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**Abstract**

In examining the Paiwan, an indigenous group in Taiwan, this thesis illustrates how wealth affects social hierarchy amongst people in house societies. Paiwan wealth is examined through the idea of abduction of agency, as suggested by Gell (1998), to reveal how people associate with past interactions in perceiving both present and future social relations. Investigating the notion of Paiwan wealth provides a means by which Lévi-Strauss' idea of the 'house society' is reconsidered. In possessing wealth, as Lévi-Strauss (1982:194) emphasises, the house is "a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth" for organising social groups. In addition to providing an argument for how people are grouped in and by the house itself, this thesis focuses on the processes that form the house as an agent in itself. Moreover, studying Paiwan wealth gives further insights into how features of Dumontian hierarchy (Dumont 1980) and precedence (Fox 1994, 2004) can co-exist in terms of employing multiple values to achieve supreme value of owning wealth.

In mapping out the aim of this thesis, discussion begins from how the fieldwork process leads to certain empirical elucidation. By re-examining previous research about the Paiwan, the significance of processes of interactions from past to present is explored. The social interaction not only enables the position of a house to be established and further gives Christian churches hierarchical position to be a house in the society. By participating in social interaction, Paiwan wealth shows its quality of index in Gell's (1998) argument of art. The association between hierarchy, house and wealth is, therefore, can be exemplified by looking into the Paiwan marriage. Under these circumstances, the study of Paiwan society offers a channel to encompass

different perspectives of anthropology to approach indigenous context.

# Art-like Wealth: the Foundation of Paiwan Hierarchy

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Doctoral Thesis  
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## Acknowledgements

This thesis is based on ethnographic research conducted in Timur village of Paiwan in Taiwan. I can still remember my first day in the village, seven years ago, where I had settled down to conduct research for my Master's dissertation. I spent the day wandering around the village, looking for a place to stay. After searching for several hours, *Muni Ubalat*, who became my landlady, generously offered me a room in her house. Her firstborn, *Patagaw Ubalat*, held a welcome dinner for me and later introduced me to her friends.

When they found out that my Master's dissertation was about Christian church art in Paiwan, they invited *Lavuras* from the house of *Matilin* of the *Lalali* family to join us for dinner. Most of his family members are producers of art-like wealth, and they have shared their extensive knowledge with me. Their wisdom encouraged me to pay more attention to the association between the social life of Paiwan and all forms of artwork present in society. During my PhD fieldwork, *gama Masegege*, father of *Lavuras*, taught me the significance of ceremonial knives and the knowledge of carving. *Ina Gincu* explained to me how people lay value in clothing, and clarified the actual relationships between the different families in Timur. *Ina Remereman* shared her wisdom of glass beads and the notion of Paiwan Christianity with me. *Lavuras* himself not only gave me knowledge of the Paiwan vessel, but also helped me in participating in the Paiwan everyday life. The wife of *Lavuras*, *selep*, have taken good care of me, and everyone else in her household. *Aruwai*, firstborn of the house of *Matilin*, also looked after me and share her life experience with me in exemplifying how to be a 'firstborn'. Overall, the people of the *Lalali* family enabled me to approach the Paiwan understanding of art-like wealth.

The firstborn of *Lalali, gama Pariras*, invited me to every wedding he attended, and helped to translate the discourse of how people define their position in the ceremony. He even introduced me to people from other villages, which offered a means to get a more unobstructed view of Timur village. Additionally, other families in Timur village, such as *Pakadavai, Ruljuan, Tjaruzaljum, Duvacingan, Pulidan*, and many others, also guided me in exploring the relationships between people, as well as the association between social life and art-like wealth. Even when I have left the country to write up my thesis, they have kept in touch with me to see how my work is progressing. When *Lavuras Matilin* came to visit me in the U.K., villagers entrusted him with passing on their gifts to me. Their kindness have changed my attitude from asking what I can gain from fieldwork to how I should repay all the people I have met.

During fieldwork, I was recalled by the Taiwanese military for training purposes. Fortunately, enough, after going through complicated paperwork, my supervisors saved me from this ordeal. It has truly been an honour to be supervised by Dr Paolo Fortis and Professor Robert Layton at Durham University. They have inspired me to explore Paiwan society in a distinctive manner. During our very first meeting, they shared many interesting and invaluable experiences of conducting fieldwork, while also sympathising with how lengthy the process of achieving a doctorate can be. They have also generously shared their unpublished work with me, providing insights into how I should establish a proper argument. I am very grateful for their patience. Even though they might have struggled to understand my awful English, they always provided me with constructive feedback. In addition to supervising the PhD, they have also supported my funding applications and gave me advice on how to develop future publications. As a colleague of mine once phrased it, "I have been blessed with two angels".

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## Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is an exploration of how hierarchical positions of the Paiwan people in the village of Timur, Taiwan, are established by wealth (*souziayan*). This includes, but is not limited to, names, myths, ceramic vessels, glass beads, and people, among others. In Paiwan society, wealth is believed to be held by the house itself. The house enables its residents to be distinguished by the ranks of *mamazangilan*, *pualu* or *kadidan*, all according to the sort of wealth they possess. By exploring people's association with wealth, I will argue how the social interactions, which are mediated by wealth, allows people to re-practise the past interactions to form their understanding of hierarchy. Moreover, given how the Paiwan perceive the relationship between house and wealth, this thesis reconsiders the idea of a 'house society' proposed by Lévi-Strauss (1982) through ethnographic work. For Lévi-Strauss the argument lies in the idea of how the house conducts social groupings and how the house has its morality.

Due to the many relationships within a house and between houses, alongside the association with wealth, lead to a complex Paiwan hierarchy. By analysing the principle of Dumontian (1980) hierarchy is associated with the idea of precedence as argued by James Fox (1994). Rather than solely focusing on how society is grouped from a genealogical perspective, by exploring how the Paiwan perceive their wealth while examining the actual circulation of wealth, this thesis will provide insights into the Paiwanese understanding of social grouping.

The relationship between hierarchy and wealth further highlights how wealth can be examined through Gell's argument about indexes which, as he suggests, are 'related

to a social agent in a distinctive, art-like way' (Gell 1998:13). By adopting Gell's argument, I argue that the significance of Paiwan art-like wealth derives from its circulation for the people to infer how hierarchical interactions were exercised and how the interaction should be practised now. Nonetheless, as Layton points out, although Gell provides excellent examples for how art objects possess agency, 'he does not explain the distinctive ways in which art objects extend their maker's or user's agency' (2003:447). Moreover, although Gell's idea of the abduction of agency has a strong connection with the total prestations discussed by Mauss (2002[1950]), the exploration of Paiwan art-like wealth can provide an example for the argument that wealth offered by the giver is part of the nature of the receiver. Under these circumstances, the examination of Paiwan art-like wealth will, on the one hand, highlight how agency is indexed by the art-like wealth and, on the other, reveal the association between the wealth given and the receiver.

### ***The Paiwan***

The Paiwan people, who live in southern Taiwan (Formosa), are an Austronesian society. They are the second largest Taiwanese indigenous group. According to demographic data from February 2019, the Paiwan population was estimated at 101,671.<sup>1</sup> There are approximately 80 villages recognised as Paiwan communities (Figure 1). Mountains, hills, and streams are their primary living geographical environment (Figure 2). In the north of Paiwan territory is Mount Tjaiuvuvu in Pingtung County and the villages in this area extend southward along Mount Dawu to the Hengchun Peninsula. Facing the Philippine Sea, the Paiwan realm includes the south-east corner of the Central Mountain in Taitung County.

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<sup>1</sup> Council of indigenous peoples:

<https://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/docList.html?CID=940F9579765AC6A0>

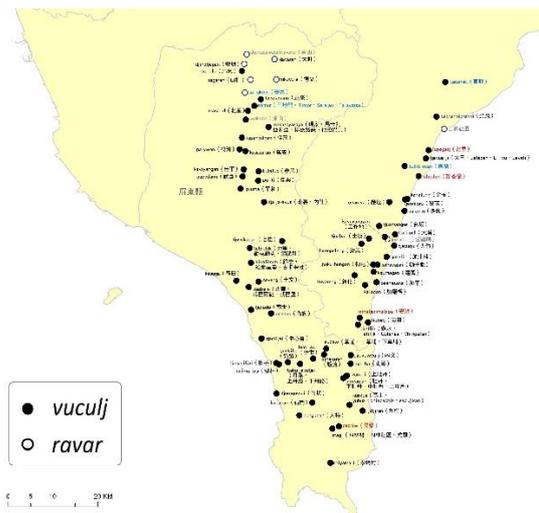


Figure 1. Paiwan villages.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 2.

The topography of southern Taiwan.<sup>3</sup>

The wide ranging geographical environment pushes the Paiwan to interact with other indigenous groups, which results in a variety of societal differences between the Paiwan villages. Moreover, their social life has been continuously reformed by foreigners. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Paiwan exchanged goods with the Dutch East India Company. Some of the imported materials, such as ceramic vessels and guns, are employed by the Paiwan and used in their traditional ceremonies. Between 1895 and 1945 the Paiwan people were colonised by the Empire of Japan. Policies introduced by Japanese authorities have affected the Paiwan hierarchy in terms of reconstructing the social interactions between ranks. Since the end of World War II, the Paiwan have been under the control of the Taiwanese government. Today, Mandarin is their first language, and much of their traditional lifestyle has been given up. Christian ideas introduced by Taiwanese missionaries have also changed how the Paiwan understand the world around them.

In Paiwan cosmology, being human (*caucau*) means having a position in the

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<sup>2</sup> Modified by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao (source: <https://www.google.com/maps>).

<sup>3</sup> Modified by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao (source: <https://www.google.com/maps>).

hierarchical system. This thesis is an exploration of what enables the Paiwan to be human through establishing their hierarchical positions. My investigation was conducted in one Paiwan village, Timur, between 2016 and 2017. I was told, the Japanese colonisation forced five Paiwan villages, Pinaula, Kacedas, Tjaravacalj, Salaulau and Gatimuljan, to relocate and establish the village of Timur in 1937. Although each village possesses its own independent myths to explain how social relationships should be structured, this historical event created tension between the people from different villages. Unlike most Paiwan villages, where people have a relatively stable understanding of the hierarchical relationship between villagers, inhabitants of Timur have considerable debates on how their past should be defined by establishing their positions in the current village. Due to the comparatively short history, the Timur village is a good example for understanding the process of how Paiwan social hierarchy is formed.

In Paiwan society, hierarchical interactions are mainly mediated by wealth. This feature leads to the idea of the 'house' suggested by Lévi-Strauss (1982) as playing a prominent role (I explain in more detail later on). Nonetheless, it is important to reconsider how a building can be a house. Through the study of Timur village, I noticed how people's association with wealth resulted in them being encompassed as wealth themselves, with the house becoming an agent and the actual holder of that wealth. Thus, the position of a house is fulfilled by holding wealth, where wealth may refer to people and (im)material objects.

Moreover, I noticed that one's hierarchical position needs to be acknowledged and established through social interaction. To process the interaction and to highlight the acknowledged social position, wealth is needed. Because wealth is constantly being circulated, and because of the nature of the house itself, the Paiwan wealth

instantiates past events to be central for establishing one's social position. By employing Gell's (1998) argument about how artwork mediates agency, I will argue that the hierarchical position formed through interaction will be indexed not only by Paiwan material wealth, such as vessels, glass beads, or apparel but also by names and myths, as their immaterial wealth.

Highlighting their past in daily conversions leads to a consequence that some researches of the Paiwan adopt the idea of precedence suggested by James Fox (1994, 1995, 2006c). Nonetheless, the genealogical feature of the Paiwan hierarchical system has also been formerly examined by Taiwanese anthropologists through Dumont's (1980) theory of hierarchy (cf. Chiu 2001, Tan 2004). The main distinction between these two approaches to social classification lies in the argument between single value (pure/impure) and multiple values (older/younger, earlier/later, firstborn/later-born). Nonetheless, through the study of Paiwan society, I observed how both concepts of valuation co-existed. Thus, in this thesis, I will elucidate how the Paiwan utilise multiple values to achieve the supreme value, arguing that the genealogical feature of the Paiwan hierarchical system is based on the understanding of wealth.

In this Introduction, I will introduce knowledge of the Paiwan people demonstrated by previous research and, specifically, highlight how examining the understanding of Paiwan wealth offers an alternative perspective of Paiwan society. In Chapter 2, I review the theories of social differentiation, the idea of the house and perspectives from the anthropology of art, in seeking to establish a framework to analyse Paiwan society. In Chapter 3, I explore how the Paiwan people perceive their past, and how the present is constructed through the past to form the future. By introducing the myth that outlines the origin of the Paiwan, I seek to elucidate the different features of social ranking. Moreover, I also introduce understandings of the

past and the present held in the Timur village, as well as their association with the origin myth of Paiwan, where I seek to discuss how the inhabitants of Timur understand their social position in Paiwan society. In Chapter 4, I examine the significance of social interactions in establishing position, especially in terms of how the Church can be understood as a house. Through illustrating different forms of Paiwan harvest festivals, and by exploring Thanksgiving as practised by the Church, I elucidate the relationships between people, houses and hierarchies. In Chapter 5, I reconsider what forms the Paiwan house, and the nature of Paiwan art-like wealth through examining the form, the style and the aesthetics of Paiwan art-like wealth. This exploration will further demonstrate the implications of the past and how the art-like wealth indexes the past. The different social aspects explored in the previous chapters will provide us with the essential knowledge to explore Paiwan marriage. Through elucidating the process of Paiwan marriage in Chapter 6, we have the full picture of how individuals become Paiwan through their association with the house and its wealth.

### ***Becoming a Paiwan: the methodology***

In order to fully comprehend Paiwan society, I conducted 14 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Timur village between March 2016 and May 2017. Prior to this work, I had conducted one year of fieldwork in the same village between 2011 and 2012 for my Masters dissertation. This dissertation was an exploration of how the inhabitants of Timur village understand Christianity, especially in terms of how they express Christian ideas by applying their traditional artistic expression to church images. In this study, I discovered that although people approached Christian ideas through traditional Paiwan concepts from the start, after 75 years of interpreting Christian ideas, they have grown to become an alternative means for younger

generations to perceive their traditional concepts. While writing this dissertation, I noticed that Christian ideas have also impacted the Paiwan hierarchy, and as a result, the Church as a social institution, has been included in their hierarchical system. In response to this, this thesis seeks to depict a more comprehensive picture of the contemporary Paiwan society.

As a Han Taiwanese person, language might be my biggest obstacle in gaining knowledge from the Paiwan because their ritual activities mainly proceed in the Paiwan language. Fortunately, I already possessed a basic knowledge of the Paiwan language, which I gained from my previous research, improving my understanding of the context of ceremonies. Moreover, as every villager in Timur can also speak Mandarin, the significance of ritual discourse could be further discussed through interviews. The returning journey also gives me a chance to verify some of the information obtained the first time. For example, during my previous fieldwork, one of my most essential interlocutors, *Lavuras Matilin*, said that if he was going to get married, following the Church's policy of marriage might be a good choice economically because the church has enacted their own policy of providing fixed betrothal gifts regardless of social position. However, four years later, his marriage was conducted in a traditional manner, and after the wedding he strongly suggested that people should circulate every needed betrothal gift regardless of financial pressure.

I noticed that, much like *Lavuras*, many young people were planning to get married in a church to save some trouble, such as preparing lavish betrothal gifts or arguing about social position with their future family-in-law. However, in the village, there are only a few weddings following Church policy. Most people in Timur eventually have a traditional wedding being devoted Christians. Although the idea of hierarchy might contradict the idea of equality introduced by Christianity, it seems that

for the people of Timur, having a traditional wedding might not lead to deviation from Christian doctrine. In fact, marriage seems to be a means by which individuals learn to be Paiwan while being a devoted Christian. Bourdieu (1990) suggests that because of the flowing nature of objectivism, researchers must establish an epistemological break between phenomena to reveal the rules according to which individuals fit themselves into society.

Additionally, I noticed that hierarchical interaction between ranks in Timur village is different from what I learned from former ethnographies, and especially in terms of how the Church became part of the Paiwan hierarchical system. A re-examination of Paiwan hierarchical interaction was thus needed, and marriage seemed to be an effective entry point to approaching their understanding of hierarchy.

I began my PhD fieldwork 12 days before *Lavuras'* wedding, so I had opportunity to be involved in some of the preparations. His father, *Masegege Matilin*, asked me to make a list of what they had prepared for the betrothal gifts and guided me to where I could find these. *Masegege* said: *'even if tomorrow is the wedding day, I still do not know what gifts should be given'*. I realised that till the day of the wedding, people were still arguing about what sort of betrothal gift should be offered. And when the gifts were ready to be carried to the bride's house on the wedding day, some of the gifts were removed to ensure the correctness of the ceremony. Through participating in and observing the process of preparing betrothal gifts, the significance of how the betrothal gifts mediate social interactions was highlighted.

On the wedding day, my job was to assist *Lavuras'* relatives. At that moment, as an outsider, I noticed that my attire was somewhat awkward, I was not wearing proper Paiwan clothing and perhaps not showing the correct respect at such a crucial event. I observed, before the wedding and on the wedding day, *Lavuras* and his family tried to

present themselves as magnificently as possible by repairing old clothes or purchasing new. Participants also tended to present themselves similarly, and people from different villages appreciated how people from Timur dressed up for the event. Nonetheless, I was told that this was not just about how elegant one looks. Through unstructured interviews, I learned how Timur people judged dress and how they define the appropriateness of participating in an event. To acquire more knowledge related to hierarchy, betrothal gifts and social interaction, my fieldwork focused on the nuances of Paiwan marriage.

I was lucky to participate in the whole wedding ceremony at the beginning of my fieldwork but, unfortunately, six hours after the wedding attendees danced at midnight, *Lavuras'* grandmother passed away. The funeral, one of the most important rites conducted in a house, took place after the wedding day. I was told that the Paiwan funeral was once a month long event, but now following Church policy enacted in 1995 it is a week-long ceremony. However, to comply with Paiwan tradition, the members of the household of the deceased must stay at the house and sleep in the living room throughout this time. Their relatives bring food and stay overnight in the house. The funeral offered a chance to explore the connection and interaction between relatives, and between the house, its wealth and its residents. For example, I observed, the front door facing the living room, needs to remain open because the soul of the deceased will come back to live in a vessel. Moreover, I noticed that the people were actually laughing and making jokes most of the time. Just like relatives, Church clerks were also paying their respects to the household members. By interviewing relatives and by observing visitors, I started to reconsider the idea of an ancestor and the form of a house in contemporary Paiwan society from religious and hierarchical perspectives.

Thanks to the knowledge I learned from both the wedding and the funeral, I was

able to practise correct Paiwan customs and fit into their society. For ceremonies, I tried to dress properly when attending, and people commented on my dress, helping me to explore distinct Paiwan aesthetics. For instance, when I wore relatively simple Paiwan apparel to assist at the wedding, villagers described my look as '*sa-milin*'. I learned this is the best quality the Paiwan perceive as the value of hierarchy expressed through art-like wealth. During the funeral, when I assisted in serving food, people started to recognise me as a relative. Battaglia (1999) suggests, informants can perceive the position of the researcher in an open and uncertain field, and that the subject-position of the researcher and informants are equally important. Some of the villagers had generously offered me opportunities to become a member of their family and thanks to our personal and emotional experiences in the field, *Lavuras* and I became good friends. His father and sisters were also willing to accept me as a member of their house. In the last month of my fieldwork, the *Matilin* household decided to conduct a rite to make an alliance with me.

Belonging to a Han Taiwanese family, I asked all of my family to attend the rite because I know how social relationships are involved and established during such a ceremony. Fortunately, 40 of my Han relatives participated in the ceremony and my parents, my wife and I were given Paiwan wealth, including apparel, vessels, glass bead necklaces, a knife and names that incorporate us not only into the *Matilin* household, but also into their entire family, to have our position in their society. At that moment, a Han Taiwanese family officially became Paiwan. It was a touching event, but as an anthropologist, I need to know how villagers perceived this ceremony.

It is crucial to know how people perceive the action of a specific individual and how society evaluates individual behaviour (Malinowski 1922). That is, exploring how people in society interpret the interaction between individuals from the native point

of view (Geertz 1973[1966]). Through unstructured interviews with individuals from different families, I realised that people from different kin-groups have various opinions about the appropriateness of the gifts offered in the ceremony. I learned that the circulated wealth in the ceremonies are not only based on the status of the individuals but also related to the rank of the house. The understanding of Paiwan hierarchy thus needs to be explored through how people circulate the wealth.

By participating in various ceremonies, I noticed that the tension between the rank of a house and the status of individuals frequently leads to debate about the circulation of gifts in ceremonies. As I learned from their everyday conversations, the house and its residents will affect each other to define what gifts can be circulated to form the hierarchical position of the house and that of the residents. The controversy between rank and status leads me to consider how the Paiwan hierarchy can be examined through different theories of social classification. Although the study of Paiwan hierarchy is not a new topic in anthropological research based in Taiwan, it seems that previous scholarship has not provided an explicit principle to examine the confliction of hierarchy in Paiwan society. By fully participating in people's daily activities, I seek to reveal the dynamics of Paiwan hierarchy as perceived by the Paiwan themselves.

The complexity of Paiwan hierarchical interaction is an obstacle waiting to be clarified. In the process of writing up my ethnographic fieldwork, there will be a space-time difference (Derrida 1982). That is, I entered the field as a Han person and I left as a Paiwan so to produce this thesis thus, the way in which I perceive Paiwan society might have changed. Hanks (1989) points out, the text produced through writing might be a recontextualisation of the field. The recontextualisation of Paiwan hierarchy might be led by the change of my identity in that society. After the ceremony

of allying, the position of emic and that of etic might become awkward and obscure. However, rather than analysing the ethnography through purely literary theory, it is the actual fieldwork situation that reveals the context and structure of the writing (Handelman 1994). As a researcher and as a Paiwan, my understanding of the relationship between hierarchy, wealth and house was formed by the practise of correspondence which is, as Ingold (2014) suggests, the value of anthropology.

### ***Origins of the study of Paiwan in Austronesian contexts***

This thesis is an exploration of how the material and immaterial wealth held by a house gives hierarchical position to Timur villagers of the Paiwan people in Taiwan. Before presenting the theoretical framework that informs this ethnography, it is essential to examine a map drawn by linguists, archaeologists and anthropologists to see the characteristics of the Austronesian world, and the clock also needs to be turned back to the Neolithic age in Taiwan.

Looking at the archaeological records discovered in Taiwan (dating back to 3000-4000 BC), they show an archaeological resemblance to the southern Chinese type, presumably carried initially by small groups of agricultural settlers across the Formosa Strait from Fujian to Taiwan (Cheng 1992). The colonisers who came to Taiwan with their farming skills are identified as Initial Austronesian (Bellwood 1984-5, 1992). Robert Blust (1999) has pointed out that there are no fewer than nine primary branches of Austronesian among the aboriginal languages of Taiwan. Indeed, during the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan, the Taiwan indigenous people were categorised into nine groups by the authorities (Utsurikawa, Mabuchi and Miyamoto 1935). From 1984, indigenous people have fought for their self-identity, and since 2014 there are now 16 groups officially recognised by the Taiwanese government as indigenous people. Nonetheless, there are still many groups currently fighting for their

right to be identified as Taiwanese indigenous people, not only for accessing land ownership but also other political rights. For example, a subgroup called Oponoho is working to get recognition of their own, which is based on linguistic differences and would set them apart from the Paiwan group (although the place where the Oponoho reside is only 10 kilometres away from the closest Paiwan village).

In the case of Taiwanese indigenous people, it seems that the recognisable Austronesian language family, comprised some 1200 languages in the world, is increasing due to the massive migration in the past, interaction with other native people and the diverse living environment (Cf. Tryon 1995). That is, the classification of societal groups is a progress and is constantly reformed. For example, the Atayal people were the largest indigenous group in Taiwan, but now they are distinguished as Atayal, Truku and Sediq (Chiu 2014). Although they share the same origin myth and practise similar ceremonies, migration led to language differences. In addition to language, the land they have lived on and the understanding of the journey to the place of origin after death also constructs how these sub-groups differentiate themselves (Pu 2006). Although language is an essential factor in differentiating the groups, it will be interesting to explore how the people identify themselves through various societal aspects, such as wealth, examined in this thesis.

The idea of wealth is generally associated with ownership of land, and it can be continuously reformed through migration. In around 3000 BC, some speakers of one of these languages in Taiwan made their first move into Luzon and the Philippines, then continuously expanded through Melanesia into western Polynesia, represented by the Lapita culture (Bellwood 2006a). By virtue of stable food supplied by agriculture, migration moved through thousands of kilometres of coastline and across increasingly wide seas eastwards into the Pacific (ibid.). In 1906, the German linguist and

anthropologist Wilhelm Schmidt coined the terms 'Austronesian' and 'Austro-Asiatic', formulating a hypothesis that these language families could be grouped in a larger linguistic family (Cf. Fox 2004). Different from the first migration from southern China to Taiwan pushed by population pressure, the archaeological evidence left by these ancient speakers of Austronesian languages in island Southeast Asia and Oceanic Lapita reveals a possibility that people moved onwards to new regions after good coastal locations were occupied, before any major attempts to colonise island interiors (Bellwood 2006b). This migration history not only presents in the similarity between Austronesian languages to express certain understandings of social phenomena but also highlights an interest in discovering new territory.

Because of migration, the origin of Austronesian-speaking peoples and how they perceive their origin are the focal points of linguistic studies, archaeologists and anthropologists from the very beginning to more recent publications (Cf. Forster 1778, Raffles 2017[1817], Dempwolff 1934-38, Blust 1984, Bellwood 1992; 2006a, Fox 1980; 1992; 1994; 1995; 2004, Fox and Sather 2006, Goldman, 1970, Lewis 1988). Researchers have shown us a variety of Austronesian social organisation which is further explored by examining the similarity of employing botanic metaphors to express social relationships, such as root, trunk and tip (Fox 2006a; 2006b).

As a member of the Austronesian language group, the Paiwan also understand the firstborn of a house as a seed and conceive of their origin as root in expressing their understanding of social hierarchy (Tan 2007). Employing botanic metaphors lead to the consequence that, different from the Dumontian notion of hierarchy based on a structured single-valued all-encompassing relationship, Fox (2006b) points out that Austronesian social position established by the understanding of origin is not only structurally relative but also temporally contingent. The Austronesians thus utilise the

notion of multiple origins, in which a multiplicity of origins is assumed and groups, as well as individuals, will trace their origins differently as a means for social differentiation (Fox 2006a). The exploration of the idea of origin in Austronesian society has led the anthropological discussion to focus on the notion of precedence to understand social organisation.

Archaeologists also demonstrate the importance of precedence. Due to the migration that took place in the pre-history and history of Austronesian-speaking societies, Bellwood (2006b) points out that their social grouping is based on what he calls 'founder-focused ideology' and to ensure or to enhance such ideology, the ownership of specific forms of wealth, such as land, myth and heirlooms, is essential. He adds that founder-focused ideology might be one of the most important causes of migration because separation could have given branched groups opportunities for aggrandisement of their own and their descendants' statuses, which they might not have had at home (ibid.). For example, to secure their preceding identity, the founder clans in Rindi society in East Sumba of Indonesia will highlight their right of land stewardship and maintain these rights even if secular power is taken from them (Forth 1981). In the Ata Tana 'Ai domain of Tana Wai Brama in eastern Flores as well, the ownership of land derived from the understanding of precedence establishes one's status in society (Lewis 1988).

Moreover, people who arrived after the ancestors of the source clan were given land by the earlier settler to be integrated into a single ritual system under clan stewardship (Bellwood 2006b). In this sense, to explore social organisation in Timur, the association between wealth and the understanding of precedence needs to be reconsidered. As I learned from the villagers, although the argument of precedence is based on the contest of the ownership of land, it is the ownership that gives the

position of origin to the owner. For example, the first to arrive might own the land to be considered as origin but owning the land through particular methods can also enable the latecomers to be recognised as the preceding ones. In other words, wealth gives the preceding position to individuals. The study of Austronesian-speaking peoples should pay attention to wealth, which in this context seems to form the social differentiation and further build up social relationships through the circulation of wealth.

For anthropologists, the most famous region in Austronesian-speaking society might be the Trobriand Islands where Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) did considerable fieldwork on the *kula*, a system of gift-through-exchange permeating all the economic, tribal and moral life of the Trobriand people. Through Malinowski's ethnography, Marcel Mauss noticed the inalienable nature of circulated objects, in which 'one must give back to another person what is really part of his nature and substance, because to accept something from somebody is to accept some part of his spiritual essence, of his soul' (Mauss 2002[1950]:16). In *The Gift*, Mauss (ibid.) examines what he calls 'total prestations' by suggesting that the exchange led by spiritual force aims to maintain certain social relations and to avoid potential misfortune. Sahlins (1972:160) has further developed Mauss' discussion of the Maori *hau* to argue the idea of reproduction, in which *hau* enables individuals to establish and reproduce a broader social relationship through the material production for the coming future (ibid.).

Although Sahlins, as other Neo-Marxists pay more attention to why the exchange happens rather than how it is done, their explorations of exchange all elucidate the idea of the future being led by contemporary action (Cf. Barnett and Silverman 1979). In Weiner's (1985) argument, inspired by the idea of inalienable wealth in *The Gift*, because of the connection between *taonga*, which has the nature of inalienability, and

maternal kinship in Samoan society, defining an object as inalienable adds to the value of one's past, making the past a powerful resource for the present and the future. That is, as Fox (2006b) points out, in Austronesian-speaking society, the understanding of origin highlights a way to access the past, including dreaming, contact with spirits, the recitation of formulaic wisdom, the witness of the elders, or the presentation of sacred objects, which are essential for understanding social structure. I will argue that, because of the association between the circulation of wealth and social organisation, past interactions are believed to be indexed by wealth. Wealth therefore becomes a channel for accessing the past, to form the present and manipulate the future.

Circulating wealth, as a means of accessing the past, enables the Paiwan to approach the origin through their interaction. However, what the origin is must be questioned. Although unquestionably people give birth to humans, in Paiwan society the origin of individuals should be perceived from the perspective of the house. The notion of the house is given great prominence in Austronesian-speaking societies. Blust (1987) pointed out that in the oldest linguistic stages, Proto-Austronesian considered *rumaq* (house) as a descent group, and for the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *datu* (house) there are four possible components of meaning: political leader, priest, aristocrat and ancestor. He compiles a list of the principal terms that signify some kinds of houses among the different linguistic subgroups of Austronesian, including *rumaq*, *balay*, *lepaw*, *kamalir* and *banua* (Blust 1987). In Paiwan society, the house is addressed as *umaq* which, Fox (2006c) points out, is the most widely distributed term for house and its usage among Austronesian-speaking populations is often given a metaphoric sense to define an associated social group claiming a common derivation or ritual unity.

Because of the relationship between house and social grouping, Levi-Strauss' discussion of the 'house' society gives insight into how society is organised. Through reconsidering the Kwakwaka'wakw ethnography by Boas, Levi-Strauss (1987) noticed that the societal grouping of such a society must be understood through the house, which holds certain wealth to establish relationships with other houses to establish its position in society. For example, in the Buru society of Indonesia, land rights and hunting rights are inherited by houses (Grimes 2006). The association between house and its wealth leads to privileges being maintained and reinforced within the house through the narrative of migration, the name of the founder or the detail of prestige goods (Buck 1932). In this sense, wealth seems to be a means by which people conduct social grouping.

The same ethnography of Kwakwaka'wakw re-examined by Levi-Strauss also inspired Mauss (2002[1950]) to pay more attention to the inalienability of the Kwakwaka'wakw copper, which is circulated to establish social relationships. Nonetheless, unlike Mauss' argument of 'total prestation', in the case of the Paiwan, the circulated gift is not a part of the giver. That is, the offered gift needs to correspond to what belonged to the receiver. I will argue that, in Paiwan marriage, in addition to the betrothal gift which is provided to highlight what the gift-receiver has associated, the concept of an ideal married-in spouse is also defined by their association with the spouse-receiver's house. In this sense, one might argue that people to some extent have the quality of inalienability as wealth held by the house. As Weiner (1985) argues, in addition to focusing on exchange, circulated entities are also crucial to understanding social relationships. Examining the Paiwan understanding of wealth might lead us to explore how social relationships are established by different entities held by the house.

Wealth held by a house can be literally attached to it as its structure, such as a

specific post, beam, platform, niche, altar or enclosure. By holding these aspects of a building, most Austronesian-speaking houses possess what may be called ritual attractors (Fox 2006c). In terms of sanctifying its wealth, the house can be considered as a platform for ceremonies to fulfil religious obligations. Nonetheless, the understanding of sacredness might be changed through conversion, and this leads to the idea of a house being applied to different buildings for people to conceive of their relationship with the new divinities (Hsiao 2013). As Yengoyan (2006) points out, when Christianity came into insular Southeast Asia and the Pacific with colonial expansion, European civilisation was embedded in the conversion process, and certain native institutions had to be reformed by the missionaries' criteria for producing ideal Christians. As well as bringing the law of God into Paiwan society, the idea of equality and Western medical knowledge was also introduced by the missionaries. Some people in Paiwan society accuse Christianity of disintegrating their social hierarchy. However, Yengoyan (2006) argues that, in Tongan society, although indigenous culture might be affected by Christianity, the conversion to some extent has pushed their understanding of hierarchy to new pinnacles of complexity. In this sense, if the house is an essential religious and societal institution in Austronesian-speaking society, the church as a building and institution might be integrated into the house society to participate in the hierarchical interaction. Therefore, it is important to examine the association between wealth, the house, Christianity and hierarchy in Paiwan society.

### ***Conversion into Christianity***

Like other indigenous groups in Taiwan, the Paiwan converted to Christianity after WWII. Christian ideas and the service provided by the church have influenced their life and become a channel through which they deal with the world. Smith (1958) suggests, Christianity is not an abstract concept, but an elucidation narrated in the Bible of how

Jewish people conceived their past. Because of the association between the past and people's identity, the conversion might lead the Paiwan to link their past to the Judaeo-Christian God, thus potentially reforming their understanding of origin. In this sense, history encompasses both continuity and discontinuity, which are mutually dependent for meaning (Tiedemann 1984). Christian meanings may be expanded and reformed by missionaries' preaching in different regions. Colonialism as a historic event is one of the most common reasons for the expansion of converts to Christianity (Rutherford 2006). Cannell (2006) argues, in addition to religion, goods and values imported by colonisers and missionaries have also strongly affected different aspects of local people's everyday lives. For example, schooling, church liturgies and art motifs might cultivate colonised people to act like Western people (Barker 1990). These effects might lead the believers to translate their own culture using Christian concepts, and further change their understanding of their own culture because religion is an explanation and a speculation about man's place in the world (Bloch 1986). In this sense, understanding the relationship between the Paiwan and Christianity from different social aspects may reveal how the Paiwan situate themselves in a contemporary context.

Although anthropologists resisted admitting Christianity as a part of 'other' culture and denied the converts' agency, recently researchers have realised that people can live their lives in Christian terms (Robbins 2004, 2007). To explore conversion, Christianity should not be considered as a stabilising influence to limit people's behaviours within a common set of regulations. Rather, the converts might reform Christianity to fit it into their society. Therefore, as Whitehouse (2006) notes, something that appears traditional often turns out to be recently inspired, but what seems to be Christian often has ancient local roots. Christianity, indeed, has its

tradition, but it might be developed into some specific features to adapt to local values. Conversion is a bidirectional transformation that leads the same denomination to have various appearances depending on local cosmology for converts to manipulate known categories to accommodate Christianity (Macintyre 1990, Bacchiddu 2009). Although most anthropological theories emphasise 'cultural continuity' as opposed to discontinuity and change, it seems possible to imagine continuities in the various ways in which people embrace change (Robbins 2004). The conversion is not an individual consciousness but exists in the cultural logic and values that draw people into their logical and evaluative schemes (ibid.). The Fijians, who encompass Jehovah into their traditional deities through their own cosmology (Kaplan 1990), are one such example.

I have argued elsewhere that Timur people understand the Judaeo-Christian God by analogy with their traditional creator and place their ancestor within the notion of the Holy Trinity (Hsiao 2013). This understanding of Christianity can further be perceived by the convertor through various social aspects. For example, in Busby's (2006) study of India, she suggests that people build their relationships with God not only through religious activities but through marriage. To understand further how the Paiwan practise Christianity, it will also be interesting to explore how Christianity becomes Paiwan.

Conversion to Christianity has different aspects. It is preached by missionaries as a religion, but local people might have different ideas when they encounter it (Vilaça 2013). Therefore, although the influence of Christianity can be religious, this is not necessarily so (Gow 2006). According to Barker (1990:10), 'Conversion is a broader process of personal and social transformation'. Robbins (2004) argues, to explain the depth of the Christian impact, we need to examine local cultural categories for understanding what makes Christianity attractive to people facing significant cultural

changes.

Moreover, because the implication of different social categories is based on the interrelationships of categories, both local and Christian ideas have to be reformed to explain their counterpart (Barker 1990). The models of change are related by virtue of their mutual dependence, based on the freedom of converts' choice (Robbins 2004). Indigenous converts might see it as a social interaction with others while remaining grounded in their fundamental ways of looking at the world (Robbins 2007, Gow 2009). For example, in Toren's (1991) research, the relationships between Jesus and his disciples portrayed in the Last Supper are conceived hierarchically by Fijian people through their cosmology, and that becomes a channel for indigenous people to build their relationship with God. Therefore, because of the importance of the idea of the house, I will further demonstrate that the church might also gain its significance in Paiwan society by participating in hierarchical interactions.

### ***The house, people and wealth in Paiwan society***

The Paiwan are categorised into two main sub-groups: *ravar* and *vuculj* (Chiang 1984, Tan 2007). There are four villages in the northern side of Pingtung County, recognised as the *ravar* sub-group (Figure 1). Because of their location, the *ravar* sub-group has historically frequently married the other indigenous group, called Rukai. Therefore, the *ravar*, as well as the Rukai, utilise the male primogeniture system, which is different from the *vuculj* who pass the possession of wealth to the firstborn of a house regardless of gender. The *vuculj* can be further differentiated into four sub-groups: *paumaumaq*, *caupupulj*, *paljizaljizaw* and *paqaloqalo* (Tung 2001). Each of these has various myths and employs distinct materials for use in rites of passage, but there are still some shared values highlighted in their daily interactions within Paiwan society as a whole, such as the importance of the house, the hierarchical system and

their appreciation of wealth.

To understand the Paiwan, the exploration can be initiated by looking into their house, which has already been noted by Wei (1960) to be a channel for examining kinship and hierarchy. Nonetheless, the understanding of Paiwan hierarchy based on the examination of relationships between houses was still generally elucidated through the genealogical perspective until a more solid framework for exploring the house was provided by Lévi-Strauss (1982, 1987). Since then, the study of the house has become the main perspective for researchers to gain insight into Paiwan social organisation and is used as an alternative language for expressing kinship and affinity (Chiang 1984; 1999, Wu 1993, Hsu and Ko 1994, Tan 2004, Chiang and Lee 1995). These studies are also associated with Paiwan myths, marriage, names and religion among other things to illustrate how the Paiwan establish their understanding of a house (Cf. Chiang 1993, Hu 2001, Ku 2006; 2010; 2016, Chiu 2001). Such research has led the study of the Paiwan to build up an intimate connection with the discussion of house society. However, early research of the Paiwan house and their hierarchy does not necessarily capture the essence of the idea of house society.

What Lévi-Strauss (1982) emphasises is that the house is a corporate body holding an estate comprising both material and immaterial wealth for organising social groups. In this sense, although previous investigations of the Paiwan house adopted the argument suggested by Lévi-Strauss to deal with kinship, the significance of wealth in organising society has been downplayed. It is essential to highlight that, as Lévi-Strauss (*ibid.*) notes, social organisation is constructed by the transmission of wealth down to a real or imaginary line as a form of establishing legitimacy. If the Paiwan can be considered a house society, wealth should be the initial point of an investigation to reveal its organisation. Under these circumstances, the house, the people and the

hierarchy should be examined through the idea of wealth to explore how social relations are established.

### ***The house: Umaq***

There are three dimensions to the concept of a Paiwan house: the building, a house name and its residents (Tan 2007). A traditional Paiwan house is made by shale (*ubu*), and the structure of the house embodies their cultural characteristics (Chiang and Lee 1995). For example, before constructing a house, Paiwan people will dig a grave (*iuvang*) inside the set of the house to bury their dead (Tan 2007). People born into the same house will be buried in the same grave beneath their natal house, even if they married out and had their own house (Wu 1993, Chiang and Lee 1995, Tan 2004). The grave gives the house religious significance and becomes a ritual centre which, in Tan's (2004) study of the Paiwan village of Tjaubar, enables the residents of the first-built house to claim the supreme position within their kinship group from a sacrificial perspective.

By living in the house containing the ancestor's body, the residents are considered as mediator in performing the ceremony for their group to access the position established by the ancestor. In this sense, the house as the platform of conducting ceremonies, maintains the relationship between people to establish different positions through the circulation of sacrificial offerings (Chiang and Lee 1995). However, in addition to the kinship constructed by the sacrificial relationship, the association between ancestors and descendants and how the hierarchical relationship is affected by the ancestor in contemporary society is not thoroughly discussed in previous literature. Thus, exploration of the interrelations between the house, ancestors and the descendants is required, by looking into interaction in the vicinity of the house to understand how hierarchical relationships are established.

***House name: ngadan nua umaq***

A house will be named after its construction, and its name is selected from a family house name pool. The Paiwan will try to ensure every name in the pool is currently used because, as Chiang (1984) points out, the name is a mark of a house and by passing on the name picked from the pool, family inheritance is continued. The house name serves as individuals' first names, and it will permanently be bound with the house. Even when reconstructing or moving to a new house in the village, the name will remain the same (Tan 2007). If the household has no descendants to inherit the house or they move to another village, the name will be terminated (Wei 1960). However, I learned during fieldwork that if the whole village is forced to migrate, such as demanded by Japanese colonists in the 1930s, or following a serious flood in 2009, people tend to apply the previous house name to their new house in the new village to continue and remember their position. It seems that the house name, to some extent, is more than a mark of the house, but works as a mark of the position of the house in the specific category (e.g. a village). As Chiang and Lee (1995) note, taking over an empty house means residents obtain the position derived from the house, while the previous house will not be abandoned. Because the house and its name are associated with the residents' ancestor from an inheritance perspective, the house name, as Wei (1960) points out, represents the social position of their ancestors and the house embodies its residents' social position. The migrants will keep their previous house and its name as proof of what their position is based on. However, questions of how ancestors are associated with their descendants through the house, how the house embodies the social position and how the house name relates to hierarchy are yet to be clarified. If the idea of a house serves as a means of social grouping, and if the house, as Lévi-Strauss (1982) argues, is formed by wealth and its transmission,

examining the wealth held and transmitted by a house will improve our understanding of Paiwan social relationships.

***The residents: tsamekalkal***

Within a Paiwan house, the residents necessarily include a married couple and their firstborn who is the only heir of the house (Tan 2007). Other children born into the same house will eventually have their own house through marriage (Cf. Chiu 2001, Kao 2004). The branching of a house will generate hierarchical interaction (Kao 2004). In this sense, if a house is formed by wealth, examining Paiwan social interaction through the aspect of wealth might give insight into how hierarchy is formed. The intention of moving forward from the blood relation to the association of wealth is inspired by how the Paiwan identify the residents of a house. Because of the house's importance, as Tan (2007) points out, Paiwan people employ several appellations to identify the members in a house, such as *ta-tsekelan* (a couple), *ta-umaqan* (a home) and *tsamekalkal* (people who live together). The idea of *tsamekalkal* highlights that the household, to some extent, is not necessarily based on a blood relationship, but derived from living together. The relationship between a house and its residents can be of how people manipulate their social position through dwelling (Chiang's (1984). As he points out, living in a specific house, regardless of consanguinity, enables individuals to achieve the position given by the house to exercise specific hierarchical interactions with others, because elements related to a house form a complex whole driving Paiwan symbolic and behavioural patterns (ibid.). Chiang's research focused mainly on how the house as a building enables the individual to access a certain position but, as I have argued above, the position, or even the house, is established by their association with wealth. By following the idea of wealth suggested in the theory of house society, this exploration should proceed from what makes a building a house

for the purposes of social grouping.

Nowadays a Paiwan house can be built at any time, but the birth of first child in the past was considered permission to construct a new house because, as Wei (1960) points out, the house and its name have to be continuously inherited by the next firstborn over generations. Paiwan people called the firstborn *vusam* which means millet seed (Tan 2007). Millet is not only the main crop but also a vital ritual material (Tung 2001). Circulating millet between the firstborn and their siblings is a form of Paiwan hierarchical interaction (Shih 1969; 1982, Tan 2007). That is, the hierarchical relationships are initiated by the interaction between houses and the relationship between houses is based on siblingship. Thus the genealogical property of Paiwan hierarchy is perceived to be triggered by the separation of the firstborn and their siblings (Chiang 1999).

However, as I learned during fieldwork, the firstborn need not necessarily be born first. Even though the firstborn theoretically enjoys the right to inherit the house and its wealth, some Timur villagers who hold the position of the firstborn are actually not born first. This phenomenon leads us to reconsider how the position of the firstborn is practically constructed in Paiwan society. I will argue that the relationship between firstborns and others, as well as the relationship between the natal house and branched houses, is based on the concept of wealth. Exploring the circulation of wealth will therefore provide insight into how the relationships between houses are formed. Because siblingship lacks the function of reproduction, the reproduction of a house is generated through marriage (Headley 1987, Errington 1989). The branching of a house should, therefore, be explored through marriage. Exploring the interaction between houses might lead to a greater understanding of how the social position is manipulated through the circulation of wealth. To this end, this thesis examines the

Paiwan wealth circulated as betrothal gifts to explain how social hierarchy is established.

### ***Paiwan social organisation***

Because of the hierarchical interaction practised between houses, understanding how kinship is formed will clarify Paiwan social organisation. In previous Paiwan research, Wei (1960) points out that Paiwan social organisation can be examined through two aspects: the residential kinship group and the corporate cognatic group. The former is connected within a common house name as a descent group, and the latter is based on in-law relationships in terms of affiliation (*ibid.*). To understand the two forms, we must examine the inheritance system, which is associated with the house and marriage.

The Paiwan post-marital residence patterns include neolocal, patrilocal, matrilocal and bilocal residences, depending on who the firstborn is (Wei 1960, Chiang 1984, Tan 2007). Because the natal house is only inherited by the firstborn, accessing or preserving wealth is of paramount concern when choosing a spouse (Wei 1960). The Paiwan conduct the marriage of *kitarev*, *batsacige* and *kituaya* (Figure 3) to ensure not only the continuation of a house but also to reproduce and structure society (Chiang and Lee 1995, Chiu 2001). In this sense, the relationships between the origin and branches constructed by marriage are considered as a reproduction of a house and the social structure is formed in terms of siblingship. Although the variety in Paiwan marriage has been systematically explored by previous researchers, the association between the house, people and wealth had not been the focus (Cf. Shih 1982, Chiu 2001, Kao 2004). If the foundation of a house is based on wealth, an examination of this association should examine how wealth is circulated between houses and how the circulation of wealth forms the identity of the relatives. I will argue

that the circulation might further lead to a transformation of society, rather than reproducing existing structures, as proposed by Chiang and Lee (1995). Through the documented ethnography in the following sections, I will demonstrate why wealth can be examined as an agent to explore society and how the different forms of marriage achieve the same value of circulating wealth to form Paiwan hierarchy.

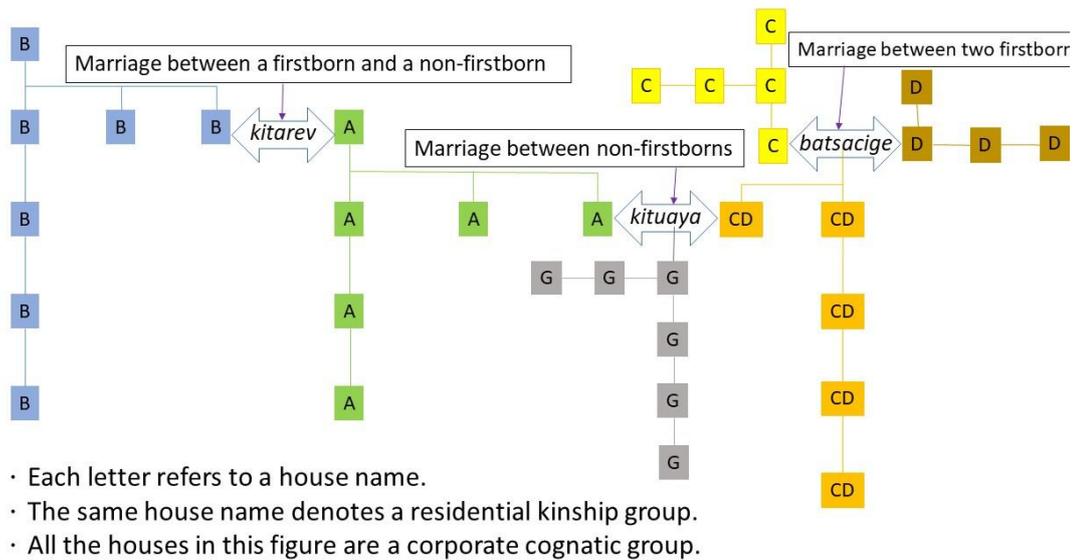


Figure 3. Forms of Paiwan marriage.<sup>4</sup>

The complexity of Paiwan marriage has attracted the interest of researchers, and the variability of the marital principle is evident. For example, if there is a marriage between a firstborn and a non-firstborn, the marriage is called *kitarev* which can be a patrilocal or matrilineal residence (Tan 2007). In this, the non-firstborn will live with their firstborn spouse, regardless of gender, to have offspring to inherit the house (Chiu 2001). Nonetheless, it is acceptable that the firstborn can transfer the right of inheritance to their siblings if they choose to be married-in to another house (Wei 1960). By doing this, the married-out firstborn's offspring will be entitled by the house

<sup>4</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

to access a certain position (Tan 2007). The intention of getting married-in to another house, as Wei (1960) suggests, is to gain resources for one's descendants to manipulate their social position through wealth and fame.<sup>5</sup> Because of the importance of accumulating and preserving wealth, if both of the newlyweds are firstborns, they will have a marriage of *batsacige* which means moving between both sides (Chiu 2001). In this kind of marriage, the elders from the newlyweds' households tend to let two children respectively inherit the two houses to maintain the house in an occupied condition (ibid.).

Conversely, if the marriage is between two non-firstborns, they will establish a new house in the marriage of *kituaya* (Tan 2007). In this marriage, a new residential kinship group will be formed by building a new house. The natal houses of the couple who conduct the *kituaya* will form a corporate cognatic group, and the newly built house will enjoy a succeeding position associated with both the natal houses of the newlyweds (Wei 1960). Nonetheless, it is possible for the branched house to have a different rank from their house of origin. I noticed that, through people's agency, descendants might access distinct wealth by marrying people from other ranks.

The position held and given by the natal house has been highlighted, and previous researchers have also noted the intention behind accumulating wealth. However, how wealth establishes social position and how the houses are associated with each other through wealth has not been fully explained. By paying closer attention to wealth, this thesis intends to reveal how it forms Paiwan social organisation. I will further argue that, because of the idea of circulating wealth, regardless of the form of marriage, the Paiwan have bilateral descent. Exploring the circulation of wealth will further reveal

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<sup>5</sup> The term fame, used by Wei, refers to a specific rank, which will be used later to explain fame from the Paiwan point of view.

the Paiwan understanding of multiple origins.

Examining the circulation of wealth gives insight into how the house establishes its social position, which will in turn reveal how the hierarchical relationship is formed. For example, because wealth held by a house is controlled by the firstborn, the marriage between non-firstborns needs to be supported by both natal houses, such as by providing building land and materials (shale and wood) (Wei 1960). In this case, both firstborns of the natal houses have an equal responsibility to assist their brother and sister to have their own house.

When the new house is constructed, both of the natal houses will process a ceremony called *patuaya* which means giving wealth to the new house (Chiu 2001). The *patuaya* will also be practised in the marriage of *kitarev* (a non-firstborn gets married into a firstborn's house) and that is particularly important in highlighting how the understanding of kinship is associated with the circulation of wealth. As Hsu and Ko (1994) have pointed out, in the marriage of *kitarve* (see Figure 3), wealth provided by the non-firstborn's natal house will endow the firstborn's house with certain positions. Nonetheless, how and why the provided wealth affects the position of other houses remains to be explained. I argue in Chapter 6 that wealth provided by the non-firstborn's natal house enables the house of their brother- or sister-in-law to transform the position of their house, derived from the received wealth, while the position of the giver (i.e. the heir of the natal house) will also be transformed.

In addition to the marital relationship suggested by Wei (1960), it seems that the corporate cognatic group is, to some extent, bound by the circulation of wealth. Furthermore, although Hsu and Ko (1994) noted the possibility of reciprocation between receiver and giver through performing the *patuaya*, how the reciprocation is practised and how the influence is caused remain to be examined. In later chapters, I

will show how wealth affects the position of a house and how relationships between houses are formed through wealth.

***Wealth: Sauzaiyan***

In Paiwan society, everything related to a house for inheritance purposes is considered wealth, such as food, people, houses and livestock. (Hsu and Ko 1994). Owning certain wealth symbolises specific power in the hierarchical system (Tan 2007, Chiang and Lee 1995, Hsu and Ko 1994). However, instead of treating wealth as a symbol, this thesis considers wealth as a resource of power for individuals to access hierarchical positions. To explore further the interrelationship between wealth and hierarchy, Gell's (1998) argument about how agency can be abducted through index offers an insightful perspective. Gell suggests that the art-like object as an index enables the social agent's agency to be abducted (ibid.). By adopting this argument, Paiwan wealth is examined as an index of specific social interaction for people to abduct the interaction mediated by wealth to perceive hierarchical relationships. For example, the main pillar (*tsukes*) is the most important element of the house's construction (Tan 2007). A large shale pillar is difficult to access and, of course, hard to transport, meaning that only a wealthy household (i.e. a large population) can collect larger building materials (Chiang and Lee 1995). In this sense, the big shale pillar as an index is a means by which people's cooperation can be abducted in terms of indexing their association with others. In this sense, living in that big house built by the pillar highlights the association with the people who carried shale in the past. The owner of the house will be recognised as wealthy based on what has already been accessed, and the pillar embodies the agency that will be the index for the resident to argue what they can access now. Because of the nature of Paiwan artwork, as I learned during fieldwork, this thesis will afford greater attention to how the art-like wealth

indexes the agency of people.

Although Gell (1998) has explicitly highlighted his argument about index, which focuses primarily on visible objects, in Paiwan society, agency can also be indexed by immaterial wealth. For example, as Ku (2010) points out the discourse of asking one's name is 'Who is your name?' (*dima su adan*). This denotes the idea that a name bears one's characteristics, which are inherited by the succeeding name holder (Ibid.). If we imagine that being given a name is like being tagged with a label by its former owner, the label, which not only indexes the circulation of the name but also indexes the former owner's past interaction with others, will empower the current name holder to have the same rights as the previous name-holder inherited. In other words, the right to practise specific social interactions is passed to the current holder to establish social positions. The name, on the other hand, enables others to abduct the passing of the name and the inherited right. The abduction thus means people can clarify how they should interact with people who hold a specific name. That is, people are incumbents of names and inhabit a position in a constellation of names (Geertz 1972 [1966]). The examination of the wealth, including material and immaterial wealth, can be conducted by employing Gell's (1998) theory to reveal how the Paiwan establish hierarchical relationships through wealth.

In this thesis, wealth is explored as an index of specific social interaction which has logically taken place in the past. Therefore, examining Paiwan myths can provide a clue to tracing the interaction, and myths are also considered a form of wealth. Hu (2001) has differentiated Paiwan myth into two forms: *milinmilingan* (imaginary legend) and *tjautsiker* (true legend). As she notes, people can distinguish the forms of the myth according to their authenticity (Hu 2001). However, I learned from Timur villagers that both the *milinmilingan* and the *tjautsiker* are believed to be true and the

difference depends on a sense of time, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3. Therefore, both the *milinmilingan* and the *tjautsiker* are narrated by Timur villagers to identify the relationship between people to determine further the proper way to interact.

