.

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77 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, May 10, 2012
The linear pattern (see Fig. 5-41) appears on the cuffs and hems as the final lines woven on the garments. In Paiwanese language, the word used for those linear pattern means boundary, or the border between things. However the pattern has dual connotations referring to the setting of a boundary and to continuity or expansion beyond the limits of the boundaries. In the Pakedavai family, those linear patterns represent land. Another meaning, as recounted by the Paiwanese artist, Sakuliu, that these repeated straight lines are interpreted as the lines on the belly of the snake. They refer to the “trail” made by the snake. The message of the lines is to “keep on going”, referring to the creation of a lasting posterity.

5-3-3. Combined motifs

When motifs are combined they convey more narrative interpretations than just a single design. For example, when the pot motif is combined with the human head *kumas*, they convey the idea of the Talimarau family myth telling of the ancestor who was born of the pot (see Fig. 5-42). The current heir of the chief’s position into Pakedavai family wears a jacket decorated with a pattern, featuring a man and a pair of snakes (see Fig. 5-45). It was made by his grandmother. The human motif is interpreted to be the wearer of the garment, who in the case is the first-born child (*vusam*) of his generation of this family. As so, the snakes are giving power to this *vusam*, or heir of the Pakedavai family in order to lead the people of his village.
Part Four: Motifs on the eave beams and costumes of the family

In this section, I will relate the motifs on eave beams and costumes of the Pakedavai family to explore the social value conveyed by them. The motifs on these two media need to be seen as different expressions of the same overall system. The arguments are: firstly, the motifs on both materials function to communicate a similar set of ideas, allowing for the transmission of general cultural concepts as well as individual understanding. Secondly, the motifs have social function, including status differentiation and tracing lineage relationships in this cognatic society.

I find it useful to apply the concept used by Evelyn Payne Hatcher in discussing art as symbolising society. She classifies art forms which can be viewed as symbols denoting meanings in society in two ways: firstly, as “symbols of social organization”, which are seen as relating to the way people interact with each other in organized ways based on kinship, political and economic status. The other category of symbols she defines are art forms that are related to the ways people are united by common ideas and values (Hatcher, 1985, p. 121). In the Paiwanese case, these two categories can be used in explaining the cultural concepts of motifs on the beams and costumes. In the category of symbols of social organization, most of the motifs on these artefacts represent divisions in the society, and some motifs reflect lineage connections between families. In the northern area, for instance, the motifs of the pot, the sun and the tiuma on clothing represent of the most privileged family in this area, as well as marriage relationship to individuals who married outside this family.

Motifs on both eave beams and costumes are also integral to the Paiwanese system of representing cosmology, ideas, beliefs and knowledge, as well as reflection of the natural world. The motifs of the pot and sun reflect regional cosmology, representing
the origin of the ancestor of one chief family, the Talimarau. In the Paiwanese belief system, motifs like *kumas* and human heads taken in tribal battles symbolise the traditional religious belief. The social value system is reflected in the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper motif, which has the connotation of the wisdom of the elders and warrior bravery. Some motifs represent traditional costumes such as those dancing human figures in scenes depicting ceremonies. Overall the set of motifs can be seen as a general but dynamic representation of the worldview of the Paiwanese people.

Motifs also reflect the relationship between the Paiwanese and the natural world. The ideas that inspire the Paiwanese to make art works are derived largely from the nature. This feature is also reflected in the design of their costumes. For example, the buttons on the blouse are called *laligi* in Paiwanese language, which means centipede. The shape of this *laligi* button looks like a centipede with many feet (see Fig. 5-43). The split side of the women’s blouse represents a forked stick used to pick up snakes. The term for this split side seam is called *lagia*, meaning stick. The name for floral patterns in general also denotes the notion of blooming flowers on the ground, which is very popular on the costumes. Some natural elements mentioned before are shaped as triangles. The triangular patterns can mean the snake as well as the mountain. These kinds of representation are understood to demonstrate the harmonious relationship between the people and the nature world. Nature provides the Paiwanese with inspiration for creating their art works.

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*Personal Communication with Umass Zingrur, April 23, 2013*
The second connection between the motifs on both types of artefact is that they have the function of enhancing awareness of social order. One role of these motifs is to distinguish between social ranks in Paiwanese society. For example, the motif *kumas* on the eave beam of the chief family represents the spiritual identity and ancestry of this particular family (Kadrangian, 2011, p. 228).

The third connection between the motifs that appeared on eave beam as well as clothing is that they reflect a dynamic relationship which brings forward the network of kin relations as well as absorbing new relationship in the present. The members of Talimarau family claim the exclusive right to use motifs of pot and sun originated from their genesis myths. The other *mamazangilan* families need to be married to someone from the Talimarau so then they can have the right to use the artefacts, ornaments, and names belong to this family. For example, the Pakedavai family now has right to use the sun and pot motifs on their clothing, but these motifs have never been found on the family’s old slate house. The sun and pot motifs originated with the Talimarau family, which the wife of the tenth heir, Pakedavai chief belongs. So, only people who share the blood of the Talimarau family could claim the right to use the sun and pot motifs on their clothing. One Paiwanese elder explains this as a kind of “transplant phenomenon”. He explains the primary way for the Paiwanese *ka-vusam* families to extend their power and authority is through marriage with other *mamazangilan* families. In this way, the authority can be transferred peacefully (Kadrangian, 2011, p. 240). When the marriage is established, the motifs also transferred from one family (normally the one with higher authority) to the other. Therefore, most Paiwanese can trace their ancestral origins through the motifs on their artefacts. Thus, this case shows that the interpretation of the origin of motifs pot and sun pattern which is brought by the wife of the tenth heir of the family, was influenced by the Parilaiyan system belonging to the Ravar sub-group (see...
Furthermore, it is possible to trace the lineage connection through the usage of certain motifs on clothing. Women prepare formal costumes for their daughter(s) or granddaughter(s). Some will design particular motifs to sew on the clothing that passes through the mothers’ line in the family. For instance, in Pakedavai family, Zepulj has a floral pattern designed by her mother and she replicated it on the detachable collar worn by her daughter (see Fig. 5-19 and Fig. 5-44). Thus, some motifs on costumes can help to trace kinship and lineage, as was the case motifs showing the connection to the Talimarau family. Another case is that the Pakedavai family develops its own sun motif style (see Appendix B, Fig. B-c5-B-c10). This kind of family styled design can be thought of as an insignia of a particular family or a designer. This kind of new style consisting of one motif can be inherited from generation to generation and then become a family trademark.

The fourth connection is that certain motifs have been created as family style and have specific interpretations. The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper motif, for example represents spiritual ancestors in some Paiwanese tribes, however, it is explained as a protective companion in the northern area and in the Pakedavai family. Another examples are the sun and the pot pattern, which all originated from the Talimarau family, and they are all given different exegeses by the members of the Pakedavai family.
Part Five: Social significance of the motifs on costumes

5-5-1. Possession of the artefacts

From the discussion above, we know that some motifs on eave beams and costumes perform the social function of indicating class division. Not only do motifs serve social functions, but also the possession of certain artefacts and ornaments does the same. They reinforce the inheritance system, in which the first-born child in a family is the heir. The most treasured artefacts are passed on to the first-born child, who is referred to as the vusam. Although the current heir may own an inherited object, and it is in his possession, he does not have the right to sell it or give it away. If the heir is a very young child, such treasured items must be placed in the care of a reliable family member.

Rules regarding the possession of properties in Paiwanese culture require that the most treasured objects belonging to a family are passed onto the heir regardless of gender. The Paiwanese believe that the property of a family has its own power, and it should be in the possession of the appropriate member of the family. It is believed that if people don’t obey this rule, misfortunes will befall them, and perhaps their entire family. Among the antique items now held by the vusam of the Pakedavai family, are one headdress and a long blouse. The style of the headdress and blouse are feminine because they belonged to his mother. The blouse was altered in accordance with the male style, but; the feminine yoke (dogudogu) with silver ornamentation is still retained on top of the blouse. Zulezule’s antique headdress, although now is owned by her son, who is the male vusam in this family, is worn by the female members of the family on important occasions such as wedding ceremonies (see Fig. 5-45). From this case, we can see that through the tracing of ownership of certain motif like the feminine yoke in this family, it is possible to trace the lineage connection in a family.
Fig. 5-45: The heirloom worn by the 11th heir of the Pakedavai family
The Pakedavai family has developed a specific design for use on clothing associated with a motif on the eave beams in their slate house and given it a special interpretation.

To the Paiwanese, such inherited patterns on the clothing convey information about the family or the individual. When I was doing fieldwork in another Paiwanese village, called Laiyi (see Fig. 5-47), I was shown by the heir of a family connected to the chiefly family an example of the tattooing clothing (see Fig. 5-46). The heir of this family explained to me that the patterns on the material, and the composition of the design exemplify principles that guided male chiefs when they were being tattooed. The tattooed clothing represented the human male body. This is a particular

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79 Personal communication with a heir woman at Laiyi village, July15, 2009
good example of the fact that Paiwanese people view the patterns on clothing as emblems representing themselves. Patterns on clothing were developed into different styles among different families, and by looking at the representations of the motifs on clothing; people belonging to a particular village can identify the families the wearers belong to. Again on my visit to Laiyi village, the members of the chiefly family showed me a *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper motif on clothing made in their family style. They asked me not to show my photo of this specific snake motif to any other Paiwanese people outside their family because they didn’t want them to copy it.

Like the people in Laiyi village, members of the Pakedavai family also developed motifs in their own style for applying to their clothing and are concerned to maintain their relationship to the designs. Zepulj told me once that she suspected that a garment worn by her neighbour on one occasion had been made by her mother. She recognized a floral pattern that seemed very much like one that had been embroidered by her mother. So, she searched through some old pictures to look for the pattern, and finally she found the pattern on a garment worn by her eldest sister. She told me that the tunic her neighbour was wearing might have been given to her neighbour by her mother.

Another example is that members of the Pakedavai family use three interpretive motifs on their clothing. The first is the yoke symbolizing the family pot, Kulali. The symbolic concept of this family pot is the power and authority possessed by their first ancestor, who overwhelmed the other tribe as discussed in chapter two. In memory of this historical event and in recognition of the implication of Kulali, the Pakedavai also have the pot’s image embroidered on their clothing. The detachable or fixed decorative yokes

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80 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, July 20, 2010
worn by female members of this family are viewed as symbols of Kulali as well we female power conveyed by the first ancestor, Saulalui. The common feature shared by the yoke and the pot Kulali is the rounded rows on them. The round dots resemble women’s breasts. Some yokes in the Pakedavai family were made to resemble the Kulali by imitating these rows of dots using coins or rounded pieces of silver, and further, the yokes, including attachable or detachable ones, representing the entire pot. The detachable embroidered yoke (see Fig. 5-48 below) named alavas, comprised of tiny beads and metal attachments – including hanging pendants such as copper bells, taggers, metal chains, coins – is a splendid part of the Paiwanese female costume. Similar materials are also used on the headdresses. When girls wear this yoke, the metal shines in the sun and the bells create musical sounds. Only the female chiefly members can wear a detachable yoke and the Pakedavai family is no exception. The yoke can be formed as an attached design, representing its shape and becomes part of the costume itself (see Fig. 5-49 below). This attached yoke is called dukuduku in Paiwanese language.

The Pakedavai family gives the form of yoke its own special significance. They link the form of yoke to the form of Kulali – the sacred pot of the Pakedavai family – by focusing on the circular shapes of the two objects and having its own interpretation of the meaning of the pot which will be explained in the later section. I was told by the clothing designer that their yokes are different from those of other families, because the others seldom include two rows of round objects. Later, I interviewed one female elder from the Talimarau family about the idea of their yokes. She told me that the yokes worn by her family represented the sun, which is believed to be the creative ancestors of
this family. Therefore, I argue that some material objects, such as the yokes here, were endowed with symbolic meanings of family differences in order to inscribe them with particular histories or myths and legends. Furthermore, I argue that the kin relations in this cognatic society can be traced through the usage of certain artefacts, such as the pot design on costumes came into Pakedavai family two generations ago from mother’s line and is further developed by this family to add to their family possession and exegesis.

![Detachable family yoke belonging to the Pakedavai family](image)

Fig. 5-48: Detachable family yoke belonging to the Pakedavai family

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81 Personal communication with Zepulj Talimara, July 05, 2010
Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the meanings conveyed by those motifs on clothing belonging to a particular family. Through those ideas implied in the motifs apply to clothing, I have explored the historical development of one facet of Paiwanese material culture as it is reflected in the adornment of the clothing. Clothing is a vehicle for projecting the trajectories of material development through generations. The significance of the Paiwanese clothing discussed in this chapter are: Firstly, the motifs on both the Pakedavai family’s clothing and eave beams in their old slate house are arranged in a sequence that depicts the origin and history of this family. These motifs act as insignia signalling social status. Thus, the motifs on clothing can represent history and stories of a particular family, and the personal contributions of individuals. Secondly, the motifs have social function to demonstrate authority and thus help maintain social order. Thirdly, motifs can illustrate the interrelationships such as kin relations between different families and lineage connections in one particular family.

In this chapter I have also explored the aesthetic principle reflected on the form of costumes. The aesthetic principles reflected in the motifs on clothing include the use of
three main colours: green, yellow and orange\textsuperscript{82} with tonal variation. The other aesthetic principles are flat design, symmetry, repetitions and filling in space, which are similar to the aesthetic principles reflected in the composition of motifs on the eave beams. The other aesthetic principle is the quality of the delicate sound made by accessories with silver bells that worn by the unmarried girls. The Paiwanese consider every person a living artefact, and each individual can create his or her own style to display their own particular beauty and personality, and these accessories play the part of enhancing their beauty.

\textsuperscript{82} The Paiwanese believe that those were the colours of the antique glass beads, which they believed to have originated from the colours of rainbow (see chapter seven).
Chapter Six: Cultural semiotic systems related to beads

Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the way in which the visual patterns on Paiwanese glass beads encode meanings. The analytical method I have adopted for this chapter is formal analysis, finding that the representational system reflected in the Paiwanese beads is a semiotic one. I have analysed thirty-four glass bead types associated with social meanings I have recorded with a help of a Paiwanese elder, Umass Zingrur. Umass interviewed a number of Paiwanese women elders who had a profound knowledge of glass beads, and so became an important informant on the beads used in his society. The information comes from several interviews with Umass and the women who produce and combine beads to make artefacts in Sandimen village. The people I worked with belong mainly to the Ravar sub-group of the Paiwan group (see chapter two, page 25), and hence my analysis applies to the northern system. The information from the interviews was recorded in my field notes from February to December in 2011, and January to March in 2012.

I relate the forms and meanings of the beads to their social functions, finding that certain functions of beads in the past have survived to the present day, and also that some have been revived. Today, the Paiwanese people use different beads on various occasions and there is considerable continuity of meaning and context associated with earlier times. Although the main functions of beads have remained much the same in this society, some of the ways the beads are used have changed.

The Paiwanese have preserved the wisdom and cultural knowledge contained in the patterns on their glass beads through the development of oral history. My argument is
that the patterns and the colours of each bead contain independent meanings. That is, every bead conveys a particular meaning by means of its colours and patterns. Each bead is an independent sign unit recalling or enhancing cultural memory.

Paiwanese glass beads are deemed to be one of the three sacred objects within Paiwanese society; the other two being the bronze knife and the sacred pot. According to the artist, Sakuliu Pavavaljung, “Paiwanese people view the sacred pot as the womb of our culture; it was where our ancestors originated from. The bronze knife represents men, and glass beads women. Ancestors, men and women are the three major elements in the organization of Paiwanese society” (Pavavaljung, 2006, pp. 23-24). This chapter will briefly explore the history of Paiwanese bead culture and the meanings conveyed by the patterns of selected beads, in order to identify those beads as knowledge carriers within this culture.

6-1. The origins of the glass beads

There are two kinds of Paiwanese glass beads: antique ones that were carried to Taiwan with the Paiwanese ancestors, and contemporary ones they have made. In this chapter, I will use these two terms, antique and contemporary, to distinguish the imported beads from the Paiwanese-made ones.

The Paiwanese have possessed glass beads for thousands of years. However, their ancestors did not have the technology needed to make the beads and could not explain how they were made. This suggests that the patterns on the beads were created outside Paiwanese society. Contemporary interpretations of the beads are not likely to be those of the people who originally made them. The Paiwanese have incorporated the patterns on the beads and given meanings to them within the framework of their own culture. They regarded them as gifts from gods, treasures to protect the tribes. There are several
theories regarding the origin of glass beads put forward by Taiwanese researchers. Meijr Shiu, in her book *Paiwanese glass beads*, claims that antique Paiwanese glass beads could possibly belong to different historical periods (Shiu, 2005, pp. 62-64). One theory is that opaque glass beads came with the Paiwanese ancestors when they arrived in Taiwan. These opaque glass beads were mainly possessed by the Paiwan and the Rukai; identified as “broad Paiwanese groups”83. The beads are not found in any other indigenous groups in Taiwan. From this, one Taiwanese researcher, Chilu Chen, infers that the Paiwanese group may possibly have migrated to Taiwan later than other indigenous groups. Chen also suggested that if the beads had come from trade between the Taiwanese indigenous people and those from other countries thousands of years ago, they would also be found in other groups (C. Chen, 1967, pp. 38-41).

Because the Paiwanese ancestors valued these opaque glass beads highly, they used them as bride price for the chiefs’ weddings, as well as heirlooms. These beads were primarily circulated among Paiwanese societies, and were seldom found in other regions in Taiwan. If this is so, Chen argues, the Paiwanese could not have migrated to Taiwan before the time when such beads were widely spread in South-East Asia around the first century A.D. (C. Chen, 1967). Another kind of antique glass bead is acknowledged to have come from Dutch traders during the seventeenth century. In addition, some antique glass beads were traded with the Chinese after the seventeenth century. The Paiwanese can distinguish imported or traded beads from those that came to Taiwan with the ancestors by the distinct patterns on those beads. The patterns on the beads the ancestors brought to Taiwan were given individual meanings and names,

83 These two groups have similar cultural characteristics, including social organization as well as material cultures, so they are general termed as “Paiwanese groups”. However, they are identified as two groups because their languages are different.
whereas the traded beads were normally referred to collectively as *ulanda*, which means beads that come from exotic places.  

**6-2. The characteristics of the antique glass beads**

According to Taiwanese scholar Chilu Chen’s analysis, and confirmed by Shiu, these antique glass beads came from South-East Asian manufacturing regions. Such beads contain lead, a common ingredient used in South-East Asia instead of barium, which was a common ingredient in the antique beads made by the Chinese during the Han Dynasty (202-220B.C.) (Shiu, 2005, p.63). This difference in ingredients distinguishes South-East Asian beads from those made in China and could therefore indicate that neither the antique beads nor possibly the Paiwanese ancestors came from China. The antique glass beads have become evidence to trace the place of origin of the Paiwanese people.

The opaque antique beads can be distinguished by their colours, patterns and the size of their holes. The colours are embedded inside the beads, and the patterns are distinctive and can be categorized into styles. The holes are wider than those in contemporary beads. In general, the shapes of the antique beads are more irregular and the surfaces rougher than those of contemporary products.

**6-3. The stories explaining the origins of Paiwanese glass beads**

According to the bead expert, Umass Zingrur, there are three primary stories about the origins of glass beads. These stories came from the oral histories told by the chiefly women Umass interviewed. One of the origin stories explained that a god in heaven instructed the Paiwanese priests to have tribesmen capture various dragonflies, then take

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84 The information about the origins of the beads came from a Paiwanese viewpoint. The study of regional trade has to be further examined.
out the eyes of the insects to fill one hundred baskets. The eyes were combined with
dust and covered with a wooden mortar for a whole day. The eyes turned into
transparent glass beads, which the Paiwanese believed to be the most beautiful gifts god
had ever given to humans. The Paiwanese named the beads *ata*, which means “beautiful
fruit”.

The second story tells of a wise white-haired sage living under a waterfall. The sage
used a sacred plate to collect water from the waterfall, and he chanted a song with the
words, “It’s a joy that dragonflies turn into immortals”. The water on the plate
immediately turned into transparent glass beads. This story also explains the source of
glass beads. The third story claims that the beads came from a chiefly woman who
approached a magic tree (banyan) to beg for precious and delicious fruit to grow on the
tree. Before long, the tree started to bear delicacies such as pig’s livers and hearts, as
well as colourful glass beads and round shells for the members of chiefly families. This
story affirms that the right to use glass beads belongs to *mamazangilan* class, and that
the beads have sacred attributes because of their relation to banyan tree. These are the
surviving stories explaining the origins of glass beads and the significance of the beads
in Paiwanese culture. Although some Paiwanese people believe that the other name
for glass beads, which is “dragonfly’s beads”, came from a Japanese language
translation, I argue that these stories about the origins of the beads explain the term
“dragonfly beads” to some extent, as well as the significance of the beads’ relations to
the sacred world. The Paiwanese tend to look on these antique glass beads as sacred and
mysterious.

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85 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 02, 2011
86 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 04, 2011
Fig. 6-1: Bead Table. The images are drawn by Umass Zingrur and the permission of the use of these images is offered by him.
6-4. The significance of the glass beads in Paiwanese culture

Paiwanese glass beads are given their names according to the patterns on them. Umass Zingrur revolutionized the uses of beads by recreating the techniques for producing them. He is regarded as “the Father of beads” in northern Paiwanese villages. He spent several years doing fieldwork among a number of Paiwanese tribes to investigate the meanings of different beads. Umass has concluded that there are at least thirty-four beads with explicit meanings. However, he believes that there may be other beads that have meanings but have not been discovered. This may be in part because the Paiwanese people view beads, especially antique glass beads, as family heirlooms, so some of them refuse to display their beads and speak out their meanings in public.

There are also taboos on the usage of certain beads, and this makes researching their meanings difficult, or even impossible. It is also likely that the significance of certain beads has been lost over time or that they have never had particular meanings.

Beads can be significant in three major ways. Firstly, their names sometimes connote divisions between social strata. Not every bead has this kind of association. The main criterion for judging the status of a bead is to see how it is used in wedding ceremonies as part of the bride price. For example, some beads are used in the weddings of the members of the mamazangilan and middle classes. The type of bead used for chiefly weddings is called Mulimulitan (nobility bead), while the bead used by the middle class is called Makacaigau (bead of wisdom). Commoners are not permitted to use beads as their bride price. Secondly, just like the core motif designs on slate houses and traditional costumes, the beads are integrated into the transmission of cultural knowledge and myths by means of their patterns and associated stories. Thirdly, the beads have different monetary values. This value is associated with the bride price in wedding ceremonies, and corresponds with social status, so the most expensive beads
are used in the chief family’s weddings. Beads play a role in making and producing the social hierarchical order because of the different values given to them.

6-5. Regional differences and types of the Paiwanese glass beads

The compositions of necklaces, and narratives of the stories of individual beads, have different meanings and appeal in different Paiwanese regions. Another indicator of the importance of particular beads is the positions they are placed in a particular necklace. The discussion in this chapter is based on the knowledge system of the northern area of Paiwanese settlements. The culture here has been enormously influenced by the Ravar sub-group.

Paiwanese divided their beads into three types, based on sizes and patterns: single, coloured beads that can be either small or medium in size, and large beads that are multi-coloured. Generally speaking, the bigger ones with colourful patterns on them are much more important than the single-coloured ones. But, there are exceptions. The single-colour orange bead is very significant in some Paiwanese areas, and in the past even had value as currency. The bead still maintains at least a symbolic reference to wealth. In terms of shape, the majority of beads are cylindrically shaped, and just a few beads have other shapes, such as round, oval and melon.

6-6. Transmission of the knowledge inscribed in beads

The transmission of knowledge concerning beads in traditional times relied on oral transmission. Normally, knowledge about glass beads is restricted to women of mamazangilan class. Glass beads have always been seen as equivalent to the women or as part of the women’s bodies\(^87\). During important ceremonies such as chiefly weddings and funerals, the status and character of the key female will be publicity recognized in

\(^{87}\) Personal communication with Chungfa Tung, August 02, 2011
songs that feature the names of certain beads. The beads, or their individual names attribute values and qualities to the key woman. For example, in a wedding ceremony, the bride’s status is sung, and the song proclaims that her finger nails are as beautiful as ada (the collective name of all glass beads in the Paiwanese language), meaning that she is beautiful in every detail. Commoner women should not be the subjects of this kind of song.

Before Japanese colonization (1895-1945), people belonging to the mamazangilan class of Paiwanese society were responsible for transmitting the history and knowledge of their society. In the traditional society, knowledge was passed on through the different activities or ceremonies associated with each season. For these events, women would bring out their necklaces and take the beads off from the linen thread, then recompose them to fit the occasions. Before beads were passed on to the next generation, they were restrung and reordered according to the particulars of the inheritance or the gender of the recipient. On such occasions, children gathered to ask the meanings of the beads and the order in which they were strung on the necklace. Among those children, there would usually be one or two who studied the process seriously, out of either curiosity or responsibility, and therefore gained some knowledge concerning the beads. Not every child has the capacity to remember such details or the eagerness to learn them, therefore, knowledge about beads was held by those who observed intelligently and remembered what they were told. Not every child, however, had an equal right to learn, because commoners didn’t have this kind of opportunity or access to the beads. As a result, the transmission of knowledge about beads became more and more restricted among the Paiwanese people.
6-7. The meanings of the patterns

In this part, I will introduce the meanings of individual beads with reference to their patterns and colours, to illustrate how the cultural meanings inscribed on those beads became a form of collective memory. The symbolic meanings of the beads are derived from conceptual ideas represented by the patterns. Most of the patterns on the beads are abstract, but nearly all patterns on beads can be seen to have an element of resemblance to natural phenomena, and so they are iconic from the Paiwanese perspective.

Paiwanese people associate certain attributes of those insect, animals or plants with particular cultural values which are in turn represented by bead patterns. Thus, the patterns on the beads can be viewed as an iconic system of representation while they also convey symbolic connotations based on correlations between the characteristics of natural objects and Paiwanese values.

I define the patterns on the beads as non-figurative representations as they do not have realistic likeness to the things they represent; the formal resemblance is arbitrary between the signifier and signified. The beads were traded in from outside the society and their form was not originally motivated by likeness with the object it is seen to represent today. However, the Paiwanese refer to some glass beads with the term maru before the name of beads. The word maru means “something like”. For example, the bead named maru-zalum, means “look-like water”. The names of the beads are said to be like things in the natural world, such as water or smoke. The Paiwanese are therefore drawing analogies between the forms of the beads and the things they represent, so a

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88 According to Angkil, most of the beads can be add maru before their names. However, beads are often called without maru except a few ones conventionally (Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, October 02, 2011).
degree of iconicity between the patterns on the beads and their referents has been built into the system of association over time. And this is in effect recognised by the use of maru at the beginning of bead names is to point out the resemblance between the signifier (the patterns on beads) and the signified (natural elements). The term for the bead guides the interpretative process – verbal and visual practices work in conjunction with one another. At another level, the patterns on the beads are linked to a Paiwanese cultural processes by associating their forms with symbolic, qualitative and ideological meanings.

I have divided the patterns into four categories. These categories reflect the conceptual process from the natural world to the visual elements on the glass beads; some similar shapes share the same meanings but that is not always the case. I found the categorizations helpful in understanding how the Paiwanese endowed patterns with meanings. However, the symbolism of the patterns on a particular bead can be very individual and distinctive and should be read separately. I will discuss each of the categories of patterns separately below.

6-7-1. Wave patterns

Wave patterns occur on the Mulimulitan, Garamugam and Maru-Aris beads and have similar meanings on all three. Colours are important elements in determining which category the bead belongs to, and meanings vary according to colours.

