

Institute of Austronesian Studies
National Taitung University, Taiwan
國立台東大學南島文化研究所
Masters Thesis
碩士論文

Daedae ki Taromak:
Exploring the Collective Landscape and Cultural
Outcomes of Silent Hunters, Hundred-Pace Snakes, and
Spirit Places in the Traditional Territory of Taromak
在達魯瑪克部落傳統領域探索無聲獵人、百步蛇、和
聖地之集體景觀與文化結果。

Graduate Student : **Caleb D. Portnoy**

研究生：波開樂（Gelele）

Advisor : Professor Awi Mona

指導教授：Awi Mona (蔡志偉) 博士

May 2010

中華民國 九十九 年 五 月

附件十二

國立臺東大學
學位論文考試委員審定書

系所別：南島文化研究所

本班	Caleb D. Portnoy	波開樂	君
所提之論文	在臺灣客家傳統領域內探索百年恆聖地氣發展人 之集體意識與文化結果		
業經本委員會通過合於	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	碩士學位論文	條件
	<input type="checkbox"/>	博士學位論文	
論文學位考試委員會：	台都搬新勤		
	(學位考試委員會主席)		
	胡正恆		
	蔡志偉		
	(指導教授)		
論文學位考試日期：	九十九年五月十日		
國立臺東大學			

附註：1.本表一式二份經學位考試委員會簽後，正本送交系所辦公室及註冊組或進修部存查。
2.本表為日校學制適用，請依個人學制分送教務處或進修部辦理。

博碩士論文授權書

本授權書所授權之論文為本人在 國立臺東大學 南島文化研究所

98 學年度第 二 學期取得 碩 士學位之論文。

論文名稱：在臺灣氣象學傳統領域內探察百年來，臺灣天氣變遷之景觀景觀

本人具有著作財產權之論文全文資料，授權予下列單位：

陳文雄
果

同意	不同意	單位
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	國家圖書館
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	本人畢業學校圖書館
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	與本人畢業學校圖書館簽訂合作協議之資料庫業者

得不限地域、時間與次數以微縮、光碟或其他各種數位化方式重製後放在發行或上載網站，藉由網路傳輸，提供讀者基於個人非營利性質之線上檢索、閱覽、下載或列印。

☒ 同意 ☐ 不同意 本人畢業學校圖書館基於學術傳播之目的，在上述範圍內得再授權第三人進行資料重製。

本論文為本人向經濟部智慧財產局申請專利(未申請者本條款請不予理會)的附帶之一，申請文號為：
_____，請將全文資料留校半年再公開。

公開時程

立即公開	一年後公開	二年後公開	三年後公開
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

上述授權內容均無須訂立讓與及授權契約書，依本授權之發行權為非專屬性發行權利，依本授權所為之收錄、重製、發行及學術研發利用均為無償。上述同意與不同意之欄位若未勾選，本人同意視同授權。

指導教授姓名：蔡志偉 (視筆簽名)

研究生簽名：GLL P. J. J. 波蘭樂 (視筆正楷)

學 號：9600908 (務必填寫)

日 期：中華民國 99 年 5 月 17 日

1. 本授權書 (請自 <http://www.lib.nttu.edu.tw/theses/> 下載) 請以黑筆填寫並影印黏貼於書名頁之次頁。

2. 依據 91 學年度第一學期一次教務會議決議「研究生畢業論文」至少需授權學校圖書館數位化，並上載於三年後上載網路供各界使用及校內瀏覽。」
授權書版本 2008/05/29

Acknowledgements

致謝

This thesis is the result of many people's efforts, a few of which are mentioned here. First of all, Galiguy Raroradeng La'inalraliki (嚴金鳳) assisted at every step of the way, half of this thesis is her's. Secondly the initial motivation for this project came from Galiguy's relatives, especially 謝山福 (Xie Shan-Fu) 鄭峰玲 (Zheng Feng-Ling), and 杜秀妹 (Du Xiu-Mei). Other locals who consistently offered their unconditional assistance and patience include but are not limited to, 蘇則建 (Su Ze-Jian), 田火本 (Tian Huo-Ben), 杜永木 (Du Yong-Mu), 賴金木 (Lai Jin-Mu), 謝來德 (Xie Lai-De), 蘇金城 (Su Jin-Cheng), 潘王文賓 (Pang Wang-Wen-Bing), 林富德 (Lin Fu-De), 林得次 (Lin De-Ci), 胡進德 (Hu Jin-De), 古明德頭目 (Chief Gu Ming-De), 杜永昌 (Du Yong-Chang), 杜松次 (Du Song-Ci), 杜秀英 (Du Xiu-Ying), 陳四德 (Chen Si-De), 吳美花 (Wu Mei-Hua), 張力元 (Zhang Li-Yuan), 張力文 (Zhang Li-Wen), 田淑華 (Tian Shu-Hua), 古惠珍 (Gu Hui-Zhen). I would also like to thank my professors Awi Mona (蔡志偉), Taiban Sasala, and Jackson Hu (胡正恆) and Tan Chang-Guo (譚昌國), for their encouragement, comments and help. I must also thank my family, ocean and friends who listened to my struggles and offered their wise suggestions.

Daedae ki Taromak:

在達魯瑪克部落傳統領域探索蛇、聖地、和無聲獵人之集體景觀與文化結果。

Caleb D. Portnoy

摘要

社會與生態破裂，自然資源與權利衝突，氣候變化，與其他混合（hybrid）議題正在威脅全球與當地社區，而使用現代科學的自然/文化和全球/當地二分法時，卻無法被了解。本論文透過目前在擴大的人類學理論與哲學家 Bruno Latour 之行動者網絡論（Actor-Network Theory）來看穿此二分法，來探索東台灣原住民東魯凱族達魯瑪克部落的景觀。

首先表示達魯瑪克部落的景觀被人類，非人類，神聖性，當地，和全球行動實體的互連網絡構成。從殖民時代前的跨此實體關係互相支持下，並持續彼此創造成當地社會文化特質。

外來政體，和全球市場與信仰影響到景觀時，此關聯網絡擴大包含有新力量之行動者。在多數例子中此新行動者中斷了先前持續達魯瑪克部落自然文化網絡的相互支持關係。

最後，為了拼成自然文化網絡與支持其福利，達魯瑪克人正在重新創造許多由景觀與祖先關係的程序，並且重新定義他們的自然文化網絡。

本論文表露景觀的多元橫切關聯來凸顯達魯瑪克部落傳統領域對當地特殊社會生態的重要性。

關鍵詞：文化景觀，行動者網絡論（ANT），台灣原住民族，傳統領域，原住民族土地權利。

Daedae Ki Taromak:

Exploring the Collective Landscape and Cultural Outcomes of Snakes, Spirit Places, and Silent Hunters in the Traditional Territory of Taromak.

Caleb D. Portnoy

Institute of Austronesian Studies, National Taitung University, Taiwan

Abstract

Social and environmental breakdowns, battles over natural resources and rights, fears of climate change, and other hybrid issues threaten global and local communities, and cannot be understood while using the nature-culture, global-local dichotomies of modernist sciences. This thesis applies expanding anthropological theories and Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory to see through those dichotomies and conceptualize local views of the landscape in the indigenous Taromak Rukai tribe of Southeastern Taiwan.

First, it is shown that the landscape of Taromak is made up of a network of interconnected human, non-human, divine, local and global active entities. Pre-colonial relations between these entities aimed at being mutually supportive, and maintained the local socio-cultural characteristics that they created.

Secondly, as foreign regimes and global market and religious forces influenced the landscape, this network of relations expanded to include powerful new actors. In many cases these new actors interrupted the mutually supportive relations that once maintained the Taromak nature-culture network.

Finally, by recreating many of the ancestral relations with other landscape entities, the Taromak are currently in the process of redefining their nature-culture network in ways that support its wellbeing.

By revealing the Taromak landscape's crosscutting relations, the locally particular socio-environmental importance of the traditional territory comes into view.