Kao's (2004) research examines how Paiwan social positions are competed for in marriage by narrating myths which refer to a specific ancestor. By doing this, Kao argues that one's position can be examined through the idea of *nasi* which is identified from the perspective of precedence to allow one to enjoy certain rights (ibid.). The idea of *nasi* is particularly important for the Paiwan. From daily conversation I realised that having *nasi* means living as a human (*caucau*) in terms of enjoying a hierarchical position in society. To understand Paiwan hierarchy therefore, an exploration of *nasi* is needed, and it can be processed through how the Paiwan associate wealth. Although Kao notes the relation between *nasi* and the right to have specific wealth, the wealth is still treated as a symbol to highlight positions. Indeed, by having specific *nasi*, the Paiwan can claim their right to associate with certain wealth, which can be applied to a house or the body to show position. However, I will illustrate that it is wealth which affects how one's *nasi* is established, because by considering wealth as a social agent, Paiwan wealth also has its own *nasi* by associating with other wealth to empower individuals. This occurs not only from a theoretical perspective (Cf. Gell 1998), but also from the Paiwan viewpoint. The agency indexed by the wealth must be reconsidered to explore how Paiwan hierarchical relationships are formed by wealth.

### ***Paiwan hierarchy***

The interrelationship between wealth and hierarchy is mainly practised in marriage. People can receive wealth from their natal house and obtain wealth from their spouse's household to establish social positions. Chiu (2001) produced a

comprehensive investigation of how Paiwan hierarchical relationships are embodied through the circulation of materials in marriage. By looking into the idiom of the house and that of materials, Chiu has discussed hierarchy from a kinship perspective and explored how kinship is reflected in the circulation of materials. Chiu (2001) adopts Mabuchi Tōichi's classification of Paiwan materials and highlights the understanding of foreign goods, daily necessities and mythical objects to discuss how the social relationship is highlighted by the circulation of betrothal gifts. She further argues that Paiwan hierarchy is practised in the principle of encompassing and encompassed relationships, as suggested by Dumont. In this sense, Chiu (2001) suggests that the position of the firstborn encompasses others from a genealogical perspective to enjoy the right to ask for specific wealth (in terms of the range of betrothal gifts) in marriage. Conversely, for the non-firstborn, depending on the birth order, the form and the number of gifts, which are encompassed by wealth received by the firstborn, will be decreased progressively. Chiu (2001) concludes that Paiwan social organisation can be examined through Dumont's theory of hierarchy in light of the firstborn encompassing others to form their genealogy.

Dumont's theory of hierarchy is also employed in Tan's study of the Paiwan ancestral house. As Tan (2004) suggests, the Paiwan hierarchical system can be differentiated into genealogical hierarchy and sacrificial hierarchy. The former is based on the relationship between firstborn and later-born that is initiated from a household and expanded into a family (*ibid.*). As he suggests, the genealogical hierarchy is based on the relationship between encompassing and encompassed and it is embodied by circulating millet between siblings (Tan 2004; 2007). On the other hand, the sacrificial hierarchy is formed by claiming a relationship with divinities. Tan (2004) suggests that, by owning sacred objects, such as an ancestral house and sacrificial material, the

firstborn is considered as a mediator to collect sacrificial offerings to worship the ancestors. He adds, because the firstborn's sacred position derived from their connection with the ancestors, they encompass others from the understanding of genealogy to establish hierarchical relationships (ibid.). Both Tan and Chiu focus on how siblingship develops into a hierarchical relationship in a village. This argument was earlier proposed by Matsuzawa (1979) who pointed out that a family can be a miniature of a village due to siblingship between houses. Indeed, the Paiwan conceive of a village as a house and, in most cases, there will be a traceable genealogical relationship between villagers. However, even if the birth order from the perspective of genealogy is clear, the conflict of positions between people frequently occurs in Paiwan society. I was told, in marriage competition for position is the highlight of the event and, instead of occurring within genealogical groups, it occurs between them. It seems that the Dumontian view of encompassing and encompassed utilised by Tan and Chiu cannot be fully applied to examine Paiwan hierarchy from the genealogical perspective because other reasons might generate controversy of position recognition. I will argue that the relationship between encompassing and encompassed needs to be understood from the circulation of wealth to explore how Paiwan hierarchy is formed, and other values for achieving the encompassing or encompassed position should be included within this.

Before suggesting an alternative method to understand Paiwan hierarchy, we must discuss the limitations of fully applying Dumontian hierarchy to Paiwan genealogy. I agree with Tan (2004) that the Paiwan hierarchical system has genealogical and sacrificial properties, but these might be two sides of the same coin. Chiang (1984) has pointed out that the privileges of the firstborn (i.e. from the genealogical perspective) are based on their sacrificial power to establish a relationship with the ancestor. In this

sense, being born first is believed to be associated with the ancestor through sacrifice to encompass others. Similarly, by adopting the idea of encompassing and encompassed, the circulation of material objects in Chiu's (2001) research embodies a single genealogical relationship, but when people are derived from distinct ancestors, the examination based on blood might create a gap in understanding the relationship between different genealogies.

I do not deny the value of Dumontian hierarchy. Conversely, it is important to note that the encompassing and encompassed theory can still be applied to an understanding of Paiwan hierarchy if we consider wealth as the foundation of genealogy. In this sense, having the position of firstborn and holding ritual power are all derived from Paiwan wealth which not only enables the owner to access a closer relationship with divinity but also indexes its circulation to form hierarchical relationships. That is, instead of applying the Dumontian theory to blood relationships, it is essential to explore how the understanding of genealogy is formed through the circulation of wealth, which is a question associated with how the firstborn is recognised.

The controversy and competition for social positions between families draw attention to the defining position based on multiple values, which are generated by the idea of precedence, as suggested by Fox (1994, 1995, 2009). Fox (1994) highlights the notion of precedence as a form of hierarchy driven by the ability to access the past in terms of identifying the origin. The genealogical nature of Paiwan hierarchy can to some extent be examined through Fox's argument because the one who holds the position of origin will obtain their precedence by highlighting their ability to give life. For the Paiwan, the idea of life is expressed by the term *nasi* which gives preceding significance to the firstborn, who is recognised as the origin (Kao 2004). The firstborn

is thus considered as the source for others to have hierarchical positions. However, it is important to note that the position of origin can be defined differently and the idea of *nasi* is not necessarily based on birth. As aforementioned, if the understanding of having life (*nasi*) as a human is based on the understanding of enjoying hierarchical wealth, I will argue that the origin and the idea of *nasi* must be examined through wealth.

Chiang (1993) notes the association between hierarchical positions and wealth suggests it is possible people who hold succeeding positions to practise preceding privileges by owning certain wealth (Chiang 1993). For example, the interaction between people based on the ownership of land can be differentiated into patron/client and landlord/tenant relationships (*ibid.*). The former is usually built up by genealogical connections and the latter mainly through land ownership and harvest rights (Shih 1973, Chiang 1993). Therefore, even individuals who enjoy the preceding position derived from birth might have a different identity in the hierarchical system depending on what wealth they access. That is, one's social position might not only be derived genealogically but also, more importantly, established through the interaction generated by wealth. I will argue that, in addition to the genealogical relationship, Paiwan social positions can be acquired through other means. The framework of the argument will be illustrated in Chapter 2 through the theories of hierarchy and precedence.

### ***Social changes***

Paiwan hierarchical positions and understanding of precedence have been influenced by colonial rule, economic transformation and religious conversion. Social change generates more conditions to argue one's social position and highlights multiple values of understanding the Paiwan hierarchy. Paiwan hierarchical positions

can be categorised into three ranks, *mazazagjilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*, which are held by the house (Tan 2007). The house is a subject around which to practise hierarchical interaction, and the rank of individuals is given by the house (Chiang and Lee 1995). Within the same rank, the idea of precedence expressed by the language of birth order which differentiates people into two statuses: *vusam* (firstborn) and *tjaljaljaljak* (later-born). Both rank and status can be increased, maintained and decreased through certain means (Wei 1960). In terms of rank, the *mazazagjilan* are recognised as the descendants of the sun (the Paiwan creator) from a sacrificial hierarchy perspective and understood genealogically as the firstborn of the group (Chiang 1993). Through offerings provided by people for ritual purposes, the *mazazagjilan* is the bridge with the divinities (Lin 1995). As the assistant of *mazazagjilan*, the position of *pualu* is acquired through personal talents performed by and inherited from the ancestors (Chiang 1993). The *kadidan* is generally considered as a subsidiary who rents farmland from the *mazazagjilan* (Tan 2007). In addition to offering crops and game at harvest festivals for ritual purposes, the *kadidan* will provide regular labour to the *mazazagjilan*, such as house repairs and clearing farmland (Shih 1973). However, as I learned in the field, the importance of *kadidan* is downplayed in research of Paiwan hierarchy (Cf. Wei 1960, Lin 1995, Tan 2007, Tung 2017). It is important to note that the myth narrates the *kadidan* as the first existing human in the Paiwan cosmos, and they are the fosterer of the *mazazagjilan*, who has to pay respect to the *kadidan* (Chiang 1993). Moreover, the *kadidan* has the right to deny their *mazazagjilan* by leaving the village and, in such cases, a *mazazagjilan* without people is no longer a *mazazagjilan* (RTKC 2003[1915-1921]). Under these circumstances, the power of *kadidan* should be reconsidered to understand how rank differences are formed and

how hierarchy is practised. Moreover, the process of how precedence is achieved needs clarification.

Recognising the *mazazagjilan* as an influential leader started during the Japanese colonial period. At the beginning of the colonial period, the ritual power of *mazazagjilan* was weakened by Japanese police officers who took control of society and forbade the Paiwan from exercising hierarchical interactions, such as collecting offerings, applying symbols and conducting ceremonies (Tung 2001:148-160). However, the colonists enhanced the political power of the *mazazagjilan* by creating the position of the *tou-mu* (chief) for decreeing governmental policy (Matsuoka 2018, Tung 2001). The understanding of *mazazagjilan* was reformed, in terms of being empowered by foreign authority. As Japanese scholar Matsuoka (2018) points out, in 1933, some of the *mazazagjilan* were given a chiefly medal as an acknowledgement of leadership by the colonists, due to their obedience. Although the authorisation was protocolled and witnessed by villagers, the chiefly position was sometimes reallocated to a non-firstborn of *mazazagjilan*, who was considered more dutiful than the firstborn, and some female firstborns were denied by the colonists to be recognised as a chief (Matsuoka 2018). The reallocation of power causes the contemporary confliction of social positions in society because the appointed chiefs nowadays are also recognised as *mazazagjilan* (Tung 2001). Being a chief might be more powerful than being the *mazazagjilan* and, to some extent, the position of the appointed chief might surpass the *mazazagjilan* by utilising the resource given by the government to access their sacredness. That is, the sacrificial and the acquired positions might not be oppositional, and both can be manipulated. In Chapter 3 I will illustrate that, although the Paiwan hierarchy has been affected by foreign authorities, people still follow

specific rules to achieve traditional values to be recognised as having and to access specific social positions.

As established, the sacrificial position of the firstborn is derived from their relationship with ancestors who were buried inside the house, but their understanding of sacredness was changed by religious conversion. In addition to the creation of the chiefly position, the Japanese government prohibited the Paiwan from burying their dead inside the house to improve environmental hygiene (Tung 2001). Moreover, the Japanese colonists had introduced the policy of Japanisation to all the Taiwanese inhabitants, including Han Taiwanese people (ibid.). Japanisation focused on habits and customs, including language, religion, punctuality and education. Although the conversion into Japanese Shinto was considered to be the main reason why the Paiwan lost their traditional belief system (Tung 2001, 2008), I have argued elsewhere that the prohibition of indoor funerals was key to changing their cosmology because the traditional Paiwan funeral constructs their understanding of death (Hsiao 2013).

To understand Paiwan beliefs, we must deconstruct the idea of *cemas*. Paiwan people call every supernatural being *cemas*, including the ancestors, sprites and the creator (Wu 1965, Tan 2007, Hsu and Ko 2004). It is important to note that although Paiwan people believe there are various divinities, they also acknowledge the existence of a paramount divinity named *Tjagaraus*, the creator (*naqemati*) (Hsiao 2013). To communicate with the *cemas*, the *bulingau* (female psychic) must do the *palisi*, which is also the word for rules, rites and taboos (Hsu and Ko 2004). The *cemas* will protect people, but mankind must obey the taboos. By practising proper rites and by respecting the taboo, the *cemas* is believed to protect people (Wu 1965). Otherwise, the *cemas* will bring misfortune (Tan 2007). Ultimately, the prohibition of the indoor

funeral subverted Paiwan beliefs and further broke their connection with their position establisher: the ancestor.

After the Japanese colonists left Taiwan in 1945, the indigenous people did not escape domination. The Taiwanese government permitted Christian missionaries to preach to obtain the resources given by Western countries (Tung 2001). As Tung (2001) and Tan (2007) point out, from the religious and functional perspective, the *bulingau* was challenged by Christianity. The *bulingau* in Paiwan society is not only the ceremonial performer but can also cure disease and anxiety (Wu 1965). In Wu's (1965) account, there are various examples where mankind was eventually killed by evil spirits, even if they followed the taboo. When the missionaries introduced western medical knowledge, villagers had alternative choices. Tan (2002; 2003; 2005) has conducted considerable research about interactions between Paiwan people and Christianity. In his study of the Laliba village of Paiwan, Presbyterian missionaries provided social services and medical help, and the Catholic Church contributed various other necessities for villagers (Tan 2005). For the Paiwan, Christianity was not only a religion but also an institution that assisted their living by providing practical aid. Similarly, in Timur village, goods such as milk powder, clothing and salt attracted people to churches (Hsiao 2013). The advantages of being a Christian seemed to be the factor leading villagers to join the churches when preaching began. I will argue that the services provided by the church, including religious and material, to some extent fulfil the expectation of a hierarchical relationship and this enables the church to be considered a Paiwan house.

Because of the association between wealth and hierarchy, an exploration of contemporary Paiwan society should include the change in understanding wealth. For example, foreign authorities introduced alternative wealth: money. In 1914, Japan

established a trading centre at the police station for the Paiwan to sell their goods and crops for money (Matsuoka 2018). It is interesting to note that, when the Paiwan sold their goods, instead of getting notes or copper coins they preferred to have silver coins with which to decorate clothing (ibid.). When they first had monetary currency, the coin was valued by the Paiwan not for its financial worth but for its decorative value, used to highlight personal achievements (e.g. being a good hunter). When the government began paying wages for labour in 1920, and when the Paiwan were asked to pay tax to the Japanese Government for social services in 1939, money started to become another form of wealth to access resources such as education which gave people a chance to become wealthier by earning money (Tung 2017, Matsuoka 2018). The way to access wealth changed due to the introduction of money and this further affects how people acquire wealth to establish social position. Rather than adopting the understanding of how Paiwan rank is formed, as narrated by former researchers, this thesis will illustrate how Paiwan people exercise and manipulate hierarchy in the contemporary world.

Paiwan hierarchy has also been affected by change in the political environment. In addition to the creation of the chiefly position by Japanese colonists, in 1950 the Taiwanese government introduced the election to the Paiwan (Matsuoka 2018). The electoral system added an external political legitimacy to indigenous society, and thus intensified tensions between different groups because becoming an external political officer provided access to economic benefits, as well as symbolic capital pertinent to traditional authority (Ku 2008). The recent cultural revival in the Paiwan community considers elections as destructive to community harmony. As Ku (2008) argues, however, the electoral system did not necessarily diminish the position of *mazazajilan* or discontinue the traditional means of social relationships;

conversely, it became tactical exploitation to rebuild social positions through cultural idioms. For example, the idiom of the house is employed by individuals to expand their influence by highlighting kinship in the election to achieve their goal (ibid.). In this sense, although Japanese colonists appointed the obedient Paiwan people to be chiefs and downplayed the importance of other villagers, to some extent diminishing the power of *mazazagjilan*, the relationship between candidate and voter seems to reproduce the hierarchical relationship. That is, in the myth, a Paiwan leader was born as *mazazagjilan* and supported by people to construct their social hierarchy (Chiang 1993). Nowadays, through resources gained from political activity, the *mazazagjilan* can retrieve their influence, and the villagers can also regain their influence by voting (Ku 2008). As aforementioned, because of the association between past and present, the societal event will continuously reform Paiwan social interaction. I will demonstrate in later chapters how the Paiwan hierarchical relationship is continuously reformed through the interactions between people, and how the past is indexed by Paiwan art-like wealth to help people perceive the present.

### ***Paiwan art-like wealth***

Paiwan art-like wealth is comprised of carvings, vessels, apparel, glass beads and knives (Jen 1957; 1960, Lee 1993, Hu 2011, Chang 1996[1958], Hsu 1992). To understand Paiwan art, as Tan points out (2007), one must analyse the idea of *vencik*. He argues that drawings, tattoos, embroideries, carvings and even the modern handwriting applied to objects are all called *vencik* (ibid.). *Vencik* is conceived by the Paiwan as handwriting for recording the past, but I will argue that in addition to semiotically expressing the past, the past must be approved through social interaction in order to be applied as a pattern to objects. In other words, although the Paiwan believe *vencik* has semiotic properties, it is social interaction that gives significance to

*vencik*. It is important to note that the *vencik* is not about the object *per se*, but about the patterns applied to it. The objects are considered wealth (*souziayan*) which is circulated to articulate hierarchical position (Hsu and Ko 1994). In this sense, the wealth and the process of interaction initiated through wealth are embodied by the *vencik* applied to objects. This generates the artistic properties to form what I call 'art-like wealth'.

Moreover, because of the importance of the past, the Paiwan employ specific criteria by which to evaluate the art-like wealth, the *sa-milin*. Therefore, examining Paiwan art-like wealth to understand hierarchy can be approached from three dimensions: agency, semiotics and aesthetics. I will argue that, on the one hand, art-like wealth indexes its circulation for people to abduct the agency to re-practise past circulation. On the other hand, the *vencik* illustrates which elements participate in the past interaction to establish the hierarchical position to re-practise this circulation. The abduction of agency can further be confirmed through the distinct qualities of the art-like wealth used to access the past.

Because of the characteristics of the *vencik*, most studies of Paiwan art have highlighted its semiotic features and consider art-like wealth as a representation of social position (Cf. Jen 1960, Hu 2011, Tan 2007). As Jen (1956) points out, there are four significances of *vencik*: hierarchical, to indicate one's higher social position; memorial, to recode some specific events or achievements; ancestral worship, to recognise one's ancestors; and magical or decorative, to strengthen the power of materials. In this sense, the *vencik* might be a representation but it represents specific social agents or social events. I will argue that the object is not just a representation of position but can be the source of position in terms of enabling the owner to re-practise the past as the previous owner.

In Wu's (1993) study of the Paiwan, he suggests the right to have specific interactions is called *timiting*, including conducting the ceremony, singing family chants and circulating specific wealth. I was informed that *timiting* has the meaning of being endowed with rights by divinity and is related to the idea of *luqem*, as pointed out by Tan. Tan (1992) argues that *mazazagjilan* is born with a more powerful *luqem* to have particular leadership characteristics. It is the *luqem* which generates rank differences (Tan 2007). He adds that the *luqem* can be increased by the rite of building up a closer relationship with the ancestor (ibid.). That is, the *luqem* acquires its significance from the ancestor and will empower people through ceremonies. The idea of *luqem* therefore has its association with the circulation of wealth. For example, by circulating art-like wealth in the rites, people can access specific *luqem* to access the *timiting*. Nonetheless, I noticed, instead of the *luqem*, in Timur village people use the term *nasi* to describe the difference between ranks. Like *luqem*, for Timur people the *nasi* is confirmed through circulating wealth in ceremonies and it expresses their understanding of why people can have specific interactions. Because of the association between art-like wealth, *nasi* and the past, the circulation of wealth enables Timur people to establish an imaginary line, as Lévi-Strauss (1982) termed it, to form a social group by tracing the origin of *nasi*. In Chapter 6 I will demonstrate how people obtain *nasi* through the circulation of art-like wealth to access sacredness, and how art-like wealth acquires its *nasi* to be considered sacred.

It should be clarified, for the Paiwan, most art-like wealth is believed to be non-artificial because they trace the circulation of art-like wealth to the mythical era. However, the Paiwan have the term *pulima* for the producer of *vencik*. The *pulima* means many hands and is used to address the artist nowadays (Tan 2007). In the past, the work of *pulima* was mainly contributed to the *mazazagjilan* to highlight their

hierarchical position. However, since Japanese colonists asked the Paiwan to produce tourist art to sell to mainland Japan as souvenirs, the value of Paiwan artwork has increased (Hsu 1988). The sacred objects are valued financially and the Paiwan now sell some of their art-like wealth to antique dealers, collectors and scholars. In the 1970s a Paiwan person called *Sakuliu Pavavalung* successfully found a way to make ceramic vessels and, in the same period, *Umass Zinglu* managed to produce glass beads (Tan 2007). The recreation of sacred wealth to some extent promotes the circulation of art-like wealth and increases hierarchical mobility because the sacred objects can be purchased on the market. The technique of making clay and glass further enables the Paiwan to produce various forms of artwork (Hsu 1992, Tan 2004). The development of tourism and the growth of Taiwanese indigenous art market has introduced different values and aesthetics to society. This thesis considers Paiwan aesthetics and how they relate to hierarchy. Furthermore, I discuss the change in value of Paiwan art-like wealth to touristic souvenirs in order to explain the transformation of the idea of wealth.

### **Summary**

Past research has considered Paiwan hierarchy as based on sacrificial interactions within genealogical relationships. The Paiwan house and its relationships with other houses is understood as an embodiment of genealogy. By holding the body of an ancestor, the house has religious significance for individuals to establish social positions to practise hierarchical interaction. However, this thesis attempts to emphasise the significance of wealth by adopting the idea of house society. Lévi-Strauss (1982) suggested, the house is a corporate body which entitles its residents by holding material and immaterial wealth. The Paiwan ancestor, in this sense, should be examined as a form of wealth because their body is held by the house and their right

to practise specific social interaction is believed to be inherited by those who live in the same house. That is, the ancestor has both the qualities of material and immaterial wealth. This argument is inspired by Gell's (1998) idea to explore how the wealth (art-like objects, ancestors or names) has indexed the agency for people to abduct social relationships through its circulation. Examining the interaction in the vicinity of wealth will give insight into how Paiwan hierarchy is established. Therefore, by exploring the material and immaterial wealth held by a house, this thesis attempts to demonstrate that, in the house society, the position of the house and that of its residents is established by wealth.

## Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

### *The perpetuation of social organisation*

This thesis aims to explore how wealth forms Paiwan hierarchy. As aforementioned, the Paiwan hierarchical relationship has genealogical features, so an understanding of kinship is needed (Cf. Chiang 1984; 1999, Chiang and Lee 1995, Chiu 2001, Hsu and Ko 1994, Kao 2004, Shih 1969, Tan 2004; 2007, Wei 1960). The Paiwan kinship system as recognised by Wei (1960) derived from neither paternal nor maternal descent. Instead, it is based on the regulation of house separation between the firstborn and their siblings to form what he calls the 'ambilateral residential lineage' (Wei 1958). As he notes, Paiwan ambilateral residential lineage gives the firstborn inheritance rights regardless of gender, which serves as an example for the discussion of bilateral and non-unilineal societies in the discipline of anthropology (Wei 1960). Wei (1960) further applies Chinese feudal hierarchy to Paiwan society to elaborate how the ambilateral residential lineage constructs the social hierarchy through land ownership and the rule of inheritance. Since then, scholars have focused on the association between land ownership and the house to explore Paiwan social organisation (Cf. Chiang and Lee 1995, Chiu 2001). However, although Wei's study uses the house to illuminate the 'descent rule' in Paiwan society, the complexity of affiliation and the importance of the branched houses are downplayed. Moreover, the significance of land and how the land is accessed are also neglected. This, is its limitation as an approach to the indigenous context of how a house is formed.

By stressing the indigenous category, Lévi-Strauss provides a theoretical framework to reconsider kinship through a reexamination of Boas's study of *numaym* in Kwakiutl society. The *numaym* is neither strictly patrilineal nor matrilineal but, as Boas (1895) suggests, it should be understood as consisting of a certain number of

positions to each of which belongs to a name, a seat or standing place to express rank and privileges. To neutralise opposition between patrilineal and matrilineal, and by focusing on how elements held by the *numaym* generate social grouping, Lévi-Strauss (1982) makes a comparison between medieval Europe and Kwakiutl society to establish his widely cited definition of the house (i.e. *numaym*):

‘a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down to a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can be expressed in the language of kinship and affinity and, most often, of both.’ (Lévi-Strauss 1982:194)

Lévi-Strauss displaces genealogy by other elements and introduces a system in which the criteria of wealth, power and status play a significant role in constituting social groupings (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). Through this, as Lévi-Strauss (1982) suggests, the puzzle of classification of traditional kinship terms can be resolved as the house is an institutional creation combining oppositional principles, such as patrilineal descent and matrilineal descent, filiation and residence, hypergamy and hypogamy, close marriage and distant marriage and heredity and election. Under these circumstances, the association between land and house explored by Taiwanese anthropologists leads to the idea that the house society can provide an alternative analytical channel through which to examine Paiwan society and to understand how wealth enables social grouping.

Lévi-Strauss’ discussion of the house society has inspired numerous scholars to deal with the ambiguity of social classification from different perspectives, but it has also met considerable criticism. These include the lack of the discussion of everyday interaction, neglecting the house building and treating the house as a new

classificatory type within an evolutionary trajectory (Cf. Macdonald eds. 1987, Carsten and Hugh-Jones ed. 1995, Joyce and Gillespie ed. 2000). However, in the process of developing the argument of the house society, the political-economic aspect of the house has increasingly been abandoned; rather, the symbolic or fetishistic aspects of Lévi-Strauss' definition of the house have been considered as an alternative means of exploring social grouping relations (Gillespie 2000). Examining social organisation through the idea of house society is not testing how a society can fit into the definition given by Lévi-Strauss. Instead, it considers how society is grouped in a specific way. As Waterson (1995:48-49) points out, the definition suggested by Lévi-Strauss stresses 'the ideal of continuity, the passing down of valued wealth (names, land, titles and even supernatural powers) and the strategic exploitation of the language of kinship and affinity'. In this sense, the idea of house society is particularly insightful within the study of the Paiwan because, like their Austronesian-speaking neighbours, their house is given great prominence in providing physical evidence of a specific continuity manipulated by a strategic relationship with their ancestors and others (Cf. Fox 2006c). The house becomes a complex idiom for social groupings, a vehicle for naturalising ranks of power within society (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). In an exploration of Paiwan hierarchy, it is thus crucial to examine how a Paiwan house is formed, how the hierarchical relationships associate with the house and how the wealth held by a house ensures its continuity.

Because it processes social grouping, the house can be seen as an agent of socialisation in terms of establishing specific social relations through its material and immaterial wealth. By adopting Marcel Mauss's (2002[1950]:18-19) definition of a moral person, Lévi-Strauss (1982) considers the house as a corporate body. He gives agency to the house and considers it as an entity with a moral and legal personality in

the light of being a possessor of rights and subject to obligations based on its roles and relationship to other entities (Lévi-Strauss 1982). His argument throughout is that the process of social grouping does not depend on ideal rules or on a static definition but is about strategies elaborated and practised by the moral persons (Lévi-Strauss 1957). In this sense, the houses are recognised to be the actual subjects of rights and duties to undertake a long-term relationship with others (Gillespie 2000). Lévi-Strauss moved beyond the usual assumption that kinship is bound with blood and incorporated the idea of power, status and wealth into the house (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). Therefore, the house, as Howell (1995) characterises it, is a category, a building, ideas and values, and a reflection of indigenous cosmology, objectifying relationships expressed in and through them.

To understand the objectified relationship embodied by the house, study of the house must be processed through examining social interaction. For example, in the study of Yapese society, Schneider (1984) points out that the Yapese must perform particular kinds of service for those in authority over the estate to which they have relative claims, to earn their place in the estate. So, although the house can be seen as a moral person with agency in terms of grouping people and Lévi-Strauss (1957) plays down the importance of individuals composing the house, the group is indeed completed and constituted by individuals' and their social interaction. In this sense, if we refer back to Mauss' (2002[1950]) discussion of the total prestations to reconceive the agency of the house, it is the circulation of gift by people creating the quality of the morality of the house. As Mauss suggests, things given are part of the giver's spiritual essence and the exchanged relations, as moral relations, detach a part of the giver to their counterpart (ibid.). From this point of view, because the house and the person are believed to have their agency in the society, both of them enable morality

to be formed in terms of entitling each other by their wealth, power and body. A fitting example is Lio society, where the power of priest-leaders is derived from the position of the house and, at the end of the priest-leader's life, their body will literally merge into the building to enhance the position of the house (Howell 1995). The 'interaction' between person and house is a transmission of agency. The house and the person to some extent are subject to each other to establish a specific position in the organisation.

To understand how morality is constructed through the circulation of wealth, the dynamic of social grouping is highlighted. In terms of being a moral person from both the house and human perspective, it is important to preserve wealth to perpetuate estates over generations, to 'make strategic marriage alliances and to substitute affinity for descent and descent for affinity' (Gillespie 2000:33). That is, it is a process of becoming a moral person. Despite Lévi-Strauss' (1987) stated interest in the process, as Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) point out, the material he used to establish his idea leads his description of the house to be considered static and thus limited in its utility. However, the instances he provided imply that the wealth and power of a house needs to be rooted in history. These essential elements are associated with the understanding of time depth to create their significance. The notion of time highlights that the house is a dynamic institution and house societies are permutating rather than fixed in the number and ranking of their constituent houses. As he emphasises, houses and people are the agents of historical change, especially in reference to inter-house relations (Lévi-Strauss 1987). Therefore, to understand a house society, it is essential to explore the process of becoming a moral person and the time depth of this process.

Tracing history is quite common in Austronesian societies that display a strong

emphasis on origins. The maintenance of continuity with the past is essential for social identity and social differentiation and, more importantly, continuity might not be the same concept as descent (Fox 1980). The past gives legitimacy to the house to enjoy a specific position in the society and the past is narrated and established by individuals and their association with the house. For example, although Yurok and Kwakiutl houses hold position in the society by distinct names, decorations or locations, it is people who exercise their agency to practise specific strategies to ensure the continuation of the house and to some extent create a link to the ancestors (Howell 1984, Fox 2006c, Gillespie 2000). In other words, the ties of the past are perceived by people through their practical action from the perspective of strategies rather than rules (Bourdieu 1990 [1970], Waterson 1995).

As for the people who maintain the house, they do to some extent autonomously hold physical objects or social place as membership within a house to identify themselves and establish a framework for interaction with others (Forth 1991). Gillespie has noted that the house orients 'social identities and interactions as a consequence of the daily actions performed within and around them' (2000:46). Therefore, to understand the house, the house *per se* and its residents must be examined equally (ibid.). Namely, the association between people and the building makes the idea of house that generates certain interactions to construct social groupings. For instance, the Belau chiefly titleholders in the high-ranking house must maintain political relations among villages through current and future actions to secure their title (Parmentier 1987). That is, the time depth of examining the process of becoming a moral person might not necessarily be based on past to present but can rather be conceived as from present to future. It seems to be possible to reveal the dynamic of a house in a relatively short-term period by observing how people

manipulate their house in everyday interactions.

The concept of house society was established to solve the ambiguity of kinship classification. However, in Levi-Strauss's discussion, social relationships are still mainly explained by employing the terms of kinship because, as he claims, for peoples without writing, kinship is 'the only language available' to express themselves (Levi-Strauss 1987). Nonetheless, Carsten and Hugh-Jones argue that 'if the language of the house is "about" kinship, it is no less "about" economy and just as much about joint subsistence, production and consumption as it is about the property' (1995:19). Although from a kinship perspective Wei (1960) characterises Paiwan society and hierarchy through the separation of siblings, it is important to note that wealth held within a house and circulated between houses might be a crucial factor for the Paiwan to establish their understanding of kinship. The idiom of siblingship to some extent expresses and maintains the identity of the group but the relationship is not necessarily based on blood; instead, it is established by the understanding of a common house estate (Headley 1987, Joyce 2000). It is possible that, in terms of inter-house relations, membership of a group is determined by the process of wealth circulation, through which the forces of separation and encompassment are negotiated (McKinnon 1995). In other words, wealth mediates the separation and unites the opposition. In comparison with the understanding of siblingship, the identities of giver and receiver can be highlighted to clarify their relationship.

In such societies, having a social/moral position is partly based on the circulation of wealth. It is wealth which enables the idea of a moral person to be formed. As McKinnon (1991) argues, affinal relations can be established through the circulation of wealth. That is, by sharing wealth with each other as a moral interaction, individuals can identify their relationship with others as siblingship (Headley 1987). In this sense,

as Lévi-Strauss (1987) has suggested, the way of fulfilling the house can form a greater enterprise in the society. The enterprise is formed by the circulated wealth which to some extent transcends the opposition between descent and alliance (ibid.). The house therefore, can define and socially reproduce itself by its joint wealth, as a form of materialising its existence as a group and serving to configure its status (Gillespie 2000). Namely, the shape of houses is created through the circulation of wealth (Wagner 1967, 1977; Strathern 1988). The house thus stands as a model of social formation, distinguished by its wealth to process strategies for conservation and transmission within a house or between houses (Joyce 2000). Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to argue that in such a society wealth provides a channel to explore social organisation.

In addition to grouping people, wealth enables the house to continuously act like a moral person. As Gillespie (2000) notes, the idea of house society assumes a processual rather than classificatory approach to kinship, focusing on the practices and understandings by which relationships are constructed in everyday social life. Therefore, instead of considering the house as a stage in cultural evolution, it is more productive to investigate how the house plays a significant role in socio-political transformations (Waterson 1995). In this sense, the association between house and wealth argued by Lévi-Strauss is vital to understanding how the house participates in social interactions. The circulation of wealth between houses can be understood in terms of being life-promoting, as suggested by Howell (1989). The circulation is a process of transformation and different societal aspects, as she highlights, 'find simultaneous expression so that the individual or group is set within a whole' (Howell 1989.:422). The circulation will further recreate the present and the future by following the shared value in the specific group (ibid.).

Therefore, diachronic investigations of houses, including its myth, the current action of circulation and the claiming of position after the circulation, emphasises long-term strategies for acquiring, keeping or replacing resources that constitute hierarchy and result in historical change (Gillespie 2000). Inter-house relations and personal positions are renewed by negotiating the circulation of wealth that expresses the condensed value of the movement of other persons and their blood (McKinnon 1995). A continued extension of a social relationship from a source will create a generalisation or an objectification of the relation between the source and branched elements which, using Howell's (1989) term, is 'creating ancestors. That is, the means of extending social relationships are diverse, and identification of source can be redefined in multiple ways. It is crucial to explore the strategy and the reason for the identification of source established through the circulation of wealth. In this sense, Howell's argument of creating ancestors further leads to a discussion of inter-house relations based on the circulation of wealth. I will argue that in Paiwan society the circulation of wealth gives a dynamic nature to the identification of origin to reform both the positions of the origin and its branches. It accomplishes this by fusing the past to the present in order to manipulate the future. The process of creating ancestors therefore elongates the time depth in the study of house society to the unknown future, in order to make sense of the past and present.

Considering the house as a moral person is based on this analytical framework, and inspired by the Paiwan themselves. In this society, the house has its name and is decorated to illustrate its social position derived from its wealth, which further forms its relationship with other social agents. The study of house society based on the idea of the moral person and the significance of wealth highlighted by Lévi-Strauss are developed further by subsequent scholars. The social life related to the house is

demonstrated in ethnographies of hierarchical and egalitarian societies (Gibson 1986, Errington 1989). Researchers also show that the house is important in terms of both unilineal and bilateral descent (Waterson 1990, Fox 1987). The idea of house society provides an alternative method of examining social organisation, but does the house truly play the dominant role in the society? Reconsidering what forms a house through the argument of house society might suggest that, in order to act like a moral person, the house needs to hold wealth to exercise social interaction with others. By holding wealth, a building might therefore qualify as a house. Through the exploration of Paiwan society, this thesis attempts to emphasise the power of wealth in the process of social grouping.

### ***Artistic qualities of Paiwan wealth***

As a house society, by holding wealth, the Paiwan house is believed to have its own position and will empower its residents to a specific rank to practise hierarchical interaction. In this sense, wealth such as names, unique decorations and heirlooms enable a house to be distinguished and further establish certain relations with other houses through circulating its wealth to form the quality of a moral person (Levi-Strauss 1982). In this sense, if a house is a corporate body, wealth plays a salient role in social grouping. Because of the circulation of wealth, the social position of a house is not static and intrinsic but will change along with its accession with specific wealth and further affect how residents participate in social interaction. Thus, the study of the Paiwan, can wealth also have its morality, as in Levi-Strauss's view, to conduct social grouping through its own power? This thesis will explore how wealth processes social interaction and shapes Paiwan social organisation.

To consider Paiwan wealth as a moral person, Gell's ambition to establish an

'authentic' theory for anthropology of art provides an insightful argument to begin with. As Gell (1998) points out, anthropologists are constantly focusing on the notion of 'person' within a series of explorations between persons and things which 'somehow appear as, or do duty as, persons' (1998:9). Gell, as well as Levi-Strauss (1982) and his theory of house society, was inspired by Marcel Mauss's (2002[1950]) study of gifts to treat art as an extension of persons or, more radically, a person, by highlighting the gift's own agency. In Gell's discussion, art objects are considered as agents which/who 'intend to change the world, rather than merely encode symbolic propositions about it' (1998:6). Herbert Cole (1969) has already argued for 'art as a verb' through the study of Igbo society and Robert Layton (1991) has also recognised visual art as a cultural activity and addressed art objects as agents of an ideology, impacting upon the form of social relations. But it is Gell who provides a relatively integrated framework to examine the agency of art objects by highlighting that 'the anthropology of art is an exploration of social relations in the vicinity of objects mediating social agency' (1998:7). Therefore, to understand how the Paiwan establish and practise hierarchy through the wealth held by a house and how wealth constructs the idea of the house to entitle people, we must turn to the theory of the anthropology of art to approach this indigenous context.

Early studies of Paiwan art, as well as former research on material culture from an anthropological perspective, explored how the object maintains social structure or what meaning it encodes (Cf. Jen 1967; 1960, Chang 1996[1958]). These 'primitive' objects in a small-scale society, examined by anthropologists, were not identified as art because the idea of art was believed only to exist in 'modern' or 'Western' society, unlike kinship, religion and economy (Morphy and Perkins 2006). Thus, the artistic qualities of the objects were often ignored (Coote and Shelton 1994). Until 1960s,

anthropologists' interest in art was shifting to see objects as an active integral part of the process of reproducing social relations in terms of exploring not only the meaning of an object, but also how the meaning affects the form of the object (Morphy and Perkins 2006). Therefore, as Morphy suggests, 'the anthropology of art must focus on the explanation of form which provides a point of entry into an understanding of other aspects of objects, and of cultural processes' (1994a:662). Focusing on the objects makes it possible to argue for what creates the link between meanings and the way people use objects (Appadurai 1986). The development of the anthropology of art encourages researchers to pay more attention to the appearance of objects.

The anthropology of art, Gell argues, should provide 'the way of seeing of a cultural system' (1998:2). As he stresses, the usefulness of the theory cannot be limited in the examination of small-scale society, but should be applied to artworks produced in most societies (*ibid.*). In this sense, from an anthropological perspective Paiwan wealth circulated in rites should have the same quality as fine art exhibited in galleries. It might be reasonable to argue that, as well as holding a ceramic vessel in Paiwan society, owning a Leonardo da Vinci painting from the collector's viewpoint might be, and actually often is, an accumulation of wealth and that forms the owner's extraordinary social position.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the quality of art revealed through the argument of the anthropology of art should be found in various entities. When the anthropology of art focuses on the social context of art production, circulation, reception and evaluation, the examination can lead to the way people perceive the world and make sense of their society (Morphy 1994a; 1994c, 1995; Gell 1998; Fortis

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<sup>6</sup> In this sense, I strongly doubt the argument of the functionless quality of fine art because some of the collectors and art dealers only know the name of the artist and how much their work is worth financially. They are akin to the stock dealer in Karen Ho's (2009) ethnography of Wall Street.

2013). In this sense, a study of Paiwan wealth through the anthropology of art perspective can provide insight into hierarchy, the nature of the house and the religious significance within not only a Paiwan village but also Taiwanese society more widely.

Before applying the concept of the anthropology of art to the examination of Paiwan wealth, a question must be posed: do Paiwan people consider their wealth as works of art? The answer is complex. Gell (1998:5) argues, 'there is no "art world" to speak of in many of the societies which anthropologists concern themselves with, yet these societies produce works some of which are recognised as "art" by our art world'. Here the discussion of Paiwan wealth is mainly focused on ceramic vessels, glass beads, apparel and knives which might be recognised as art by people within and outside the society due to distinctive forms. Immaterial Paiwan wealth such as names, people and myths are rarely identified as works of art. However, as Gell suggests, an art object, which he calls an index, is an entity indexing agency of an agent and from which patients can make 'a causal inference' of some kind, or 'an inference about the intentions or capabilities' of the agent (1998:13). In his discussion, by adopting Charles Sanders Peirce's definition of signs, Gell (1998) develops the argument of the agent/patient relationship between artist, index, prototype and recipient to form his idea of the art nexus. In the art nexus, the status of artist, index, prototype and recipient can be either agent or patient, depending on how these subjects are affected by or affect others. Within the agent/patient relationship, the index, as Gell (1998) notes, is essential because it is the index that enables the agency to be abducted and mediate the interaction between agent and patient. The social relationship can thus be elucidated by examining the index.

In order to reveal their hierarchical interaction, Paiwan wealth must be examined

through the idea proposed by Gell (1998) because, as he suggests, the enterprise of the anthropology of art is an exploration of social interaction through the object in the external, physical and social world. Gell rejects employing aesthetic judgement, which he recognises as a mental act. To process the study of art, 'the minimal definition of the (visual) art situation, therefore, involves the presence of some index from which abductions (belonging to many different species) may be made' (Gell 1998:15). However, the key argument of Gell's theory, the abduction of agency, is still related to the internal reflection in terms of applying the quality of art to the entity. As he proposes, 'the "art-like situations" can be distinguished as those in which the material "index" (the visible, physical thing) permits a particular "cognitive operation"', which he identifies as the intention of the agent (Gell 1998:13). It is arguable that, even if Gell plays down the effectiveness of the aesthetic approach and of the communicational property of art objects by denying the evaluation scheme and linguistic model, the idea of abduction he borrows from Eco (1976) – the 'general rule' as the example of observing the contrail of Mars through a long-term period – leaves space for aesthetic meanings and conventional conversation in the exploration of art.

Layton (2003) suggests Gell was wrong to minimise the importance of cultural convention, which is established through a long-term interaction, in shaping the reception of art objects. However, the idea of abduction and agency is insightful in helping to understand art-like qualities of Paiwan wealth. For example, immaterial Paiwan wealth, such as names and myths, can still be argued theoretically to have the quality of art because, as will be demonstrated later, that specific social interaction can be abducted through a name to affect the name's successor's hierarchical interactions with others. In this sense, both Paiwan material and immaterial wealth can be examined through Gell's idea of index.

Although in Paiwan language there are no specific terms referring to the idea of art introduced by Western aesthetics, they have various entities that can be seen to have the quality of art by anthropologists. In a society, having no word for art might be an indication of an integral connection between different aspects of social life, and therefore the study of art encourages anthropologists to connect experiential dimensions of culture. (Morphy and Perkins 2006). The identifications of art objects proposed by Gell offer a holistic and to some extent ambiguous viewpoint. For example, Gell's argument of the status of art is constantly questioned by scholars like Bowden (2004:324), who complains that Gell's argument of index is irrelevant to the understanding of art in general. Layton (2003) points out that Gell's definition of index can only be applied to the tangible (visual) entity. Nonetheless, as Chua and Elliott (2015:2) suggest, Gell's theory is no longer about 'art', but refers to the understanding of personhood, materiality, cognition and sociality. In this sense, by exploring various aspects of social life mediated by index, the quality of art does not have to be an intrinsic status, but this depends rather on its capability (Bolton 2001). The ambiguity of Gell's argument leads the exploration of the association between Paiwan wealth and social hierarchy in a distinct direction by encouraging a reconsideration of the relationship between people and index.

Although Gell's argument about index is mainly based on objects, Mauss's (2002[1950]) gift argument makes possible the quality of art. In the study of the idea of the gift in Sri Lanka, Simpson (2004) points out that in religious and cultural terms donated sperm and ova have the quality of gifts. It is obviously a part of the donor and also enables lineals and collaterals to be created to maintain social organisation through reproductive technologies (Simpson 2013), since the strategies of biological reproduction are to ensure social reproduction (ibid). In addition to considering

human tissue as a gift, Simpson (1997) suggests further the social interaction and personal, emotional and communicative impacts have the quality of gifts to maintain social relationships. The donation of sperm and ova is not simply biogenetic but, rather like the interaction between divorced couples, has social, cultural and economic significance (Simpson 1997; 2013). Under these circumstances, as discussed in Chapter 1, residents born or married into a house are essential wealth constituting the house. Because of the importance of the continuation of a house and the significance of the acquired wealth, the idea of circulated wealth in Paiwan society can also be applied to the power of fertility which, crucially, is held regardless of gender. The sperm and ova obtained from a spouse, and their children as the result of the acquisition, are therefore indexes of the circulation. The marriage in this sense will affect how a house conducts social interactions with others through the wealth it acquires.

One should note that, in Paiwan society, fertility, blood and especially people can be seen as forms of index mediating social relationship. Taking Gell's (1998) examination of Nepalese *Kumari* as an example, in which a young maiden is an index of divinity considered as a living God for worship, this makes it possible to expand the idea of index to non-objects to explore how the Paiwan conceive mankind to have the quality of art. A Paiwan bride, for example, is recognised and treated as a ceramic vessel which, I will discuss in detail, is not only an index of the interaction between the Paiwan creator (life-giver) and ancestor but also an index of the interaction between ancestors. In the case of *Kumari*, to explain the possibility of applying the quality of index to different entities and how the relation is mediated by index, Gell (1998:67) suggests this model:

“[[[Artist-A] (the goddess Durga) -> Prototype-A] (the *Kumari*) -> Index-A]  
(the young maiden) -> Recipient-P (adherent)”

In Paiwan society the model might form a slightly different relationship in terms of its temporal cycle:

[[[Artist-A] (life-giver: creator/ancestor) -> Prototype-A] (vessel) -> Index-A] (bride) -> Recipient-P (the newlyweds who will be ancestors in future to be considered as the life-giver and become the Artist-A).

This art nexus in Paiwan culture echoes and enhances the argument of how the artwork indexes agency and shows how people abduct the past through the existing index. As Gell concludes, the index is 'diffused in space and time, and [...] carried on through the medium of physical indexes and transactions involving them' (1998:232). I will further elucidate this if we replace the vessel with a name, as immaterial wealth, the model will also make sense of how the past and present are connected. Later chapters will demonstrate that the cycle of interaction is indexed by Paiwan wealth, which is then circulated to form the social relationship.

The temporal cycle of interaction indexed by Paiwan wealth creates a distinct value which shapes Paiwan hierarchical relationships. This value enables the Paiwan to manipulate the future by accessing the past through wealth. The value can be explored through the idea of Paiwan aesthetics. However, introducing aesthetics might go against Gell's argument. The first impression of the word aesthetics is about beauty, as Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (2010[1750]) posits, and such an analytical scheme is understood as the establishment of a criterion of judgement as a mental act. But the idea of aesthetics is to some extent worth including in an examination of Paiwan wealth because people judge the quality of wealth in a specific sense: *sa-milin*. As I learnt from my fieldwork, the Paiwan criteria for judgement are distinct and not employed by Han Taiwanese people who live in the vicinity of Paiwan, even if

nowadays they share the same language and almost-identical lifestyles.<sup>7</sup>

In the debate of cross-cultural aesthetics, Gow (1994) convincingly highlights the central concerns of anthropology as comparison and contrast, but not judgement. He agrees with Morphy's analysis of the specific visual effect in Yolngu painting, but Gow (1994) cannot accept that such an effect of art can also be identified in the work of the British artist Bridget Riley in cross-cultural terms. By the same token, arguing the context-specific agency of the interaction leads Gell (1998) to doubt that warriors will 'appreciate' their enemy's shield in the battlefield as a connoisseur viewing a painting in the gallery. Although Morphy (1994) acknowledges that he does not want to exclude the possibility of certain universal features of human aesthetics, he has further pointed out that 'aesthetics is a rubric term with no simple, universally acceptable definition' (Morphy 1995:181). The understanding of aesthetics, as Morphy (1994) highlights, is about how people's sensory capacities construe and give form to stimuli, in which the criteria of 'good' and 'not good' do not exist independently of culture. Layton (1991) also points out that the criterion are specific aspects of that culture to establish a context-dependent recognisability, to trigger the communication carried out by the intrinsic form of art objects. Morphy (1995) suggests aesthetics is not purely decontextualised, and what Gell insists is that we must highlight 'the mobilisation of aesthetic principles (or something like them) in the course of social interaction' (1998:4). Both Morphy (1995) and Gell (1998) note that

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<sup>7</sup> I witnessed an occasion in which a Taiwanese person took a secondary-ranked Paiwan vessel, according to its form, from the Paiwan point of view, to exchange with a Paiwan for a superior Paiwan vessel, which has various decorations and looks very exotic to the Taiwanese. Because of the distinct aesthetic appreciation, both were satisfied. It shows, as Gow (1994:22) argues, that aesthetics is not simply discrimination, but dependent on a specific context that will be demonstrated later by an ethnography of the Paiwan.

the stimuli, in addition to beauty or pleasure, can also be power, terror, desire, awe or fascination involving a physical, emotional and/or cognitive response to the form of object.<sup>8</sup> Chua and Elliott (2013) suggest, the idea of aesthetics creeps back into Gell's argument of transformation and creativity. Therefore, if we replace the term aesthetics with value, efficacy, captivation or enchantment generated from specific technical skills (Cf. Morphy 1994; 1995, Gell 1994; 1998), the controversy between agency and aesthetics might be circumvented.

Whether we call aesthetics, efficacy or captivation, this quality of art seems to echo the idea of value, argued by Forge (1965, 1967, 1970 and 1973) to be the intrinsic ability of the object to communicate in a specific way. Taking the anti-personnel mines from Gell's argument as an example, for Pol Pot's soldiers, the mines are valuable because they do what soldiers need: killing in an efficacious way and communicating a message to the enemy. When one side sees the explosion, they may be pleased at the achievement of their goal. By the same token, renowned artworks, such as the 'Mona Lisa', might also exemplify understandings of value because they can reflect distinct values in the same world but within different contexts.

For the art historian, the value of the 'Mona Lisa' is derived from its own intrinsic quality rather than who she is. Different from applying colour in lines, by using the soft transition between colours and tones, Leonardo da Vinci achieves a more believable image and expresses the idea that there are no lines in the universe. The technique of sfumato as an artistic expression that to some extent represents the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment. The technique, discovered by Leonardo da Vinci, means the Mona Lisa is a prominent work in the light of reconsidering the nature of the world.

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<sup>8</sup> see also Morphy and Perkins 2006

Moreover, Mona Lisa is not a divinity, a royal or someone extraordinary; she might have been a neighbour of da Vinci's. Thus, the painting indicates the rise of Renaissance humanism in which the subject does not need to be extraordinary. From the anthropological theoretical point of view, if painting, as an interaction between artist and model, reflects and establishes certain social relationships, the value of the 'Mona Lisa' to an art historian is the first time in history the artist approached the emotion of the model, thus the Mona is smiling. This is different from the painting of the Duke of Wellington in Gell's (1998) example, whose agency is expressed in the work of art being based on the crown, a serious demeanour or military attire.

At the Louvre, most visitors do not intend to see the icon of the dramatic change in art history or to witness how lovely Mona Lisa's smile is. The purpose of the visit might rather be a selfie to post on social media. The painting in this context does not stand for Renaissance humanism, rather the identity of a well-educated or affluent visitor. In this sense, social media is a platform for social interaction. The selfie posted is the index of the visit for the netizen<sup>9</sup> to abduct the social position of the person posting. The number of 'likes' on the post establishes the value of the selfie.

Vincenzo Peruggia, the Italian who stole the 'Mona Lisa' in 1911, never knew its monetary value because he did not sell it. But at least he might have felt excited and nervous at successfully stealing the painting. It is arguable that the beauty of this painting was not the motivation of Peruggia's theft, otherwise he might have chosen Sandro Botticelli's 'The Birth of Venus'. Peruggia's theft meant he was treated as a criminal in France but hailed as a great patriot in Italy. Stealing the painting, he claimed, was a means of showing his patriotism.<sup>10</sup> That is, the art speaks for itself and the

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<sup>9</sup> A person who uses the Internet.

<sup>10</sup> Time (magazine) online article

artist's intention is not necessarily sent to the recipient without changing (Geertz 1983, Morphy 1995). The aesthetic effect is not a purely mental act, a notion Gell rejects. The effect, as Morphy (1995) highlights, is additional to some other kind of property of an object or necessary to fulfilling some other function. As a result, it is worth exploring how the value (aesthetics/captivation) of wealth evaluated by the Paiwan affects their social interaction and how the evaluation reflects Paiwan cosmology.

To approach the value of indigenous art, the account must be processed through the examination of form because, as Morphy (1995) proposes, aesthetics is concerned with how something is seen. There are three dimensions to be analysed to understand the form: iconography, aesthetics and function (Morphy 1994). The iconography, as Morphy (1995) argues, reflects a specific content of the cultural context to create meaning and further fulfil a specific function. Through a re-examination of Hanson's study, Gell (1998) further emphasises that iconography cannot simply be reduced to ornament and patterns and in the end rests on the notion of symmetry, because the simplification will lead to a misunderstanding that each and every culture that produces ornamental (symmetrical, patterned) art has the same cultural pattern of escalating and disrupted reciprocity. The concept of iconography is a reference to the prototype's appearance and to the idea related to the prototype (Gell 1998). Iconography represents the physical form of the prototype in a specific way within the cultural context (ibid.), and the form of the object expresses the meaning derived from the specific cultural context through its iconographic appearance. This generates an aesthetic effect for people to react to and it is the function of the object understood by that specific group. In the study of Yolngu art, Morphy (1991) points out that the

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form of an object is created with a flash of light colour to highlight the ancestors' power contained by the work. As he argues, the colour establishes Yolngu aesthetics by making a connection with the ancestor through the painting (ibid.). Given this, it is important to note that, through exploring the form of an artwork, a specific cultural context can be approached to reveal how the work enables people to achieve specific goals.

The argument of aesthetics proposed by Morphy to some degree relates to Gell's argument of agency. For example, the Yolngu painting, as Morphy (1991) posits, originates from the action in the ancestral past to 'encode' (or in Gell's term, to be abducted) a 'concern' (intention, again from Gell's argument, a special category of mental states) to have its power (agency) to affect Yolngu people. Gell (1998) also analogises agency with aesthetics through his example of a warrior's shield to emphasise how an object achieves a goal through its power. Exploring the aesthetics, agency, artistic intention and cultural content expressed in a specific way can give insight into a mental, cognitive understanding of other cultures, and how internal concerns are processed through objects because, as Layton (1991) suggests, the idea and its expression are equal in value and inseparable. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the above argument is not to place the art object in a passive place in terms of encoding meaning, but rather emphasises the connection between the object and social life. The object is the body of social life (Layton 1991). The object can practise or reproduce the social interaction through its form. By exploring the form of objects, an understanding of aesthetics as the reflection of societal concern can be revealed and further provides a channel to see how other values are mediated by objects for people to interact with.

To achieve a specific goal, people must follow a particular code of conduct in their

interaction. The interaction will establish the social relationship and the distinct goal might generate various styles of artwork. In previous studies, the analysis of style mainly focuses on how elements are organised and replicated to form a specific principle as a particular style (Kubler 1962, Holm 1965, Faris 1972). Former researchers have suggested that the principles of composition can be understood without reference to meaning or cultural context. However, style has been noted as a boundary-maintaining mechanism or marker of ethnic identity in terms of its diversity (Hodder 1982, Salvador 1976). The diversity of style might relate to different technologies managed in the society. However, as Layton (1991) points out, technological limitations might not dominate stylistic expression, because even among cultures using similar techniques, various styles are produced. Instead of focusing on the replication of creations generated by specific techniques, style must be examined through the link between the appearance of an object and the context of its production.