(1) Mulimulitan (Nobility bead)

Umass explains that, there are several kinds of Mulimulitan which can be distinguished by their colours and patterns; most of them however, have lost their meanings and names. The five most popular ones circulating in the society today are: Mulimulitan-Kaulayan, Mulimulitan-Lami, Mulimulitan-Maca, Mulimulitan-Mui and Mulimulitan-
Zalum (see Fig. 6-1, 3-7). Colour is the key element that determines whether or not a bead is a Mulimilitan. The colours of a Mulimulitan are either red, yellow and blue, or green, yellow and red, on a white background. Red colour represents the fire produce the smoke inside the house, and it also signifies the life of living things on the earth. Therefore, the more red there is on a Mulimulitan, the more value the bead has. At the most general level, Mulimulitan have the meaning of smoke and mist. More specific meanings are attached to beads according to the specific characteristics of their patterns.

Wave patterns on a Mulimulitan bead (see Fig. 6-2) resemble smoke rising from a cooking stove in a slate house. That smoke indicates that there are people living inside the house, so life is continuing. In this sense, the wave pattern also signifies the continuity of life. Traditional old slate houses have windows in their roofs. When the windows are open, the sunlight would shine through them to the floor. The sun shines through the roof, directly to the front of the ancestral post in the morning, which was the most sacred place in a Paiwanese house. It is also the place, in a northern story, where the sacred pot was lit by the sun and gave birth to the first noble ancestor of the Talimara, the first chief family among the Ravar sub-group. So, the Paiwanese communicate with their gods and the spiritual world through the smoke or mist rising from this window on the roofs of their houses. Related to this belief is a saying that when the whole earth is covered by mist, it is time for the people to communicate with heaven.

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89 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 09, 2011

90 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 10, 2011
The Mulimulitan bead carries the meaning of communicating with the sun through smoke or mist. Through its associations with the aristocratic line going back to its beginning, the Mulimulitan has the connotation of elegance and nobility; and it is seen as the insignia of the *mamazangilan* class because the members of this class have a direct relationship with the gods. The Taiwanese researcher Shuluen Wu (2009) also interviewed Sakuliu about the significance of Mulimulitan beads. She writes:

> The patterns of the glass beads have their own meanings. For example, the meaning of the Mulimulitan is related to the sun and the sacred space inside an old slate house. … Traditionally the Paiwanese people made a fire under the stove after they got up in the morning. The smoke from the stove curled up inside the house to the sacred window above the stove on the roof. When the smoke pass through the window and was touched by the sunlight, we would say: *mulitan adau*. Adau referred to the sun, and *mulitan* means I am alive, so people greeted the sun by saying “I am still alive, please look at the smoke I made”.

The sub-name of the most powerful Mulimulitan bead is Kaulayan, which means “the real thing”; it is the insignia of members of the *mamazangilan* class. The main characteristic of this Kaulayan bead is it pattern of several waves (see Fig. 6-2). The more waves on a Mulimulitan, the more important it is. The colours used on it are red, blue and yellow on a white or grey ground. Mulimulitan beads made with the same colours but different patterns are Lami, Maca, Mui and Zalum.

Lami is a Mulimulitan with five dots placed between the wave lines (see Fig. 6-3). The dots denote food resources such as grains, and the reference is to an abundant supply. Maca has one single dot in the centre, which signifies eyes (see Fig.6-1, 5). In Maulin village, people believe that the dot represents the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper eye. Mui, meaning white stone, is a smaller Mulimulitan; it connotes the value of stability and strength (see Fig. 6-1, 6).
The final sub-type in the Mulimulitan category is Zalum. This bead is characterized by blue wave patterns on a white or grey background (see Fig. 6-4). There are two different interpretations of this bead. Zalum means water. However, according to Umass, some Paiwanese people believe that this bead is also called Ligulaw, which means “tiger” or “leopard”. So, the name Ligulaw conveys the meaning of power gained by force. Interestingly, there are no such animals in the Paiwanese regions, which are in the southern mountainous area of Taiwan, so the meaning could be a cultural memory inscribed in this pattern. It might be assumed that the Paiwanese came from a place in which those animals appeared.

The classifications of different beads as Mulimulitan represent different hierarchies and functions, signified by their diverse names. Mulimulitan-Kaulayan (see Fig. 6-2) has the most important social function in the northern Paiwanese region. It is used as the most valuable bride price during wedding ceremonies of mamazangilan families. Other Mulimulitan beads can never replace it. Kaulayan can be either male or female according to whether the pattern colours pervade the inner part of the bead or not. If the colours penetrate the inner material of the bead, it is classified as a male one, whereas if the colours stay on the surface it is female. The other way to distinguish male from female beads is by the pattern itself. If the wave patterns are sharper on their end points, it is male (see Fig. 6-2) and if the pattern is rounder, then it is female. Although the male one has a sharper point on the pattern than the female one, the wave pattern still floats like a wave or mist. The male Mulimulitan-Kaulayan has significant social functions and is used in the bride price for mamazangilan class marriages. If the groom’s family cannot find an appropriate male Mulimulitan-Kaulayan bead for the wedding, the ceremony might not be held. Its value as bride price is based on its pattern,
colours, and size. The other gendered Mulimulitan beads are Mulimulitan-Lami (see Fig. 6-3) and Mulimulitan-Maca (see Fig. 6-1, 5). The Lami bead is classified as male while the Maca bead is female. Although Mulimulitan-Lami is male, it cannot be used as a bride price, like Mulimulitan-Kaulayan, in the weddings of *mamazangilan* class members but is put in the central area of a traditional *talivucong* necklace.

(2) Garamugam (Wishing Bead)

The name of the bead Garamugam means bird’s claw. The bead is characterised by a grey or white wave patterns on a red ground (see Fig. 6-5). In the past, the Paiwanese people would throw this bead, like throwing dice, to determine whether their wishes would come true or not. The outcome of their wishes depended on the orientation of the bead when it landed. The Paiwanese believed that their wish would come true just as a bird’s claw could catch its prey. The other meanings of this bead is given are elegance, uniqueness and beauty. The Garamugam bead is not classed as Mulimulitan because of its colours, but it is second in importance to Mulimulitan in some areas. When constructing a traditional necklace, the bead producers always place a Garamugam bead second to a Mulimulitan in the central area.

There are three kinds of Garamugam wave patterns, all appeared on a red ground. One is a single white or grey wave patterns; another is a two-wave pattern (see Fig. 6-6), and the third comprises white patterns. There are hierarchies among these three Garamugam beads. The one with one white or grey wave pattern on it is deemed
to be the most important and is also viewed as a male bead. When I asked the bead product designer, Angkil, why the one with only one pattern is the most important in this category, she explained that it means “the only one” or “the one with greatest ability or highest status” compared with the other double or multi-striped ones\textsuperscript{91}. This Garamugam bead is favoured in a Rukai tribe living very close to northern Paiwanese area. Although the significance of this bead cannot compare to that of the Mulimulitan, the Garamugam bead can also be used as a bride price in the marriage arrangements of \textit{mamazangilan} families of lower status.

(3) \textbf{Maruaris (Good deed bead)}

The third bead type with wave patterns is named Maruaris (see Fig. 6-7). Aris is the word for Hodgson's eagle hawk in Paiwanese, \textit{maru} means “something like”, so the meaning of this bead is: “look-like eagle feathers”. This Maruaris is classed as a Mulimulitan bead because of its colours of red, blue, and yellow on a white ground. However, the wave patterns on this bead have points like triangles and are solid instead of floating and curved like those on a Mulimulitan bead. For this reason, some people are reluctant to treat it as a Mulimulitan, and it cannot be used as a bride price for a chief’s wedding. However, it shares the same function as the eagle feather: to honour persons who have made a great contribution to the society\textsuperscript{92}.

In conclusion, beads with wave patterns are associated to a certain extent with Mulimulitan. Although the bead Garamugam is not viewed as a Mulimulitan because of

\textsuperscript{91} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 09, 2011

\textsuperscript{92} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 11, 2011
its colour, people sometimes confuse it with Mulimulitan. I assume that these wave patterns and their colours evoke people’s feelings of the continuity of life as endless floating in space, so they can be classified in the wave category.

6-7-2. Linear patterns

There are a number of patterns among the thirty-four traditional beads that can be classified as linear. Umass told me that all the patterns, except those on male and female god beads, are representations from the natural world. Nevertheless, I found that some of the linear patterns can be grouped as conceptualizations of forms of real objects, rather than direct imitations of those objects. Therefore, I argue that the linear patterns on the beads are indirect representations of designs from the natural phenomena and the abstract concepts which denote Paiwanese cultural values originating from those forms.

There is a two-way process in the kind of symbolism conveyed by those linear patterns. The first process is that the ideas come from real materials or subjects in the physical world, but the patterns on the beads do not look like at all the real objects that the beads depict. Understanding how the patterns represent these objects involves recognizing where the patterns come from: for example, patterns that look like ropes or those representing petals. The second process is to give the patterns derived from the rope-like or petal-like objects their own meanings derived from cultural values, such as friendship, special skills or wisdom.

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93 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 11, 2011
Makacaigau means wisdom. The design of a Makacaigau bead (see Fig. 6-8) contains yellow, red and white vertical stripes on a red, white, or green cylinder shaped ground. Just as a Mulimulitan bead represents the mamazangilan class, the Makacaigau bead is a symbol of the middle class. This is because of its connotations of wisdom and ability, which are vital to the middle class. While the mamazangilan class requires Mulimulitan beads for bride prices, the Makacaigau bead is essential for middle class weddings.

I was told by Umass that the lines on a Makacaigau bead resemble the segments of the fruit called pomelo. “Makacaigau” means a brave and wise person. In an ancient Paiwanese story, the first human couple, called Samuakakai and Sakulele, married and Samuakakai gave birth to a child. The child was actually a pomelo, so the couple put it in a bamboo basket in the corner of their house to avoid disclosure of their shame. After a long while, they found that the pomelo had been surrounded by a lot of glass beads. The beads gradually turned into the baby’s hands and feet and he became an adorable little boy. When he grew up, the boy became a young man of wisdom and courage. He assisted the chief in governing the tribe and won widespread respect and admiration from the people in the tribe. The Makacaigau bead is still viewed as the insignia of the Paiwan middle class. The moral of the story is that people cannot be judged by their appearance, as even a funny-looking baby can become a wise adult. This humble but
wise person, who belonged to the middle-class, grew up to assist the chief in ruling a tribe.

(2) Rangau (Fortune bead)

Rangau means “lucky” or “climbing to higher status” in Paiwanese language. The bead has twisting yellow linear patterns with several round dots on a green cylinder ground (see Fig. 6-9). The linear stripes represent a vine climbing upwards, and the rings resemble flower blossoms with leaves. The pattern represents climbing to a higher place.

![Fig. 6-9: Rangau bead on a contemporary made barrel shape](image)

The social status of Paiwanese people can be changed through marriage. When a person of lower status person marries one of higher status, their children can inherit the name of the parent of higher-status. The system of names and entitlement marks the divisions based on social status, yet connections traced through marriage provide a widening of the membership of the mamazangilan class. In other words, inter-class marriages break the boundaries of class divisions. Traditionally, a lower-class family would receive an antique Rangau bead to indicate that their descendants would have a name with higher status, and belong to a higher class. Hence, the bead represents crossing the boundary between two social classes.
The Palalivak bead signifies making an alliance between two or more tribes, or constructing relationships between different classes, and families. The patterns are composed of several oblique, parallel, yellow stripes with green lines on them on an orange background on a cylindrical shape. The yellow stripes symbolize stretched ropes that bond things together (see Fig. 6-10).

In the past, making alliances was a way to nurture cooperation between tribes in order to fight against hostile groups. However, people of higher status can also adopt a person of lower-status, or a person of lower status can contribute property to the chief family to establish a relationship on a temporary and individual basis. The Palalivak bead is a token of turning enemies into friends, or making friends, or the sharing in the re-distribution of property.

According to Umass, a story related to the Palalivak bead concerns two tribes, one bigger than the other, located on the two sides of a stream. They had lived in harmony for a long time. However, in one generation, the chief of the larger tribe became ambitious and wanted to take over the smaller tribe; his ambition caused terrible anxiety and trouble between the tribes. The chief of the smaller tribe, however; was a wise man. He had heard that the chief of the bigger tribe appreciated jewellery, so he ordered a long necklace of Palalivak beads and commanded his priest to take it to the

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95 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 09, 2011
neighbouring chief. The chief loved the necklace at first sight. He then agreed to adopt the Palalivak necklace as an eternal symbol of their alliance and friendship.

(4) Palic (Bead of virginity and possessing good weaving skills)

The name “Palic” is associated with female virgin who had good weaving skills. The Palic bead is an oval shaped bead with green, yellow, red and white oblique stripes on it (see Fig. 6-11). Weaving was an essential skill for girls to acquire before marriage in traditional Paiwanese society. Today, people continue to emphasize the need for girls to learn skills for becoming good housewives from their female elders. The patterns on this Palic bead represent ropes that are pulled tightly. When a girl is old enough to marry and has learned all the skills needed to manage a family, she would be given a Palic bead by her mother or the family elders to wear on her necklaces or bracelets to indicate that she is well prepared to get married.96

(5) Kigaruc (Discipline bead)

Kigaruc means “comb” in Paiwanese. The pattern on this bead represents the physical shape of a comb (see Fig. 6-12). The story associated with this bead recounts that there was a stream in a remote, quiet and secluded place where some long-haired spirits liked to swim. One day a group of naughty children annoyed the spirits, so the spirits punished them by dropping sticky rain from the sky to glue the children’s hair together.

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96 Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, November 16, 2011
Only the ones wearing a Kigaruc bead avoided disaster from the sticky rain. The moral being expressed is that those who are well disciplined avoid having bad things happen to them. The function of this bead is to protect people from disaster. The bead does not have high status, as it is considered to be a commoner’s bead.

Apart from the Makacaigau and Kigaruc beads, other beads comprised primarily of linear patterns share the similar meaning of stretched ropes. The visual representations of those beads come from the physical material, which is the rope, to denote the meanings essential for different circumstances such as making alliances or having the skills required to be a wife. In this sense, the patterns of those beads depict abstract concepts with cultural values, so that the Makacaigau bead has the meaning of wisdom and ability, while the Kigaruc bead means to discipline oneself and so avoid misfortune.

6-7-3. Circular patterns

The circular patterns on glass beads can be divided into three classes: the patterns representing phenomena of the natural world, such as the sun or forests; the patterns representing eyes, and the patterns depicting the universe. The majority of beads in this category are characterised by concentric-circles. The beads are all quite similar in appearance, except the two types of Luseq-na-Adau beads. There are, however, distinctions that can be made within the general category of circular patterned beads. Colours of motifs are the main characteristics distinguishing the beads from each other. In addition, treatment of circles on beads helps to distinguish them. For example, concentric-circles on a particular bead named Tagaraws, which represents the universe (see Fig. 6-1, 21), are never cut into sections, while some of those circles on other similar-looking beads are represented as incomplete concentric-circles (see Fig. 6-1, 16-18).
A. Patterns imitating natural elements

A-1. Luseq-na-Adau (Sun bead)

There are two kinds of Luseq-na-Adau beads. The differences between them are in their colours and patterns. The first kind always has a round shape and the entire form represents the sun. The design comprises black, red white and yellow concentric-circles, with blue and yellow dots around the circles, all on a black spherical ground (see Fig. 6-13). In Paiwanese, Luseq-na-Adau means the sun or a rainbow, or a contract between two people in Paiwanese. Luseq is tears, Adau is the sun in Paiwanese, and Luseq-na-Adau means tears of the sun. The patterns on bead of this kind, with a multi-centered round shape, representing the main body of the sun and the blue or yellow dots scattered around the core body, symbolizes the iridescence of the sun. This bead is sometimes called “Ulimaraw”, which means “rainbow” in Paiwanese.

The story associated with patterns of this kind tells of a contract made between a god, manifest in the sun, and a chief. The story recounts that there once was a tribal chief who often felt gloomy and sad; he lived on a remote mountain and found it very difficult to communicate with the outside world. A divinity understood the chief’s predicament and suggested to him that he could use the sun to help him communicate. The chief accepted the suggestion. He started to worship the sun and to beg it for help,

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97 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 3, 2011

98 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 11, 2011
offering crystalline rainbow-coloured beads in his hands. Later, these glass beads were called beads of the sun and became symbol of a contract between individuals.

According to Umass, the function of the bead is to remind people to honour the promises made between each other\textsuperscript{99}. This bead is not as important as the Mulimulitan in the northern region. However, the meaning of the bead is very significant. Taiwanese researcher Tan, argues that the story of the bead demonstrates the relationship between the owner (the chief family members) and the creative god – the sun. Hence, this bead is evidence that the chief members who own it have a direct connection with the original ancestry of the society (Tan, 2004, p.27). The bead is seen as precious throughout the Paiwanese regions. In Meijr Shiu’s study of Laiyi village (in middle part of the Paiwanese areas), the Luseq-na-Adau bead can replace the Mulimulitan in the central part of a necklace if a Mulimulitan is not available (Shiu, 2005, p. 79).

The antique Luseq-na-Adau bead is very rare in the northern Paiwanese area. Its rarity is demonstrated by the fact that the owner of a bead shop in Sandimen believes this bead only exists in a story. However, the Pakedavai family owns an example that originally came from the Talimarau family\textsuperscript{100}. In their case the importance of the bead is confirmed by the fact that it is indeed placed in the central part of a traditional necklace belonging to the chief family. The bead cannot be used as bride price. Today, the bead Luseq-na-Adau is being produced using a modern technique, and its functions as a token of a contract between people.

\textsuperscript{99} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 10, 2011

\textsuperscript{100} Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, November 10, 2011
The other kind of Luseq-na-Adau, which is found in the collection of the Pakedavai family, is not a round bead but a cylindrical one. It is primarily blue and white with orange dots or drops on it (see chapter three, Fig 3-14). Blue and white on the bead represent sky with cloud, while the dots resemble the tears dropped from the sun. There is another story regarding the tears of the sun associated with the second kind of Luseq-na-Adau bead. This story is closer to the meaning of this bead’s name compared with the first kind. The story tells that in ancient times, the sun was very close to the earth and the heat from the sun’s rays burned the earth. Therefore, the Paiwanese people came up with a way to raise the sun further into the sky. They burnt grains of millet on the ground, and the heat of the millets pushed the sun into the sky. Someone proposed cooking grains of millet and letting the steam push the sun upwards into the sky. When the sun had moved higher in the sky, the steam used to push it became liquid and dropped to the ground. The rain saved the people on the earth. Now, when people see rain falling, they think it is the tears from the sun, which is lonely for the people on the ground (Shiu, 2005, p.79). Therefore, this bead can also be a symbol of remembrance.

A-2. Marudilon (Wine Jar Bead)

The second kind of bead, which has circular patterns representing natural elements, is named Marudilon. Dilon means the wine jar in Paiwanese language. According to

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This bead cannot be easily found in the northern Paiwanese region where I did the research, so there is no image to represent it.
Umass, Marudilon is composed of several core-centered circles in yellow and orange colours on a green cylindrical ground\textsuperscript{102}. Before certain festivals or ceremonies, the Paiwanese people brewed wine from millet. Marudilon means brewing wine for people to drink during these occasions. The Paiwanese artist Sakuliu told me that there is a bead whose pattern represents the crops, and he drew several core-centered patterns on a bead-shaped picture to show me that the patterns symbolize the physical shape of millet\textsuperscript{103}. My argument is that the bead Sakuliu mentioned is actually the same as the bead Marudilon because they share the same feature, which is the core-centered pattern, which comes from the shape of millet.

The green colour that appears on the Marudilon bead and other beads has its own specific meaning, which means great success in hunting, growing crops and fishing. According to Umass, the proportion of the green beads, which represent good harvest, is rather high compared with other beads on traditional necklaces. This phenomenon explains that the Paiwanese wish to have a good harvest every year\textsuperscript{104}. The green colour on this bead also has the meaning of water and rivers\textsuperscript{105}, or can be related to plants and forest\textsuperscript{106}.

\textsuperscript{102} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, August 05, 2011
\textsuperscript{103} Personal communication with Sakuliu Pavavaljung, August 15, 2011
\textsuperscript{104} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, August 05 2011
\textsuperscript{105} Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, August 02, 2011
\textsuperscript{106} Personal communication with Sakuliu Pavavaljung, August 15, 2011
B. Patterns depicting eyes

There are several beads that share similar patterns of four concentric-circles. I argue that those beads with the four concentric-circles have the same meaning as eyes and convey meanings analogous to protection and guardianship although the Paiwanese people don’t consciously talk about the similarity. Those eye beads can be divided into three kinds: one has concentric-circles on a green ground, the second has those patterns on a yellow surface, and the third has those patterns on a black ground.

B-1. Marutamulang (Abundance bead)
The circular pattern on a green cylindrical ground is named Marutamulang, which means “big-eyed bug”. Umass told me that the entire bead represents those bugs on taro leaves, and that the circles symbolize the eyes of the bugs (see Fig. 6-14)\(^ {107}\). Paiwanese people believe that the bugs symbolize a good harvest. Hence, indirectly the bead symbolises plentiful food production. The bead is popular with farmers\(^ {108}\). Marutamulang beads do not have the same status in the overall system as the Mulimulitan or Makacaigau beads that are associated with the mamazangilan class. However, they are nonetheless highly significant and can be used as bride-price for nobles of lower status.

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\(^{107}\) Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 10, 2011

\(^{108}\) Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, March 05, 2012
B-2. Marulacuna (Bead of protection)

The bead with four concentric-circles on a yellow ground is called Marulacuna (see Fig. 6-16). It is known as a bead of protection. The bead is associated with a story in which harmful ghosts are afraid of yellow bones. It is said that there once lived a heap of pebbles in the valley. The pebbles would turn into ghosts and monsters at night, and climb out of the valley up to the villages to play tricks on people. The people in the villages were too scared to go out at night because of the mischievous pebbles. Later on, the people started to wear pale yellow animals’ bones as well as yellow glass beads as amulets, to protect themselves from evil. People believed that the beads would bring them good fortune.

This pale yellow bead has the same function as the yellow bones to frighten away evil spirits. The Paiwanese people like to string three Marulacuna to replace the yellow bones when they go out from home to avoid evil spirits. I argue that the yellow or white colour as the base ground represents the protective bone. There is no explanation in the story about the meaning of the concentric-circles; however, I was told by Angkil that these concentric-circles on this bead are partially shown, usually half of the pattern. Black in the centre, yellow, red and white sequentially outward compose the circle pattern.

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109 Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, November 10, 2011
B-3. Macamaca (guardian bead)

The other beads with concentric-circles I group together here because they all have the same black background. Those beads are Macamaca, Riuqu and Zaqu (see Fig. 6-1, 18-20). Maca is eye in Paiwanese. The eyes on the Macamaca bead (see Fig. 6-17) are deemed as dragonfly’s eyes\(^{110}\). One woman who strings beads in the bead store told me that the concentric-circles on those three beads: Macamaca, Riuqu and Zaqu all refer to the dragonfly’s eyes.

The beads Macamaca and Riuqu (see Fig. 6-1, 18-19) look very similar; the difference between them is that Riuqu has more eyes on it, which can be traced to a story in which people are all watched and guarded by invisible spirits so that they can’t do bad things behind each other’s backs\(^{111}\). Those two beads share the same function: guarding people. However, the Macamaca bead is more popular than Riuqu. The protective role of the Macamaca bead is emphasized when it is placed towards the end of a traditional women’s necklace. This is because the Paiwanese people believed that the spirits inside this Macamaca beads have the power to curse people who steal the beads from their owners (Pavavaljung, 1993, p. 45).

The Zaqu bead (see Fig. 6-1, 20) is a replacement for the real eyes used by shamans when they perform healings and blessings. Sometimes parents would tie two or three

\(^{110}\) Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, March 02, 2012

\(^{111}\) Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, August 07, 2011
Zaqu beads to the baby’s cradles to protect them from the evil spirits. Those three beads which have eyes on them have the same black ground. The black colour has the connotation of spirits in Paiwanese culture, so those beads have the same function of protection from the spirits.

C. Patterns depicting universe – Tagaraws (Universe bead)

The bead Tagaraws has several completed circles on it (see Fig. 6-1, 21). Tagaraws is the name of the creative god in the Paiwanese culture. The concentric-circles on this bead are never cut in sections compared with other beads that fall into the category of circular patterns. The idea of these completed circles comes from that the Paiwanese belief that the universe is composed of an infinity of concentric-circles that never ends. These concentric-circles on the Tagaraws are the visual representation of the universe. Some of the concentric-circles on other beads such as Macamaca or Marulacuna are cut in half to contrast with the concept of universe. This bead is not produced very often.

6-7-4. Patterns imitating the natural world

In this section, I will introduce the patterns that represent the natural phenomena such as the bodies of animals or plants. Although some patterns look abstract at first glance in the Paiwanese imagination, they are actually direct representation from parts of some animals’ bodies or colours of certain plants. Those patterns can also be divided into three kinds as discussed below.

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112 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 11, 2011
(1) Mananigai (Warrior bead)

The Mananigai bead, with its two duplicated chevron patterns at both sides of the bead means bravery in Paiwanese language. The chevron bead is coloured by two sets of white and red chevron patterns at both sides on a black or deep blue ground. The chevron pattern represents sharpened materials. However, the chevron pattern on the bead is not always sharp at the points but is often rounded (see Fig. 6-18). However, the patterns on this bead should be viewed belonging to the category of chevron forms because it represents protection. Traditionally, Paiwanese people used sharpened peeled pieces of bamboo as a defensive fence, and the image of sharpened bamboo has similar connotations. The same concept can be associated with the triangle scales on the sides of the Deinagkistrodon acutus viper. The chevron pattern represents those triangular shapes on the body of the snake, and the connotations of it are sharpness, defensiveness, and bravery.

Conventionally, when the brave warriors protected the tribal people from the attack of enemies, the chief in the tribe would give them the Mananigai bead as a reward. In today’s society, this bead can be presented to brave persons, athletes or soldiers and policemen in front of the public at important ceremonies.  

\[113\] There are certain ceremonies held in Sandimen village annually and those ceremonies are important occasions to present significant events done by persons. Those people will be granted awards, such as Mananigai bead according to their contribution to the Paiwanese society.
(2) Kurakurau (Love bead)

The pattern on the Kurakurau bead resembles the tail of a peacock. There are two kinds of patterns for this Kurakurau bead. The most popular one is composed of the shapes of palm leaves (see Fig. 6-20) and the other comprises of undulating lines (see Fig. 6-19). According to Umass, the one with undulating lines is the original style of Kurakurau bead, and it is called Liling, which means the sunset clouds because its polychrome colours represent the evening clouds. The Liling bead is more difficult to make than the popular Kurakurau bead, but it is also more significant. The Liling bead can be placed beside the Mulimulitan indicating its importance in traditional-styled necklaces.

The story associated with this Kurakurau bead is about a majestic peacock from heaven. He flew down to the earth to find the most beautiful girl to be his wife. When he found a beautiful Paiwanese girl, he decided to marry her. The couple held a luxurious wedding, which linked Heaven and the earth. This love story has become a favourite tale and has spread throughout all the Paiwanese tribes. The Kurakurau beads are thus related to the important values of marriage. These beads are associated with romance either through the relationship of a god and a human or through the beautiful setting of the evening clouds.
(5) Kalasuazon (Intelligence bead)

The bead Kalasuazon has patterns that symbolize the designs or dots on the wings of a butterfly. It has the same symbolic meaning as the butterfly motifs on the wooden eave beam and costumes of the Pakedavai family (see Fig. 4-14 and Fig. 5-33). The meanings conveyed by these motifs are speed, intelligence and enthusiasm. According to Zepulj, the Paiwanese describe the speed of intervention at an emergency as “acting as a Kalasuazon” because they believe that a butterfly can fly in a straight line. The bead is composed of polychrome undulating lines at both sides of the bead and several small dots in between, which resemble the patterns of the butterfly. The bead was given to people who came to the fore in emergencies and is a good present for people who are good at sports or work intelligently.