Keywords: Indigenous Landscapes, Actor-Network Theory, Taiwan Indigenous Peoples, Traditional Territory, Indigenous Land Rights

CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER ONE: Study Design</u>	1
I. Introduction and Research Motive	1
II. Literature Review	3
1. Nature-Cultures	4
2. Landscapes of Places	10
3. An Actor-Network Approach to Landscapes	18
III. Taromak Rukai	22
1. The Rukai	22
2. The Taromak	27
IV. Field Work and Research Limits	31
<u>CHAPTER TWO: Assembling the Landscape</u>	35
I. Traditional Landscape	35
1. Origins and Precedence	36
2. Migrations	39
3. Boundaries	44
II. Neighbor Relations	48
1. The Western Rukai	49
2. The Paiwan	51
3. The Puyuma	52
4. The Bunong	54
5. The Amis	56
6. The Han Chinese	56
7. Daowadalraka	57
III. Place	59
1. Place and Place Names	59
2. Taidrengelr	63
3. Kabaliwa	65
IV. Spiritual Territory	69
1. Taididingana (Spiritual Places)	72
2. The Hundred Pace Viper	74
3. Spiritual Structures and Change	76
V. The Political Territory	79
VI. Assembling the Territory	82
<u>CHAPTER THREE: The Acting Landscape</u>	85
I. Traditional Land Tenure	86
1. Agricultural Tenure	86
2. Hunting Area Tenure	88
3. Land Inheritance	90
4. Land and Work Sharing	90

II. Land Use.....	92
1. Agriculture.....	93
(a) Traditional Agriculture and Ceremonies.....	93
(b) Contemporary Agriculture.....	97
2. Collecting Mountain Products.....	99
3. Hunting.....	100
(a) Prey and Process	100
(b) Prayer and Taboo.....	106
(c) Contemporary Changes and Limits.....	109
4. Fishing.....	113
III. Landscape Management.....	114
1. Social Class and Land Management.....	114
2. ‘Alakua.....	117
3. Tualisiya.....	119
4. Contemporary Land Management.....	120
(a) Forestry Bureau Land.....	121
(b) Reservation Land.....	122
IV. Watching the Landscape Act.....	126
<u>CHAPTER FOUR: The Landscape Moving On.....</u>	128
I. Returning the Land.....	129
1. Importance of the Landscape.....	133
2. Reconstructing Kabaliwa.....	138
3. Governance and Collective Action.....	138
4. The Pig Farm.....	142
II. Future of the Landscape.....	144
1. Reinventing Places.....	146
2. Running Rivers.....	148
3. Autonomy.....	150
III. The Landscape Moving On.....	152
<u>CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion.....</u>	154
<u>Appendix I : Landscape Categories.....</u>	161
<u>Appendix II : Place Name Table.....</u>	165
<u>Appendix III : Informant Table.....</u>	174
<u>Appendix IV : Core Interview Questions.....</u>	175
<u>Bibliography.....</u>	181

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures:

Figure 1: Latours Modernist Dichotomies.....	5
Figure 2: Networks on the modernist global-local, natural-social axis.....	7
Figure 3: Rukai Mountain Elevation Categories.....	23
Figure 4: Large Bacing at entrance to central Kabaliwa.....	46
Figure 5: Location of Taromak traditional territory and neighboring tribes.....	49
Figure 6: ‘Adayn with betel nut and former ginger field.....	52
Figure 7: Fallen tree at Daowadalraka.....	58
Figure 8: Location of several and key place names.....	63
Figure 9: Colonial era Kabaliwa.....	67
Figure 10: Stone Wall at ‘Angasa.....	68
Figure 11: New Dake’akala at Kabaliwa.....	78
Figure 12: Moray’i millet weeding during Maisahoro festival.....	92
Figure 13: Contemporary cash crops in Taromak.....	98
Figure 14: Successfully hunted <i>Akece</i>	102
Figure 15: Contemporary hunter’s jaw rack.....	112
Figure 16: Contemporary layout of Taromak.....	129
Figure 17: Site of Kabaliwa reconstruction.....	134
Figure 18: Reconstructed central Kabaliwa area.....	135
Figure 19: Reconstructed commoner’s house at Kabaliwa.....	136
Figure 20: Recently paved road to Kabaliwa.....	137
Figure 21: Rebuilding the observation deck at Kabaliwa.....	138
Figure 22: Recently abandoned pig farm.....	143

Tables:

Table 1: Kabaliwa areas and class households.....	66
Table 2: Taromak Hunter’s Prey Categories.....	101
Table 3: Bird Omens.....	104

CHAPTER ONE

Study Design

I. INTRODUCTION

While walking through a forest path along a bright blue bubbling stream in a place I would later know as *Mulrawnga*¹, I came upon two cups of rice wine, two cigarettes, and two wrapped beetle nuts nicely arranged on a flat piece of slate. This was my first encounter with the traditional territory of the Taromak Rukai tribe of Southeastern Taiwan, and it planted a seed of wonder in me of which this thesis is the fruit. Over the course of two years teaching English in Taitung City, Taiwan, I became friends with several local Taromak people. Due to their encouragement I entered the Institute of Austronesian Studies in the fall of 2007 to begin studying the indigenous peoples of Taiwan and eventually focused on the traditional territory of the Taromak Rukai, which I had first encountered several years before.

What has developed out of my relationship with the Taromak, my professors' assistance, and my readings, is this exploration of what will be described as the nature-culture network of the Taromak's traditional territory. My goal has been to attempt to describe what the territory was, is and will be, particularly in the eyes of the Taromak people. While in the field accompanying locals in their daily lives, and while conducting formal and informal interviews I came to realize that the traditional territory was not something that was neatly broken up into distinctly separate elements and time periods, as much literature on the subject of cultural landscapes and place sometimes seems to suggest. This thesis proposes that the traditional territory of the Taromak is made up of a network of interrelated actors situated in the past, present and future, as well as locally and extra-locally, that all simultaneously influence the present social-environmental situation in Taromak.

By developing a broader view of the traditional territory as a heterogeneous and dynamic landscape, we can begin to understand how its conditions tend to shape the socio-environmental situation of Taromak. Due to many historical and contemporary changes, these conditions have been dramatically modified, and in the eyes of the

¹ Throughout this thesis 90% of Taromak Rukai names have been written according to mother language teacher, Nama C's, roman characterization system.

Taromak, the results are neither strictly constructive nor destructive, and overlap cultural and environmental distinctions. By basing this study on how local people integrate and interpret their landscape's diverse elements and interactions, we can better predict and suggest its future. Thus, this thesis attempts to use local interpretations to create not *the* geo-spatial map *of* a territory, but rather *one* integrative conceptual map *for*, the landscape of Taromak.

The primary questions that will be explored while creating this conceptual map include:

1. What is the landscape of Taromak made up of, and can the entities that compose it fit into modernist natural, social, global or local paradigms?
2. In what way have the diverse entities of the Taromak territory been interconnected, and how have these associations created and influenced their collective community?
3. How have new powerful extra-local entities, such as government policies and market forces influenced the associations of the landscape?
4. How has the human community of Taromak reacted to these extra-local influences, in what ways do they wish to recreate their associations with their landscape, and what hinders their hopes?
5. Finally, how should we conceptualize the importance of the Taromak's traditional territory, and the socio-cultural characteristics and institutions that it creates?

These questions discussed in the Taromak case will highlight the fact that new ways of approaching local community's relations with their environments must be developed in order to help solve global socio-environmental problems.

Throughout this exploration, the actors of the Taromak's landscape are roughly categorized into humans, non-human things, and divinities, and a focus is on how the relationships between these three types of entities establish the well-being of the entire nature-culture collective. Especially since the successive foreign occupations of Taiwan beginning in the late 19th century, the Taromak's web of relationships has been extended to include an array of powerful new actors, thereby interrupting many previous relations that supported the nature-culture collective, including the relations that maintained the socio-cultural systems of the Taromak community. But recently, the Taromak have been

struggling to recreate their relationships with the other actors of their landscape in ways that could once again be mutually supportive for the entire nature-culture collective. The following chapters of this thesis describe this drama of humans, non-humans, and the divine in order to assemble, activate and foretell the landscape of Taronak.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

As modern politicians, scholars and communities attempt to solve global social and environmental problems it is gradually becoming clear that these issues can not be approached by segregating them into natural, cultural, global, local, past or present concerns. Previous anthropological research has also adhered to these dichotomies remaining trapped in a debate over ‘nature shaping culture’, or ‘culture interpreting nature’. This dichotomization conceals the activities and connections between the various entities that actively create the nature-culture collective, of which local people are often aware. Other anthropologists, such as Phillippe Descola, have attempted to create models for understanding the inter-relationships between nature and culture in different societies. Meanwhile, the anthropological concepts of landscape and place have become broad enough to include a diverse array of entities without adhering to the above dichotomies. By using these concepts anthropologists have discovered key characteristics of Austronesian nature-culture collectives, some of which are found present in the Taronak case. The landscape and place concepts have evolved from being viewed as passive symbolic texts to playing key roles in the creation and maintenance of social institutions. In this research Bruno Latour’s Actor-Network Theory (ANT) model assists in this trend towards understanding the role of landscape and the past and present relations between human, non-human, and divine local and global entities in the context of Taronak. Because the Taronak community has changed dramatically in the past century, and their connection to their landscape is often hidden beneath contemporary political and economic pressures, the ANT and landscape-place models provide a window into how this community was originally aligned within its collective, how these changes have influenced its well-being, and how the landscape of relations continues to be an important factor in the maintenance of the collective and for finding solutions to social and environmental problems.