Gell (1998:159) argues, a study of style is an account of how the objects thematise and make one 'cognitively salient of cultural parameters' through their own capacity. That is, style is an expression constructed by culture (Layton 1991). A specific style expresses certain cultural content, such as religion, politics or hierarchy, to be created and recognised by people who share a collaborative understanding of the world. As Gell argues, 'style is what enables any artwork to be referred to the whole(s), or larger unities to which it belongs' (1998:162). Along these lines, I will demonstrate later that exploring the style of the Paiwan art-like wealth gives insight into how the owner and the wealth are associated with social organisation to have their social position.

As well as the examination of aesthetics, style should also consider the formal qualities of the object and must be explored in terms of iconography because, rather

than a detection of types of symmetry and asymmetry, a detailed analysis of the form of the object will reveal the nature of art in the specific social context (Layton 1991, Gell 1998). Layton (1991) has highlighted the iconographical quality of style, but the meaning of the elements forming the particular style, he adds, is not the key to understanding the style. However, if the elements chosen by the artist in the first place, is to express certain significance to process communication, it is crucial to explore the meaning of the chosen elements in the specific context (Layton 1991). Therefore, if the depiction of an entity, as Gell (1998) proposes, is reduced to a symbol after years of creation in terms of reforming the appearance of the represented, the original body of the entity which plays a significant role in the society should not be neglected. I will argue that, in Paiwan society, the source of elements in a specific style must be examined to reveal how wealth has its social position to empower its owner in terms of highlighting the association with a specific source.

The meaning of art and that of the elements constructing the style are not static but constantly change over time. The association of artwork with other social aspects can therefore be seen from the change of its intrinsic form. Morphy (1991) argues, by exploring artistic change, the study of art gives insight into how societies produce new artwork to fit new contexts, how the relationships between certain categories of artwork have been reformed and how the use of artwork in some contexts has changed. Moreover, the change of style in the same group in the same period also reflects how people pursue specific values in the society. As Layton (1991) noted, to highlight a different perspective of Yolngu philosophy, various styles of Yolngu art are produced to elucidate their understanding of the world and to achieve specific purposes. Hence, even if there is a regularised style relating to a specific context, people might create a new style to highlight their differences while achieving the same

value.

The relation between stylistic difference and category of artworks is like the relation between group-identification and social agents (Gell 1998). As in the study of patchwork in the Cook Islands, K uchler (2014:5) suggests the patterns applied to patchwork appear as ‘a map of social relations. Specific patterns in a particular style of patchwork highlight certain relationships. That is ‘the quilt stands in for the maker and occasionally the person it was made for’ K uchler (2014:6). By the same token, the style of a particular Paiwan rank, denotes the different rights and duties in terms of associating with specific wealth. By having a designated style of artwork, people are compartmentalised to form the social hierarchy. In this sense, the style reveals ‘relations between relations’ (Gell 1998:215). A given style is constructed by its own formal features and related to its counterpart (ibid.). By using material from Marquesan society, demonstrates the association between artwork and Marquesan people suggesting that ‘artworks are the outcome of social initiatives which reflect a specific, socially inculcated sensibility’ (Gell 1998:220). Thus by sharing values, the Paiwan express and establish the hierarchical concept through artistic style and the art-like wealth is ranked depending on their association with the wealth. Exploring the style of Paiwan art-like wealth gives insight into how the values embodied by art objects and how the art-like wealth participate in hierarchical interaction.

Because of the association between social life and forms of artwork, the analytical framework of the anthropology of art can apply to every kind of object in different contexts, such as Paiwan wealth and Paiwan fine art. The value established in Paiwan social organisation is not only indexed through the appearance of artwork but is generated through its circulation in various contexts. The Paiwan people have produced a variety of artwork for distinct purposes but none that deviates from lived

life. To some extent, all works produced by the Paiwan express the same values and its uses are intent on fulfilling the values. Because of how the Paiwan evaluate the past, the implications of the Paiwan vessel, glass beads and house decorations are quite similar to the Malanggan carvings studied by KÜchler (1985, 1998 and 1992), recognised as memorial objects for people to claim a connection with the deceased. Gell (1998) notes, the Malanggan is not merely a distribution of the deceased but is part of the deceased (the distributed subject).

The argument of how Malanggan replaces the deceased inspires this exploration of Paiwan wealth. KÜchler suggests, the meaning of Malanggan is likeness and highlights, 'the Malanggan is not a representation [...] but represents what is not present' through its form (2002:112). That is, the Malanggan is recognised as the deceased. The colour applied to the Malanggan is thus the skin (*tak*) as a substance of life-giving, to contain the inner life-force (*nomán*) of a person that enables the artefact to act as a substitute for the mortal body (ibid.). By developing Gell's argument of abduction, the likeness of Malanggan, as KÜchler argues (2002:114), is an enchanted technology for 'dwelling' of how people conceive the world. Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that Paiwan wealth might not merely act as a representation of the past but is the agent who participated in the past. That is, the significance of the Malanggan highlights the process, rather than the event (KÜchler 2002). Owning Paiwan wealth, as well as carving the Malanggan, enables the process to be repeated many times over (Cf KÜchler 2002).

By examining how the Paiwan associate with the past through such memorial objects, I elucidate how art-like wealth enables them to access the right to claim specific privileges practised by their ancestors. In addition to the ancestor who obtains, holds and passes the wealth, the art-like wealth is associated with the ancestor in the

past interaction. The process of interaction is believed to be embodied in its intrinsic form to empower its owner. Under these circumstances, by reconsidering the idea of house society suggested by Levi-Strauss (1982), it is possible to imagine the house as a patient who is affected by the agent, wealth, to enjoy position in the society and also to have the capacity to interact with others as a moral person.

### ***Hierarchical precedence in Paiwan society***

In the previous chapter, I illustrated that because of the genealogical features and religious significance of Paiwan hierarchy, hierarchical interaction has been explored through the idea of precedence and Dumont's theory of hierarchy. By adopting the concept of encompassing and encompassed proposed by Dumont, Tan (2004) and Chiu (2001) argue that the Paiwan *mamazangilan*, characterising the firstborn (*vusam*), encompasses others in the society to enjoy the superior position. The idea of encompassment, is embodied by the content of the circulated betrothal gifts and the ritual performance. For example, depending on their encompassing position, the *mamazangilan* has the right to obtain the whole range of betrothal gifts from the future family-in-law, but the others, who are encompassed by the house of *mamazangilan*, can only request part of the whole range of the betrothal gifts in the marriage (Chiu 2001). The number of the betrothal gifts circulated in the wedding, as Chiu argues, denotes the relationships between encompassing and encompassed. Nonetheless, I will elucidate in later chapters the relationship of encompassment that needs to be explored through how betrothal gifts are circulated, rather than the content of gift.

Examining the circulation of wealth leads to a consequence according to Dumont's theoretical framework, employed by Chiu, suggests the values constructing Paiwan hierarchy can also be explored through the opposition between the origin and

branches. The position of firstborn applied to *mamazangilan* is considered as the origin of others, the branches, to create the opposition. The relationships between origin and branches lead the study of the Paiwan into the theory of precedence. As in Kao's (2004) work, he explores the concept of origin through the idea of *nasi* which is based on how the Paiwan conceive the relationship between life-giver and life-receiver. The idea of life, as aforementioned, is association with the understanding of social position. By examining how people narrate myth, Kao (2004) has demonstrated that the past provides a clue for the Paiwan to clarify their hierarchical position based on their understanding of origin. As he argues, the firstborn of a house or the founder of the village can enjoy the preceding position (ibid.).

Nonetheless, I learned that Paiwan hierarchical relationships, at least in the case of Timur village, are not merely about the understanding of genealogy based on derivation of life through birth or the idea of precedence. For example, although the position of origin, the *vusam*, (village founder/firstborn in a house) in Paiwan society is expressed in the language of birth order, the identified firstborn might not literally be born first or have arrived first. Rather, it is the ownership of wealth that gives them the position as the *vusam*. Under these circumstances, the theory of Dumontian hierarchy and that of precedence proposed by Fox in the examination of Paiwan hierarchy must be reconsidered. This raises two questions. Firstly, if the Paiwan identify the nature of *nasi* (where one's social position is derived) based on the idea of precedence, why might the one who holds the position of *vusam* not have been born or arrived first? Secondly, if genealogy is the difference between the superior and inferior, how do we apply the encompassing and encompassed relationship between different genealogical groups or between different villages? Since both the theory of Foxian precedence and that of Dumontian hierarchy give insight into the exploration

of Paiwan society, an understanding of Paiwan hierarchy might need be approached by reshaping the two theories.

### ***Hierarchy***

To examine the idea of hierarchy, Dumont's (1980) study of caste establishes his theory of 'the encompassing of the contrary' to suggest that every society, including egalitarian groups, has the nature of hierarchy. He describes it as follows: 'man does not think, he acts. He has not ideas, but values' (ibid.:20). The egalitarian society ranks individual equality and liberty to have more value than hierarchy in terms of encompassing the hierarchy into the idea of egalitarianism (ibid.). Therefore, he makes a comparison between the hierarchical society and egalitarian society to establish the idea of opposition by saying that, in egalitarian society, as in caste, the superior and inferior positions are based on coexisting, encompassing and oppositional relationship, and individual liberty is limited by the identical rights of other individuals (ibid.). It is the opposition which forms the concept of hierarchy and the opposition is oriented by a specific value which drives people to act.

To understand value, Dumont (1980) underlines ideology as essential. He defines ideology as a system of values in a given social milieu which is composed of a series of levels (Dumont 1992). In Indian society, Dumont (1980) suggests that religion is the ideology which introduces the values of pure and impure to form oppositions and hierarchically create different levels. Dumont's argument is deeply influenced by Célestin Bouglé's (1927) work in terms of considering that positions of every other caste are relative to Brahmins, which is a reference for others to evaluate themselves. Nonetheless, the idea of levels give a dynamic nature to Dumont's argument and makes his idea of hierarchy different from Bouglé's (Parking 2003). Dumont (1980) characterises caste as an all-encompassing principle of hierarchy

through the ideology of separating pure and impure to create levels. The definition of hierarchy, as Dumont (1980) argues, is the principle by which the elements of a whole are ranked in relation to the whole through a specific value to create levels.

The idea of levels and the reverse construct Dumontian hierarchy. In this theory, the caste is not a linear order of highest to lowest, but a different level of structural oppositions in a system which forms the hierarchy (Dumont 1980:20-39). Without appreciating level, the opposition is merely an asymmetry with superadded value and the hierarchical significance of opposition between levels will be dismissed in terms of lacking an orientated ideology to establish the encompassment (Parkin 2003). The ideology indicates the system of value. Adopting value is to introduce hierarchy in shaping social action (Dumont 1980, Barnes 1985). It is the value that 'in some way subordinates one level to another and at the same time introduces a multiplicity of levels' (Dumont (1980:241). It is important to note that Dumont (1980) further highlights that, at certain levels, the opposition can be reversed and the normally inferior can become superior. In Bourdieu's (1990[1970]) study of the Kabyle house, maleness referring to the world as the whole encompasses femaleness to create hierarchy, but the female nature of the Kabyle house as a different level makes the female superior in the house to encompass the male in terms of a reversal of opposition. That is, within the hierarchal opposition, the nature of the part/whole relationship can change. Dumont's argument of hierarchy is based on differentiation of levels which is guided by a specific value derived from ideology. The different levels of hierarchy therefore indicate specific contexts.

However, in the 'Postface' added to the English Edition of *Homo Hierarchicus*, Dumont (1980) admits that there is a logic scandal when class encompasses the contrary, which produces identity and contradiction. For example, wombats and koalas

are identical in being marsupial but are different species which is not a contradiction but a distinction (Lewis 2016). Lewis (2016) reconsiders Dumont's definition of hierarchy to argue that parts are not in relation to the whole but constitute a whole by their relations to one another in terms of forming a society. Therefore, the ideology, which forms the society, is not a random heap of ideas, but consists of concepts that stand in some logical relationship to one another (ibid.). Within the hierarchical relationship, the opposition should be seen as a creation of multiple values and there might be a circulation of values between levels of the ideology (Tcherkezoff 1985, Fox 1994). When Dumont considers religion as the fundamental Indian ideology, his ambition to examine caste following the religious understanding of pure and impure might lead to playing down other influential factors, such as power, the example of kings and priests, in the Indian hierarchical interaction.

In this sense, the ideology constructing the Paiwan hierarchy must be identified. If genealogy, as Chiu (2001) argues, is the principle informing the Paiwan hierarchy, how can we deal with the hierarchical relationship between non-kin groups and how can the inferior non-firstborn seek reversal to access the superior position in their kin group? Moreover, if religious interaction is the foundation of Paiwan social relationships, what can we learn from Tan's discussion of sacrificial hierarchy? He suggests that the right of ritual performance is established by the ownership of sacred material (Tan 2004). Can we know more about Paiwan hierarchy by looking into the nature of wealth?

### ***Toward a Paiwan ideology***

In terms of reconsidering what informs Paiwan hierarchy, the idea of the house must be underlined, and the significance of wealth emphasised. If the house, as Lévi-Strauss (1982) suggests, generates social grouping, a discussion of Paiwan hierarchy

should focus on what a house consists of. I have demonstrated that wealth held by a house can mediate social relationships in terms of having the quality of art from the anthropology of art perspective. As a way of conceiving the world, an exploration of the idea of house might be an approach towards the foundation of Paiwan ideology.

In Paiwan society, the house can be a focal point from which to explore hierarchy as Levi-Strauss (1982) suggests, the house is a formation of a system of rights and duties. Examining the house will give insight into an ideological exploration of social formations and the house is an important unit of social differentiation (Waterson 1995). In this sense, rather than a religious understanding of pure and impure or the genealogical principle, the idea of the house as constructed by its wealth creates certain identities for social grouping. Thus, wealth can be a means to transfer/maintain hierarchy. Waterson (1995) has pointed out that the house wealth – including both material and immaterial wealth, as emphasised by Levi-Strauss – is highly significant and must consider the relation of the house both to systems of economic stratification and to hierarchies of status, prestige or ritual power. Under these circumstances, the understanding of house can be considered as Paiwan ideology to explore how their world is perceived. Wealth, therefore, is seen as the value used to establish hierarchical relationships in society. More importantly, because wealth in Paiwan society is an index of how hierarchical interactions are practised, manipulating social position through different interactions will highlight how the Paiwan acquire wealth in diverse ways through various means. The manipulation of social position thus gives prominence to the idea of multiple values and leads the argument of precedence to be encompassed into the understanding of Paiwan hierarchy.

### ***Precedence***

According to Fox (1980, 2006a, 2006b), in Austronesian-speaking societies the

concept of origin is crucial for people to establish their social organisation. In the case of the Paiwan, the understanding of the origin can be approached through examining wealth. Paiwan myth narrates, a ceramic vessel gave birth to the first aristocracy to generate hierarchy in the past. The vessel is therefore recognised as the womb of culture and the house of the ancestor by the Paiwan (Pavavalung 2006). Under these circumstances, the significance of the vessel (i.e. wealth) introduces the theory of precedence to the study of Paiwan hierarchy.

Fox (1994) has highlighted that in Austronesian-speaking societies the significance of precedence leads to a great concern with origins or resources and the identification of the origin can be understood in various ways. These may be expressed temporally or spatially, and often by a conflation of the temporal and spatial. Precedence is a social principle conferring higher status, which is generated on the basis of measuring social distance from some original line or point, on the group considered the older or oldest components of a social and territorial unity (Forth 2009, Acciaioli 2009). In this sense, although the origin is generally conceived biologically from a birth perspective, the understanding of origin and the way of measuring distance from it might be based on various aspects. For example, in the study of Keo society, Forth (2009) demonstrates how the presence or absence of physical objects, related to the ritual performance to establish the internal relationship, can serve as a visible sign of the status of a settlement. By the same token, having specific wealth – such as women in Atoni Pah Meto society or ritual goods in Tana Wai Brama society – denotes the capability to approach the origin through the ceremonial exchange in which the wealth is used to connect to the origin to access specific positions in the order of precedence (Acciaioli 2009, Lewis 1988). In this sense, because Paiwan wealth is understood as the origin of hierarchy and the means of continuing social positions,

exploring the interrelation between the house, wealth and social organisation will give insight into precedence. I discuss in later chapters that wealth embodies both temporal and spatial priorities giving the position of the origin to its owner, the house, to establish Paiwan understandings of precedence.

Given the association between wealth and origin, Paiwan wealth prominently constructs the understanding of precedence, and has the ability to enact social grouping in terms of making one part of the whole. The idea encompassing and encompassed therefore cannot be dismissed in the exploration of social differentiation. As Forth's (2009) study shows, in Keo society, the sequence of arrival in terms of precedence constructs the social order but the right of ritual practice derived from the objects also signals the part/whole relationship with wholeness described as a precondition of superordinate status in terms of encompassment. Therefore, Fox (1994) proposes precedence can be used for the creation of hierarchy and, as in Dumontian theory, it involves two analytical features: categorical asymmetry and recursive complementarity.

To create precedence, categories must be asymmetric in terms of forming the whole by complementary opposition and they must be used recursively, creating the levels (Fox 1994). For example, in terms of asymmetry, man is opposite to beast to form the category of animals as a whole. In the category of man, both man and woman exist. But the man also recursively encompasses man and boy to form multiple levels. In other words, precedence, like hierarchy, is based on the notion of opposition, with the concept of precedence recognising a plurality of oppositions, such as organism/plant, male/female and older/younger (Fox 1994). In this sense, in terms of levels, Dumont proceeds to translate it into social terms by erecting a similar hierarchy on the basis of a principle opposition: purity>impurity (ibid.). However, in the notion

of precedence, hierarchy should come about as a result of the interplay of a whole variety of asymmetric categories (ibid.). Hence, precedence is seen as a value (Dumont) to create opposition, and the precedence, as Fox highlights, can be defined by different values differently.

Values in the order of precedence can be opposite in terms of species, gender and age, among other things. Consequently, people in different groups within the same society might give different priorities to specific opposition to manipulate their social position and that will create hierarchy (Fox 1994). Therefore, Fox posits that 'there is no one privileged opposition, but rather a complex interaction of valent opposition' (ibid.:98). A particular group may change the relative emphasis of the opposition to access the superior polarity of a set of categories (ibid.). Therefore, precedence is always a matter for social contention because it is open to a diverse process of reordering, and it is rare to find an order of precedence that simply, unequivocally and undisputedly organises a society (Fox 1994; 2006a). Rather than a singular value of hierarchical order, as Dumont suggests, the idea of precedence suggests an exploration of how the same position is achieved differently and might reveal what guides the competition for social positions in Paiwan society.

Employing the idea of precedence is not to deny the significance of hierarchy. In fact, as Fox (1994) explains, an order of precedence can be hierarchy as Dumont, too, has specifically stated because, as in the opposition of elder and younger, the singular line of precedence resembles Dumont's concept of hierarchy. In other words, if the value of age or that of the migration sequence creates the order of precedence, the opposition of elder>younger or earlier>later is identical to the pure>impure opposition to create a specific line of levels generated by a single value. However, although Fox (1994, 2006a) argues that the multiple values in the contention of precedence render

a broader application to the idea of precedence to create or undermine the hierarchy, it is possible that the coexistence of oppositions of elder>younger and earlier>later are employed by people to achieve a supreme value in the hierarchy. In other words, if the Paiwan ideology introduces a supreme value in their society, the oppositions between elder>younger and earlier>later in terms of precedence might be highlighted differently to claim the association with wealth. As Acciaioli (2009) points out, precedence and hierarchy can be intertwined in a society. The element dominating the social differentiation can be fixed and unalterably inherited such as the qualities of pure and impure in Indian society or the great whiteness of noble blood in Bugis and Makasar society (Dumont 1980, Matthes 1875). Moreover, such as through success in economic endeavours, political affairs or education in Bugis and Makasar society, social position can also be manipulated in terms of highlighting alternative values for reordering precedence (Acciaioli 2004; 2009). Although the idea of precedence is generally based on the identification of origin, such as elder/younger or earlier/later, as analysed by researchers, the positions of wife-giver/wife-taker, intelligent/foolish or wealthier/poorer, which might be seen as irrelevant forms of precedence, can also be factors involved in achieving the precedent position.

If the significance of defining precedence is based on multiple values, each can be used as the prior value in a specific context in the same society for claiming superior positions. Because the values creating the operations, in Fox's (1994) words, underlie the differentiation and attempt to surpass the other precondition, precedence, as Forth (2009) suggests, can be seen as a relation of contrast of centre and periphery and, as many researchers employ it, is the relationship between the origin and the branch. Due to the multiple values, the position of the centre is flowing, and the periphery can become the centre if they find an advantageous value to exceed it. That

is, the understanding of precedence might hierarchically create the levels through different values. The opposition between elder/younger, first/later or giver/receiver therefore can be presented simultaneously so, as Acciaioli (2009) argues, the hierarchy is not more encompassing than precedence and the precedence also does not have a supreme, privileged opposition.

In this sense, social differentiation, I argue, is guided by a primary value to form a singular line of hierarchy. To achieve the primary value, however, the operations derived from the understanding of precedence are utilised to form hierarchical precedence. That is, within different levels, age, gender or sequence of arrival can asymmetrically and recursively form the oppositions in terms of precedence, but between levels, a primary value will be the goal for people to pursue precedence in the entire system to form the hierarchy. The idea of hierarchy and precedence can coexist and, as Dumont (1980) suggests, that can both be the principle and outcome.

### ***Hierarchical precedence***

The examination of Paiwan society needs to include the idea of hierarchy and that of precedence. In terms of precedence, as Fox (2009) points out, Paiwan social organisation lacks the recursively categorical opposition of elder and younger because a single term, *kaka*, is applied to all siblings and cousins regardless of age and gender. Instead, the Paiwan stress the importance of the firstborn by applying a botanical discourse, '*vusam*' (the seed of millet), to establish an idea of derivation and a chain of succession to produce lines of precedence (ibid.). However, the idea of the firstborn might be an expression of precedence to achieve a prime value in hierarchy. As I learned from the field, having the right to inherit the house and its wealth enables an individual to be identified as *vusam* and other siblings are addressed as *taljaljaljake*, which means the younger. The relationship between *vusam* and *taljaljaljake* forms

the idea of *gagudan* which indeed has the meaning of precedence and will be elucidated in Chapter 3.

Although the idea of *gagudan* is constantly narrated in Paiwan ceremonies, the clarification of *gagudan* is based on another social aspect. Because of lacking Paiwan materials, what Fox misses is that the succession of house and wealth can further be revealed through the idea of *civaivaigan* which is extremely important to explore Paiwan society. The notion of *civaivaigan* is understood as a path by the Paiwan, the metaphor of the 'path' being a recurrent Austronesian trope (Fox 2009). As he argues, the idea of a path 'describes recognised lines of precedence within a society but just as often in other societies, it describes a trajectory toward the individual achievement of power, prestige and renown' (Fox 2009:105). In this sense, the path can be a way toward an origin to identify the idea of *gagudan*, but it can also be a category of what forms the origin. On a Paiwan path, myths, ceramic vessels, names and people are all encompassed. In this sense, although Fox (2009) suggests that the path as a line of precedence is related to succession depending on birth order, I will argue that in Paiwan society the person who holds the position of firstborn might not have been born first. Rather, the identification of firstborn is based on the fact of inheriting wealth to encompass others in terms of being recognised as the origin. Because the fact of inheritance might be achieved differently, the values derived from the idea of precedence can be highlighted variously. Firstborn/late-born, first-arrival/late-arrival or giver/receiver will all be values used to argue for the inheritance of wealth. Meanwhile, exploring how the inheritance of wealth is defined as the primary value derived from the idea of house (Paiwan ideology) will give insight into how the values of precedence are manipulated to form the hierarchy.

### Chapter Three: Timur Social Organisation

Previous studies conducted by Taiwanese and Japanese researchers have stressed the hierarchical organisation of Paiwan society. These studies translate the Paiwan ranks of *mamazangilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan* into chief, nobility and commoner. The rank difference is highlighted by chiefly privileges, including religious, political and economic privileges, and by the commoners' obligations, such as making offerings and providing labour. In this sense, the chief seems to hold dominant power and the commoner is relatively vulnerable. However, the meaning attributed to ranks in the former studies (Jen 1960, Wei 1960, Shih 1969; 1982, Matsuzawa 1979, Chiang 1983) might be the researcher's interpretation led by colonial policy. Indeed, the colonists to some extent have reformed the Paiwan hierarchy in its political, economic and religious aspects. Nonetheless, as I learned from Timur villagers, despite the fact that their lifestyle has been affected by foreign authorities, the way of establishing hierarchical position still follows specific principles as they used to do. As a result, even though Paiwan people adapt the language of chief, nobility and commoners to refer to their rank, the meaning of these terms from the Paiwan point of view might be different with regards to privilege and obligation. To improve the understanding of Paiwan hierarchical relationship through the example of Timur village, studies will benefit from addressing social organisation from the notion of precedence.

#### ***Proof of origin***

To understand the social organisation of Timur village, their myth is the most practical but varied channel to examine the relationship between hierarchical positions. Timur people differentiate the myth into legend (*milinmilinan*) and history (*doucige*). The legends are believed to be real events that happened in ancient times. In terms of narrating how social order was founded in their society, the legend depicts

the origin of hierarchical positions, such as creation of human done by divinity, a marriage with a supernatural figure or a magical migration. The legend might sound like a fantastical story, but it is considered as a traceable past by the Paiwan, because the descendants of the characters in the legend are still recognisable in modern society. As they believe, the legend was history. The *doucige* (history) understood by Timur people is a relatively recent event, such as marriages of grandparents, hunts that took place last year or migration forced by colonists. The *doucige* highlights the change of one's position in the group. In this sense, an ancient root of the social position of a specific group can be identified by legend, but that might be changed in history. As I was told, the *milinmilinan* is being '*demoucige*' which means re-narrating the past. For the Timur people, there is a fixed structure of legend. The narrating of the legend must be consistent and is not allowed to misrepresent the story. It is a performance of telling and it is the way people pass down the story that makes the legend and the history in a line of gradual progress from the Timur people's point of view, because the history will one day become legend. This is therefore different from Hu's (2011) study in which the *milinmilinan* is recognised as a false story. For people in Timur, the only difference between legend (*milinmilinan*) and history (*doucige*) is based on the time it happened, and both of that are considered as concrete evidence of their social position. The continuation from legend to history highlights a changeable social position that stresses the openness of Paiwan hierarchy. Under these circumstances, an event happening now may affect the social position of a group of people in the future. Examining the myth will give insight into what had happened and why it is happening for an understanding of how the social relationships are established.

What has happened is particularly important in Paiwan society, because the past guides how people should act now. For the Timur people, the past can be seen as a

form of wealth to index how people access other forms of wealth, such as names, betrothal gifts or land to mediate current interactions to fulfil their social positions. In various events, such as marriage and harvest festivals, the myth (including legend and history) will be recounted to confirm the appropriateness of the ceremonies in terms of individuals' justifiability of accessing particular wealth provided in the rite. Nonetheless, I noticed that only a predecessor who is recognised as the firstborn of a house or the founder of a village will claim their ownership of specific legends and history, but others, namely the scions<sup>11</sup>, will only talk about the history.<sup>12</sup> The mythical feature of the legend as the root of the past gives a sacred base for its owner (i.e. the predecessor) to claim privileges and obligations.

To access this sacredness, it is important for the predecessor to remember their legend to argue how they obtain their position through acquiring specific wealth to achieve precedence. Conversely, for the scions, narrating history is enough to clarify their position by highlighting how they associate with predecessors. This difference can be expressed as the idea of ownership and that of the use-right.<sup>13</sup> To be acknowledged as owning specific wealth, the owner's past needs to be referred to as legend to claim how they access these possessions. The history, for the predecessor, is to explain how they maintained what they have. Conversely, being given wealth will establish the position of the scions, so that how the wealth was received by their

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<sup>11</sup> The term scion mainly referred to the offspring of certain well-established families. Nonetheless, in this thesis, because of how the Paiwan identify the form of family, the scion is used to reference people who are associated with the predecessor in terms of forming a group (e.g. a family or a village).

<sup>12</sup> The relationship between predecessor and scion might be, but not necessarily understood from, a genealogical perspective because of the distinct concept of origin, which will be argued later.

<sup>13</sup> The idea of use-right refers to how people acquire specific wealth from the owner to exercise the right derived from the obtained wealth.

ancestors in history is a reference with which they can identify how they connect to the predecessor to have the use-right of specific wealth to establish the hierarchical relationship. In this sense, because the predecessor and the scion were all participating in the past, both are equally essential for establishing social positions by referencing each other. An example of how the predecessor and the scion construct their social position will be discussed later.

The notion of ownership and use-right will be illustrated in later chapters through the discussion of circulating wealth. At this point, the argument will mainly focus on the ideas of the past. As I have pointed out, legend and history are equally important for revealing how people access wealth. Because of changeable social positions, the ownership and the use-right of wealth are not only obtained in mythical time, but also verified in the recent years. Therefore, Paiwan myths, including legends and histories, bear a dual significance: sacred power and secular policy. The sacredness of myth refers one's right to divinities to prove their justifiability which will constantly be tested in everyday life and subsequently remembered as history. In this sense, the myth not only depicts the Paiwan sacred cosmology to understand how rights were derived, but also illustrates how it has been practised by a specific group. Therefore, the myth, as a form of wealth, is not just about the event, but about how the event was processed. Under these circumstances, the wealth held now is, as Gell (1998) would argue with regard to artworks, an index of social interaction in history. Although the myth has no physical appearance, the vivid narration of stories will create an inner picture for audiences to abduct how they should act now. The inheritance of wealth therefore makes the owner re-practise the interaction in the present.

Within a society or, more radically, within a family, there might be more than one understanding of how their social position was established, because historical events

will give a diverse way to trace the origin of their social position based on how they access wealth. For example, people might have their own legend (*milinmilinan*) of where they came from, but when they migrated from their original place to a new place or when their ancestor got married with other groups, the identification of their source of social position will be reconstructed by the migration and the marital history (*doucige*). That will further rebuild their social position in terms of accessing different wealth from the different event. That is, the change of social position depends on the wealth they accessed and that leads to diverse understandings of origin.

For example, an ancestor marrying a divinity A+ as a legend (*milinmilinan*) enables the people from house A to acquire specific wealth from the divinity A+ to establish their social positions. The wealth will be inherited by the descendants who live in house A. After years, a marriage with house B understood as history (*doucige*) enables house A to access other wealth from their new in-law household (i.e. house B), such as names, farmland and legends. If the legends held by house B narrate a marriage with another entity, divinity B+, house A can refer their origin both to divinity B+ and divinity A+ to claim the wealth given by both divinities. In this case, new wealth will give rights to the descendants' of house A to establish a different social position.

Under these circumstances, the way to trace the origin can be diverse because the social position established by wealth was derived from different ways of accessing wealth. By the same token, migration will also reconstruct the recognition of origin. By occupying a new territory, the conqueror might be a scion and have no right to inherit wealth in his/her natal house, but they can claim the new wealth to build up their position as a predecessor. In this case, the conqueror's descendants will highlight the conqueror as their origin, instead of referring to the place where the conqueror came

from (i.e. his/her natal house). As a result, the diverse way of acquiring of wealth will reform the understanding of origin. This highlights the idea of multiple origins (Fox 2006a) and creates ancestors (Howell 1989).

As members of the Austronesian-speaking people, the notion of precedence constructs Paiwan social organisation and is usually associated with the concept of origin (Fox 1988, 1989; Graham 1991; Lewis 1988; McWilliam 1989; Reuter 1993; Vischer 1992). Therefore, the recognition of origin associated with wealth leads the debate on how to identify one's social position in Paiwan society due to the recognition of multiple origins. Although the idea of origin is commonly examined through its genealogical aspect, I learned from Timur villagers that the understanding of origin is associated with how people accessed and circulated specific wealth, and that is referred to as the notion of *veace*. The *veace* is a form of legend but more specifically refers to legend of origin. As they stress, the *veace* is only owned by the predecessor. I noticed that when the Paiwan talk about the *veace*, they are highlighting how the predecessor established their social position by acquiring wealth in the past. It is thus necessary to consider the association between wealth and origin. I will argue that the idea of *veace* (legend of origin), from Paiwan people's viewpoint, is about 'the way of being the origin', rather than 'who is the origin'.

The *veace* mainly refers to two aspects of precedence among the Paiwan: birth order and migration sequence. Both are frequently discussed by the researchers (Cf. Shis 1969; 1982, Chang 1983, Matsuzawa 1989, Chiu 2001, Kao 2004) from the perspective of how a group is divided from a genealogical perspective because of the idea of *nasi*, which constantly alludes to one's consanguinity (the relationship built by blood). From the consanguinity perspective one's *nasi* can be an account of marriage history to give insight into the continuity of blood given by and shared with different

groups. In this sense, the understanding of origin through consanguinity will imply that the *nasi*-giver (i.e. the origin) was born first as the root (*abulu*) of their group. However, I argue that the concept of *nasi* should be explored through the idea of wealth, because the identification of one's root, as I was told, can also be traced by where one's name came from.

The name, as well as the legend, is circulated for people to identify their origin. A name will be an index of the association between the giver and the receiver to form the position of origin (i.e. the giver). Having a name means having a relationship in the society to 'live' like a Paiwan in terms of associating with others. In this sense, the name gives the *nasi* to the people. The interaction of giving and receiving indexed by the name will form the social position of the named. The *nasi* in this sense is about the social relationship and how the relationship is formed. Therefore, the *nasi*-giver is not only believed to be the ancestor from the consanguinity perspective, but also referred to as the wealth-giver of the individuals. I argue that it is the reason why the Paiwan emphasise the association between *nasi* and consanguinity. Under these circumstances, the idea of origin as the understanding of how one's social position is founded should be explored through how wealth entitles individuals to form the social organisation.

Even though I have argued that wealth plays an important role to form the social organisation by suggesting that the social relationship needs to be understood beyond consanguinity, the language borrowed from genealogy is mainly employed by the Paiwan to express the relationship in the organisation. Under these circumstances, it is reasonable that *nasi* is examined through the genealogical perspective, because *nasi* is inherited within a house through birth and will be circulated between houses by marriage. Because the division of a house is normally caused by birth and marriage,

the Paiwan hierarchy is constantly examined through the perspective of genealogy by researchers (Wei 1960, Wu 1993, Shih 1969; 1982, Chiu 2001, Kao 2004). However, it is worth noting that only through the circulation of wealth will the newly born and the branched houses have their hierarchical position in the society.<sup>14</sup> Without circulating wealth, the association between people and between houses cannot be established. Therefore, although the idea of precedence leads the Paiwan social hierarchy to be expressed in terms of birth order, the position of older/younger and that of giver/receiver can be examined through the encompassing and encompassed relationship mediated by the circulation of wealth.

Giving the blood will give the life-giver the identity of the origin but it is the blood claimed by the owner as their wealth that establishes the position of origin. That is, the blood should be understood as a form of wealth which makes the *nasi* (e.g. the consanguinity) of the branch to be founded by associating with the origin to form the whole. In this sense, the idea of whole is an understanding of the social organisation formed by the connection with others. Under these circumstances, in terms of multiple origins, the *nasi* of an individual needs to be conceived of as a collection of different consanguinities derived from various wealth they have accessed from different origins. The association with different origin formed by the circulation of wealth will form how the *nasi*-receiver perceives their whole. The blood therefore is not mixing into one like liquid but juxtaposed concretely to recount what sort of wealth (blood) one has accessed giving by their recognised origins. Because of the association between people and their wealth, the association between wealth is important to identify what their social position is based on by referencing to others. Under these circumstances, the idea of *nasi* can be examined in the sense of genealogy, but the

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<sup>14</sup> The example of how wealth gives social position to an infant will be discussed in Chapter 5.

understanding of how wealth forms the understanding of genealogy needs to be included.

The position of origin established by the wealth leads to the fact that in Timur village, nowadays, some of the people who are entitled as the firstborn (predecessor) are actually a later-born (scion).<sup>15</sup> By inheriting the house and by giving out the wealth, such as blood and names, the giver will be the origin of their branches' *nasi* because they are the agents who share the wealth, thus enabling others' social position to be abducted in terms of indexing the association with the origin. That is, the firstborn is not necessarily born first but must be the heir and the giver of wealth. By the same token, if the *veace* (legend of origin) is about migration, the precedence held by the conqueror is based on how they claim and share their wealth vis-à-vis the firstborn in a house. Under these circumstances, although the identity of the origin is expressed as firstborn from the perspective of genealogy, the social relationships between the origin and branches are based on the ownership and circulation of wealth.

As a relatively new village, formed in 1937, when the *mamazangilan* in Timur village talk about their *veace*, they tend to narrate how their ancestor acquired the wealth through migration, rather than tracing the legendary birth back to their ancestor. As I observed, only the predecessor family in a very few ancient Paiwan villages will refer their *veace* to the legendary birth. For the relatively new, such as the Timur, the relationship with the predecessor family in the old villages might be mentioned to stress their connection with the divinity to acquire sacredness, but the

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<sup>15</sup> In the past, the firstborn will inherit their house and its wealth regardless of gender. However, because of the interaction with Han Taiwanese people who value men over women, many of the Paiwan males are not willing to become a son-in-law who lives in their wife's house. Under these circumstances, the firstborn Paiwan woman nowadays does not easily find a partner to marry into her house.

sequence of migrating into their current village and the marriage history are more important, because it is how they establish their position in the current social unit (i.e. their whole) by owning and sharing specific wealth.

The unit for recognising a specific Paiwan social group is the village (*inalan*), which was initially established by a few households. Over time, through marriage, the division of a household will form a family. These families therefore construct a village. The village will be recognised by the founder as their *kiniveace* which means a place where the myth came from. In other words, the *kiniveace* is not just about the place but includes the procedure of how the village was founded. Therefore, the myth of establishing social position as a form of wealth, attached to the *kiniveace*, is understood as the founder's *veace* (legend of origin). For others, the newcomers, the sequence of moving into the village will affect their position in the unit, because having a longer history denotes the possibility of being the wealth-giver to latecomers. Under these circumstances, the sequence of migration is essential for every villager to argue how they encompass others into the whole from not only the perspective of precedence but also the idea of encompassment, including *mamazangilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*.

For the *mamazangilan*, the occupation of natural resources narrated in myth is particularly important for them to practise the hierarchical interaction in modern times, in terms of how they share their wealth with other to be the origin. However, this is not to say that for the *mamazangilan* family birth order is less important for justifying their precedence. In Timur village, through getting married with other *mamazangilan* families, who live in the ancient village and hold the myth of legendary birth, people will acquire the right of claiming the firstborn position in the branched village, in terms of associating with the relative predecessor, to enhance the

sacredness of their *nasi*. Therefore, birth order and the jurisdiction of wealth will both be highlighted in events where social position is argued, because all arguments are based on the idea of how *nasi* is derived. The position established in legend and history constructs the notion of *veace* in terms of narrating how and what wealth has been claimed by their ancestor, participating in the past.

The *veace* as a chosen narrative reflects the differences in acknowledging origin in Paiwan society. Diverse acknowledgements, as Fox (1994) points out, lead the conflict in recognising positions based on the idea of precedence. In this sense, although the legendary birth seems to give a solid foundation for being the firstborn, migration and marriage as historical events will generate other criteria to defend the preceding position through clarifying how wealth was circulated (giver/receiver relationship). As well as the sacred birth given by divinities, I will elucidate in later sections that migration can be associated with divinities by the conqueror for strengthening their sacredness. Moreover, through the wealth gained from ancestry, marriage history enables people who might have been succeeding in the past to share the legend in order to be encompassed into the preceding group. Under these circumstances, the competition for positions has caused considerable debate in terms of arguing the *nasi* from both birth and wealth perspectives. As I noticed, diversity in recognising social positions in Timur village can be examined by the myth from two old Paiwan villages: Davalan and Padain.<sup>16</sup> To understand the tension between the different identification of origin in Timur, the myths of these villages must be introduced. Next, I will examine the establishment of social position in Timur village to

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<sup>16</sup> *Davalan* village still exists, its people having established a new village in 2011 after a great typhoon. People from *Padain* village migrated to other villages due to a serious landslide in 14th century (Tung and *Ljaljegean* 2017). Nonetheless, because of the importance of the past, the immigrant can still give an account of founding houses and where they moved.

give an example of how the procedure from legend to history explains the understanding of hierarchy in modern day.

### ***The myths of Davalan and Padain***

The Davalan and Padain villages are generally accepted not only by Timur people but also by entire the Paiwan group to be their original villages. Davalan village is believed to be the origin village of the *ravar* sub-group and the *vuculj* sub-group branched out from the Padain. Because of the different myths derived from the Davalan and Padain villages, and the distinct history of migration and marriage, the branched villages have adopted various understandings of the past which creates a specific recognition of origin in different villages. Moreover, because of how the Paiwan identify their origin, even if people resided in the same natal village and moved to the new village at the same time, memories of their past are still different which causes conflict in social positions. To recognise position, both legend and history are elaborated by Timur people. But as a branched village, they will only recount a relatively simple myth about the natal village of their ancestors and stress their family history, such as migration, marriage or hunting experiences, to explain their current position in the village. Nonetheless, to elucidate the nature of Paiwan hierarchy, the differences between ranks need to be explored through legend.

To understand Paiwan hierarchy, the origin of different ranks in Timur village can be explored through the myth of Davalan village. Although Timur is categorised as belonging to the *vuculj* sub-group, the villagers have constantly interacted with the *ravar* sub-group by marriage due to their adjacent living location. That means Timur people share *nasi* with the Davalan village to trace their origin. Moreover, rather than highlighting the connection with the *vuculj* sub-group, for Timur people, the myth from the Davalan seems to become the main understanding of how rank difference has

been founded.<sup>17</sup>

In the original myth of The Davalan, according to the ethnographical studies (Cf. Chang 1983; 1993) and informants' narratives,

The Paiwan creator (*neqemati*) inserted a bronze knife (*ragam*) into the ground and gave birth to a male called *Karaua* and a female called *Kariu*. They are the *kadidan* who are understood as the descendants of the land and the most original people in the Paiwan world from the *ravar* people's point of view. The couple established Davalan, which means seedling. They built their house, named it *Takivalit*, meaning procreation, and gave birth to three offspring: *Satjair*, *Sapili* and *Sakai*. The creator wanted to give company to the *Takivalit* house so created the *Manigai* and *Tuulingit* houses.

One day, *Satjair* and *Sapili* from the house *Takivalit* noticed that every dawn smoke rose from their sacred mountain: *Tjaivuvu*. They decided to find out what happened there. The younger brother, *Sapili*, reached the mountain first and saw that the smoke was coming from a ceramic vessel which contained an egg put there by the sun. He took the vessel and put it in his bag, attempting to take it home, but when he was halfway home the vessel had gone. He went back for the vessel and found it at the same place. Every time he tried to bring the vessel back, it returned to the same place. The older brother, *Satjair*, arrived to talk to the vessel and offer an apology. He successfully asked the vessel to go home with them. The act is called

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<sup>17</sup> Because anthropological studies of the Paiwan group have focused on the *ravar* group, for the Paiwan the documented knowledge for accessing the past toward the *ravar* is richer than for the *vucuji* group. It will be interesting to know how research affects the recognition of the past in Paiwan society, since the Paiwan have traced their past through ethnography.

*papigaclj*, which means to receive *nasi* humbly. When they reached a river, the vessel refused to move. The brothers had to do the *tjemikeza* (apologies for the arduous journey) for asking the vessel to continue the journey. When they arrived at the entrance of their village, the vessel stopped again. The brother enacted a rite called *kicevulj* by using smoke to purify and invited the vessel into their village. Finally, they brought the vessel back to the *Takivalit* house in Davalan village and placed it under the skylight of their house.

The sun shone on the vessel through the skylight making the egg grow bigger. The villagers were worried that snakes might eat the egg. They invited the elder of snakes, the hundred-pace snake, to protect the egg. After nine months, the vessel shattered and gave birth to an infant girl. The villagers named the girl *Malevlev* which means the continuation of life, after the sound of her crying. Because *Malevlev* was derived from the sun, she was considered as chief. Being the descendant of the sun is recognised as the *mamazangilan*.

After the birth of the first *mamazangilan*, the people of *Takivalit* house attempted to nurse the *Malevlev*, but they failed. The people of *Manigai* house took over the task and succeeded. When the people of *Takivalit* house tried to bathe the *Malevlev*, they failed again. Only the people of *Tuulingit* house were accepted by the baby to do the bathing. By taking care of the *mamazangilan*, the people of *Manigai* and *Tuulingit* house were recognised as *pualu*, meaning great sweetness and profound wisdom. Nonetheless, because *Malevlev* was living in the *Takivalit* house, the people of *Takivalit* house can collect offerings from others to feed *Malevlev*.

The descendants of *Malevlev* continued to live in *Takivalit* house. One day a boy from *Takivalit* was taking care of an aristocratic infant, carrying the baby on his back. When he tried to lift the baby up, the baby's head hit the granary and the baby died. The aristocratic descendants asked for compensation from the *Takivalit* to establish their own house, called *Dalimalau*, and the *Dalimalau* took over the right to collect offerings. Since then, the *mamazangilan* started to exercise the right to collect offerings as their economic privilege. Additionally, the *Takivalit* had to transfer the symbol of their achievement, such as the pattern of hundred-pace snake and their ownership of the vessel, to the *Dalimalau*. That means the *Dalimalau* monopolised the ownership of the legendary birth by claiming the index of the past. Moreover, the boy who caused the accidental death was ordered to be buried alive with the aristocratic baby. Some villagers did not accept the compensation asked for by the *Dalimalau*, so they left Davalan village to establish their own village, called *Djineljepan*<sup>18</sup>.

The above story highlights that rank difference is based on the interaction between people in terms of practising specific rights and duties. According to the story, the hierarchical organisation is constructed by the rank of *mamazangilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*. Because of the association between *ravar* sub-group and the Timur, the original myth of Davalan village become the common understanding for Timur people to conceive of the beginning of different ranks based on distinct rights and duties. For example, to access the right to use the patterns of the hundred-pace snake, the

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<sup>18</sup> The *Djineljepan* village is another old *Ravar* village. Unfortunately, I do not have enough information to reveal the connection between the *Djineljepan*, *Davalan* and other related *Ravar* villages. It will be interesting to know how people in *Djineljepan* interpret the position of their village.

*mamazangilan* in Timur village will trace their relationship with the first chiefly house, the *Dalimalau*, to claim the right. The myth of Davalan is generally remembered by the Timur people and that constructs how they identify rank difference in modern days.

Even though the Timur's understanding of rank difference is founded by the myth of Davalan, the regulation of inheritance in Timur village is different from the *ravar*. Wealth can only be inherited by the son in the *ravar* sub-group but in Timur village people adopted the inheritance system from the *vuculj* sub-group by passing the wealth to the firstborn regardless of gender. Moreover, most Timur people recollect their migration from the Padain village to establish their social position in the current village. Under these circumstances, in addition to the myth from Davalan village, the myth of the original village of *vuculj*, the Padain, has to be illustrated to show how the position of the firstborn is valued by Timur villagers. This will further give insight into how Timur people identify their origin.

Timur villagers believe the natal village of the *vuculj* sub-group is Padain *Kiniveace* which means the embryo of birthplace. The Padain (embryo) is recognised to be a place for the birth of humans (*caucau*), located in the middle of *Vuculj's* sacred mountain: *Kavulungan* (Tung and *Ljaljegean* 2017). The location of Padain is recounted as the heart of the sacred mountain and it is below the house of *Tjagaraus*, the Paiwan creator. There were eight divinities who lived in Padain, including *Saljavan*, *Moakaikai*, *Mautukutuku*, *Ljaljumegan*, *Pulalengan*, *Tairuvar*, *Puljaljuyan* and *Sakinukinu*. Each of them has a different job. By giving life to clay, the *Saljavan* created the Paiwan people, to be known as the mother of the sun. The people created by *Saljavan* established the Padain village and constructed five houses: *Kazanglijan*, *Taruliayaz*, *Ruljuan*, *Kusaza* and *Parameram*. These different

houses are believed to have their own duties. The *Kazanglijan* house was the oldest house and received fire to continue the *nasi* of their village. The *Taruliayaz* house was believed to have the right to collect offerings from western villages of the Paiwan for conducting rites. The *Ruljuan* house was the place for training youth to protect the ritual material. The *Kusaza* house is the custodian of the creator *Saljavan*. The *Parameram* house had the right to collect offerings from eastern villages of the Paiwan. After many generations, because people started to wage war, the divinity wanted to create order in the society. The *Kazanglijan* house was appointed by the divinity to be the governor known as *mamazagilan* and they became the guardian of myth and custom. Nonetheless, because of natural disasters and population explosion, people from Padain migrated to establish the villages of *Tjulinaulj* and *Caljsi*. Some of them moved to flatland and are believed to be the ancestors of other aboriginal people. The *Paramaram* house immigrated to eastern Taiwan to develop their own territory. People from *Kazangiljan* house moved to *Tjaravacal* village and joined the local community. The *Ruljuan* house even moved to live with another aboriginal people: the Rukai. These people derived from Padain village are called *Paumaumaq*, which means people from the natal house (*umaq*).

In the myth of Padain, the duties of different houses, as in the myth of *Davalan*, are narrated. However, different from the *ravar* sub-group, the rank difference in Padain village seems to be based on the birth order. As the oldest house, the *Kazanglijan*, was appointed to be the *mamazagilan* by the divinity, the *Saljavan*. To highlight the significance of Padain, the meaning of embryo is employed, and the people who migrated from the Padain are self-recognised as the residents of the natal

house. In addition to the oldest house, the *Kazanglijan*, the migration of other houses is also crucial for the people in *vuculj* sub-group because the house names of the ancient migrants provide a clue for other villages to associate with the Padain. The importance of the birth derived from the creation of humans and the implication of the order of birth are narrated in myth for modern Paiwan people to clarify their relationship with the ancestor.

### ***The creation of social order***

To examine social relationships from the perspective of myth, it is crucial to note that the characters in these myths are traceable in contemporary Paiwan society by their descendants. Because of the importance of the past, the myth is constantly narrated by the descendants to prove their position. By exploring the narrative of myth, we can understand how the combination of legend and history constructs the understanding of origin for Timur people to identify their social position. For the *mamazagilan*, these legends provide an ancient root to understand the origin of their rank and their connection with divinity. Although in different Paiwan villages there are various myths of the origin of social position, including being born from bamboo, from the hundred-pace snake and from a rock, the key point of the position of *mamazagilan* is based on their relationship with divinity who might be recognised as their ancestor or protector, to stress their sacred identity. Sacredness derived from divinity enables the *mamazagilan* to become religious leaders in society. In Timur, people adopt original myths from the villages of Davalan and Padain, and both myths have analogised the creator to the sun which gave life by land and clay. Under these circumstances, the sun becomes a symbol for *mamazagilan* to prove their rank for interpreting their position. The *mamazagilan* therefore is believed to have

responsibility for taking care of people, just like the sun gives life (*nasi*) to all.

The idea of *nasi* should be understood from the perspective of wealth, although it was generally referred to as life given by birth. For example, in the myth of Davalan, when the brothers invited the vessel which incubated the egg from the sun to go back to their village, they had to perform the *papigacj* as a process for receiving *nasi*. That is, the *nasi* acquired through the *papigacj* is not only referred to as the egg symbolising the new life, but also the vessel which is the origin of the Paiwan hierarchy. Namely, the vessel indexes the action of giving life from the divinity to generate hierarchical interaction in the Paiwan society. On the one hand, the procedure of obtaining *nasi* can be examined through Gell's (1998) argument that the vessel is an artwork given by the agent, the divinity, for creating rank differences to establish the social relationship. On the other hand, the *mamazagilan* born from the vessel also extends the *nasi* derived from the divinity that gives them the property of the secondary agent for generating hierarchical interaction. In this sense, the villagers must offer their harvest to the *mamazagilan* who indexes the agency of the divinity to practise hierarchical interaction. The offerings, as Chiang (1983) notes, were used to maintain the relationship between people and divinities through the rite conducted by the *mamazagilan*. Because the *mamazagilan* was born by the sun to be the mediator between people and creator, offering tributes to the *mamazagilan* ensures blessings from the creator will continue. In addition to the sun, nowadays the creator can take the forms of other supernatural figures, such as the Christian God, which will be discussed in next chapter to analyse how the Christian church participates in the hierarchical interaction.

The association between the preceding position and the divinity constructs the idea of precedence in Paiwan society. The idea of precedence can be seen more

obviously in the myth of the Padain village in which every human was given birth by a deity, the *Salavan*, but depending on the order of creation, the oldest house *Kazanglijan* was appointed and recognised as the *mamazagilan* for bringing hierarchical order to society. Unlike the Davalan, the Padain myth stresses social order based on the significance of the firstborn, which is called *vusam* by the Paiwan. The *vusam* in Paiwan language is referred to as the seed of millet. The millet was the main crop and the most important ritual material in society. The Paiwan believe that the divinity in millet must be worshipped for ensuring the coming harvest and, therefore, the offering given to the position of *vusam* are made to fulfil their religious understanding. Every group, such as a village, a family or a household, has their own *vusam* who is identified as the firstborn of the group and the legal heir of wealth.

The position of *vusam* is not only applied to an individual, but also to a specific group. For example, according to birth order, the house *Kazanglijan* is considered the *vusam* of Padain village. Because the *Kazanglijan* was appointed to be the *mamazagilan*, every member from the *Kazanglijan* house has the feature of the firstborn given by their house. By the same token, in the myth of Davalan village, the *Satjair*, who is the oldest offspring of *Karaua* and *Kariu*, is the firstborn of the house *Takivalit*. As the first built house, the *Takivalit* is the firstborn of the rank of *Kadidan* (i.e. the descendants of land) known as *Kadidan nja vusam*. In this sense, *Satjair* can be considered as the firstborn of the rank of *Kadidan*. That is, the firstborn individual of the firstborn group is understood as the *Kavusam* (the real firstborn). Nonetheless, it is important to note that in the Paiwan society, only those who enjoy the firstborn position in the rank of *mamazagilan* can be called *Kavusam* because, in the myth narrative, wealth is controlled by the house of *mamazagilan*, such as the house of *Kazanglijan* and the house of *Dalimalau*, and that means the *mamazagilan* house is

the only legal heir in the whole village. Every year, villagers will provide a part of the harvest from the farmland held by the *mamazagilan* to the *kavusam* for conducting the harvest festival. The *kavusam* will burn the millet stem for rising smoke as a signal to invite the divinity to join the ceremony and ensure the next harvest. Under these circumstances, social interaction between ranks is associated with wealth and the understanding of birth order is used to express the relationship between the ranks.

Although the right to collect offerings based on religious significance is understood as a *mamazagilan* privilege, redistributing tributes is also their duty for taking care of the people. Therefore, exploring the redistribution practised through the collection of offerings is crucial to understand how social relationships are formed. Because the *mamazagilan* are considered as the descendants of the sun, the Paiwan expect the *mamazagilan* to shine on all as the sun in terms of 'caring' (*giba alai*) for people. In this sense, the connection with the divinity enables the sacred position of the *mamazagilan* to be achieved, but the right to collect offerings needs to be reconsidered to reveal how the position is acknowledged.