(6) Aung (Strategy bead)

The bead Aung has two kinds of patterns. Aung is a long-horned beetle which dwells in tree trunks and it sucks the liquid from the trunk, making the dwelling trees wither gradually. One of the patterns of the Aung bead is composed of horizontal stripes on a blue ground, which is named Aung-Talar (see Fig. 6-22); the other is made up by white spots on the blue ground and is named Aung-Vituan (see Fig. 6-23). Talar means “light” while Vituan means “stars” in Paiwanese language. The patterns and colours represent two kinds of long-horned beetles.

114 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, April 12, 2012

115 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 17, 2011
The bead is associated with people who are truly brave. The Paiwanese people believe that smart people are those who have a strategy to deal with difficult things instead of acting of violence. An analogy is drawn with Paiwanese people’s observation that the tiny long-horned beetles absorb the liquid of the tree where they are staying and make the tree die. Hence the tiny beetles defeat the giant enemy. The moral conveyed by the story is that people should have wisdom and strategies to deal with difficulties rather than using violence and still look humble, just like the long-horned beetle.

(7) Tangayungayu (Obedience bead)

Fig. 6-24: Tangayungayu beads at the end of a necklace

Tangayungayu means “self-discipline” and “good behaviour”. Tangayungayu is a type of fierce black bee that lives alone in bamboo groves. These black bees keep guard at the entrance of hives. People who touch the hives are always stung by them. The patterns of this bead resemble the body of the black bee with a wide black stripe in the middle and two red stripes at the sides (see Fig. 6-24). This story represents the obligation of people to obey the traditional rules and customs; the people who disobey the rules will suffer misfortunes. The function of this bead is to remind people of the

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116 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 18, 2011

117 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 19, 2011
importance of obedience. This bead also physically functions as dividers for the structure of traditional necklaces and will be further introduced at chapter seven.

(8) Paelaela (Phoenix flower bead)

The colours on the Paelaela bead represent the phoenix flowers (see Fig. 6-1, 29 and Fig. 6-25). The story is about a group of girls who came to grow crops in the mountains. While doing so, some mountain ghosts came to tease them. A caterpillar resting on a flame tree told the girls to wear the flowers of the tree to get rid of the ghosts. From that time on, Paiwanese girls have worn the phoenix flowers of the flame tree to protect themselves from mountain ghosts. The phoenix flower has become a popular decoration on female’s headdress.

(9) Malamala (Chrysalis bead)

The Malamala represents the shape of a chrysalis (see Fig. 6-1, 30). According to Umass, in the past, Paiwanese children like to look for green chrysalis under the leaves of the betel palm\(^{118}\). The tail of the chrysalis responds to being touched by wagging from side to side, which pleases the children.

(10) Vacalan (Water pool bead)

The pattern on the Vacalan bead is thought to resemble water drops or rain (see Fig. 6-26). The story of the Vacalan bead recounts the life of an unhappy princess a long time ago. She frowned and sighed every day. Her father, the chief of the tribe, was worried about her and

\(^{118}\) Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 20, 2011
made a statement to the people, saying that if any man could make his daughter happy, then he could marry her. His statement attracted lots of warriors, who came onto the princess’s presence and tried to please her. However, no one could make her happy no matter how hard they tried. One day, a prince came from the water pool; he released hundreds of crabs before the princess. The way the crabs walked amused the princess and she began to laugh. In the end, the princess and the prince of the water pool were married and lived happily ever after. The drops on this bead come from the idea of water and the green cylindrical ground means the great harvest from the rivers.

(11) Langal (Peace-making bead)

The motif on the Langal bead is like the shape of a double-cup. The cup symbolizes friendships in the Paiwanese culture. This utensil is comprised of two containers connected by a hollow channel. The friendship is symbolized by the sharing of the liquid when a couple drinks together (see Fig. 6-27). The containers are shaped as diamonds, which resemble the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper’s body. The patterns on the Langal bead are made up by duplicated triangles shapes, imitating the physical shape of the peace-making cup. The diamond shapes are also seen on the clothing as embroidered patterns representing the back patterns of the snake, which is discussed in chapter five.

(12) Cadacadaqan (Land ownership bead)

Cadacadaqan means the right to own land as well as indicating wealthy condition. The bead is divided into four equal rectangular colour blocks, which are yellow and green on the top, black and red at the bottom (see Fig. 6-28). They stand for the blocks of land owned by the chief of a tribe. The story associated with it tells that
there was a tribal chief owning vast lands; but he wanted more land and often got into disputes with other chiefs living in adjacent regions. One day, when the chief went on an inspection tour of his lands, he saw a group of ants moving Cadacadaqan glass beads. He followed the ants to their new nests in the distance. The tribal chief then claimed ownership of the land that the ants with the Cadacadaqan beads had passed through. The bead claimed the right of land in traditional society. It signifies authority to own the land, and is still emphasized in one Paiwanese village named Laiyi. The people in Laiyi use the Cadacadaqan in their traditional-style necklaces to express the owner's wealth.

6-7-5. Beads with irregular patterns – Alis-na-Kuti (Longevity bead)

Above are the beads with iconic attributes that directly represent some natural phenomena. The beads are given meanings by the associations of their patterns and the characteristics of the natural elements that look similar to the patterns. The iconicity of those beads is the most important factor to interpret their patterns and meanings. However, there is one bead where iconicity of their patterns plays indirect role in their interpretation, in which the association with its form has priority. The patterns on this bead are irregular and do not have formal resemblance between the things they represent.

Alis-na-Kuti is seldom put on a traditional necklace because of its shape. The bead has a distinctive shape compared with the common cylindrical or globular ones (see Fig. 6-28). Sleen terms this shape melon-bead or fluted bead in his “glossary of terms for special shapes” of beads (Sleen, 1967, p34). The authentic colour of the Alis-na-Kuti bead is a transparent purple. However, colours on contemporary produced beads of this type show considerable variation as do the patterns. The name of the bead
is composed of two Paiwanese words. Alis means teeth, while Kuti refers to female genitals. The middle word na is a conjunctional word. Alis-na-Kuto can be interpreted as teeth on female genitals. The shape of this bead bears a formal resemblance to its symbolism rather than its patterns; the patterns on it do not have fixed forms or colours. The colours of contemporary made Alis-na-Kuti bead are usually from the left over of clay and the patterns are made as irregular as possible.

Its story tells of an alluring beauty named Samuakakai (this is also the name of the character in bead Makacaigau, but they are different characters) who was so beautiful that many powerful and wealthy men wanted to marry her. This young lady, however; had several marriages, all ending up with her husbands dying without reason on their wedding nights after their wedding banquets. The mystery of those men’s sudden deaths remained unsolved until a wise young man revealed the reason. He had made Samuakakai drunk at wedding banquet when he married her. While she was inebriated, he checked over her private parts, where he found a tooth that had caused the deaths of all Samuakakai’s previous husbands. He pulled it out and passed their first night safely. The extracted tooth from her was referred to by its crescent shape.

The tooth withdrawn from the beauty’s genitals became the triangular decorative elements on the edge of this bead, and the whole bead shape resembles the female organ, which caused the death of those men who pursued the beauty. Hence, this bead signifies female power. The most precious kind of this bead is the translucent purple one; however, the colours of the bead made with contemporary techniques vary according to the materials used to make the beads. Contemporary necklaces made using this bead are primarily worn by women. Although the bead does not have a profound function in the traditional-style necklace, its connotation is considerable. This bead
connotes longevity and equal rights for both genders. When asked why the bead symbolizes longevity, Umass told me that the story of the bead signifies that when a man overcomes the obstacle caused by the united process of sexual intercourse, he is meant to have success in his life and live longer. He also added that the bead symbolized continuity through the cooperation between both genders, life would continue. Paiwanese people believe this bead can enhance the vigour of their lives. The meaning of the Alis-na-Kuti bead is thus associated with its shape as the entire shape of this type of bead represents womb and the petals comprised of this bead represent the crescent shape of the teeth as told in the legend. The entire form of bead thus has iconicity to the things the story depicts.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated how the patterns on the Paiwanese beads, particularly through the meanings given to the visual elements, reflect the conceptual process of Paiwanese thinking. The patterns can be derived from the natural world; they can be divided into several categories such as wave, circular and linear patterns based on the similarity of the patterns on the beads. Iconicity is a means of associating things together on the beads of similarity and analogy. For instance, the wave patterns remind people of the smoke and mist while the linear patterns remind people of the rope-like things. Colours on the beads are part of the iconic system. The colours on the beads can be decoded as meaningful elements because they act as mnemonics to carry meaning and memories. The colour red is associated with life, black has relationships with spirits because they are dark, and green represents the plants and forests. In the case of eye beads for example, the concentric-circles on the green background represent a good
harvest because the green colour denotes plants while the same concentric-circles appear on the black ground denote the spiritual eyes because the black resembles spirits, or darkness.

The patterns on the beads, including their names and colours, refer to something more general, like the wave patterns on Mulimulitan bead signify smoke or mist, and thus they encode meanings through analogy between the forms and the beads. The evidence of the connection of the forms and their connotations is expressed in the language maru, which means something like in Paiwanese. This usage explicitly shows that the Paiwanese see a formal resemblance relationship between signifiers and signified. Although the patterns on the beads are not figurative, this kind of general association between the names and the forms of the beads are linked.

The Paiwanese conceptualized the explanations of the forms parallel to forms in the natural world. When the explanations of the forms of patterns were decided, the symbolic meanings related to the forms were given according to the shapes and the colours of each bead. Therefore, there are two-way processes of encoding methods reflected in the representational system of the glass beads. The first method is iconic: the patterns bear certain resemblances of the objects or ideas they depict, such as the linear stripes on a Rangau bead represent a climbing vine, and the chevron shape of the Mananigai bead which represents the triangle shapes on the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper’s body. Certain patterns reflect the abstract ideas conceptualized from the real objects, mainly expressed in those linear patterns.

The second process of the representational method is symbolic. The symbolism of each bead comes from objects that have certain characteristics that the Paiwanese deem as
core of social values or positive attributes of social life. In the second process, the beads can be read individually to understand the cultural significance stressed by the Paiwanese. In this way, I would argue that the Paiwanese glass beads can be seen as a semiotic system to encode social meanings. For example, the pattern on the Kalasuazon connotes the meanings of speed that the Paiwanese people emphasize in important social occasions. The patterns that resemble the wings of the butterfly are the signifier, while speed is the social value that the butterfly symbolises. The colours on the beads are also signifiers. In this chapter I have explored certain colours that should be read as composite elements to comprise a bead and its meaning. In conclusion, the representational system of the Paiwanese glass beads is both iconic and symbolic. The iconic resemblance builds on the similarity between the patterns on the beads and the denoted objects while the symbolic meanings come from the values associated with the characteristics of the objects signified. As a result, the representational system of the Paiwanese glass beads is a two-way process.

The information encoded on Paiwanese glass beads encompasses a wide range of cultural meanings fundamental to the Paiwanese people. As discussed this chapter, each glass bead has its own name and story, which relates to significant cultural values. Therefore, the individual story of each bead conveys Paiwanese cultural messages and ideology in detail as well as expressing traditional Paiwanese thought through the process of meaning and associating stories with the beads and their names.
Chapter Seven: Cultural values conveyed by Paiwanese beads

Introduction

The specific aim of this chapter is to analyse how patterns on traditional Paiwanese glass beads convey different cultural information. I am influenced by Clifford Geertz’s (1976) perspective of viewing art as a semiotic system that convey social and cultural meanings. As Geertz argued, artefacts materialize a way of experiencing the world; bringing a particular cast of mind out into the world of objects, where man can look at it (Geertz, 1976, p. 1476).

The main arguments in this chapter are: firstly, that Paiwanese beads convey a wide range of cultural values and also depict elements of Paiwanese cosmological beliefs; and secondly, that the structure of a particular necklace – the Talivucong – is analogous to Paiwanese social structure in its division into sections. The structure of this necklace symbolizes the organization of society into a hierarchy represented by concentric-circles. My third argument is that the continual use and relevance of glass beads in Paiwanese society reflects the considerable degree of flexibility within, and dynamism of the system of social organization. In the Sandimen area, interpretation of cultural values conveyed by beads originated from the Ravar sub-group, and can be applied to the entire Paiwanese group.

Part one: Cultural information and cosmology conveyed by glass beads

Each glass bead has particular attributes or characteristics that distinguish it from other beads; for example, because the name Maru-Zalum means “water-like property”, that bead is characterized by the blue wave pattern on its cylindrical surface. The wavy pattern represents water. Among the thirty-four patterned glass beads, all except the two god beads, which convey abstract concepts, are representations of natural phenomena.
In general, meanings conveyed by the patterns on beads can be categorized into several groups derived from animal and human body parts, or plants. These natural phenomena are the elements that link the stories about beads that convey social meanings. In this way, the cultural values embedded in the beads are derived from the attributes of plants and animals. Paiwanese people may not comprehend the entire meaning embedded in every bead, but they activate particular meanings by using them. The meanings associated with glass beads are expressed in multiple ways through different people’s lives as they continue to use them. For example, potters, sculptors, painters, educators might use patterns or stories of beads as inspiration for their works. Thus, bead patterns convey messages through the different creative media used by various individuals.

Chapter six contained a general discussion of the patterns on traditional Paiwanese glass beads and their symbolic meanings. However, there are two particular beads yet to be discussed, and I will begin this chapter by focussing on them. These two beads reflect the entire worldview of Paiwanese culture, and are set apart from other beads. They are considered to be “god beads” and were exclusive to the Talimarau family, who kept them in a sacred pot on a small shrine in their household. A descendant of the Talimarau family, Angkil, informed me that her mother used to pray to the two beads during worship. The people in the Ravar sub-group believed that these two beads would leave the pot to go and visit different households and help people dispel evil spirits, and provide blessings during a particular period every year. The beads therefore could not be strung on necklaces because they had to move at a certain time every year. The beads were reported to have appeared in various areas, some as far as the east coast of Taiwan,
where they were believed to have visited the relatives of the Talimarau family to bring blessings to them.\textsuperscript{121}

The Paiwanese people gave names and gender to this special pair of beads. The male is called Lukarung, while the female is Tangiyut. The Lukarung bead is composed of red and black concentric curved patterns on a yellow background. It has a conceptual meaning in representing organization around a central core. The Paiwanese believe that there is a core at the centre of the universe, and the pattern on the Lukarung bead represents that concept. It is believed by the Paiwanese people that their group is the centre of the universe\textsuperscript{122}. Within this society, to ensure that Paiwanese society retains its core structure and values, each organizational unit must have its own core centre: in each family, the first born is called the \textit{vusam}, who is the core of the family, and its heir; each tribe has its core, who is the chief, or \textit{ka-vusam}. Whenever a Paiwanese group holds a meeting, they arrange their seats to form a concentric-circle, with the chief (\textit{ka-vusam}) in the centre, the middle class elders are nearby to provide assistance and the commoners sitting on the outer. The pattern on the Lukarung bead reflects the way society is organized.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{Fig-7-1}
\caption{A drawing of Lukarung bead}
\end{figure}
\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{Fig-7-2}
\caption{A drawing of Tangiyut bead}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{121} Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, October 30, 2011

\textsuperscript{122} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, December 14, 2011
The pattern on the other god bead, Tangiyut, is made up of yellow and maroon wavy lines with dots on a brownish ground. According to Umass, this pattern contains smooth arc shapes which resemble female breasts. In contrast to the Lukarung bead, the Tangiyut is a transcendent representation of the female. The wavy lines on this bead also represent the concept of floating across space and time. This is very close to the meanings of the Mulimulitan bead, because the patterns on both beads represent the endless time and space of the universe. When the Tangiyut bead is stood on its end so that the threading hole is vertical, it resembles a human face with eyes and mouth represented by dots. When I was investigating the beads belonging to the Pakedavai family, Zepulj reported that some of the elders had said that Mulimulitan beads with wavy patterns resemble a human face.

According to Umass, to understand the meanings conveyed by the two god beads, a viewer should enlarge the patterns and imagine the universe, space and the existence of god. The patterns on the Lukarung bead represent clouds and stars in the sky, and the Paiwanese concept of the universe. The Tangiyut represents endless time and space, the invisible attributes of the universe. At the same time, the two beads also denote the opposition of male and female, composing a cosmological view of Paiwanese culture.

These two god beads can no longer be found. Angkil told me that after the death of her mother, her heir in the Talimarau family removed the beads from their original place, and put one in a box and buried the other in the ground. When the box was later opened,

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123 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, December 14, 2011
124 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, December 15, 2011
125 Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, August 02, 2011
several *Deinagkistrodon acutus* vipers appeared but the bead was gone. When the family attempted to recover the bead buried in the ground, all that remained were earthworms and snakes. However, many still claim to have seen the beads before they disappeared.

In contrast to the two sacred beads, some of the other thirty-four patterned beads introduced in chapter six have been constantly reproduced. The cultural ideology they convey will now be discussed. The importance of the beads in Paiwanese cultural process is reflected in the fact that in their meaning, value and use they articulate with all aspects of the society. This system is comprised of several categories, including natural phenomena, cosmology, belief systems, social customs, value systems and signifiers of authority.

In terms of cosmology, the two “god beads” represent the concept of dualism in yin-yang polarity and gender opposition. The beads also remind the Paiwanese of the origin of life, just as Adam and Eve are portrayed in the Christian Bible. In addition, these beads symbolize the sun and the moon; and the patterns on them express the concept of endless time and space, which in turn represents a sense of the universe.\textsuperscript{126}

The beads provide a window into many areas of the belief system. Beads represent the concept of a sacred or mysterious world. The bead Riuqu (the bead of thousands of ears and eyes) conveys the concepts of good and evil spirits and the influences of bad spirits. The story of the Riuqu bead explains the necessity of the existence of a shaman, who can communicate with spirits and protect the people.\textsuperscript{127} Riuqu and Zaqu (the prayer

\textsuperscript{126} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, December 15, 2011

\textsuperscript{127} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, February 24, 2012
bead), Marulacuna (the bead of protection) and Macamaca (the guardian bead) encompass the spirituality of all things. The beads belong to the class of “eye beads”, and their significance was explained to me in the following way. During fieldwork in September 2012, I interviewed an elder called Ljavuras Kadrangian, who belongs to a chief family in Pinghe village, close to Sandimen village. In his village, Ljavuras had conducted several ceremonies which had not taken place in Pinghe for almost seventy years. A bead ceremony was among them. People believe that traditional glass beads have a sacred power which can help them regulate their lives and that beads can bless and punish them. It is also believed that as beads grow older, spirits will be attracted to dwell inside them and they become more powerful.

The purpose of the bead ceremony in Pinghe was to beseech the beads containing spirits to protect the people in the village. The beads used in this ceremony were chosen from among the traditional, antique glass beads belonging to the chief family in Pinghe. During the ceremony, the shaman expelled the evil spirits which dwelt in the beads by saying: “if you are not righteous spirits, please follow the routes of the rivers and the ridges of the mountains to other places, and leave this space to the righteous spirits.” The Shaman then placed a sacrifice (a few pig’s bones) on banyan leaves to please the spirits, because it is believed that the banyan is a sacred tree and its leaves can communicate between earth and heaven. This ceremony enhanced the power of the good spirits inside the glass beads thus increasing the power of the beads. The ceremony also involved a song to honour the rainbow over the sacred Mount Davuvu, which is believed to be one of the places of origin of the Paiwanese tribes. The song partly

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128 Personal communication with Ljavuras Kadrangian, September 14, 2012

129 Personal communication with Umass Zingur, February 14, 2012
explains the connection between glass beads and the rainbow. Paiwanese people always describe the colours of glass beads as “the colours of the rainbow”. One reason may be that the tones of the colours are close to the colours of the rainbow; another reason could be that the rainbow was refracted from the light of the sun: the creative god. So, the colours of the beads explain their association with the sun.

Some stories relating to glass beads reflected social customs that were significant in Paiwanese daily lives. For example, Marutamulang (the abundance bead) and Vacalan (the water pool bead) represent seasonal harvest ceremonies while Mulimulitan (the nobility bead), Makacaigau (the bead of wisdom), Rangau (the fortune bead) and Kurakurau (the love bead) all represent the significance of marriage. A custom, such as making friends with neighbouring tribes to strengthen privileges and powers in relation to the ownership of lands, can be symbolized by the bead Palalivak (the bead of friendship).

Some important ethical values are also attributed to beads, such as the importance of keeping a promise to the bead Luseq-na-Adau (the sun bead); bravery is conveyed by the Mananigai (the warrior bead). Palic (the bead of virginity and possessing good weaving skills) draws attention to the handicraft skills as well as purity of an unmarried woman. The importance of obeying moral precepts is represented by beads Alis-na-Kuti (the longevity bead), Kigaruc (the disciplined bead) and Tangayungayu (the obedience bead). Alis-na-Kuti stands for a taboo on sex, while the beads Kigaruc and Tangayungayu emphasize the importance of obedience to social norms. Another social value, wisdom in life, is associated with Makacaigau, which conveys the idea that a person should not be judged by appearance but instead by knowledge and experience.
Some beads can be an indication of authority: they include Mulimulitan, Makacaigau, Luseq-na-Adau, Rangau, Cadacadaqan (the land ownership bead) and the single, orange patterned bead, Pula. The meanings conveyed by these beads enhance the privileges of those with higher status, referencing their rights to own land and the people who dwell on it. According to the rules of stratification in Paiwanese society, the most privileged chief in a tribe is the land owner (C.-G. Tan, 2007, p. 45). This means that commoners should pay tribute with produce grown from the land. Some beads imply rights over land and people; for instance, the Cadacadaqan bead can be viewed as evidence that the chief is the owner of the land in the story it represents. Other beads having a similar function are Marutamulang (the abundance bead) and Vacalan (the water pool bead), which are both associated with the ambition to produce a great harvest every year. The crops of the tribal lands are the property of the chief; and hence, these three beads Cadacadaqan, Marutamulang and Vacalan, all fall into the value category of authority.

Some glass beads can also be a reflection of natural phenomena. As Shiu states in her book, one story contained within the Luseq-na-Adau tells that people felt hot because the sun was close to the earth, so then they tried to drive it higher in the sky. This story could be a reference to a drought that occurred in ancient times (Shiu, 2005, p. 111).

When the Paiwanese look at glass beads, the names and patterns of the beads provide connections to cultural concepts and values through the knowledge of those embedded stories. Symbolic meanings have been transmitted through the use and “reading” of glass beads from generation to generation. As Washburn claims, “These folk classifications persist because the relationships among the units have meaning for their users. The classes, whether they be kin terms or plant names, are functional because the system of the named classes offers a meaningful way to organize their
world” (Washburn, 1983b, p. 3). The categories discussed above, therefore, are also incorporated into Paiwanese cultural classification systems and are integrated to form an entire culture.

**Part two: A complete Paiwanese cosmology represented by material objects**

At the most general level, the beads contribute to the composition of a cosmological view of how Paiwanese society was created and formed. In this section, I will discuss the three main components structuring the Paiwanese cosmos. Since the people did not develop their own writing system, material objects have played a significant role in the transmission of knowledge and tradition. There are three objects which are viewed as the “three treasures” in Paiwanese society, and they are the bronze knife, the sacred pot and glass beads. The cosmology represented by these objects will be introduced here as relayed to me by Umass Zingrur:

The legend tells that in the beginning when god created the world, he found that the world was lacking in life, and therefore, he sent the “angel” Sabiling to the Earth to find a giant stone. When Sabiling found the stone under the root of Mount Davuvu, he used the bronze knife to split the stone into two halves and out jumped a boy and a girl. These boy and girl are considered by the Paiwanese to be the original ancestors of human beings.

When there were more and more people on the earth, they formed several groups along the Mount Davuvu range. Because those groups were not organized, there were more and more quarrels among the people. Therefore the priest asked the creative god to give them a leader to organize the people. God answered their request. One day two brothers were hunting in the Mount Davuvu, and found a pot on the ground which had smoke coming out of it. The pot was carried back by the elder brother and placed in front of the ancestral pillar in the old slate house. The pot was lit by the light of the sun through the window on the roof of the slate house, and was guarded by the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. After ten months the pot broke open and out came the baby ancestor of the first chief family – the Talimarau of the northern Paiwanese area. When the child was born, the priest announced to the people of the earth that they should offer their best tributes, including crops, lands, animals and glass beads to their first chief. Thus, the people on the earth were happy to have their ruler who put in place all the systems to organize their tribes.

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130 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, August 20, 2011
The three material objects in this story have different social functions: while the bronze knife has connotations of the birth of human beings on the earth; the pot denotes the birth of the first chief; and the beads signify the property and wealth of the tribe. In addition to giving names and meanings to the glass beads, cultural knowledge and detailed ideologies were transmitted by means of the glass beads.

**Part three: Form and social function of the traditional-styled glass beads**

In this section, the form of traditional Paiwanese necklaces and their social function will be explored. Paiwanese glass beads have attracted the attention of many researchers, including Japanese scholars during the period of colonization. They were also popular among Taiwanese researchers after the Han Chinese colonized the indigenous people in 1949. That research indicates that there are certain rules for composing traditional necklaces, including the structure of particular necklaces and the positions for individual bead in the necklaces. Some researchers (Shiu, 2005, p.85; Shiau, 2003, p.114) claim that the positions of beads in relation to each other on a necklace indicate their hierarchical status. However, no researcher has clearly described the rules for positioning individual bead in a necklace. In my fieldwork, I tried to find the rules for ordering the beads on a traditional necklace by focusing on the traditional, single-string, long necklace: Talivucong. The reason I chose this long necklace is because its style has been passed from generation to generation, while the other traditional style – the multiple-string, short necklace – has been produced in large numbers only since the revival and reinvention of the beads. In this section, I will first analyse the forms of the long traditional necklace, and then outline the rules of positioning individual beads on it. Finally I will explore the functions of the traditional necklaces, including both the long style and short style.

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131 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, August 20, 2013
In her classic book introducing the Paiwanese glass beads, Mei-Jr Shiu (2005) classifies the sizes of the beads into four categories: the tiny sized, between one mm and two mm in width; the small ones between three mm and five mm; the middle size between five mm and one cm and the largest between one cm and two cm in length. She also explores the cultural significance of the composition of different sections of the traditional short-styled necklace. Shiu claims that the composition of the traditional short-styled necklace follows rigid rules, which have seldom changed with time (Shiu, 2005, pp. 41-44).
Fig. 7-3: Tiny-sized beads (around 1-2mm)

Fig. 7-4: Embroideries with tiny sized beads

Fig. 7-5: Middle-sized beads (around 3-5mm)

Fig. 7-6: Middle-sized bead section in a traditional necklace

Fig. 7-7: Large-sized beads
According to Shiu (2005), Paiwanese traditional necklaces can be classified into three styles. The first is the short multi-stringed necklace which is called Vecaqel in the northern Paiwanese region\textsuperscript{132}. This necklace can be divided into seven distinct sections that are separated by a pair of flat white pieces of shell stripes\textsuperscript{133}. The length of the necklace is about forty cm (Shiu, 2005, p. 46). The way of positioning the beads that compose each section is set: firstly, patterned beads are in the central area; secondly, the size of the other beads gradually decreases toward each end of the necklace. Between each pair of shell stripes there are also patterned beads. However, the sizes of the beads between the shell boards are smaller than those in the central section. The Vecaqel can be worn by both genders, and women usually wear it accompanied by one or more long-styled traditional necklaces.