1. Nature-Cultures

The modern era has been marked with increasingly serious issues related to human-environment relations, and a lack of effective solutions to these problems. While environmental disasters, climate change, global food distribution problems and many other serious issues that include a range of socio-environmental factors threaten our societies' stability (Moran 2006:26-27), the majority of academic research continues to focus on either extreme of the social – natural dichotomy. This dichotomy which is a key feature of the modernist worldview (Latour 1993), has made it difficult to develop institutions that are able to effectively manage a range of inter-related social and environmental factors acting locally while being influenced by global dynamics.

Due to the limited views of human-environment relations that exist in modern environmental management discourse, and especially following Hardin's influential *Tragedy of the Commons* paper (Hardin 1968), management institutions throughout the world have been limited to either systems of land privatization, or control by national governmental agencies. These management institutions have been largely unsuccessful in dealing with the diversity of local situations (Acheson 2006), and only recently have local communities with their diverse socio-cultural backgrounds and unique relations with the environment been included in the environmental governing process (Moran 2006:101)². In order to develop better institutional systems of managing local environments, we must first critically assess our modernist views, and second recognize the alternative approaches to human-environment relations that exist within local communities. This will open the door to a diversity of environmental management institutions, which will be necessary to manage locally specific socio-environmental situations. This thesis attempts to understand how local socio-environmental systems create the cultural institutions that intertwine them, how these systems act, and how they respond to a variety of pressures. By exploring the intricacies of a local situation, and discussing it in light of related anthropological research, this thesis will provide a view of

² Emilio Moran states, "...better environmental governance where those affected actively express their views and have those views translated into policy is one of the most direct ways to reverse the world's environmental decline (Moran 2006:101)."

what socio-cultural elements of ecological systems must be taken into account in order to create effective institutions of environmental management.

Before attempting to understand diverse views of human-environment relations, biases of the dominant modernist view must be reconsidered. In his book *We Have Never Been Modern*, Bruno Latour (1993) clearly lays out the modernist ideology, which shapes the academic approach to understanding the world. Latour explains that the modern agenda goes about two separate practices (see Figure 1.1), the first being creating mixtures of nature and culture (work of translation), which he calls hybrids or networks; and the second being separating the world into two distinct ontological zones, that of human culture, and nonhuman nature (work of purification). Thus modern thought creates two dichotomies, the dichotomy of culture and nature, and the dichotomy that separates those who recognize the first dichotomy (the moderns), and those who instead have diverse understandings of hybrids or networks (the premoderns) (Latour 1993:10-11).

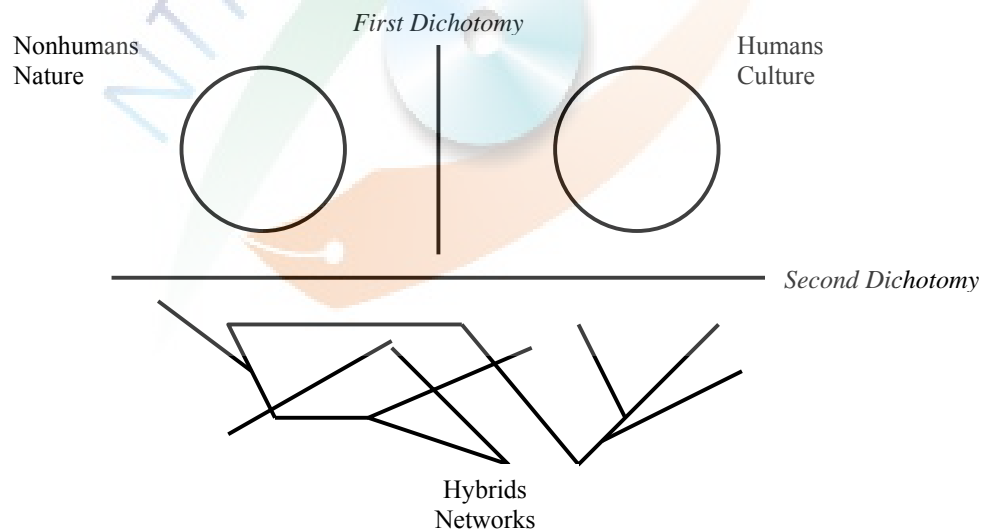


Figure 1: Modernist Dichotomies
See: Latour 1993, p. 11

The ontological divide between nature and culture in modern thought is an impediment to understanding the hybrids and networks that it creates. The modern's divide between their own view of the world founded on Latour's first dichotomy, and "premodern" world views that do not necessarily separate nature and culture the same way the moderns do, impedes recognition of other cultures' diverse understandings of human-environment relations and the networks of human and nonhuman elements that exist.

These dichotomies have had a major effect on the development of anthropological research, and have hindered the understanding of non-western views of the environment³. Anthropologists often took this dichotomy into the field as a foundational analytical tool to classify different concepts of nature and culture as "nature shaping culture" or "culture imposing meaning on nature" (Descola and Palsson 1996:2-3); meanwhile ignoring the inter-relationships that different cultures actually have between their communities and the world around them⁴. Not only does the nature-culture dichotomy impede our understanding of other culture's relations with their environment, it also has had negative impacts on the development of effective environmental management systems (West et al 2006:256)⁵. Local people's inclusive relations with their environments are often misunderstood and disregarded in favor of the exclusive modernist nature-culture dichotomy. Once these relations are severed at the local level by modernist environmental management regimes, major social impacts ensue.

Dichotomizing the ideas of local and global further impedes understanding local socio-environmental situations. As Latour points out, the modernist conceptual

³ Phillippe Descola and Gisli Palsson point out that, "...the nature-culture dichotomy has been a central dogma in anthropology...As a result, little attention was paid to how non-western cultures conceptualized their environment and their relation to it... (1996:2)"

⁴ In his discussion of Chewong categories that cross the nature-culture divide, Howell points out a common mistake in anthropological discussions of human-environment relations "...when we find ourselves in a society where not only is it difficult to establish a nature (environment)-culture (society) dichotomy, but also where a meaningful notion of nature appears to be constructed, we may still feel compelled either to provide a plausible reason for the *absence* of such a category, or seek for one through unusual approaches, rather than concentrating on what is going on." (1996:130).

⁵ West et al. point out that, "This putative nature/culture dichotomy has had significant material and social impacts, either by forcefully excluding people from their land or holding them to discursive standards that are nearly impossible to live up to in practice (2006:256)"

understandings of the world are concentrated into four extremes that represent the modern constitution; they are natural (non-human), social/cultural (human), global and local. But in fact the location of the networks and collectives that he discusses are not located at these extremes, but rather they are located in the middle, because the networks that we discuss are mixtures of elements and influences that cannot be solely classified as any of these four extremes (Latour 1993:122) (see figure 2).

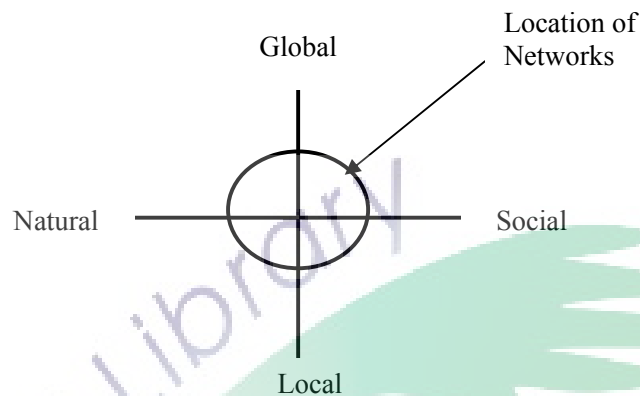


Figure 2: Location of networks on the modernist global-local, natural-social axis.

The communities that anthropologists study are part of networks that combine not only social and natural elements, but also local and global influences. As Descola and Palsson (1996:13) point out “The village green is nothing less than the entire globe”. In order to solve problems at the level of the ‘village green’ or the entire globe, the ontological categorical extremes of global, social, local and natural must be seen through, which can open up new ways of understanding human-environmental relations.

It is hard to ignore the networks of local-global and natural-cultural connections that run through contemporary anthropological writings; what has been lacking is attention to these connections and the way that they are manifested within the cultural traditions that are studied. In his paper entitled *Constructing Natures*, Descola concludes that,

“Once the ancient nature-culture orthogonal grid has been disposed of, a new multi-dimensional anthropological landscape may emerge, in which stone adzes and quarks, cultivated plants and the genome map, hunting rituals and oil production may become intelligible as so many variations within a single set of relations encompassing humans as well as non-humans (Descola 1996:99)”

By dropping the modernist lenses that filter reality into natural, socio-cultural, global, and local categories, an understanding of how all these factors inter-relate can be obtained, and ‘what is going on’ in communities and cultures can be grasped.