There seems to be a paradox in the understanding of Paiwan hierarchy from the precedence perspective because, as has been introduced above, in Davalan village the first *mamazagilan*, who enjoys the rank of firstborn, is actually the later-born in the village and the right to collect offerings is given by the *kadidan*. If the hierarchy expressed as birth order from the perspective of precedence is the only principle in establishing rank difference, the *kadidan*, as the elder and the firstborn, should be entitled to the preceding position. Therefore, the idea of precedence might be added subsequently to highlight the position of the *nasi*-giver who holds wealth. That is, transferring the symbolic economy and releasing the right to collect offerings from the *kadidan* in the mythical era empowers the *mamazagilan* to access the privileges

practised in present days. Nonetheless, the privileges are bound with the duties for constructing the acknowledged position. Therefore, when wealth is held by the *mamazagilan*, they are expected to act like the firstborn through sharing their wealth for taking care of people. That is, the position of the *mamazagilan* derived from the divinity, who is imagined as the sun, is based on how wealth is utilised. This highlights that, in addition to the idea of precedence, wealth is another crucial aspect in recognising the position of *mamazagilan*. In this sense, holding wealth seems to be the structure of hierarchical organisation in which the understanding of precedence is applied as a term and strategy to access the ownership of wealth. In later sections, through the example of Timur village, I will demonstrate how wealth and the idea of precedence are associated with the understanding of origin.

The right to collect offerings, in this sense, is not only the privilege of *mamazagilan* but the way to fulfil their duty. It is the privileges and the obligations that form the hierarchical interaction between ranks. Therefore, the hierarchical positions are interdependently constructed, and it is imagined in a shape of concentric circles by the Paiwan (Figure 4). As in the concentric circles, hierarchical society is formed by different layers of position from the periphery to the core. Being the recognised origin and the founder of hierarchy places the *mamazagilan* at the core of the concentric circles. Therefore, the family of *mamazagilan* is called the core family by the villagers. The *pualu* (the wise people), who assist the *mamazagilan*, stand at the second round of the circles. The *kadidan* is the third layer. These groups enable society to have hierarchical significance. Nonetheless, because of the idea of multiple origins, a Paiwan individual might claim a position in a different layer of the circle, depending on what wealth a person has accessed to establish their *nasi*. Matsuzawa (1986) has pointed out that the Paiwan tend to put their position as close as possible

to the core to access certain rights, such as having a specific name, wearing particular apparel and asking for certain betrothal gifts. Because of the wealth held by the *mamazangilan*, sharing the *nasi* from the core enables people to have a relative preceding position to access specific wealth.

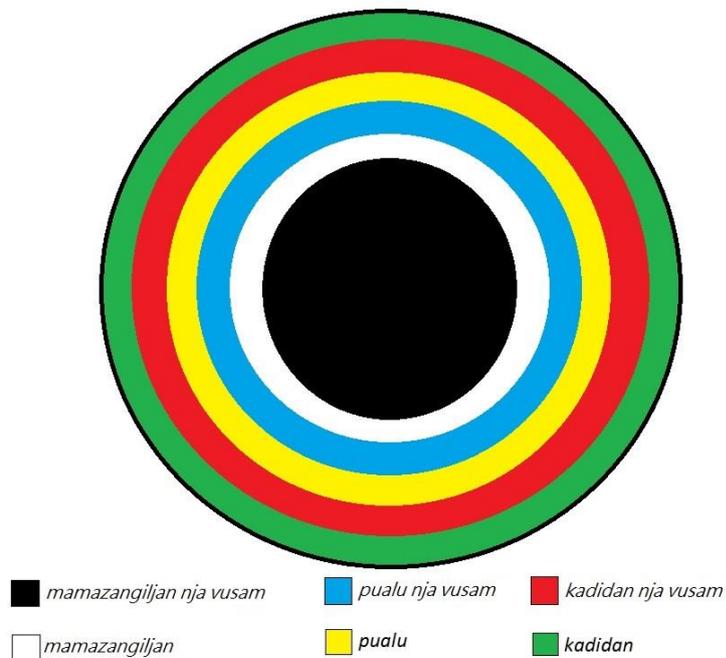


Figure 4. The idea of Paiwan concentric circles.<sup>19</sup>

The relationship between the origin and branches leads each of the layer to have its own *vusam*. The idea of *vusam* (seed) gives the concentric circles an expandable possibility to reform the understanding of precedence because, like a seed, individuals can establish another circle to create their branches and be the *vusam* in a new set of concentric circles. Under these circumstances, the divisional relationship between villages is a duplication of the relationship within a house. The original village could be considered as the seed of the derived villages and, to some extent, they do have a kin-like connection, because the derived villagers have shared wealth (names, land, blood or apparel) to access *nasi* from the *vusam* in their village of origin. Wealth builds up

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<sup>19</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

the kinship between villages in terms of sharing *nasi*. Therefore, the branched village also has a religious interaction with their original village, established by the millet offered. In the light of sharing *nasi*, to have a certain social position as a Paiwan, groups and individuals must continuously practise hierarchical interactions with others. In this sense, the entire concentric circle is based on wealth and the relationships between layers in the circles are established by how wealth is circulated.

The association between wealth and social position forms the concentric circles to build up the hierarchical interaction. Losing wealth is considered as losing one's position in society. Obtaining specific wealth belonged to the core therefore enables individuals to approach the core. The distance to the core of the circles can be seen as the journey to the origin and this is particularly important to understand Paiwan social relationships. Although Fox (2009) argues that the Paiwan stress the position of firstborn and apply a single term, *kaka*, to all siblings and cousins regardless of age and gender, I learned from Timur villagers that to differentiate the opposition of elder and younger they add *gu-* and *di-* to *kaka* to reveal the proper interaction.

The idea of elders and younger has dual significance. On the one hand, the opposition is based on actual age. People born earlier are respected by the younger people who call them *gu-kaka*. The *di-kaka* serves the elder. For example, an individual might be younger than his/her nephew, so the individual is expected to respect the nephew in everyday interaction. However, in ceremonies, the appropriate interaction between individuals is decided by distance to the origin. Therefore, in ritual circumstances, the nephew has to provide labour to assist the uncle/aunt because the uncle/aunt is closer to the origin (i.e. their common ancestor). That is, people must identify the distance toward the place from which their *nasi* is derived to figure out their respective positioning in the concentric circles, which can be understood as how

people perceive the whole. Therefore, when two households are negotiating a marriage, the distance toward the core (the core can be the *mamazagilan*, if they are in different rank, or if they both enjoy the position of *mamazagilan*, the core will be the first-built house in the *mamazagilan* group) will decide who can exercise higher rights over the other to be recognised as the elder. In this sense, although the first-built house of *kadidan* generally enjoys the firstborn position in their rank, a branched house of the *kadidan* household might obtain a preceding position than their firstborn by accessing wealth from the *mamazagilan* house through marriage. Under these circumstances, approaching the core by acquiring wealth will reform the whole to further manipulate the position in the society in terms of the understanding of multiple origins.

#### ***Misinterpretation of Paiwan hierarchy***

The Paiwan social position can be examined through the recognition of origin from the perspective of precedence. However, because the definition of origin in society is based on the *nasi* derived from wealth, the division of a group and the understanding of origin each have varied natures rather than following the opposition between older/younger in genealogy. Owing to the influence from two sub-groups, the understanding of social position in Timur village must be examined through the myths of Davalan village and Padain village to see how people establish their social position in dual contexts. Based on the myth from Davalan village, the Timur differentiate individuals' social position into three ranks: *mamazagilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*. The meaning of the ranks are understood as the descendant of the sun (*mamazagilan*), the wise (*pualu*) and the descendant of land (*kadidan*) and they denote distinct privileges and obligations. Conversely, in the system of the *vuculj* sub-group, social position is only differentiated into *mamazagilan* and *kadidan* depending

on birth order. It is vital to clarify how the Timur people perceive the difference between ranks. The English terms used in this thesis to translate *mamazagilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan* are chief, nobility and commoner, because these are the most similar words employed by the Paiwan when they speak Mandarin. The translation from Paiwan language to Japanese, from Japanese to Mandarin and from Mandarin to English may not completely explain what the rank truly means to Paiwan. However, because of the influence of the Japanese colonial period and the Taiwanese government, nowadays Paiwan people's understanding of the rank, to some extent, has been affected by how the foreign perceive their rights and duties. The implication of rank might be interpreted in various ways by the Paiwan in different generations and how the position should be fulfilled is argued over today. Many of the younger generation of Paiwan people are still learning and guided by the elders.

Today, these rights and duties are understood differently in Paiwan society because of the interpretation and policy introduced by colonists. In the Japanese colonial period, those in authority used the terms *tou mu* (頭目), *gui zu* (貴族) and *ping min* (平民) to address *mamazagilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*. These terms have been employed by the Taiwanese government and have become a common appellation used by the Paiwan to address their rank. Nonetheless, the terms introduced by foreign authorities to some extent distort the meaning of the Paiwan hierarchy. For the authorities, the *kadidan* supplanted by the word commoner (*ping min*) denotes an appurtenant position. These commoners were understood by the colonists as the subordinates of their leader to have no power in their village. Nonetheless, in the myth from Davalan village, and as I was told by Timur people, because the *kadidan* fostered the *mamazagilan*, the *mamazagilan* must address them as father (*gama*) and mother (*gina*). Moreover, in the Timur, the position of *mamazagilan* is acknowledged by

villagers and the *mamazagilan* is believed to be endowed with rights by the *kadidan*. Thus, although the *mamazagilan* has a sacred nature derived from divinity, they must pay their respect to the *kadidan*. The reverence is highlighted in a myth in which, due to a capricious personality and the irresponsible behaviour of a *mamazagilan*, the *kadidan* denied her position and chose another individual to be their new leader (RTKC 2003[1915-1921]). I was told that, to be a *mamazagilan*, the most important requirement is to have *kadidan*, because the rights of *mamazagilan* are exercised through the support from the *kadidan*. Only the existence of *kadidan* can construct the position of *mamazagilan* to form the hierarchical interaction. Because the Paiwan hierarchy is considered as the concentric circles, it is the *kadidan* who forms the outer layer of the concentric circles to make the position of the core for the *mamazagilan*.

Nonetheless, because the terms of rank and the political system introduced by the colonists have been adopted by the Paiwan, some of the younger generations of the Paiwan might imagine their hierarchical relationship in the shape of a pyramid and place the *mamazagilan* on top. The word 'tou-mu' substituted for the *mamazagilan* means 'leader of bandits' and suggests absolute power in their group. In the Japanese colonial period, because the Paiwan were considered as insurgents in terms of warring with those in power, the *mamazagilan* as the leader of rebellion had to negotiate with the colonists. After the insurrection was settled, the *mamazagilan* became an agent between the colonial authority and villagers. Due to these circumstances, the power of *mamazagilan* was derived from the colonists. After WWII, the Taiwanese government took over Taiwan and appointed the *mamazagilan* to be local officials for advocating governmental policy, as the Japanese did in the past. I was told that because of this obedience, some of the *tou-mu*, who were not the firstborn of *mamazagilan* or even a *mamazagilan* in Timur village, have been promoted by foreign

authorities to become much more powerful than they used to be. Conversely, the truly firstborn in the *mamazagilan* group lost their power and became destitute because of the change in the political environment.

When elections were introduced into Paiwan society, I was told, the *mamazagilan* were very keen to join the campaign to win back their influence. Nowadays, the highest political position in the area is the mayor and interestingly, since 1945, every mayor has been elected from the *mamazagilan* group. Through political activities, including their salary, local development projects or tourist developments, governmental resources are utilised to maintain their position in terms of taking care of villagers. Moreover, the five firstborn *mamazagilan* houses, which are currently recognised by Timur villagers, were confirmed in the 1990s in a village meeting held by a mayor who is from one of the *mamazagilan* houses. In that meeting, some of the *mamazagilan* houses are denied as being recognised as the firstborn, though they believe they used to be. Although the meeting was echoed by the village, I was told that the mayor had utilised the national law to secure their position to be the *mamazagilan*. A part of the *mamazagilan*'s power seems to be based on the national government, rather than sacredness derived from the divinity. Regardless, it is another example of history changing the social positions of the present day.

Social changes further affect how the *mamazagilan* access wealth, but the recognition of rank is still based on interaction between people. Therefore, as they used to do, the *mamazagilan* are expected share their wealth with others in return for being acknowledged as the upper rank. In order to understand rank in contemporary Paiwan society, observing the interaction between people will give insight into how the rank is recognised and practised in this era. As I noticed, many elders in Timur village complain that the practising of rank has deviated from its traditional value,

especially among the younger generation (those under 40). Most younger people in Timur village are losing their mother language and adopt Mandarin as their first language. Although some of the youth can understand some limited Paiwan vocabulary, their understanding of the terms is based on a Mandarin perspective and this creates misunderstanding of how the position should be fulfilled. For instance, some youths from *mamazagilan* families in Timur village refuse to assist at village events, because they consider themselves *tou-mu* whose power is given by foreign authorities. As I was told by informants, these youths are keen to act like *tou-mu* by doing nothing, but they are not familiar with their *veace*. This means these youths have no knowledge about the process of being *mamazagilan*. Being in a specific position for Timur people is not just about consanguinity, but more importantly about how people acted previously to access the position. Their *nasi* of *mamazagilan* is not based on blood, but constructed by how they act. The action forms the Paiwan code of conduct as a regulation for hierarchical interaction.

### ***The principle of social interaction between social positions***

The Paiwan code of conduct can be explored through how people participate in public events in which seniors will instruct the younger generation to practise their privileges and obligations to fulfil their social position. The code of conduct in Paiwan language is referred to as the idea of *gagudan* which has a relative quality and can be perceived through the idea of precedence. The *gagudan* is an instruction for the proper social action depending on the participants. For example, in the rite of the ancestral worship conducted at a *mamazagilan* house, even if a youth holds the position of *vusam* in that house, he or she has to perform the labour, because elders who are closer to the ancestor (i.e. the origin) should be served by the youth in the sense of *gagudan*. However, if the same youth is representing their house to attend a

wedding ceremony, which is an interaction between houses, the youth can be served by the elders because, in this context, the house of *mamazagilan* as the oldest house in the village is indexed by the youth. In this sense, the youth is considered as the origin (i.e. the elder) of other houses in the wedding. Respecting seniority is in the guidelines of Paiwan social interaction. Therefore, the *gagudan* in Paiwan language is considered as the correctness of how things should be done. Because of the relative property of the notion of *gagudan*, the same individual might act differently in the same rite depending on how the participants are defined. *Gagudan* can be understood as a status of precedence to clarify the social relationship, but precedence can be applied to different subjects for people to identify their position. For example, within a *mamazagilan* household, precedence is based on birth order, but between the *mamazagilan* households the time of establishing their house also reflects precedence difference. That is, the social relationship based on the status of precedence is not just about the age of individuals, but also the status of their house.

Because of the association between house and *gagudan*, the idea of house needs to be elucidated. I demonstrated in Chapter 2 that a Paiwan house is constructed by its wealth. As aforementioned, holding and circulating wealth enables the position of origin to be formed and that will exemplify the *gagudan* in terms of precedence. To understand precedence from a house perspective, the nature of wealth should be considered. Paiwan wealth can be separated into material and immaterial. Material wealth includes farmland, river, hunting areas, vessels, glass beads, knives and apparel. Their immaterial wealth comprises names, myths, talent, consanguinity, to name a few. Wealth is attached to a carrier. However, in Paiwan society, the wealth carrier is not individual, but a house. People, to some extent, are a part of the wealth required to form a house. A large family, therefore, will be considered to be a wealthy group. As

the wealth of a house, individuals in Paiwan society always refer the name of the house when identifying themselves because, in their language, the question of 'Who are you?' is 'Which house are you from?' In this sense, the house can be seen as an index of one's position. Individuals' social position, constructed by a house and its wealth, is related to the concept of *civaivaigan* which in Paiwan language refers to the idea of a path. The *civaivaigan* is a category of wealth which constructs the position of a house.

I was told that, as a path, people will know how long and how wide the *civaivaigan* is. Different from the idea of *gagudan*, the *civaivaigan* has an absolute feature, because it can be calculated by narrating the past to see what wealth has been encompassed into the *civaivaigan*. When the Paiwan attempt to identify their *civaivaigan*, they will start by recalling the name of their natal house and the name of the houses with which they have marital relationships to clarify what sort of wealth they can access through the association with other houses. By sharing wealth with their married affiliation, the *civaivaigan* of a house can be expanded to promote its position in terms of accessing specific rights derived from the shared wealth. As such, through recollecting the marriage of every generation of the heir of their natal house, descendants can identify their accessible wealth. Through marriage, the wealth of a house will be continuously accumulated to promote the position of their house as a path (*civaivaigan*) expansion. In this sense, accessible wealth highlights one's relationship with others for identifying one's *nasi*.

The understanding of *nasi* might be very similar to the idea of *civaivaigan* but it is not identical. *Nasi* is embodied by social interaction to identify one's social position. The interaction in Paiwan society is processed by the circulating wealth which is believed to be encompassed by the interactors' *civaivaigan*. How wealth should be circulated needs to follow the notion of *gagudan* in terms of acknowledging the

preceding position. In general, by providing wealth corresponding to the *civaivaigan*, one's *nasi* is confirmed and that is the interaction based on *gagudan*. Conversely, in a wedding ceremony, by providing inappropriate betrothal gifts (wealth), which do not meet the receiver's *civaivaigan*, one's *nasi* is believed to be denied and that will be understood as not following the *gagudan*. Under these circumstances, in order to receive more betrothal gifts, most of the Paiwan tend to claim that their *civaivaigan* is connected to the house of *mamazagilan*, by tracing their *nasi* to *mamazagilan* group through the material and immaterial wealth they have accessed through the past marriage. Because the idea of *nasi* highlights how one can act, the association with the house of *mamazagilan* enables people to enjoy the right to ask specific wealth to be recognised as having preceding position through the circulation of wealth guided by the idea of *gagudan*.

The association with wealth creates a cycle between *nasi*, *civaivaigan* and *gagudan*. Wealth encompassed in the path (*civaivaigan*) forms individuals' *nasi* and that enables others to identify them as the elder by abducting the regulation of *gagudan* performed in the past. Therefore, in a marriage, when households claim their *nasi* as a *mamazagilan* but give betrothal gifts which do not correspond to their *civaivaigan*, households complain that they are treated as commoners and accuse their counterpart of not following the *gagudan*. That is, by receiving wealth, which is encompassed by their *civaivaigan*, people can highlight their position as elder through the interaction based on *gagudan* to confirm their *nasi*.

Because accessing the *nasi* through circulating wealth is a procedure of establishing social positions, the *nasi* can be understood through the argument of the abduction of agency suggested by Gell (1998). In this sense, perceiving one's *nasi* is abducting the past social interaction indexed by wealth. The past interaction can be

abducted through wealth for the wealth-holder to access the right to practise the same interactions. The personal name, for example, as an immaterial wealth, is one of the most obvious clues to recognise one's social position, because a specific name is believed to only be claimed by a particular group as wealth encompassed in their *civaivaigan*. I will elucidate in later chapters that the personal name (i.e. the wealth) enables an individual to be associated with a house and, depending on the relationship with other houses, people might have more than one name.<sup>20</sup> Encompassing the individual into the group is not only to identify the individual's position in their group but is also considered an expansion of wealth for the house of the name-giver in terms of encompassing other wealth into their house. By giving the name, the position of origin will be formed and reconfirmed by future interaction between the name-giver and name-receiver.

The name as immaterial wealth held by a house gives the social position to the individual, but the name-receiver also has the ability to bring wealth back to the house to change the position of the house and its residents. The circulation of wealth can be processed through marriage or the rite of making alliances, conducted by the name receiver. These ceremonies will become the past (from history to legend) for both families to access wealth circulated in the ceremonies. For example, if the name receiver is a member of a *kadidan* household and marries a *mamazagilan*, their offspring can obtain their name from the *mamazagilan* group, as can their descendants as well. Marriage allows the *kadidan* household to access the right to have the name from the *mamazagilan* group, to be recognised as a *mamazagilan*. Furthermore, the offspring of the *kadidan* will have the *nasi* of *mamazagilan*.

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<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 4 and Chapter 6.

The Paiwan might argue that the *mamazagilan nasi* accessed by the descendants of the married couple of *kadidan* and *mamazagilan* is derived from their consanguinity. It is the blood they obtain from their *mamazagilan* parent that gives them the right to enjoy the *mamazagilan nasi*. However, as I learned from Timur people, it is wealth which establishes the relationships between houses for establishing the social position. For example, in the rite of making alliances conducted by married same-sex partners, there are no offspring produced in this relationship, but the partners are believed to become a family to enjoy the same *nasi* through circulating wealth. The rite will further benefit both sides of the partners' household to claim the right to access their counterpart's wealth. Under these circumstances, although the consanguinity is commonly understood as the foundation of kinship, if we examine how kinship can be formed in Paiwan society, the significance of wealth is highlighted. Namely, kinship can also be built through the circulation of wealth, which gives the quality of gift to blood, and the social relationship can be abducted through the circulated entities as an index of how the *nasi* was acquired.

Acquiring wealth, material and immaterial, will establish the social position. By the same token, losing wealth will affect how people fulfil their position in social interaction. For instance, a *mamazagilan* from an old Paiwan village is respected by others, because she is not only an elder but hold a preceding position based on their village legend. The house of this *mamazagilan* is believed to be the origin of the other two *mamazagilan* houses located in Timur village. However, when the *mamazagilan* participated in a ceremony held in Timur village and argued with others about the offerings she deserves, the association between precedence and wealth was exemplified. The others pointed out that the *mamazagilan* should be respected in terms of age, but since her family had lost considerable land in history she should not

be so conceited about her position in terms of the reduction of her *civaivaigan*. Because of this, the *mamazagilan* did make a concession and acknowledge the criticism. In this context, the myth held by the *mamazagilan* as her immaterial wealth denotes her ownership of material wealth (i.e. the other two *mamazangilan* houses in Timur village) to be treated as the origin. Losing other material wealth (land) thus decreases her authority in the interaction (*gagudan*). The myth, on the one hand, is owned as an index of the interaction based on *gagudan* to be considered as an origin (*nasi-giver*). On the other hand, the myth narrates how the group accumulated or lost the ownership of wealth to reform their position as the change of their *civaivaigan*.

### ***Associating with the past***

The *civaivaigan* is a category of the accessible wealth to give insight into the connection between houses, but the concept of accessibility might have to be reconsidered in contemporary Paiwan society. It is important to note that the *mamazagilan's* ownership of natural resources is today only symbolic. Because the land policy introduced by the Taiwanese government deprived the *mamazagilan* of land and rivers, the natural resources are currently only 'believed' to be owned by the *mamazagilan*. Although the *mamazagilan* can still clearly give an account of the region of their territory, most of their territory today is government property and people are forbidden from using this in order to ensure soil and water conservation. The *mamazagilan* lost the crucial wealth to practise their rights to maintain hierarchical interaction. Additionally, one of the articles in the land policy further endows the cultivator (i.e. the *kadidan*) with the right to own the farmland. Since this, the *kadidan* has not needed to ask for permission from the *mamazagilan* to use the land. Under these circumstances, the land and river were only owned by the specific rank, but the

colonists took control of these resources and redistributed them to people regardless of rank. For the *mamazagilan*, losing land to some extent leads to the forfeiting of the right to collect offerings. The hierarchical interaction, therefore, has changed.

It is important to note that having land will not entitle the *kadidan* to become the *mamazagilan* because the significance of land is derived from how it was obtained. Namely, their *nasi* is established by how they acquire and use wealth. The land is an index of the action that took place in the past. Therefore, even if most of the land is only symbolically possessed by *mamazagilan*, it is the memory of how the wealth was accessed that establishes their *nasi*. Therefore, as I was told, '*being a mamazagilan seems to be useless, but the value of associating with wealth is in our blood to define social position*'. It is often seen that *mamazagilan* argue with one another over land claims in the context of the land being governmental property today versus past landowners. Even if some of the wealth might not be literally owned, the ownership needs to be believed in order to be acknowledged to have a particular social position.

Although the circulation of wealth is associated with how social positions are acknowledged, societal change has affected how wealth is acquired and how it is circulated to establish social positions. For example, in the past, the land and river in Paiwan society were only owned by the *mamazagilan*. Holding land is to preserve their social position. However, in contemporary society, the *mamazagilan* in certain circumstances will sell the land for money and the *kadidan* can purchase the land through their hard work. Money not only became a new form of wealth in society, but also is the most powerful asset for people to access wealth to build up their *nasi*. Today the Paiwan can access wealth through money for conducting ceremonies with specific ranks in terms of changing their *nasi*. For instance, a *kadidan* can invite a *mamazagilan* to host a rite of alliance-making by offering money as a form of ritual gift to obtain a

name and the right to use specific apparel from the *mamazagilan*. Through the acquired wealth, the *kadidan* will be encompassed into the *mamazagilan* group and the *mamazagilan* will become the origin of their social position.

Because of the loss of wealth in the contemporary society, many *mamazagilan* selling their immaterial (i.e. names) and material (i.e. lands) wealth for living. Through the circulation of purchased wealth, the consumer obtains the *nasi* which is indexed by the wealth belonging to preceding position to 'be recognised' as a member of the *mamazagilan*. The money creates a channel for people to access the *nasi* indexed by the traditional wealth given from the *mamazagilan*. In addition to the rite of making alliances, buying enough betrothal gifts allows people to get married with the *mamazagilan* and so produce *mamazagilan* children. This will benefit their descendants in terms of asking for more betrothal gifts in their future weddings as an acknowledgement of their position as a *mamazagilan*. Different from simply buying the gift and leaving it at home to be recognised, the circulation of wealth gives *nasi* to people to identify the origin of their position in the future.

### ***From legend to history: the Timur village***

In Paiwan society, examining the legend and history can give insight into how social positions were formed and how hierarchical interaction should be practised. Because of the importance of the past, the establishment and the migration history of a village is remembered clearly by its people. The Paiwan can give an account of the exact location where their village had settled to identify the wealth accumulated by the ancestor. For example, there are the ancient Davalan village, the old Davalan village and the new Davalan village where Davalan villagers have lived and live currently. However, the establishment of Timur village is unusual. Timur is a relatively young village established in 1936 under the pressure of the Japanese colonists. To manage

the area effectively, the colonists forced five villages, Pinaula, Kacedas, Tjaravacalj, Salaulau and Gatimuljan, to migrate to their current location. Different from other Paiwan villages, there is only one Timur village in this history. The hierarchical system of the village has been constructed over the past 80 years and it is continuously reforming. The *mamazagilan* families who came from different villages have their own definition to prove that they have enjoyed the preceding position in the Timur village.

Timur people categorise themselves as the *vuculj* sub-group, but I noticed that only two *mamazagilan* families, *Tjaruzaljum* and *Pakadavai*, refer their origin back to the Padain which is the original village of the *vuculj* sub-group. The *vusam* (firstborn) of *Tjaruzaljum* house said the following:

The creator *Salavan* gave birth to five houses to establish the Padain village. The oldest house, the *Kazanglijan* was appointed to be the *mamazagilan* of Padain village. After decades, the village grew bigger and more houses were built. Five of the later established houses<sup>21</sup> travelled to the Davalan village for procreation, because there was no male in the Davalan. Because of this, the Padain people considered themselves as the *nasi*-givers of Davalan village and therefore enjoy a higher status than the Davalan people. After helping the Davalan, people from the Padain migrated to a place called Davandavan to establish their village and their *mamazagilan* house is named *Madalalat*. Nonetheless, because the *Madalalat* had no successor, their wealth was passed to the heir of the house of *Tjaruzaljum* who was considered the second-born. The *Tjaruzaljum* therefore took over the house of *Madalalat* and became the *mamazagilan* to hold the position of firstborn.

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<sup>21</sup> *Tjaruzaljum, Elejan, Madalalat, Ubalajt and Kazanglijan* houses.

After years living in Davandavan village, the people of *Tjaruzaljum* went hunting. When they arrived at a place called Tjaravacalj, their dog refused to leave. The people of *Tjaruzaljum* decided to establish a new village and transfer their house in Davandavan to the *Galuligu* family. As the founder of Tjaravacalj village, *Tjaruzaljum* is the *mamazagilan* (Figure 5).

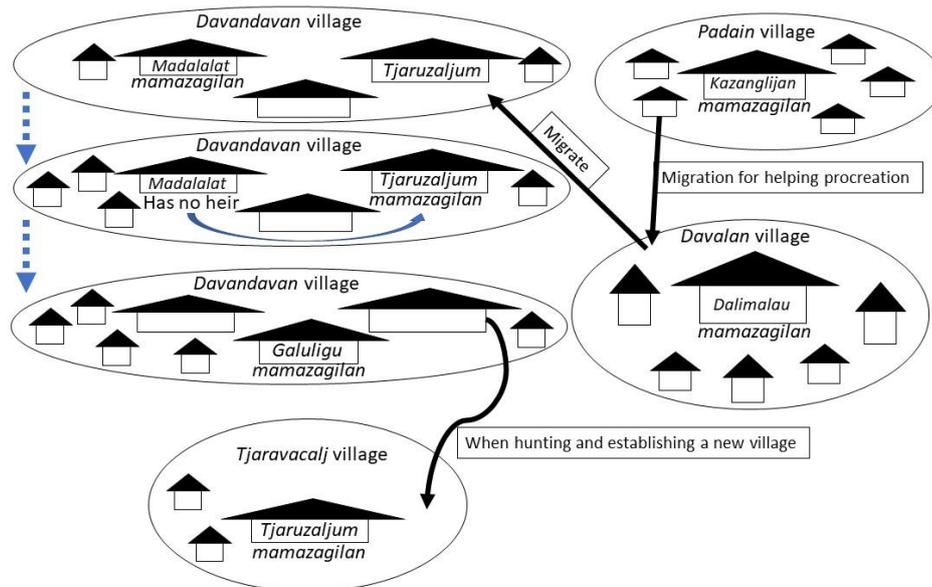


Figure 5. The past of the *Tjaruzaljum*.<sup>22</sup>

According to this narration, the *mamazagilan* of *Tjaruzaljum* was based on two aspects: occupying the wealth of the first-built house in Davandavan village and being the first-built house in Tjaravacalj village. These conditions not only highlight the importance of house, but also stress the wealth attached to the house and the territory. Nonetheless, in addition to these past migrations, the *Tjaruzaljum* refers their origin to an older house. As the firstborn of the *Tjaruzaljum* claims,

Although the *Tjaruzaljum* was not one of the oldest houses in the *Padain*, the *Tjaruzaljum* accessed the preceding position in *Padain* through marriage. One of the heirs of *Tjaruzaljum* house married the firstborn of *Taruliayaz*

<sup>22</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

house in Padain and, before that marriage, the *Taruliayaz* had already inherited the wealth of the oldest house, *Kazanglijan*. The marriage history enables the *Tjaruzaljum* to claim the highest position in Timur village and also in the whole *vuculj* sub-group.

That is, the position of the firstborn of the *Tjaruzaljum* in Timur village is established through marriage and migration. As the founder of Tjaravacalj village, the *Tjaruzaljum* enjoy the position of the elder in the sense of *gagudan*, based on the idea of precedence. Through the marriage with the oldest house, the *Kazanglijan*, the *Tjaruzaljum's nasi* has approached to the origin of Padain village by accessing the wealth held by the *Kazanglijan* house to both extend their *civaivaigan* and their precedence. Under these circumstances, when the Tjaravacalj village was forced to move and become part of *Timur* village, the *Tjaruzaljum* believed that they had the supreme position.

Although the *Tjaruzaljum* claim their preceding position in Timur village, another *mamazagilan*, the *Pakadavai*, have a different opinion. As an elder of *Pakadavai* house points out,

Indeed, Tjaravacalj village was established by the *Tjaruzaljum* family, but as the *mamazagilan*, the *Tjaruzaljum* did not take their responsibility. In the past, because the Tjaravacalj was fertile land, the villages around Tjaravacalj wanted to wrest the land by waging war with the Tjaravacalj. Some of the villagers decided to leave and only five households stayed. These households sought help from Padain and believed that the *Kazanglijan* could solve their problem. When they sought support from the *vusam* of *Kazanglijan* house, the *vusam* appointed their youngest daughter, the *Saulalui*, to rescue the Tjaravacalj. Nonetheless, the *vusam* of *Kazanglijan* house asked that, to be

the leader, the Tjaravacalj villager not only had to offer their land and river to the *Saulalui*, but also build a house for her. The villagers agreed. As a result, the *Saulalui* went to the Tjaravacalj with her assistants<sup>23</sup> and the *Saulalui* lived in the house called *Pakadavai* to be the *mamazagilan* for protecting villagers. One day, when the enemies attempted to attack the Tjaravacalj, the *Saulalui* just sat in front of their village feeding her baby. The enemies noticed that the *Saulalui* was from the *Kazanglijan* house in Padain. They knew that the people from the *Kazanglijan* could not be hurt, otherwise unfortunate events would occur. Since then, the Tjaravacalj avoided invasions from others and the population grew. Nonetheless, the *Saulalui* was dissatisfied with what she had and decided to conquer more territory by walking through the land. In conquest, the *Saulalui* made an alliance with *mamazagilan* from other villages and obtained their rights to claim more wealth as an expansion of *civaivaigan* (Figure 6).

The significance of house and that of wealth are emphasised again in the myth of *Pakadavai*. Being born into the oldest house and receiving wealth from villagers enabled the *Pakadavai* to claim their position as *mamazagilan*. Under these circumstances, the descendants of *Pakadavai* house claimed that they had replaced the *Tjaruzaljum* to be the *mamazagilan* in Tjaravacalj village by taking over this wealth. Moreover, to consolidate their position, the process of conquest and the associations of other *mamazagilan* are constantly highlighted by the *Pakadavai*. As they argue, the massive amount of land to which they had access gives them an unquestionable position in the whole of Paiwan society, so they are the true *mamazagilan* in Timur.

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<sup>23</sup> *Luvaniau, Culinalimen, Kalavayan, Dalianie and Dadake* houses.

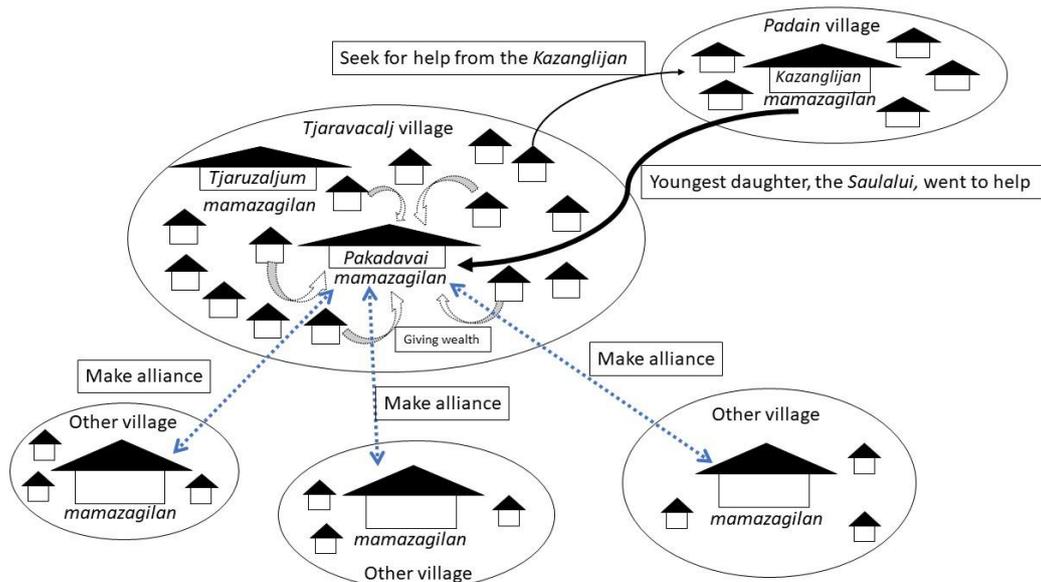


Figure 6. The past of the *Pakadavai*.<sup>24</sup>

In the course of this conquest, the *Pakadavai* believe that they had a house for resting called *Ruljuan* in Gatimuljan village. But today the *Ruljuan* is one of the *mamazagilan* houses in Timur village. As the elder of *Ruljuan* house argues,

The *Ruljuan* house, as well as the house of *Pakadavai*, belonged to a *mamazagilan* in Makazayazaya village. The elder admits that the people of *Ruljuan* were branched out from *Duvacingan* house in Tjaravacalj village and they were not *mamazagilan*. However, because of their talent, the *mamazagilan* in Makazayazaya village invited them to succeed the house to manage the Gatimuljan village. By living in the house of *mamazagilan*, the residents accessed wealth taken by the house. Moreover, as the *Ruljuan* people believe, when the Japanese colonists established Timur village, the *Ruljuan* was recognised as the supreme *mamazagilan* to work with the colonists because, as they claim, Timur village is in the territory of Gatimuljan. As the elder notes, after WWII, the Taiwanese government also

<sup>24</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

appointed the heir of *Ruljuan* house to be a provincial senator that not only enabled the people of *Ruljuan* to receive education, but also provided them with a considerable resource for accumulating wealth. Though their hard work and the position derived from their house, the *Ruljuan* could marry *mamazagilan* from another village. Because of this marriage, which took place around 60 years ago, currently the people of *Ruljuan* claim they became the real *mamazagilan* through the sharing of *nasi* with the *mamazagilan* in marriage. More importantly, there are five *kadidan* families in the Timur who assert that their ancestors were the pioneers of Gatimuljan village and that the *Ruljuan* was acknowledged by them to be the *mamazagilan* (Figure 7).

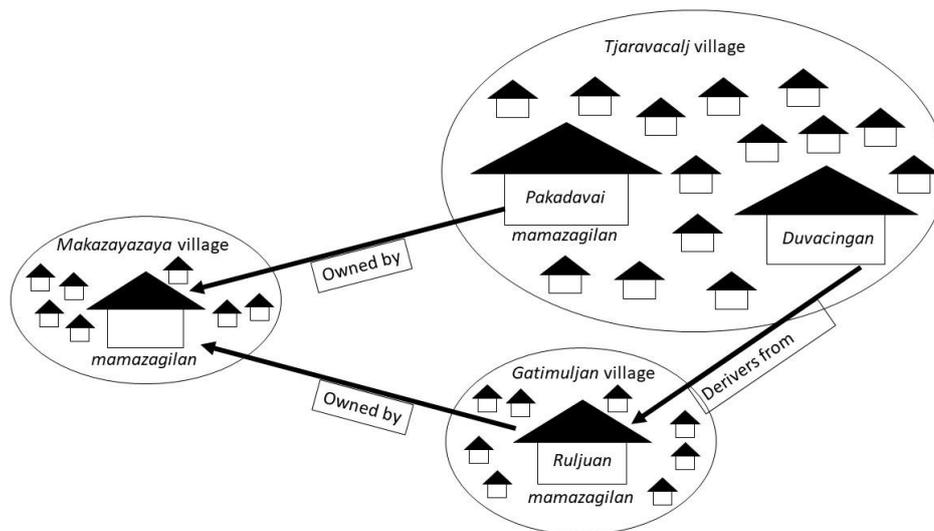


Figure 7. The past of the *Ruljuan*.<sup>25</sup>

The importance of the house once again serves as an index for the *Ruljuan* to establish their social position. However, unlike the *Tjaruzaljum* and the *Pakadavai*, the past referred to by the people of *Ruljuan* is relatively modern. Being appointed by

<sup>25</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

Japanese colonists and the recent marriage are the *doucige* (history) of how they 'became' the *mamazagilan*. As I have argued, the *milinmilingan* (legend) is crucial for highlighting how the social position was founded as the *Tjaruzaljum* and the *Pakadavai* address it, but history is also essential to confirm the current position. Moreover, even though the sacred root of the *Ruljuan* is relatively shallow, villagers' support enhances their secular policy in terms of how *Ruljuan* is treated as the *mamazagilan*. That is, the acknowledgement given by *kadidan* and the wealth gained from other *mamazagilan* enable the *Ruljuan* to have the *nasi* of *mamazagilan*.

Because of the association between wealth and the understanding of firstborn in the Paiwan society, we can see that these myths, narrated by the *mamazagilan* families, highlight that the most controversial question in the competition for the preceding position is the ownership of territory. The families introduced above claim ownership of the territory of Timur village for securing their firstborn position. Depending on the recognition of origin, Timur villagers also believe that the land is owned by the *mamazagilan* they recognise. However, as I was told by people from other Paiwan villages, the land of Timur was a part of Pinaula village. There were two *mamazagilans* in the Pinaula village: the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj*. It is important to note that both were not originally from the Pinaula village. They are not the founders of Pinaula village in terms of claiming the ownership of land based on precedence. Therefore, the myth of Pinaula village can be taken as an example of how the position of origin is entitled by the branches. As the myth narrates,

In the beginning, the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj* lived in Kanuvu village which was destroyed by a landslide. Before the disaster, two brothers warned the villagers and asked them to grasp firmly bamboo prepared by a dragon, to save their lives. When the landslide happened, people grasped the bamboo

and the whole village was carried by the dragon to a place called Adiyon. Because of the dragon, no one was hurt. However, there was no water in Adiyon. People had to migrate to another location named Vaneyon. One day, people from Pinaula village were searching for their leader and noticed that smoke was rising from Vaneyon. A villager from the Pinaula went to Vaneyon to invite the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj* to join their village and appointed them as the *mamazagilan*. To solve the dispute over the preceding position between the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj*, the villagers devised two competitions: raising fire and moving rock. In the first competition, because the *Pulidan's* fire gave rise to a denser smoke, the river and land covered by smoke were assigned to the *Pulidan* as their wealth. In the second competition, a youth from the *Pacekelj* successfully moved a bigger rock, therefore giving the *Pacekelj* the right to lead the youth group. After some decades, a marriage between the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj* made them into a joint group (Figure 8).

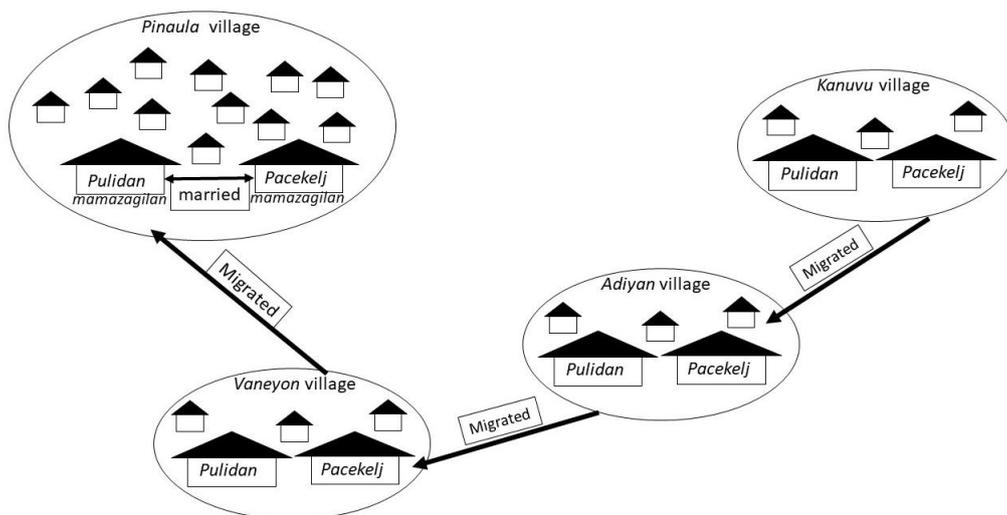


Figure 8. The past of the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

The story of the dragon and the competition given by the villagers are the *milinmilingan* (legend) held by the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj* to prove their position as a *mamazagilan*. Unlike the *Pakadavai* and the *Tjaruzaljum* who held the land by arriving first, the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj* were given wealth by the people. Through being given wealth, the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj* are recognised as the firstborn to manage the village. Moreover, as I was told, through the marriage between the *Pulidan* and the *Pacekelj*, the people from both houses became a household to have their surname as *Pulidan Pacekelj* to have the same *nasi*. Nonetheless, the houses remain separated. Both houses must be inherited to preserve its wealth by sending people to live in but the marriage between these houses makes the two houses to be no different in terms of rank. Under these circumstances, the house of the *Pulidan* and that of the *Pacekelj* are both identified as the *milinmilingan* house in Timur village and both successors of each house are recognised as *mamazagilan* in the village.

In addition to the legend of assigning wealth through the competition, one historical event is constantly narrated by Timur villagers. I was told that:

Around the 1950s, people from other villagers wanted to migrate into Timur village. The migrants were asking for permission from the *Pulidan Pacekelj* by offering Paiwan traditional cuisine. They waited for a very long period and the food rotted. When the heir of the *Pulidan Pacekelj* unpacked the offerings, the migrants could finally move into Timur village. The heir let the migrants build houses on the land held by *Pulidan Pacekelj* house. Therefore, today the later-comers' descendants are all settled around the house of *Pulidan* and the house of *Pacekelj*.

Owning wealth and taking care of people are believed to be the responsibilities of the firstborn. Fulfilling the duties leads the position of the *Pulidan Pacekelj* to be

recognised. By sharing their wealth, the *Pulidan Pacekelj* can be considered as the origin of the migrants in terms of being encompassed into the Timur village through the given land. I was told that, because of the permission for migration, the migrants have to fulfil their duties to provide offerings in ceremonies to acknowledge their association with the origin.

In addition to the five *mamazangilan* houses acknowledged by Timur villagers, there is another *mamazangilan* house called *Zinlju* which is recognised as a forgotten *mamazagilan*. Timur villagers told me about this house:

The *Zinlju* was the firstborn *mamazagilan* in Salaulau village. They had their own territory and villagers to construct their social position as the origin. Nonetheless, when they moved to Timur village, the firstborn of *Zinlju* house continuously married Han Taiwanese people. After three generations, a prestigious elder suggested that the *Zinlju* cannot be recognised as *mamazagilan* anymore, because their *nasi* had deviated from their rank.

In this sense, the argument of losing *nasi* seems to be based on the deviation of the *mamazagilan* consanguinity. According to this logic, even if Timur villagers still remember the past of *Zinlju*, they have been forbidden to practise any *mamazagilan* rights in the village. However, some of the villagers do not agree with the denial of the position of *Zinlju*, because they believe that the position is held by their house, not by its residents. Unless the house of *Zinlju* disappears, the residents of *Zinlju* can remain in their position. That is, the understanding of *nasi* is associated with the house and, as I have argued, the house is based on its wealth. In Paiwan society, the significance of wealth is derived from its circulation. Therefore, I will argue in later sections that the deviation of *nasi* caused by the marriage in the case of *Zinlju* should be examined through the wealth perspective.

The relation between wealth and the position of origin underlines position reorganisation. Timur villagers point out that the denial of *Zinlju's* position is proposed by a family who wants to be recognised as the sixth *mamazagilan* in Timur village. They were not only denying the position of *Zinlju*, but also claiming that they have a *veace*. The *veace* narrated by them is an owner of two mountains:

There are two mountains transformed by their ancestor. In the myth there were two brothers in their family, but because their mother only loved the younger brother, when they were sharing food prepared by their mother for a hunt, the older brother's food was rotten, but the younger brother got a superb meal. Therefore, the older brother refused to go home, and the younger brother decided to stay with him. They fell asleep and became two mountains.

The mountains are claimed by their descendants as their family wealth. Due to owning the mountains, the family claim that they should be acknowledged as *mamazagilan*. Despite this, the Timur villagers do not admit the myth as proof of *mamazagilan* rank. Unlike the wealth given by people as an acknowledgement of position, the story of transformation is argued by villagers to be a disgraceful past. In this sense, the implication of wealth is derived from the indexed interaction, like the legend held by the *Pulidan Pacekelj*. The idea of *veace* is based on how wealth is acquired in terms of establishing social positions. The myth of the sad transformation is not, therefore, understood as a *veace* by the villagers.

### ***Social relationships in modern Timur***

It is essential to remember that in Paiwan society the past constructs how Paiwan people conceive of their *nasi*, which is understood as how the Paiwan have social

positions through interactions. The interaction mediated by wealth therefore highlights what is encompassed within their *civaivaigan* and how people interact by following the *gagudan*. These frameworks will now be applied to Timur village to see how the hierarchical relationship is reformed in contemporary society. As I have shown above, to examine the association between people, the social relationship in a village can be seen as a concentric circle. Although most of the Paiwan village can be examined as a family in which the *mamazangilan* house is posited in the core position to form a joint concentric circle, it is important to notice that the family relationship of the concentric circle is not based on consanguinity. Rather, it is constructed through wealth. Because of the history of Timur village, examining the village composed by different concentric circles can give insight into how the social organisation is continuously reformed through the interaction.

Because Paiwan wealth is held by house, each concentric circle is a relationship between a house of origin and its branches. The understanding of connections between them might be based on blood but not necessarily. One's social position is founded in ceremonies which, as I was told, is a circulation of *nasi*. Because the most common ceremony of the circulation of *nasi* is marriage, the understanding of *nasi* is generally bound with consanguinity. Nonetheless, I argue that the idea of kinship is based on the *nasi* derived from wealth. In addition to inheritance, the giving and receiving also establish the understanding of family. Namely, the core position of a concentric circle is recognised as the source of wealth for giving social positions to the branches in terms of how the house of origin held and shared wealth with others. As in the story of the 1950s migration, giving the land to the migrant also establishes the giver's position of origin, even if they have no consanguinity-based relationship. In this sense, the receiver's *nasi* is formed by being given wealth to be a part of the whole. In

this sense, sharing wealth enables the wealth-receiver to be encompassed into the *civaivaigan* of the origin regardless of consanguinity.

Because of the relationships between origin and branches constructed through the circulation of wealth, some of the *mamazangilan* might possibly be recognised as the second round of the concentric circles (i.e. non-firstborn) by their competitor if they had circulated wealth in the past. This distinct recognition is caused by the past marriage between these *mamazangilan* houses. Because of the importance of who you circulate wealth with, if the spouse, for example, is the second-born in another *mamazangilan* household, the preceding position of the house who married in might be questioned by the natal house of the married-in spouse. For example, A1 is the firstborn of the house A which is the first-built house in their group. The A1 marries B2 who is the second-born of house B. A1 and B2 live in house A after marriage. Decades later, the heir of house B might consider house A as their branched house because the *nasi* of the heir of house A is derived from the second-born of house B. In this sense, the blood of the B2 is believed to be derived from house B and that makes the descendants of house A considered as the *nasi*-receiver to be questioned as having a lower position than house B. Because of this, the heir of a *mamazangilan* house tends to only marry another firstborn of the *mamazangilan* house to ensure the preceding position in the concentric circle.

In addition to maintaining their core position in the concentric circle, the position of the core is also founded by the interaction between layers. That is, how the outer layers treat the core and how the core takes care of the outer layer will affect how hierarchical positions are recognised. In other words, it is the outer layers of the circle that give significance to the position of the core. The position of the core was founded in legend, but history helps reformulate hierarchical interaction. For example, although

the *Tjaruzaljum* house was the first house built in Tjaravacalj village, and therefore should have the preceding position in terms of *gagudan*, losing support from villagers as losing their wealth became a defect used by other *mamazagilan* to deny their position. To fix this, it is interesting that nowadays the heir of *Tjaruzaljum* participates enthusiastically in public events to win people's support back. As a result some villagers told me that, because they notice that the heir of the *Tjaruzaljum* house has begun to care about people again, they are willing to treat the *Tjaruzaljum* as their *mamazagilan* by permitting the house of *Tjaruzaljum* to have an *mamazagilan* exclusive wealth: the *soulai* to acknowledge their position.<sup>27</sup> This, the villagers believe, is the greatest honour for a *mamazagilan*. Under these circumstances, by being the first-built house in the myth and by acquiring the *soulai* in the present, the *mamazagilan* position of the *Tjaruzaljum* house will gradually become solid again.

Conversely, the *Pakedavai* family seems to lose the acknowledgement given by the villagers, due to their minor contribution in village events. Most of the *Pakedavai*'s household members do not live in the village. Although they will return to the village for ceremonies, their participation has been questioned by the villagers. In this sense, they are losing the loyalty of their people, so they do not fully act like a *mamazagilan*. However, as I was told by other *mamazagilan*, the *Pakedavai* is recognised as *lalawus* who has a higher position than the regular *mamazagilan*. The *lalawu* is believed to have the right to require their people to undertake labour and also has the authority to punish villagers. I was told that the regular *mamazagilan* is chosen by people to be their leader, but the *lalawus* is appointed by divinity to enjoy supreme status. Nonetheless, the *mamazagilan*'s sacredness nowadays is not the foundation of the hierarchical position because of the conversion to Christianity. Changing the religious

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<sup>27</sup> The *soulai* will be introduced in the Chapter 5.

understanding lead to a consequence that the villagers seem only to care about visible interaction for recognising the social position. For example, the *mamazagilan* are expected to participate in people's weddings to show their concern and they must share their wealth with people. From this point of view, the *Pakedavai* to some extent secure their position as the *vusam* (firstborn). Being the house of origin of their family, the *Pakedavai* has fulfilled their duty by giving names to their family new-borns. By receiving the name, the new-born can have their position in the society in terms of associating with the house of *Pakedavai*. More importantly, through giving the name, the *Pakedavai* is recognised as the nasi-giver to remain in the core position in their family. Nonetheless, some of the other villagers, in the outer layers, said that they feel less connection with the *Pakedavai*, because most of the members of *Pakedavai* household did not participate in their family events and do not live in the village. As a result, when the *Pakedavai* holds an event, the villagers are also absent. Therefore, although the *Pakedavai* is recognised as the *mamazagilan* in that they hold the preceding position, the villagers might not treat them as such.

In terms of acting like a *mamazagilan*, the *Ruljuan* seems to have a good reputation. The *Ruljuan* are not a supreme *mamazagilan* in terms of precedence, but they take great care of their people. When the villagers encounter some problems, the *Ruljuan* always offer valuable help, especially by loaning them money. Instead of redistributing offerings collected from commoners, the money earned through salaries enables the *Ruljuan* to fulfil their duty as the *mamazagilan*. Because of resources obtained in the Japanese colonial period and the promotion of political positions by the Taiwanese government, the descendants of *Ruljuan* accessed education earlier than others and that gives them greater employment opportunities in Taiwanese society. Their occupation provides them with enough income to look after others.

Therefore, as I noticed, when the *Ruljuan* needs assistance, the villagers provide labour enthusiastically. Because of their achievement, today they are opinion-formers in the village for organising important village events. That gives them a chance to contribute to society and earn more respect from people. The villagers do appreciate their support, but some *mamazagilan* in Timur are not convinced of how *Ruljuan* established their *mamazagilan* position in light of not being the firstborn in their natal house (i.e. the *Duvacingan* house). Nonetheless, because of their achievement, the *Ruljuan* was able to afford the price of the betrothal gift when an heir of the *Ruljuan* house married a member of *Dalimalau*. Because of the preceding position of *Dalimalau* in the *ravar* sub-group, marriage enables the *Ruljuan* to access the preceding position held by the *Dalimalau* by acquiring *nasi* from them.

Marrying the *Dalimalau* seems to become a proof of preceding position for *mamazagilan* in Timur village in terms of receiving *nasi* from the first *mamazagilan* in *ravar* sub-group. Although the Timur is in the *vuculj* sub-group, the relationship with the *Dalimalau* is frequently stressed by the *mamazagilan* to claim specific association with wealth. The *Dalimalau* has an unshakeable position in both *civaivaigan* and *gagudan* aspects, because their *veace* (i.e. given birth by the vessel) is commonly identified as the origin of every *mamazagilan* in the *ravar* sub-group. Under these circumstances, being able to marry the *Dalimalau* denotes approbation for being recognised as having *nasi* as the *Dalimalau*. By accessing the name (i.e. the wealth and *nasi* indexed by it) derived from *Dalimalau* house, and by claiming vessels, glass beads and apparel brought from the *Dalimalau* house, the position of *mamazagilan* is consolidated. As a result, marriage with the *Dalimalau* is not only stressed by the *Ruljuan*, but also the *Tjaruzaljum* and the *Pakadavai*.

By the same token, consistently marrying Han Taiwanese people will reduce one's

position. In *Zinlju's* case, they were accused of deviating from the *nasi* of *mamazagilan*. The *nasi* is not only about consanguinity, but also exemplified through the betrothal gifts circulated in marriage. A wedding conducted with the Han Taiwanese might not meet the standards of how the Paiwan ceremony should be processed, where the circulation of *nasi* will be affected by not offering the proper betrothal gift. There are different opinions on how marriage affects the *Zinlju* house. The *nasi* indexed by wealth held in the house remains, but not receiving the gift to acknowledge the *nasi* will diminish the authenticity of their social position because the *nasi* needs to be constantly confirmed. Under these circumstances, because of the association between wealth the *nasi*, the process of getting married with the Han or with the *Dalimalau* will affect the establishment of one's social position.