\textbf{Fig. 7-8: A northern styled Vecaqel: a multi-stringed necklace}

\textsuperscript{132} Shiu describes as Buzu-ulu in the north area, however, as recorded by Chu (2003, p.72), it is called Vecaqel in the north and my observation in the field confirms it.

\textsuperscript{133} Sometimes the stripes are made of elephant ivory imported from Africa.
The second traditional-styled necklace is called Talivucong in northern Paiwanese[134]. It is a single strand, constituting three different size beads and worn primarily by Paiwanese women. According to Shiu, the Talivucong consists of several sections with distinctive names (Shiu, 2005, p. 49). However, names which Shiu recorded are not the names used in the north. Here, I will use the terms of the north recorded in my own fieldwork. The central section of the long necklace is called *daduvugan*, and is comprised of the largest, colourful patterned beads. This section is described by Shiu the most important section. Apart from the central *daduvugan* section, the Talivucong are made up of five symmetrical sections along each side of the necklace. These sections in sequence are the *inazangan*, located next to the *daduvugan* and composed of middle sized single-patterned beads, then the *linede* section, composed of three strings of very small, orange, green and yellow beads. The upper sequence, above the first *linede* is composed of the middle-sized beads of a single colour which are not individually named. Following this single coloured section is another *linede*, and the upper part of the necklace is the *siniatsuvon*, composed of single, patterned beads.

[134] It is described by Shiu as Zana in the north and recorded by Chu (2003, p.75) and my observation as talivucong in the north.
Fig. 7-9: A northern styled Talivucong necklace
In the northern Paiwanese region observed in the Sandimen area, the number of structured sections of the Talivucong is the same as in the south; however, some rules are more restrictive. These rules include, firstly, a requirement for a certain number of patterned beads in the central area of the Talivucong. The composition of the patterned beads requires one large bead (around three cm long) in the central part and twenty different patterned beads symmetrically arranged on each side of it. Secondly, in the northern area, each section of the Talivucong is divided by “disciplined” beads such as Palic, Kigaruc and Tangayungayu. I argue that these beads are considered by the Paiwanese to be boundary beads to distinguish different sections of the Talivucong. Sometimes if they cannot be obtained the boundary beads are replaced by other small sized beads like Mulimulitan. Nevertheless, the bead which plays the role of separating the central coloured bead section from a single patterned bead section is Palic or Kigaruc.

The third rule for composing the northern Talivucong concerns the linede sections. The linede sections are composed of very small beads of three specific colours: green, orange and yellow. The middle linede sections in each colour string in the north must contain the boundary bead, Kigaruc. The necklace will serve a different function if there is no Kigaruc in this section: the necklaces with boundary beads in the linede section are owned by members of the noble class while those without boundary beads are possessed by commoners. The fourth rule for composing the northern Talivucong necklace is concerned with the sections: inazangan, linede and siniatuvon, in the south these are composed of middle-sized, single, orange beads. In the north Paiwanese region, these orange beads are combined with green and yellow single coloured beads in certain places.
The third type of traditional necklaces introduced by Shiu is the multi-stringed necklace. It is called Palivet in the northern area (Chu, 2003, p. 74) and identified by Shiu as Balibudu in north (Shiu, 2005, p53). The Palivet is comprised of several strands, and as Shiu claims, the number of strands can range from nine to twelve. The length of the Palivet is about ninety cm. This Palivet is mainly worn by members of the *mamazangilan* class and has an astonishing visual impact created by the composition of its strings. In the northern area, the forms of this Palivet vary. It is without distinct sections, and the number of patterned beads is not restricted. The main function of this kind of necklace is to demonstrate the prestigious status of *mamazangilan* class; therefore, the more strings and patterned beads therefore are on the Palivet, the more significant status its wearer has.

Fig. 7-10: Two styles of Palivet
Fig. 7-11: A seven-stringed Palivet necklace
Part four: Cultural structure reflected in a traditional necklace, the Talivucong

When I conducted my research in the Sandimen area, I worked with a bead workshop that produced functional necklaces for the northern Paiwanese area. The quality of the beads produced in this shop appeals to the majority of the people in this, and other Paiwanese areas. Most of the villagers come to the shop to buy the necklaces necessary for specific occasions, especially wedding ceremonies. The necklace creator Angkil is a descendant of the Talimarau family and has a great knowledge of glass beads. In this research, I will use the items I observed in this shop as examples for the analysis of the forms, meanings and functions of Paiwanese necklaces.

In her article “Toward a theory of structural style in art”, Washburn demonstrates that art styles can be analysed using structural principles, and she claims that structural elements such as balance and symmetry, the filling of space in their designs seemed to reinforce the conceptual order of their social world. She also states that some analysts have sought to show that the structures they find in art are similar to those in other cultural subsystems (Washburn, 1983b, pp. 4-6). Some researchers have shown how the structure of certain artefacts parallels its own cultural structure. For instances, F. Allan Hanson discusses the expressions of bilateral symmetrical designs found in some artefacts in Maori culture reflect a way the Maori organize linear space dualistically (Hanson, 1983, pp. 79-84). Marie Jeanne Adams proves that the ordering principles used in composition of Sumba ceremonial mantles parallels the formal principles by which the group’s major activities, such as aspects of ritual as well as village organization are ordered (Adams, 1973, pp. 265-279). In her research, Nancy Munn (1973) tries to analyse how a particular visual form (centre v. periphery; inside v. outside) demonstrates the Walbiri group’s cosmic order – space and time arrangement.
In this chapter, I will argue that the Paiwanese traditional long necklace is organized in a way that reflects the structure of Paiwanese society.

The original Paiwanese tribe was formed like a core-centred structure with the chief family fixed as the core of this basic social unit. It is like the structure of an egg, while the shell of the egg is the boundary of the clan, the yolk and egg white stand for two different social statuses and the white dot on the yolk can be seen as the chief, the *ka-vusam* (the most privileged one) among all the first born (Pan, 1997a). I was told by many Paiwanese elders that their society is formed as a core-centred unit and not a pyramidal one as some Japanese and Taiwanese researchers argue\(^\text{135}\). The difference between these two social structures – core-centred and pyramidal – is that the positions of all the people in the core-centred one are equal while in the pyramidal one, the social status is structured hierarchically in layers from the top to the bottom. Umass told me that he was told by chief Alaliu that all the people are respected equally and may communicate with everyone in the society. Alaliu was from the Kaumakan family, which was as a branch of the highest ranking –Talimarau family. The Paiwanese believe that commoners were the first people born on the earth, and then the supreme being created the *mamazangilan* to organize the tribes after the appearance of the commoners. The *mamazangilan* were provided with food by the commoners, and so they called the commoners “*gama*”, meaning “father” in Paiwanese. These two social statuses are distinguished not by their blood but by their different duties and authority, therefore, they stood equally, as in the inside and outside of a circle, and were not in superior and inferior positions.

\(^{135}\) As Shiue (2007) introduced in his essay, the Paiwanese social organization is formed as a pyramidal one.
Alaliu also told Umass that the traditional long necklace, Talivucong, is a model representation of the social structure. Umass outlined this structure to me and I will reproduce it here. When Umass told me how to divide the sections of the necklace, he first asked his wife, Angkil, to bring an old Talivucong necklace, and then he undid the ties of the necklace and set it out like a line on a sheet of white paper and started to draw lines to divide it into different sections. The dividing points were the boundary beads, such as Palic and Kigaruc. The structure and names of the sections of the necklace have already mentioned on page 214 in this chapter, therefore, I will use the names to explain the dividing points here.

Fig. 7-12: Stratified social divisions reflected by the structure of a Talivucong necklace

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136 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur and Angkil Talimarau, December 15, 2011
1. The core circle
2. The first class of mamazangilan
3. The second class of mamazangilan
4. The third class of mamazangilan
5. The first class of pualu
6. The second class of pualu
7. The third class of pualu
8. The commoners who serve to the higher classes
9. The first class of aditan (commoners)
10. The second class of aditan (commoners)

Fig. 7-13: Terms of each section of the stratified divisions drawn from a Talivucong necklace
The long necklace can be divided into nine concentric-circles. The core circle is represented by the biggest bead in the central area of the necklace, the Mulimulitan or one of the god beads. All the patterned beads together make up the diameter of the second circle. The *inazangan* section can be divided into four parts from the Palic patterned bead to the end of the first section of single coloured beads is the third circle. The orange bead Pula in the centre of the *inazangan* represents the fourth circle, then the next single patterned composition stands for the fifth circle, and then from the end of the single patterned composition to the end of the *inazangan* section, divided by a single Palic bead, is the sixth circle. After that, each circular section is divided by boundary beads to draw the seventh to tenth circles.

This circle reflects the universe and the social structure of Paiwanese society with the sun, or the chief, at the centre, and the circles decreasing in importance from the centre to the outside. If we view the centre as a core instead of a circle in the structure, there are nine circles outside it and they can also be related to other Paiwanese social strata. From the first circle to the third are three different statuses in the *mamazangilan* class divided by different relative affiliations, and then the fourth and fifth circles belong to the middle class, *pualu*. The *pualu* play roles as assist to the chief family and their status are also inherited from generation to generation. The sixth circle represents the commoners who assist the *mamazangilan* families, and therefore enjoy certain privileges compared with other commoners. From the seventh to the eighth are commoners of different status and the ninth one represents migrants that enter this society.
This core-centred structure reflects status differentiation in Paiwanese society and is also expressed in other forms such as dancing circles form. When gathering together, the Paiwanese form a concentric-circle with the mamazan̄gilan elders at the centre and the others outside. The dancing circle after the wedding ceremony is also formed in the same way. The concept of the concentric circle is a model of the ideal core-centred structure of Paiwanese society. This concentric-circle reflects the Paiwanese social system, with the first born at the core of each family and the chief at the core of the tribe, and the Paiwan group stands as the core of the universe in their knowledge system. This centred circle is also represented by the male god bead, Lukarung, expressing the concept that people live inside the endless circles in the universe.

**Part five: Ways of composing a Talivucong necklace**

The composition of a traditional Talivucong necklace has cultural significance, including specified sections and ways of placing beads in the sections. In this section, I will explore the rules of composition and the hierarchical differences among the coloured beads on the Talivucong. I will also explore how the beads in the centre part of the Talivucong necklace make statements to be interpreted as part of a semiotic system. As discussed in the previous pages, the traditional necklace Talivucong is formed by several sections divided by boundary beads. Although the entire structure of this type of necklace is always the same, in the centre of the necklace we can see differences according to individual wearers, occasions and regions. The argument here is that this flexibility is reflected in the variety of beads used with certain rules of composition which represent characteristics of Paiwanese social organization – the society is not organized as a neat hierarchy. Indeed at the level of the individual social status can change through the process of marriage and inheritance as will be discussed in chapter nine.
The method of constructing a traditional Talivucong necklace, as reported by Umass, follows certain rules. The first is to select different sizes of beads in order to structure the largest, middle and small-sized sequence. The method of ordering the Talivucong is always to put the largest bead in the central part and gradually decrease the sizes from the central area to the top of the necklace.

Antique beads were made in regular sizes according to their types. The Mulimulitan is always the largest and its position is in the centre of the necklace. The size of the beads determines their place in a necklace and some particular beads were made in certain sizes. These differentiating features continue in commercially produced contemporary beads and the rules relating to certain beads are followed to create the traditional Talivucong.

In her book, Shiu notes that the patterned beads in the central part of traditional necklaces are the most significant of all the beads in a necklace, and some researchers, including Shiu, mention that patterned beads should be put in specified positions to signify their importance (Shiu, 2005, p. 57), (Shiau, 2003, p. 57). However, I found that there would appear to be a level of flexibility in the positioning of the patterned beads in the central part of the necklace. Customers who buy a Talivucong can request that particular beads they favour be placed in the central area. In addition, Umass told me that the desire for variation is a key principle in deciding where to place the patterned beads because no two necklaces are the same.

The central part of a Talivucong best demonstrates the significance of the beads. There are some beads more favoured by the Paiwanese, and they are usually made in larger sizes for placement in the central part of the necklace. The place of the large
Mulimulitan bead is in the direct centre of the Talivucong necklace. Other important beads can be placed in the central area, including the Mananigai (the warrior bead), the Marulacuna (the bead of protection), Makacaigau (the bead of wisdom), Vacalan (the water pool bead), Rangau (the fortune bead), Kalasuazon (the intelligence bead), Marutamulang (the abundance bead), Garamugam (the wish bead), Cadacadaqan (the land ownership bead), Aung (the strategy bead), Kurakurau (the love bead) and Palalivak (the bead of friendship). Beads not mentioned here are either those which are made in small sizes, such as Kigaruc (the discipline bead), or those bead which do not appear quite as often, such as Alis-na-Kuti (the longevity bead), Tagaraws (the universe bead) and Luseq-na-Adau (the sun bead).

Apart from these hierarchical ordering principles, the Talivucong is composed according to aesthetic principle of symmetry with single patterned beads forming symmetrical sections on opposing sides. The beads should come together neatly and smoothly to constitute an arc shape for the entire necklace. In general, the aesthetic structuring of the Talivucong is to place the beads in the centre with a symmetrical arc shaped sequence at the front of the necklace and gradually decrease the sizes of beads toward each ends of the necklace.

I argue that beads placed in the central part of a Talivucong necklace are those that were given significance associated with Paiwanese social hierarchical system and they appeared more frequently than other beads with hierarchical importance in ancient times. For example, the antique bead Luseq-na-Adau with blue and white colour was precious and rare in the northern region during that time (see chapter six). However, the antique Luseq-na-Adau could not be easily found, so it was not able to being used in a traditional necklace than those of Mulimulitan beads. Although it cannot be produced
using modern techniques, the Paiwanese people still favour certain beads to form a “traditional-styled” necklace.

Researchers have investigated the meanings of Paiwanese glass beads and contend that there is a distinct hierarchical status among the patterned beads located on the central part of the Talivucong (C. Tan, 2004, p. 26), (Shiau, 2003, p. 57), (Shiu, 2005, p. 114). However, the hierarchical differences among all the beads have not been really distinguished. There are just a few beads, such as Mulimulitan and Makacaigau, which can be identified by the Paiwanese immediately as the beads with higher status. Most of the beads, their hierarchical status still remain unclear. Umass believes that there are differences in status among the patterned beads, notwithstanding a lack of clear evidence. Nevertheless, he also believes that their hierarchical significance was determined when the beads were given names. It can be argued therefore that as the name of a bead plays a role in determining its value, assigning those names is a form of ranking. It can also be argued that the beads are imbued with cultural knowledge, which is conveyed to the Paiwanese people when they look at them. Paiwanese choose certain beads to wear on particular occasions according to the nature of the occasion and what they are intending to convey. The meaning of the composition is also influences gifts that are made for particular individuals. For instance, a retired teacher was given a necklace, which includes all the intelligence beads to represent his career (see Fig. 7-14). On some occasions, the beads are made into ornaments to hang on the wall instead of being worn by people, and the beads are also selected according to different criteria to suit the individuals or occasions.

137 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, August 20, 2013
In undertaking fieldwork in the Sandimen area, I interviewed several women who have experience in creating traditional necklaces. Although Umass informed me that in the past the central part of the necklace had as many different patterned beads as possible, there did seem to be some beads that were favoured for the centre. When asked which beads should be put in the central part of the traditional long necklace, a female elder in this group advised me that the beads which belong to the central part are the Mulimulitan, Cadacadaaqan, Marutamulang, Marulacuna, Makacaigau, Palalivak and Aung (the strategy bead). Another elder suggested that the central part of the necklace should contain Mulimulitan, Mananigai, Marulacuna, Vacalan, Rangau and Kalasuazon (the intelligence bead).

When I interviewed the necklace creator, Angkil, about which beads to use in the necklace for a chief’s wedding ceremony, she took thirteen beads, including four Mulimulitan—Kaulayan (male and female), Lami (male) and Zalum. The others were
two Marutamulang with male and female attributes, Luseq-na-Adau, Makacaigau, Garamugam, Palic, Mananigai, Marulacuna and Kurakurau. A chief’s wedding ceremony is the most auspicious occasion for the display of artefacts; I assume therefore that the thirteen beads shown to me by Angkil were the most representative of their meanings. When constructing a sequence of the beads to form a traditional long necklace, Angkil added several beads she had not previously mentioned. They were: Alis-na-Kuti, Palalivak and Aung-talar. All those sixteen beads (including the Kurakurau bead) form the central part of a long necklace for a chief’s wedding ceremony (see the pictures below and Fig. 7-17).

Fig. 7-16: Angkil was composing the structure of the central part of a Talivucong

Fig. 7-17: The most representative beads in a chiefly wedding ceremony
Based on this composition, the patterned beads placed in the central part of the necklace are given the most significant values, and these are Mulimulitan (male and female Kaulayan and Lami), Luseq-na-Adau and Marutamulang (male and female). The status of the beads diminishes in accordance with their sizes and cultural values, except for the bead, Palic, which is as important as Marutamulang, although the bead Palic is always at the end of the patterned beads as it sets boundary between the multi-coloured and single coloured beads. Although hierarchical differentiation among Paiwanese glass beads is not entirely clear, different statuses are reflected in certain beads. I have introduced the different hierarchical rankings of Mulimulitan bead; therefore, I will discuss the other beads with this kind of hierarchical differences. I collected three beads of this kind. Beside Mulimulitan bead, the other two are Makacaigau and Marutamulang. There are four kinds of Makacaigau beads according to their colours of the patterns. The most significant one, with the highest status, is said to represent the colours of the rainbow. This bead has an additional name, called Inulimalaran, which means “as beautiful as the rainbow”. The other bead that has similar hierarchical differentiations is the bead Marutamulang. This bead also comes in four kinds of colours, and the most privileged one among them all has “like the sun” added to its name. Only antique traditional old glass beads can be identified as having this status; the contemporary-made beads do not have such status differentiation.

The other point related to the composition discussed above is that the thirteen beads that Angkil selected to represent cultural values form a semiotic system. It is my contention that each of the beads in the central area of the traditional Talivucong necklace represents a value system. The bead Mulimulitan symbolizes authority, as does the bead Cadacadaqan. The bead Marutamulang represents a good harvest, like the bead Vacalan. The bead Palalivak has the meaning of making friends, as do the beads
Rangau (the fortune bead) and Langal (the peace-making bead). The bead Marulacuna has a connotation of religious belief, along with the beads Tagaraws (the universe bead), Macamaca, Riuqu and Zaqu. The bead Palic has the meaning of setting a boundary, similar to those discipline beads – the Kigaruc, Tangayungayu, and Alis-na-Kuti. Other beads, such as Mananigai and Aung convey the meaning of social values, such as bravery and wisdom. The bead Kurakurau is the bead of love, in the specific context of weddings. In summary, the thirteen beads can be classified into different categories in terms of cultural values, and each category includes other beads with similar meanings.

The positions of certain beads are fixed. For example, the bead Macamaca is placed near the end of the patterned beads in a traditional long necklace because of its function in keeping a watchful eye to prevent the necklace from being stolen. The bead Palic is put at the end of the patterned beads on long necklaces to serve the function of separation. The beads Tangayungayu and Kigaruc have a similar role at the end of the patterned section of the multiple-string necklace.

The beads on traditional necklaces can also express regional differences. People in different Paiwanese areas favour different beads. In the northern Paiwanese area where I conducted this research, Mulimulitan is favoured by the local people. This bead is required for aristocratic wedding ceremonies. I was told by Angkil that the Mulimulitan is so regarded in this area that some traditional short necklaces owned by the mamazangilan families are composed primarily of this kind of bead in the central part of the necklace. In such case it might contain more than ten Mulimulitan beads. In southern Paiwanese areas, the beads Makacaigau and Cadacadaqan are preferred for the central part of traditional necklaces. In the Laiyi village, people favour the single-patterned bead, Pula, which represents wealth. Indeed, the sections adjoining the central
area of the short necklaces of the Laiyi region are all composed of the bead, Pula, while in Sandimen other single colours (mainly green or yellow) appear in the middle with the Pula.

Some beads preferred by aristocrats can be identified with particular members of the aristocratic class and mentioned in songs during wedding and funeral ceremonies. They are: Mulimulitan, Palic, Garamugam and Marutamulang. During such ceremonies, the individuals who are the main characters of the ceremonies will be praised in song in honour of their social status. Beads are introduced in the songs are as metaphors for such people. A song will include different kinds of Mulimulitan, for example, to signify that the person is of the highest social status. Only a small number of beads can be sung in these songs to denote a particular person. Those beads include the Mulimulitan-Kaulayan category, which represents authority and power, and thus have higher status than all other beads. Women of the mamazangilan class may also be referred by the Palic bead, which has the connotation of holiness and purity. When the songs are sung, the beads are placed in sequence by singing them in turn with the most important beads sung at the beginning and the less important ones at the end. The sequence of the beads

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138 Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, November 12, 2011
in these songs reflects the status of the beads as an analogy for the status of the
individuals. Commoners cannot be included in this kind of song.

Although beads express significant cultural values, they can also be arranged to
represent family stories or personal attributes. Apart from social meanings expressed in
them, certain beads can act as a kind of personification: they are endowed with the
attributes analogous to those of the people who possess them. Beads can be combined
or selected to form a particular necklace to suit family or personal needs. The
composition of a necklace can thus tell a story relating to the memories derived from the
families or individuals inscribed on the beads. Meanings conveyed by the necklaces
therefore are open instead of being restricted to certain people or families. In this sense,
the beads can function as enhancements in transmitting oral history.

**Part six: Shared objects and family memories**

Some artefacts used by the Paiwanese share the same meanings and stories throughout
the culture and those meanings and stories can never be associated with exclusively one
particular family. During my fieldwork, one family in the Sandimen area wanted the
rights to claim the names and stories of certain beads because the government wanted to
introduce an intellectual property rights policy for indigenous culture and artefacts. The
Taiwanese government’s intention was to protect the right to use particular names or
certain artefacts or stories and enable the various indigenous groups to claim exclusive
rights to items or practices which belong to their respective cultures. However, the issue
of the single family wanting to claim the right to the names of particular beads caused a
lot of friction and animosity in Paiwanese areas. Many elders along with scholars in this
group stood up for maintaining the old tradition of communal ownership. They
contended that some objects, including their names, were shared in this culture, and
were collective properties of the entire group instead of one particular family.
This situation supports my argument that artefacts are an integral part of Paiwanese culture as a shared system. This system is reflected in the transmission of people’s names; normally a grandfather or grandmother would give his or her class name to their grandchildren depending on which had the higher social status. The names related to certain families have been passed on for many generations. I will describe one instance of this system from an event I was involved in. In the wedding ceremony of the chief Alaliu with his wife Eleng in December 2012, the wedding witness announced the wrong names for the couple, confusing them with other chief members’ names. However, no one corrected him during the entire ceremony. I asked the mother of the groom why everyone accepted this situation without protest. She answered that the names of the chief members are actually shared among their relatives, and therefore; the wedding witness did nothing wrong. This sharing of names is the same with the names of certain artefacts within this culture. For instance, the legend of the bead Luseq-na-Adau is shared through all Paiwanese regions and is not the culture property of certain regions or families.

Apart from the shared attribute reflected in the names of the beads, the beads can also provoke the memories of a family or individual. People can create explanations within the system of meaning that relate to the particular families or persons who own the beads. This flexibility is integral to the nature of Paiwanese society. That is, it is not a neat hierarchical system but a changeable social entity within certain boundaries. The Pakedavai family provides an example to explain how the beads can provoke family and individual memories: the beads on the necklace of the vusam represent the history of a family, or a village through the meanings triggered by the beads. The interpretation of beads in necklaces was explained to me by Zepulj Pakedavai, a descendant of this
family\textsuperscript{139}. I investigated two heirloom Talivucong necklaces: one belonging to the vusam in this family and one passed through from mother to daughter as a kind of property distribution.

**Part seven: The Pakedavai family’s heirloom**

**7-1. The Talivucong**

Zepulj showed me that the meaningful beads on the Pakedavai heirloom Talivucong can be classified into four kinds, according to their significance.

![Fig. 7-19: The Pakedavai family’s heirloom, a Talivucong necklace](image)

The first meaningful unit lies at the centre of the necklace, and it is the bead Luseq-na-Adau. The second significant unit among the beads of this Talivucong is the Mulimulitan bead. There are five kinds of Mulimulitan beads on the necklace, and they all have the same meaning and some of the Mulimulitan beads in this Talivucong look like abstract human heads. Zepulj told me that these represent people of this tribe who were led by the daughter of the sun, Maelevlev. During that time the tribe occupied a large amount of territory and people lived prosperous lives.

\textsuperscript{139} Personal Communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, August 02, 2011
The third unit is the Ulimaraw\textsuperscript{140}, which means the rainbow and represents blessings from heaven. It has the connotation of brilliance, hope, protection and wealth. The blessings from heaven are given to the wearer, who is the chief of the tribe, because he or she represents the glory of the tribe. They are also given to the people of the tribe, and it is hoped that they will become as brilliant as a rainbow on the sky.

The fourth bead is Cadacadaqan, which is the bead of land. This bead shares the same legend as some other regions and illustrates the authority of the \textit{mamazangilan} class over their lands\textsuperscript{141}. The fifth unit identified is the Vacalan – the bead of rivers or water pools. This bead represents the rivers of a tribe. The rivers were full of abundant resources like fish and shrimps to provide food for the tribe. This bead also depicts the wealth owned by the \textit{mamazangilan} families.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig_7-20.png}
\caption{Different Mulimulitan in Pakedavai family’s Talivucong}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig_7-21.png}
\caption{The heirloom beads of the Talivucong necklace belongs to the Pakedavai family}
\end{figure}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{140} This Ulimaraw bead belongs to the category of Makacaigau.
\item\textsuperscript{141} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, September 11, 2011
\end{itemize}
Turning now to the Vecaqel necklace, which belongs to the heir of the Pakedavai family we see that the meaning of the Vecaqel is associated with family story. The central part of the necklace was formed by Mulimulitan beads, and the two sections on the side of the central one are formed by Mananigai, the warrior bead with other beads. The interpretation of the meaning of this necklace is that the chief in a tribe is surrounded by warriors and his or her tribal people. The chief leads his or her people to create a united and peaceful society. According to the family members, the Mulimulitan bead thus represents the *mamazangilan* members in the tribe and the bead Mananigai symbolizes the warriors who protect the chief family and contribute usefully to the tribe. There is an Alis-na-Kuti bead at the final part of the necklace, which represents the equal rights of male and female in Paiwanese society. Therefore regardless of gender, in this society everyone should make an effort to transform the tribe to a better community.
Part eight: Beads endowed with meaning particular to an individual person

Not only can beads represent the stories or memories of a tribe, they can also be the representation of a person. The traditional necklace I will take as an example here is the Talivucong belonging to Zepulj. Zepulj explained to me that because she is not the first born in her family, her inherited necklace does not contain the Mulimulitan. Instead, the beads on her Talivucong are mostly Makacaigau (the bead of wisdom), Palic (the bead of virginity and possessing good weaving skills) and Kalasuazon (the intelligence bead)\textsuperscript{142}. The meanings of beads relate to the life of the wearer. The Makacaigau beads indicate that the wearer has wisdom and intelligence and a life as brilliant as a rainbow. It’s also means, blessings from the rainbow. The Palic bead accords to the Paiwanese tradition that girls are required to gain weaving skills to make crafts and clothes in preparation for their marriage. It is said that the bead, Palic will enhance the ability to weave and therefore gain the praise of others. The bead Kalasuazon has a similar meaning to the bead Palic: the wearer should have the ability to weave or make craft items that are needed in her society. The butterfly pattern represents a person who has the craftsmanship or intelligence to make crafts. The bead stringer, who is Zepulj’s mother, hoped that her daughter would be as pure as a girl should be, and as intelligent and alert as a butterfly so as to be a good teacher for her students. Therefore, the necklace represents personal attributes expectations of the person who wears it.