The diversity of human-environment relations that exists has begun to be recognized in anthropological research. Just as Anderson described communities as imagined (Anderson 1991), nature has also been described as a product of specific social and institutional settings (Roepstorff and Budandt 2003). But it is important to note that the human-environment relationship cannot be reduced to a series of interpretations; these relations are much more real, physical and lived than mere texts.

Gisli Plasson⁶ and Phillipe Descola have been at the forefront of creating conceptual models for understanding other culture’s relations with their environments. In particular, Descola’s work with the Achuar of the Amazon has shown that in their society, nature can be viewed as a “great continuum of society (Descola 1994:76)”, that is the environment is conceptually modeled along the same lines as Achuar social structures. Just as Palsson (1996) separates human-environmental relations in to three categories, Descola also categorizes these relations using three modes, two of which are particularly useful for this discussion. The first being “modes of identification”, which include totemism, animism and naturalism. Totemistic societies use discontinuities in their environment to organize their social units; animistic societies attach social attributes to their environment; naturalistic societies (the main force in modernistic ideologies) separate nature from culture and assign certain ‘natural laws’ to their environments. The

⁶ Gisli Palsson separates human-environment relations into three categories, which are effective for comparing modernistic views of the non-human and ‘pre-modern’ world with other cultural views of the environment.. Orientalist relations are characterized by exploitation of the environment/other and negative reciprocity. Paternalist relations are characterized by the use of protectionist ideology and balanced reciprocity in dealings with the environment/other. Both orientalist and paternalist relations with the environment assume a human mastery of the nature, which is founded on the nature-culture dichotomy. Both of these ideologies are widely used not only in environmental management regimes, but also within anthropology itself. Orientalist and paternalistic ethnographic representations of other societies “colonize the reality they are studying in terms of universalistic discourse, asserting the superiority of their own society in relation to that of the natives (Palsson 1996:68)”. The third type of human-environment relationship Palsson points out is communalism, which fundamentally rejects the nature-culture dichotomy, and is characterized by generalized reciprocity with the environment (Ibid:63-81). Throughout the world, Palsson’s three types of relations with the environment exist in different proportions and can provide a structured method of understanding unique local situations influenced by traditional, and modernist relations with the environment.

second modes are “modes of relation” that include reciprocation, predation, and protection. Reciprocal relations are characterized by human and non-humans being joined in reciprocal exchanges that maintain a cosmological equilibrium; Predatory relations are characterized by non-humans and humans as being joined in relations that reject reciprocity and are based on relationships of revenge. Both of these modes of relations often consider non-humans as persons or active agents in their environments. Protectionist modes of relating with the environment are similar to Palsson’s paternalistic relations in that they perceive non-humans as dependent on humans for their welfare. Descola points out that these modes of identification and modes of relation are mixed in most societies, and that many dimensions of local human-environment relations need to be taken into account in order to understand different local contexts (Descola 1996:82-102).

Descola’s modes of identification and relation provide a method of understanding the diversity of nature-cultures⁷ that exist throughout the world. Alf Hornborg (2003) uses Descola’s modes to compare pre-modern Algonquian hunter-gatherers, modern ecological economics scholars, and post-modern deep ecologists, but mistakenly views human-environmental relations in a one-sided way. He describes the Algonquian method of identifying with nature as,

“...humans seeking guidance for behavior in their uncertain negotiations with non-human nature have no recourse but to look to their experience of human social life. In these ecocosmologies, both the morphology (group structure) and physiology (exchange relations) of human society are extended into nature (Hornborg 2003:105).”

Hornborg goes on to describe ecological economists as just as animistic as Algonquian hunters in that they use social concepts to categorize their environments. As this research will discuss, it is a mistake to view unique nature-cultures simply as ideologically animistic or totemistic; that is, social structures do not simply explain (animism) or are explained by (totemism) environments. Human-environment relations physically and ideologically reproduce social structures just as social structures reproduce human-environment relations. Put simply, nature does not reproduce society and society does not reproduce nature. Whether on Algonquian hunting grounds, or in ecological

⁷ The term *nature-culture* will be used hereon to describe human and non-human collectives characterized by a specific cultural group. Latour uses the term nature-culture in his book *We Have Never Been Modern* (1993:7).

economists' offices, it is the system of relations that connect human and non-human worlds that reproduce social structures and cultural ecocosmologies. As will be discussed here, it is the relations between human, non-human and divine entities that once created and maintained the 'morphology' and 'physiology' of the Taromak society. The 'non-human natural' world is created by and creates 'human social life', and is not only the mere recipient of social extensions. Thus the key question in this research is how do the relationships between human, non-human and divine entities that intertwine the Taromak's landscape, form and maintain socio-cultural institutions.

In order to do away with the nature-culture dichotomy while considering other nature-cultures, inclusive methods of viewing the human-environment continuum must be developed. The anthropology of landscape and place has made leaps towards understanding the diverse practices and imaginings of nature-culture collectives. The following section will briefly review developments in the field of landscape and place studies, especially in the Austronesian linguistic area where this study takes place.

2. Landscapes of Places

Just as Palsson and Descola developed analytical models to help portray the diversity of human-environment relations and see past the culture-nature dichotomy, advancements in the anthropology of landscape and place has grown into a fruitful study for understanding the "foreground and background in which people feel themselves to be in their world (Stewart and Strathern 2003:4)". The definition of a landscape or cultural landscape and the diverse themes surrounding this topic has evolved considerably in several contemporary publications⁸. Carl Sauer explains a cultural landscape as being "fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result (Sauer 1925:343)". Since Sauer's definition, the landscape concept has been continuously broadening to "encompass(es) environment plus relationship to it and the cross-cutting ties of relationships that emerge from or exist in a place (Stewart and Strathern 2003:8)". Although at the foundation of the study of cultural landscapes, the modernist nature-culture dichotomy still exists, this

⁸ See Bender 1993A, *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995, *The Anthropology of Landscape*; Stewart and Strathern 2003, *Landscape Memory and History*.

concept provides a starting point for looking at surroundings without using the loaded terms of 'natural' 'wilderness' or 'environment', thus creating space for opening up to different interpretations of landscapes that include "the creative and imaginative ways in which people place themselves within their environments (Ibid:2)". In addition landscapes and the places within them can help breakdown the nature-culture dichotomy because they obviously are made up of both natural and cultural artifacts, they are part culturally fashioned and also part non-human, non-fashioned 'quasi artifacts' (Tilley 2006:19).

Some of the more recurrent themes discussed in the anthropology of landscape include landscapes as a dynamic cultural process (Bender 1993B:3; Mophy:1993); as constructing identities out of memories and histories that are placed within the landscape⁹; and as being contested (Bender 1993C) especially when different groups with differing cultural conceptions of the landscape come into conflict (Carrier 2004). This concept not only provides a method of looking beyond the modernist nature-culture dichotomy, it is also broad enough to accept both global and local forces that are active within a particular landscape (Leach 2006:87-103). In order to understand local human-environment relations and conceptions, a conceptual framework must be broad and flexible enough to include diverse times, events, agents, places and perspectives all in one, thus providing a more holistic view of the landscape collective that includes non-human, human, local, global, past and present actors and influences.

Within anthropological research, place as a cultural phenomenon, which only recently has been shown as an important part of landscapes¹⁰, has been largely ignored in favor of the abstract concept of space. Edward Casey points out, place is a more locally relevant concept, "For the anthropologist, Space comes first; for the native, Place; and the difference is by no means trivial (Casey 1996:15)." Places are important to local people because they gather animate and inanimate entities, experiences, histories, languages, and

⁹ See Kuchler in Bender's *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (1993) p. 85-106.

¹⁰ Rather than being abstract spaces, landscapes are made up of places that give them their character. As Tilley puts it, "Landscape thus sits in places, is a reflexive 'gathering' and set of relations between those places, background and foreground, figure and frame, here and there, near and far. Landscape is thus always both objective physical place and a subjective cognized image of that place (Tilly 2006:11)." Thus, places are integral to landscapes, they are the 'pegs' on which memories, stories, identities, and conflicts are hung.

thoughts (Ibid:24); they are a mixtures of things and can be “psychical as well as physical, and doubtless also cultural and historical and social (Ibid:31)”. They do not only gather a variety of elements and actions, but they also *happen*, thus making them a cultural process continually influencing and being influenced by the human and non-human collectives that interact with them (Ibid:27). Finally, as opposed to anthropological conceptions of space as paramount, Casey points out that the experience of places give rise to time and space (Ibid:36), thus place is of utmost importance to this study of nature-cultures. If places are as powerful as Casey describes them to be, and landscapes of places are a major part of nature-culture collectives, then place and landscape should be extremely useful concepts in studies that wish to see beyond the nature-culture divide and understand collectives as including human/non-human and global/local elements.