The *Pulidan Pacekelj*, interestingly, do not highlight their relationship with the *Dalimalau*, although they have also continued to marry the *Dalimalau*. When the villagers talk about the position of *Pulidan Pacekelj*, they will not only stress the legend of the dragon, which is considered as the origin of their position, but also emphasise how they acquire wealth through the competitions. Elders in Timur village believe in the relationship between the dragon and *Pulidan Pacekelj* based on stories told by their parents. As the villagers highlight, the *Pulidan Pacekelj* have a sacred nature which gives them the authority to be a *mamazagilan*. However, other *mamazagilan* in Timur deny the sacredness derived from the dragon, because the dragon is not a supernatural figure in Paiwan society. I was told, the *Pulidan Pacekelj* were appointed to be ritual performers by the Japanese colonists and adopted the dragon from Japanese religion to be their protector. Elders told me that when Japanese colonists tried to convert Timur people to Shinto, only the *Pulidan Pacekelj* were converted, because they married the Japanese.

The marriage not only changed their religion, but also brought them into the political sphere. Many of the descendants of *Pulidan Pacekelj* are active in politics and that, as well as the *Ruljuan*, helps them to gain influence in the development of the village. However, it is important to note that the *mamazagilan* in Timur village adamantly refuse to admit that their position is formed through the politics introduced by colonists because, for them, that is not a justifiable origin of their position. For both *Pulidan Pacekelj* and *Ruljuan*, the ownership of the territory of Timur village gained in the past is how they built up their *civaivaigan* to be the *mamazagilan*. Therefore, as their *kadadan* emphasise, the wealth of the *mamazagilan*, such as the land, the river and the *soulai*, was given by people in the past. It is these people who approved their position, so for them the positions of the *Pulidan Pacekelj* and that of the *Ruljuan* are unquestionable.

### ***A summary***

Paiwan hierarchy, as earlier anthropological studies suggest, was based on the *mamazagilan's* privileges. However, privileges have been weakened by colonists. To understand the practise of Paiwan hierarchical interaction in contemporary society, it is important to explore this from the *kadidan's* point of view. In Timur village, the *mamazagilan's* ownership of wealth was given by people in the past to establish the hierarchical position. Therefore, the past in particular is important to confirm social positions based on interactions. Timur villagers differentiate between the past in the *milinmilingan* and *doucige* through the time sequence. The narrative of the past gives insight into how the position of the firstborn is recognised in terms of *gagudan*. *Gagudan* has the significance of precedence, because the position of the firstborn denotes the possibility of having existed earlier. The preceding existence enables the occupation and the circulation of wealth to be processed to form their identity as *nasi-*

giver. Under these circumstances, the position of the *nasi*-giver is built up through wealth encompassed by their house in terms of *civaivaigan*. Only through sharing wealth with others can the position of the firstborn be confirmed.

The circulation of wealth is a procedure, such as through migration, marriage and the making of alliances. It is the interaction in the procedure that establishes the owner's social position which is understood as one's *nasi*. In brief, individuals' *nasi* is formed by how they interact with others, and the manner of their interaction has to follow the idea of *gagudan* in terms of circulating wealth correspondent to the *civaivaigan*. Because of the association between *nasi* and wealth, I will provide more detail in Chapter 5 to argue that the Paiwan believe that wealth also has *nasi*, which refers to how it participates in past interactions. In this sense, the idea of *nasi* should be considered in terms of how people or wealth acted, and the *nasi* will be inherited through the descendants of the people and the owner of wealth.

Through continuously circulating wealth, people are entitled by wealth and the agency indexed by it. This enables others to abduct the past circulation and further to perform certain interactions in the present. Through interactions mediated by wealth, individuals can live as a Paiwan to have their position in the hierarchical society. That is, the *nasi* indexed by humans or by wealth is a result of the interactions performed to form hierarchical positions in Paiwan society. These positions are not just about what you are born with, but what has been given to you.

## Chapter Four: Church as an Alternative Form of House

The Paiwan house, as the carrier of wealth, gives social positions to its residents. In this society, different people can exercise diverse rights and duties derived from wealth held by their natal house. The idea of holding wealth leads the concept of *civaivaigan* to play an important role in the exploration of the Paiwan house. Because *civaivaigan* is a category of accessible wealth which is believed to be inherited from divinities such as the creator or ancestors, privileges and obligations are based on religious concern. On the other hand, depending on how people define their *civaivaigan*, the Paiwan can clarify the position of the house to conduct hierarchical interactions. In other words, *civaivaigan* is constructed by a collection of wealth which not only gives past social interactions their sacredness but can also be reconstructed in the present to build up hierarchy. However, the understanding of sacredness in Paiwan society has been affected by Christianity. Christian churches to some extent reform hierarchical interactions by being recognised as an alternative form of a Paiwan house. In this chapter, the idea of a Paiwan house, Paiwan Christianity and the changes after Christianisation will be explored to reveal how hierarchical interactions are processed through the concept of the house.

### ***The Paiwan house***

In the past, the Paiwan house (*umaq*) was constructed with shale (*ubu*) collected from the mountain. The shale is analogised as snake scales by the Paiwan. In the myth, the Paiwan creator asked the hundred-pace snake to peel off its scales every year to teach the Paiwan how to build their house. It was explained to me that looking at an ancient village from a distance is just like looking at a snake writhing on the mountain. The hundred-pace snake in different Paiwan myths is depicted as guardian or ancestor and it is one of the main patterns applied to their house, apparel and tools to highlight

their association with the snake. The significance of the hundred-pace snake is not only derived from the myth, but also from its habits as observed by the Paiwan. They believe that, unlike other kind of snakes, the hundred-pace snake has a sense of realm, because it will not leave its territory and will attack invaders. The importance of territory as a form of wealth and as evidence of precedence encourages the Paiwan to highlight the property of the hundred-pace snake by using shale to demarcate their realm.

The shale for building a Paiwan house is the same material used to construct the enclosure of a village. Within a realm, trees, rivers and any other elements are thus encompassed by the *ubu* (shale) for its residents to practise their right and duty to establish social order. Under these circumstances, the significance of *ubu* is very similar to the perspective of *civaivaigan* discussed in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, unlike the idea of *civaivaigan* which is employed by every member in the society to clarify their connection with other houses, not every house has the right to claim the *ubu*. Only the house of origin, the *gaomaan*, is believed to have *ubu*. Other houses derived from the *gaomaan* are believed to be a part of its *ubu*. In this sense, wealth held by the branched houses and the branched houses are owned by the *gaomaan*.

The idea of the *gaomaan* can be one's natal house or the first-built house of one's family. Because the *gaomaan* have the responsibility to provide building materials to their branched houses, the derivation of a house means that the *gaomaan* is understood as the *nasi*-giver who entitles its branched houses to have their position in the society. The *ubu* used to build the boundary is to delimit the range of their wealth to form the residents' *civaivaigan*. Therefore, the idea of the house forms a category of wealth by surrounding it by a wall, even though shale is replaced by

concrete nowadays.<sup>28</sup> In this sense, the house as a building and the carrier of wealth physically contains wealth to be used to identify one's social position.

To be recognised as a house, a building must be composed of three elements: residents (*ta-tsekelan*), a building (*umaq*) and a house name (*ngadan nua umaq*) (Tan 2007). Some buildings constructed for temporary usage are called *dabou* which, as the Paiwan believe, do not have *nasi*, because they have no name and are not proper structures. Every Paiwan house has a house name which is especially important to the Paiwan, because the house name is used to locate one's position in society. For example, when a Paiwan called *Lavuras Matilin* introduces himself, he will say, *di Lavuras agan, ala Matilin*, meaning 'I am *Lavuras* from the *Matilin* house.'

The house receives its name from family elders, once it is built. In the naming ceremony, the elders will recall used house names from a family house name pool and find one to name the new house. The house name, I was told, has no linguistic meaning and to some extent cannot be used to recognise rank, because the same house name can be used by any house established by different ranks of people, if their family has used that name before. It is possible that a *kadidan's* house has the same house name as a *mamazangilan* house. Having the same house name within a village does not denote any kin relationship. Nonetheless, recognising position by the house name can still be relied on by people within in the same social unit, such as a family or a village, because the units are typically in the same realm where wealth is held by a specific house to practise hierarchical interaction. Under these circumstances, within the realm, the house name is considered an index for the Paiwan to identify what wealth they have accessed.

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<sup>28</sup> The Taiwanese government prohibits the collection of shale due to the conservation of water and soil.

When the Paiwan narrate their position, I noticed that they will use the house name as a synonym to explain what kind of wealth they can claim to highlight their social position. It is important to note that the position established by the wealth does not only refer to the material or immaterial elements, but also how they acquire the wealth. For instance, the *Pakadavai* household in Timur village believes the reason they obtained wealth to be recognised as *mamazangilan* is that, according to the myth, their ancestor saved the village through her intelligence. As they believe, residents of *Pakadavai* house will continuously inherit this intelligence to protect their people wisely and the capability enables the household to maintain their position in the village. This is not to say that every house named *Pakadavai* shares the same capability, because the capability is not derived from the name *per se*, but it is held by a specific house. In this sense, the house has its own quality and applies its wealth to empower its residents with a particular social position. In summary, in a specific village the house name functions as a surname, becoming an index of social identification for individuals to be recognised and to recognise themselves.

Different from the house name, which serves as a mark of wealth, the first name is form of wealth. An individual's first name is given by the family elder and the name is believed to form the name-receiver's personality and social position. Because of the process of passing the name from an elder, who currently holds the name, to a newborn, having the same first name is believed to be passing the same *nasi* from the preceding to the succeeding. In this sense, the *nasi* indexed by the name is continuously inherited by every generation, thus enabling the name holder to fulfil their social position through their personality by acting like the previous name-holder.

Theoretically, a specific first name is only held by a particular group because it is believed the name obtained in the past is only circulated within a family. Claiming

wealth which belonged to others will cause considerable debate in society. Because the association between people, wealth and hierarchical position, the encroachment, on the one hand, despoils others' rights derived from their wealth and, on the other hand, denies the position of other party. Securing wealth thus protects one's identity in society.

However, the same first name is, in practise, used by many groups, each claiming authentic ownership and criticising others who abuse the name. This phenomenon is caused by the nature of wealth which can build up kinship in society. Therefore, even if a name is claimed by a specific group, the same name might be accessed from such an ancient time that kin relationships between people who hold the same name have become untraceable, and so these people question each other's right to the same name. That is, the name is considered as wealth held by the house *per se*, and it can be circulated between houses through ceremonies to establish kinship. However, because of the flow of time and the complex ritual relationship, the name has been given widely and this enables many families to claim ownership of it.

Because of the *nasi* indexed by the name, the circulation of names leads to a transference of *nasi* and forms the understanding of kinship. The regulation of circulation is based on the idea of *gagudan* and that further forms one's *civaivaigan*. When a baby is born, they will be named by an elder who can be either from the father or mother's side, depending on who has precedence. The position of precedence can be based on an individual's age, but it can also be perceived through the house. In this sense, the name giver need not be a senior in terms of age, but rather the heir of the *gaomaan* (the house of origin). The *gaomaan* not only gives its heir a preceding position in terms of *gagudan*, to be recognised as the elder of others, but is also believed to hold more wealth based on the idea of *civaivaigan*. For example,

if a baby is born into the *Pakedavai* household, the *gaomaan* within the *Pakedavai* family, the baby will be directly named by the oldest person in the *Pakedavai* household. Conversely, if a baby is born into the *Demaljalat* household, which can be a branched house of *Pakedavai* house (i.e. established by the siblings of the heir of *Pakedavai* house in every generation) in the same village or an in-law house of *Pakedavai* from a different village, the baby's parents will ask for a name from the heir of *Pakedavai* who might be younger than the parents. The name, therefore, is circulated within and between the groups to expand relations of kinship. The *Pakedavai* house will be considered the *gaomaan* of the name-receiver for the named to establish their social position through the wealth accessed. That is, having the name derived from a house enables the individual to maintain or establish kinship through this wealth to have a position in society in terms of associating with others.

In addition to the house name, one's position can be recognised by one's first name, because the first name associates the named with other wealth held by the house. The Paiwan can identify rank by someone's first name and will immediately acknowledge what kind of rights they might have through the connection between the name and other wealth encompassed by specific *civaivaigan*. This is why the name can itself be regarded as a form of wealth. By further providing the name of one's house and village, *civaivaigan* will be revealed more clearly. In other words, if the material and immaterial wealth held by the house constructs a boundary of rights as an individual's path (*civaivaigan*), the first name as a part of immaterial wealth will reveal what kind of path one is on and the house name will elucidate what else is on the path that one can access. Therefore, the same first name represents a similar category of wealth which draws a homogeneous path for individuals to practise certain rights and duties, but every house name denotes different boundaries of wealth along that path

and affects the justifiability of certain actions, further changing interactions between people in a practical way. Moreover, in addition to the *civaivaigan*, the practise of rights must follow the idea of *gagudan*. Because of the kinship established through the circulation of wealth, the name shared by a giver forms the relationship between the origin and its branches. Under these circumstances, the idea of *civaivaigan* is embodied by the first name but the *gagudan* will be further generated by the process of giving the first name. The following example will reveal how hierarchical positions and social interactions are associated with wealth and how they are affected by these concepts.

*Aruwai* is a *mamazangilan* name derived from the *Dalimalau* house in Davalan village. In Timur village, through marriage, the name is used by many individuals in different households, such as the *Pakadavia* and *Matilin* households. The *Pakadavia* household is recognised as one of the precedential *mamazangilan* in the village, but the *Matilin* household is a branched household derived from a precedential *mamazangilan* house in Lziuci Laulauzang village. Theoretically, both the *Aruwai Pakadavia* and *Aruwai Matilin* will be recognised as *mamazangilan* and can exercise similar rights belonging to the *mamazangilan*, such as wearing an eagle feather (an accessory of *mamazangilan* apparel), sitting in the middle of the dancing group (a dance performed after a wedding ceremony) and having the name *Aruwai*, because these rights are based on the *civaivaigan* derived from their *nasi*, associated with the *Dalimalau* house. Nonetheless, because the *Pakadavia*, as one of the original houses in Timur village, is believed to have precedence, according to their *civaivaigan*, only the *Aruwai Pakadavia* can exercise the right to sit in the middle of the dancing performed in Timur village to highlight their position of *nasi*-giver in terms of owning the people who trace their path to the original house. Conversely, if the dance is held

in Lziuci Laulauzang village, the *Aruwai Matilin* will have the right to take the seat. Moreover, from the *gagudan* perspective, although the *civaivaigan* of the name holder (i.e. the *Aruwai*) includes the right to wear the eagle feather, if both the *Aruwai* participate in a public event in Timur village, only the *Aruwai Pakadavia* can wear the eagle feather because the *Aruwai Matilin* should follow the idea of *gagudan* to respect the elder (i.e. people born in the preceding house) by not wearing the eagle feather. In this sense, the house of *Pakadavia* enjoys the position of precedential *mamazangilan* which enables the *Aruwai Pakadavia* to be recognised as the elder. On the other hand, the *Aruwai Matilin* can but should not wear the eagle feather by following the *gagudan*. Under these circumstances, both social specifications fulfil the understanding of hierarchy depending on the idea of *civaivaigan* and that of *gagudan*.

The house as a wealth carrier is the main element in establishing one's identity. Moving the house, therefore, will affect social position. For example, if an individual is born into the *Matilin* house, they will have the *Matilin* as their surname and have a first name corresponding to the *civaivaigan* of *Matilin* house. But if in some cases people of *Matilin* house move to a house named *Lalali*, the offspring of the *Matilin* household born into the *Lalali* house will have the surname *Lalali*, not the same surname as their parents. Nonetheless, the descendants born into *Lalali* house will not only access wealth attached to this house, but also maintain their authority to exercise the rights belonging to *Matilin* house by continuously occupying their *gaomaan*. Because the house and its name must be inherited permanently to maintain its social position, the *Lalali* household will appoint a member to inherit the *Matilin* house to avoid losing wealth. In this society, an abandoned house has a negative significance because it represents a loss of wealth and social position. To prevent this, by visiting the empty house regularly or by sending someone to live in it the Paiwan will ensure

the house is occupied. This stresses the importance of a house for establishing individuals' social position and keeps the position of the house alive in hierarchical interactions between people.

As aforementioned, people are a form of wealth held by the house, and they are also an essential agent for constructing the *nasi* for the house. The *nasi* of the house is embodied and established by social interactions mediated by its wealth, such as the residents. The residents of the house are considered the fundamental component for establishing a house, because it is only when a complete inhabitable structure (i.e. the necessary wealth) is formed that a house can be built and named. For the Paiwan, a complete household, called *ta-tsekelan*, is assembled by a married couple and their unmarried offspring. Because of the Paiwan inheritance rule, a house will theoretically be inherited by the firstborn of a household. Other siblings will build their own house after marriage and the parents might also move out after their first-born marries. In this sense, marriage is not only the starting point but also the continuation and expansion of a house. Marriage enables a Paiwan household (*ta-tsekelan*) to become several households and form a family (*cumulan*). That is, a group living in the same house will be recognised as a household and the branched houses composed by members derived from the same house of origin are understood as a family. Under these circumstances, Paiwan residential kinship can be differentiated into household and family.

The notion of family (*cumulan*) in Paiwan society might be understood from a genealogical perspective by stressing a stipulated common ancestor. People in a Paiwan family do recognise themselves as derived from the same origin but the origin is not necessarily human; it could be an object. In this society, the ancestor is the house, because it is the house that makes an individual a moral person by giving social

position through its wealth. For example, in Timur village, there are six *mamazangilan* households recognised as *Pakadavai* family. Each of them was established by siblings who branched out from the *Pakadavai* house that form the relationships based on *gagudan*. The number of household members in *Pakadavai* family is still increasing because the offspring of the branched household will also consider the *Pakadavai* as their origin. In this sense, the house of *Pakadavai* is considered as the *gaomaan* and the common ancestral body through which this family identifies their *civaivaigan*. In this sense, for the branched households, the heir of the *Pakadavai* house is recognised as the real firstborn (*kavusam*) to hold the precedence within this family. The sacredness of *kavusam* derived from the myth formed by their ancestor enables the *Pakadavai* house to be the religious centre for family members bound in a sacrificial relationship. That is, the branched households will make offerings such as crops, livestock or, nowadays, money to the *Pakadavai* house for performing this ancestor worship. Through the ritual relationship, the branched households can access the wealth given and held by the house of *Pakadavai* to be recognised as the *mamazangilan*. In this sense, a Paiwan family will hold a similar position derived from the *nasi* given by their *gaomaan*. The association with the *gaomaan* therefore can be understood as the broadest kin-scope for accessing the specific wealth encompassed by the *civaivaigan* of *Pakadavai* and, through providing offerings and receiving wealth, the understanding of *gagudan* is formed.

Another feature of how the Paiwan identify their ancestor is, as Fox (2006a) points out, the multiple recognitions of origin. The Paiwan might trace a different path (*civaivaigan*) to acknowledge another house as their origin. The common ancestral body is based on the idea of *nasi* by tracing where one's wealth is derived from. The intention of recognising different subjects is to enjoy the position of precedence

which can be seen as the relationship between elder and younger in terms of *gagudan*. That is, if one's *nasi* is derived from an older house, their position holds 'relative' precedence over the other.

Since *nasi* is derived from the sharing of wealth, the circulation of wealth between houses enables the common ancestral body to be traced differently to access distinct *nasi* for being a relative elder. Extending the previous example, *Pakadavai* is indeed recognised as the *gaomaan* in their family in Timur village, but if different families compete for the position of elder, the path toward the origin as the way to their *nasi* will be traced differently. The preceding position of *Pakadavai* house cannot be denied within their family, but if residents in *Pakadavai* house compare their position with people from other families, they might recognise another house to be their *gaomaan* in order to access the older position. Take the following example:

The position of *Pakadavai* in Timur village is questioned by the *Tjaruzaljum* family due to the migration sequence. The *Tjaruzaljum* believes that they hold an older status than the *Pakadavai*, because they came from one of the oldest villages, the Padain village, to establish a new village as the founder of the Tjaravacalj village, and the *Pakadavai* were later invited to join the Tjaravacalj village. However, the *Pakadavai* argue that, although they are not the founder of the village, the founder of the *Pakadavai* house was born into the oldest house: the *Kazanglijan* in Padain village. Additionally, as I was told by an elder in *Pakadavai* household, their mother who married into the *Pakadavai* household was born into the oldest *mamazangilan* house in the *ravar* sub-group: the *Dalimalau*. Their mother enables the *Pakadavai* to have the *nasi* of *Dalimalau* to be the supreme *mamazangilan* in Timur village.

This example shows how the Paiwan can identify their origin differently. Because of

this legendary migration and marriage history, the *Pakadavai* household can claim derivation from the *Kazanglijan* house in Padain village and the *Dalimalau* house in Davalan village, according to *nasi* they have shared. Under these circumstances, because both the *Kazanglijan* and the *Dalimalau* are considered as the *gaomaan* of other *mamazangilan* houses, to hold the precedential position in Paiwan society, the *Pakadavai* as a branched house derived from the oldest *mamazangilan* houses might enjoy the elder position in Timur village by recognising these two houses as ancestors. As a result, the idea of ancestors is flexible. By claiming *nasi* from different houses, the preceding position can be shifted in order to be recognised as the elder.

As with the subject of origin and the wealth carrier, the house is not only lived in but also houses the dead. In the past, having a tomb (*luvang*) constructed beneath the house highlighted the idea of how people are owned by the house as its wealth. Before building a house, the Paiwan will dig a tomb under the structure to practise indoor burial. Every member will be buried in the tomb under their natal house after they die, even when they have married out of their natal house. The surname decides one's cemetery. In this sense, the house indexes the *nasi* of the dead, who practised the rights and duties derived from the house, to be recognised as an ancestral body. Indoor burial can retain the position of the household by holding the ancestors' *nasi*, but it can also be used to access the ancestor's blessing to continue their rights.

It is important to note that indoor burial was forbidden in the Japanese colonial period. Today, the deceased are buried in the village cemetery. Nonetheless, I notice that the contemporary Paiwan tomb is commonly designed in the style of a house and every household will have a tomb which will be used by every member born into the same house. People say the deceased live in the tomb. On the day of the tomb-sweeping festival (a Han custom), Paiwan people will not only clean their household

tomb in the village cemetery, but also go back to their old village to sweep the old house where indoor burial was practised. The Paiwan believe the dead will return to the house to live with them, even though their body is buried in the village cemetery. In a Paiwan funeral, the household of the deceased will leave their front door open for the deceased to come back into the house. Even though the indoor tomb has been removed, the house as a wealth carrier is believed to contain *nasi* associated with the ancestor to have hierarchical significance and religious implication.

### ***Traditional Paiwan religion***

Because of the association between the house, ancestor and social relationship, as Chiang (1983) points out, Paiwan hierarchy is based on religious ideas. The Paiwan religion, as ethnographic studies suggest, is animism and they believe that every entity in the world has spirit (*cemas*) (Wu 1965, Hui and Kou 1998, Tan 2007). To understand Paiwan religion, the idea of *cemas* must be examined. *Cemas* refers to every supernatural figure, including the human soul, natural spirits and the creator. According to Hsu and Ko's (1994) study of Kuljaljau village, the Paiwan differentiate the realms of *cemas* into *i pidi* (the realm of god), *i tjari vavau* (the realm of supreme ancestor), *i makarizeng* (the realm of good death) and *i tjarhi tek* (the realm of bad death). The *i pidi* is lived in by the creator, *naqemati*, who is the life (*nasi*) giver of the world. The Paiwan use the sun (*qadaw*) to analogise the existence of the creator and depict its presence, as well as the sun, as one that nourishes lives. The *naqemati* plays a crucial role in Paiwan life because they believe individuals' destinies and the village's well-being are controlled by the creator (Tan 2007). To ensure a better life, the *naqemati* must be worshipped. The term *naqemati* nowadays is applied to the Christian god. Contrary to Hsu and Ko's study, Timur people now believe the *naqemati*

lives in the *i tjari vavau* with his only son: Jesus. It is curious that to some extent Jesus might be considered an ancestor who entitles people to take the position of Christians. As an informant told me, if Jesus is the ancestor of the Jewish people, he can also be our ancestor. People in Timur village always start their prayers by saying *agju tjari vavau gama cemas* (our father who lives in heaven) to express their kin-like relationship with the Christian god. To some extent, Christianity nowadays is an alternative channel for the Paiwan to imagine their relationship with the divine (Hsiao 2013). It is reasonable to argue from a Paiwan point of view that the *civaivaigan* (path) of a Paiwan Christian is formed by God and His son, who lives in the *i tjari vavau* where the supreme ancestor is housed.

The ancestors stand between humans and the creator and can be distinguished into two types: *sevalitan* and *vuvu* (Hsiao 2013). The *sevalitan* are untraceable ancestors (i.e. ancestors to whom no genealogical link can be traced) who are believed to have made a great contribution based on the establishment of ritual activities (as Jesus taught his followers). By following a ritual tradition enacted by the *sevalitan*, the Paiwan can imagine their common origin and identify themselves as a joint group to further establish a communal relationship. The communal relationship enables the Paiwan to clarify the proper interaction with others and to process an appropriate rite to access blessings from the *sevalitan*. The idea of *vuvu*, however, is relatively limited. When the Paiwan refer to their *vuvu*, the ancestor's identity is clear. Unlike the *sevalitan*, the *vuvu* are family ancestors who can be recognised specifically. Therefore, the *vuvu* are concrete proof of the family's position because, according to their understanding of the past, the *vuvu* through their agency established their descendants' position in the village. By remembering the *vuvu*, Paiwan people can give hard evidence to narrate what kind of rights their ancestors practised in the past and

what they can therefore do now. For the Timur villagers, the *sevalitan* narrated in the legend of Davalan village highlights how interaction between ranks has been practised, and the *vuvu* of Timur villagers establishes their social position by practising the hierarchical interaction established by the *sevalitan*. In brief, from legend to history again, Timur social organisation is formed.

Because of the hierarchical interaction associated with their ancestor, the Paiwan repeatedly stress their past by house worship. Worshipping the house holding the ancestor will strengthen the relationship with the ancestor, who can be seen as proof of past hierarchical interaction, and thus clarify one's social position. The house is therefore worshipped as the main subject in the ceremony to access blessings from the ancestor. However, the ancestor is not always friendly and might bring misfortune to their descendants. The Paiwan categorises death into two forms: good and bad. The form of death is decided by its cause. If the deceased died inside their house due to illness or age, their death is considered good and, in the past, they would be buried in the indoor tomb (Tan 2007). The Paiwan believe good death will become a friendly spirit for bringing good fortune to their descendants. Nowadays, although the deceased are buried in a village cemetery, if a patient is announced to be dying by a doctor in hospital, their family will send the patient back to their house by ambulance to have a 'good' death (ibid.). If someone dies accidentally outside of their house, this is considered a bad death because the Paiwan believe the deceased did not obey the taboos and was consequently punished by divinities. To avoid misfortune, in the past the deceased had to be buried outside of their village and the Paiwan believed they would become evil spirits.

However, certain bad deaths, such as drowning, falling or dying in hospital, can be converted by a ceremony to be buried in the indoor tomb (Hsu and Ko 1994). Only

death by murder, suicide or childbirth cannot be converted.<sup>29</sup> If such a death happened in a house, in the past the Paiwan would abandon the house in order to avoid negative consequences (Tan 2007). If the house as a *nasi*-giver and as a carrier of wealth holds the soul of the pregnant woman who died in childbirth, this is believed to affect the inheritance of the house in terms of having difficulty in childbirth repeatedly. That is, as discussed previously, the ability of the ancestor will be inherited by the residents of the house to affect their lives in both good and, possibly, bad ways. In modern day, genetic diseases are also explained to me as the consequences of past inappropriate actions of ancestors, resulting in misfortune passed onto descendants. The association between ancestor and house makes a Paiwan house a religious centre that establishes the residents' *nasi* and affects how the Paiwan have their position based on ancestral power.

### ***Ritual performance and social position***

The interrelationship between social position and religion encourages the Paiwan to treat their ceremony very seriously. They have a professional ritual performer who is believed to be divinely selected from a specific household, and the ability to conduct a ceremony is inherited as a house-specific talent. That is, this talent can be understood as a type of wealth for maintaining their position because, through the talent, the position of a psychic, for example, can be continuously sustained. A traditional Paiwan ceremony will be conducted by two mediators: a male *baraingan* and a female *bulingau*. In Paiwan society, the *bulingau* has a higher status than the *baraingan*. The *baraingan* is the *bulingau*'s assistant for preparing ritual materials. To ensure the divinities' happiness, the *baraingan* must dismember the sacrificial offering

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<sup>29</sup> The way to convert the form of death is affected by Christianity nowadays, which will be elaborated upon later.

properly, normally a pig, to provide pork and bone as the main ritual material for performing the ceremony. Additionally, when the *bulingau* is possessed by the divinities, the *baraingan* is responsible for protecting the *bulingau* from evil spirits by wearing a knife and standing next to the *bulingau*.

Only the *bulingau* is believed to have the ability to negotiate with the divinities. Traditionally, every *mamazangilan* household has their own *bulingau* to communicate with divinities. By conducting the rite, the *mamazangilan* household can maintain their relationship with their *nasi*-giver and *nasi*-receiver (their branched houses) by collecting and offering sacrificial materials. In this sense, the ceremony is the occasion for practising hierarchical interaction. The ceremony can be understood as the concretisation of the *civaivaigan* and the *gagudan* that construct the social relations of a group. The *mamazangilan* house, as a common ancestral body, is the location for sacrifice. The ceremonies enable the branched houses, in the sense of *gagudan*, to practise their duty to maintain the *nasi* derived from their *gaomaan*, which is the resource of *civaivaigan*. The ceremony might be seen as the *mamazangilan*'s privilege of collecting offerings. However, through the ceremony, the *mamazangilan* must fulfil their obligation by redistributing the offering to their people. In this context, through the example of the harvest festival, I will explain later how the worship performed at the house of *mamazangilan* enables every individual to establish a social position.

Because of the importance of ceremony in concretising hierarchical interaction, the *bulingau* was respected in society, but her status has since been affected by Christianity. Traditionally, not only for the practise of different privileges and obligations in the ceremony, but also for the people's well-being by converting the bad death into the good, the *bulingau*'s power to conduct the *balisi* is required by the Paiwan. The *balisi*, on the one hand, refers to ritual performance and, on the other,

taboo. Through the *balisi* (ritual activities), the *bulingau* can not only help to enhance hierarchical relationships between people but also resolve the *balisi* (taboo) violated to convert forms of death. This enables the deceased to be buried in the indoor tomb to ease the fear of evil spirits but also maintain the position of a house.

However, various historical events have undermined the authority of the *bulingau*. In the Japanese colonial period, the government forbade the Paiwan from conducting indoor burials and asked them to bury the dead in a village cemetery due to concerns about hygiene. Additionally, during WWII, colonists prohibited traditional ceremonies through the policy of Japanisation (1936-1945) to encourage people to fight for the Emperor of Japan. Under these circumstances, the *bulingau* cannot remain in their position as a ritual performer. The value of hierarchy, meanwhile, was decreased by lack of practising ceremonies. As well as being a psychic, the *bulingau* was considered to be a doctor because the Paiwan believe violating the taboo, such as going to work after sneezing or a bird flying pass one's left-hand side, will lead to illness. By communicating with the divinities, the *bulingau* can address the cause of disease to cure the condition by making a proper offering to the divinities. It is vital to note that after WWII, because the Taiwanese government attempted to build good relationships with Western countries, Christian missionaries evicted by the Japanese were allowed to preach in Taiwan. The introduction of medical knowledge by the Christian missionaries once again challenged the *bulingau's* traditional treatment and gave the Paiwan an alternative way of dealing with the supernatural figures. Undoubtedly, Christian ideas have deeply affected the Paiwan's understanding of the world. As a result, because of the interrelationship between religion, house and hierarchy, the study of Paiwan society must take into account how Christianity affects the hierarchy.

### ***Paiwan Christianity***

There are sixteen aboriginal groups in Taiwan, and each has their own traditional religion. However, according to Jian's (2002) account, 87% of Taiwan aboriginal people have converted into Christianity, including Catholicism. Since 1960s, most Paiwan people have become Christians and disowned their traditional magic and taboos (Shih 1969). A Paiwan informant suggested to me that perhaps in 50 years Christianity will become their traditional religion, because the ideas introduced by Christianity have been generally adopted. Given that Timur village is the biggest Paiwan village and the first in which missionaries began to preach, it is especially important to consider the Christian influence to understand contemporary Paiwan.

As a Christianised Paiwan village, today most of the Timur villagers are Christian. There are three churches in the village, including Presbyterian, Catholic and Seventh-day Adventist. Presbyterians account for 85%, 10% are Catholic and the 5% are Seventh-day Adventists. I was informed the reason why the Seventh-day Adventist church, which began preaching in 1962, has fewer followers is that they are the youngest church in the village. Although they are also the smallest group, their followers believe they are the only Christians who obey God's law. The Seventh-day Adventist service is on Saturday because they interpret, according to the Bible, Saturday as the real Sabbath day. In line with Leviticus Chapter 11 they refuse to eat unclean foods, although pork is the main meat for the Paiwan. To avoid violating God's law, the Seventh-day Adventists replace pork with chicken or fish to make traditional Paiwan cuisine for ceremonies. This is not to say that the Seventh-day Adventists do not slaughter pigs for the ceremony; because the pig is the most important ritual animal, the Seventh-day Adventists have to slaughter pigs for ritual purposes. Such ritual purposes and the importance of the pig remain regardless of denominational differences. These will be discussed later to investigate how this ritual slaughter relates

to hierarchical interaction.

Timur Catholics have the biggest site and the richest facilities in the village, because the Timur Catholic church is supported by one of the largest Catholic denominations, the Dominican Order. The Timur Catholic church was founded in 1950 and built a family medicine clinic in 1964. In 1978, the Timur Catholic church established a girl's refuge for taking care of homeless girls. I was told by villagers that, regardless of their religious denomination, the Catholic church gave every villager medical help, milk powder and flour. The villagers recalled that their parents used to ask them to go to the church to receive goods and that this was the main attraction in joining the church service. Villagers who are not Catholic still appreciate the help offered by the church. This could be misunderstood as something akin to a bribe, but I will later argue that, from the Paiwan point of view, this is what makes the Church accepted by the villagers as a member of their society, even though the Catholics no longer offer such goods.

For preaching purposes, the Presbyterian church also provided necessities to the villagers to attract them to join, which to some extent fulfilled how the Paiwan expect a member of society to act. Nowadays, even though, like the Catholic church, the Presbyterians have stopped offering goods, the villagers have not stopped attending the Presbyterian church. The Presbyterian church has the largest following in Timur village. I noticed that the members of the Presbyterian church are proud of their position as the first (preceding) Christian church, not only in Timur village but in the entire Paiwan group. In 1947, one of the *mamazangilan* visited a Han Taiwanese priest and asked him which God to worship. The priest therefore started preaching in Timur village by providing salt. As Tung (2001) suggests, the conversion indicates that, after the influence of Japanese colonial period, Paiwan people lost their dependence on

religion and were waiting for a new authority to announce the next permissible religion.

The Japanese colonists indeed oppressed Paiwan religious activities but their becoming devout Christians might have been caused by other factors. In the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the conversion of the Timur Presbyterian church, I noticed that the adherent highlights the salt given by the Han Taiwanese priest to symbolise the redemption given by the God. As I was told, diseases had been troubling the Paiwan due to lack of salt. Owing to this, on the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary (2017) Timur villagers were given salt again by the church from which the Han Taiwanese priest came, to commemorate how they became Christian. The salt, to some extent, can be argued to index the *nasi* in terms of how people established the relationship between God and the Paiwan. Under these circumstances, the conversion might not be simply led by religious concern, but is a process of the transformation of *nasi* through wealth as the Paiwan hierarchical interaction for becoming a Christian. Paiwan religious understanding should as such be explored in terms of hierarchical interaction.

The loss of religion might not be merely caused by the colonial policy of converting to Shinto because I was told that the Timur villagers never piously worship the Shinto gods. The informant added that although the Japanese did punish the villagers by forcing them to worship Shinto gods, the villagers still conducted their traditional ceremonies secretly. I have argued elsewhere that conversion should be examined through the prohibition of indoor burial and the method of preaching (Hsiao 2013). Indoor burial, as established, is associated with the understanding of spirits. The proscription of indoor burial affects the recognition of the form of death and thus deepens the fear of taboo. Christianity offered an alternative channel to the Paiwan for easing their fear. As in Tan's (2005) example of Laliba village, the Paiwan are still

concerned about the form of death and, in comparison, Christian missionaries can solve the problem of accidental death more smoothly than the *bulingau*. By praying at the location of the accidental death and introducing the idea of heaven, the bad death is converted into the good and fear of the taboo is reduced (ibid.). Christian ideas to some extent solve the concern generated by the prohibition of indoor burial.

Along these lines, I was also told by Timur villagers that Christianity makes life more convenient. Traditionally, there were various taboos restricting activity. For example, pre-Christianisation, if someone died, the deceased's household had to stop working and mourn for a year. Unsurprisingly, this is not accepted by Taiwanese employers who are not from the Paiwan culture. Although mourning is still important to the Paiwan, according to the Bible one must mourn only for a month. Within this month, the deceased's relatives will bring flour, rice and oil to the household to support them while they are unable to work. In the meantime, the church will not only provide religious consolation but also act like another household by offering food to support the household. This contextual information is important in understanding how Christianity fits into Paiwan society in this dual role. That is, the church as a religious group and as a form of house practising proper Paiwan social interaction to fulfil the villagers' expectations. Given the church's support for villagers and its religious significance, the church in Timur village should be examined as an alternative form of house to see how hierarchical interaction is performed through Paiwan-Christian ideas.

### ***The Paiwan harvest festival and Christian Thanksgiving***

A Christian church in Timur village has the nature of a house which participates in the hierarchical interaction. This can be seen in the harvest festival when villagers fulfil their privileges and obligations as a Paiwan people. The harvest festival in Timur village is the highlight of the year, comprising the village-based harvest festival, the

house-based harvest festival and Thanksgiving, which is the harvest festival held by the church. To understand how people establish social relationships and how the church acts like a household, we must examine the harvest festival.

Due to the festival, July and August are lively months for Paiwan people. All kinds of Paiwan harvest festival have a similar purposes, which are to show farming, livestock and hunting gains in public to express their thankfulness. The festival, the Paiwan believe, is an occasion to worship the divinities, but I notice that the festival is more likely to be a channel for people to maintain their relationships as a family. The harvest festival in Paiwan language is called *masalut* which means thankfulness, faith and greeting. These meanings can all be seen in the festival from the interactions between people and between people and divinities.

### ***The village-based harvest festival***

The village-based harvest festival, rather than having religious significance, is like a carnival for the Paiwan. It also allows villagers to teach the youth about how to be a Paiwan. Before the date of the village-based harvest festival, villagers will arrange a culture course to educate teenagers in speaking the Paiwan language, hunting skills and making traditional cuisine. Hunting and cooking are obviously important to the festival, because both are required to prepare the rite. On the date of the village-based harvest festival, people will be allocated into different groups according to their address and each of the groups must prepare foods to share with all the villagers. Almost every villager will attend the preparation, even if they just stand there and watch. I was told that everyone must show their concern and participate as a family, because it is the village event and the village is a family. Therefore, in respect of their different talents, a butcher will take the task of slaughtering pigs, a housewife will knead flour for making food and a doctor might donate money to buy drinks for their

group. Sometimes, the donation is a competition to prove the extent of one's contribution. Tellingly, the amount of money donated will be announced loudly. Certain individuals might try to offer more money to be recognised as more successful. As I learned in the field, only when people experience your success can you be identified as successful. In this sense, the village-based harvest festival seems to be an event for people to do something for others and receive status through being acknowledged by others.

Proving one's contribution can also be seen in the rite of the festival, in which the contribution expressed pertains to governmental politics. The preparation of the rite started before sunrise and ended at noon. I noticed that some of the villagers called that a day, when the rite had not started yet, because the rite of the village-based harvest festival seems to be a political activity instead of celebrating the harvest. The event took place at the village stadium. At the opening of the rite, an elder yelled to inform villagers that the ceremony was going to start and asked people to gather. The elected village head, the five heirs of preceding *mamazangilan* houses and some government officials, such as the mayor, congressman and village representative, who are all Paiwan, led the villagers into the venue. The officials expressed their thanks to the people for their vote and listed what services they provided, highlighting what they have done to be recognised as a good official, sharing their success by announcing beneficial policies enjoyed by the villagers. The villagers appeared to care considerably about the substantial help provided by officials and this might be why bribery reportedly occurs between candidates and the electorate in Paiwan society. This admired position is established through interactions which, from the Paiwan point of view, is what one shares with others. Villagers expect richer people to share their wealth, to take care of others to fulfil their status.

The village-based harvest festival is an occasion for individuals to present their harvest, which can be food, money or political achievements, to the villagers. To some extent, the village-based festival seems to lack religious significance and is more accurately described as a social event. Nonetheless, the festival does not only ensure the next harvest (or winning the next campaign), but also helps people to maintain their relationships through sharing their harvest.

### ***The house-based harvest festival***

The house-based harvest festival is also an illuminating example of how social relationships are preserved. The house-based harvest festival can be understood as a ceremony of ancestor worship conducted at the house. As I have shown above, ancestors are especially important for the Paiwan, because they provide the foundation of one's social position. But in Timur village today only the *Pakedavai* and *Ruljuan* houses have continued this tradition of holding the house-based harvest festival, both being the house of *mamazangilan*. I was told that in the past the village-based harvest festival was actually house-based because, as the *gaomaan*, the heir of the preceding *mamazangilan* household will be the host to celebrate the festival with their affiliated people. However, when the Japanese authority forced the five previous villages to establish the Timur, the precedential order of *mamazangilan* became controversial. Nowadays by having a village-based festival, Timur people are trying to avoid the debate of who is the truly precedential *mamazangilan* and to avoid the competition for wealth. In this context, people (the branch) are wealth held by the origin. The participation in the event will lead a debate over which host has precedence. Showing wealth through the event will therefore highlight the preceding position of the host. As a result, some of the *mamazangilan*, such as *Pakedavai* and *Ruljuan*, still conduct the house-based festival to not only maintain the relationship

with their own people but also confirm their precedence.

The process of the family-based harvest festival is arranged by family members. I noticed that there is no standard procedure and every year family members will try to find a more suitable way to conduct the ceremony.<sup>30</sup> But the pig sacrifice must invariably be carried out. In the past, the pig was offered to the *mamazangilan* household for the ceremony. The offering and collection form the hierarchical relationship between people. In this sense, the pig indexes the agency of people to establish the rank differences. In the past, the pig was slaughtered on the roof of the house of *mamazangilan* and that is believed to use the pig blood for covering the entire village (symbolised by the house) for obtaining *nasi*. That is, the pig and its blood are believed to contain and continue the *nasi* to build up the relationship with the divinity, who is not only the life-giver, but also the position-giver. By the same token, I was told, the female is to some extent greater than man, because they have not only a womb to give birth, but also can ask for betrothal gifts to maintain or promote the position of a house. Under these circumstances, through sacrificing the pig provided by people, the relationship between people and divinities and the relationship between people can be reinforced to ensure the *nasi* continues to be circulated and maintained.

Maintaining relationships to hold social positions can be done via the pig sacrifice. I was told that the pig is the most important animal for Paiwan people. Only the pig will be used in every rite due to the quantity of meat it provides and because most Paiwan traditional foods contain pork. When a pig is butchered before the rite, Paiwan people will save the head, neck, a back leg, one side of ribs, the heart, liver and

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<sup>30</sup> I have participated in four house-based festivals since 2011.

intestine to offer to the house. Some parts will be used to make food, such as *chnavu* (pork rolled in glutinous rice) and *avai* (pork wrapped in flour) to share with participants after the rite. Other parts will be distributed, raw, to relatives. By having food together and distributing pork, Paiwan people maintain social relationships with their *cumulan* (branched households), the *pualu* (affiliated families who are not relatives but work as assistants to the *mamazangilan* house) and the *kadidan* (who empower the *mamazangilan* in Paiwan mythology). Informants told me that affiliation with *pualu* and *kadidan* is one of the key ways of establishing the position of *mamazangilan*, because the position of *mamazangilan* is acknowledged by the people. Therefore, the participation of the affiliated group in the house-based harvest festival highlights the recognition of *mamazangilan*.

The festivals held by the *Pakedavai* and *Ruljuan* household are viewed differently by Timur villagers. In 2016, the *Pakedavai* sent invitation cards to villagers, but few of their affiliated families went to assist in the pig sacrifice. The villagers mock this because they perceive this as the *Pakedavai* wanting to act like *mamazangilan* but failing to do so. Conversely, the *Ruljuan* family invited people personally and their affiliated families attended to help. Villagers point out that, as demonstrated by the people's participation, only the *Ruljuan* act like a *mamazangilan* household. I was regularly told by different ranks of people that a *mamazangilan* without followers will not substantiate their position. That is, although in myth the *mamazangilan* household in the Timur village is recognised clearly, hierarchical interaction might not be practised fully.

In addition to participation in ceremony as the duty of the affiliated families in the hierarchical system, the *mamazangilan* household also must fulfil their duty through sharing food and pork. The sharing is done through the preparation for the

ceremony. Again, only the pig is adequate because, I was told, the quantity of meat it provides is suitable for maintaining relationships through sharing. In this sense, sharing symbolises the notion of a family in Paiwan society. For example, I was told that if villagers invite me to eat with them the invitation should not be refused because it denotes that people treat me as one of their relatives. Similarly, in Paiwan rites, such as the harvest festival (*masalut*), courtship rituals (*gisudo*) and weddings (*papucega*), people are always having food together and sharing food with participants.

The implication of food can also be symbolised by other materials to express the notion of a joint household. For instance, an iron plough will be offered as a betrothal gift to the bride's household to represent that they can farm and eat together. Additionally, a wok will be given as a gift to the household of a deceased person, symbolising building and maintaining a relationship like a family who cooks and eats together. The iron plough and the wok, I was told, hold the *nasi*. In this sense, according to the idea of the abduction of agency, these objects index the intention of being a family through the circulation as its *nasi*. By the same token, the pork indexes the circulation between provider and receiver. As a result, in the house-based harvest festival and in any other Paiwan rites, pig sacrifice must be processed for sharing with people to maintain this relationship. Through sharing, the *mamazangilan* household can redistribute offerings, which used to be provided by people but are now normally purchased by the *mamazangilan* themselves, to act like a *mamazangilan* and be acknowledged as such.

Social positions will be built through people's interaction, but for the Paiwan the festival will also maintain their relationship with the divinities. In other words, the festival is a prayer for the next harvest and, simultaneously, a way of maintaining relationships with the host, who is the agent for accessing the *nasi* derived from

divinities. Nowadays understandings of divinities are dependent on different contexts due to religious conversion. After food preparation, people will display other harvests in front of their houses, such as taros, bananas, arecas and sugar canes, to access blessings from their creator and ancestor. When everything is prepared, the formal rite will be started by a minister's prayer. The minister not only thanks the creator for their blessing, but also for what the ancestors have done for this family. There is a double meaning of the Paiwan word for 'creator'. The word used for the Christian God is the same as for the Paiwan creator. The informant told me that in Paiwan language they use *kacemas* (the real God) and *naqemati* (creator) for the supreme divinity and, after the conversion, they learned that *kacemas* is also Jehovah (Cf. Hsiao 2013).

Before doing anything, Timur villagers pray. Today, prayer is indispensable in every Paiwan event and, to my understanding, has ancient roots because the implication of praying to the Christian God seems to be the same as they pray to their ancestor and the Paiwan creator. In a traditional rite, the *bulingau* will use their finger to drip alcohol while telling divinities what they are attempting to do. When the Paiwan go into the mountains to hunt, they will perform the same ceremony to tell the divinities the reason why they are coming to receive a blessing. Conventionally, although only the *bulingau* can receive responses from the divinities, every Paiwan individual can seek help from the divinities, as well as what they do through praying to the Christian God. Today, I was told, the Paiwan have more knowledge about the creator, learned from the Bible, and they believe the subject worshipped in the past is the same as now. Therefore, the house-based harvest festival in this sense can access the blessing from the 'real God' in a dual context.

Christian ideas nowadays are the means by which the Paiwan conceive their traditional religion. However, some of the Paiwan are worried about Christianity

weakening their connection with ancestors and further affecting the hierarchy. The concern derives from Christian monotheism which affects how the position of the *mamazangilan* house is understood to be the common ancestor from a religious perspective. But, as I noticed, the Paiwan do not forget their ancestor at all and still strengthen the connection on many occasions. For example, in the *Pakedavai*'s house-based harvest festival, after praying, one of the family elders raised up the pig head and shouted their relatives' house names to recall ancestral bodies and invite their ancestors to join the rite. The names called in the ceremony are not only the name of the house of origin but include the names of the branched houses. The relationship between houses, as discussed, forms the hierarchy in the shape of a concentric circle, in which the position of the core and that of the periphery are equally important in establishing the Paiwan hierarchy.

After the invitation was made, the elder from the *Pakedavai* household asked family members to worship the divinity by using their finger to drip alcohol from a cup three times. Then, the members went inside the house to touch their most important ceramic vessel, which is understood as the origin of their position. Touching the vessel, the *nasi-giver* of the *mamazangilan* group, highlights their relationship as a family by acknowledging the common ancestor (i.e. their origin). Although the ceremony is performed in a traditional way and the importance of the ancestor is stressed in various ways, the Paiwan embrace simultaneously Christian ideas and cultural understandings of origin. As I was told, the ancestor has not been worshipped in a physical form by Timur villagers (though some of the Paiwan villages worship statues), therefore Timur, as a Christianised village, still obeys the commandment against idolatry. For them, nowadays their connection with their ancestor has less religious significance. Rather, it is considered as a memory of the past with which to socially

identify themselves as Paiwan.

Although the conversion has to some extent minimised the religious position of the house of *mamazangilan*, the importance of the house remains solid for social interaction. Therefore, in comparison with the time of preparation, the procedure of the rite is much shorter. From my observation, the most meaningful part of the event came after the rite of dining together and the distribution of pork. I noticed that, unlike the *Pakedavai* rite, in the *Ruljuan's* house-based harvest festival people were only sacrificing pigs, praying and dining together. Sharing food enables individuals from different households to act like a family. In the ceremony, the pork indexes the interaction between the provider and distributor that not only is witnessing but also was practised by the ancestor. The pork was also delivered to people who might be absent in the ceremony but should be treated as family members. I was told that every pig that appears in the ceremony must be butchered for distributing and every member of the family must have a share.

Maintaining the relationship between the members in the family seems to be the focus of the ceremony. In this sense, ancestor worship and the intention of having harvest in the following year seems to be downplayed nowadays due to societal change. Today, the Paiwan mainly rely on paid jobs, rather than farming and hunting. The house-based harvest festival is becoming a reunion, instead of an extended prayer for a good harvest. The rite is to examine their relationship with others. Namely, it is a platform to show how a *mamazangilan* acts like a *mamazangilan*. This is not to say that the house-base festival has no religious meaning. The ancestor, indeed, is provided with a sacrificial offering through a relatively simple rite to maintain the relationships between *nasi-giver* and *nasi-receivers*. Only through the connection with the past can one's position be confirmed in the present. Nonetheless, while being a

Paiwan, Christian identity is essential. Simplifying the worship of the ancestor might be caused by the conversion into Christianity and nowadays this makes the church recognised as the house of divinity.

### ***The church-based harvest festival***

The harvest festival held in a church is called Thanksgiving. On the day of Thanksgiving, worshippers will display their harvest in front of church altar, just like they do in front of the *mamazangilan* house. The display looks like traditional worship which might be considered as a violation of God's law. But to rationalise the display of harvest as an offering to the church, the minister quotes the Old Testament to say that the people of Israel made sacrifices to thank God. He adds that because it is God who protects the village and blesses people, the sacrifice allowed people to build a relationship with God and these offerings express thankfulness. In this sense, for the Paiwan the harvest is to appreciate God and, more importantly, to maintain their relationship with God. Even though nowadays not everyone farms, people can still use their talent to repay God's grace, such as by donating money or buying food from the market.

As Chiang (1983) argues, the offerings provided by people to the *mamazangilan* are not a form of tribute, but one for making a connection with divinities. In the past, offerings were received by the *mamazangilan*; now, by the church minister. Although the position of *mamazangilan* and that of the minister are understood differently, their natures might be very similar in terms of interaction. As I notice, the villagers tend to offer their specialities to the minister, because villagers believe he represents God. For example, a tailor regularly gives her work to the minister because she believes her skill is given by God and the gift of her work to the minister expresses her thankfulness for this. Similarly, a restaurant owner delivers free food to the minister

for the same reason. In this sense, the minister seems to replace the *mamazangilan* to act as a bridge for the Paiwan to access blessings from “*kacemas*” (the real God). When I discussed this phenomenon with people from the *mamazangilan* household, they told me that their grandparents in the 1950s had pointed out that people are less interested in supporting the house-based festival and the minister was becoming the *mamazangilan*. Under these circumstances, the Christian God gives the position to the minister and that makes the interaction between the congregation and clergy similar to interactions within the Paiwan concentric circle.

The argument that the church acts like a Paiwan house can also be seen from the sharing of food because, like the house of *mamazangilan*, the church is also a place for redistribution. As well as dining together at the *mamazangilan* house, on the day of Thanksgiving, after the church service, the minister invites worshippers to stay for food and people can take food back home. Additionally, a part of weekly donations will also be used by the church to support people in need. It seems that the House of *mamazangilan* and the Church might both have the obligation to reassign offerings to take care of villagers. The action of sharing and reassigning offerings in the church can be traced to the beginning of preaching, which is how the church attracted people in the first place by providing milk powder, flour and clothes. As well as the *mamazangilan*'s obligation as expected by the people, through providing goods, the Church fulfils the expectation of taking care of others to approach the idea of a *mamazangilan* house along with its sacredness derived from God. Therefore, as I have discussed, the position of *mamazangilan* is based on being recognised, but not necessarily based on a birthright. The *mamazangilan* is not only divinely appointed, but must be acknowledged by the people. A *mamazangilan* told me that they must “*gibajalai la kadidan*”, which means respect the commoners. The idea of *gibaala* is

very similar to the notion of *aloha* in Polynesian society, in which sharing and the giving of *mana* from divinity are all based on the notion of *aloha* to maintain relationships (Guo 2009). In Fijian society, they highlight the concept of *veidokai* (reciprocity and mutual respect) to strengthen the connection between ranks (Cf. Brison 2017, Gou 2009, Torn 1999). For the Paiwan, the *gibaalai* includes participating in weddings, attending funerals and guiding people towards political, economic and religious wellbeing. Under these circumstances, because of the minister's duty to serve the church, the position enables the minister to fulfil the obligation practised by the *mamazangilan*. The Church in this sense is considered as a house and Thanksgiving, therefore, becomes a form of Paiwan harvest festival.

### ***A summary***

Thanks to its chosen building materials, the Paiwan house is understood as a hundred-pace snake occupying a single realm and carrying wealth to establish a position, which will in turn confer social position on its residents. The residents (*ta-tsekelan*), as well as the building (*umaaq*) and house name (*ngadan nua umaaq*), are the key elements for constructing a house. The house can only be built when a complete residential structure is formed and will be named by family elders to encompass the new house into their group. Every new life born into the house will have the house name as their surname and be given a first name held by the house to become a part of the wealth of the house. Through holding material and immaterial wealth, a Paiwan house establishes an individual's social position through the concept of *civaivaigan*. The *civaivaigan*, as an integration of the idea of wealth, enables the individual to exercise specific rights and duties to form their relationship with others and further makes the natal house act like an ancestor (i.e. the *nasi-giver*). To be an ancestor, a Paiwan house will continuously house the body and the soul of the deceased by indoor

burial. The burial makes the house a proof of the past for establishing social positions, and gives the house religious significance.