\textsuperscript{142} The interpretation of the names of the beads is not necessary of those introduced by Umass Zingrur.
In this section, I conclude that the composition of the traditional necklace Talivucong has is the product of a cultural system of shared rules and principles of composition and use that extend across the Paiwanese region. However, there is flexibility regarding the placement of beads, as well as in the explanations of their meanings in this necklace. This kind of adaptation is reflected in the concentric-circle social organization (see page 220 – 224), in that individuals are treated respectfully and equally. The divisions between different statuses are set according to the duties of the people, and the entire society is organized like a core-centre family unit where the relationships between people inside are looked upon as those brothers and sisters, instead of a king and his own subjects. Thus, the rule for constructing a traditional Talivucong demonstrated this kind of flexibility in Paiwanese culture – allowing changed within a framework.
Conclusion
This chapter explores the social information conveyed by the patterned beads in a particular traditional necklace Talivucong. The cultural information can be categorized into cosmology, natural phenomena, belief system, social costumes and value systems and indications of authority. The information expressed by the beads is argued to be semiotic expressions of Paiwanese culture. The culture knowledge thus can be encoded and transmitted through the patterns on the beads. In this chapter, the completed Paiwanese cosmology which is reflected by three kinds of material objects also is introduced.

From the analysis in this chapter, the Paiwanese beads also reflect cultural significance such as hierarchical differences. The hierarchical differences are expressed by the names and their positions on the Talivucong necklace. The structure of this Talivucong parallels the Paiwanese social structure. It is the core-centred organization formed by eight circles with a centre core inside to represent Paiwanese society as well as reflecting the hierarchical ordering system in this society. The names, meanings and the usage of beads also reflect that the Paiwan is a shared society. However, within this shared system, there is also show the flexibility among the cultural rules, that is, the particular explanations of beads for certain families or individuals. In this way, beads serve as written words to encode family histories or personal stories to be memorized and pass to next generations.
Chapter Eight: Tourist art development in Sandimen village

Introduction
In this chapter, I examine the dynamic relationship between the internal and external demands for Paiwanese beadwork in the context of a changing society. In his introduction to the book, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, Nelson H.H. Graburn sets out several classifications of the contemporary arts found in “Fourth World” communities, which he defines as “peoples without countries of their own…usually in the minority and without the power to direct the course of their collective lives” (Graburn, 2010, p. 412). Accordingly, Graburn argues that the study of the arts of the Fourth World is different from the study of “primitive” art, for it must take into account more than one symbolic and aesthetic system, and also because artefacts may be produced by one group for consumption by another.

Bead products produced in the Sandimen area are placed in the category of “Fourth World art” production, first proposed by Nelson H. H. Graburn. Some of the categories used in his arguments are useful in analysing the use and production of Paiwanese beads. The development of glass bead production in the Sandimen area is not easily defined using all of Graburn’s categories, however; due to the dynamic and multi-functional nature of bead production in this village. I will therefore suggest some different terms and categories appropriate for use in my account.

One of the features of Paiwanese glass beads is their role as widely-used objects of cultural significance. With the continuing improvement of the techniques and materials used in producing beads, and the policy of cultural promotion developed by the Taiwanese government after 2002, glass beads have become an important representative artefact identified with the Paiwanese group. In this chapter, I will describe the
“recreation” of the Paiwanese beads and outline the development of this “cultural product” in the context of historical and social change. The purpose of this chapter therefore will be to explore the social significance and multiple functions of Paiwanese beads. I have worked with several bead shop owners in the Sandimen area and they provided me great amount of information about the contemporary beads production today. Those key informants are: Umass Zingrur and Angkil TalimaraU from the Paiwan Bead Studion; Shiou-Jiu Shr from the Dragonfly Studion and Ying-Jie Liau and Yi-Shin Liau from the Shatao Dancing Bead Studio.

The arguments in this chapter are: firstly, that bead production in Sandimen village reflects social changes as well as maintaining a thriving cultural tradition. Secondly, Paiwanese glass beads can be classified into different types, some of which fit into categories of “tourist art” outlined by Graburn. However, some types of the contemporary bead production cannot easily be defined using Graburn’s categories, and thus reflect the creative dynamic of a distinct cultural phenomenon. Thirdly, the products manufactured today reflect different aesthetic pursuits emerging from both inside and outside Paiwanese society, creating “taste” or “value” in accordance with either traditional values or market demand. Fourthly, different types of beads express both internal and external ethnic identities and also reflect social change.

8-1. The historical background for a changing society

Paiwanese glass beads are one of three sacred objects in this society, and the beads are endowed with rich cultural values and significant social functions that have been passed from generation to generation. Furthermore, Paiwanese society has undergone changes in its traditions and belief systems during the periods of colonization by the Japanese and the Han Chinese, as well as the introduction of the Christian religion. The hierarchical social system is one of the cultural systems influenced by external
government agents. Although the institution of head chieftainship is still in existence, the power and influence of members of the *mamazangilan* class has declined, because the loss of land ownership as well as the power to govern. Under these circumstances, traditional Paiwanese beads have undergone a transition to being sold to outsiders by members of the *mamazangilan* class in order to earn money. This, in turn, has resulted in a significant fall in the numbers of beads possessed by families within the society. A significant turning point occurred precisely at this point in time. The son in a family of craftsmen, Umass Zingrur, invented and developed ways of making new beads. This “re-invention” of bead making has led to a cultural revolution in terms of the function of beads in Paiwanese society. The production of glass beads has had great cultural significance, because they are now produced within this society by Paiwanese people, and have been re-circulated and used widely. The functions of contemporary beads have transcended those of the antique ones, in that they are utilized by a large portion of the Paiwanese population. In other words, new beads have replaced the old ones and have become multi-functional cultural items of great and varied significance. In this chapter, I will explore the different functions of traditional and recently-made beads, using some of the classifications in Graburn’s definition of “Fourth World” art.

Sandimen is the place where contemporary production of Paiwanese beads began: Umass was born in this area and bead making in transparent glass as well as other media like clay is more prevalent compared with other Paiwanese village. Another specific characteristic of this area is that Sandimen has been a location for business between Paiwanese tribes and a neighbouring group, the Rukai, as well as Han Chinese. The Paiwanese in this area, therefore, have long been accustomed to buying and selling goods. This has created a profitable environment for the commercialization of the development of contemporary beads. In addition, the Sandimen area was chosen by the
Han Chinese government (KMT)\textsuperscript{143} as a tourist location after the Han people gained political power over Taiwan in 1945. The Sandimen has equal populations of two different Paiwanese sub-groups: the Ravar and the Vutsulj/Butsul. Most of these people belong to the \textit{mamazangilan} class, and therefore there is a high demand among them for beads\textsuperscript{144}. In this chapter, I take the Sandimen area as an example illustrating the economic and social roles filled by Paiwanese glass beads: the cultural identities expressed in their use and their functions through commercial activity associated with them. I will also explore how Paiwanese cultural values have been passed down as well and have flourished through the creation of different forms and functions of the beads over generations.

\textbf{8-2. The historical development of bead production}

The Paiwanese people have undergone several periods of colonization since 1895. Those periods have impacted greatly on the usage and conceptualization of traditional material objects, due to different official policies regarding indigenous cultures. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese governmental institutions in Taiwan transferred the authority vested in the Paiwanese chief in each tribe to their regional police agents. Ownership of the lands was also taken from the chiefly families and assigned to the farmers who cultivated it (Masegseg Zengror Gadu, 2011, p. 171). After the Second World War, the KMT party from mainland China took over the government of Taiwan, and the Han authorities adapted the policy by encouraging the indigenous people to become assimilated into Chinese culture. The purpose of this acculturation was to force the indigenous people to abandon their own cultures and live like the Han Chinese. The policy had a profound impact on the indigenous cultures. In the Paiwanese

\textsuperscript{143} The abbreviation of Kuomintang – Chinese Nationalist Party

\textsuperscript{144} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 21, 2010
case, the original hierarchical system was destroyed, leading to a decrease in the privileged powers of the chiefly families over lands and people. When the peasants no longer needed to pay tribute to members of the mamazangilan class, some families became impoverished and started to sell their property to sustain themselves and their families. Very large numbers of antique glass beads were sold in these circumstances. Another factor affecting on the ownership and social conceptualization of traditional objects, including glass beads at this time was the introduction of foreign religious beliefs. The KMT’s religious policy regarding indigenous people was based on the principle of setting them free, and this led to the introduction of various religious beliefs among indigenous tribes. The influences of Christian churches in Paiwanese areas has been powerful from that time on, gradually resulting in the replacement of traditional beliefs. Christian beliefs encouraged the Paiwanese to abandon their sacred spiritual house, sacred pots and glass beads, or sell them because they were evidence of superstitions (Chu, 2003, p. 134). In these circumstances, antique glass beads were either physically destroyed or sold to outsiders. The decreasing number of glass beads had a negative effect on some ceremonies and rituals because appropriate beads were hard to obtain.

During the 1970s, there was a widespread demand to regain cultural autonomy among indigenous people. Han Chinese policy shifted to adopt more localized perspectives. This change also influenced the indigenous people and they began to revive their

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145 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 21, 2010
own traditions. It was this period, Umass Zingrur, revived the tradition of glass beads by developing his own method of making them without any outside assistance. He succeeded in bringing the production of glass beads back to life in 1976. The process of innovation is summarized below from my interviews with Umass.

In 1972, Umass went to Taipei (the capital city in the northern area of Taiwan) to find out whether he could sell wood carvings to an antique collector, Mu-Yang Chang. Instead, however; Chang encouraged Umass to do research on Paiwanese glass beads, because these beads had become almost impossible to find. After his visit, Umass turned his interest away from wood carving and embarked on the task of re-inventing ways to make glass beads. From 1973, Umass travelled from southern Taiwan to the northern part, and then turned to the eastern areas of Taiwan, trying to find out about glass-making techniques, materials, and equipment for making beads. After failing to find any methods for producing the beads, Umass then bought books containing instructions for making electric kilns, but he failed in this experiment. However, he had gained some experience and understanding of the techniques of making a kiln.

In 1975, Umass travelled to Hsin-Chu Province, the main area for glass production in Taiwan, in search of techniques for making glass beads. He found nothing at the Hsin Chu Glass Research School. He did, however, get some useful ideas from a visit to the local glass factory, where he saw workers making tiny glass animals using coloured glass rods. He then sought out suitable firing kilns and bought raw materials for making glass beads and some pieces of equipment to do an experiment at home. Over a year of perseverance, he gradually conquered the difficulties in manufacturing techniques, and the first contemporary Paiwanese glass bead was born in 1976. The news of his success in making traditional patterned glass beads spread rapidly throughout the Paiwanese
areas and became a significant cultural issue. There were numerous people who went to Umass place to see for themselves this newly-made glass bead. Subsequently, Umass started in June, 1976, to produce small numbers of glass beads to sell to Paiwanese people. His beads were in great demands. So it was, that the almost extinct production of glass beads was revived and returned to the lives of the Paiwanese people; and ever since, Umass has been called “the father of Paiwanese beads”. Those first, glass beads of the newly made generation were called “kinralum a qata” in Paiwanese, which means “beads made of glass”\(^{146}\).

Due to the large demand from Paiwanese people for glass beads after 1979, Umass adopted three disabled men and a number of women who were seeking jobs to be his assistants and apprentices. He established the first craft studio in Sandimen village in 1982 and instructed his apprentices in the techniques of producing glass beads. In 1983, those first three male apprentices left Umass to establish their own independent studios. Two of them became the predecessors of the famous commercialized studios: “Dragonfly Studio” and “Shatao Dancing Bead Studio,” in the Sandimen area. Umass, in contrast, stopped producing glass beads and turned to the creation of artificial animal teeth, for ornaments, and machine-made embroideries. Although he was successful in producing those items, he could not compete commercially with the Han Taiwanese people, who had ample budgets for production imitations of hand-made embroideries. And so, Umass returned to bead production. In 1993, he had the idea of making another type of Paiwanese bead. His glass beads had been criticized by members of the \textit{mamazangilan} class, who said that contemporary glass beads did not have archaic qualities of the old ones. So, Umass turned to seeking other ingredient for making beads.

\(^{146}\) Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 23, 2010
which possessed the classic qualities of antique glass beads. In 1995, he was successful in producing a type of bead that filled the qualities requirements of the members of the mamazangilan class. This kind of bead was called “kaipuwan a qata”, which means “the real soil” in Paiwanese. In 2007, Umass released a third type of bead called “maruzalum a qada”. The colours and quality of the maruzalum are closer to the qualities of antique beads. The techniques for making this maruzalum a qada are known only by Umass and his wife, and they only accept orders from members of chiefly families. The production of this type of bead is restricted, and its circulation is limited.

Production of Paiwanese beads in the Sandimen area has matured over thirty year of development. There are a few famous glass bead shops that have been established by the first generation of Umass’s apprentices. Every glass bead shop has tried in its own way to develop production techniques, and so, every shop has created its own style and quality standards. In summary, contemporary Paiwanese beads can be classified into three different kinds, according to the material used. The three kinds of beads are kinralum (glass beads), kaipuwan (clay-like beads) and maruzalum (jade-like beads). The most popular ones in Sandimen area are the kinralum and kaipuwan beads, and they are viewed as the most representative contemporary Paiwanese beads. The different social functions of these two glass beads will be examined in this chapter.

8-3. Materiality

The Paiwanese use the same term “glass beads”, to refer to all types of beads. The term is used because antique glass beads were once slightly transparent. Although beads are made from a variety of materials now, the Paiwanese people still call them “glass beads”. This is therefore a general term to describe all categories of Paiwanese beads in the Sandimen area. In the following discussion of different kinds of beads, I will use
specific terms to refer to beads with different characteristics and differentiate them on the basis of their composition.

Paiwanese glass beads can be divided into several categories according to production materials and time periods. In terms of time periods, the beads can be divided into two groups: beads that came from areas outside Taiwan; and beads created and produced by the Paiwanese people in Taiwan. The antique beads that came from Southeast Asia contain lead, which is not found in the more contemporary glass beads. The proportions of chemical elements in the glass materials used in antique and contemporary glass beads are not the same, which makes the appearance of these two types of beads quite different. The ingredients of antique beads have been analysed by several researchers and merchants hoping to replicate their production. The analysis is done by grinding antique glass beads into powder, and then identifying the chemical elements contained in the powders. A Taiwanese researcher, Chi-Lu Chen, and a Japanese researcher Imura, quoted by researcher, Shiu (Shiu, 2005, pp. 75-76), made a list of those ingredients and their proportions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chemical Element</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SiO₂ (Silicic Acid)</td>
<td>34.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fe₂O₃ + FeO + Al₂O₃ (Ferric Oxide)</td>
<td>1.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MgO (Magnesium Oxide)</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PbO (Lead Oxide)</td>
<td>46.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CaO (Calcium Oxide)</td>
<td>7.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K₂O (Gary)</td>
<td>5.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na₂O (Soda)</td>
<td>2.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviews with several women elders in the Sandimen area revealed that antique glass beads look old because of their texture: their colours are deep and dark; their surface are rough and have black spots on them; the edges of the beads are smoother than those of
contemporary glass beads, but not as neat; the holes through the beads are larger than those in contemporary ones; the body of each bead arches slightly; and most of them look slightly transparent. All in all, the antique beads look old and a bit opaque; however, their colours and textures are the most treasured in this society. When Umass first made glass beads in the 1970s, he tried to reproduce those features: the colours and textures of the antique ones; so I will call them antique-looking glass beads.

In addition to Umass, another Taiwanese merchant who owns a shop in the Sandimen village also has a laboratory for analysing the ingredients of antique glass beads. He then produces the beads in China. The antique-looking glass bead produced for the shop “Shuei Sz Yuan” is among the most successful reproductions of antique beads. Antique-looking glass beads are said to look like antique beads because of their texture and colours. Although contemporary glass beads can be made like antique ones using advanced techniques, they still look like “glass”, because they are shinier and smoother than the old ones. Umass told me the reason why the texture of antique glass is different from the contemporary products is because it contains impurities which make it look less “clear” and shiny than the new glass beads.

The other type of glass beads produced are the shiny glass beads; the beads look bright and colourful, the surfaces are smooth with clear-cut edges on both sides. These beads have less appeal to the Paiwanese people because they are too bright. The Paiwanese all seek a feeling of “looking old” on their glass beads, which led Umass to try to invent another type of bead with different ingredients. He also believes that antique glass contains the poisonous chemical, lead, which harms people who wear it, so he has tried to find substitute ingredients for making beads.
The *kaipuwan* bead created by Umass is the most popular bead in the Sandimen area, or the entire Paiwanese regions now. Although this kind of bead does not look transparent as is the case with the majority of antique glass beads, its texture appeals to the Paiwanese because it can be made rough and looks old. Indeed, some antique glass beads are not transparent. For example, the antique bead Mananigai is not transparent and it looks quite similar to the contemporary *kaipuwan* Mananigai bead. The *kaipuwan* bead can be made to look antique: the colours on these beads are dustier than those on contemporary glass beads, and their rusty tones evoke the idea of the past. The ingredients used to make this *kaipuwan* bead are kept secret; only Umass and his wife know the composition of the bead. Umass once revealed to me the tiny hint that it was made of clay and glass, and that wet clay dyed in different colours is used in the process of making it. Such techniques can produce antique-looking beads with a rough surface and black spots, or ones with a smooth surface and no spots. Umass’s wife, the bead creator Angkil, told me that when you continue wearing the *kaipuwan* bead, it becomes more shiny and dark. Some people even bury the bead in the ground and then dig it up again after a certain time; believing it will turn dark, and therefore look older.

The *maruzalum* bead is made by Umass to cater for the preferences of Paiwanese people with aristocratic status. The techniques used in producing this kind of bead are difficult to master, and therefore, their price is quite high. One single *maruzalum* bead cost as much as an antique bead with the same pattern. Because *maruzalum* beads need to be ordered before they are made, the circulation of beads of this kind is quite restricted.

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147 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, December 22, 2010

148 Personal communication with Angkil Talimarau, November 11, 2010
8-4. The patterns on the beads

I have discussed all the types of bead production found in the Sandimen area. In Paiwanese regions on the eastern side of Taiwan, people have succeeded in making different kinds of clay beads by themselves, and so the manufacture of “glass” beads is booming and varied among the Paiwanese people in southeastern Taiwan. Different types of glass beads have different functions in Paiwanese society, according to the materials used to make them and the patterns on them. These patterns can be classified as traditional ones, which are the same as those on antique glass beads, and innovative patterns that are newly created. Antique beads and some contemporary ones share the same pattern names. Such beads are called “beads with names” or “Paiwanese beads” because they are endowed with Paiwanese cultural significance\textsuperscript{149}; in contrast, beads with innovative patterns (mainly the contemporary shiny glass beads) are not given special names, even by Paiwanese creators. Those beads are “beads without names”, and are not accepted for use on ceremonies or occasions\textsuperscript{150}.

8-5. The social context of bead production

There are three main studios producing beads in Sandimen now, and each one has its own production style, according to the materials used. When the apprentices who were trained by Umass established their own independent glass studios, they tried to improve on the materials and equipment used in making the beads. They also continue to develop new forms for their products. I interviewed the heads of these three studios and observed the production of beads in their studios, and my findings are summarized below.

\textsuperscript{149} Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 26, 2010

\textsuperscript{150} Personal communication with Alif Pakedavai, August 24, 2010
8-5-1. The Dragonfly Studio

The Dragonfly Studio was established in 1983 by Fu-Shiang Chen, who had learned to make glass beads with Umass. He and his brother, Fu-Sheng Chen, and his brother’s wife, Shiou-Jiu shr, now the owner of this shop, established the studio. At first, techniques for making glass beads were not well-developed, and their glass broke easily after it was fired. So, they tried to improve their workshop equipment and processes to reduce the numbers of broken beads. They succeeded, and in 1998, the studio expanded its marketing area to attract tourists. In 1999, Shr started to sell beads abroad, in Japan, and an NHK TV program production group even came to this studio to interview the bead makers and crafts people\textsuperscript{151}. Closer to home, the TV program, “Stories of Taiwan”, visited the shop and made a broadcast featuring the products. In 2008, the Taiwanese movie “Cape No. 7” was screened, showing all the main characters wearing glass beads made by this Dragonfly Studio, and referring to their meanings. Glass beads produced in this shop thereby became representations of all Paiwanese glass beads for many Taiwanese people. Today, when tourists visit Sandimen village, most of them will go to the Dragonfly Studio to buy the “Paiwanese glass beads” made famous by this

\textsuperscript{151} Interviewed with Shiou-Jiu Shr, August 25, 2011
shop. For tourists who visit this town in a hurry, these shiny, colourful glass beads have come to represent the characteristics of all Paiwanese beads.

The Dragonfly Shop has established the reputation of its own products and has tried to develop other forms of production to expand the concept of “glass bead products”. After 2007, they develop products which combine glass beads with other crafts to produce tableware and shoes. Not only have the kinds of goods produced changed, but so, too, have the designs of the glass beads changed. The designers in this shop have created new patterns for glass beads as well as maintaining the traditional patterns, to tourists. The new designs also altered the shapes of the familiar glass beads, so they become irregular and changeable without being constrained by traditional rules. As a result, the host Shiou-Jiu Shr told me, the new forms would improve the status of glass beads and create a designer product, which enables them to be regarded as high quality products and thus raise their value. These products are sometimes combined with silver, gold, copper and other metals, in order to fit in with fashion trend and attract buyers who are seeking “high class” products. The shop also produces decorative items, such as mural paintings and utensils, clocks and kitchenwares.

The Dragonfly shop also continues to produce traditional decorative glass items, such as long and short necklaces and multiple-stringed bracelets, which are all made to look antique. However, when I asked about the buyers of these “traditional style” items, the manager
confessed to me that she does not have buyers from her Paiwanese community\textsuperscript{152}. The costumers are almost all non-Paiwanese tourists or collectors. Antique-looking glass beads are particularly favored by Han Chinese connoisseurs who have an interest in indigenous culture and art, and by some international tourists from Japan and Europe. The prices of this kind of antique-looking glass bead are so high (almost four times the cost of the \textit{kaipuwan} beads) that the local villagers couldn’t possibly afford to buy such “traditional” items for use in their daily lives.

The shop not only sells bead products, it also plays a part in introducing the culture of Paiwanese glass beads to visitors. Hanging on the walls of the shop are stories about the meanings of traditional glass beads. The manager of the shop has chosen twelve beads to represent the whole range of traditional Paiwanese beads and has the shop assistants explain the meanings of the beads when tourists ask about them. She told me that in doing this, she has tried to create a “cultural educational class” for outsiders\textsuperscript{153}. There is also a DIY experimental package if tourists want to try to make a glass bead for themselves. They can pay for experiencing the process of making one, and the clerks will teach them how to make a glass bead of the pattern they choose.

This Dragonfly Studio has become a representative glass bead production site for non-Paiwanese tourists thanks to mass communication media like TV and movies. The products it offers are all made from glass, and include antique-looking beads as well as shiny ones, and newly designed ones.

\textsuperscript{152} Personal communication with Shiou-Ju Shr, March 25, 2013

\textsuperscript{153} Personal communication with Shiou-Ju Shr, March 26, 2013
8-5-2. The Shatao Dancing Bead Studio

The Shatao Dancing Bead Studio was established in 1986 by an apprentice, Wen-Ming Liau, who learned to make glass beads with Umass and his elder brother, Ying-Jie Liau. From the beginning, they also tried to develop ways of making glass beads unbreakable, and finally succeeded in 1991. Ying-Jie Liau is a dancer, and he had the idea of combining the original Shatao bead studio with a dancing group which could perform the stories of traditional glass beads to entertain tourists. He believed that this would impress visitors with the significance of the beads and then they would shop at the store and come back again.\(^{154}\)

In 2009, the studio was extended and they tried to establish a new brand orientation. Ying-Jie Liau decided that the development of the dancing group should be as important as the sale of glass products; and so, a performance group led by his daughter Yi-Shin Liau has developed new styles of “indigenous dancing” to revolutionize the image of indigenous dances. In 2010, after the dancing group performed the story of the Mananigai bead in a public theater, it began to be recognized as a contemporary dance group and has since been praised for its performance of abstract dancing forms. Their success made the Shatao studio another famous glass bead shop in the Sandimen area. The bead shop is combined with the dancing practice space so that tourists can watch performers when they come to shop for the bead products. Yi-Shin Liau told me that they “want to create a visually impressive brand so that the audiences can remember us. In our shop, dancing and beads could not be separated.”\(^{155}\) The concept of “dancing glass beads” has made the Shatao bead shop unique.

\(^{154}\) Personal communication with Ying-Jie Liau March 26, 2013

\(^{155}\) Personal communication with Yi-Shin Liau, March 16, 2013
Shatao has also developed its own style of products using glass beads. These can be categorized into several types: the first is souvenirs such as necklaces and bracelets in the simple string style and decorative items using single beads, such as mobile phone ornaments. A second type of product is pseudo-antique glass bead items like necklaces and bracelets. These products mostly attract Japanese tourists, the wife of Ying-Jie Liau, the owner, told me. She said that some villagers also choose these products to be used as bride prices and decorative items in ceremonies\textsuperscript{156}. The studio also produces a limited range of quality products designed by bead makers. The forms and patterns are innovative, though they are produced in continuity with the traditions of bead making within the society. For example, as one of the owners, Yi-Shin Liau, explained to me, although the designs are not traditional in themselves, the patterns and shapes appearing in the designs are often transformations of those which occur in traditional form, or are inspired by elements of cultural significance, such as snake patterns, or natural phenomena like the shapes of mountains. This is artistry combined with internalized cultural ideas, just like those conveyed through the dancing. The final category of goods sold in the shop is comprised of commonly-used items such as bead watchbands, dolls, carved seals and rings adorned with beads. These are practical and useful items which can be used as gifts by companies or individuals.

\textsuperscript{156} The price of products in this Shatao Dancing Bead Studio is much cheaper than those in the Dragonfly Studio.
The patterns appearing on these products can also be divided into traditional and innovative forms, according to the motifs employed. When I asked bead producers in the shop about these motifs, one told me that although tourists would like to know that the beads they buy have ethnic meanings, they tend to choose contemporary designs rather than those in the old styles. “Traditional beads mostly need to be ordered now”. This phenomenon reflects a contradiction in the marketing system that often occurs in the marketing of indigenous arts and crafts, according to Howard Morphy. “That is, tourists want the story and meaning, but they also want the work to look contemporary in their own aesthetic terms”.\textsuperscript{157} In the case of the Shatao Dancing Bead Studio, bead production is mainly oriented towards tourists from outside the village, and at the same time it is incorporating, and providing a context for, traditional Paiwanese stories in contemporary life, for example, when the dancing group performs bead stories for visitors from the outside world.

8-5-3. The Paiwan Bead Studio

The third major studio in the Sandimen area is the one owned by Umass. Although Umass established the shop, it is managed by his wife, Angkil, who is a descendent of the Talimarau family and has a great deal of knowledge and experience in creating items using traditional glass beads.