Yi-Fu Tuan simplifies the concept of place into the combination of familiarity and knowledge within a particular space, and goes on to discuss several aspects of place and space in his book *Space and Place*. He (perhaps too plainly) points out the importance of landscapes and places to local peoples, as being along the same lines as Descola’s totemistic and animistic modes of identification discussed above,

“Landscape is personal and tribal history made visible. The native’s identity-his place in the total scheme of things-is not in doubt, because the myths that support it are as real as the rocks and waterholes he can see and touch. He finds recorded in his land the ancient story of the lives and deeds of the immortal being from whom he himself is descended, and whom he reveres. The whole country side is his family tree (Tuan 1977:157).”

Here, Tuan also discusses the importance of place bound religions as opposed to world religions. He describes place bound religions as being place specific, protective of local people and harmful to strangers, part of a hierarchy of beings, encouraging a sense of lineage and continuity of place, and a love of ones kin. These aspects of place bound religions bind people to their landscapes (Ibid:153) and conceptually reinforce their ‘sense of place’.

Just as studies of landscapes include many themes, place as an anthropological endeavor has acquired many similar topics. Keith Basso’s work amongst the western Apache has brought to light many important aspects of places¹¹. He finds that Apache

¹¹ In particular he points out that, “Losing the land is something the Western Apaches can ill afford to do, for geological features have served the people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history (Basso 1996:62)”.

places gather local knowledge and moral teachings and are given “highly charged and richly evocative (Basso 1996:76)” place names that are used among the Western Apache to communicate a variety of unique cultural meanings. Thus the landscape is filled with powerful meanings and knowledge gathered in particular places that directly influence western Apache life-ways.

A majority of place and landscape related research has been done among Australian aboriginals whose landscape and social ties to it are intimately related to the mythological meanings of places (Myers 1986). These aboriginal meanings of landscapes and places often come into conflict with European views of the landscape (Morphy 1993)¹². When both of these conceptions of the landscape come into conflict, serious misunderstandings and management mistakes can occur.

Place and landscape have also been studied in particular depth throughout the Austronesian world. James J. Fox has shown that the Austronesian landscape is particularly tied to Austronesian identities, and especially shared origins. Geographical origins in Austronesia are often found to be more important than genealogical descents, and these origins are often placed in the landscape, marked with a natural feature (Fox 1995A:34-38), which can be a powerful symbolic connection between social identities and the environment (Guo 1993:189-209). Furthermore, an order of precedence and the existence of multiple origins, can be found as a main feature of Austronesian social structures (Fox 1995B:217), as well as the paths and shared journeys throughout the landscape that connect individuals and groups along lines of precedence and social ancestry (Ibid:221). Fox shows that the origins of the group are often founded on a pre-eminent figure whose prior status set up the foundations of social institutions (Ibid:219). Andrew McWilliam’s (2006) studies among the Fataluku of East Timor support this claim, “precedence of origin provide the cultural basis for asserting ownership over tracts of land within their ancestrally defined jurisdiction (Ibid:259)”. Therefore the rights and responsibilities of land tenure and other land or resource related institutions found in

¹² In this case, for Europeans the landscape is filled with historical meanings related to a colonial past that are also attached to places. For the aboriginals, the same places within the landscape are filled with mythological meanings that are reproduced in present forms, thus creating an intimate link between the mythological Dreamtime and contemporary life-ways (Morphy 1993)

Austronesian societies are often based on the pre-eminence of certain social groups, which can be experienced within the landscape through places and paths of origin.

Studies in Austronesian societies have demonstrated the continued importance of the landscape in the present post-colonial world. McWilliam points out that even after a long period of displacement from their original lands, the Fataluku "...maintain a vital link to their origins in the narrative histories and emplaced mythologies of settlement, made manifest in the sacred geography of the land (Ibid:265)." Although the social connections between Austronesian communities and their land remain significant into the present day, serious conflicts have occurred due to modernist views of the landscape infiltrating these 'sacred geographies'. Eric Hirsch describes the contemporary state of the Fuyuge landscape in the Papuan highlands as being,

"in a world influenced by colonial and post-colonial relations such landscapes are inherently contested, where diverse views of power contend. What emerges, then, in the case like that of the Fuyuge is not so much distinct landscapes of power as a landscape of contending powers (Hirsch 2006:153-154)."

The conflicts that occur within colonial and post-colonial contexts can rarely be clearly defined as being exogenous or endogenous in nature. The source of contending powers and views of the landscape, as well as contending mechanisms for dealing with these conflicts can come from different indigenous, migrant or completely non-local groups (Tule 2006:229-231), thus the local-global dichotomy remains an unsuitable concept for understanding complexity in these cases.

The effects of these conflicts have significant impacts on local institutions. Territorial units and systems of land allocation in the Austronesian world have commonly been described as being shared by a community, but also divided (Boulton-Smit 2006:171). Furthermore, territorial domains can often be considered as inclusive, rather than exclusive systems of property rights; that is, the usufruct rights to territory are based on relations to preminent figures in the community, rather than separations between individuals (Carrier 1998:86-92). But these territorial institutions have undergone many changes in colonial and post-colonial nations. As E. D. Lewis (2006) describes in the case of Sikka, the profound changes to the categorization of territories and the

institutional polities that governed them significantly changed the local systems of status, power and prestige (Ibid:179-210)¹³.

Although changes to territorial institutions during the colonial and post-colonial era have significantly re-arranged many power relationships, Christine Boulan-Smit describes how among the Alune of West Seram, the traditional territorial claims and their institutional structures (*hena*) are based on the precedence of founding ancestors, and how repeated attempts of colonial powers to transform these institutions have failed. The social order of the *hena* has been preserved by being able to adapt to changing contexts, thus providing stability for the community and its social identity as custodians of a shared land (Boulan-Smit 2006:157-177).

These studies have shown how the diverse origins and social orders of Austronesian societies are often inscribed onto a landscape that actively supports social structures. They have also shown the effects that different views of the landscape have on territorial institutions and power structures. This study will further explore the role that an Austronesian landscape plays in defining social institutions, and how changes to the landscape influence these institutions.

Studies in Austronesian Place not only reinforce findings in studies of landscape, but also provide more insight into related themes. James Fox expands his thesis on the way that Austronesians emphasize geographic rather than genealogic origins in what he calls topogenies, which he describes as “an ordered succession of place names (Fox 1997:91)” that are often recited in the form of a journey and establish the succession or ancestry in relation to space¹⁴. The Gumai of southern Sumatra, as well as many other Austronesian societies, also trace their origins through ancestral place names and places of origin, and return to these places to maintain their ancestry and traditions (Sakai

¹³ The changes that took place in Sikka after territory became categorized as a bounded landscape in governing institutions among the Sikkhanese is described as “a shift from polycentric and polycosmic” (territorial institutions as a network of various centers of ritual power) to “monocentric and monocosmic” (territorial institutions focused on the singular power of a rajadom) (Lewis 2006:205).

¹⁴ Fox shows this in the ritual chants of Rotinese path names that describe the journey of rice and millet (Ibid:101).

1997)¹⁵. Thus places, and the names, events and actions associated with them can hold vital importance to collective social identities.

Often these place names, events and actions are encapsulated in topostories that narrate and geographically situate identity and culture. Sandra Pannell explains topostories as

“Considered as collective representations of what are regarded *a priori* as established orders of heterogeneous places, stories and the landscape constitute maps, they encode or embed that which is perceived as customary and cultural...The landscape, as a narrated and geographic text, thus signposts forms of social behavior, rights, responsibilities and relations (Pannell 1997:165).” Although Pannell shows that the landscape carries cultural texts and reproduces certain social behaviors, her case study illustrates that the use of these narratives is contextually dependent¹⁶.

Austronesian peoples interact with places within their landscapes through social behaviors that reproduce the cultural importance of the landscape. Barbara Dix Grimes shows that within the Buru landscape places externalize social and cosmological relations that are based on precedence, onto the landscape, thereby symbolizing Buru identity (Grimes 1997:116-131)¹⁷. Miriam Kahn also shows how Wamiran social relations are explained by the landscape, “Their land and its name link them to ‘their myth’, which maps out and explains the very history and nature of their social relationships, and their cultural values (Kahn 1996:175)¹⁸.” Grimes and Kahn’s research shows that Austronesian landscapes and places influence social behavior. Furthermore, These places and paths and the stories and knowledge associated with them are considered here as active parts of the nature-culture collective.

Anthropological studies based on the indigenous Austronesian communities of Taiwan have provided fruitful research in the fields of space, place and landscape. Ying-

¹⁵ Minako Sakai demonstrates that in order to maintain this localized ancestry and the traditions that it entails, the Gumai must, “take certain actions such as visiting one’s origin place and holding a gathering there (1997:50).”