The house is worshipped as an ancestral body enabling the Paiwan to maintain their relationships with others and with divinities to form the hierarchical interaction. All divinities in the society are called *cemas*, including natural spirits, ancestors and the creator. Among the *cemas*, the ancestor is the most important supernatural figure and has the closest relationship with people. Nonetheless, depending on the cause of death, the Paiwan differentiate ancestors into good and bad. In the past, the good ancestor would be buried in the indoor tomb to bring fortune to its descendant. Conversely, the bad would be buried outside of their village and might have a negative impact on human life. To avoid this, the Paiwan would ask the *bulingau* (female psychic) to perform the *balisi* (ritual activity) to manipulate the form of the death. The *bulingau* has the ability to communicate with the divinities and help people to overcome the fear of taboo. Through the ritual activity, the *bulingau* can assist the Paiwan to maintain their relationship with divinities, which is the resource of their social position, and thus further enhance the connection between people through the practise of hierarchical interaction.

However, the *bulingau*'s position was affected by Christian missionaries. Church has become to some extent an alternative form of a Paiwan house. This is illustrated by the harvest festival. The main values practised in the festival are sharing wealth and praying to divinities. However, there are three forms of harvest festival in Timur village. Different from the other two forms of harvest festival, in the village-based harvest festival, sharing their success is the main purpose for people who wish to identify their position. The success can be demonstrated through harvest, money or political achievements. Only through sharing can one's position and one's relationship with

others be confirmed.

One's position is associated with divinities. In order to establish a relationship with the divinities, in the house-based harvest festival and Thanksgiving, people will offer their gains to the house and the church respectively. In the house-based harvest festival ceremony, the *mamazangilan* is considered as an agent for people to maintain their connection with the ancestor by offering the harvest. The offering might be considered as *mamazangilan's* privilege. However, from the provider's point of view, the offering establishes a means to access the *nasi* given by the ancestor to maintain their position and, additionally, the *mamazangilan* must fulfil their responsibility to redistribute the offering. Rather than being due to religious understanding, in the house-based harvest festival offerings and collections mainly contribute to hierarchical interaction for people to establish their position. Because of the conversion, though, the Paiwan today worship the Christian God who is believed to be housed in the church. The priest, acting like the *mamazangilan*, also shares offerings with his congregation. Therefore, the church, as well as the house of *mamazangilan*, meets the villagers' expectations that they participate in the hierarchical system. Thus, the relationship with the Christian God is constructed through Paiwan tradition and the hierarchical interaction is exercised in a Christian context.

## Chapter Five: Art-like Wealth as Evidence of Precedence

The relationship between hierarchy and wealth is based on the idea of *nasi* which is key to understanding Paiwan social organisation. Although the Paiwan relate the idea of *nasi* to consanguinity, through exploring how people identify *nasi* from different social aspects we find there is a further dimension of consanguinity. Because *nasi* is associated with social interaction, I argue that it can be understood through the concept of destiny. One's *nasi* is related to how an individual is treated in social interaction and is associated with their wealth. How people are treated by others depends on what *nasi* (destiny) they have. Because of the connection between past and present, *nasi* is associated with inheritance and this is constantly confirmed through the wealth circulated in every rite. By accessing certain wealth, such as land, names, myths and people, encompassed in their *civaivaigan*, individuals can practise their rights and duties by following the *gagudan* to establish their *nasi* in terms of forming hierarchical relationships. For example, in marriage, the idea of an appropriate betrothal gift depends on what wealth is associated with the gift-receiver. By providing different gifts, people's *nasi* will be categorised into the ranks of *mamazangilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*. Nonetheless, some of the wealth, such as land, myths and people from the branched houses, cannot be offered physically in terms of meeting the receiver's *civaivaigan*. The Paiwan therefore employ what I call art-like wealth to not only acknowledge but also share the *nasi* through its circulation.

Part of the nature of Paiwan art-like wealth discussed in this thesis is derived from Gell's (1998) argument about art, in which artwork indexes the agency in the process of its creation, its circulation and its usage to construct social relationships. Under these circumstances, *nasi* is examined in this thesis through the idea of agency to reveal how art-like wealth establishes hierarchical positions. Moreover, by adopting

the idea of house society, the exploration of Paiwan art-like wealth starts from the house which, as Lévi-Strauss (1982) points out, holds material and immaterial wealth to establish the position of its residents. That is, Paiwan art-like wealth enables *nasi* to be inherited within a house to establish positions and it can be further circulated between houses to manipulate positions. Examining Paiwan art-like wealth will provide a channel through which to explore Paiwan social relationships.

As aforementioned, although wealth is crucial in establishing Paiwan hierarchy, the Paiwan lost the right to access certain wealth in the Japanese colonial period. Given this, art-like wealth becomes more important to trace what wealth is associated with people to identify hierarchical positions. Nonetheless, the Paiwan language has no words directly referring to the art, and the art-like wealth is not a form of art from the Paiwan point of view. It is important to note that in the past most of the art-like wealth was not created by man, but was given by divinities, such as the vessel in the Davalan myth. However, in Paiwan society, traditionally, there is an artist-like position and nowadays they are the producers of the art-like wealth. In this sense, the understanding of art in society has changed. Moreover, because of the idea of art introduced by the colonisers who collected and sold the Paiwan art-like wealth as primitive art purely for aesthetic appreciation, nowadays Paiwan art is not only the art-like wealth which is circulated in ceremonies but also the work produced for the market, galleries and museums. In this chapter, the nature of the art-like wealth will be illustrated to examine how the *nasi* is indexed. Through analysing the aesthetics, style and form of art-like wealth, the understanding of Paiwan hierarchy can be clarified. By examining the change in the understanding of art, the change of the artist-like position can be better understood and, through this, the association between art-like wealth and hierarchy will be revealed.

### ***The nature of Paiwan art-like wealth***

Walking in a Paiwan village, people will notice that there are plenty of decorations on the house, especially the house of *mamazangilan*. The *mamazangilan* is believed to own most of the wealth in the village, therefore their house holds considerable art-like wealth to highlight their position. The most unique art-like wealth of the *mamazangilan* house is the *soulai* which can be a pillar made of wood placed inside a house or a slate pillar erected in front of the house. The *soulai* will normally be set when a house was built.

There was a wonderful opportunity to observe the establishment of a *soulai* when I stayed in Timur village. The importance of the past leads the *soulai* to be associated with ancestral worship, but for Timur villagers Christian doctrine is equally crucial. Therefore, although the Paiwan prefer to conduct their ceremonies in the early morning, the erection of *soulai* in which I participated was hosted after the Sunday service. When people left the church, a village broadcast announced that the *Tjaruzaljum* family was going to erect a *soulai* at their *gaomaan* (original house) and all villagers were welcome to participate.

The members of the *Tjaruzaljum* family waited for a presbyter from the Timur Presbyterian church to hold the ceremony. Before the presbyter arrived, the elders of the family were discussing how they should define this event. They argued the *soulai*, in Mandarin, as ethnographical studies (Chang 1996, Tan 2007, Hu 2011) named it, is called an ancestral pillar which is believed to be wealth owned by the *mamazangilan* house which contains the ancestors' soul for conducting worship. However, because of the conversion to Christianity, it is now unacceptable to adopt such concepts to

explain the establishment of *soulai* in the Christianised village. The family members suggested that they should highlight the meaning of *soulai* in Paiwan language as a sign which marks the position of the house and its residents as the leader of the village. To ensure the *soulai* met Christian values while remaining Paiwan, even though the establishment of *soulai* is conducted in a Christian way by not highlighting the ancestor, the *soulai* will have its *nasi* through the ceremony and will be recognised as a mark of the house's position. Acting like a devout Christian seems to be a standard social norm for the villagers but adhering to traditional values is also important for the Paiwan to have the position through the establishment of the *soulai* (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Erecting the *soulai*.<sup>31</sup>

Although the *soulai* is associated with ancestors, its erection in Timur village is blessed by God through the Christian ceremony. To avoid the violation of church policy while keeping the *nasi* of the *soulai*, the *Tjaruzaljum* family attempted to follow both traditional concepts and Christian doctrine to fulfil the position of a *mamazangilan*

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<sup>31</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

and that of a Christian. The *Tjaruzaljum* house is only about fifty metres away from the church, so the family members were constantly looking toward the church and waiting for the arrival of the presbyter. When the presbyter was present, the ceremony at the *Tjaruzaljum* house could begin. In the beginning of the ceremony, a family elder told the participants that although the event is not the worship of an ancestor, the significance of having the *soulai* still meets the Paiwan tradition by reminding people of the position of this house. The presbyter, in this sense, prayed to the God for blessing the ceremony to construct the *soulai* smoothly. As the presbyter noted, the event is one of the Paiwan traditions that took place at the *mamazangilan* house in the promises of God. I was told by a Paiwan church minister that the Paiwan tradition, as well as Israeli culture, is created by God, and although the Paiwan did not know who the true God was, the continuation of their tradition is by the grace of God. The Paiwan, as the minister pointed out, do not have to abandon their tradition if they believe in God. For the Timur villagers, erecting the *soulai* is enabled by God and having the 'ancestral pillar' to some extent does not violate Christian doctrine. Through the prayer given by the Christian clergy, the *Tjaruzaljum* house can access the authorisation of establishing a *soulai* that is witnessed and blessed by the Christian God who nowadays is believed to be the almighty divinity by the Paiwan.

The conversion to Christianity has changed Timur villagers' understanding of divinity and to some extent leads people to minimise the religious implication of the *soulai*. By having the presbyter pray for the ceremony, the *Tjaruzaljum* family behaves as Christians to avoid the concern of ancestral worship, because the *soulai* is believed to hold the soul of ancestors as an icon of traditional religion. However, I noticed that the significance of ancestors has not been entirely played down. In order to have the *nasi*, the *soulai* needs to be related to the past by recalling the names of the houses

where ancestors lived. After prayer, a member of the *Tjaruzaljum* family performed a Paiwan rhyme which praises a divinity called *Salavan* who created Paiwan people. In the rhyme, the foundation of Padain village is recounted by announcing the name of the founding houses. Depending on the prior position of the Padain based on the idea of precedence, the *Tjaruzaljum* family, as the performer claimed, is the oldest house in the Timur village because they migrated from the Padain to the *Tjaravacalj* and were gathered by Japanese colonisers to form Timur village. By declaring precedence, the *Tjaruzaljum* house is believed to be able to justify erecting the *soulai*. When the performer explains the song to the participants, the deity of the *Salavan* was less important. Rather, the preceding position of Padain village given by the *Salavan* is what means a lot to Timur people. The *Salavan* is not an icon worshipped by the village but serves as a reference to the ancient time. That is, although establishing the *soulai* is practised by means of a Christian ceremony, the traditional Paiwan divinity is nevertheless essential for the Paiwan to trace their position expressed by the idea of precedence. The event, on the one hand, is to seek the Christian God's grace and, on the other hand, is to highlight their position of precedence referenced by the Paiwan divinity. Under these circumstances, although the relationship with the *Salavan*, a Paiwan divinity, was a traditional religious understanding, nowadays it enables people to abduct the position of precedence to access specific wealth.

In addition to the *Salavan* herself, the ancestor who received *nasi* from the *Salavan* is also considered as the origin of one's social position. The *nasi* derived from the wealth given by divinity to the ancestor who circulated and passed the *nasi* to their descendants is embodied by the *soulai*. Because of the interrelationship between the *soulai* and the ancestor, the ancestor might be recognised as the prototype of the *soulai* for being worshipped, but only the agency of the ancestor can give *nasi* to the

*soulai*. Traditionally, most of the rites were conducted in front of the *soulai*, which is recognised as the representation of ancestors. The *soulai* is analogised as an umbilical cord by the Paiwan to imagine the connection with divinities who live in the *i tjari vavau* (the realm of supreme ancestor) where the ritual founder rests in peace. The Paiwan rite, as discussed in Chapter 4, is how people practise hierarchical interaction to fulfil their *nasi*. Therefore, the *soulai* is not merely the ancestor but, more importantly, is what they did in the past, including why they had the *soulai* and how they practised rites in front of it. For example, in the harvest festival or after a successful hunt, Paiwan people will supplicate in front of the *soulai* to access the blessing from divinity by offering goods to the household who has the *soulai*. By being the platform for hierarchical interaction, the *soulai* as a bridge forms the social relationships between the ancestor, the owner of the *soulai* and people who pray to the divinities. That is, having the *soulai* not only denotes the connection with the ancestor but also highlights what their ancestor has done through the *soulai* to justify what they can do in the present. Under these circumstances, the *soulai* is an index of the social interaction between people and gives rights to the owner to re-practise the interaction and thus enjoy a specific position.

The ancestor's agency indexed by the *soulai* enables the owner to have the same social position as their ancestor by inheriting the *soulai*. Therefore, although the church plays a significant role in the event, the family also invited a *baraingan* (male shaman) to summon the Paiwan divinity to give *nasi* to the *soulai*. The rite conducted by the shaman, as well as the prayer said by the presbyter, is to inform the divinities that the household is going to set the *soulai* and attempt to receive a blessing. Before starting the rite, the shaman burned a bunch of millet stems to make a smoke signal and to serve as a bridge to inform and invite the divinities. When the smoke rose into

the sky, the shaman placed banyan leaves on a table and used a knife to scratch a pig bone. While scratching, the shaman gently blew on the bone to infuse life (*nasi*) into it and placed the little pieces of bone on the leaves.<sup>32</sup> The banyan is believed to be a link between life and death. I was told that, traditionally, when the Paiwan moved to a new place, they would plant a banyan at different locations and choose a site with the best growing banyan to be the place for building the *mamazangilan* house, because the *mamazangilan* as an agent between people and divinities is the bridge for people to access blessing. Using banyan leaves provides a platform for the divinity to join the rite.

The most important divinity is the ancestor. The shaman took the leaves and stood in front of the *soulai* to recall the names of the houses associated with *Tjaruzaljum* house while touching the *soulai* with his finger. The shaman repeatedly said 'come, come, come' when touching the *soulai* to invite the ancestors to live in it. After the invitation was made, an elder made a howling sound to notify the villagers that the rite was complete. The *soulai*, as the shaman declared, now had its *ligu* (achievement) witnessed by the participants. The achievement, as discussed in Chapter 4, is confirmed by how people share their success with others in order for the position to be recognised in terms of establishing *nasi*. The *soulai* is the index of the ancestors' agency and of its owner's control over it. That is, what the ancestor had done and what people have done is believed to be indexed by the *soulai* to have its position. Under these circumstances, although establishment is approved by God through Christian prayer, the *soulai* obtains its *nasi* from the ancestor through the rite performed by the shaman. Having the *soulai* enables the *Tjaruzaljum* house to

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<sup>32</sup> The traditional rites of giving *nasi* to the bone will be discussed more detail later.

consolidate their position in the Christianised Paiwan village.

**Artistic expression: *Vencik***

After the ceremony, the *vusam* (firstborn) of the *Tjaruzaljum* household told me that they were planning to carve the names of every generation of their *vusam* on the *soulai* to trace their past. Traditionally, the *soulai* might be carved as a human figure to denote its *nasi* as the index of what the ancestors have achieved. In Paiwan language *vencik* includes embroidery, carving and even modern handwriting. In this sense, *vencik* can be understood as artistic expression. It is important to note that *vencik* refers only to carved or embroidered patterns applied to the object, but not the object itself. For example, the vessel will not be recognised as *vencik*, but the pattern of a snake, sun or human on the vessel is considered as *vencik*. In other words, although the Paiwan do not have the idea of art objects, they have the concept of artistic expression and this is known as *vencik*. Painted colour is not a form of *vencik*. The word referring to colour is *zuga* which means light. *Zuga* can be seen on wood, glass or leather fabric painted with pigment or, nowadays, oil paint, makeup or coloured glass, which is heated up to apply to glass beads. In this sense, in comparison with *vencik*, *zuga* is a relatively flat. In Paiwan society, both *vencik* and *zuga* are the result of artistic expression to illustrate specific subjects.

I was told that *vencik* can be understood as Paiwan writing for recording the past. Because the past is conceived as a form of wealth inherited within a house, *vencik* reveals how people enjoy their current position, which was established in the past through the association with specific elements. For example, if one's ancestor successfully hunted a wild boar, their descendants can apply patterns of wild boar to their apparel to highlight the achievement inherited in the house to be recognised as a hunter. In this sense, *vencik* not only provides a way to access the past, but also

elucidates one's inherited position today. Nonetheless, it is important to know that before holding the patterns that stress the achievement, the position of a hunter must be established through social interaction. A hunter must share the hunt with villagers to access the justification to apply the *vencik* of the animal to their apparel and pass that to their descendants. If the hunter does not fulfil the expectation of sharing and apply the *vencik* directly to their apparel, the villagers will criticise them and believe that ill-fortune will come to the offender. That is, people will not gain a certain position by owning the art-like wealth without proper interaction to confirm the *nasi*. Only through the acknowledgement given by people can the *nasi* of art-like wealth and the position of the owner be formed. In this sense, although the purpose of *vencik* is to record the event, more significantly it is to index what has been done and further clarify what can be done.

Although *vencik* applied to art-like wealth only refers to artistic expression, the art-like wealth also has the quality of accessing the past, examined through Gell's (1998) definition of index. The art-like wealth, as well as *vencik*, allows people to abduct past interaction. Because of the association between social position and interaction indexed by the art-like wealth, the event of erecting the *soulai* at the *Tjaruzaljum* house was controversial. I have argued that the significance of art-like wealth is based on how it mediates interaction between people. For instance, a *kadidan* told me that in the past their ancestors carried slate from the mountain to set a *soulai* for the house of their *mamazangilan* in order to acknowledge the position of the house and that of its residents. In this sense, being given the *soulai*, the position of *mamazangilan* is recognised. Moreover, before having the *soulai*, the *mamazangilan* must fulfil their duty in terms of looking after people. That is, the *soulai* indexes not only ritual interaction (e.g. supplicating in front of the *soulai* to access the

blessing from divinity by providing offerings and the redistribution of offerings to villagers by the *mamazangilan*), but also the processing of establishing the *soulai* (the *kadidan* who carry the slate from the mountain to set the *soulai* for the *mamazangilan*). By participating in these interactions of giving and receiving, the *soulai* is believed to have its *nasi*. Because of that, some villagers argue that the *soulai* of the *Tjaruzaljum* house is not given by people, so it has no *nasi*. However, others point out that although the *Tjaruzaljum* household purchased the slate and paid for the cost of construction, the erection of the *soulai* as a means of highlighting their *mamazangilan* position is acceptable because the villagers' participation in the event is also a form of approval.

An informant told me that, although his *nasi* is not derived from the house of *Tjaruzaljum*, he is willing to attend the event as an act of acknowledgement because he witnessed the contribution of the household to village events. Because of the contribution, people are pleased to offer labour (participating in the ceremony or helping to set up the venue) to the household that makes the *Tjaruzaljum* act like a *mamazangilan* in the procedure of erecting the *soulai*. For the *Tjaruzaljum* household, holding the 'event' of erecting the *soulai* is not only performed to gain the people's acknowledgement but also to secure the position for their descendants through the interaction with villagers. In this sense, the contribution done by the *Tjaruzaljum* in everyday interaction is being recognised through the villagers' participation of the ritual event. In the future by owning such art-like wealth, the *Tjaruzaljum* can claim their position as a *mamazangilan*, empowered by the villagers. In this sense, the food shared by hunters or the caring done by the *mamazangilan* are indexed by the art-like wealth for people to access the past and further rationalise present and future interaction.

The purpose of Paiwan art-like wealth, as previous anthropological studies suggest, is partly to identify the owner's social position (Cf. Jen 1957, Chang 1996, Tan 2007). However, it was argued that the identification is based on its symbolic significance. Without exploring how the identification was formed, it seems that individuals in such societies can enjoy a particular social position by merely owning the art-like wealth. Under these circumstances, the nature of Paiwan art-like wealth cannot be revealed. Therefore, I argue that the identification given by art-like wealth is founded by its *nasi* which is derived from social interaction. In this sense, although the *soulai* might be understood as a symbol of the position of *mamazangilan*, it is essentially indexing the social interactions between *kadidan* and the *mamazangilan*. The *soulai* leads to a repetitive process. The hierarchical interaction (providing offerings and taking care of people) enables an action (erecting the *soulai*) to be processed. By having the *soulai*, the *mamazangilan* will highlight their connection with the past to justify their right to collect offerings in order to hold ceremonies. All of these are indexed by the *soulai* so that people can abduct the past interaction and clarify what interaction should be practised.

### ***Art-like wealth***

In this thesis, art-like wealth is considered as an index of social interaction to establish Paiwan social positions. Because of the openness of the Paiwan hierarchy, the mobility of art-like wealth further enables the past interaction to be inherited or circulated. Unlike the *soulai*, which is firmly attached to a house, the Paiwan employ other circulatable art-like wealth, such as ceramic vessels, glass beads, knives, accessories and clothes not only to express but also circulate social positions. To circulate the *nasi* indexed by wealth, the Paiwan utilise art-like wealth to establish and manipulate hierarchical positions. Art-like wealth will be examined to clarify how the

*nasi* is indexed and abducted.

### ***The vessel***

For the Paiwan, the vessel is the most important art-like wealth because they believe it is not only the origin of the first *mamazangilan* but also the initiator of hierarchical interaction. The vessel in this sense is considered to index the ancestors' *nasi* and it is called the ancestral vessel in Mandarin by the Paiwan. The relationship between hierarchy and vessel leads to an interpretation which recognises the vessel as the womb of Paiwan culture. From the Paiwan point of view culture refers to hierarchy because, as the myth narrates, the first *mamazangilan* given birth to by the vessel enables the Paiwan to develop hierarchy by differentiating people into distinct ranks based on their rights and duties. Under these circumstances, the implication of the vessel is derived from the *nasi* established in two situations, including when it was given by the divinity or by others, and when the soul of the ancestor returns to the house to live in the vessel. The vessel, as the house, is the birthplace of the ancestor and the place of resting in peace. More importantly, the vessel is believed to participate in social interaction in the process of how *nasi* was given by the divinity and how the ancestor obtained *nasi* from other households who give the vessel to them.

In the myth, the process of bringing back the vessel gives insight into how the vessel was conceived as an individual to participate in social interaction. For example, on their journey back to the village, the vessel automatically returned to its original place. When the vessel refuses to go, the brothers communicate with the vessel. The vessel is believed to be alive. Individual vessels are distinguished as having different genders by the Paiwan, including masculine (Figure 10), feminine (Figure 11) and androgynous (Figure 12). I was told that if vessel has a *vencik* of the hundred-pace

snake, it should be recognised as masculine. The feminine vessel may have the *vencik* of nipples surrounding the top or it may have no *vencik* at all. Therefore, if it has both the *vencik* of a hundred-pace snake and nipples, it will be recognised as androgynous, which is the most sacred vessel in terms of having the power of fertility through the complementarity of two sexes. In this sense, some of the Paiwan believe that all vessels have both masculine and feminine features. As they argue, its femaleness was derived from the myth in terms of giving birth and any carved line, which is usually presented in a rhombic pattern to look like the hundred-pace snake's skin, indicates maleness. In this sense, it is claimed that all vessels are androgynous.



Figure 10. Masculine vessel.<sup>33</sup>



Figure 11. Feminine vessel.<sup>34</sup>



Figure 12. Androgynous vessel.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>34</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>35</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

These recognitions show that the hundred-pace snake represents a masculine characteristic and the nipples denote a feminine feature. From my understanding, both interpretations of gender of the vessel are reasonable, because if the inspection concerns only the vessel, regardless of other art-like wealth, it indeed can be categorised into three different genders. When the Paiwan ask for the vessel as their betrothal gift, they may ask for one androgynous vessel, or one masculine and one feminine. But if the examination covers other kinds of art-like wealth, including the ritual knife and glass beads, all vessels are androgynous, because as the most important art-like wealth the vessel enjoys the supreme position of androgyny. For example, the Paiwan believe that if parents have a dream about a knife, they will have a boy. The intrinsic form of the knife is made by the Paiwan to be in the shape of the snake to highlight its masculine quality (Figure 13). Conversely, if the dream is about glass beads, they will have a girl because, as I understand, the bead has the same appearance as the *vencik* of nipples to highlight its feminine nature (Figure 14). The combination of the gender illustrated as *vencik* applied to the vessel thus elucidates its ability to give birth through the complementarity of two sexes. Asking for specific wealth thus can be seen as how the Paiwan perceive the origin of life and how people associate with art-like wealth to reproduce life through their power of fertility held by every gender.



Figure 13. The Paiwan knife.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 14. The glass beads.<sup>37</sup>

I noticed that the significance of fertility generated by the complementarity of two sexes can also be seen from many perspectives in Paiwan social life. For example, because apparel will highlight one's social position, in a wedding the groom and bride can wear the most extravagant apparel, regardless of their rank, and they will dance in the middle of the dancing procession, which segregates participants by sex (Figure 15). The couple, I was told, can enjoy the supreme position in their wedding and in the past they were dressed by the *mamazangilan*. The couple in this sense represents the complementarity of two sexes to be recognised as the potential *nasi*-giver to enjoy the supreme position. Similarly, a carved asexual human figure is considered as the supreme ancestor with extraordinary power. The asexual human figure is believed to have made a great contribution to the Paiwan and enjoys a position preceded only by the creator. The androgynous position of the vessel in this sense becomes a *mamazangilan* exclusive art-like wealth to highlight their position as the *nasi*-giver of the group.

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<sup>36</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>37</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.



Figure 15. The dancing group.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to gender, the vessel will be dressed up like the Paiwan themselves by applying accessories, such as eagle feathers, headdresses and clothes to it (Figure 16). On the other hand, people also tattoo the patterns carved on the vessel to their own body (Figure 17). The pattern and the dressing worn by the people and vessel exhibit their *ciaviaviagan*. That is, the illustrations of wealth are applied as *vencik* to highlight what they have accessed. For example, the hundred-pace snake and sun are illustrated through the rhombic pattern, which is the main design of the *vencik*, used to display their association with the snake and sun. Because they are descendants of the sun, who is protected by the snake, the relationships with these elements demonstrated by the *vencik* are displayed on their body to index the interaction between these elements and to highlight what their social position is based on.

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<sup>38</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.



Figure 16. Dressing the vessel.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 17. The Paiwan tattoo.<sup>40</sup>

### ***Paiwan apparel***

Paiwan apparel includes headdresses, clothing and other accessories. By wearing specific apparel, one's accessible wealth can be indexed and displayed to highlight what one's social position is based on. Therefore, because of the association between wealth and social position, there is a limitation to wearing apparel. In society, specific *vencik*, such as vessel, the human figure and the hundred-pace snake, was only allowed to be applied to the *mamazangilan's* apparel, according to the wealth the wearer has accessed. Nonetheless, the limitation of having specific *vencik* applied to apparel is minimised by the idea of ownership and use-right. Nowadays the use-right of these *vencik* is claimed by most Timur villagers. This is because people enjoy the *nasi* of *mamazangilan* obtained through marriage and also because they can purchase the apparel with these *vencik* from Paiwan tailors. Under these circumstances, recognising one's position through apparel is seen to be unreliable. As I was told, the only apparel that can be used to identify one's position in contemporary

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<sup>39</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>40</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

society is the eagle feather. The eagle feather has triangular patterns like the skin of the hundred-pace snake (Figure 18). Paiwan people believed that when a hundred-pace snake died (or shed its skin), it would transform into an eagle to fly into the sky. Because of the sacredness of the snake in Paiwan myth, the eagle feather is used as an accessory to stress the association with the myth to claim the precedential position based on this mythical birth.



Figure 18. Hundred-pace snake.<sup>41</sup>



Figure 19. Eagle feather.<sup>42</sup>

As well as the vessel, Paiwan people categorise eagle feathers (Figure 19) into different genders. They include an androgynous firstborn feather (*balice*), masculine feathers (*banudagi*) and feminine feathers (*banuadubu*). The masculine and the feminine feather can further be distinguished into firstborn, second-born and third-born, etcetera. The distinction of the status of the feather is based on the notion of birth order within a house. The gender of the feather is recognised through its shape. The masculine feathers with the black top are described as a knife (*dagi*) and are longer than the feminine feathers. The feminine feathers, with more white area, are wider than the masculine and have clearer triangular patterns. Each eagle has only a pair of the *balice* which is thus recognised as the most valuable feather. The androgynous

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<sup>41</sup> Photo taken from <http://q4070.pixnet.net/album/photo/519397395>.

<sup>42</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

feather grows between the features of different gender on each side of the wing to have its quality of the complementarity of two sexes. The androgynous feather is longer than the feminine one and wider than the masculine one. The androgynous feather, taken from different eagles, still has various types of status that are based on the number of the triangles on it. The Paiwan tend to have the triangle pattern on the feather as much as possible, because that means the eagle is older and is considered to have a precedential position. That is, the gender of the feather and the age of the eagle once again elucidate how the Paiwan understand social positions based on the ability to give *nasi* and the idea of precedence.

Because of the association between social position and the eagle feather, there is a specific principle of wearing feathers. How to wear eagle feathers depends on the ideas of *civaivaigan* and *gagudan*. The androgynous feather, as an index of precedential position and the position of *nasi*-giver, can only be worn by the firstborn of the *mamazangilan* household. Nonetheless, because of the idea of *civaivaigan*, the firstborn of the houses branched from the precedential *mamazangilan* house can to some degree claim their use-right to wear the androgynous feather in terms of having the *nasi* given by the origin and being the *nasi*-giver of their own house. Therefore, many villagers in Timur wear the androgynous feather at public events and believe they have the right to do so. This leads to a debate pertaining to the idea of *gagudan*. Following the principle of *gagudan*, which is based on the relationship between *nasi*-giver and *nasi*-receiver, people must show their respect by not wearing an older feather if an elder is on the scene. The idea of younger and elder here is not only based on the individual's age, but also associated with the relation between the *gaomaan* and the its branched houses. Namely, within a household, only the firstborn should wear the *balice* and, in terms of a family, only the people from the *gaomaan* can claim

the right to wear *balice*. That is, the *civaivaigan* might give the right of wearing the feature to an individual who is born in the branched house but shares the *nasi* from the house holding the wealth. However, they might not be allowed to do so in terms of *gagudan* when their origin (people from their *gaomaan*) is present. Under these circumstances, the phenomenon of wearing the androgynous feather in Timur village to some extent still follows the idea of the *civaivaigan* based on the sharing of *nasi* to access a certain position, but it violates the idea of *gagudan* which stresses the position of the elder in the light of wearing proper apparel.

In addition to the hierarchical position embodied by the apparel, marital status and personal achievement are also indexed in ways that can to some extent boost the circulation of *nasi*. We can take the headdress as an example. Paiwan people apply glass beads, coins, silver rings, wild boar teeth, leopard mandibles and eagle claws to the headdress to display their achievement and their wealth. To be recognised as a brave man or a wealthy household, I noted that the Paiwan tend to put as much decoration as possible on their masculine headdress (*bagamuce*) (Figure 20). In the past, the animal teeth, for example, might be gained by hunting in the mountains, but nowadays the Paiwan can purchase the teeth on eBay to highlight their courage or wealth. Wearing a headdress decorated with animal teeth allows people to abduct the process of hunting and the sharing of gains practised by the hunter. It is important to note that, because of social change, hunting is generally illegal in Taiwan. People need to ask permission from the police station before they go hunting. Some of the Paiwan, who work in offices, might not have the skill or time to go hunting. Interestingly, they can pay others to set traps and claim the kill as their achievement. The skill of hunting indeed is crucial, but I noticed that people who wear masculine headdresses will constantly argue that they or their ancestors shared their kill in society to be

recognised as the hunter. Only through sharing gains with villagers will the headdress have the *nasi* to justify the position of the hunter.

Holding headdress with specific decoration, as has been established, is approved through performing a certain social action in advance. In society, the displaying of the achievement via the headdress is to let other people know of the wearer's success and enable them to be considered as a potential marital partner. I observed that parents will inquire about the marital status of the one who dresses in properly masculine headdresses in public events. The agency indexed by headdress is believed to be wealth associated with the wearer. That is, the form of headdress is constructed through social interaction and, by viewing the headdress, other social interactions can be generated. By marrying someone who wears the headdress decorated with animal teeth, their descendants are believed to access the past participated in by the hunter, and the animal, in terms of enjoying the position of the hunter. Under these circumstances, the headdress highlights a successful position and indirectly leads to marriage that will circulate the *nasi*.



Figure 20. Masculine headdress.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 21. Feminine headdress.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>44</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

The association between headdress and marriage can be explored more clearly through the female headdress. The feminine headdress is called *dala* (Figure 21). It is also decorated with glass beads, coins and silver rings. Instead of applying various animal elements, however, the decorations on the *dala* are mainly seashells and silverware. I was told that the seashell was not only a form of ancient currency, but also a mimesis of female genitalia to symbolise the wearer's sexuality, which highlights the power of fertility. The ability to give birth enables a Paiwan house to be built to circulate and accumulate wealth and to establish social position. By the same token, the silverware indexes not only wealth, but also unmarried status. Only an unmarried woman can wear a headdress with silver chains on the left and right sides to denote her chastity. In this sense, the significance of the Paiwan headdress echoes Gell's (1998) argument about the abduction of agency. On the other hand, wearing the headdress also has a communicative function, as in the case of silver chains denoting chastity. The implication of seashells as a cultural convention is a visual communication for people to seek their potential children-in-law to access the power of fertility. A non-virgin will not be acknowledged as virgin by applying silver chains to her headdress. I noticed that an unmarried pregnant woman is not allowed to decorate with silver chains. Through the conventional visual expression, specific cognition can be expressed to drive proper social interaction. In village events, the unmarried youth can seek their potential spouse by looking at their apparel. In this sense, the apparel shows not only how wealthy one's house is, but also how the wearer can maintain and pass on the wealth for the house.

### ***Glass beads***

The Paiwan glass beads (*qkata*) were not considered an artificial object. Each glass bead is believed to be given by different divinity on a separate occasion to empower

the receiver. This empowerment is continuously practised in everyday life to maintain hierarchical relationships. In Paiwan society, glass beads are mainly strung together to make a necklace. Providing the necklace as a betrothal gift is to receive the physical body of the partner who has the *nasi* of the *mamazangilan*. The necklace is a part of the receiver's identity. Unlike Mauss's (1954) argument about the gift, in which the circulated object is a part of the giver, in Paiwan society, the betrothal gift is considered as a part of the receiver. Through acquiring the gift, the receiver's social position will be confirmed in terms of fulfilling what wealth they have. Moreover, by giving the necklace, the provider can access the *nasi* given by the receiver to secure the fertility of their house and to acquire the social relationships shared by the receiver. Therefore, the significance of the glass beads is to some extent derived from use of the necklace for manipulating social position. However, from the perspective of myth, glass beads acquire their *nasi* from divinity. In this sense, the *nasi* was given by the divinity to the human and it is inherited by the receiver as their wealth. It will then be circulated in the marriage between the wife-giver and the wife-receiver to confirm the interaction that first took place in the mythical era. The confirmation will further be passed to the wife-receiver's house to encompass the descendants of the house of the wife-receiver into the myth, in order to practise the same interaction in the future.

The myth gives meaning to the beads. Different villages and families have their own explanations of how they acquired the beads in the past because of the diversity of history. This research can only cover Timur peoples' understanding of beads. Nonetheless, as I noticed, the interpretations of a bead can also be explored through the colours (*zuga*) applied to them. As a form of artistic expression, colours (*zuga*) and patterns (*vencik*) enable people to associate with specific elements through art-like wealth. The understanding of colour has some cross-village and cross-family

similarities because the implication of a specific colour is derived from the imagery of natural wealth. Therefore, the knowledge gained from Timur villagers might still give insight into how the glass beads are conceived by people from other Paiwan villages to claim their association with wealth. For example, a bead called *cadjacadjaqan yipu linevetj*, known as the bead of the land, has black, red, yellow and green colours (Figure 22). These colours are interpreted to be elements in the world, including the soul (black), blood (red), land (yellow) and plants (green). Therefore, the colour on the bead of the land can be examined through the perspective of how people associate with the soul, with blood, with the land and with plants.

The black is painted using ash. Because fire and smoke are a channel for connecting with the ancestors, the ash gives meaning to the colour black to index how people associate with the ancestor through ceremonies. The ancestor, as the origin of one's current position, enables descendants to enjoy their rights. The position will be inherited by the new life through the continuation of blood. Therefore, red refers to the continuation of a house for ensuring the position given by wealth to be passed on. The yellow and green represent the land and plants which are the wealth held by the house of a *mamazangilan* to practise hierarchical interaction. Under these circumstances, the colours applied to the bead of the land refer to the association between the ancestor, house and wealth. In addition to the colours applied to the bead, the myth of how the bead was obtained is considered as the proof of how wealth was given. In the myth of the bead of the land, the bead was given by ants after a *mamazangilan* helped them to carry the glass beads and built a new house for them. As a result, the land was given as repayment by the ants to the *mamazangilan* and the bead is the index of how the repayment was made. Owning the bead of land in this sense can be abducted how the land was given by the ants in the myth that enables

the current owner of the bead to be recognised as the descendants of the *mamazangilan* who received the land. According to Gell's (1998) framework, the bead of the land indexes the agency of the ants to empower the patient (i.e. the *mamazangilan* and their descendants) to have their position by claiming the land.



Figure 22. The bead of the land.<sup>45</sup>



Figure 23. The *mulimulidan*.<sup>46</sup>

Among forms of wealth, the life born by blood is the most valuable element for the Paiwan to continue the social position of a house. The imagery of life's continuity is embodied by a bead called *mulimulidan* which is therefore considered as the most precious bead in society (Figure 23). The *mulimulidan* has red and white curved lines on it. As I was told, the white curved lines look like the smoke rising from bonfire and light radiating from the sun. The red curved lines are the sacrificial blood flowing from the roof. This image is interpreted by the villagers as a continuation of life given by the sun. Because of the association between the sun and the Paiwan creator, this imagery highlights how the Paiwan establish the relationship with the creator to obtain *nasi* through sacrifice. The rite, as discussed previously, maintains the relationship between people to form the hierarchical organisation. The *mulimulidan* in this sense is

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<sup>45</sup> Photo taken from <https://images.app.goo.gl/qxDUtrzbPcpw55rC8>

<sup>46</sup> Photo taken from <https://images.app.goo.gl/4HwRc7YtPVjmhQ9z5>

understood as the bead of the sun and indexes how the *nasi* is received by people through ceremonies. Because of the idea of giving *nasi*, the *mulimulidan* is recognised as a bead of *mamazangilan* who is considered as the origin of hierarchy. It is the hierarchical interactions that give social position to individuals for becoming Paiwan in terms of having *nasi*. Under these circumstances, as discussed in the introduction of glass beads, the circulation of beads in marriage as a rite of life continuity is meant to obtain the *nasi* in order to then access wealth held by the *mamazangilan*.

### ***The ceremonial knife***

The ceremonial knife in Paiwan society is an index of maleness. The knife can only be worn by men. Women are forbidden to touch it if they have no blood relationship with the owner. However, the knife is recognised as a combination of masculine and feminine. The male is the blade which was made by the Paiwan but nowadays is purchased from Han Taiwanese people. The Paiwan will make a wooden handle for the knife, into which a human figure will be carved. Silverware is applied as the hair and seashells as the headdress to give *nasi* to the knife (Figure 24). Containing the blade, the scabbard is interpreted as the female (Figure 25). In Timur village, the scabbard is made by half wood and half copper pieces.<sup>47</sup> The wood might be carved or painted with patterns of people, the hundred-pace snake or vessels and is always ending up in the shape of a snake's head. As well as the handle, the snake's head at the end of the scabbard will be given *nasi* by applying eyes made of seashell or copper. The complexity of the design and the variety of the decoration are associated with the position of the knife. A knife owned by the *mamazangilan* will be much more resplendent than a knife owned by the *kadadan* because the elements applied to the

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<sup>47</sup> In some of the Paiwan village, the scabbard is only made by wood.

knife reflect the association with wealth. As a result, the *vencik* of a vessel can, for example, only be carved on the knife worn by the *mamazangilan* to index their association with the legendary birth. Although the hundred-pace snake is also a part of that legend, in Timur village the snake is narrated as a friend and a protector, which is the main theme for highlighting what the knife can do. According to the security offered by the snake in the myth, the intention of protection is indexed by the knife through applying its imagery. The knife will be given to a mature boy in the coming-of-age ceremony when he becomes a man. Through being given the knife and by using the knife, one accesses the position of a Paiwan man.



Figure 24. Wedding knife handle.<sup>48</sup>



Figure 25. Wedding knife scabbard.<sup>49</sup>

Although the knife is exclusively male art-like wealth, it is, interestingly, acquired by the female as her bride price. The ceremonial knife, as well as the glass bead necklace, is circulated in rites to access *nasi*. The significance of *nasi* indexed by the knife is derived from the Paiwan creation myth in which the creator *Naqemati* thrusts the knife into the land to give life (i.e. *nasi*) to Paiwan people, although the creator's knife is believed to be different from the ceremonial knife. There are two kinds of ceremonial knife used by the Paiwan and, in addition to the creator's knife, they are used to access *nasi*. One is used on sacrificial occasions and the other is circulated at

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<sup>48</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>49</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

weddings. The former is wholly made of bronze which is believed to be the same material as the creator's knife, and it is only utilised by the *bulingau* (female psychic). In rites, the *bulingau* will use the bronze knife to scratch a pig's jaw bone into small pieces and blow (*qemas*) on them to give life to the bone (Hu 2011). By receiving life from the *bulingau*, the pig's jaw bone is believed to come alive to obtain power (*ruqem*) from the divinity (ibid.). Different from Chiang and Lee's (1995) study in which the house and its wealth (e.g. the knife) are examined through the idea of fetishism, the objects, as Hu (2011) points out, must be seen as alive.

Hu (2011) has not provided an appropriate argument for examining the idea of being alive but she notes that *nasi* is generated through rites. For example, the action of blowing (*qemas*) gives the *nasi* to the bone and, by offering the 'living' pig's jaw bone, the Paiwan can receive necessities of life from the divinity (ibid.). Hu (2011) further points out that, by applying the idea of life to the object, the Paiwan house can be associated with Roxana Waterson's (1990) discussion of the living house. In this sense, I argue that the rite is a platform for the *bulingau* to apply their agency to the pig's jaw bone to access agency from the divinity. The bone thus indexes the interaction between *bulingau* and the divinity that enables the household to access what they need, such as offsprings or harvest, to maintain the life (*nasi*) of their house (i.e. have further interaction with other houses to be considered as a moral person). Under these circumstances, the idea of life suggested by Hu (2011) and the understanding of *nasi* from Paiwan viewpoints can both be explored through how the agency is indexed by the material or immaterial wealth held by the house.

In Paiwan society, the individuals' *nasi*, is established through the circulation of wealth. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that the *nasi* of art-like wealth is also constructed by people circulated between houses. People are also a part of the wealth

held by the house. To have their *nasi*, the association with other wealth is needed. In this sense, it is the connection between wealth that establishes social position. For example, a month after their birth, a boy will receive a knife from his father's natal house, given in order to encompass the boy into their house to claim the ownership of the boy. Without offering the knife, the boy is believed to be owned solely by his mother's natal house. By the same token, when the boy marries, his natal house must offer a knife to his bride's household to acquire her *nasi* by making connection with the bride's household. In both contexts, the knife and the people are not merely being given out. They serve as a bridge to build up the connection between the house. The knife, the boy and the bride are not detaching from their origin, but rather being encompassed into the two houses. The sharing of wealth enables the households to form an integrated path, the *civaivaigan*, to have a similar *nasi*. In this sense, the *nasi* derived from the house, which is the subject in the social interaction, can be maintained or manipulated through the circulation of wealth.

Because of the myth of how the Paiwan creator gave life through the knife, it is always offered in every wedding in Timur village regardless of rank. Sometimes, it is the only necessary betrothal gift to access *nasi*. Even if the bride's household is from a different Paiwan village where people do not ask for the knife, the groom's household from Timur village will still provide the knife in order to ensure their expectation of marriage. That is, unlike the vessel and the glass beads, the knife will always be provided because of the female's general ability: giving life. The significance of *nasi* can further be seen from the colour of the knife which is always red and black, which were traditionally painted with blood and ash. The blood can be understood as the source of life and the ash is the connection to the afterworld; that is, the link between past and present. In Paiwan society, the process of generating new life thus

relies on the circulation of *nasi* which is created through the transmission of wealth.

### ***Paiwan aesthetics***

In Paiwan society, the understanding of hierarchical position is based on how social interactions are processed through wealth. Therefore, past interactions narrated in myth will reveal how people access specific wealth to practise their rights and duties in the present. Wealth is inherited by an heir of the group. Within a house, the legal heir is normally the firstborn, but I have argued that wealth empowers the individual to be recognised as the firstborn. Owning wealth, which is believed to be given by divinity, points to the position of being born first in the mythical era. By the same token, occupying wealth in advance constructs the position of the founder of the village to be recognised as the firstborn in their village. In this sense, wealth is a means of tracing the past in order to identify the present. Therefore, illustrations of wealth, such as the land, myths and people, are applied as *vencik* to vessels, glass beads, apparel and ritual knives to highlight their owners' prior position in terms of what wealth they have associated with. Thus, Paiwan art-like wealth can be examined through the idea of precedence suggested by Fox (1994, 2006a) to explore how the Paiwan access the past.

As well as other forms of wealth, the ownership of art-like wealth can be traced from the myth. Having art-like wealth denotes a connection with the myth which becomes a criterion by which to evaluate the art-like wealth in recognising the owner's position. I was told that when the art-like wealth looks extremely old it has unquestionable quality. For the Paiwan, the evaluation of art-like wealth is based on the idea of *sa-milin* which is derived from *sa* (old) and *milinmilingan* (myth) to refer to something ancient. If someone's clothing looks like that of ancient Paiwan people or art-like wealth looks primordial, the Paiwan will describe this as *sa-milin*. It is important to note that *sa-milin* is not beauty. The word beauty in Paiwan language is *gusunwa*

which means tasty. A new vehicle, a fancy suit or an attractive woman might be described as *gusunwa*. Only the entities associated with the past will be considered as *sa-milin*. In this sense, a *sa-milin* object provides a channel for its owner and viewer to abduct the past to construct their understanding of precedence.

Because of *sa-milin* aesthetics, when Paiwan people produce art-like wealth, they tend to make the work look as old as possible. A Paiwan vessel, for example, is all dark grey with some very light red colouring. The earthenware was normally red when it was fired in lower temperatures in the past. After years of use, the earthenware will be dyed by dirt. The age of the vessel based on its mythical significance needs to be represented. By firing in higher temperatures, by glazing or by smearing with ash, the modern Paiwan vessel is expected to look as if it is dust-covered in order to adhere to the sense of *sa-milin*. Similarly, the glass beads produced today will have had ingredients such as salt added to them to make them appear cracked. Through this, the modern made glass beads will meet the aesthetics of *sa-milin* to look aged. In the ceremony, people will comment on how old the betrothal gifts look to judge the quality of the gift. Therefore, in Timur village, every studio where the art-like wealth is produced will have their secret skills to create *sa-milin* works. Through exploring videos on YouTube or by learning the skill from Han Taiwanese people, the Paiwan have developed new technology to fulfil the tastes of previous generations.

The relationship between the past and Paiwan aesthetics can be further understood from the idea of *nasi* because the value of Paiwan art-like wealth is derived from its circulation, as practised by the ancestor. As in the example of *soulai* discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the *nasi* of Paiwan art-like wealth is acquired through how it participated in the social interaction. By holding the *soulai*, the owner can claim their association with the past interaction to construct their *nasi*. Namely, the *nasi*

(constructed through an appropriate hierarchical interaction) of an individual will be confirmed by owning the art-like wealth which has the same *nasi* (given by the hierarchical interaction). Therefore, *sa-milin* art-like wealth is believed to participate in the ancient interaction. The participation is embodied by its appearance, which proves the position of the owner's ancestor and further forms the owner's current position. Therefore, if a specific household is constantly given *sa-milin* art-like wealth, their position is confirmed to be the recognised firstborn. Namely, from the perspective of precedence, because of the association between wealth and the precedential position, holding *sa-milin* art-like wealth enables the Paiwan to access the past to enjoy the social position established by their ancestor and further maintains the position by re-obtaining the art-like wealth in the present. In this sense, the art-like wealth has a dual significance from anthropological perspective. Holding and displaying the *sa-milin* art-like wealth in their house, as well as wearing specific headdress, can express who they are in terms of how they are viewed by others. Obtaining *sa-milin* art-like wealth in ceremony allows one to re-practise specific social interactions to establish one's social position. That is, the agency is indexed by art-like wealth and can be aesthetically perceived to highlight one's past through this specific artistic quality: *sa-milin*.

### ***The style of different art-like wealth***

Because of the wealth (illustrated by *vencik*) applied to the objects, there are different styles in Paiwan society depending on the idea of association with wealth. Having a specific style of art-like wealth will highlight one's position based on how people practise hierarchical interaction through their wealth. Moreover, art-like wealth, as discussed, is likewise individual. Therefore, the composition of *vencik*

applied to art-like wealth also creates the difference of position of the object. Under these circumstances, examining the association between different types of *vencik* as well as exploring the relationship between art-like wealth and its owner will give insight into how the position is formed. For example, all vessels are called *lilon*, but they can be categorised into *dredretan*, *liljuljaus* and *pangasiljan*, in terms of stylistic differences. The *dredretan* is the most sacred, narrated in myth to be the mother of *mamazangilan*. According to the myth, the *dredretan*, protected by the hundred-pace snake, contains an egg put there by the sun to give birth to the first *mamazangilan*. The *mamazangilan* is believed to be a descendant of the sun and to have been delivered by the *dredretan*. The *vencik* of the sun and that of snake are applied to the vessel to denote the mythical relationship between the *mamazangilan* and these elements. This myth, as a form of wealth, is illustrated by *vencik*.

By associating (being applied) with *vencik*, the style of *dredretan* highlights its participation in the myth. That is, it is a process for the *dredretan* to become the most sacred vessel through the relationship with those elements (i.e. the sun, the snake and its baby). Moreover, because of the ability to give birth, the *dredretan* has a plump body like a pregnant woman and is imagined to be the *nasi*-giver. The *nasi* not only refers to the birth of *mamazangilan* but is also based on how people associate with the *mamazangilan* to establish their hierarchical position to be a Paiwan, such as by feeding and bathing the baby as a *pualu* (the assistant of *mamazangilan*). As the resource of the hierarchy, by holding the *dredretan*, the *mamazangilan* is further understood as the origin of *nasi* of their group. The *dredretan* and the *vencik* of the elements in the myth are therefore composed in a specific style that indexes the relationship between people and divinity, and the relationship between people.

The social relationship illustrated by the art-like wealth can be further understood

through the notion of *civaivaigan*, which is imagined as a path by the Paiwan for tracing the origin of their *nasi* and is a category of accessible wealth. In terms of embodying the *civaivaigan* through the art-like wealth, the sun, the snake and the human figures are applied as patterns to the vessel, glass beads and apparel to index how the owner accesses their position through the past interaction generated by wealth. In this sense, because they married the *Dalimalau* house who hold the myth of giving birth by the vessel, the *nasi* of the *mamazangilan* in Timur village is associated with the *Dalimalau* in term of tracing their past (*civaivaigan*) to access the right to apply these *vencik* to their art-like wealth.

For the *pualu* and the *kadidan*, the *vencik* of vessels are not allowed to be displayed on their apparel because they have not accessed the *nasi* derived from the *Dalimalau*. Different from the *mamazangilan* who apply figurative patterns of the snake on their apparel, the *kadidan*'s apparel is relatively simple and will use rhombic patterns. However, because the hundred-pace snake was asked by the *kadidan* to protect the vessel, the rhombus to some extent represents their relationship with the snake. The rhombic patterns are an index of the interaction between the snake and the *kadidan* which highlights their participation in the myth and enables them to be recognised as the foster parents of *mamazangilan*. Access to the past through *vencik* is equally important for people from different ranks in terms of participating in myth because all Paiwan admire the preceding position by making connections with the ancient past.

In addition to these general *vencik* (i.e. the sun, snake, vessel and human figures), some art-like wealth might have distinct *vencik* which are owned by a specific house, depending on their particular past. For example, the *Pakadavai* household believes that the founder of their house had occupied a large amount of land by walking

through it and making an alliance with other *mamazangilan* from different villages. According to that myth, her descendants designed a new *vencik* and applied it to their house and clothes to highlight the expansion of their *civaivaigan*. As I was told by the members of *Pakadavai* household, the *vencik* was carved and designed by their father and has just been chosen recently (in 2011) to be their family insignia. I notice that the reason why the family attempt to have the unique insignia is that nowadays most of the Paiwan wear *mamazangilan*-style apparel and so it is hard to recognise their position by this alone. To be recognised as the supreme *mamazangilan* in Timur village, having a family insignia will highlight the wealth they access by indexing how they established their position. By the same token, although the *vencik* applied to the supreme vessel, the *dredretan*, are fairly similar, some *dredretan* held by specific *mamazangilan* houses might also have distinct *vencik* depending on their unique past. That is, the rank-specific style or the family-limited style reveals how wealth was acquired through past interactions to form their unique *civaivaigan*.

A specific style will immediately enable one's *civaivaigan* to be recognised. For example, the Paiwan applied the seashell to decorate their apparel as a proof of wealth, but after the Japanese colonial period the seashell was replaced by coins with a similar meaning. The coins, as Matsuoka (2018) points out, were income from selling meat to the Japanese. The coin applied to apparel, as well as the teeth applied to the headdress, express achievement. Nonetheless, because nowadays hunting in Taiwan is illegal, the Paiwan, especially the men, are obliged to seek an alternative method to be recognised as successful men.

For instance, one of my informants stitched a Scottish flag on his clothes because he had performed as a singer in the Edinburgh International Festival (Figure 26). In this sense, the Scottish flag as a form of *vencik* indexes his past in Edinburgh International

Festival, including performing as singer and shopping on Princess Street. When he participates in a village event, he is qualified to perform for people and sometimes villagers will invite him to sing at a wedding. As I notice, to secure his position as a singer, it is very rare that he refuses to sing for the villagers. That is, the wealth (i.e. the ability to sing) needs to be confirmed through social interaction. The journey of his performance and his singing talents are indexed by and viewed through the Scottish flag applied to his clothes to highlight his wealth.



Figure 26. Decorating with Scottish flag.<sup>50</sup>

Societal change is accompanying by stylistic developments. For instance, a Paiwan accessory called *balavak* is a strap. It was mainly decorated with seashells to denote the ownership of land. Although the ownership of land nowadays is only symbolic, the *balavak* to which seashells have been applied is still recognised as an index of how the land was acquired and can only be worn by people who are ‘believed’ to hold the land. Nonetheless, medals won in athletic competitions now are commonly utilised to make the *balavak* as proof of achievement. Because of the association between *vencik* and

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<sup>50</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

wealth, even if the ownership of land is lacking, wearing the 'athletic' style *balavak* does not violate the understanding of how the wealth was accessed. That is, in society, *vencik* is not fixed. It can either be employed from myths, from a regional flag or from a competition to highlight the position of *mamazangilan*, singer or athlete. As a result, style in this society is diverse, but the idea of displaying one's wealth is shared.

### ***Forms of Paiwan art***

Because of social change, Paiwan art-like wealth has become artwork produced in multifarious forms. The art-like wealth that was only circulated in ceremonies as a ritual material for establishing social relationships can nowadays be purchased as merchandise. The commercialisation of Paiwan art can be traced back to the Japanese colonial period. The Japanese colonists introduced carving knives to the Paiwan and asked them to make small wood carvings to sell back to mainland Japan as souvenirs. Since then, Paiwan carving has become more meticulous but the significance of *vencik* and the object has been affected. Moreover, because both the local administrative units of Japanese colonists and those of Taiwanese government have been in Timur village, the village is well-developed to provide a tourist-friendly environment. This has led to a diverse cultural reinvention industry to obtain benefits from tourism. Different from other Paiwan villages where people produce a relatively small amount of work for selling, in Timur village some producers cooperate with non-Paiwan manufacturers to build a Paiwan art industry. Under these circumstances, in Timur village the art-like wealth is designed in various forms to meet different tastes and is becoming artwork in Taiwan society.

The form of Paiwan artworks has some similarities with art-like wealth, but for the Paiwan their significance is not the same. For instance, the form of the traditional Paiwan vessel is utilised to make trophies to praise people's contribution to society.