This Paiwan Bead Studio produces primarily \textit{kaipuwan} beads. Although some of the stock in this shop is intended for tourists, most of the items are traditional and bought by local villagers. The main customers of the Studio can be divided into two categories: firstly, outside organizations that order beads products regularly, including a tax-free shop selling to Japanese tourists visiting Kaohsiung, the biggest city in southern

\textsuperscript{157} Personal communication with Howard Morphy, November 04, 2013
Taiwan; secondly, villagers either from the Sandimen area, or from other Paiwanese regions, including those from the far eastern region of Taiwan. The main reason why these Paiwanese people buy *kaipuwan* bead products from this shop is for weddings. The beads are used for bride prices or as accessories appropriate for wedding ceremonies.

Umass told me that over 60% of the Paiwanese people choose to come to his shop to buy *kaipuwan* bead products for their own cultural purposes, because the beads convey an antique feeling, in harmony with their aesthetic values\(^\text{158}\). The *kaipuwan* beads that I observed, are not as transparent as antique ones, and they don’t even look like antique beads. However, they have replaced antique beads and become the most favoured ones used for making functional necklaces. *Kaipuwan* beads have taken the place of antique beads in the society. Not only Paiwanese villagers, but also some connoisseurs who appreciate the “old feeling” will offer very high prices for recently made, antique-looking *kaipuwan* beads. One necklace was priced at 20,000 AUD but not sold because Angkil, the maker, wanted to keep it for display in her shop. The beads in this shop, Angkil told me, would increase in value as time passed. Paiwanese shop owners can recognize the beads produced during particular time periods. The colour and luster change with time. The value of the antique-looking *kaipuwan* bead, therefore, changes with time and it has gradually replaced antique beads by filling their traditional functions.

**8-6. Categories of Paiwanese beads produced in the Sandimen area**

In this section, I will discuss Paiwanese beads by using the classifications of “Fourth World art” set by Nelson H.H. Graburn. Although Graburn’s categories of tourist art

\(^{158}\) This message was mainly from Umass Zingrur, and therefore the measurable fact should be further examined.
development apply well enough to some of the bead production in the Sandimen area, the Paiwanese still sustain a case of a dynamic creative movement that is not easily covered by Graburn’s analysis. Antique glass beads which were produced within the Paiwanese society that have faded away. However, some contemporary beads produced by the Paiwanese people have being given certain social functions to replace those of antique beads, and thus have significant social meaning in their society.

The categories used in Graburns’ definition of art production within the “Fourth World” that fit bead production in contemporary Paiwanese society are commercial fine arts, souvenirs and reintegrated arts. The categories, of traditional and functional fine arts, assimilated fine arts, and popular arts, that he proposed cannot be applied readily to Paiwanese society or just apply to a very small proportion of that production, and are therefore not the main focus of this research. The case of extinction poses a problem since in the case of beads it is in dialogue with the category of reintegration.

8-6-1. Antique and extinct glass beads

Graburn defines the artefacts which fall in the category of “extinction” as: “the decline or disappearance of the indigenous art form has, surprisingly, rarely been described”. Antique beads were made outside the society and yet through their use became essentially Paiwanese artefacts. Yet they have always been linked to the history of trade and exchange. The decrease in numbers of Paiwanese antique glass beads during the Japanese and the Han Chinese colonial periods falls into this category of decline. However although many of the antique beads have been removed from circulation in contemporary Paiwanese society,
only a portion of them disappeared and the use of beads has been revived. The circulation of the beads is not as widespread as it was before Japanese colonization but Paiwanese still treasure them and buy them as part of bride prices in today’s society. And as we have seen in the previous chapter they still have many contexts of contemporary use.

8-6-2. New functional fine arts
Graburn defines the “traditional or functional fine arts” category as “the persistence of a traditional art form that can be accompanied by some changes in technique and form…As long as the changes do not seriously disturb the transformation of symbolic meaning, and hence the culturally appropriate satisfactions, these may still be called functional or contact-influenced traditional arts” (Graburn, 2010, p. 415). Contemporary bead production partly falls into this category but is not completely defined by Graburn’s classification. It is a distinct case. Graburn’s definition does not quite fit the Paiwanese situation, because beads such as antique-looking glass beads, kaipuwan beads, and maruzalum beads that are “functional fine arts” are not original versions. Instead, they have been recreated by the Paiwanese people and have the functions of “traditional or functional fine arts”. Therefore, I suggest that they are “new functional fine arts”. One reason why I classify these beads in this category is that they were not made for sale to tourists until just ten years ago, when government policy had begun to influence indigenous tourist art production. This is one important reason why these antique-looking beads have continued to fulfil have functional purposes of cultural significance within Paiwanese society.

Within this “new functional fine arts” category, there are three types of Paiwanese bead which perform different functions. The first type of beads are the antique-looking glass beads, especially those made by Umass at the beginning of the new era of glass bead
creation in the mid 1970s. Paiwanese people had been buying these new, antique-looking glass beads for almost twenty years before the kaipuwan bead was created, and some studios in the area have continued to produce them. The second and third types are the kaipuwan and maruzalum beads. Those two types of beads also fall into this category because their production met a functional need in Paiwanese society. Among these three kinds of beads, the kaipuwan bead is the most pervasive one circulating in contemporary Paiwanese society and it has had an even more profound influence on present-day Paiwanese culture than antique beads. One reason why this bead is so popular is that its price is not very high and nearly every Paiwanese household can afford to buy at least one necklace made with it. Availability, in contrast to the rarity of antique beads, makes it popular. Although it is not actually an antique bead, the production of the kaipuwan bead can be seen as a particular, functional fine art. Kaipuwan beads can also be produced as “old-looking” products with “dirty looking” dots on them and are favoured by members of the mamazangilan families. Antique-looking glass beads, the kaipuwan bead, and the maruzalum bead, which are made through the development of contemporary technology, all have particular functions in this society because they contribute a way of adding to the body of “antique-looking” beads, which are linked to the ancestral past, and now valued highly.

Fig. 8-6: Antique-looking kaipuwan beads from the Paiwan Bead Studio
Graburn defines commercial fine art objects as “although they are made with eventual sale in mind, they adhere to culturally embedded aesthetic and formal standards”. Contemporary bead production for sale in the Sandimen area can provide the content for adjustments to be made within Paiwanese society. The antique-looking glass beads produced now as well as some newly-invented forms of fine art produced in the Dragonfly and Shatao bead studios, fall into this category because almost all of their customers come from outside Paiwanese society. Even though tourists don’t understand much about the context of Paiwanese beads production, some of them are attracted by the antique appearance of the glass beads. This kind of bead also appeals to collectors from outside the society who are interested in indigenous cultures and can afford the prices. Normally the price of a “traditional style” necklace of antique-looking glass beads in the Dragonfly Studio would be about three to five times that of the same style made of kaipuwan beads in Umass’ shop. This doesn’t mean that the glass is more expensive than clay, but because the owner wants to establish a reputation for the type
of aesthetic quality associated with these products. In other words, the shop owner tries hard to give an impression of higher quality merchandise in order to raise prices. The procedures involved in making this glass product are more complicated than those involved in producing souvenir glass artefacts.

Another type of commercial fine art is “innovative fine arts” using new transparent glass beads. Some of the artists who design these items are famous, and come from outside Paiwanese society. Sometimes the beads are combined with different metals such as aluminium or silver to make them look appealing. The Paiwanese designers in the Dragonfly or Shatao studios also combine antique-looking glass beads with traditional patterns in stylized compositions to attract customers who have contemporary “high fashion” tastes. In this way, the designers and shop owners are making judgments about what will make their products distinctive and attractive. To summarize, some of the products made in these studios are more attractive than others in terms of workmanship, including the new designs or creativity invested in them, which raises both quality and price.

“Commercial fine art” is constantly evolving in order to satisfy external markets. The antique-looking glass beads, whose production was based on traditional cultural knowledge were made into commercial art and subsequently some innovative fine arts developed producing totally new designs, or transformations based on traditional patterns. Both are now connected to aesthetic influences from the outside market to achieve the end purpose of commercial sale. This type of commercial art has been built
on creativity in a contemporary context, producing new kinds of beads which are unfamiliar to older Paiwanese people. To conclude, these are internally-produced, new forms of bead production, directed towards external consumption.

8-6-4. Souvenirs

One characteristic of souvenir production is, according to Graburn: “When the profit motive or the economic competition of poverty override aesthetic standards, satisfying the consumer becomes more important than pleasing the artist”. In the context of Paiwanese bead production, I would classify contemporary, transparent, coloured glass beads in this category.

In general, souvenirs have a bad reputation as “ethno-kitsch”, and are mostly machine-made, as Graburn pointed out (Graburn, 2010, p. 415). The souvenir glass beads made in the Sandimen area, however, are all made by hand not by machine. Although these glass beads appear standardized in shape and colour, they are still striking because of their patterns. The reason why I have categorized some beads as belonging to this category is that they satisfy the preferences of tourists from outside Paiwanese culture: their buyers are primarily tourists or occasionally a few young village people. The Paiwanese people themselves do not attach much value to these beads, nor do they wear

Fig. 8-9: Souvenir bead at Shatao Dancing Bead Studio
them to attend ceremonies or even in daily life. As I was told by a woman elder “This kind of glass bead, we don’t like to wear them; they are our toys”. They are also easily broken, and so are looked upon as products that do not last for long. In the Sandimen area the people who wear them most are the young adults or children.

Those beads are less attractive to the Paiwanese because they look too shiny, and therefore do not conform with traditional Paiwanese aesthetic preferences. However this shiny characteristic is attractive to outsiders like tourists. I asked some of the tourists who had had no previous experience of Paiwanese culture to compare the attractiveness of contemporary shiny glass beads and the comparatively darker *kaipuwan* bead, and almost got the answer: “I prefer the shiny ones because they look prettier; the *kaipuwan* bead is too dark and is not what I expected Paiwanese glass beads to look like.” Thus, the bead market has come to feature an interesting contrast between the products made to attract tourists and those made to appeal to the Paiwanese people themselves.

8-7. Beads reflect social change

The present role of beads in Paiwanese society reflects a process of continuity and change accelerated by the socio-political changes that followed Japanese colonisation. My argument here is that although certain functions of contemporary beads have remained almost the same as those of antique beads in traditional society, they also reflect a changing Paiwanese society. Paiwanese beads, both antique and contemporary, have served different social functions over time. Those functions include: social status differentiation; wealth indication; life stages and gender division. I will explore these functions separately.
8-7-1. Social status differentiation

Paiwanese people like to wear necklaces made of glass beads in daily life. Wearing necklaces or other decorative artefacts made of beads is not exclusive to the mamazangilan class. Members of the mamazangilan class possess larger numbers of attractive beads than commoners do because they receive them as tribute payments. As a result, the ownership of beads denotes the wealth of the owner and became a significant indicator of the privilege of the mamazangilan class.

In traditional society, only members of the mamazangilan class owned enough beads to form multiple-stringed necklaces. These individuals would wear striking necklaces at important ceremonies to demonstrate their status and wealth. The number of strings could range from three to eleven, depending on how many beads the family possessed. Those multiple-stringed necklaces, therefore, were deemed to be insignia of the upper class. In today’s society, it is quite acceptable for a commoner couple to buy this kind of necklace in a shop and wear it for their wedding ceremony, and then hang it on a wall in their house as a form of decoration.

8-7-2. Wealth indication

Fig. 8-10: Glass beads worn by a couple demonstrating their wealth at a chiefly wedding ceremony

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159 Personal communication with Umass Zingur and Angkil Talimarau, December 22, 2012
Owning many glass beads could be an indication of wealth in traditional society. Even today, glass beads made using contemporary techniques (mainly clay ones) are considered to be valuable jewellery in Paiwanese society, and Paiwanese people are sometimes reluctant to reveal inherited items made of beads to outsiders because those beads are treated as private property.

8-7-3. Life stages and gender division

Decorative adornments made of beads are essential for Paiwanese celebrations at different life stages. The Paiwanese do not have any kind of initiation ceremony or precise age-categorizations for defining life stages; instead, they wear material objects, such as beads, to mark differences. These life stages can be briefly classified as infancy, childhood, marriage and elderly. When the child is born, a girl will be given a bead bracelet with little bells on it, while a boy will be given a pendant made from a round shell. During the teenage years, a girl will wear a bracelet of eight to twelve strings of beads and a boy will wear a string necklace featuring a boar’s tooth, and a shell, and one or two glass beads. The multi-stringed bracelet cannot be worn after a girl is married. During the adult period, or following marriage, a woman wears a short necklace comprised of three strings as well as a long necklace, and a man wears a short necklace made of four strings as well as a long necklace containing the Pula bead, a ball of agate, a boar’s tooth and a shell. Some groups in Paiwanese society, such as hunters, might hang a single-coloured yellow or green bead from their waists to repel evil spirits when they go out into the wild. Beads also play an important role in defining different social roles. For instance, a woman who is married cannot wear earrings made of multiple strings of beads, or silver ornaments on her headdress.

In today’s society, however, using beads for defining life stages is not common. Older ways of making life stages have been replaced by introduced forms such as having a
banquet or birthday parties. In recent times, celebrations of life stages have primarily been shifted to village churches. Nevertheless, continuity with the past is coincident with the contemporary context. In Sandimen, I participated in a ceremony to initiate children who have become teenagers. In the ceremony, those children were dressed in traditional costumes, and their parents placed certain artefacts on them, such as knives for the boys and necklaces made of glass beads for the girls to indicate their life stages. In this sense, certain materials still have the function of recognizing a person’s status in society.

**8-7-4. Personal adornment**

Glass beads that have decorative functions can be classified into those used in daily life and those that appear in ceremonies. In their daily lives, Paiwanese people wear simple-style glass bead decorations. During important ceremonies like weddings, members of the *mamazangilan* class wear magnificent necklaces as a form of display. In the past, members of the aristocratic class could wear as many necklaces as they had, while commoners are not allowed to draw attention to themselves by inappropriate display. Nowadays, however, some politically influential commoners will wear multiple-stringed necklaces to demonstrate their local power.

**8-7-5. Continuity and change**

Like many minorities ruled by political authorities of another ethnicity, the Paiwanese people have experienced cultural changes because of the influences of outside groups. This acculturation process has had an impact on the development of material culture. However, it has not reduced people’s desire to use beads. Instead, the uses and needs for beads proliferated, partly because the contemporary manufacture of beads has made them more available. Bead-making has flourished because of benefits of inventive techniques and new materials.
Contemporary glass bead production came to Paiwanese society after dramatic changes had occurred over a number of centuries. Since bead making was reinvented or developed, in the 1970s beads have once more become an integral part of Paiwanese culture. They have continued to be used within society, and have been transformed, and then developed for commercial purposes. The social function of contemporary beads has, therefore, changed from status distinction to more common uses among Paiwanese people. The new contexts in which beads appear are quite varied. Firstly, these beads have become a representative symbol of Paiwanese culture in the eyes of outsiders. At the entrance to the Sandimen village, there are decorated beaded plaques and statues produced by artists to stand as symbols of this village. In the village, every street and lane is named in Chinese characters as well as painted beads on a board (see Fig. 8-11).

Changes over time have also influenced the role played by commoners in Paiwanese society. Since the colonial periods, through the redistribution of land and equal opportunities for access to education, some commoners have become quite wealthy citizens. Some of them have also become politically influential participants in the Taiwanese democratic system. Artefacts, including beads, which previously functioned as insignias of the mamazangilan class, have now become symbols of honouring and representing the political status of certain commoners. In addition, during the time since commercial production begun, beads have become popular decorative items throughout
Paiwanese society. As a result, their use and display are not confined to the members of certain privileged.

Fig. 8-12: Stones painted with patterns of glass beads at an elementary school in Sandimen village

Another context in which beads appear nowadays is the school curriculum. Important cultural values are conveyed by the stories attached to beads and they have now become teaching materials. Students have gained knowledge conveyed by the meanings of different beads through their stories. Most elementary schools in the Sandimen area are decorated with designs taken from patterns on beads (see Fig. 8-12). In this way, meaningful cultural information is transmitted automatically to the students who look at them. The function of contemporary beads is in central to individual adornment. Paiwanese people like to adorn themselves and be well-dressed in daily life; and contemporary stringed-bead necklaces as well as bead-embroidered accessories serve this function of aesthetic expression.

In summary, bead production moves in harmony with social change: it has responded to both the internal and external contexts of Paiwanese society. In the internal social context, bead production reflects the fact that the social hierarchical system is not as rigid as it was. Beads, which were viewed as restrictive artefacts that circulated only among members of the mamazangilan class, are now available to the general public.
They have, however, also contributed to maintaining the cohesion of the Paiwanese social system by being used for ceremonies, as well as acting as a medium of knowledge-transmission and connection to the past. On the other hand, the productions of glass beads, although revived to satisfy an internal need at the beginning, has also responded to the external market and thereby changed dramatically the economy of Paiwanese society. Bead production has been influenced by various tastes from both internal and external markets, and thus has been developed many kinds of products in order to suit the demands from those markets.

Conclusion

Wearing beads has the function of enhancing social identity among the Paiwanese people. A man of middle age, around fifty, told me that he wears his necklace nearly every day because it is a demonstration of who he is. Some decorative items made from beads are popular items for use as presents. In summary, apart from the traditional functions and usage of beads, the Paiwanese also incorporate beads into their daily lives. The production of contemporary beads can serve the demands of most cultural occasions, such as the bride price for wedding ceremonies; the adornment of the dead during funerals; the age division symbol worn by a child when he/she turns one year old; and as presents to fit the requirements of specific social occasions, such as being elected as a politician, entering school or reaching retirement. The gift givers can select particular beads to suit these occasions; for instance, the Mananigai bead (Warrior Bead) can be a gift for the champion in sports competition, as this bead represents a person’s strength and courage. Cultural values are thus inserted into everyday life by the use of particular beads, and traditional values have been kept alive through generation after generation and become internal identity.
Beads not only serve as markers of internal identity within the Paiwanese group, they are also used to express external identity outside the community. Paiwanese beads, which used to serve as insignia of social status, have now become local cultural products intended for purchase by outsiders. Paiwanese beads have become manufacturing industry promoted by the Taiwanese government’s cultural product policy, mentioned above. Paiwanese beads are now endowed with new social functions: one is as tourist art, representing Paiwanese culture in a way that can be recognized by tourists. Most tourists ask about the meanings of the beads before they buy them.

Contemporary Paiwanese bead production also serves a significant economic function in the society. Sales of the beads are profitable and benefit Paiwanese community. The production of contemporary beads provides a wide range of choices for customers according to the various materials used and combinations of the beads used to make accessories and ornaments. Customers can buy beads of various prices and aesthetic appeals, according to their tastes and budgets. Transparent glass beads with lower prices serve the function of tourist arts, while the traditionally styled kaipuwan beads and the pseudo-antique glass beads are appealing to the customers who are interested in the indigenous culture. The third field which comprises newly designed glass forms challenges the impressions outsiders have of the indigenous culture and the quality of Paiwanese artefacts.
Apart from their commercial role, Paiwanese beads offer inspiration to creative artists. The beads with traditional patterns become the inspirations for artistic works. The stories associated with beads are all-encompassing, ranging from cosmology, through daily life, to costumes and aesthetic preferences. The subject matter and formal inspiration of the beads result in their transcending and cutting across other material categories. An example is provided by the performances of the Shatao Dancing Group. They performed dances inspired by the stories of several beads, such as the Mananigai and Kurakurau beads. Some Paiwanese artists have turned the patterns from beads into flat or three-dimensional art forms such as pillow covers or sculptures. Others apply bead patterns on souvenir products such as coffee mugs and embroidered mugs. The story of the Luseq-na-Adau bead has been adopted to make a film. Those examples demonstrate that Paiwanese culture was brought to life through the agency of utilitarian on many different objects such as beads. Beads products are quite various, and thus the meanings of beads are represented on many different media, so that Paiwanese cultural values will not be abandoned and can be transmitted to both insiders and outsiders.
Contemporary Paiwanese bead productions serve another social function: as the instrument of a cultural revolution, because now beads are available and accessible in daily life. In traditional times before the Japanese colonial period, Mulimulitan antique class beads functioned as the bride prices for mamazangilan class marriages. Although the Mulimulitan is still required for this class wedding ceremonies to display the status of their families, some aristocratic families will request that a multiple-stringed necklace made of kaipuwan beads should replace the single antique Mulimulitan bead. Commoners also will now buy traditional-style, long and short necklaces of kaipuwan beads to serve as bride prices. During funerals, contemporary beads (mainly kaipuwan beads) now replace antique beads as the mortuary objects buried in tombs. Paiwanese beads have become a cultural symbol representing the Paiwanese people as a group. Therefore, the innovations initiated by Umass, and the spectacular development of bead productions that followed, could be viewed as cultural revolution.
In conclusion, the trajectory of tourist art development links local traditions to an external economy while maintaining their value within their local community. For example, one reason for providing antique-looking beads was because the supply of antique beads was depleted in this society, and also because the value of antique-looking glass beads has a new social significance in terms of social change. Contemporary Paiwanese society has seen the weakening of class divisions that resulted from the colonial periods of Japanese and Han Chinese power, and this phenomenon is reflected in production of beads. As the society change, there were more and more people who wanted beads to exhibit their status or reputation in the community. However, although the status differentiation is not so extreme in Paiwanese societies now, the preferences for choosing beads among members still reflects the differences between social classes. The aristocratic class people tend to require “old-looking” kaipuwan beads on a multi-stringed necklace, in contrast to commoners who have bought more “glittery” kaipuwan beads products. The production of glass beads fits in with the Paiwanese value creation system: beads are status symbols and wealth indicators, as well as a form of aesthetic expression. Therefore, the manufacture and use of contemporary Paiwanese beads works together with changes in the society, as well as facilitating engagement with the outside world.
Chapter Nine: Paiwanese aesthetic expression

Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyse the properties of aesthetic expression and experience in Paiwanese culture. Paiwanese aesthetic expression will be discussed with reference to two phenomena: the first is the beauty and spectacle of traditional costumes, and the second is the complementary expressive mode *samiring* that evokes a sense of reflective memorialization connecting people to a deep past. *Samiring* is understood as a form of beauty that generates an emotional attachment to things that evoke past memory. Remembrance of the past is an important motivation for Paiwanese people to continue to generate artefacts and maintain values in a changing society.

In this chapter, I analyse both these aesthetic categories, as they are manifested in people’s dress in the wedding ceremony and in the colours of the glass beads in necklaces. The spectacle of the ceremony and the reflective dimension of *samiring* work together to connect the present to the past. The costumes, artefacts and ritual events that make the performance a spectacular event mark the status of the participants and play a role in dynamically reproducing the hierarchical structure of Paiwanese society. At the same time the aesthetic experience of *samiring* connects people to the ancestral past, creating a kind of wistful feeling, which is expressed by a Taiwanese research Tali Hu as “thoughtful sorrow” (Hu, 2005, p. 155).

In this chapter, my focus will be on an aristocratic wedding ceremony. I will discuss the marriage in the context of the structure of Paiwanese society and show the relationship between the performance aspects of the wedding ceremony and the genesis myth about the first *mamazangilan* chief in the north. The bride in the wedding will be compared to the sacred pot – a symbol of a mother’s womb in Paiwanese culture – in the Ravar sub-
group myth describing the pot from which the first ancestor was born. I argue that Paiwanese personify material objects as people as well as objectifying people as moving artefacts. In the mid-section of the chapter I analyse the ways in which Paiwanese aesthetic expression is integral to the reproduction of the hierarchical social system. The connection between the motifs on the pot and the decorations on the costume of the bride will be analysed. I examine the ways in which social rankings are reflected in certain artefacts: the headdresses, the motifs on the costumes, and the *tiuma* that is erected in the wedding ceremony. In the last part of this chapter, the emotional attachment known as *samiring* will be explored.

9-1. Aesthetic expression – great spectacle and “looking old” properties

According to Howard Morphy, the definition of aesthetics is that “Aesthetics is centered on the effect (s) that form (broadly defined to include shape, texture, light and shade, taste and smell and so on) has on the senses. Aesthetics involves the perception of qualities, and the evaluation, interpretation, and response to qualitative aspects of form”(Morphy & Perkins, 2007, p. 239). In this chapter I look at the ways in which the aesthetic qualities of a Paiwanese aristocratic wedding are perceived by participants, the emotional effects generated and the ways in which aesthetic factors are central to the representational and presentational aspects of the performance.

From an outside perspective the aesthetic properties of Paiwanese costumes worn at wedding ceremonies are in the glittering spectacle created by the outfits that people assemble to wear. A chiefly wedding ceremony is an especially significant occasion for people to dress in gorgeous costumes which are decorated with tiny beads or embroidery. Apart from the embroidered costumes, both men and women adorn themselves with multiple layers of ornaments, including headdresses, necklaces and wristlets. Those adornments can feature natural elements such as flowers, ferns,
feathers, fur, ivory, shells and leopard skins. There are also metal accessories made of silver, copper and old Chinese coins. People wear multiple glass bead necklaces and wristlets. By adorning themselves with elaborate decorations, Paiwanese people create spectacular visual effects.

Fig. 9-1: Splendid dress by women in a chiefly wedding ceremony at Sandimen town

A chiefly wedding ceremony is a joyful event. People put immense effort to create a sense of beauty to celebrate the occasion, and to enhance the status of the hosting family as well as the bride. However, Paiwanese people are not just creating glittering spectacle through the shine of their costumes. The elements of the attire are all chosen with a complementary effect in mind to evoke a sense of “samiring”. *Samiring* refers to people or things of quality and is a kind of “classical” expression in Paiwanese culture.

The concept of *samiring* is associated with qualitative evaluations that convey a sense of depth, beauty and connection to society: a person can be described as “*samiring*”
because of his or her inspiring speech and appropriate dress and behavior\textsuperscript{160}, a glass bead necklace can be referred to as “samiring” because of its subdued visual effect. In the case of material culture, Paiwanese people always favor artefacts with less shiny attributes that “look old”. One mamazangilan member told me that if people wear ornaments that are too glittery, they will “look cheap and have no classical appeal”.

Members of the mamazangilan class, in order to be viewed as being “classically dressed” at a wedding ceremony, have to choose artefacts to balance the relationship between splendid spectacle and “reflective depth”. The visual effect of a ceremonially dressed mamazangilan is quite splendid to the viewers outside the Paiwanese society, however, to the Paiwanese a splendid dressed person is one whose adornments are abundant and magnificent but not too shiny. Members of chiefly families like to have dark back ground colours, such as deep blue, black, and crimson for their costumes; the silver ornaments on them shouldn’t be too glittery as the people want to convey the deep aesthetic feeling of samiring. In this sense, samiring is in a dynamic relationship in dialogue with the expression of spectacle. The Paiwanese people thus are aware of “being or looking samiring” as being linked to a kind of “classical taste” which is displayed in the subdued visual effects of the ornaments and the colours of the costumes they wear.

\textsuperscript{160} Personal communication with Pairang Pavavalung, July 08, 2011
Fig. 9-2: Girls wearing "samiring" colour tones at a wedding ceremony
9-2. The system of inheritance and the concept of rankings in the Paiwan social hierarchical system

In this part, I will discuss the Paiwanese marriage system associated with the Paiwanese hierarchical system. The aesthetic properties expressed in certain material culture are based on the system and will be explored in the 9-8 section.