¹⁶ In her study she explains how indigenous peoples as well as immigrant groups may or may not choose to use these cultural narratives dependent on particular political contexts (Ibid:170).

¹⁷ Barbara Dix Grimes describes the Buru landscape as being filled with different kinds of behavioral places, some that inspire a blessed and successful life, and some that are considered as ‘bad places’ where certain taboos and behaviors must be adhered to.

¹⁸ Kahn goes on to describe the landscape and the places within it as being ‘mnemonic devices’ and ‘moral authority’ that remind Wamirans of the cultural values and behaviors important for social life, such as food sharing (Ibid:167-196).

Kuei Huang in particular has discussed the changing symbolic systems of space and land in a Bunong tribe village (Huang 1995). He describes Bunong land being categorized into residential areas, agricultural areas, and hunting areas, and space being categorized into land, village and house. But space and land are not only categorized, they also are used as important symbolic systems that represent dynamic social structures and power relations that have been influenced by politics and economics throughout pre-colonial, colonial, and colonial eras¹⁹. Huang sums up these changes to Bunong spatial symbology as drifting from traditionally being based on individualism and equality, to currently being based more on stratification and inequality (Ibid:112). He goes on to show that these symbols are mobilized to compose different trends in space and to legitimize the superiority of the larger Han Chinese community and their domination of the Bunong tribe (Ibid:126). Therefore, according to Huang, the Bunong live in a 'space' of 'symbols' that are influenced by a variety of internal and external political forces. But is the Bunong landscape only a space of mobilized symbols, or perhaps are the entities that make up these spaces and symbols actually actively taking part in the creation of the Bunong nature-culture collective?

Somewhat similar to Huang's symbolic approach to understanding Bunong space, Jackson Hu describes the Dawu tribe's landscape as an inscription or text of culturally important historical events, memory and knowledge. These texts encoded onto the landscape show the dynamic relations between family groups and the power relations of clans, thus establishing individual and group social orientation. Therefore the Dawu 'memorialized' landscape allows for the continued use and extension of metaphors of cultural values and social relationships (Hu 2008). Thus the environment that surrounds the Dawu tribe is a landscape filled with places, which hold historically important meanings and inform individuals and groups of their socio-cultural relations and values. The Dawu landscape is described similarly to the Bunong landscape in that both are filled with symbols or inscriptions that describe dynamic power relations. But are these landscapes only culturally specific portrayals of Nature that passively engage with

¹⁹ For example, government policies have changed the spatial symbology of the house, influence from the Christian church have changed the meanings of sacred and communal spaces. In addition the symbology of land has changed due to market economy and policy influences on land use, the commodification of land, and the fixed categorization of land types by the State (Huang 1995).

societies, or are these places actively maintaining the socio-cultural systems that they encode?

The above sections have shown that in order to develop effective systems of management that take into account complex natural-cultural-local-global systems, one must recognize local understandings of the relations between humans and non-humans, thus finding appropriate bridges between the modernistic dichotomies that have obstructed our view of reality. By accepting both the human and non-human, anthropological studies in landscape and place have opened up space for conceptualizing diverse physical and ontological nature-culture relations. Landscapes can be understood as dynamic cultural processes that construct identities out of human, non-human, local, global, past, and present elements, and often frame conflicts. Places are often understood locally to be primary to space. They gather meanings, memories, local knowledge, symbols, and moral teachings, and they can actively influence life-ways. Austronesian landscapes and places have been found to be extremely culturally important to the extent that the pre-eminence of certain social groups and institutions are based on hierarchies of geographical origin. They have been described as texts that symbolize identities and inform and influence social behaviors. In colonial and post-colonial situations these Austronesian landscapes often become sites of contending powers, which give them further social meaning and influence. This anthropological research has enriched understandings of the diversity of meanings that landscapes and places take on, and this well developed approach will frame this exploration of the Taromak landscape. But many of these previous portrayals continue to adhere to nature-culture dichotomies by describing landscapes and places as merely symbolic texts inscribed by cultural groups. This research will incorporate and expand the above findings by using Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory to open up an inclusive discussion of the places and landscape of Taromak as active agents in nature-culture systems, thereby providing conceptual space for recognizing local understandings of the role that landscapes and places play in these collectives.

3. An Actor-Network Approach to Landscapes

Does it suffice to understand diverse views of the landscape as merely different texts and narratives of an objective environment? Or does this approach quickly fall into the trap of relativism? Bruno Latour identifies four different types of relativisms that attempt to understand our contemporary relativist dilemma. The first, absolute relativism, separates the diversity of cultural views into completely separate realms, thereby denying the hierarchies and connections that exist between these views. The second, cultural relativism, views cultures as “so many more or less accurate views on that unique Nature (Latour 1993:104)”, which rests on the “solid absolutism of the natural sciences (Latour 2005:117)”, thus adhering to rather than recognizing a hierarchy of cultural views of nature. The third, particular universalism, provides one society with the privileged ability to define “the general framework of Nature with respect to which others (societies) are situated (Latour 1993:105)”. This type of universalism presupposes the superiority of one society over others because that society is seen as having access to a universal Nature that influences all other societies. Latour develops his own, fourth form of relativism that he calls symmetrical anthropology. In this relativism he shows all collectives as being made up of natures and cultures, the differences between collectives occur in the act of mobilizing different parts of their collectives, and at different scales,

“All natures-cultures are similar in that they simultaneously construct humans, divinities and non-humans. None of them inhabits a world of signs and symbols arbitrarily imposed on an external Nature known to us alone. None of them – and especially not our own – lives in a world of things. All of them sort out what will bear signs and what will not. If there is one thing we all do, it is surely that we construct both our human collectives and the nonhumans that surround them. In constituting their collectives, some mobilize ancestors, lions, fixed stars, and the coagulated blood of sacrifice; in constructing ours, we mobilize genetics, zoology, cosmology and hematology (Latour 1993:106).”

In order to overcome the nature-culture dichotomy while attempting to understand other societies' views of their landscapes, it is important not to view Nature as an objective background to which other cultures only attach their own meanings and signs; in fact these meanings and signs found in places throughout landscapes are evidence of the mobilizations used to construct nature-culture collectives.

Landscapes can be viewed from a variety of lenses, the most common of which was briefly discussed above as a modernistic lens, which subscribes to the first and second dichotomies, thereby seeking to socialize culture and society, while naturalizing

nature²⁰. This approach emphasizes scientifically defined ecological or social structures as the determinants of social behaviors; it fails to recognize the locally unique interactions within, and conceptions of networks of agencies that construct these structures and behaviors. Although the post-moderns recognize that there are problems with modernistic ideology, they fail to bridge the nature-culture divide, and simply deconstruct reality into a series of narratives, discourses and texts (Ibid:59-62). As Latour describes, anthropological research has shown that the ‘premoderns’ often dwell on the connections between nature and culture and thereby recognize the social, cosmological or divine problems that could occur if either social or natural orders are modified²¹. The mistakes of modern and post-modern social scientists has been to view Nature and Society/Culture as separate objective influences on social behaviors, and to fail to recognize the interactions *between* and mobilizations of natural and social agents that maintain or disrupt nature-culture collectives.

Latour combines elements of so-called ‘pre-modern’, modern and postmodern traditions to develop what he calls the ‘non-modern’ approach. As discussed above nature-culture collectives and the local interactions that go on within them are made up of actors whose origins may lie in “other places, other times, and other agencies (Latour 2005:166)”. These collectives of human and non-human entities have been called ‘hybrids’, ‘quasi-objects’, and here ‘actor-networks’²². Nature-culture systems are made up of human and non-human actors that interact on levels that defy modern understandings of local-global, past-present, and nature-culture dichotomies. Latour points out with his Actor-Network Theory (ANT) that the concepts of society, culture,

²⁰ Latour explains that after using the superiority of science to separate nature from culture, and the moderns from the ‘premoderns’, modernist scientists socialize and naturalize collectives by mobilizing their sciences “to turn the humans into so many puppets manipulated by objective forces which only the natural or social scientists happen to know (Ibid:53).” Thus, modernists mobilize natural and social sciences to determine the rules of society, which in turn shape cultural characteristics that can only be explained through science.

²¹ “By saturating the mixes of divine, human and natural elements with concepts, the premoderns limit the practical expansion of these mixes. It is the impossibility of changing the social order without modifying the natural order – and vice versa – that has obliged the premoderns to exercise the greatest prudence. Every monster becomes visible and thinkable and explicitly poses serious problems for the social order, the cosmos, or divine laws (Latour 1993:42).”