The *vencik* of snake, which used to be seen on the vessel, are now applied to coffee cups to be given as gifts. Glass beads are also made to be keyrings with newly invented designs introduced to the tourist as a talisman of the constellation. Some of the villagers even go to art school to learn contemporary artistic techniques to produce Paiwan artworks for a bigger market. The products created for the tourism and for the art market will be considered as artworks but cannot be offered as betrothal gifts. Take the glass beads as an example: glass beads are also made in the form of necklaces as souvenirs, but the form of the souvenir necklace is much simpler than the Paiwan traditional necklace. Traditionally, glass beads as a display of wealth will be strung in a large together numbers to make the necklace. Therefore, the weight of the necklace is quite high and unsuitable for the tourist to wear. Different from the souvenir necklace which has only one row, the traditional necklace will have three to nine rows to highlight family wealth. Moreover, the tourists, I noticed, prefer the glass beads in bright colours, which do not meet the standard of *sa-milin* from the Paiwan aesthetic perspective. The glass beads in a bright colour therefore cannot be offered as betrothal gifts in marriage. Under these circumstances, I was told, the artwork for the Paiwan has no *nasi*, because it cannot participate in ritual circulation to establish social position.

Even though the artwork is not accepted to practise hierarchical interactions in ceremonies, the income brought by the tourism to some extent provides an alternative wealth, money, to reform one's social position. Because of the well-developed tourism industry in the village, many of the villagers' lives are bound up with tourism, such as being a tourist guide, running a car park and, of course, producing artwork. I was told that the artwork industry in Timur village enhances the circulation of art-like wealth that further encourages the fluidity of social positions. Because of mass production for

tourism and the development of producing artwork, villagers can pay for a betrothal gift which was only inherited and circulated within specific households. For example, although the *kadidan* do not have any vessels inherited from their ancestor, they can buy one in order to get married to the *mamazangilan*. Interestingly, I was told that the value of the vessel now is based on how much you paid because the size and *vencik* of the vessel are reflected in its price. Offering an expensive vessel to some extent denotes the wealth of the giver financially. Although the money has no *nasi*, it can be used to acquire *nasi* by purchasing the necessary wealth for circulating in ceremony.<sup>51</sup> The artwork industry in Timur has brought economic profits to the villagers and the manufacturing techniques have lowered the cost for people to acquire the art-like wealth to access *nasi*.

### ***The pulima and the artist***

The importance of art-like wealth, which gives social position to individuals, enables its producer to enjoy respected status. To show ancient family history or to display achievement, the producer materialises the association with wealth through their hands. Therefore, the producer is called *pulima* which means 'many (*pu*) hands (*lima*)'. The word *pulima* nowadays is employed as the title of Taiwanese aboriginal artistic awards by the Taiwanese indigenous people's cultural foundation. *Pulima* refers to the artist but, as I noticed, the role of *pulima* and that of the artist do not completely overlap in Paiwan society.

The idea of *pulima* includes many techniques, such as building a house, ironwork and tailoring. The works produced by *pulima* to some extent can be recognised as artwork nowadays, but not necessarily. They can participate in artistic creation, but

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<sup>51</sup> How the money enables people to acquire position will be discussed in next chapter.

most of their work is made for everyday life. Conversely, painters or installation artists are understood as artists because their work is appreciated by the collector, art historian and critic but is not generally utilised by the Paiwan. Therefore, the *pulima* can work as an artist but an artist might not meet the standards expected from Paiwan viewpoints. The difference is based on how their work is used and this, as argued, relates to the *nasi* of the work. A Paiwan artist might have a higher reputation in Taiwan society, but because of the relationship between hierarchy and art-like wealth, being a *pulima* is more popular in the village.

Tan (2007) suggests the *pulima* is one of the ranks in the society, but this argument might be controversial. As I learned from Timur villagers, every skilful individual can be recognised as *pulima* regardless of their rank. Having skilful hands, indeed, can be wealth inherited within a house for establishing a house as a *pulima* household. Nonetheless, if understanding rank in Paiwan society is based on hierarchical interaction, addressing the *pulima* as a rank might be misleading because the *pulima* is not part of the concentric circle for establishing hierarchical relationships. For example, an individual, who can carve a human figure on the *soulai* set by the people for conducting ancestral worship, will be identified as a *pulima*, but by having the *soulai*, the individual is recognised in the rank of *mamazangilan*. Conversely, a *kadidan*, who is a talented sculptor, will be identified as *pulima* but will not enjoy the right to have the *soulai* perform the ceremony as a form of hierarchical interaction. Thus, if the understanding of Paiwan rank is based on interaction, the position of *pulima* has no place in hierarchical interaction.

The argument of recognising the *pulima* as a rank might be led by the fact that most of informants in the previous studies on Paiwan art were mainly from the *mamazangilan* group (Cf. Jen 1957; 1960, Tan 2007). According to these studies, and

as I also noticed, most of the *mamazangilan* have considerable knowledge of the art-like wealth, because it is associated with the wealth they own. Under these circumstances, the knowledge held by the *mamazangilan* captures the researcher's attention and the research of Paiwan art produced by scholars to some extent re-centralises the power of interpretation to the *mamazangilan*. However, because of social change, the production of art-like wealth has become a skill for living and the requirement of every form of Paiwan art is increased for supplying the market. The wide circulation of art-like wealth leads to a consequence that people from different ranks have explored the implication of art-like wealth through the social interaction. The knowledge of art-like wealth is no longer monopolised by the *mamazangilan* and the position of *pulima* can be held by every skilful individual, as it used to be.

It is important to know that the work produced by the *pulima* in contemporary society is different from what the *pulima* made in the past. The traditional Paiwan art-like wealth produced by the *pulima* consisted mainly of carving and embroidery. The Paiwan believed vessels and glass beads were given by the divinity. Therefore, producing vessels and glass beads was controversial in the beginning because the *nasi* of the reproduced vessel and glass beads was questioned. Opponents of commercialisation were concerned that the sacred art-like wealth should not be commercialised. The reproducers of vessels and glass beads were accused in terms of influencing hierarchical interaction. The position of *mamazangilan* might consequently be played down. However, now the vessel and glass beads can be produced massively, the *mamazangilan* position has not been substantially affected, because the circulation of art-like wealth in rites still follows the idea of *civaivaigan* and that of *gagudan*. Even if people tend to receive the art-like wealth in rites to establish their position, the justifiability of asking for art-like wealth is evaluated by

villagers. The position given by the circulation of art-like wealth therefore has not deviated from how the position is recognised. The reproduction of art-like wealth to some extent enables the position to be enhanced or maintained.

If the art-like wealth is associated with myth to obtain its value, it might be asked how the work produced nowadays has its meaning in society. The answer is that the value of the art-like wealth is based on its *nasi* which is created through circulation. In the past, art-like wealth given by the divinity (i.e. non-human made) was believed to have *nasi* to empower its receiver, but the same art-like wealth produced by humans can also acquire its *nasi* through its circulation, and the circulation will become the past for its owner to access the past interactions. Under these circumstances, even though the vessel or the glass beads might not have *nasi* when produced by the *pulima*, the art-like wealth will acquire its *nasi* through the circulation practised by people.

### ***A summary***

Paiwan social hierarchy is based on the association with wealth, such as myths, land and rivers. Wealth is inherited within a house to construct different rights and duties for its residents in terms of having distinct *nasi*. Depending on the wealth accessed, the social interaction is hierarchically practised to form the houses of *mamazangilan*, *pualu* and *kadadan*. Through the circulation of wealth, a house can circulate its *nasi* with its branched houses to form a family. Nonetheless, some of the wealth cannot be held or circulated physically. The Paiwan therefore apply the representation of wealth to objects, which I have termed art-like wealth, including vessels, glass beads, apparel and knives, to highlight their association with wealth. Under these circumstances, examining art-like wealth will give insight into how Paiwan hierarchy is formed.

The significance of art-like wealth is derived from its circulation. Myths narrate how art-like wealth was given by the divinities to reference how the *nasi* is accessed by the people. The elements in the myth are applied as *vencik* (artistic expression) to the objects to index the interaction experienced by their ancestor. Because of the past indexed by the art-like wealth, which is held by their house, the owner can claim that their household has already participated in the past. In this sense, the art-like wealth not only proves their pre-existing position in the understanding of precedence but also emphasises the association with other wealth to practise hierarchical interactions. Nowadays this gives meaning to the circulation of art-like wealth in terms of re-practising past interactions. In brief, art-like wealth indexes the past interaction and can be recirculated by people to confirm the position which has been constantly acknowledged.

The association with the past constructs Paiwan aesthetics. Paiwan aesthetic evaluation is based on the idea of *sa-milin* which means ancient. Because of the idea of precedence, the older position enables individuals to enjoy the position of the firstborn based on the ownership of wealth. In other words, having *sa-milin* art-like wealth is proof of the preceding position and the identity of the firstborn. It is important to note that *sa-milin* does not mean beauty (*gusunwa*). Although art-like wealth in some cases can also be considered beautiful, beautiful art-like wealth has no value in position-establishment as it lacks of history. In this sense, because art-like wealth is evidence of past interaction, the aged appearance highlights the preceding position of one's ancestor and gives a solid foundation for its current owner to acquire their inherited position. In this sense, the aesthetic value of Paiwan art-like wealth expresses the concept of precedence to clarify how the past forms the present.

The difference in accessed wealth illustrated by *vencik* applied to the objects

leads to stylistic diversity. Because the association with wealth embodied by the art-like objects represents specific rights and duties, the stylistic difference reveals what and how the position of the owner has been founded. For example, the myth of the birth of the *mamazangilan* enables the *dredretan* to have specific *vencik* to highlight the process of being born. By the same token, although the *kadidan* might only have relatively monotonous patterns on their apparel, the *vencik* of the rhombus still illustrates their association with the *mamazangilan*. Under these circumstances, stylistic differences are based on the relations between elements in the past and the association with specific elements, clarifying their position in contemporary society.

The richness of the artistic expression and the diversity of art-like wealth gives the Paiwan a solid base of cultural reinvention from which to reinvent and develop distinctive artworks. Because of tourism, Timur villagers have produced various works based on the form of art-like wealth for financial gain. However, to some extent, the artworks have a different value from the art-like wealth. The art-like wealth as a proof of preceding position must meet the quality of *sa-milin* and will have its *nasi* in society. On the other hand, the products purchased as souvenirs or merchandise are created for beauty in a bright or colourful way and, because they lack the qualification to participate in Paiwan ceremonies, the souvenirs, for example, do not have *nasi*. Nonetheless, as a commodity, the artworks can also be profitable to the Paiwan because money, as another form of wealth earned from selling, can be used for purchasing the necessary art-like wealth for manipulating social hierarchy in rites. Under these circumstances, the value of artwork and that of the art-like wealth might be different from the aesthetic perspective, but both act like wealth for manipulating social position.

The development from art-like wealth to artwork leads to a change in the role of

artistic producer in the society. The producer, *pulima*, is believed to have many (*pu*) hands (*lima*). As a talented maker, the *pulima*'s jobs include house building, carving and tailoring. The *pulima* is a respected position because they help people to highlight their ancient family history or personal achievements. Unlike the *pulima*, although the Paiwan artist might employ many traditional *vencik* to stress their position as a Paiwan to the world, their works cannot be circulated in rites to establish a position as a Paiwan in society. Only through producing the work which can be utilised for hierarchical interaction in Paiwan rites are producers able to be recognised as the *pulima*.

## Chapter Six: The Social Positions Given by Art-like Wealth

Hierarchical positions in Paiwan society can be differentiated into rank and status. Rank is based on the idea of *civaivaigan* which is a category of the accessible wealth. Accessing specific wealth gives individuals rights to practise particular social interaction. According to the different wealth each is associated with, Paiwan rank is categorised into *mamazangilan*, *pualu* and *kadidan*. The relationships between ranks have the property of encompassing and encompassed suggested by Dumont (1980). Nonetheless, the encompassment is based on the idea of wealth, rather than genealogy, as argued by Chiu (2001).

Within each rank, there will be various statuses. For the Paiwan, status is a relative relationship expressed through the language of birth order. For example, the founder of a village will be recognised as the firstborn (*vusam*) of the village and other villagers are understood as later-born (*tjaljaljaljak*). By the same token, the house of origin, the *gaomaan*, will be considered as the firstborn by their branched houses. This status is based on the idea of precedence in terms of the order of existence.

The identification of precedence in Paiwan society is formed by the circulation of wealth. The position of firstborn is established through sharing wealth with others in the light of forming the relationship between origin and branches. The origin therefore holds the ownership of wealth and the branched only enjoys the use-right. Depending on status differences, the Paiwan must obey the idea of *gagudan* (the Paiwan code of conduct) to practise proper interactions. Because social relationships (between ranks and statuses) are constructed through interactions mediated by wealth encompassed in a specific *civaivaigan*, circulating wealth enables *nasi* (the right to practise particular social interaction) to be circulated, thus forming the Paiwan hierarchy. Therefore, examining how the Paiwan fulfil their understanding of *civaivaigan* and that of

*gagudan* in establishing *nasi* will give insight into their hierarchy.

In Paiwan society, by associating with certain wealth – such as land, river and people – individuals are believed to have different rights and duties to practise hierarchical interactions. To identify the association, myth as a form of wealth provides a channel for tracing the past by narrating how people access other wealth to establish their current position. Myth, from the Paiwan point of view, is an index of the process of establishing association. In this sense, the myth highlights the procedure of how the *nasi* was established. In terms of proceduralisation, myth can be continuously reconstructed by relatively contemporary events. In other words, things happening now will one day be recognised as myths to explain how people form their social position. Thus, although Paiwan society has strict rank differentiation, people can manipulate their descendants' social position by conducting specific social interaction. Through this, the interaction will become a myth to reform the hierarchical relationship in the future. By adopting Gell's discussion of artwork, I argue that people's agency can be attributed to the intention of manipulating the position of their descendants and that agency is indexed by the circulated wealth to reform the social position of the house. Because some wealth cannot be circulated physically, the Paiwan employ art-like wealth to embody the association with particular wealth for establishing social relationships hierarchically. Exploring the circulation of art-like wealth will elucidate how the Paiwan hierarchy is formed.

The primary way of circulating art-like wealth is marriage (*bucege*). On the one hand, marriage encompasses two households into a joint *civaivaigan* by sharing their wealth. On the other hand, by acquiring art-like wealth as betrothal gifts in every marriage conducted at the same house, the *civaivaigan* of the house will be reconfirmed and reformed in terms of reproducing past interaction and making the

current interaction to be the past. The right to acquire specific gifts in the present depends on what gifts ancestors received in different marriages, reforming the *civaivaigan* of the house. Moreover, although the content of the gift is based on their *civaivaigan*, the regulation of the circulation of gifts must be examined through the idea of *gagudan*. The gift-receiver, to some extent, enjoys a precedent position in the wedding.

The precedent position has a dual aspect, but both are associated with the idea of origin. Firstly, if the gift-giver is born into a house that branched out from the receiver's house decades ago, the gift is offered to the receiver to acknowledge their position as the origin. But even if the giver's house is the *gaomaan* of the receiver's house, the *gaomaan* still has to provide gifts to the origin of their children: the mother. As I have argued, people are also a form of wealth. The power of fertility gives the woman a precedent position for acquiring gifts as acknowledgement of her position as a *nasi*-giver. Through the circulation of betrothal gifts, a house can continue through having children, and its wealth can be inherited to maintain its position.

Because of the association between wealth and social position, the position of a house is changeable depending on the agency of its residents. Namely, through the circulation of wealth processed by individuals, the position of a house will be manipulated to reform the *nasi* of its residents. The *nasi* is understood as life by the Paiwan but I have argued that it should be understood as destiny. *Nasi* is based on how others interact with you. Therefore, although art-like wealth is always given by the groom as the betrothal gift to the bride to share her power of fertility, some art-like wealth might also be provided as dowry to the groom to obtain the *nasi* from him, if the groom's house holds the precedent position. In this sense, although biologically the children are given birth to by the woman, the sperm provided by the groom can

socially continue and affect the *nasi* of the bride's house. In other words, acquiring the *nasi* from the elder is to access the precedent position to enjoy specific rights.

The *nasi* of the children is believed to be shared by their parents' natal house, instead of received exclusively by the gift-giver. Because of the association between *nasi* and social interaction, both families are expecting that the new life will promote the position of their houses through acquiring wealth in future marriage. Nonetheless, it is important to note that wealth obtained in a wedding will only entitle the children, not the spouse. Individuals cannot change their *nasi* via marriage because their natal house did not hold wealth obtained in the new current wedding to entitle them. Only their children benefit from the marriage to access wealth held by their parents' natal houses. Thus, if it is a marriage between *mamazangilan* and *kadidan*, the children can claim wealth from both families to establish their position in both ranks. But in order to enjoy the precedent position in society, the children tend to recognise the house of their *mamazangilan* parent as their *gaomaan*. That is, the manipulation of position is mainly devoted to the house that is the source of one's position. As an interaction between houses, the marriage enables wealth to be circulated to reform the hierarchy.

Marriage is entered into by people, but the house is the protagonist in the rite. The location of the wedding ceremony will affect what kind of art-like wealth can be offered because it is the house that empowers the individual to receive specific art-like wealth, depending on what kind of wealth is held by the house. The reason I use the term 'individual' instead of 'resident' to refer to the receiver is that the wedding might not be held at the bride or groom's residential house. To acquire their ideal art-like wealth as an acknowledgement of position, the receiver's family might hold the wedding at the house of their recognised *gaomaan*, which is believed to hold more

wealth than their own house, to ask for more betrothal gifts. For example, a branch of the precedent *mamazangilan* house might ask permission to hold their wedding at the precedent *mamazangilan* house to require the precedent *mamazangilan* art-like wealth in their wedding.

It is worth noting that the intention of receiving more art-like wealth is not mainly about acquiring the gifts. Rather, it is to about the process of acquiring gifts. The wedding as a public event is witnessed by villagers and this enables the position of the gift-receiver to be confirmed by acquiring specific art-like wealth in public. By acquiring the betrothal gift as an acknowledgement of position, the gift-receiver practises their rights to be known by the public in order to re-exercise the same rights in the future. Under these circumstances, the location of the wedding ceremony is crucial, because the same individual might receive different gifts, depending on where they hold the rite. In this sense, the house is the body of rank identification for people to practise hierarchical interaction with others.

The main goal of marriage is to have children to continue the house, the body through which individuals have a position in society.<sup>52</sup> Because of the importance of the house, to understand Paiwan marriage one needs to pay attention to the house perspective. A Paiwan house is composed by its wealth. Examining the house can be processed through an exploration of its wealth. In this sense, if the house as a wealth carrier entitles individuals to practice hierarchical interaction, the marriage ensures the activity of the house through the circulation of wealth. Having children therefore

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<sup>52</sup> It is quite common to see that, in order to continue the house, Paiwan homosexuals marry members of the opposite sex to have children. After raising children, their marriage might end. Some of the elders told me that having children is more important than having a spouse and being divorced is better than not having children.

enables the house and its wealth to be continued. Under these circumstances, a Paiwan marriage starts from the first meeting of both households to identify the position of each house and will be completed by the birth of an heir to the house. This lengthy process includes visiting the prospective bride's family (*murikaka*), the proposal (*dumulinja*), the engagement (*qemayam*), the wedding (*bucege*), returning to the house (*kialap*), becoming a household (*pukizing*) and name-giving (*muliapat*). In this chapter, the establishment of Paiwan hierarchical positions will be revealed by examining the social interaction in marriage associated with the house and its wealth.

### ***Murikaka: Visiting the prospective bride's family***

The first meeting between both households is to make sure that they are suitable for marriage. In other words, it is the time of figuring out the social position of their potential household-in-law because the *nasi* of this household will decide not only how the wedding will take place but also the position of the married couple's descendants. This marriage, to some extent, can affect the position of the couple's natal house. As a part of wealth held by house, the married-in spouse might lower the position of the house, if their *nasi* is lower. To maintain or to raise the position in the future, it is important to choose an ideal partner.

Before becoming a family by marriage, the Paiwan will first act like a family by sharing food. When a couple, who can both be previously divorced, are in a relationship or a man is looking for a potential spouse, his family will go to the girl's house to meet her family. In Paiwan society, the meeting can only be proposed by the groom's family, even if he is going to marry into the bride's house. For the meeting, the groom's family will prepare rice cakes (*qavai*), rice wine (*kavavan*), headdresses made of plants (*ljararau*), pork (*vutulj*), betel nuts (*saviki*), betel leaves (*zangau*), lime (*avu*), soft drinks (*sida*) and alcohol (*vava*) to give to the bride's family. Offering these

foods on this occasion (and in every Paiwan activity) is practising the idea of a family (*cumulan*). That is one of the key hierarchical values in Paiwan society because being a family enables each household to have more relatives and each of them will become an agent to possibly promote their family position by accessing the possibility of sharing wealth. Moreover, because the understanding of precedence is based on circulation of wealth, marriage further enables the position of origin to be established. In this sense, people can be considered as a form of wealth affecting the family's position. A large family will be recognised as a rich family due to the possibility of accumulating wealth. The food offered by the groom's family expresses the intention of becoming a family. However, it is not to say that the food offering in the meeting can immediately make them a family. The offering in these circumstances is only to send a friendly message.

The message given by the food offering will have its response through the act of consumption. From the perspective of the bride's family, receiving the food expresses their approval. If the bride's family accepts their potential son-in-law, they will receive the food and share with their relatives. This not only conveys approval of the potential marriage to the groom's family, but also informs their relatives about the coming marriage. Conversely, if the woman wants to refuse the marriage, her family will return the food afterwards. It is quite common that the *muirkaka* is a tentative meeting; both families understand that marriage is not guaranteed.

I noticed there might be more than one *muirkaka* taking place for the same woman in a fleeting period, if she is wealthy in terms of enjoying a *mamazangilan* position, well-educated and has a well-paid job. This kind of spouse from the Paiwan point of view fulfils the intention of expanding *civaivaigan* for promoting their social position because these characteristics denote the possibility of having plenty of wealth,

which can take the form of myths, land or money. Sharing the myth by getting married to the *mamazangilan* household gives the suitor a chance to ask for more betrothal gifts for their children in the future to accumulate the wealth of the house. For example, getting married to the *Dalimalau* household, born from the vessel in the myth, will allow one to acquire the right to ask for a vessel as one's betrothal gift in the future because the myth of *Dalimalau* is shared through marriage. Similarly, the money can be used to purchase the required betrothal gift to access one's ideal position in the hierarchical system. In this sense, wealth accessed by marriage or acquired through the marriage of children will give a house a precedent position. Therefore, although the idea of romantic love is generally shared by the younger generation of Paiwan people, the intention of accessing the precedent position associated with wealth is still very much at the forefront of their mind when they choose their partner. The first meeting in this sense is to make sure the marriage will be worthwhile.

The best marital partner from the Paiwan point of view will have the same or a higher rank. Therefore, the first meeting is to ensure both households at least have a similar, but not a lower *nasi* through clarifying their *civaivaigan*. Their corresponded *nasi* can be revealed by locating a common relative. After food is offered, the households will start to introduce themselves by narrating their family relationship, which is how the Paiwan identify their *civaivaigan*, and that will give insight into their *nasi*. In this sense, the *civaivaigan* as an idea of a path enable people to trace their origin to identify from where their *nasi* derived.

The origin will commonly be traced as close as possible to a *mamazangilan* house. The relationship with the *mamazangilan* house not only provides the possibility of sharing the precedent position but also highlights what sort of wealth they can acquire

in the coming marriage. In this sense, the house of *mamazangilan* is considered as the origin of their *nasi* to practise specific rights in the wedding. To explain how the relationship with the *mamazangilan* is built, elders will give an account of the marital history of the households of the parents to give insight into how exactly they access their position. In the account, a common relative between the bride and groom's households might be found from one of their parent's families. Once the relative is located, the marriage they currently work on will be considered suitable because it means that these families married before and they should have no problem doing so now. In other words, the previous marriage enables these two households to share wealth to construct a similar *civaivaigan* as in the past, which makes them an appropriate marital partner in the present.

Because of the nature of the ideal Paiwan marriage partner, it is common that the spouses are already related before they get married. However, the society has a restriction of consanguineous marriage to avoid violating taboos. For the Paiwan, marriage between relatives can only be conducted after three generations. The siblings, as the first generation, are called *sikavetjek* and are believed to have the same rank. The siblings' children are the second generation known as *sunasunasun* and have a similar, but not the same, position as their cousins because their parent's spouse might come from a house in a different rank. Marriage of the siblings therefore leads to the change of position in a family.

The *sikavetjek* and *sunasunasun* cannot marry. The Paiwan believe the consanguine marriage will give birth to children who have eyes on their ankle. Consanguineous marriage can only be started from the third generation, the *sigadaljida*, who to some extent are the best marital partners because the social position between the third generation is still comparable. Marriage between the third

generation can secure the position of both households because, for example, if a *mamazangilan* household has continuously married *kadidan* for three generations, the house will lose its position and become a *kadidan* household. That is, getting married with people from different ranks will change their *nasi* to affect their right to access other rights as derived from the wealth they access. As a result, consanguineous marriage is common in society because marrying a relative will ensure wealth is preserved within one's family, which can at least maintain their position.

The preference for consanguineous marriage highlights the significance of *nasi*. I have argued that *nasi* is the social interaction indexed by wealth and it is how people identify their rights and duties. Marriage is not only a channel for accumulating wealth but also a method of building up one's social position through interactions to confirm or establish specific *nasi*. The relationship between ranks, and the relationship between statuses within a rank, are all imagined as concentric circles, or a core surrounded by sub-groups. Within a rank, there are different statuses which become lower as you move outwards from the core to the periphery. Status is understood through the idea of precedence which means the core is considered as the origin of that rank in terms of sharing wealth with others. Because of the division of a house, the core is understood as the firstborn from a genealogical perspective and this gives the idea of kinship to the hierarchy. As the origin of a group, the core is believed to inherit the *nasi* from ancestors and share this with the branches. *Nasi*, therefore, has a sacred meaning derived from the relationship with ancestors. Accessing the *nasi* given by the core will give a precedent position to individuals to acquire specific wealth from others to reconfirm their rights in society.

The reconfirmation of social position is conducted through how individuals successfully re-practise past interactions. The interaction is mainly mediated by wealth

which enables the *nasi* to be circulated between families and will possibly change the position of their children. That is, marriage provides mobility in the hierarchical system for children to enjoy a position different from their parents. Because the children will access wealth held by their parents, both parents' *nasi* will affect their children's position. For example, if a non-core individual married a core position partner and lives in a non-core house, their children will enjoy a position towards the core, but not in the core. The children have non-core consanguinity and only inherit wealth held by the non-core house. Even if the same couple live in the core-house, the position of their children will also be considered to deviate from the core, because of this non-core consanguinity. As an outcome of marriage, having specific consanguinity is related to your ancestor's agency in terms of who they married and what wealth they circulated. Therefore, as I was told, marrying a non-Paiwan partner will bring one's children's social position to the lowest place because the foreigner has no wealth.

It is important to highlight that blood given by parent is only one form of accessible wealth to establish the children's social position. As I noticed, some *mamazangilan* whose ancestors married Han Taiwanese people will emphasise the ownership of land inherited from the Han people to argue their wealthy position. In this sense, the *nasi* associated with the ancestor from the consanguinity perspective is tied in with the wealth which indexes how social position is established. Lack of wealth denotes an inability to practise hierarchical interaction. Given this, I argue that consanguinity locates an individual in a specific position in society, but the location is established by wealth.

To sum up, to marry is to combine the two households into one family, but before the kinship is confirmed by the coming marriage, the Paiwan will first identify their connection by locating a common relative between the two households to prove that

they were already a family. Having the same relative denotes a feasible marriage between the two households because their family was married before and the previous marriage enables the two households to have a similar *nasi* and to do so again, depending on the shared wealth on their path (*civaivaigan*).

### ***Dumulinja: The proposal***

The first meeting for the Paiwan is to confirm that the *civaivaigan* of both households are sufficiently comparable for marriage in terms of rank. After both households clarify compatibility in terms of becoming a family, the groom's household will arrange another meeting to discuss the required betrothal gift which is considered a proposal by the Paiwan. The discussion is to some extent the most challenging process within the marriage because it is a competition for status between two households and the marriage could be cancelled at this stage. The competition is based on the idea of *gagudan* which can be explored through various interactions in the proposal to reveal how people define their status through the understanding of precedence.

Every marriage will be supervised by two mediators (*cuigaizin*) who are elected by villagers to be the consultant of ceremonies. The *cuigaizin* must have rich knowledge about the history and relationship between families. They will act like a judge to ensure that people will follow the *gagudan* in their marriage. The *gagudan* in this sense is related to hierarchical interaction in the process of circulating the betrothal gift. The two *cuigaizin* will respectively represent the families in the discussion of the betrothal gift. Before the day of the proposal, the *cuigaizin* will have a meeting with the family they represent to discuss what sort of gift can be asked for

or given. The ideal gift asked for by the receiver is based on their *civaivaigan*. However, according to the location of the wedding ceremony or depending on the comparative relationship between the households, the *cuigaizin* will suggest a list of proper gifts to the family to avoid a possible conflict during the proposal. For example, a branched household might ask for taro, which symbolises the ownership of land held by the precedent *mamazangilan* house, to highlight their *nasi* shared by the *mamazangilan*. Nonetheless, if their counterpart is the authorised owner of the land (i.e. the origin of the branched household who asks for the taro), the gift-giver will strongly refuse to offer the taro in terms of acknowledging others to be the landowner. Although the household might ask for what they want arbitrarily and their counterpart might fulfil their request, the *cuigaizin* has to withdraw the offered gift if the *civaivaigan* of the receiver's house does not meet the position indexed by the gift. Therefore, the *cuigaizin* has considerable importance in affecting the acknowledged position of a house by restricting their betrothal gift.

As a Christian Paiwan village, the proposal always starts with prayer in Timur. It is interesting to note that who should give the prayer as a Christian is based on the idea of *gagudan*, which shows how the Paiwan recognises status. The person who prays will be an important church member, such as a minister, presbyter or deacon, depending on their status in the church. If both the minister and presbyter attend the event, the prayer can only be given by the minister. Just like the regulation of wearing eagle feathers (see Chapter 5), the right to give the prayer follows the understanding of *gagudan*. The status in church empowers an individual to have exclusive rights to do things related to Christianity. However, if there are no church staff participating in the event, the elder will take the responsibility. This principle of task assignment is based on the notion of *gagudan* which highlights relative distance toward the origin,

which can be the Christian God or a Paiwan ancestor. Prayer in this sense is practised within a Christian context that gives the minister a precedent status, even if a *mamazangilan* is on the scene. This context can be examined through the idea of concentric circles and the different circles can simultaneously exist in the same event. For example, the circle as a group might be a village, house or church, and each of these has its core who can be a *mamazangilan* (the core of a village), an elder (the core of a house) or the minister (the core of a church). The core may or may not enjoy the precedent status depending on the specific occasion. Because of the conversion, the minister enjoys the precedent status when people practise Christian values.

Praying for the smoothness of the marriage can be done in a Christian context and also through a Paiwan rite. In the proposal, both ideas from the Christian and Paiwan perspective are practised simultaneously which leads the position of the core to be switched. Therefore, because of the necessary prayer, the minister enjoys the precedent position at the beginning of the proposal, but the position will be taken by a family elder when they are dealing with the domestic issue. After the prayer, the groom's family will give a pot to an elder from the bride's family to entreat the prosperity of the marriage in a Paiwan way. They believe that, when a household is going to conduct a wedding, their dead family members must be appeased by a rite called *semupuljuan*.

In the *semupuljuan*, the pot received by the elder is symbolically offered to the family's deceased to avoid ill-fortune. Offering the pot makes the two families reconsolidate their kin relationship, despite the disconnection of their kinship caused by the dead family members. That is, as I have argued, people are a form of wealth which establishes the kinship between houses. Losing a common relative, as losing shared wealth, might break the connection between them. The pot in this sense can

re-strengthen their kinship. But it also informs the deceased that something good is going to happen in the household and people are beseeching their blessing.

In addition to the *semupuljuan* conducted in the proposal, both households will visit their relatives' family to offer the pot as an invitation to the wedding, if someone in the relatives' household had passed away within the past year. The offering of pot, as well as the *semupuljuan* conducted in the proposal, is to consolidate the relationship with their relatives, make them overcome the grief of losing loved ones and invite them to participate in the coming wedding. If the *semupuljuan* has not been done before the wedding, people will not attend the ceremony to avoid bringing ill-fortune to the couple. Additionally, I noticed that even though on most occasions the pot receiver's family did not actually lose any family members in the past year, the *semupuljuan* will still be conducted to emphasise the kin relationship between the receiver and the giver. Therefore, I argue that offering the pot indexed that they had eaten together as a family, and the *semupuljuan* is mainly to reconsolidate the relationship between households.

As an interaction between households, the reason the elder enjoys the supreme position in the *semupuljuan* is not only their age, but also their life status.<sup>53</sup> The elder represents a bridge between family members and their ancestors, as well as the minister representing a bridge between believers and God. In the rite of *semupuljuan*, which relates to the idea of a house, the elder is considered as the core and the origin of the household.

After the *semupuljuan* is performed, the most important discussion in the proposal can be started and the precedent position will be shifted again. The

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<sup>53</sup> The elder is called *vuvu* which is the same term used for the ancestor and for young children because the Paiwan believe that their life statuses are similar.

discussion focuses on the content of the betrothal gift, depending not only on the *civaivaigan* of the households but also the relative status between their recognised origins in the sense of *gagudan*. Although the rank based on the *civaivaigan* will be reflected in what gift can be offered, the competition for status will affect what gift should be provided. The contestants will be two *mamazangilan* who are representatives of each of the households. The relationship between the representative and the represented is based on the *nasi* they share. They are relatives but their kinship is formed by wealth, including the blood and names they share.

The *mamazangilan* on this occasion are recognised as the core (i.e. the origin) to give the precedent position to their branch. The *nasi* they share can be identified by recalling how they established their house in ancient times and who they married. The time of early existence highlights the possibility of their being the firstborn over the competitor and thus justified in exercising the rights of an elder. The position will further be enhanced by past marriages. The marital history proves how they have maintained the core position by sharing *nasi* from other ancient houses.

The relationship between the *mamazangilan* and the represented will be further elucidated to explain how the represented accessed the *nasi* shared by the *mamazangilan*. By accessing their *nasi* from their representative *mamazangilan*, the bride's household, for example, expects to be considered as the elder by their future in-law counterpart to enjoy the right to receive a specific gift in the marriage. On the other hand, the competitor (i.e. another *mamazangilan*) will do his or her best to argue that their house is older than their counterpart so that the groom's household can claim the elder position to not offer a certain gift. That is, the *mamazangilan* not only represents the origin of the represented but is also trying to be the origin of the other *mamazangilan*. The contest for status therefore generates conflict between

families and each of them, as the villagers explained to me, want to be 'bigger' in two senses. This can be their understanding of being older, or the concept of *gaomaan* (the house of origin) which encompasses not only its branched houses (e.g. the house of other *mamazangilan*) but also the wealth held by those houses.

It is important to note that it is a debate about status but not a dispute of rank. If the households' ranks are different, the competition is unnecessary because the position of origin given by wealth is more clearly demarcated. Only within the same rank must the position of origin be clarified to reveal who is the owner of the wealth. When status within the same rank is defined, the represented can enjoy the position of an elder, shared by their representative, to exercise specific rights, such as asking for the taro as in the previous example.

The competition for position is always controversial in Paiwan society. The tension is led by the relations between *civaivaigan* and *gagudan*. In the marriage, the receiver's *civaivaigan* reveals the content of the required betrothal gift. But what gift should be provided is based on the relative position derived from the understanding of *gagudan*. Nonetheless, both the *civaivaigan* and *gagudan* are associated with the idea of wealth. For example, the ownership of land as one's *civaivaigan*, will be highlighted to argue why they are recognised as the firstborn from the perspective of *gagudan*. In this sense, being the owner of wealth denotes an earlier existence in terms of occupying wealth in advance.

The ownership of wealth forms the hierarchical interaction between the origin and the branches. As a result, when their relationship of derivation is not compatible between *mamazangilan* from different villages, they will emphasise their ownership of wealth to open up the possibility of being the firstborn over their competitor, who can only claim less wealth. Under these circumstances, if both houses of the

*mamazangilan* are the first-built in their village and have not circulated wealth before, the amount of land they own will be the counter to argue their precedent position because land theoretically is occupied by the elder in terms of a wider *civaivaigan*.

To correspond with the *civaivaigan*, people need to follow the concept of *gagudan*: the elder will have the right to receive the betrothal gift from their counterpart, regardless of matrilocality or patrilocality. Therefore, it is possible that the spouse-giver also has to offer the gift to the spouse-receiver if the spouse-giver's status is succeeding. The gift is in this sense not compensation for the spouse, but it will help determine how their social position is recognised. That is, the hierarchical interaction in marriage is clarified through the ownership of wealth, because wealth constructs the position of a house as one's *civaivaigan* and gives them the precedent position from the *gagudan* perspective.

When the relationship between both families is revealed, the bride's family will announce what sort of betrothal gift they need. If the bride was born into a *mamazangilan* household, the gift will include the vessel, glass beads, knife, eagle feathers, apparel, iron pot, iron rake, hunting area, farming land, river, rice cakes, rice wine, headdress made of plants, pork, betel nuts, betel leaves, lime, banana, taro, millet, soft drinks and alcohol. All the gifts index the bride's *nasi* which is related to what and how wealth was accessed by the gift-receiver. For example, because the Paiwan believe that the natural resources were given by the divinities to the *mamazangilan*, the *mamazangilan* can ask for hunting area, farming land and river as their *civaivaigan*, to be their betrothal gift and thus highlight their ownership. The taro and millet provided as the gift also emphasise the right to collect offerings. Offering these natural gifts is to acknowledge the firstborn position of *mamazangilan*. By the same token, money has now become an alternative gift to index the ownership. The

bride's family might declare a price to replace the required gift. The price for each natural resource is between 1000 NTD to 2000 NTD (around £20 to £40). The money will be sealed in a red envelope. The name of the wealth, such as land or a river, will be written on the envelope to show what is received. In this sense, the price shows that the intention of acquiring the gift is not to obtain the actual value of the natural resource, rather it is only to be recognised as the owner to highlight one's *civaivaigan*.

Because *civaivaigan* is associated with the house, if the wedding is held in church, the betrothal gift has to follow the church's *civaivaigan*. For example, the Timur Presbyterian church enacts its own policy of asking for the betrothal gift. Regardless of rank, people who want to have their wedding in church can only ask for pork, betel nuts, betel leaves, rice cakes, sweets, soft drinks and headdresses made of plants from their future family-in-law. As the church minister points out, in front of God people are equal. That is, the church as a Paiwan house has its position derived from its *nasi*-giver, God, and their descendants, the adherents, are believed to have the same position. In this sense, the betrothal gifts offered in church establish their identity as a Christian. However, although Timur is a Christianised village, in my 14 months of fieldwork, I noticed that there was only one wedding conducted in church and in this case both of the parents of the bride and groom were ministers. It seems that the value of being a Christian might be more crucial than highlighting their hierarchical position. Church policy might be understood as a convenient way to manipulate social position in terms of saving money. People can offer a lesser gift to marry a wealthy household. Nonetheless, because the gift confirms one's social position, while believing in God, Timur villagers still want to secure the position of their house. If their house receives inappropriate gifts, the position might be denied and that will affect how their descendants practise their rights in the future.

The intention of receiving appropriate betrothal gifts again highlights that the significance referenced by the gift is not merely wealth, but also how the wealth was acquired in terms of indexing the hierarchical interaction to establish the understanding of *nasi*. That is, art-like wealth offered in marriage indexes the mythical interaction. The offering of the betrothal gift is especially crucial to the receiver because the gifts reflect how their position was founded and how they re-exercise the right in modern times. Even if the parents really like their future son- or daughter-in-law, no one wants to lose their right to receive a certain betrothal gift, even if that might lead to the wedding being cancelled. Because the gift, as an acknowledgement of social position, will be displayed in public, the absence of a certain gift denotes a disclaimer of rights that will influence their social position in the future in terms of failure to re-practise hierarchical interaction. It is interesting that when I participated in marital ceremonies, and when a household received a gift they had not acquired before, villagers would ask me if I had filmed the rite. As they said, once the gift is offered in public, the household, who receives the gift, obtains the right to do so again in the future. The significance of the connection between past and present causes the art-like wealth offered in the current marriage to become a reference to past interaction and affect the future rights of a house.

The circulation of wealth is performed not only to establish social position, but also to ensure the sustainability of the position in terms of forming a household. As I discussed in Chapter 4, a wealth carrier, the house, can only be built after the first child is born. Having an heir keeps the house alive and the children will become agents to manipulate the position of their house. Therefore, providing betel nuts and bananas, which grow many fruits, expresses the expectation of giving birth to as many children as possible to continue the *nasi* of a house.

Only through the social interaction practised by residents can the house maintain its relationship with other houses. The intention to have children will also be achieved by providing a knife which, in myth, was used by the Paiwan creator to create mankind. The significance of the knife derived from the myth is employed by the Paiwan to preserve the position of a house by having children. The iron pot and iron rake are believed to have the same power as the knife. Regardless, the power is based on the function of producing food. Supplying food as the grounds of enduring life gives the pot its position among the gifts. By the same token, the rake is for the newly married couple to use in farming to maintain their livelihood. The pot and the rake enable people to act like a family. Having food and eating together with the same pot denotes the idea of sharing that highlights an indivisible relationship between the families-in-law. Offering the pot, as well as providing other betrothal gifts, ensures the *nasi* of the house is continued.

### ***The idea of family***

Although being a family enables members to partake in the *nasi* to access certain rights and duties, the *nasi* shared within the family is not absolutely equal. In terms of being a family, individuals partake in wealth to have the same rank in the sense of *civaivaigan*. However, according to the idea of *gagudan*, the sharing of *nasi* will create a relationship between the origin and the branches that lead their rights and duties to be different. To examine people's rights and duties, the definition of a family must be explored, including how membership of the family is established, who can be a member, what they can share and what the difference between members is.

Wealth held by a house not only forms its position in society but also entitles its residents to interact with people from other houses to form individuals' social position. Sharing wealth further establishes the relationship between *gaomaan* and branched

houses to form an idea of family and this is then processed through marriage. Paiwan marriage completes a family which not only consists of the newlyweds, but also their siblings' households and their natal households. The family is constructed through the providing of the betrothal gift. For example, a glass bead necklace is offered to the receiver's youngest sibling, who represents other siblings in accepting the gift. For example, if the male marries into the house of his wife who is the firstborn, her youngest sibling, who will have his/her own house, can receive a glass bead necklace as the betrothal gift provided by the natal house of his/her brother-in-law to the firstborn. The necklace establishes a connection between the natal house of the gift-giver and the branched houses of the gift-receiver's natal house. Through this, in the future, the gift-giver can partake in the potential wealth acquired by the gift-receiver's siblings in their upcoming marriage due to the family relationship established by the necklace. If an individual receives land as a betrothal gift, their siblings and the siblings' family-in-law will have the right to farm or hunt on the land. In this sense, kinship is established through the necklace, which enables people to access other wealth in order to act like a family.

Although wealth is shared within a family, it is important to note that land, for example, is only shared as the use-right by members of the family. They are only approved to utilise the land but cannot act like the landlord in terms of collecting offerings from others. The idea of use-right and that of the ownership form the understanding of status differences in society. Because wealth is held by a house to form its *civaivaigan*, the sharing of wealth must be examined through the association between house and people. For example, if someone is born into a precedent house of *mamazangilan* and marries 'out' of their house into a *kadidan* house, their children, as a branch of *mamazangilan*, have the *nasi* to claim their rank as *mamazangilan*

derived from their parent. But the children will not enjoy the same status as the parent, depending on the wealth they brought into the house. According to the idea of *civaivaigan*, although the children can trace their path to the *mamazangilan* house as their origin, the rights of *mamazangilan* derived from the wealth shared by the parent's house have not been fully transferred to the house who marries into this. Sharing a part of the wealth will only access a portion of rights and that gives different positions to the houses. Therefore, although the children enjoy the rank of *mamazangilan*, they will not have the same status as their cousins who might inherit the whole wealth of the house of *mamazangilan*. Within a family, the distinction between use-right and ownership gives individuals different rights but the same rank.

***Tuima: Temporary art-like wealth***

The *nasi* is indexed by art-like wealth to highlight how people interacted in the past. Therefore, the continuation of acquiring specific art-like wealth is a re-practising of past interaction to clarify the legitimacy of present behaviour. In this sense, permanently keeping art-like wealth in the house signifies the intention of perpetuating their right in society. However, unlike the vessel, glass beads and the knife, *tuima* (Figure 27) is a temporary art-like wealth which only appears for a few days in a wedding. The *tuima* is a four-pillar swing which will be set at the bride's *gaomaan* by the groom after the successful discussion of the betrothal gift. The swing can be made of wood or bamboo, depending on the bride's rank. People in the rank of *mamazangilan* can use wood to make their *tuima* and the *pualu* will use the bamboo. Only the *kadidan* has no right to set up the *tuima* in their wedding. Setting the *tuima*, as well as having other art-like wealth, can be examined in terms of two aspects: the *civaivaigan* and the *gagudan*.



Figure 27. The Paiwan *tuima*.<sup>54</sup>



Figure 28. Swinging under the *tuima*.<sup>55</sup>

From the *civaivaigan* perspective, the ownership of the *tuima* is derived from myth, which can be a legendary story or historical event. In legend of Davalan village, the sun put an egg into the vessel which was found by the *kadidan*. It is important to recall the myth of how the first *mamazangilan* was given birth to understand the *tuima*. As the myth depicts, rays of sunlight shone down on the vessel and, after ten months, the vessel ruptured to give birth to the first *mamazangilan*. The *tuima*, I was told, illustrates the imagery of the sunlight with its four pillars spreading out from the top in different directions on the ground. The bride swinging under the pillar is considered as the vessel on which the sun shone, denoting her *mamazangilan* position and also highlighting the power of her fertility (Figure 28). Both the legend and the power are owned by the bride as her *civaivaigan* which is indexed by the *tuima* and in the way it is used.

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<sup>54</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>55</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.



Figure 29. Ladies wearing *Laiguan*.<sup>56</sup>

The imagery of sunlight and the concept of giving birth can also be seen on a woman's headdress, called *laiguan*, which is made of human hair (Figure 29). The *laiguan* is made by four bunches of hair intersected at the top and it can only be worn by unmarried *mamazangilan* women. The hair is styled by the bride's parents who will let their hair grow as long as possible before cutting it to make the *laiguan* for their daughter. Although the *laiguan* is commonly worn by unmarried women who enjoy the rank of *mamazangilan*, the style of *laiguan* might be different to index the woman's relationship with the origin. If the *nasi* of the *laiguan's* owner is closer to the precedent *mamazangilan*, they can decorate their *laiguan* with an eagle feather to highlight their position towards the core. Conversely, if the *nasi* of the *laiguan's* owner is distant from the precedent *mamazangilan*, their *laiguan* might have no decoration. The elements applied to *laiguan* create a specific style to reveal the relationship between the owner and their origin. The association between *laiguan* and the

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<sup>56</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

legendary birth further highlights that wearing the *laiguan* denotes one's unmarried status and their ability to give birth to *mamazangilan* children as did the vessel in the legend. Through apparently imitating sunlight, the Paiwan employ art-like wealth to index the interaction of being given *nasi* by the sun, stressing their position in society.

In addition to the ownership of *tuima* derived from the legend, people can claim their right to have the *tuima* according to historical events. For example, an elder from a *pualu* house based in Lziuci Laulauzang village asked for a wooden *tuima* from their potential family-in-law in the proposal for his granddaughter, who lives in Timur village. Although the elder is a *pualu* who can only ask for a bamboo *tuima*, his wife was married into his house from a *mamazangilan* family in Lziuci Laulauzang village and this enables his grandchildren to share the use-right derived from their *mamazangilan nasi* to ask for a wooden *tuima*. The elder's marriage, in this sense, becomes a myth inherited by his descendants to claim the use-right of wooden *tuima*. Although in the discussion of betrothal gifts his counterpart points out that the house of *pualu* does not have the right to a wooden *tuima*, the elder refutes this by quoting a historical event. As the elder argues, his house is not a *mamazangilan* house, but a precedent *mamazangilan* in the Timur village attended his daughter's wedding and sent someone to set a wooden *tuima* at his house as an acknowledgement of his daughter's *nasi* derived from the *mamazangilan*. Since then, the elder's house has obtained the wood *tuima* as its wealth. He adds that the giving of the *tuima* was witnessed by the villagers and no one opposed the setting in that event. In this sense, the elder's descendants receive the use-right of the wooden *tuima* from their grandmother's *nasi* and the elder's house obtains ownership of the wooden *tuima* given by the precedent *mamazangilan*. According to these historical events, asking for a wooden *tuima* for his granddaughter's wedding serves to consolidate *nasi* by displaying *civaivaigan* in public.

As a competition for status, the conflict in discussing the betrothal gift not only happened between the couple's families, but also within the bride's family. Taking the *tuima* as an example, the location of the setting of the *tuima* is not only related to the *civaivaigan* of the house but also to the idea of *gagudan*, which highlights the understanding of origin. Therefore, although the elder successfully asked for a wood *tuima* from their potential in-law family, conditions were applied. In order to fulfil the idea of *civaivaigan* and that of *gagudan*, if the wedding is going to take place in Timur village, the wooden *tuima* asked for by the elder can only be placed at the house of the precedent *mamazangilan* in Timur village, instead of the bride's house.

In total there are five precedent *mamazangilan* houses in Timur village and all of them have the right to set the *tuima*, according to their *civaivaigan*. Nonetheless, the association with different precedent *mamazangilan* houses will affect the appropriateness of setting the *tuima*, according to the *gagudan*. This means the bride's *tuima* needs to be set at the house of the origin of her *nasi*. The bride's family might have different opinions or understandings of their relationship with these precedent *mamazangilan* houses. In this case, the bride's household is associated with three *mamazangilan* houses in Timur village, including *Pulidan*, *Pakadavai* and *Ruljuan*. The association is based on the recognition of origin and the past needs to be recalled in order to ascertain this. Based on the hierarchical relationship of the bride's father's *gaomaan*, the *Lalali*, they were the *pualu* of the *Pulidan* house in Pinauala village. As a group, the *Pulidan* is considered as the origin of the Pinauala village that constructs the hierarchical position for the *Lalali* family. In this sense, their relationship with the *Pulidan* is not based on consanguinity but on how the bride, whose *nasi* is derived from the *Lalali*, accesses her *pualu* position by associating with the *Pulidan*, depending on their idea of *gagudan*. However, from the *civaivaigan* perspective, the

bride's maternal grandmother is a relative of *Pakadavai* house and of *Ruljuan* house. Both households can be recognised as their origin in Timur village because their *nasi* are all associated with the first *mamazangilan*, the *Dalimalau*, through the past marriage. Although the bride's household is not actually a branch of *Pakadavai* and *Ruljuan*, the Paiwan tend to trace their origin to the *mamazangilan* house in the same village to highlight their position toward the core.

As Lévi-Strauss (1982) suggests, the house is a moral person, so exploring the relationships between houses gives insight into how a house establishes its position in society and how its residents perceive their relationships with others. The relationship between houses, as I argue, is formed by wealth which can not only be blood but also betrothal gifts circulated in the past. In this sense, the bride's paternal grandmother was born in the *Lalali* house but was adopted to inherit the *Matilin* house, which is the natal house of the bride. The *Matilin* recognise the *Ruljuan* as their *mamazangilan* in Gadimulan village. Just like the relationship with the *Pulidan* family, the bride's natal house is associated with the *Ruljuan* to have their position in terms of *gagudan*. Although there might be a dispute within the bride's family, after clarifying the relationship with these precedent *mamazangilan*, the *Ruljuan* house is agreed to the best place to set the bride's *tuima* because the house fulfils both the notions of *civaivaigan* and *gagudan* (Figure 30).

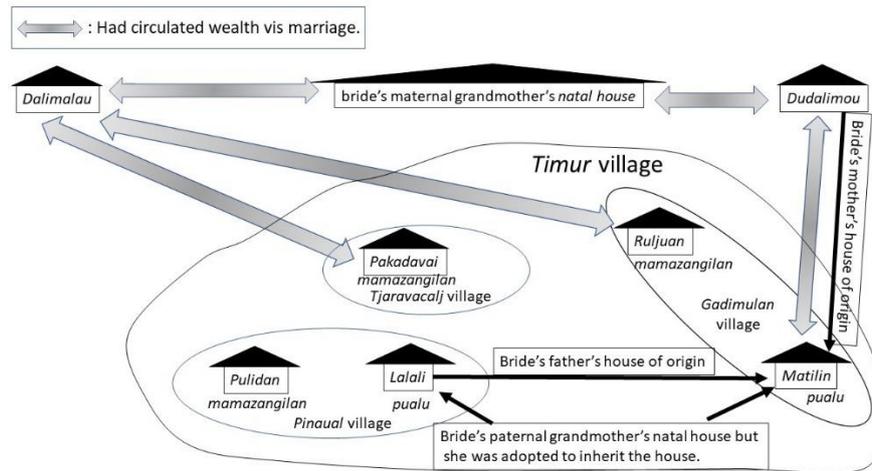


Figure 30. The relationship between the *Matilin* and their origin.<sup>57</sup>

Because the social relationship can be abducted through art-like wealth, the *civaivaigan*, the *gagudan* and the location of setting the *tuima* will lead to the stylistic difference of the *tuima* which highlights social position as it is associated with wealth. Theoretically, within a village, only the precedent *mamazangilan* house has the right to set the *tuima* because the house was first built in terms of being the origin of others. Other houses which obtain the use-right from the precedent *mamazangilan* house are the branches whose *nasi* is derived from their origin. Therefore, if the *tuima* is provided in marriage to the branched *mamazangilan*, the *tuima* will be set at the house of their origin. However, in some weddings, the relatives of the precedent *mamazangilan* might attempt to set the *tuima* at their own house to highlight their *nasi* given by their origin. That is unacceptable for the origin because ownership of the *tuima* cannot be ceded in terms of securing the position of origin. Nonetheless, if the branched household persists in doing so, the *tuima* will be made in a different style.

Because of the migration history and frequent consanguineous marriage, the position of the firstborn is sometimes controversial. For example, the *Duvacinan* was

<sup>57</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

the third-built house in Davandavan village, but their myth narrates that when their ancestor went hunting, their ancestor established the first house in Goumajan village and became the precedent *mamazangilan* in that new territory (Figure 31). The firstborn of *Duvacinan* house in Goumajan village married the firstborn from *Pulidan* house in Pinauala village to have their first child named *Lalejelan*, who later moved to Tjaravacalj village to rebuild the *Duvacinan* household. The firstborn of *Pulidan* married again to another *mamazangilan* who claimed to be an older house than the *Duvacinan* house because the second wife came from an older village than Goumajan. When Japanese colonisers forced them to establish the new village, Timur, the understanding of precedent position was reformed.