Paiwanese marriages can be classified into different categories according to the \textit{vusam} status of the respective parents. On this basis, there are four marriage types: in the first the man only is a \textit{vusam}, and he marries a girl and inherits the social status of his parents; in the second, the woman only is a \textit{vusam}, and her spouse is not, so he comes into her natal family, and their children inherit the female’s social status; in the third neither party is an eldest child, and they establish a new family with a new family name; and finally where both members are \textit{vusam} they inherit from both families (Shiue, 2007, p. 126). The social status of a person will vary according to his or her marriage partner’s status, and a person’s membership of a class can be altered because of this marriage system. For example, the third type of family would not inherit the rights of either original family, and their social status would be lowered by the establishment of a new family name sub-ordinate to both original family names. The marriage system provides a way for the Paiwanese people to increase or maintain their social status. Marriage can change a person’s social status, and especially that of the children. It can raise the status of the children of a lower ranked person at the same time as it reduces the status of children of a person of the higher class. When a commoner marries a member of a chief’s family, the social status of the children will be higher than that of the commoner but lower than that of the chiefly member.
For members of the *mamazangilan* class, marrying someone of the same status or a higher status, is always a big concern. Descendants who do not inherit chiefly *mamazangilan* family status must separate out from their original homes, and their social status will be reduced because of the status of the people they marry. If an individual wants to maintain his or her social status as a *mamazangilan* member or to gain a higher status, he or she needs to marry carefully, and this is especially true for the members of a chiefly family who want to maintain or increase their privileges.

Marriages between persons of different social status do exist, but they are not common in Paiwanese society. Members of the *mamazangilan* class emphasize their own social status in the way they present themselves and this results in social ranks being reflected in both their names, costumes and artefacts. In this chapter, I will introduce some of the artefacts which display the ranking system in the contact of an aristocratic wedding ceremony.

9-2-1. The Myth that explains the birth of members of *mamazangilan*

The first *mamazangilan* family called Talimarau appeared among the Ravar sub-group. There is a legend in northern Paiwan describing the birth of the first chief member. The myth has been summarized by Kui, a descendent of the Talimarau family, and recorded by Taiwanese researcher Pan (2007) as well as the Paiwanese artist Sakuliu (2006) who belongs to the Ravar subgroup.

There were two brothers who belonged to the Tavaran tribe in the northern Paiwanese area. The older brother was named Sataire and the younger, Sapili. The brothers hunted animals on the Mount Davuvu to make a living. They saw that there was smoke coming out from within the mountain. The brothers tried to find the source of the smoke. They left their tribe to go to the top of the Mount Davuvu. The younger brother, Sapili, arrived at the top of the mountain first and discovered that smoke was coming out of a
round pot sitting in the dirt. The sun was shining directly onto the pot, making it glitter and reverberate with the sound “rerererere…” Sapili tried to take the pot home in his bag; but, the pot magically returned to the original place every time he walked a few steps with it. So, Sapili climbed up a tree to call his brother, Sataire, to help. When Sataire arrived, he was amazed to find the pot was making sounds, so he called the pot *reretan* to represent the sounds it made. Sataire apologized to the pot and politely asked it to come back with them, and then he supported the pot, and carefully lifted it with both hands, and this time the pot did not disappear.

Along the road back home, they needed to cross a river, but the pot stopped in front of the river and refused to go forward. The two brothers built a bridge so that the pot could get across. This process was called *temikeza* in Paiwanese. Finally, they arrived at the entry to Tavaran village; but, this time, the pot again refused to go into the village. So, the two brothers lit a fire in front of the entrance of the village to purify the path, and performed a *ceberuk* ceremony to open the gateway of the tribe; only then the pot agreed to enter the village. The pot was taken to the elder brother’s house, which was named Takivalit and was guarded by a *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. The sun’s light shone on the pot every day and it became bigger and bigger. After ten months, one morning when the light of the sun shone directly onto the pot, there was a huge sound and the earth became very bright, the pot exploded, and out came a baby girl crying “*levelelev*”. The villagers named her Marvelelev and she was the child of the sun and the pot (Pavavaljung, 2006, p. 31).

The baby gradually grew up and when the time came for her to stop drinking milk, she liked to eat the heart, liver, and hind legs of a pig. When the people of the tribe went hunting and caught a pig, they had to give those parts of it to the child of the sun. This is
when the tradition of offering tributes to *mamazangilan* families originated (Pan, 1997a, p. 28). The baby was the original ancestor of the Talimarau family – the family that is believed to be the first chiefly family among all the northern Paiwanese tribes. The tribe was organized into two groups, the elite *mamazangilan* group, and the *aditan* commoners. The *aditan* group was responsible for providing food and supplies to the members of *mamazangilan* class to enable them to organize the tribe. The *aditan* group was classed as a labouring group while members of the *mamazangilan* group worked with their minds (Pan, 1997a, p. 30). *Mamazangilan* culture originated with the Talimarau family and spread to other Paiwanese tribes, allowing other *mamazangilan* families to form organized tribes. However, it was not possible for this relationship to spread throughout all the Paiwanese tribes, so some other tribes selected *mamazangilan* members from within their own tribes (Pan, 1997a, p. 30).

Members of the *mamazangilan* class are valued because the Paiwanese believe that their civilization originated with that class (Pan, 1997b, p. 30). They established the cultural systems for people to follow, and the chief of the *mamazangilan* people is treated as the first born child of the entire tribe. During my fieldwork, I was told by several *mamazangilan* members that the *aditan* are like parents that nurture them, therefore they call them “*gama*”, which means “father” in Paiwanese.

**9-2-2. The arrangement of a Paiwanese *mamazangilan* wedding ceremony**

The *mamazangilan* wedding ceremony confirms the lineages of the couple, especially that of the higher class. In my fieldwork, I recorded a description of the process of *paukuze* from the woman, Angkil, a descendent of the Talimarau family in the Ravar sub-group and my consultant on many costumes involved in *mamazangilan* wedding ceremonies.
If the status of the groom is lower than that of the bride’s family, then the groom has to marry into the bride’s family and prepare the “bride price” for them. The bride price must be displayed in front of the chiefly house of the higher class village, and the wedding ceremony is held in the grounds of the chief’s house. In this section, I will analyse the metaphors contained in the myth outlined above and relate them to aspects of the wedding ceremony.

The sacred pot is itself a major theme of the wedding ceremony and the ceremony contains several rituals based on the pot myth. Since the pot gave birth to the first *mamazangilan* ancestor, it is deemed to be a female symbol. Paiwanese people often say that the sacred pot is “the place where our ancestors lived” as well as “the womb of the mother”\(^{161}\). In the *mamazangilan* genesis myth, the pot was found by the younger brother, but taken from him by the elder brother, illustrating the privilege of the first-born child (Pan, 1997b, p. 29). The Paiwanese artist Sakuliu argues in his book that the whole process of taking the pot from Mount Davuvu to the tribespeople has become the core of the *mamazangilan* wedding ceremony. The process of the wedding ceremony is called the *paukuze*, which means protecting the pot, symbolizing the bride on her journey to the groom’s village\(^{162}\) (Pavavaljung, 2006, p. 32).

According to Sakuliu, the *paukuze* is comprised of several stages (Pavavaljung, 2006, pp. 32-34). The first is called *papigacal*, which means “to hold it up”. In the wedding ceremony, the part of the pot is played by the bride. In the past the *papigacal* stage began with the bride being carried on the back of the groom. After the Japanese

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\(^{161}\) Personal communication with C. Tung, September 10, 2011

\(^{162}\) The “*paukuze*” process has applied to the entire “*mamazangilan*” families in the Paiwanese culture.
colonial period (1895-1945), the custom of carrying the bride on the groom’s back was changed to carrying the bride sitting in a sedan chair\footnote{163}. The second stage is the \textit{temikeza}, which means “building a bridge”. The bridge originally referred to one built between the river separating two tribes. The \textit{temikeza} stage no longer applies, instead, the relations between the two villages are maintained and expressed by adding an additional component of the bride price. The third stage is called \textit{kicevul}, meaning “to light a fire”, to cleanse the bridal procession as it enters the groom’s village. The fourth stage is the \textit{ceneruk}, which symbolizes opening the gate of the groom’s tribe to the bride’s party and the fifth is \textit{panalang}, which means checking the items offered as the bride price. The sixth stage is \textit{temiyuma}, which means erecting the \textit{tiuma}. All these stages were performed by the tribes in the north during traditional times, but today some stages can be omitted. However, the overall procedure of the \textit{pauksze} remains customary among \textit{mamazangilan} families throughout the Paiwanese territories.

\textbf{9-2-3. The high class aristocratic wedding ceremony}

For many Paiwanese, especially those of higher status, a wedding ceremony is still a major event for the entire village. In such cases, the location chosen is the assembly ground of the village. The \textit{paukuze} of a \textit{mamazangilan} family is the most important occasion for displaying the costumes and adornments of the participants. The higher the status of the bride or groom, the more significant are the costumes worn by the guests. The Paiwanese wedding ceremony is an occasion for articulating aesthetic expression by means of the people’s costumes and treasures. My analysis is based on one of the ceremonies I participated in during my fieldwork. The name of the groom’s family at the wedding ceremony was Kaumakan. The family is related to the Talimarau family, so it was a magnificent occasions for the Paiwanese people. Some Paiwanese participants \footnote{163 Personal communication with M.Z. Gadu, July 07, 2011}
came from the eastern side of Taiwan to attend this ceremony. The whole procedure of the ceremony will be introduced below.

A. *Gisudu (To proposal)*

After the young couple has been acquainted for some time, the boy’s family will prepare several presents and then visit the girl’s family. This visit is called a “gisudu” in Paiwanese, and it is for the purpose of proposing a marriage between the families. The more relatives or friends from the male’s village who participate in this visit to the bride’s family, the more politeness and respect are expressed. If the man belongs to a chiefly family, then the entire population of his village is supposed to participate in the *gisudu* to demonstrate his social status. If both families agree to the proposal of marriage at the *gisudu* stage, they will start to discuss the engagement. The man’s family will return home to prepare the bride price to be presented to the bride’s family.
Fig. 9-3: The groom and his family were heading to the bride's family during the process of gisudu
B. *Demulinga* (Engagement)

During the engagement, the groom’s family has to prepare a number of presents for the bride’s family. These can include pork meat, the internal organs of a pig, bundles of wood, rice cakes, headdresses with eagle feathers on them, and a Palic bead. When the presents are taken to the bride’s family, each item must be put on a stick and then carried between the shoulders of two members of the groom’s village. After the gifts have arrived at the bride’s house, the two families will start to discuss the bride price. This discussion is a very complicated procedure because the bride price has to be appropriate to the bride’s family status. In traditional times, when the chief family still owned all the land, the groom’s family would present a piece of land, together with the people living and working on it, to the bride’s family; however, today this has been replaced by money. The discussion of the bride price can lead to disputes, and sometimes, if the families cannot reach an agreement, the marriage will be cancelled.

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The bride price for the engagement is different from that paid at the time of wedding ceremony. From the day of wedding, the broom should also prepare items for the bride price to display in front of the villagers.
For instance, sometimes a marriage can’t be held because the “Mulimulitan” bead offered by the groom’s family is not appropriate for the bride’s family status.

**C. Palizuk (Erect the tiuma)**

After both sides have come to an agreement as to the bride price, the groom’s family members or relatives will cut down the trees needed to make the *tiuma*, which will be erected either in front of the bride’s family house, or in front of the chiefly family house in the bride’s village. The types of trees used are restricted to particular species according to the status of the bride’s family, and the leaves must remain on the branches.

Setting the *tiuma* in place was traditionally the privilege of the Talimarau family and their relatives; now, it has become a symbol of power for *mamazangilan* families, especially those of the highest status. After the *tiuma* is erected, some items must be hung from the top of it to symbolize the power of the *mamazangilan* family. These are: certain kinds of rattan, flowers, a wooden knife, a gun, and traditional outfits for each gender. In addition, the four wooden poles composing the *tiuma* should be wrapped around with a kind of rattan to symbolize the continuity of life.

**D. Paukuze (The actual wedding ceremony)**

The *paukuze* is to an extent centred on the process of welcoming the bride into the groom’s family, and it is usually held in the bride’s village. The groom’s family will form a group to take a marriage sedan to the bride’s village that will be used to carry her back to their village. At the beginning of the wedding ceremony, the bride price must be hung on poles and carried on the shoulders of two people from the groom’s party. The sequence of the items along the poles, carried by various ranks of people, is set down on its own hierarchical list.
The bride price prepared for the chiefly wedding ceremonies I observed can be classified into five categories. The first gifts are called *tamadang*, which ward off evil spirits, and they included two hunting guns, a rake and a huge iron pot. The second is called *velat* and comprises the most important items – the sacred pot, bronze knife and a Mulimulitan bead. The third category are gifts of honour. These are called *lakaraw*, which means “headdress” in Paiwanese, and it includes headdresses and eagle feathers. The fourth is *vadis*, meaning “gifts of prey”. This includes a live pig, as well as the organs and selected meat from a slaughtered pig. The fifth category is *kavecengel*, and it contains crops and produce of farms.
The ceremony commences with members of the groom’s family carrying the gifts which constitute the bride price and placing them in front of or inside the chief’s house. The elders from the bride’s village commence singing traditional songs and form a dancing circle around the *tiuma* to welcome the group. When the remainder of the groom’s party arrives, they join the dancing circle as well as placing additional gifts beside the circle. After the bride comes out to join the dance, representative elders from the groom’s village will start to describe those items carried in by the groom’s party. Sometimes the relatives of the bride argue about the quantity or the appropriateness of the bride price gifts, and this results in a quarrel between the two families. After a satisfactory agreement is reached, the next stage is the declaration of the bride’s social status. The bride’s social status will be sung by the elders as they welcome the groom to the village to join the dancing circle. After the declaration, the bride will go to swing on the *tiuma*; this action called *kisalav* and requires the bride to face east, which is the direction of rising sun. The groom will hold the bride when she finishes the process of *kisala* and then carry her on his back or on a sedan. The groom and bride will join the dancing group together and dance for about two or three hours. After the dancing has
finished, the bride will go to the chief family of the village to wait for the groom to take
her back to his village and end the wedding ceremony.

Fig. 9-7: The bride was sitting on a sedan to wait to go to the groom’s family

In a chief’s wedding ceremony, after the *kisalav*, the most prestigious chief family
members are invited to drink. The names of those families will be sung and a
representative from each of the families will be invited to drink the wine. In a
Paiwanese chief’s wedding ceremony, the chief’s family of every tribe would send
someone to attend in order to pay respect to the ceremony. According to Pan (Pan,
1997b, p. 38) a chief’s wedding ceremony provides the occasion for people of
*mamazangilan* status assemble together and facilitates communication between the
chiefs of different tribes thereby enabling problems that may have arisen among them to be solved.

E. The dancing circle

During wedding ceremonies, the people form a circle after the banquet. Traditionally, these were dancing circles, especially during wedding ceremonies of the nobility. Zepulj told me that the dancing circle imitates the movement of the hundred-paced-snake as it curves into a spiral shape. The spiral changes direction in the performance. People move in a clockwise direction into the centre of the spiral where the snake head will be, then they gradually move out, beginning from the centre of the spiral and move in an anticlockwise direction to the outside of the spiral. The spiral is like the curving line of a snake and is the shape of the dancing movement. Today, although the dancing circle is sometimes performed at the end of wedding ceremonies, they no longer reproduce the clockwise or anticlockwise transition that imitates the movements of a snake. However, when I participated in a harvest ceremony in one of the Paiwanese tribes at eastern coast, I saw the little children’s dancing, imitating the snake’s clockwise movement.
9-3. The analogy of the bride’s status and the pot in the genesis

*mamazangilan* myth

In a chiefly wedding ceremony the main focus is on the social status of the bride. The songs sung by the elders and the bride price gifts in a *mamazangilan* wedding ceremony all have the implication of honouring the bride’s family status. The names of some beads are referred to in the songs are analogues for the bride’s status and purity. Some items included in the bride price would never appear in a commoner’s wedding ceremony and represent the bride’s status. These include the sacred pot, the bronze knife, and the glass beads.

During the entire wedding ceremony the bride is treated as the sacred pot. The pot represents the womb that gave birth to the first chiefly member. The association between the sacred pot and the bride is extremely important. It implies that the blood of the bride is sacred because she is a descendent from the time of the original genesis of the *mamazangilan* people. The pot is equated with a female entity, in particular the female *vusam* in a chiefly family. A female chief of the Majia tribe told me that the heirloom pot in her family displays her status as an heir and represents her life. The pot should be dressed beautifully before it comes out to bless the people who enter her house. Before the pot is decorated, the female chief will talk to it, saying: “I will dress you up by putting on you a shawl, a shoulder sash and glass bead necklaces. By wearing these ornaments you can greet the tribespeople with dignity. I will also put you eagle feathers on your headdress to represent your status and nobility, and so that the people will respect you.” The pot is personified by the female chief as if it is the representation of her life.

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165 The Paiwanese believe that the heirlooms of a chiefly family can do blessing as well as curse to people.
Sacred antique pots are kept inside a chief’s old slate house. They were considered to be the objects with procreative power therefore preserving them is important to the prosperity and fertility of the village that possess them because they were considered to be the objects with procreative power. In addition to being viewed by Paiwanese people as a representation of a womb or a female *vusam*, the pot can also be seen as a personification of the male and female entities to whom it gave birth. The pots were deemed almost as important as people’s lives in Paiwanese culture (Pavavaljung, 2006, p. 23). One way to differentiate the gender of sacred pots is to look at patterns on those pots. Male pots in general have a pair of snake motifs on them, while female pots have two or many round figures standing out on the upper side of the pots. The snake patterns on pots denote a man’s penis while the round shapes are characterised as the female’s breast. A further difference is that some female pots have a hole at the bottom of them.

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Fig. 9-9: A female pot with rings of dots  
Fig. 9-10: A male pot with snake patterns

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166 Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, 11 June, 2012
The people of Sandimen village have always placed on their pots, such as headdresses and bead necklaces. When asked why the pot was decorated with those ornaments, I was told that the pot was a person, so it should be decorated accordingly. In one interview, a Paiwanese artist who comes from the Tavaran tribe told me that the pot is considered to be a person, and connected this to the myth of the pot. The artist Etan mentioned that the sacred pot is considered by the Paiwanese people to be the property of the tribe, as well as “a person in spirit”. The notion of looking at the pot as a human is reflected in the necessity of holding the pot with both hands, to show respect to it, as if it were an animate object. The pot is deemed to be an ancestor by the Paiwanese people.

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167 Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, September 07, 2011.

168 Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, September 07, 2011.
There is a reciprocal relationship between the personification of the pot and the objectification of the bride and the other participants in the wedding. People are decorated in the same manner as the pots and they become in turn artefacts performing particular roles and enacting statues through the performance of the ceremony. The transformative effect of people’s attire is explicitly recognized by people who draw an analogy between people and things. I argue that while the pot is viewed by the Paiwanese people as a person to be adorned, the people themselves are seen as decorated moving artefacts when they dress formally and decorate themselves elaborately during an important occasion like a wedding ceremony. This aesthetic idea comes from the beliefs that people are moving artefacts and thus are objectified. As some of my interviewees claimed:

“We like to see people dressed up because they are like artefacts and very splendid; especially when the metal decorations like silver bells on the girls tinkle when they walk or dance, that’s a really pleasant scene to see”.\(^{169}\)

“There is no one really ugly person in our group. No matter whether a person is fat, short, tall, or slim, if he or she is dressed up to fit his or her own nature, then that person will look really good”\(^{170}\).

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\(^{169}\) Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, August 21, 2011

\(^{170}\) Personal communication with Angkil Kaumakan, November 01, 2011
Fig. 9-12: A girl who are elaborately dressed up with ornaments; image provided by Eges Degeduvi
9-4. Decorations related to the Paiwanese hierarchical social system

This section brings to the fore one of the main rationales as to why Paiwanese people like to dress up in such complex and intricate ways. My argument is that the concept of dressing up relates to the system of social organization – the *vusam* system as well as viewing people as moving artefacts. As the *vusam* in each family is the heir, he or she will inherit the family’s social status. The chief of a tribe is usually deemed to be the *vusam* of the tribe, and thus considered to be the representative icon of that tribe.

Paiwanese decorate their handmade objects with particular inscriptions. One male elder, Pairang Pavavaljung, who is an expert carver of bamboo flutes, told me that the purpose of decorating the objects is to enrich them\(^\text{171}\). This kind of “enrichment” is reflected in the decorations on the sacred pot *reretan*. There are many types of *reretan* with different functions, and they are normally decorated with patterns around the body of the pot (see Fig. 9-11 and 9-13). The Paiwanese artist, writer and film maker, Etan, told me that the patterns on the pot are directly related to the myths\(^\text{172}\), and interpretation confirmed by Chang in his analysis of the relationship between the myths and the patterns on the pot (Chang, 2009).

Etan and Chang argue that patterns on sacred pots are representations of elements of the natural world such as the sun, animals, plants, and the movement of the human body. According to Etan, the meanings of the patterns can be traced back to various Paiwanese myths and have their own cultural significance. The Paiwanese linguist, C. Tung, told me that each pattern on the pot has specific name and can be viewed as a

\(^\text{171}\) Personal communication with Pairang Pavavaljung, July 17, 2011

\(^\text{172}\) Personal communication with Etan Pavavaljung, September 7, 2011
sign. Each sign was the name of a mamazangilan people and thus all the patterns stand as representations of mamazangilan ancestors.\textsuperscript{173}

Tung interpreted the patterns as conveying the sense of being “a real person” and each sign represents the authority of the mamazangilan class. The human head motif kumas on clothing for example, symbolizes the chief as a perfect person and the glory of being a man.\textsuperscript{174} The patterns on the pot demonstrate the value of a human life, and the value is reflected in the chief. According to Tung, he or she is the leader of the tribe as well as the representative of the “perfect person” among all the villagers. In this respect, the patterns are personalized symbols which demonstrate the relationships between the ancestors and their own descendants, as well as affirming the vusam system, on which the organization of Paiwanese society is based.

\textsuperscript{173} Personal communication with Chungfa Tung, August 10, 2011
\textsuperscript{174} Personal communication with Chungfa Tung, August 10, 2011
As I argued earlier, the relationship between the mamazangilan class and the commoners cannot be represented as a stratified pyramid as some researchers have proposed (See chapter seven, page 220). Instead, the chief is looked upon as the vusam of all the families in the tribe, whose role is to organize the tribe, while the commoners are like the parents who nurture the vusam child. The chief occupies a pivotal position in the reciprocal relationship between these two classes. The entire tribe is organized as a “home” with the chief as the vusam and the commoners as the parents. The chief’s house and all it contains, including the life of the chief, is looked upon by the Paiwanese people as shared property, jointly owned and protected by the villagers (Pan, 1997a, p. 29). In this sense, the chief is the representative symbol of a tribe. Thus, the costumes and ornaments worn by a chief represent the glory of the tribe as well as reflecting the social status and authority of that person\(^\text{175}\). As I heard a woman elder telling a female vusam: “Since you are a vusam, you need to wear your entire costumes perfectly and completely”.

The northern Paiwanese use nguwuanguwae to describe things which look beautiful in daily life. When they describe people who are dressed up, however; they will say “na kibaedez a rinavan”, which means “more than beautiful”\(^\text{176}\). This description also means “being equipped completely” in northern Paiwanese\(^\text{177}\). A person who is dressed up conveys the concept of “completeness” in Paiwanese culture. The elements of adornment can be grouped into several categories including headdresses, necklaces and costumes. Each category can also be separated into various items that compose the whole group. Although the structure of the ornaments is complicated, there are rules for

\(^{175}\) Personal communication with Zepulj Pakedavai, July 06, 2011

\(^{176}\) Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, October 25, 2011

\(^{177}\) Personal communication with Vauvani Hung, October 25, 2013
their composition. These rules of ornamentation are based on the social ranking system. I will discuss the elements on the headdress, the costumes, and another material object – the *tiuma* – which demonstrate ways in which wedding attire is an expression of the ranking system.

9-5. Social rankings reflected in material objects

The material elements chosen to adorn Paiwanese people themselves are all linked to the creation of value on the occasion of an important event, such as a chiefly wedding ceremony. The decorations will differ according to the social status of the people as well as the status of the host’s family. The ornaments have two main kinds of functions. The first is that they demonstrate honor and respect to the host family, and the second is that they objectify the social status of the people wearing them. The higher the social status of the host family, the more elaborate the ornaments worn by the guests will be.

In this section, I will analyse the rankings of personal status manifested in certain artefacts and decorations used during the aristocratic wedding ceremony.

If you ask a Paiwanese person how to look well-dressed, most of them will tell you that “dressing must fit the person’s social status”. To be appropriately dressed, therefore, is an essential aesthetic standard for the Paiwanese. While on fieldwork in 2011, I participated in a competition to select the most beautiful girl and the most handsome young man in the Majia tribe. When the outcome was revealed, the judges declared that one essential criterion for deciding who was the most beautiful was that they were dressed

Fig. 9-14: *Lycopodium phlegmaria* plant, from://web.chu.edu.tw/~yshou/work_page/ecology_plent.htm
according to their social status. The winning girl was praised because she was wearing a special headdress. It featured a plant called *Lycopodium phlegmaria*, which is hard to find in the mountains and symbolizes the exquisite nature of *mamazangilan* culture, and also represented the girl’s status.

In the following section, I will give some examples of the objects worn by a bride and groom of chieftain status at their wedding ceremony that exemplify their rank. The artefacts introduced in this chapter include: male and female headdresses, the motifs on the costumes and the *tiuma* that is erected at the wedding ceremony.

**A. The headdress**

Headdresses can be divided into two groups, based on whether they are worn by men or women, as each is composed of different items. The Paiwanese are aware of whether a headdress has been made in a “traditional” or “contemporary” style; they are also able to understand the symbols that operate on a headdress. The headdresses worn by people of chiefly status at wedding ceremonies, especially the bride and groom, are regulated by traditional cultural rules. One must have knowledge of plants to analyse the items on such headdresses, as Paiwanese people attribute value and rank to plants according to the degree of difficulty of obtaining them. Many plants are imbued with cultural significance, but in this chapter, I will just discuss the most common ones.

**A-1. The male headdress**

A traditional male headdress is composed of a headband made from animal’s fur (usually wild pig) with a circular pattern constructed from the teeth of wild pigs at the front. This pattern is said to resemble the shape of the sun, and is most prominently featured by members of the *mamazangilan* class. If the wearer is a chief, then two large animal teeth, such as those of a boar or leopard, are added to the sides of the circular
pattern. Those teeth symbolize the power of a chief. A male commoner can have the circular pattern on his headdress; however, it must be embroidered on fabric, and sewn onto the headband. Men can also wear plant headbands on some occasions.

Fig. 9-15: An upper class young man with his headdress
A-2. The female headdress

A traditional female mamazangilan headdress is composed of a headband, a fruit and plant band and a ljailjai (made of eagle feathers and specified plants or flowers). The headband is composed of rectangular patterns with animal teeth on either side of them. The pattern is said to represent the sun – though they are much smaller than the sun pattern on the male headdress. The headband is made from red cloth, and is adorned with tiny antique beads, silver rings, and small shells with silver earrings or chains on both sides. Antique beads and silver items such as coins are the possessions of the mamazangilan class, and are used to demonstrate their family wealth, both past and present. In addition to the headband, female headdresses have a plant or fruit band added to the cloth band.

Various species of plants and fruits are used to make them. The most common flowers on headband are marigolds, of two colours, orange and yellow. Marigolds can be worn by people of every social rank. However, the arrangements of the flowers are different for each class. For mamazangilan family members, the headband should comprise of three yellow flowers followed by three orange flowers; members of the middle class have two yellow flowers followed by two oranges ones, while the commoners have a sequence of one yellow flower followed by an orange one. The fruit chosen to adorn the headdress is also arranged in hierarchical order. The most common fruit used on headdresses are

Fig. 9-16: A woman’s headdress with Solanum fruits
chillies, solanum, and kumquats or oranges. The status value of the plants and fruit on headdresses is based on their availability in the mountains. For example, a chilli headband is the most precious among all fruit bands because chilli is rarely found in the mountain. Round chilli and solanums are used only by female mamazangilan, while kumquats or oranges can be used by married mamazangilan females and commoners.