²² As Latour puts they, “...are much more social, much more fabricated, much more collective than the ‘hard’ parts of nature, but they are in no way arbitrary receptacles of a full-fledged society. On the other hand they are much more real, nonhuman and objective than those shapeless screens on which society – for unknown reasons – needed to be projected (Latour 1993:55).”

power, social structures, etc. that have been used by social scientists to describe the nature of associations between groups or things are in fact the results rather than causes of these associations (Latour 2005:238) That is, society, or culture, is a weak result²³ of diverse locally interacting actors that are connected in networks, which span space, time, and form. Therefore the focus should be on the associations that form actor-networks, which in turn determine the nature of the societies and cultures that they envelope. Furthermore, the actors themselves, living the every-day realities of the actor-networks that they inhabit, best describe these associations.

In order to use an ANT approach to paint a picture of a landscape, actors must be allowed to define, order and explain themselves, how they act, and in what directions they are going. The human groups that make up the landscape should be expected to be neither stable nor homogenous (Latour 2005:27-42), and we should be open to the non-human entities that may actively participate in collective courses of action (Ibid:63-86). A focus should be on the ways that these actors are connected (Ibid:241), and how the scale of their connections may shift freely between local and global dimensions (Ibid:185). The active agencies that make up actor-networks provide clues as to how the network builds and maintains socio-cultural attributes. These clues come from the actors themselves and the ways that they describe and explain other actors and actions, as well as the controversies that arise out of these associations (Ibid:43-62). By paying attention to local descriptions and explanations of agencies and collective actions, society, culture, power, and institutions can be understood as consequences of associations rather than mystical causes (Latour 1986:276-277). This non-modern approach of viewing landscapes and places as the actor-network frameworks that constitute and are constituted by associated and sometimes conflicting active agencies, will show more clearly the role that they play in constructing socio-cultural attributes such as social structures, powers, and institutions²⁴.

²³ Latour compares traditional social theory and his non-modern approach to society as “In the traditional version of social theory, society is strong and nothing can destroy it since it is *sui generis*; in the other, it is so weak that it has to be built, repaired, fixed and, above all, *taken care of* (Latour 2005:203-204).”

²⁴ It should be pointed out here that the actor-network theoretical model is simply a tool for attempting to describe a collective where a variety human, divine, and non-human entities are being mobilized by a spectrum of agencies that range from local to global, and past to present. This actor-network model is

The landscape of Taromak, explored in this research is particularly suited for the application of this type of approach because its contemporary connection to a wide variety of international, national and local conservationist, economic and political agendas make it difficult to locate the community in a local-global spectrum. In addition the disparity between past and present social attributes of the Taromak community are difficult to understand without taking into account these relationships that intertwine the entire nature-culture collective. Thus, the landscape and place concepts discussed above frame the topic of this inquiry and connect it to previous anthropological research, while the ANT model provides a method of entering the collective, seeing its constituents, and watching it move. The end result is one 'landscape map' that outlines what the Taromak traditional territory is, how it acts, why it is important and where it is going. It attempts to break down the nature-culture dichotomy and relativist dilemmas that have provided limited views of landscapes and places in the past. The landscape described below is not just a local interpretation, a set of signs and symbols, or a text. It is not made up of a homogenous and stable human group driven by mysterious socio-cultural structures. Nor is it separate from global, national and local forces or historical events. It is a collective drama of the human, divine and non-human. It is actively gathering, constructing and being constructed by contending agencies and meanings. It is the territory of the Taromak Rukai tribe, and it is much more than that.

III. TAROMAK RUKAI

1. The Rukai

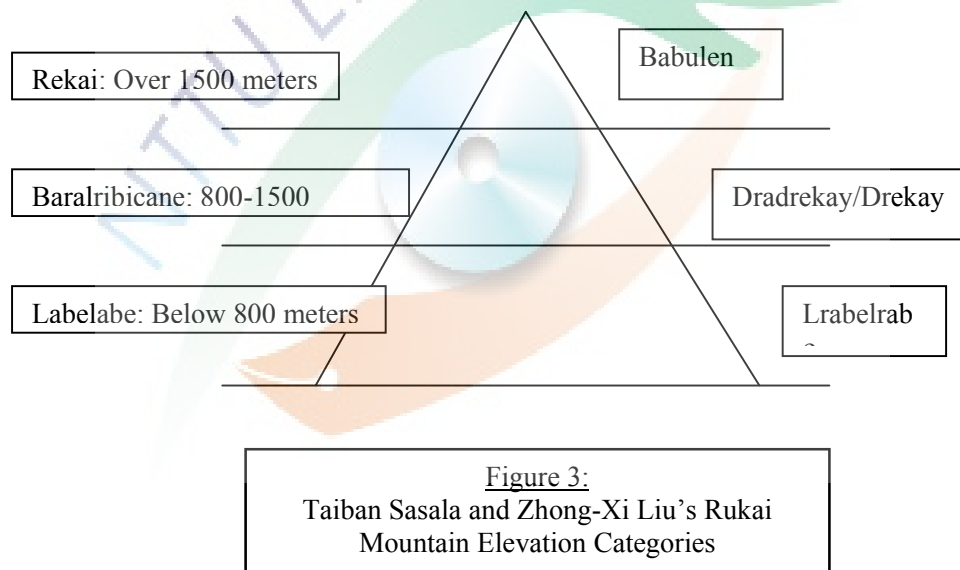
Within the south-central mountains of Taiwan, a group of around 11,600 people²⁵ make up what are now called the Rukai tribe. Originally the separate villages that make up the Rukai did not consider themselves as a united entity. It was not until the Japanese colonial period that the indigenous people of Taiwan were systematically categorized by the imperial states' anthropologists. In the early 1900's the Japanese initially categorized the indigenous peoples of southern Taiwan into three groups, which included the

similar to the rhizomatic models developed by Deleuze and Guattari in that it is "orientated toward an experimentation in contact with the real (Deleuze 1987:12)."

²⁵ Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan

http://www.apc.gov.tw/main/docDetail/detail_ethnic.jsp?cateID=A000198&linkParent=144&linkSelf=144&linkRoot=101.

Spayowan, the *Tsarisen*, and the *Pyuma*. These groups were eventually separated into the Paiwan, Rukai and Puyuma tribes, but the controversy over whether to combine the Rukai with the Paiwan tribe continued until 1935 when the Rukai were recognized as a separate group. The actual meaning of the word Rukai, Rekai or Dreikai is also controversial. Taiban Sasala (2006:28-30) describes the Rekai as locally meaning one of three mountain elevation categories (see figure 1.3 A) and points out that the Rekai call themselves the Ngudradrekai (people of the mountains) when speaking to people of the nearby Paiwan tribe. Zhong-Xi Liu (2008:4) also writes that in the Taromak Rukai community the term *dradrekay* or *drekay* is a spatial term for middle elevations in the mountains where the Taromak traditionally reside, while *Babulen* is the high elevations, and *Lrabelrabe* refers to the lowest elevations. The differences in these two elevation categorizations may reflect locally specific variations, but the main point is that the name used to describe the Rukai ethnic group is directly related to their landscape.



In Winnie Cheng's thesis on the local concepts of people, family and houses in Taromak, she provides several alternative interpretations of the meaning of Rukai, which include, 1) it may describe the eastern side of the nearby Mount DaWu, 2) it may come from nearby villages where Rukai means upper, upstream, or back, 3) or it may come from nearby Paiwan villages where Rukai means a flower wreath worn on the head (Cheng 2000:18). Thus, the term Rukai remains somewhat of a mystery based on a

colonial era anthropological obsession with categorization. And for this discussion of territory it is important to recognize that pre-colonial indigenous peoples did not necessarily recognize the Rukai category as a completely distinct cultural group.

Nonetheless, the Rukai remain culturally and linguistically distinct from nearby Paiwan, Bunong, Puyuma, and other tribes. The Rukai are particularly similar to the Paiwan tribe but can be separated because, among other differences, they have different forms of inheritance, different religious ceremonies and methods of burial, and the Rukai do not celebrate the Paiwan tribe's hallmark five year festival (Ibid:17). The Rukai have been further separated by most scholars into three distinct groups, known as 1) the eastern Rukai or Taromak²⁶; 2) the western Rukai located primarily in the Budai community; and 3) the lower three community located north of both western and eastern Rukai areas. Due to early migrations that separated the Rukai groups into stable territories, these three groups developed marked socio-cultural, and linguistic differences. The linguistic categories of Rukai can be split into five groups, which include Maga, Tona, Mantauran, Budai, and Tanan (Taromak), with the Budai and Taromak dialects being considered most related (Lin 1996). One of the main socio-cultural characteristics that sets the Taromak apart from the other Rukai groups is that according to Xie the Taromak do not have a social class of aristocrats separate from the nobles class²⁷, as the Budai group has. In addition the Taromak group has a men's house²⁸ (*Alakuwa*) and an age ranking system (Xie 1997:1), which the neighboring Amis and Puyuma tribes also have. It is important to note the distinctions and connections between these groups because they provide clues to the nature of the Taromak's territory, which will be discussed in chapter two to four.