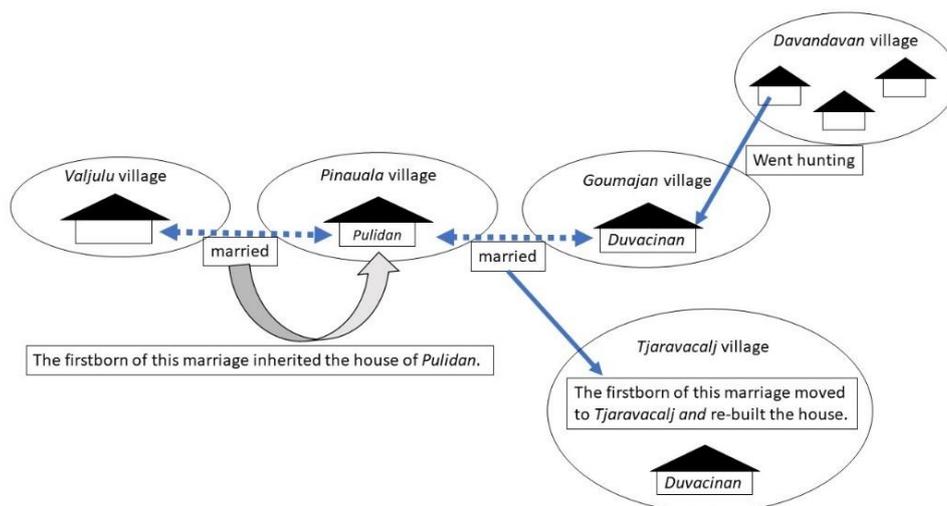


Figure 31. The migration of the *Duvacinan*.<sup>58</sup>

Some of Timur villagers believe that the territory of Timur was part of the Pinauala village, meaning that the *Pulidan* house is the firstborn of Timur. However, because of the marriage between *Duvacinan* and *Pulidan*, the *Duvacinan* claims that they are the legal heir of the Pinauala village, in terms of being the firstborn of the ex-wife of the ancestor of *Pulidan*. In the marriage of the firstborn of *Duvacinan*, the

<sup>58</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

*Duvacinan* household believes that their house has the right to be set a *tuima*, according to their precedent position. Additionally, through the previous marriage, the people of *Duvacinan* claim their ownership of the myth of the dragon which is recognised as a guardian of *Pulidan* household. However, when *Duvacinan* holds a wedding, they set a *tuima* at their own house, but the *tuima* setter does not make a supreme *tuima*, which will have carvings of a man, a woman and a hundred-pace snake on three of its pillars, because the *vencik* of these elements do not correspond to the house of *Duvacinan*.

According to the idea of *civaivaigan*, the *tuima* might be carved with different patterns to reflect the association between the house and its wealth. Therefore, if the *tuima* is set at the *Pulidan*'s house, they can additionally have the carving of the dragon as their *civaivaigan* held by the house of *Pulidan*. As I was told by informants, if the *Duvacinan* wants to have the supreme *tuima*, they will need to set the *tuima* at the house of *Pulidan* because the people, the snake and the dragon are held by the house as its wealth. Otherwise, the *Duvacinan* has to hold the wedding back in Goumajan village, where they enjoy the precedent position, to have the figure of human and the snake on their *tuima*. Nonetheless, because of the second marriage, *Duvacinan*'s position is recognised to be inferior to the *Pulidan* in Timur village in terms of not inheriting wealth held by the house of *Pulidan*. If the *Duvacinan* insist on setting a *tuima* at their house, the figures cannot be carved. In this context, the precedent position is referenced by the wealth held by the house, including myths and land, which enable the hierarchical interaction to be practised. A village, as a house, has an identified firstborn who inherits the preceding house to hold specific wealth, which will be applied as illustrations to art-like wealth to index what the social relationship is based on. The social relationship will be reconfirmed in every wedding through the

circulation of wealth.

***Paukuz: Greeting the bride***

*Paukuz* can be understood as the Paiwan wedding day. Like other Paiwan events, *Paukuz* starts with the slaughter of a pig at the groom's household to prepare both the betrothal gift and food to share. Almost all of the groom's relatives will participate in the preparation because metaphorically people act like a joint family, but practically the participants expect their relatives will return the favour in their future wedding. The requirement of reciprocity can be seen from the size of the betrothal gift, including a whole pig, two front legs of a pig, one rear leg, the neck, all organs, twelve pieces of rice cake, as many headdresses made of plants as possible, an iron rake, an iron pot, a vessel, glass bead necklace, a knife, an eagle feather, apparel, a crock of rice wine, betel nuts, betel leaves, lime, bananas, taros, millet, sugar canes, soft drinks and alcohol. Every betrothal gift will be tied up with red string and labelled with a piece of red paper that, according to the idea of *nasi* being continued by blood, expresses the intention to reproduce *nasi* by offering these gifts. The participants will gather at the groom's house to help carry the betrothal gift to the bride's house. I was told that the Paiwan wedding cannot be performed by a single household. People work cooperatively to conduct the marriage because a successful marriage potentially enables every member in the family to access the use-right for certain wealth and to be recognised as wealthy.

When the gift is properly prepared, the groom's family will line up and travel to the bride's house after the mediator makes a howl as a sign of departure (Figure 32). The procession has a specific sequence. The mediator of the groom's household and the representative *mamazangilan* will be at the forefront of the group. The groom, with his best men who carry the iron rake and iron pot, follows the mediator. If the

bride has the *nasi* of *mamazangilan*, the groom's parents will hold art-like wealth, including the vessel, glass bead necklace, knife, eagle feather and apparel, to follow the groom. These gifts are the acknowledgement of the bride's position based on her *civaivaigan* as a *mamazangilan*. The acknowledgement is also expressed by the taro and millet which come after art-like wealth to index the right to collect offerings, which enables the formation of the hierarchical relationship.

If the bride is not a *mamazangilan*, only a knife will be offered to acknowledge her ability to give birth. Additionally, regardless of rank, headdresses made of plants carried subsequently are believed to mark members from both households as a family through the wedding. To act like a family, the pig slaughtered in the early morning will be offered to the bride's household to share with their relatives. I was interested to observe that, if one of the parents of the groom is Han Taiwanese, they might slaughter six pigs for the ceremony because the Han believe that six is a lucky number. However, the relatives will point out that, no matter how many pigs they slaughter, all the pork must be distributed. It is not about the number of pigs slaughtered but to ensure that every member of the family will have their share. More importantly, the pork not only consolidates the relationship between people but is also used as a sacrificial offering to the ancestor to bless the marriage, which will be discussed later. Furthermore, by providing a bunch of bananas and a bunch of complete betel nuts, the bride is expected to give birth as many times as possible. The rest of the gifts, such as soft and alcoholic drinks, have no specific order. These drinks, as well as the pork, will be distributed to the relatives in terms of acting like a family through sharing foods. The sequence of the betrothal gifts carried in the procession highlights that the Paiwan social relationship begins with a household and branches out to be a family.

On the day of *paukuz*, the Paiwan tend to make their wedding as lively as possible

to highlight their position in terms of displaying their wealth. For this reason, the journey to the bride's house is accompanied by the sound of gunfire or, alternatively, the noise of firecrackers. In this sense, the wedding procession and the offering of gifts, as well as the art-like wealth employed by the Paiwan, display *civaivaigan* publically to be witnessed. In this way, the Paiwan wealth has the implication of communication suggested by Layton (1991). The importance of being seen gives the Paiwan wealth the ability to express the idea of hierarchy. Nonetheless, as Layton (1991) points out, the intrinsic form of the channel of communication is crucial to explore the idea expressed. For example, in this procession, the gift and the people who carry it can all be understood as forms of wealth that evince the giver's position to highlight the association between social individuals in terms of how the hierarchical relationship is formed. The communication is initiated by the noise which encourages others to see the ceremony. Sometimes, the procession might not go directly to the bride's house but take a longer journey in order to increase the audience.



Figure 32. The procession of *paukuz*.<sup>59</sup>



Figure 33. Displaying the betrothal gift.<sup>60</sup>

When the procession nears the bride's house, a firecracker will be lit again and

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<sup>59</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>60</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

the mediator will declare their arrival in a loud voice. People from the bride's house will extend a greeting by providing drinks and guiding the procession to put down the gifts in front of the house (Figure 33). In this way, the receiver's position can be abducted by observers. The detail of the gifts and the way they are presented will affect the next wedding held at this house. Because of the relation between individuals and the house, the gift displayed at this moment is an index of how it was presented in the past. Every wedding conducted at the house will become a yardstick according to which the next ceremony held at the same location should be held. Calling for witnesses justifies rights of the house and benefits their descendants in terms of giving them the position they strive for.

The presentation of the gift as a proof of position can be manipulated by individuals. Because of the importance of displaying wealth in public, the bride's family might secretly include their own art-like wealth in the betrothal gift offered by their counterpart to ensure the highest position possible is viewed and approved of publically. Therefore, if the bride is a *mamazangilan* but the groom for some reason does not offer a vessel, the bride's household might take their own vessel to present along with other gifts provided by the groom to stress their position in public. Nonetheless, additional gifts must follow the idea of *civaivaigan*, since the mediator will remove gifts that do not correspond to the house.

I was informed that the most controversial gifts are the taro and millet. Even though the bride's household literally holds lands acquired by their ancestor, the groom's family might refuse to acknowledge the ownership by not offering certain gifts. According to the *gagudan*, if the groom's household claims the precedent position, they will claim that the bride's household only has the use-right of the land in order to secure their position as the firstborn of the bride's house. In this case, the groom will

refuse to offer the taro and millet to highlight the bride's precedent position.

However, because marriage is the only way to ensure the position of a house is continued, the groom will usually show their amity (*gibajalai*) to the bride by giving the gift they have asked for to acquire the power of fertility held by the bride and secure the continuation of their house. In this sense, the concept of *gibajalai* can be understood as the sharing of ownership. As discussed, specific wealth is only owned by the *gaomaan* and only others in the same group can have the use-right. As the firstborn, the owner might take care of others by letting them have ownership. For example, as in the case of the *tuima* given by a precedent *mamazangilan* to the elder, and in the example of offering the unnecessary gift, the action of amity allows the receiver to claim the ownership of specific wealth.

The *gibajalai* enables the Paiwan to manipulate their position by accessing specific wealth. But it also creates the controversy of arguing over what gift should be provided to a specific house, because in the future the *gibajalai* might lead the descendants of the non-firstborn to claim that their ancestor was the firstborn, depending on their right to receive particular gifts as the firstborn. That is, the relations between past, present and future are associated with wealth for the Paiwan to establish their social position.

The *gibajalai* is not only practised by the gift-giver, but also given by the *mamazangilan* in the wedding conducted by their branches in terms of not questioning the justifiability of the gift. For example, the gift displayed in the *paukuz* will be announced loudly regardless of whether it is offered or added. The mediators of both households will review the gift and explain its meaning to the participants who are also the examiners of the gift. If someone who is normally a *mamazangilan* disagrees about the detail of a gift, they need to speak up in public and ask to remove

the gift that should not be displayed. However, I observed that people tend to be polite to avoid conflict, even if the protester is the precedent *mamazangilan* who has the absolute right to question others' betrothal gifts, according to their *civaivaigan* and *gagudan*.

I was told that nowadays the Paiwan understanding of hierarchal value has faded, due to the elections introduced by Taiwanese government. In the past, the precedent *mamazangilan* was responsible for keeping the hierarchical order of the village in terms of ensuring people fulfil their positions in the circulation of wealth. However, nowadays in order to win the election some of the precedent *mamazangilan* try to please their voters by not questioning the content of the gift. The *gibajalai*, I was told, can consolidate relationships between people. Therefore, some of the *mamazangilan* are willing to show their *gibajalai* even if they do not participate in political activity. As they suggest, the relationships between *mamazangilan* and their branches are constructed through wealth, which establishes kinship. Giving what their branched house needs is to enhance their relationship and fulfil the position of an origin. Therefore, although one day the branched house might forget how they accessed the right to have specific wealth led by the amity of their origin, I was told by a *mamazangilan* that the firstborn needs to show their *gibajalai* to people. As a result, in public events such as the *paukuz*, the *mamazangilan* might not question the betrothal gift in order to fulfil the position of firstborn.

In the process of checking the betrothal gift, if some gifts are absent, the gift-giver must compensate the receiver. As an alternative form of wealth, nowadays money is an acceptable gift replacement. The use of money seems to be more convenient for the Paiwan to practise the circulation of wealth. Because the gift must be shared with the receiver's family, money is more easily reallocated. The money will be put into a

red envelope, a tradition introduced by the Han people in the Lunar New Year to pray for peace. The envelope used by the Paiwan will have written on it the name of the absent gift and will be given to the receiver to make up for the faults. The mediator will declare the correction to the participant to resolve the concern of how their family position is incorrectly recognised by not providing the appropriate gift. The acknowledgement is not only important to the receiver but also to their relatives because, as a family, their similar *civaivaigan* should not be denied in public, caused by the lack of gift. Moreover, the relatives have the right to share the offered gift. Knowing the price of compensation enables the relatives to know how much money they can expect to receive. Although people might only be allocated approximately 100 NTD (around £2), sharing still matters because this is how participants act like a family.

In addition to sharing with relatives, the heir of the *gaomaan* can ask for the most valuable gift, such as the vessel or eagle feather, from their branched house. Because *nasi* is given by one's origin, the gift handed over to the *gaomaan* maintains the connection between them and the branched house. The *gaomaan* is the house that gives social position to people. Therefore, the *gaomaan* can be the receiver's biological natal house or it can be the house of *mamazangilan* of the receiver's group.

Offering the most valuable gift to the *gaomaan* will lead the competition for status to be started again within the receiver's family. Although the position of one's natal house is unquestionable, the position of *gaomaan* will be contended between different *mamazangilan* they associate with. In this sense, from the perspective of *civaivaigan*, even though the path toward the origin is based on the understanding of where the *nasi* is derived from through the circulation of wealth, in consanguine marriage a *mamazangilan* always believes that their house is the *gaomaan* of another

*mamazangilan*. Therefore, for the receiver it is a difficult decision in terms of recognising the 'real' *gaomaan*.

In some cases, the receiver has the right to refuse to give the gift to any of the *gaomaan* by suggesting that the *mamazangilan* has failed to show their amiability to people. Because of social change, the interaction between *mamazangilan* and people has been affected. The duty of the firstborn in everyday life may not be properly fulfilled. The gift offered to the *gaomaan*, as well as other gifts circulated in marriage, is a way of acknowledging the position which must be established in daily interaction. When the receiver points out the faulty behaviour of the representative of their *gaomaan*, should they fail to act like a firstborn, the refusal to provide can be understood. The heir will need to be considerate in the future to secure their wealth, which can be the gift obtained in marriage or their branches.

The branched house cannot refuse to offer the gift to the *gaomaan* without good reason. Handing the betrothal gift to their *gaomaan* is a means by which the branches can maintain their relationship with their origin. Maintaining the connection with the *gaomaan* is to preserve the social position of one's house in terms of establishing kinship through association with the *gaomaan*. Without receiving the gift, the *gaomaan* might cease to share the wealth with the branched household in future and this will lead them to have no position in society.<sup>61</sup> Wealth is therefore circulated not only between the couple's houses but also within the bride's family to establish social relationships.

After the reviewing the betrothal gift, the mediator will raise a pig's head to declare the position of the bride by announcing the name of her *gaomaan*. The

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<sup>61</sup> An example of how the branched house obtains their position from its *gaomaan* will be introduced later through the naming ceremony.

number of *gaomaan* varies because if the bride is a resident of the precedent *mamazangilan* house, every house name of the *mamazangilan*, who is recognised as their origin, will be announced. The reviewing of the origins highlights her position, as established by the accumulation of wealth. Different origins enable the house of the bride to access certain ownership or use-rights to hold her wedding in a specific way. I was informed that the recalled house names of the ancestors are the pivot on which the bride's position turns. The *paukuz* is not only witnessed by the participants, but also approved by the ancestor, who is recalled by the mediator as they raise the pig's head.

### ***Longi: The wedding reception***

When the *paukuz* is complete, people go to the village assembly for the reception (*longi*). The banquet, in addition to being an opportunity to eat together as a family, is another occasion for relatives to share wealth. The sharing can be processed through two forms: the Taiwanese way of giving a red envelope with money inside, or the Paiwan way, called *emalap*.

Money, as a form of wealth, enables the Paiwan to have reciprocity at the event. At the entrance of the banquet, there are two receptions for collecting envelopes given by the newlyweds' relatives. People will write their name and the name of their village on the envelope to give to the receptionist, who will list the names on a handbook as a record to remind the couple to repay this in the future. The handbook is a reference for identifying relatives from different villages. For the Paiwan, it is important to know their relationship with others because if the *murikaka* (the first meeting of both families at the beginning of a marriage) is to be experienced again in their children's marriage, people need to locate their relatives in different villages. The unit for giving an envelope is based on the house. If a mature unmarried individual lives with their

parents, the envelope given in the wedding reception will only be under the name of their parents because the parents are still the heir of the house. Conversely, after having their own house, the newlyweds must give an envelope with their name to their relatives in the marriage. The money is in this sense circulated between houses and the association between houses forms the idea of kinship. The circulation will financially help the couple to conduct their wedding to expand the family and benefit the givers. Through the continuation of the circulation, the relationships between houses will be reidentified in every family wedding to consolidate social relationships.

Unlike the unit of giving a red envelope, which is based on the house, the *emalap* is conducted in the unit of the family or of the village. If it is a *mamazangilan's* wedding, the *emalap* will be processed by families who are associated with the *mamazangilan* to have their hierarchical position. Namely, the families can be a branched house of the *mamazangilan*, the *pualu* family or the *kadidan* family in the same village. Every family will separately offer their gift to the *mamazangilan* as acknowledgement of their association. Moreover, the couple's relatives from other villages will also prepare the *emalap* under the name of their village when they attend the wedding reception. In Timur village about thirty years ago (in 1980s), the *emalap* was orally forbidden to be held in the *longi*. I was told this was to avoid the competition for positions in public by offering numerous goods in terms of showing off the population (i.e. wealth) of their family. Because of the prohibition, the *emalap* can only be conducted at the spouse-receiver's house as a celebration of receiving new life. Regardless of the form of marriage, the *emalap* will be processed at the house to acquire fertility.

After a precedent *mamazangilan* in 2017 started to perform the *emalap* again during the wedding reception, as they used to do, many villagers now tend to ignore

the oral prohibition and hold the *emalap* at the village assembly because they argue people should have the right to display their wealth for it to be recognised. In the *emalap*, people will provide an iron pot, betel nuts, betel leaves, limes, bananas, taros, millet, sugar cane, soft drinks and alcohol to the spouse-receiver. The meaning of these gifts, as well as the gift offered in the *paukuz*, is to fulfil the idea of a family and give blessing to the newlyweds in terms of producing children. Additionally, a large piece of red fabric covered with fake notes, on which is printed the Chinese character, '囍' (*xi*), meaning double fortune, will be offered to the married couple (Figure 34). The fabric and the fake notes symbolically bless the receiver with fortune and wealth, but also expresses the giver's expectation that the receiver will take care of people with their future earnings. The gifts provided in *emalap* likewise maintain the relationship between origin and the branched families. Both are equally valued because they must exist simultaneously to give position to one another. Therefore, the gift is more than a form of offering; it is to ensure the connection and continuity of the entire group. As a group, the marriage will benefit every member of the family in terms of maintaining their social identity based on their association formed by sharing wealth.



Figure 34. Fabric covered in fake notes.<sup>62</sup>

The idea of family is also represented through a group dance which follows the *longi*. The significance of the dance is derived partly from its preparation which also gives insight into Paiwan hierarchical interaction. The dancing is held at the same place as the wedding reception. Tables, chairs and rubbish need to be removed to make space for dancing. This is a time to show again the size of one's family. Generally, people might have to remove approximately 100 tables and thousands of chairs. This heavy work can only be done quickly with the support offered by family members. People work collaboratively to clean up and make room for dancing, and I observed that differences between social positions can be discerned during this activity.

The elders take a seat, waiting for younger members to finish cleaning. If there are some juniors who do not participate in the work, they are normally descendants of the precedent *mamazangilan*. As I was told, it is not their interest and they are expected to be serviced as their parents. However, the privilege of doing nothing to some extent is their duty. A young precedent *mamazangilan* points out that their job is attending the event, because their presence justifies the ceremony. Villagers also suggest that the absence of the *mamazangilan* will lead to a meaningless rite. As previously argued, the interaction in the rite builds up an acknowledged position which must be witnessed. If the *mamazangilan* as a witness does not make any objections, the rite performer's position is confirmed. In other words, the *mamazangilan* is needed in the ceremony to establish the performer's social position. As a result, the *mamazangilan* need not offer labour, but people ask for their presence in order to establish their position through the ceremony.

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<sup>62</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.



Figure 35. The dance.<sup>63</sup>

As in the idea of style discussed in Chapter 5, examining the formation of the dancing group will give insight into the social relationship (Figure 35). The implication of origin derived from myth gives the precedent position to *mamazangilan* and elders. The position of origin is based on the association with divinities who can be the Paiwan creator or the ancestors. The divinities are considered as the *nasi*-giver to people. In terms of the creator, the *mamazangilan* born from the vessel is believed to be the origin of the hierarchy. On the other hand, the elders have inherited wealth from their ancestors and pass it to their descendants to establish the position of their house. The *mamazangilan* and the elders are thus understood as the origin.

Before the dancing begins, a few tables are put in the middle of the venue. The men will begin the dancing by cross-holding hands. The dancers will line up, then moving two steps forward and two steps backwards around the table. After a few rounds, the women will also hold hands, linking up with the leading man to join the

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<sup>63</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

group and dance in a clockwise rotation. The dancing will continue for a few hours. The precedent *mamazangilan* and elders sit in the middle of the room to supervise the dancing. The dancing group and the people seated in the middle illustrate the imagery of the birth of the first *mamazangilan*. The dancing group imitates the hundred-pace snake by surrounding the centre where elders and *mamazangilan* sit, like the vessel. This imitation expresses the idea of life's continuity, highlighting the position of origin. In this sense, the elders as the biological origin of people and the *mamazangilan* as the origin of social position are giving *nasi* to the Paiwan people.

People who hold the precedent position are esteemed by villagers. They are the supervisors of the value of hierarchy. Therefore, because people will express their position by wearing certain apparel to display their wealth, if someone is dressed in inappropriate art-like wealth that does not correspond to their position, the supervisors will ask them to leave or correct the error immediately. The dancing not only highlights how people understand the idea of precedence but also illustrates the idea of the derivation of *nasi*.

### ***Kisara: Escaping***

*Kisara* is another rite that reproduces the mythical imagery of the vessel to highlight the power of female fertility. In the myth, when the brothers are on their way home, the vessel disappears to return to its origin. The brother asks the vessel to go back with them humbly and the vessel accepts. Because of the woman's nature, this story is reperformed as *kisara* by the Paiwan in every wedding, regardless of rank.

At the end of the dancing, the bride will suddenly run away to one of her *gaomaan*. In other words, she can either go to her biological natal house, or the house of a *mamazangilan* from which her *nasi* is derived. The house for escaping might be a

different place from where her *paukuz* was held. Because of the complex marital relationship, a marriage might be conducted at different locations to maintain the relationship between the origin and the branch. While the bride is running, her friends will help her to take off some of her accessories, such as eagle feathers, glass bead necklaces and earrings, to drop along the way. The groom and his friends must ensure every dropped item is picked up and follow the bride to the house she goes to. When the groom arrives, the heir of the house will check the lost items. If everything has been picked up, the groom and the bride can dance with their friends in front of the house to celebrate this success. That is, the returning to the origin and the ability of giving birth were performed by the vessel but now are indexed by the bride. The bride in this context is the artwork which indexes past interaction between the *nasi*-giver (the creator) and the *nasi*-receiver (the brothers). The *kisara* is a re-practising of this interaction for the Paiwan to obtain the *nasi*, just as their ancestors did in the past.

### ***Kialap: Taking the bride back to the house***

The *kialap* can be understood as a liminal stage in the marriage (Cf. Arnold van Gennep 1960, Turner 1970). It is not just the movement of the bride's position, but a transition of the position of both households towards becoming a family. The *kialap* takes place after the re-finding of the bride. The groom's friends will prepare two sedan chairs to take the bride and her representative origin, who can be the firstborn of her natal house or the *mamazangilan* of her family, back to the groom's house (Figure 36). Because of the multiple ways of identifying the origin, the number of sedan chairs can be increased to avoid neglecting the position of every possible origin of the bride. Before departing, the groom must offer a gift of *papigacalj* (like the brother who found the vessel in the myth), such as glass beads or an iron rake to ask to leave the *gaomaan*. It is important to know that the gift of *papigacalj* is not offered to the bride,

but to the house she escaped to. The gift in this sense acknowledges the position of the house as the *nasi*-giver of the bride.

After the offering, the heir of the bride's *gaomaan* will sit on the sedan chair and the bride will take the second one. The groom's friends will carry the chairs and process to the groom's house. On the way to the groom's house, the sound of gunfire or firecrackers will be made again to inform the village of the good news. The bride's relatives will sing and walk in front of the contingent as slowly as possible to obstruct the procession. This is the last challenge in receiving new life. The sedan chair carrier and the groom's relatives will push forward to their destination, but the bride's family will do their best to block the path. I noticed that people from the both families are actually playing with each other. Although it looks like an American football game, the touch down is guaranteed. The sedan chair will arrive in front of the groom's house and the bride will be swept off her feet and carried into the house. Through the process of *kialap*, the woman as the vessel is properly 'prepared' to join the groom's household. However, she is not yet an official member.



Figure 36. The sedan chair.<sup>64</sup>



Figure 37. *Pukizing*.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

<sup>65</sup> Photo by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

### ***Pukizing: Becoming a household***

To become an official member of the house, the *pukizing* must be carried out. Through the *pukizing*, the married-in spouse will become part of the house and this will affect the position of the house in the future. The *pukizing* is processed through an interaction with the art-like wealth. Because of the association of art-like wealth with the ancestors, the Paiwan believe that art-like wealth has agency to affect individuals' position. Therefore, the groom's parents will adorn the bride with a headdress or invite her to touch the most important vessel held by the house (Figure 37). By wearing or touching the art-like wealth, the bride will formally become a member of the house. The relatives of the groom's household might also present other art-like wealth to the bride to highlight their relationship as a family. In this way, Paiwan kinship is established through the wealth. By circulating art-like wealth, the Paiwan construct the identification of their interrelationships.

In order to avoid lowering the position of their house, I was told that the precedent *mamazangilan* are not willing to have children-in-law who are not in the rank of *mamazangilan*. Because the position of the house is based on the wealth it holds, having a non-*mamazangilan* resident will worsen its position. For example, in the marriage of the children of *mamazangilan*, the potential family-in-law must offer clothing to the bride's parents to acknowledge their position as the *nasi*-giver. However, if one of the parents (i.e. the *nasi*-giver) is a *kadidan*, the giver will only offer one set of clothing to the parent who has the *mamazangilan* position because the *kadidan* does not have the *nasi* to be given the *mamazangilan* clothing. This to some extent affects the position of the house. That is, even if the *kadidan* married into a *mamazangilan* house, their position would remain the same. Moreover, because of the *nasi* given by the *kadidan*, the right of their firstborn, who is the heir of the house,

will be changed in terms of deviating from the precedent position. Even today the firstborn of the precedent *mamazangilan* house finds it hard to find an appropriate partner to be part of their household.

### ***Mulialat: Becoming a Paiwan***

The wedding ceremonies, including *paukuz*, *longi*, *emalap*, *kisara*, *kialap* and *pukizing*, all occur on the same day. However, this is not the end of the marital rite because the continuation of the house has not yet been completed. The Paiwan marital rite ends after the birth of the first child. The child will be named in a rite called *mulialat* which means 'recognising ancestors'. The *mulialat* is the most important stage in a Paiwan's life because it is a position-giving rite for newborns.

Being Paiwan means having a recognisable position which is given by one's origin. Sharing wealth enables the relationship between the origin and branches to be formed through the understanding of precedence. The name, for example, serving as a form of wealth, refers to one's derivation. Therefore, in the rite of *mulialat*, an individual will acquire their first name to obtain their social position established by the ancestor.

Paiwan people will have one house name depending on which house he/she was born into and a first name given by the recognised origin, either from the mother or father's side. The origin can be the firstborn of their parents' natal house or the heir of the house into which they branched out in mythical era. Giving the first name in this sense is to encompass the named into the category of wealth held by the origin. That is, the understanding of wealth creates the idea of encompassing and encompassed suggested by Dumont (1980) to introduce a hierarchical relationship in the Paiwan society. Owning wealth therefore generates the supreme level in society and, through the circulation of wealth, the hierarchical relationship is understood from the idea of

precedence to be expressed as a relationship between origin and branches.

The naming ceremony benefits both the giver and the receiver in terms of expanding their *civaivaigan*. Because of the significance of being the origin, an individual might have different first names given by distinct groups for encompassing the named as wealth into their group. Moreover, the relationship between the wealth held by a house has the consequence that having a name associated with other wealth enables an individual to walk on a path in terms of accessing particular wealth to establish their position in the society.

Giving the name is based on the idea of *civaivaigan* but asking for the name is about *gagudan*. Asking for the name from an heir of a particular house is to recognise that the position and understanding of origin can be defined differently. For the Paiwan, origin is not only about birth but also, more importantly, it relates to where the *nasi* came from. Therefore, an individual might be not named by their parents but by the one who is identified as the foundation of the social position of their entire group. The recognition of foundation can be based on age or the age of one's house. In this sense, within a household, the elder has the right to select a name from the pool to name the newborn. Nonetheless, because of the understanding of precedence, the Paiwan tend to ask for a name from the heir of the oldest house within their family. The relationship between the name giver and the name requester might start from the mythical era, but because of the continuous interaction in marriage, the Paiwan can still locate the origin of their group in order to ask for a name.

The intention of asking for a name from the heir of the *gaomaan* is to access a position from an ancient house to enjoy specific rights through the association with other wealth held by that house. To acquire a name in order to be encompassed into the ancient house, people will act like a family by offering food before the *mulialat*.

The name-requester will visit the recognised origin's house and provide drinks and rice cakes in return for the name. The name-giver will narrate their family history to identify the relationship between them for locating the appropriate name. This history will reveal when the name requester's household branched out from the origin so they can decide what wealth they can share.

The requester can only ask for a name that has been used within the family before their house branched out because these names were associated with the ancestor of the requester who inherited the *nasi* from the origin. Other names included in the family through marriage after the requester's household branched out cannot be given to the requester because their *nasi* is not associated with every name owned by the origin. However, in terms of *gibajalai*, the origin might allow the requester to have the name acquired after their branching. From the requester's point of view, as a mark of sharing the wealth with a specific group, the later acquired name is a reference to a more extensive family. Being encompassed into a bigger family comes with a wider collective wealth for the name-holder to be recognised as wealthy. On the other hand, by giving permission to have the name, the name-giver consolidates the connection with the branched house to make the giver's house wealthy in terms of encompassing the branched people. Accessing specific wealth enables hierarchical interaction to be practised between the origin and branched houses, thus forming Paiwan society.

When the name is received, the *mulialat* will take place at the natal house of the newborn's mother. As I was told, it is a process of reconfirming the ownership of the new-born. To ensure the children will be shared by the father's household, art-like wealth must be provided. The mother will receive three objects of art-like wealth in compensation for her efforts in delivering the baby. Firstly, the vessel is to recover her health. Secondly, the lost blood will be regained by offering glass beads. Thirdly, the

pain she experienced will be made up for by providing a knife. By sharing her power of fertility, the woman completes the task of giving life to continue the position of the house. The new-born will become an agent to exercise the position of their house through their wealth. To become an official member of the father's household, the baby will receive the acknowledging gift. The necessary art-like wealth depends on the gender of the baby. Having a boy will require a knife and for a girl a glass bead necklace will be provided. The art-like wealth offered by the father is not only to ensure the sharing of the baby's life, but also to give the position to the baby as a member of his family. I was informed that the *mulialat* cannot be unceremonious because if the status of the child is not recognised, the individual will have no position in society. Even if the baby is adopted, the *mulialat* is required to entitle an individual through wealth to become a Paiwan.

### ***A summary***

Marriage enables the Paiwan to form a family, but it is wealth circulated in marriage that establishes kinship. Through the circulation of art-like wealth, the Paiwan establish their understanding of social relationships which can be explored through the idea of *nasi*. One's *nasi* is formed by the social interaction processed through wealth by following the idea of *gagudan*. Therefore, by examining the Paiwan marriage, I have demonstrated how the Paiwan define the needed betrothal gift according to the *civaivaigan* and how they clarify the appropriateness of circulation through the *gagudan* to reveal how one's *nasi* is constructed. Namely, *nasi* is a process of hierarchical interaction for an individual to become a moral person in society.

A Paiwan marriage includes the *murikaka*, *dumulinja*, *putuima*, *paukuz*, *long*, *emalap*, *kisara*, *kialap*, *pukizing* and *muliapat*. It is a process of reconstructing the social hierarchy. Because of the association between past, present and future, for the

Paiwan the position of a house must be maintained through interactions continuously. For example, by practising the *emalap* in the wedding reception, the relationship between the original and branched house will be reconsolidated. Every wedding will change social relationships and give people a chance to access distinct wealth. How people process their wedding and who participates in the procedure will affect how their descendants are recognised by society. Therefore, in Paiwan marriage the hierarchical relationship is not only reproduced but, more importantly, transformed.

The art-like wealth circulated between the couple's houses, and within a family, establishes Paiwan social relationships. In this sense, the social interaction conducted through the circulation will be indexed by the art-like wealth which is continuously inherited within a house and used by people to manipulate their position in society. The art-like wealth therefore indexes the past and becomes a channel for people to access it. As a result, if we travel through the sequence of the betrothal gifts carried in the wedding procession, I interpret that the Paiwan social organisation starts from a house (rake and pot), with its past and wealth (myths of accessing wealth illustrated through *vencik* applied to the object). All of this is derived from the ancestors (pork, the main sacrificial offering) and continued by the power of fertility (bananas and betel nuts). Eventually, people act like a family (share food and drink) in terms of associating with others through this procedure.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusion

### ***Becoming a Paiwan***

By studying Timur village, I came to observe that individuals are not born Paiwan. Rather, Paiwan identity is a social process. As aforementioned, by being provided wealth (*souzaiyan*), new-born babies are encompassed into more than one house in order to gain their moral relationship with others and establish their position in Paiwan society. The circulation of wealth as a type of moral interaction enables their social position to be formed. The process of becoming Paiwan was explored through the fieldwork conducted between March 2016 and May 2017. As an anthropologist, I was like a new-born baby in Paiwan society, learning how to interact properly in the everyday life of Timur village. By interacting with villagers and by experiencing a ceremony of making alliances, the outcome of 'doing' fieldwork led me to be associated with specific wealth to gain my position in the village. This fieldwork process has encouraged me to reconsider the nature of the Paiwan hierarchical system.

### ***Principles of Paiwan hierarchy***

Previous research has elucidated the genealogical features of Paiwan hierarchy by highlighting the firstborn's birthright to inherit their house and its wealth (Shih 1969, Matsuzawa 1979; 1989, Chiang 1983; 1993, Chiu 2001, Kao 2004). Nonetheless, the idea of the birthright has been overstated in previous studies. This has led to a misreading of the principle of Paiwan hierarchy. By focusing on how the Paiwan understand wealth, I came to observe that the idea of the house is informed by the notion of *civaivaigan* which was explained to me as a path. It is a category that refers to the wealth held by the house itself. By inheriting the house and by sharing its wealth, the relationships between the firstborn and their siblings, as in the relationship

between the origin and branches, are further perceived through the concept of *gagudan*, which is considered to be the Paiwan code of conduct. In terms of following the *gagudan*, the younger must respect their elders, who must in turn take care of the younger members of their group. The *gagudan* can be exemplified through the interaction of providing and redistributing offerings between the *mamazangilan* (chief) *pualu* (nobility) and *kadidan* (commoner). According to complying with particular duties, or practising specific rights, one's social position can be understood as one's *nasi*. The notion of *nasi* is based on the association between *civaivaigan*, wealth and *gagudan* and is a system of hierarchical interactions.

To illustrate the idea of *nasi*, a figure is useful. As shown in figure 38, possessing specific *nasi* in Paiwan society is referred to as being of a particular rank. *Nasi* is like a system akin to a motorway; the infrastructure of the road, as inspired by the Paiwan's understanding of the path, exemplifies the idea of *civaivaigan*. Vehicles on the road symbolise Paiwan wealth, and how vehicles should drive and access the road according to traffic rules is evidenced by the concept of *gagudan*. We can imagine the main road as the firstborn's *civaivaigan*. Nonetheless, the main road is not necessarily built first. It is the number and the form of the vehicles active within the infrastructure that give the firstborn their position on the road. The circulation of vehicles forms the junction between roads, and in turn, establishes the relationship between main roads, secondary roads and tertiary roads. Seen from the perspective of the circulating vehicles, the three roads are the *nasi-A* system. Nonetheless, it is possible for the *nasi-A1* to claim their position as *nasi-B1* by acquiring vehicles from the *nasi-B* system. In this context, *nasi-B* is identified as their main road. The circulation of vehicles therefore enables the position of origin to be recognised differently to form the idea of multiple origins. Under these circumstances, it is the vehicles (i.e. the wealth) that establish the

relationships between roads to form the positions acknowledged by each agent.

The Paiwan social position formed by interaction is based on the understanding of *civaivaigan*, *gagudan* and *souzaiyan* (wealth)  
 The whole system is an expression of the idea of *nasi*.  
 Every rank has its own system.

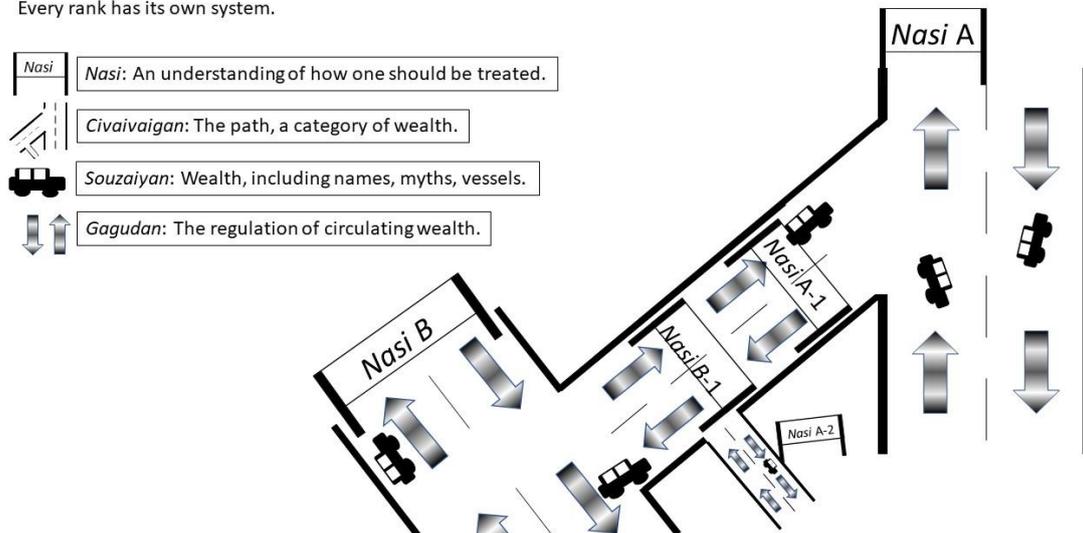


Figure 38. The system of *nasi*.<sup>66</sup>

The significance of origin enables Paiwan hierarchy to be examined through the argument of precedence. As Fox (1994) argues, in Austronesian-speaking societies, social classification is based on the understanding of precedence. He further suggests that, through the ability to access the past, people can manipulate their social position to precede others', which asymmetrically and recursively creates the oppositions in terms of precedence (Fox 2009). Although Fox highlights the idea of multiple values of achieving the precedence, I argue that having wealth is the primary means for the Paiwan to claim their position. By understanding individuals as a form of wealth, the idea of owning wealth further leads Paiwan hierarchy to be explored through the argument of encompassing and encompassed, as suggested by Dumont (1980). I have demonstrated that the ownership of wealth establishes the relationships between encompassing and encompassed to create the Paiwan hierarchy. The relationship between owner and owned is expressed and exemplified through the language of

<sup>66</sup> Drawn by Hsiang-Wei Hsiao.

precedence. Namely, it is the ownership of wealth that gives the preceding position to the owner, rather than this position setting the precedent for the acquisition of wealth.

### ***Essential factors in the Paiwan house***

Owning wealth enables a building to have the quality of a house. The infrastructure of a house, a house name and its residents are equally important. The house name serves as a synonym of its *civaivaigan* which encompasses specific wealth to practise *gagudan*. In this sense, by referring to their house name as their surname, individuals' association with wealth can be clarified and others can expect certain interactions to be practised.

The clarification of the appropriate interaction can be initiated through narrating the past. I demonstrated in Chapter 3 that the development of legend, history and the modern is a linear process. What happened needs to be remembered to argue why the present exists as it does. Although social action is performed by people, through housing the body of the deceased, the past interaction is believed to be indexed by the house. The deceased encompassed by the house highlights the religious significance of the building while the importance of ancestors further introduces the idea of precedence to the house. Inheriting the house not only leads an individual to enjoy the encompassing position in terms of owning its wealth but also enables the past to be accessed in order to have the preceding position.

To be recognised as precedent, the *gagudan* of taking care of the younger members needs to be fulfilled. I have illustrated the *gagudan* through the example of the house-based festival, village-based festival and Thanksgiving. In these events, the significance of circulating wealth is highlighted to exemplify how social position is confirmed through social interaction. In Chapter 4, I discussed how the rights and

duties of the *mamazangilan* fulfilled by church enable the church to have a position in society as a Paiwan house. The proper *gagudan* performed by the church, on the one hand, makes sense of why the Paiwan converted into Christianity in the first place in terms of providing goods to the villagers. On the other hand, the interaction between villagers and clergies in modern times exemplifies how the Paiwan perceive their relationship with God and church members. The events therefore echo how social positions are established through interaction as discussed in Chapter 3. Under these circumstances, although accessing the past through remembering the myth highlights the feature of precedence, I argue that it is wealth, mediating the interaction narrated in the myth and circulated in the present, which forms the Paiwan hierarchy.

The house is an entry point to understanding Paiwan hierarchy. By reconsidering Lévi-Strauss's (1982) definition of the house, however, the significance of wealth must be explored. In Paiwan society, the house is a platform for people to perform their social interaction. If we adopt Gell's (1998) argument of the art nexus, the Paiwan house can be considered an artwork to index the collaborative work of the people who provide labour to build the house. But the house is also a secondary agent who entitles its residents to establish social relationships through its wealth. That is, in such a society, wealth is held by the house but not by individuals. The house indeed plays a salient role in society, however, as I learned from Timur villagers, the inheritance of the house is to ensure their association with wealth. For example, occupying an empty house enables new residents to associate with specific wealth. The occupants will name their offspring after the name of the new house and, to preserve their access to wealth, the old house will also be inherited by appointing someone to live in it. Because of the relationship between hierarchical interaction and wealth, we must pay close attention to the nature of a house through its wealth.

### ***The quality of art***

The circulation of wealth forms the Paiwan hierarchical relationship. Owning specific wealth thus highlights a connection with the particular circulation. In this sense, wealth is not only a mediator of the relationship but also an index of the interaction. This nature of Paiwan wealth therefore becomes a fitting example with which to introduce Gell's argument of how agency can be abducted through artwork. When the Paiwan refer to their wealth, the process of accessing wealth is always narrated to emphasise the significance of wealth. Only through participating in social interaction can wealth have its agency to empower the user. Other participants in the interaction, such as the ancestor, the Paiwan creator and the hundred-pace snake, are also applied as *vencik* to items of wealth, such as vessels, knives and cloth.

As a form of carving and embroidery, the *vencik* leads the Paiwan wealth to be considered as artwork by art historians, critics and collectors. Nonetheless, only through exploring 'social relations in the vicinity of objects' (Gell 1998:7) can the implication of *vencik* truly be perceived. In Paiwan society, before carving or embroidering specific *vencik* to wealth, social interactions must be performed. For example, before having a *vencik* of deer on a piece of cloth, the individual needs to share venison with other villagers to be acknowledged as a hunter. By the same token, being born from the vessel in the myth enables the *mamazangilan* to apply the *vencik* of a vessel to the beam of their house. In this sense, the *vencik* illustrates the association with different elements to highlight how the interactions were performed. By having specific *vencik*, individuals therefore can enjoy certain social positions in terms of materialising the interactions that have been practised.

The past in which wealth participated therefore makes wealth considered as a part of the past. It is not merely a reference to the past, but rather the past itself. It is important to highlight that most Paiwan art-like wealth, such as vessels and glass beads, was believed to be given by divinities. Instead of elucidating the technique or material process of producing art-like wealth, only the myth of the art-like wealth will be narrated when the Paiwan talk about their wealth. The narration of how the art-like wealth was accessed highlights how the legend, history and present endure. The Paiwan wealth, as the Malanggan in Küchler's (2002:112) work, 'represents what is not present'. That is, the past interaction is represented by the Paiwan art-like wealth which allows the interaction to be re-practised. This feature of Paiwan wealth links back to Gell's (1998) argument of considering artwork as an agent. Moreover, because of the participation of wealth in the past interaction, the Paiwan do perceive that wealth has its own agency, which can be understood from the perspective of *nasi*. *Nasi* of the artwork distinctly underlines Gell's idea of art that leads the exploration of Paiwan hierarchy to focus on wealth.

The significance of the past gives a specific value to the Paiwan art-like wealth and can be examined through the idea of aesthetics. As Morphy (1994b) suggests, the idea of aesthetics is how people's sensory capacity construes and gives form to stimuli. In Paiwan society, the participation from legend to present is believed to give an aged appearance to art-like wealth. Having the quality of age therefore becomes a criterion according to which to clarify the value of the art-like wealth. The sense of age is expressed through the notion of *sa-milin* by the Paiwan. Owning *sa-milin* wealth enables its owner to access the ancient past by highlighting what their ancestor has done. The association with the past gives the owner of *sa-milin* wealth a justification to argue what can they do in the present. The idea of *sa-milin* is thus a characterisation

of the ancestors' agency. Under these circumstances, even though all wealth acquires its value through its circulation, the *sa-milin* enables the circulation to be dated to show how social positions have been confirmed historically.

Although immaterial Paiwan wealth might not generally meet the understanding of art in terms of having a distinct form, the agency abducted through the name, for example, gives the quality of art to the invisible and silent element. The Paiwan believe that the name-receiver will inherit the characteristics of the previous name-holder. The name, in this sense, indexes the agency of the precedent to affect the success of the social relationship. The relationships between a particular name-holder and others are believed to be continued through the passing down of a name.

A name is therefore a part of the past and can also be evaluated through the idea of agedness. Although the value of name is not described as *sa-milin*, the Paiwan, I noticed, esteem the names of characters in legend. The evaluation of agedness might have the significance of precedence, but it is not the main reason why people appreciate this quality. Rather, the implication of being the oldest in Paiwan society is based on the idea of circulation of wealth. The oldest is believed to have more possibility of being the wealth-giver. By endowing younger people with wealth, the position of origin can be established. Having a name from an older house therefore enables the name-holder to claim their association with more wealth and thus to take precedence. That is, as immaterial wealth, the name also indexes the agency of its previous holder, and it allows the holder to make connections with other wealth to initiate social interaction and establish a position in the hierarchy.

### ***Re-practising the past to create the past***

Marriage provides a channel through which to explore how the Paiwan circulate

wealth to manipulate hierarchical positions. The principle of hierarchical interaction, the *civaivaigan* and the *gagudan* are all stressed in marriage to ensure the appropriateness of the ceremony. In society, someone with the same *nasi* will be considered as the ideal spouse. To clarify their *nasi*, people will narrate their family's marital history in terms of tracing the path (*civaivaigan*) along which wealth has been encompassed. When a common relative is located, the couple is believed to have similar *nasi*, which makes their marriage an appropriate means of maintaining the *nasi* of their house.

In marriage, the circulation of wealth must follow the *gagudan*. A relationship between the older and younger party must be revealed. To be the older, by referring to the closest origin represented by a *mamazangilan*, the household of the couple try to claim precedence over their counterpart. Holding a position of precedence means one will enjoy the rights of the older to ask for betrothal gifts from the younger. Nonetheless, because of the ability to give birth, the bride's household will always have the right to ask for the gift in terms of being the origin of their future offspring. Even so, the groom's representative origin will employ a different argument to access the position of the older, such as the order of birth of their ancestor, the migration sequence or the marriage history of their family. In this sense the precedence, as Fox argues, is contested in such a society, but it is wealth that the Paiwan compete for.

As I discussed, the association with wealth can be differentiated into ownership and use-right. The ownership of wealth is claimed by the house of origin, and the branched houses can only have the use-right. Under these circumstances, although the betrothal gift provided in the wedding will correspond to the requester's *civaivaigan*, claiming the position of origin can act to deny the ownership of one's

counterpart from the perspective of *gagudan*. The definition of the position of origin therefore is elucidated through calculating the wealth. Thus, the hierarchical relationship is expressed through the idea of precedence, defined by different associations with particular wealth.

Because hierarchical relationships are confirmed through social interactions and the position of the origin is based on the fact of inheriting wealth, the interaction mediated by wealth therefore needs to be witnessed by people to establish this fact. The process of providing betrothal gifts and the noise made to attract attention are strategies of being witnessed. The bride's family can also add their own wealth to be displayed with the offered gifts to manipulate the fact. These social practices therefore exemplify the argument of how hierarchical positions can be constantly reformed and why wealth is essential.

Although the *civaivaigan* and the *gagudan* standardised the circulation of wealth, in order to access the power of fertility, even if the groom enjoys the preceding position, his family might provide unnecessary gifts in the light of showing their *gibajalai* (amity). The idea of *gibajalai* enables both households to manipulate their futures by establishing a fact of circulating wealth. For the groom's household, through the *gibajalai* they share the power of fertility with the bride to have offspring to inherit their house. Receiving unnecessary wealth, on the other hand, reforms the *civaivaigan* of the bride's household. The fact of offering wealth enables the bride's household to acquire the same gift in the future. That is, the current wedding will become a historical referent for the descendants of the bride's household to access the right to perform the same interaction as their ancestor. Through reproducing the past and by manipulating the present, the Paiwan create the future.

Wealth circulated in the wedding is the index of the process by which the Paiwan

form their hierarchical relationships. The betrothal gifts provided in the same wedding have three significances in manipulating social position: maintaining, promoting and establishing. Firstly, the betrothal gift provided in the wedding is to confirm the *civaivaigan* of the gift-receiver's house. By obtaining the gift corresponding to their *civaivaigan*, the gift-receiver is believed to maintain their social position through re-practising the same interaction as their ancestor. Secondly, by utilising the idea of *gibajalai*, the gift-receiver can expand their *civaivaigan* in terms of adding new wealth to their house. Owning more wealth will lead to the possibility of being recognised as the older party from the *gagudan* perspective. Thirdly, having offspring completes the Paiwan marriage. In the naming ceremony of the child, the newborn will not only acquire their name, but will be given a knife or vessel to be encompassed into certain houses, in terms of associating with wealth held by different houses. Though the association, individuals can participate in the hierarchical interaction to form their social position. That is, being Paiwan is a process conducted through the circulation of wealth.

### ***An anthropological perspective on Paiwan society***

Through the study of Timur village, we can reconsider the idea of house society suggested by Lévi-Strauss (1982). The house indeed is a means of social grouping, but the example of the Paiwan offers a means to explore what forms the house and how the house is grouped. For the Paiwan, the house is formed by wealth to be a corporate body, as Lévi-Strauss's (1982) argues. Accessing different wealth will lead the house to have a different rank in society. In this sense, the circulation of wealth, such as vessels, names and people, forms the moral relationships between houses. The marriage, therefore, as a channel of circulating wealth, is not merely constructing the affiliation through blood but needs to be examined through the perspective of circulating wealth.

Exploring social relationships through the circulation of wealth can give us insight into how the Paiwan make alliances with others without producing offspring. Paiwan wealth provides us an alternative means of understanding how people perceive their genealogy.

The principles of circulating wealth in Paiwan society further mediate theories of social classification. Although the Paiwan can be examined through the understanding of precedence argued by Fox (1994, 1996, 2006a), the concept of the encompassing of the contrary proposed by Dumont (1980) can also be employed to reveal the Paiwan hierarchy. The idea of *civaivaigan*, on the one hand, highlights how others are encompassed by the owner of wealth. On the other hand, the regulation of circulating wealth between the origin and its branches was explained to me as the idea of *gagudan*. The idea of origin and the ownership of wealth correspond both to the understanding of precedence and the idea of the encompassing of the contrary. Under these circumstances, the Paiwan tend to define precedence differently through migration, marriage and birth to clarify who owns the wealth. By exploring the association between *civaivaigan* and *gagudan*, I argue that the ownership of wealth is the primary value, which can be achieved through different definitions of precedence.

The narration of how the Paiwan enjoy the preceding position illuminates how people access their wealth, and the process of becoming the origin is indexed by wealth. By participating in the circulation, wealth is believed to index the agency of people to entitle its owner to practise social interaction. In this sense, Gell's (1998) approach toward the anthropology of art is exemplified in the exploration of how the Paiwan social hierarchy is formed by wealth. By highlighting the quality of art from Gell's perspective, I have demonstrated that material and immaterial wealth all have the quality of an index for people to abduct agency.

Some features of Paiwan art-like wealth also have communicative characteristics. For instance, the meaning of the headdress worn by unmarried girls does not index how the status of unmarried was formed through interaction. Rather, to send out the message of her unmarried status, wearing the headdress can be seen as a form of communication. The headdress, as Layton argues, can offer 'a systematically organised mode of expression at the heart of social interaction' (1991:93). In order to trigger further interaction, such as marriage, wearing the headdress, as Layton suggests, is a 'cultural convention in establishing meaning in system of visual communication' (1991:119). In Paiwan society, sharing visual language not only expresses sexual identity but also highlights how a specific identity has been maintained (e.g. chastity).

The feature of aesthetics argued by Morphy (1994c) can also be seen in Paiwan art-like wealth. Through valuing the quality of agedness (*sa-milin*), the Paiwan praise one item of art-like wealth as better than the other. By displaying the *sa-milin* art-like wealth, the owner can highlight how their older position is rooted historically. The study of Paiwan art-like wealth therefore illustrates how the concepts of agency, aesthetics and communication coexist in a society.

### ***The future of the anthropological study of art in Paiwan society***

'Why did you choose our village to do the fieldwork? Timur village is complicated.' An informant asked me this. Unlike most Paiwan villages, Timur village is relatively young and the tension between *mamazangilan* is considerable. Due to the policies introduced by Japanese colonists, people from different villages were forced to migrate to establish Timur. The idea of precedence and the ownership of territory thus cause considerable debate in their social interactions. Christian missionaries arrived after WWII to further reform their understanding of divinities. The means of preaching to some extent echoes what the Paiwan expect in hierarchical interactions

and that gives the church a hierarchical position. Yet Timur village seems to be relatively non-traditional. Because they take advantage of the commercial production of artwork, such as vessels, glass beads and knives, their knowledge of artwork is prominent. Under these circumstances, the competition for social position reflected in the circulation of wealth makes Timur village an illuminating example to draw on when exploring the association between wealth and hierarchy.

Having stayed in Timur village for 26 months since 2011, I have learned much but realise there is far more to learn. Because Paiwan hierarchical relationships are constantly reformed, even if people migrated from the same ancient village, the ways they perceive the past and define the present are diverse. This phenomenon might be caused by the property of Paiwan hierarchy in terms of claiming 'new' wealth to be precedent. The myths I collected from Timur villagers also have distinct versions, depending on who narrates them. Therefore, I am always concerned that the documented myths in this thesis will affect the competition for position in Timur villagers' everyday lives. The debate regarding precedence in Paiwan society will to some extent make my research unacceptable to some of the villagers. Moreover, although the diversity of narrating how wealth was accessed captured my attention, and how Timur villagers value their wealth and highlight the process of accessing wealth, some of the Paiwan villages might, for example, have no tradition of acquiring vessels. It will be interesting to test my argument of *civaivaigan*, *gagudan*, wealth and *nasi* in different villages to draw a holistic view of Paiwan society.

It is reasonable to question the feasibility of my argument in terms of examining the Paiwan hierarchy through a wealth perspective. To fill in the gaps in my argument, it will be crucial to conduct comparative research in eastern Taiwan where the Paiwan have interacted with Han Taiwanese, the Pinuyumayan indigenous group and the Amis

indigenous group. In comparison to northern Paiwan, where Timur village lies, the apparel of eastern Paiwan, for instance, has synthesised elements from different groups. Nonetheless, when I stayed in Timur, I met many people from eastern Paiwan who were there to purchase artwork. I also noticed that some of the Paiwan *pulima* (artwork producer) from northern Paiwan went to eastern Paiwan to help them produce carvings for their house. I was told that some of the eastern Paiwan perceive the artwork of the northern Paiwan as authentic. It will be fascinating to learn what authentic means here and what their intention in having authentic artwork is. Will they become 'authentically' Paiwan by owning artwork in this context?

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