Other bands of fruit and plants are comprised of herbs grown on the mountains, mainly fern species. The plant, wrinkled giant hyssop, is used by chiefly families, while microlepia speluncae is used by other mamazangilan families. Neither wrinkled giant hyssop nor microlepia speluncae are very accessible on the steep mountain slopes, so they are exclusively used by the upper classes. The nephrolepis cordifoolia presl is easily found in mountain areas, and this fern is used by commoners, never by the mamazangilan.

Fig. 9-17: A headdress made by nephrolepis cordifoolia presl fern
B. Ljailjai (the insignia of social status and contribution)

The *ljailjai* is found on both male and female headdress. It is an insignia of the wearer’s status, or it represent a significant contribution to society. The most commonly seen elements of *ljailjai* in north Paiwan are eagle feathers, pheasant feathers, lily flowers and the plant *acorus graminens soland*. For members of *mamazangilan* families, the *ljailjai* decoration is always comprised of eagle feathers. The Paiwanese nobility wear these feathers on their heads, and they consider the feathers as the most important symbols of their culture representing their status. These feathers have triangular patterns on them, which represent sides of the body of *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper. A Paiwanese legend tells that when the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper turns old, it will become an eagle and the eagle can fly very high in the sky to observe all of the earth. All the places it flies over become its territory. The connotation of the eagle feather is that the wearer (the chief) is as noble as the eagle.

The longest eagle feather, which is named Palic, is believed to be the most beautiful feather on the eagle, and is the most dignified among feathers and thus should be worn by the *mamazangilan* people who have the highest status. Although members of the *mamazangilan* class do not have the same authority now as they did in traditional times, the rules about wearing eagle feathers are still strictly observed to maintain the social status. I was told by several members of the *mamazangilan* class that if during ceremonies, commoners wore this kind of feather without any special reason, or if the
number of feathers they carried was incorrect, the *mamazangilan* class members could approach them and pick off the feathers in public.

The Paiwanese have developed rules for wearing the mountain hawk-eagles’ feathers depending on their length. The longest ones which have the most triangular patterns should be worn by members of the *mamazangilan* class. The smaller feathers can be carried by the hunters who hunt the eagle. Commoners who have made great contributions to the village allowed to wear feathers shorter than the fourth longest ones. Wearing these smaller feathers denotes a man’s ability and bravery in Paiwanese culture.

Other feathers that can be worn on the head are pheasants’ feathers. Pheasants’ feathers are worn by someone who has made a significant contribution to the tribe. They could be people who respond quickly in emergencies, by people who protect the tribe, or very skilled hunters. Members of the *mamazangilan* class may not wear this kind of feather without making such a contribution to the tribe. Lilies can be worn by men or women as part of the *ljailjai* with different meanings. A lily worn by an unmarried girl means purity while on a man it signifies bravery.

**C. Motifs on the costumes**

Changes that have taken place in Paiwanese society have meant that the rules of dressing according to social status are not always followed. On occasions motifs that were once exclusive to people of a particular status are now used by people who do not have the right to them. This has resulted in some confusion in the use of motifs. However, on really important occasions, Paiwanese people are still aware of the kinds of motifs that should be worn by people according to their role and status. Social judgments regarding the rights to use motifs, as well as other artefacts, are still made.
and operate to mark and reproduce in a changing context the boundaries between statuses. Five motifs associated exclusively with mamazangilan costumes are the kumas (the creative god of the sun), the sacred pot, the sun, the one hundred-paces snake, and eagle feathers\(^{178}\). Within the mamazangilan class, still further distinctions are made according to the motifs on clothes. Only the chief and his or her immediate family can have the kumas and the sacred pot on their costumes, while those whose status is secondary to that of the chief’s family can have the sun, the snake, and the eagle feathers. The third level of mamazangilan members should only have lily flowers on their clothing. The motifs on the clothing, and the eagle feathers on the head of an individual, therefore, reveal the wearer’s background in terms of his (or her) family origin, antecedents and social status.

D. The Tiuma

I was told that it is an exclusive right of the Talimarau family to erect a tiuma for the wedding ceremonies of their daughters. The wood chosen for the tiuma and the carvings on it have hierarchical significance according to the closeness of the bride’s family to the Talimarau family. A Talimarau family member told me that certain types of artefacts could be used only by descendants or relatives of this family. These include: the highest grade eagle feather “Palic”\(^{179}\), the kumas motif, the sacred pot reretan and

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\(^{178}\) Personal communication with Lay, September 25, 2011

\(^{179}\) The longest feathers on the wings of an eagle as well as the name of a particular bead
the *tiuma*\(^{180}\). One Talimarau descendent told me that the most powerful chief would just wear the Palic feather on his or her head to symbolize uniqueness.

Erecting the *tiuma* signifies the bloodline of the bride’s family and it should be put up in the bride’s village for *mamazangilan* wedding ceremonies (see figure 3-6). The right to erect a *tiuma* originated from the Ravar sub-group, for which the Talimarau family emerged. The wood used to construct the *tiuma* varies according to the different hierarchical positions of *mamazangilan* families in the Ravar sub-group. If the bride originated from the Talimarau family, then the *tiuma* wood has to be entirely from the “*baladiban*” tree, with a *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper pattern carved on each post. A *tiuma* for a bride of the *mamatsagilan* class (the second class of *mamazangilan* families) is formed by two thin *baladiban* trunks\(^{181}\) with two trunks of “ordinary” wood\(^{182}\). The third type of *tiuma* comprises a single *baladiban* trunk and three trunks of “ordinary” wood. This *tiuma* is used by the *terter* class, which is the third class among the *mamazangilan* families. The fourth type is used by the fourth *mamazangilan* class: the *bakatilagan*, is constructed of two planks of “ordinary” wood and two bamboo sticks. The fifth type of *tiuma* is formed of four bamboo poles, and it is used by commoners who have marriage relationships with the Talimarau family. The *mamazangilan* of the Vutsulj sub-group can erect a *tiuma* if they have marriage relationships with the Talimarau family.

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\(^{180}\) Personal communication with Arway Kaumakan, July 10, 2011

\(^{181}\) Approximately 15 cm in diameter

\(^{182}\) In the northern region, “ordinary” wood for constructing a “*tiuma*” comes from the *lagerstroemia subcostata kochne* tree.
In this section I have analysed the ways in which ceremonial attire and material culture express the social rank of participants in a significant rituals. The adornments worn by a person are a demonstration of that person’s authority and status. Those decorations, as well as the bride price in the mamazangilan wedding ceremonies represent the couples’ ancestral connections. The Paiwanese believe that the power of the family comes from their blood and family origins; as a symbol of this belief, in the wedding ceremony the groom will raise up a pig’s head in the directions of his relatives’ ancestral homes. The more directions he raises the pig’s head toward, the more power his family has. The motifs on the costumes and other artefacts also have this kind of function: to emphasize ancestral connections. As the Taiwanese researcher, Taili Hu, states: “When members of the chief’s family wear splendid clothes with vesik, they are more closely identified with the gods and ancestors. When people see the vesik on clothes, they immediately think of the sacred origins of the chief’s family” (Hu, 2005, p. 163).

The Paiwanese case reflects Jacques Maquet’s generalization that “social hierarchy is content for objects with a strong aesthetic component. The large groups – caste or classes – into which a stratified society is divided express differences and ranks in status through objects used as distinctive marks” (Maquet, 1986, p. 62). The aesthetic effect of Paiwanese mamazangilan costumes is therefore a demonstration and confirmation of hierarchical power by the exquisite ordering of the artefacts as well as the great spectacle of the costumes.

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183 According to Taili Hu, the word “vesik” in Paiwan refers to tattoos and sculptures with the most popular designs of the hundred-pace snake and the ancestral head (Hu, 2005, p.163). This term is the same as the “venesik” introduced in chapter four, page 84-85.
9-6. Emotional attachment (*samiring*) associated with Paiwanese aesthetic expression

So far I have been considering the aesthetic dimension of the Paiwanese wedding ceremony from the perspective of the overall spectacle of the event and the expression of hierarchy through different components of attire. However, there is also a different kind of aesthetic at work, which exists concurrently with the brilliance of the spectacle and which evokes a different response. This dimension of the aesthetics of the costume is associated with the evocation of “*samiring*”: a wistful and reflective feeling which I briefly introduced earlier. The feeling of *samiring* is associated with the formal properties of some artefacts and with the overall aesthetic balance of wedding attire. In this section I will focus my attention in particular on the aesthetic criteria associated with the beads that are a major component of the costumes that are worn and the ways in which they express the quality of *samiring*. 
In Sandimen village, people describe their more significant bead necklaces as “samiring”. Samiring is a key word, conveying a sense of wistfulness as well as expressing the idea of deep beauty. As Taili Hu claims: “Talking about ‘beauty’, the Paiwan people use the terms nanguaq or burai in speaking about general beauty, but for unusual beauty with everlasting value they use the term samiring. Samiring also contains the meaning of sorrow, loneliness, surprise and lingering” (Hu, 2005, p. 165).

Hu describes the concept of samiring as the emotion of “thoughtful sorrow” that can be connected with love and is prevalent in all categories of Paiwanese culture (Hu, 2005, p. 155).

According to Hu’s research on the Paiwanese flute, the sound transmitted by this instrument is similar as people’s crying, which convey a desolate feeling. Hu writes:

When I asked the Paiwanese friends how to describe “full of emotion” in Paiwanese language, their answer is “rhu paurauran”. “Paurauran” is the expression for the sorrow feelings or memorial to some situations or atmosphere, which involves people, things, time, places, artefacts engaged. …Some elders told me that the range included in the expression of “paurauran” is huge, anything that was cherished in the past will turn into being the subjects as “pauraur”; for example, legends, the words spoken in the ritual ceremony, songs and dances, handicrafts, the skill to play the flute, the names of the family (house), people’s names, lover(s), honours, properties such as clothing and ornaments, the stored millets, the words passed by the person who passed away, the grave yards, the old homeland and the carvings. The Paiwanese elders would say that what they have done include growing on farms, making clothing and tell legends are to make them to be memorialized (Hu, 2011, p. 62).

Fig. 9-20: An elder is playing a flute in a church ceremony

p. 62).

184 These two vocabularies belong to the middle Paiwanese region.
Paiwanese people relate this kind of “thoughtful sorrow” to remembering the past. In the film “Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing” made by the Paiwanese artist Etan Pavavalung, a woman elder described her feelings about the music from the flute played by her husband. She said that the music made her feel wistful, and “what make us feel wistful can wake up our minds and attach us to it” (E. Pavavaljung, 2011). Researcher Hu argues “samiring” and the word “mirimiringan” (the Paiwanese fictive legends) have the same stem, “miring”, which means “everlasting” (Hu, 2005, p. 165). Hu wrote that Paiwanese people believe that the age of things and objects make them more beautiful and valuable. “Thoughtful sorrow”, as Hu described it, is integral to Paiwanese aesthetic experience (Hu, 2005, p. 165) and evokes sorrowful feelings that connect people to their ancestral past.

In the Paiwanese wedding, samiring operates in dialogue with spectacle. The initial impression is one of colour and splendour just as is the case with beads and necklaces. The splendour demonstrates the power and the status of the family and the costumes of the bride and groom “enrich” them and make them “more than beautiful” na kibaedez a rinavan. However at the same time there is an underlying sense of restraint, to avoid “looking too glittery”. Similar considerations apply to the beads themselves, which although they glow and have a depth of colour and in necklaces have a spectacular effect, also have a depth, that almost dulls their surface gloss. This aesthetic is valued in the antique beads and is a property built into their surface form through the process of selection and use over time, and is reflected in the preferred forms of contemporary beads that are made to be used in ceremonial contexts. Samiring is a value built into form and performance.
I observed that in the northern Paiwanese area, during wedding ceremonies, people would adorn themselves with several necklaces or decorations made of beads. Those beads were mainly clay beads and I seldom witnessed people wearing beads made of glass as adornment. Umass told me that this is because the quality of clay beads is favoured by the Paiwanese people. For instance, the colours of the clay beads are described by the Paiwanese people as “classic”, “antique”, “old”, “subdued” or “earthy”. The Pawianese use the word samiring as a general term to describe the properties mentioned. When speaking of the quality of the glass beads, Paiwanese people don’t like shiny effects (see chapter Eight, 8-6 section) of them. Ornaments such as the necklaces or silver accessories should not be too shiny. As one woman said “you couldn’t look samiring if you wear something shiny”.

The contemporary process of making glass beads has been influenced by the desire to create objects that evoke samiring. During the period when Umass experimented on ways of making glass beads, he developed two different methods. These resulted in the production of glass beads with two kinds of properties. One method produced beads that glittered, and the other beads with the rough and dull surfaces of opaque beads. The aesthetic preference of the Paiwanese people before they began making clay beads tended toward opaque surfaces. The process developed for darkening the surface form of shimmering glass beads has several steps, which are still used by the glass bead shops in Sandimen village. The first step is to put the glass beads with stones and water into a shaking machine for four hours in order to make the surfaces of the glass beads look rough. The second step is to take out the glass beads, then wash and dry them. Next they are put into a liquid made of black lacquer combined with banana oil for ten

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185 Personal communication with Umass Zingrur, November 07, 2011
minutes to darken the surface of the beads. The final step is to spread salt on the surfaces of the beads and then roll them about in order to make their surfaces uneven. This creates the “antique” quality of the beads. After those four steps, the glimmering effect of the glass beads has been eliminated and they have become darker and a little rough. The reason for making glass beads darker is to create a kind of “classical” aesthetic property that connects them to their history and to the origins of Paiwanese society.

It is interesting to contrast the aesthetic motivations revealed in the process of dulling the brilliance of glass beads in the Paiwanese case with the Yolngu process of adding brilliance to the painted surface in body painting and bark painting. According to Morphy, the shimmering effect “bir ‘yun” from the cross-hatched paintings of the Yolngu people from northern Australia is seen as being charged with ancestral power emanating from their ancestral beings (Morphy, 2010, p. 309). In Yolngu art Morphy argues that the process of painting results in the transformation of a surface from dull to brilliant, the surface effect bir’yun expressing ancestral power emanating from the ancestral depths. The aesthetic effect of the Paiwanese samiring, although also related to the ancestral past, is different from the Yolngu case. In the Paiwanese case, in manufacturing “ancestral” beads in the present the bead makers have to dull the shiny surface in order to create depth. But the difference is not as great as may first appear, since in Paiwanese art and costume the brilliance of the sun as an originating force is still very much present and only certain aspects of the performance and the material expressions of ancestral connections are dulled.

The visual effects of the costumes of the Paiwanese nobility appear to be very lavish due to their complicated composition and the brilliance of many of the components.
Nevertheless, this visual effect does not contradict the *samiring* aesthetic quality. As the researcher Hu argues, the visual effect of *mamazangilan* costumes is to emphasize the glory emitted from the sun, and the rainbow reflecting the light of the sun (Hu, 2011, p. 251). The Paiwanese people say that the colours of their beads represent the colours of the rainbow, and Hu also mentions that the people who wear the beads representing the colours of the rainbow in their legends no doubt possess the aesthetic quality of *samiring* (Hu, 2011, p. 251). *Samiring* evokes the subdued radiating light of the rainbow transcending time, instead of presenting a brilliant shining effect. This is also illustrated by the Paiwanese people’s appreciation of the antique-looking bead embroideries on the costumes, instead of embroideries made of plastic beads, which glitter. This “antique-looking” quality of Paiwanese beads is linked with time and a nostalgic feeling towards their ancestral past.

![Fig. 9-21: The antique-looking bead embroideries on a traditional costume](image)
Conclusion

In this chapter I have focused on the significance and aesthetics of material and performative aspects of Paiwanese wedding ceremony. I argued that splendour and iconography of the event is related to the hierarchical structure of Paiwanese society and to the *vusam* system. I have analysed the aesthetic concepts associated with the Paiwanese hierarchical social system manifested by certain material objects, including headdress, motifs on costumes and the *tiuma* erected for wedding ceremonies in the *mamazangilan* families. I show how the performance references the sacred pot as an originating myth that connects people in the present to the past. I show how the association made between the bride and the pot establish her link to the originating family and affirm a line of connection through descent.

I have analysed two dimension of Paiwanese aesthetics: one is the magnificent dress and decorations on the people involved in wedding ceremonies; and the other is the sorrowful aesthetic quality of the artefacts described by the Paiwanese as *samiring*. These two properties of aesthetic expression are complementary. Magnificent dress and decorations are the surface of manifestation, while sorrowful feelings underlie the depth of spiritual connection of this group. The people in a *mamazangilan* wedding ceremony are dressed splendidly in forms of attire that are linked to the hierarchical order of their society. The splendid costumes enhance the joyful occasion of the wedding ceremony, and manifest the ancestral power of the people who have the right to wear certain artefacts, while a wistful feeling brings the past to the present. Hu quotes the Paiwanese artist, Sakuliu, explaining why the Paiwanese like to be photographed: “The older Paiwan people, especially chiefs…wish to be filmed in splendid costumes and decorations with representative symbols and designs. They want to keep such images for further generations” (Hu, 2005, p. 162).
The decorations and artefacts on people’s costumes arouse nostalgic feelings. Material culture play the role of linking the past and present. The aesthetics of the beads, the process that darkens them and creates age and depth with them, is to link the people with time and memory, and thus enable them to enter the aesthetic realm of *samiring*. The two aesthetic expressions thus establish spiritual continuity in this culture and are manifested and enhanced in the material objects. The aesthetic effects which are appreciated by the Paiwanese need to be investigated in the context of their particular culture. As Howard Morphy has stated “the properties of the objects became aesthetic properties through their incorporation with system of value and meaning that integrate them within cultural process” (Morphy & Perkins, 2010, p. 763). The muted quality of glass beads reflects the aesthetic ideas of this culture, which should be understood in terms of its own foundational knowledge system – the spiritual connection between past and future generations.
Chapter Ten: Conclusion

In this thesis I have focused on the material culture and aesthetic dimensions of Paiwanese society. I have researched a society that is in an ongoing process of change associated with colonization and the incorporation of the Paiwanese into the Taiwanese nation state, yet I have been able to show how the expressive and communicative dimensions of their art and material culture connects them to a deep past and provides a positive basis of attachment to their history and the structure of society. While power structures within society have shifted over time many of the values, including the division of people into differentiation within Paiwanese society, are of continuing relevance. I have argued that the aesthetic forms are integral to the value creation processes in Paiwanese society, in identity formation and in connecting people to a rich and valued deep past.

Clifford Geertz wrote that: “…the central connection between art and collective life…lies on a semiotic [plane]…they (artefacts) materialize a way of experiencing; bring a particular cast of mind out into the world of objects, where men can look at it” (Geertz, 1976, p.1478). Using Paiwanese examples, I have analysed items of material culture from the perspective of their expressive and semiotic significance. The motifs on those artefacts are symbols that convey cultural values and knowledge. The fact that similar visual elements appear on different items of material culture requires that the researcher interpret the cultural system as a whole, yet at the same time enables the researcher to see how the system is able to operate in a dynamic way in different contexts and respond to changing circumstances.
The visual signs are organized in an overall system of meaning, which includes a number of different semiotic systems within it. My focus has been on three of these systems: the carvings in the chief’s house, costumes and ‘traditional’ beads. These signs can be organized in different contexts to explain various kinds of things both within each system and across systems. In many cases, the meanings overlap, and they can be conceptualized as different modes of communication within an overall productive system. On wooden eave beams, the visual signs transmit oral history; on the traditional costumes, they are expression of genealogical links as well as family or cultural events. On the beads, the visual signs express a complex of values, beliefs and ideology. Yet social hierarchy, family history, connection to the ancestral past can all be expressed in different ways in each system. The different representational systems with their motifs and patterns play their own parts in the transmission of cultural knowledge, thus creating an overlap in values and key ideas from generation to generation.

Certain symbolic themes are central and are manifest in different media and appear in different contexts. The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper is the most encompassing concept occupying a central place in the Paiwanese imagination and is connected in different ways to most aspects of Paiwanese society. The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper represents a poisonous snake found in sub-tropical Taiwan. The snake is manifest in ceremonial performance, in the structure of the chief’s house and in the splendour of the costumes. The triangular patterns on its body are a frequent subject in woodcarving and other forms of Paiwanese decorative art. Triangular patterns appear on the eagle feathers used as headdress ornaments, as well as in the form of a glass bead, the Mananigai, and as an element in traditional costumes. The core referent of the triangle pattern is the attractive pattern and aesthetic effect of the snake, and when the pattern is transferred to other items of material culture it has a multiplicity of potential
connotations. The snake, in some regions is viewed as the insignia of members of the aristocratic class, and in that context, the triangular patterns on eagle feathers connote their status. The snake is a symbol of masculinity and alludes to male fertility. It is interpreted as a sign of bravery and wisdom. Snake patterns on house posts have the connotation of great fertility for the family, and in some Paiwanese regions they can also be looked upon as distinctive symbols, separating classes in the social hierarchy by representing the upper class.

Other visual elements that appear on different material objects with the same meanings include the bird tiativ, whose feathers are included in people’s headdresses and represented carved into the wooden eave beams; and the butterfly motifs which occur on the eave beams in the traditional costumes and in the Kalasauzon bead. The Paiwanese organize their society by applying similar forms of these representative symbols on different material objects, thus creating enduring cultural symbols.

The cultural semiotic system is also exemplified in the case of glass beads. I analysed the beads used in constructing a traditional necklace, the talivucong, finding that beads are endowed with different cultural values and can be categorized into different types on that basis. The forms of the individual beads and the ways in which they are ordered in constructing necklaces have a wide range of referents — symbolizing the authority of the chiefly members, representing Paiwanese ideals, such as the making of alliances, setting moral discipline and placing an emphasis on bravery and wisdom. Some categories of beads represent traditional Paiwanese ceremonies, like praying for a good harvest or holding a wedding ceremony. Other beads can symbolize the religious system, such as those associated with the influence of good or evil spirits. Some remind the people of significant customs in daily life and important cultural values such as
keeping a promise, being a brave man, developing feminine handicraft skills before marriage and moral values. The beads are also associated with the class divisions of Paiwanese society and formed into necklaces they mark the role and status of individuals who wear them. Beads with traditional patterns can be ranked according to their names, just as people of different social statuses can be distinguished. The Mulimulitan bead stands for noble family members and is used as bride price in their weddings, while the Makacaigau beads is a symbol of the middle class and should therefore be used as part of the bride price in their weddings. The semiotic meanings of the beads and their arrangement on the necklace are ways of passing significant cultural knowledge among the Paiwanese people down the generations and connecting present statuses to a deep past.

Aesthetics is central to the communication of value and the marking of distinction in Paiwanese society. Joy Hendry’s perspective on art applies well in this case when she writes “There is meaning which lies embedded in the art itself, and one area of meaning is concerned with the quality we call aesthetic”(Hendry, 2008, p. 121). I analyzed Paiwanese aesthetic expression from two perspectives. Firstly, I analyzed formal properties belonging to distinct material cultures, and then discussed some of the ways in which their aesthetic qualities that have been integrated into the Paiwanese value system. In the case of the motifs on the wooden eave beams, the formal aesthetic principles are: symmetry, balance and repetition. In the motifs on the costumes, we see complementary aesthetic principles at work in tonal variation, and emphasis on filling in space and in some case expression in sound.

In each case the formal aesthetic properties must be understood in the context of Paiwanese culture to see how they fit in a wider Paiwanese aesthetic experience and are
integral to the communicative process. The aesthetic expression of the motifs on wooden eave beams are integrated with Paiwanese ideology, as the carving lines must represent spiritual power: bravery and strength. The striking costumes that were analyzed in the setting of the wedding ceremony and which include an intricate layers of artefacts such as headdresses and adornments are related to Paiwanese social organization and the system of primogeniture.

The aesthetic and semiotic systems in Paiwanese society that are manifest in the splendid costume of people in formal contexts are shared with the material culture objects that are equally central to the transmission of knowledge across the generations and which connect the present to the ancestral past. In addition to the chief’s house the key objects include the sacred pot (reretan), the bronze knife (tjakit), glass beads (ada), traditional costumes (ljavuan) and the swing framework (tiuma). In the case of a chiefly family these material objects are used to demonstrate authority and enhance hierarchical power in different exegetical contexts such as family songs and the narrating of legends. The artefacts are thus viewed as a collective representation of chiefly power of particular cultural significance in Paiwanese culture.

I argued that there is a dialogue between people and artefacts mediated through the designs. People are made into artefacts through the ceremonial performance and that the houses and sacred pots in turn are decorated in analogous ways to people. The pots, the carved beams, the beads carry forward agency and history from the past into the present. They bring ancestors, people from the past, into the present. Ho writing about the way Paiwanese people have embraced photography quotes the female priest Laerep Pasasaev talking about the relationship between people’s costumes, material culture objects and photography.
“Just like representative Paiwan symbols and designs on sculptures and garments, photos and films are appearances (kinatsautsauan) of “thoughtful sorrow” (paurauran/kinisingeringeritan). When being filmed, we like to wear the whole set of splendid costumes and ornaments (araarang) consisting of the head dresses, hawk eagles’ feathers, special clothes, leggings, and glass beads with Paiwan symbols and designs (vetsik/vintsikan). These are different from ordinary clothes and ornaments, for the rich clothes and ornaments contain representative Paiwan symbols and designs (vetsik/vintsikan). If the photos contain people wearing costumes with Paiwan symbols and designs (vetsik/vintsikan), they can be hung on the wall and can be considered as sculptures with traditional symbols and designs, which evoke emotions of thoughtful sorrow.” (Hu 2005: 159)

The costumes represent the beauty of the past and they create a spectacular appearance that brings the iridescence of the one-thousand-paces snake forward in time. Yet at the same time there is sadness in remembrance of the past and sense of loss as well as connection to those who have gone before. I explored the concept of “samiring”, as one of the motivations both for the splendid costumes worn at important ceremonies and the “making dark” of glass beads. Samiring is reflective sorrowful but positive feeling aroused by material items among the Paiwanese people.

In my thesis I also explored the contemporary development of tourist art in the town of Sandimen. I took glass beads as an example, finding that bead production reflects social changes as well as maintaining a cultural tradition. In the contexts of tourist art development, Paiwanese beads can be classified into various types, some of them produced for tourists while others are important accessories within the Paiwanese society. Although I applied Nelson Graburn’s definition of tourist art to Paiwanese
contemporary glass beads, some developments do not easily fall under Graburn’s
definition. Bead production is a dynamic commercial and cultural phenomenon, which
is not easily placed neatly in Graburn’s categories. The Paiwanese have demonstrated
that the “taste” or “value” they create in their products are in accordance with both
traditional values and market demand, which overlaps the categories of “tourist art” and
“traditional art”. The different types of glass beads strengthen both internal and external
Paiwanese ethnic identities; they also link traditional Paiwanese society with an outside
market. The beads are integral to a process of continuity through change as the
Paiwanese become increasingly integrated within the regional economy.

The development of new technologies for bead production have been partly motivated
by the tourism and the production of things of the external market, but has
simultaneously resulted in the development of new forms for internal consumption that
facilitate people connections with their past. The beads have monetary value as a
traditional bride price and in their contemporary economic function as tourist art. The
contemporary production of beads for a diversity of internal and external purposes
illustrates the dynamism of Paiwanese cultural aesthetics. The rich spectacle and dense
meanings of Paiwanese aesthetic forms has enabled them to retain their role within the
society and extend their identity into the world outside.