²⁶ Also referred to using the Chinese name of their primary village Da-nan (大南) or Dong-xing (東興) village.

²⁷ There is a discrepancy here between Xie, Zheng, and Chiao on whether an aristocratic family group exists separate from the noble families in Taromak. Xie directly says that the Taromak have no separate aristocratic family (Xie 1997:1); Zheng points out that when a noble marries a commoner their descendants become aristocrats, called *alavuluwa* (Zheng 2000:23-24); while Chiao writes of a aristocratic family called *pualu* that is completely independent of, and hostile with the noble families (Chiao 1999:16-17).

²⁸ Locally known as the 'Alakua, researchers have theorized that this organization has been borrowed from the local Puyuma and Amis tribes, but some local Taromak believe that it was them who first established a men's house, and they look for ways to show their men's house as distinct from other nearby men's houses.

The social stratification system of the Rukai is one of their most recognized cultural attributes. The basic Rukai social organization can be separated into two systems, one based on bilateral blood relations, and the other based on landlord/noble and commoner clans. The Rukai tend to recognize their family relations bilaterally, that is recognizing both their mother's and father's side of the family. This attribute extends the connections between individuals along blood and marriage lines and creates a wide and flexible network of relations. Inheritance of wealth and land follows the eldest son, but can be passed on to the eldest daughter if necessary (Xie 1997:3-6). The most basic unit of the family is the house, which Winnie Cheng says is so important that it "...shows the source of people's life and the composition of their bodies, as well as being a mechanism for validating house member's identity (Cheng 2000:70)²⁹". Xie points out that the family house, the family name, and the individual members of the family are the three basic elements of the family organization (Xie 1997:3).

The traditional Rukai noble-commoner class system is based on certain landlords having precedence over others, thus giving them the right to claim particular areas within the tribe's territory. This precedence comes from oral histories that give evidence of prior land occupation. The eldest sons of the most presiding noble families inherit a chief status and have certain rights and obligations which will be discussed in more depth in chapter three of this thesis. The first and second collateral relatives of the chief families have noble status, while third collateral relatives become commoner class. This class system was economically supported by the giving of tribute from commoner to presiding chief families, in exchange for the use of land, and to help guarantee productive subsistence activities. The tribute given to chiefs (*sualro'o*) in the form of agricultural and hunting products was distributed among noble families, who in turn developed the arts, attended to spiritual obligations, and took care of destitute individuals and families (Xie 1997:6-10). This social structure was dynamic especially due to several mechanisms for social mobility that provided individuals with acquired symbolic and political power. One example of such social mobility is, after a man successfully hunts six boar, he would obtain hero status, a say in tribal affairs, and the right to wear the prestigious lily flower (Xu 1993:18). From the above research it is clear that the Rukai

²⁹ Author's Translation

social structure is based on the close bilateral relations that constitute family life, and the class system that assigns rights and obligations to different social groups. Although land and territory are often noted as being important parts of this system, their active role in the maintenance of Rukai social life has yet to be explored.

The traditional subsistence patterns of the Rukai tribe are similar to other indigenous peoples of Taiwan. They mainly practiced swidden cultivation, hunting, fishing, and gathering wild foods and materials. Chapters 2-4 will discuss how the methods and products of agricultural, hunting, fishing, and gathering activities, and colonial and post-colonial era changes have had major impacts on the nature and meaning of the Taromak's territory.

Particularly due to colonial and post-colonial changes, the life-ways and social structure of the Rukai tribe have undergone tremendous adaptations. From early Qing dynasty trading of mountain products with Han Chinese, to Japanese occupation era engagement in the national market economy, and to contemporary needs requiring employment in a range of forestry, international fishing, factory, construction and other wage labor industries, the Rukai's prior subsistence based lifestyles have changed dramatically (Chiao 2001:13-15). In addition to economic impacts, the political and policy effects of Japanese and Chinese KMT occupation of Taiwan transformed the class system³⁰, forced many Rukai men into military service during WWII, forced agricultural production of grains to support troops, replaced the local political community with a national government concept, individualized or nationalized land rights and management, established nationalized educational standards, as well as enacted many other policies that restricted or modified pre-colonial Rukai life-ways. Major changes also took place in the late 1950s and early 1960s when Christianity entered Rukai communities and reshaped traditional ancestor worship and polytheistic belief systems, further influencing the spiritual aspects of daily life, resource use, social power, etc (Xie 1997:10-14). These changes have and continue to directly influence the nature of Taromak's territory, and the role it plays in the community of Taromak.

³⁰ While chief positions were left in place to provide a window between the Japanese forces and the village, the tribute system of giving produce and respect to the chiefs was outlawed and the locally stationed Japanese police force were entitled to take the tribute intended for the chiefs (Xie 1997:10-14).

2. The Taromak

The Taromak Rukai community is located in Dong-Xing village, Bei-Nan Township, Taitung County in southeastern Taiwan, just south of the Tropic of Cancer. The mountains of mainly dense forest that make up the Taromak's traditional territory are on the eastern side of Taiwan's central mountain range, and face the open plains of the Taitung river basin that run down to the Pacific ocean. The climate is mainly tropical with an average temperature of 24 degrees Celsius (about 75 degrees Fahrenheit), and little change in temperature throughout the year. The weather patterns can be separated into a southwest monsoon season that lasts from May to September and provides the majority of the average 1900mm of rainfall per year; and a northeast monsoon period from October to March that brings cooler, dryer air³¹. The mountains of the Taromak territory have a relatively steep slope and are covered in networks of creeks and streams, which cascade to two main rivers in the area, the Da-Nan River and the Li-Jia River. The 28,000 hectares of the Taromak's traditional territory lie within this geographic and climatic context and will be discussed as a landscape.

Because the origins and history of the Taromak community are intimately intertwined with their landscape, this topic will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. According to oral history the origin place of all the Rukai lies near the high mountain lake called Bayu, within the Rukai's traditional territory. Oral history also describes a series of migrations, which eventually led them to a settlement called Kabaliwa located near the foothills of their mountainous territory, and faces Taitung river basin and the Pacific Ocean. The first historical records of the Taromak appear in Dutch accounts from the 1650's that describe an enemy tribe they called *Tarroma* living close to their present location and being made up of 30 houses (Cheng 2000:20). During the Japanese occupation (1926) the Taromak began to migrate out of Kabaliwa and down to the bottom of the foothills in a settlement called 'Irilra. Then in the early 1940s the Japanese moved them again to their present location in Dong-Yuan, which lies on the northeast banks of the primary river at an elevation of 125 meters. This settlement was originally called Da-Nan (大南村) in Mandarin Chinese which directly translates to *big south*, but in Mandarin sounds like *big difficulty*. After a series of floods and fires,

³¹ <http://www.beinan.gov.tw>

the worst of which being a major fire disaster in 1969 that burned 148 houses and left 49 people dead, the village was given a less somber Mandarin name, Dong-Xing (東興村), which directly translates to *Eastern Prosperity*, and is also a place name in mainland China (Shi 1999:93, Shi 2001:164-165, Cheng 2000:19-20). This historical past continues to shape the nature of the traditional territory and the Taromak community.

Taromak is currently composed of a mixture of traditional and contemporary organizations, as well as community members from diverse backgrounds, making it a very heterogeneous entity. The population of approximately 1,400 people and 500 households³², is made up of original Taromak people who migrated from Kabaliwa (50%), Rukai tribe people who have migrated from the Western Rukai villages (20%), mainland Chinese (primarily former officers working for the KMT military) who immigrated to Dong-Xing village after WWII (20%), mixed Paiwan and Rukai tribe people who are descendents of a group living in the 'Adayn area of Kabaliwa (10%), and a mixture of other minority groups from other nearby indigenous tribes such as Puyuma, Amis, Bunong, and Paiwan (6%) (Shi 2001:166). In Taromak the noble class system discussed above is made up of six noble families known as *Labalrius* (considered to be the head chief), *La'akaluko*, *Lainariki*, *Ladumaratas*, *Laburunga*, and *Lrathangirada*³³ (Cheng 2000:23). Originally these six noble families made claim to lands according to a locally unique form of land ownership that was based on the *sualro'o* tribute system. Another important traditional village organization that is not found among other Rukai communities is a men's house called *Alakuwa* (discussed in Chapter Three, Section III, topic 2). The traditional role of the Alakuwa was to provide protection from enemy attack, and service especially during agricultural or building activities in the community. Although the Alakuwa concept remains the same today, due to the contemporary education system, and employment needs, time for Alakuwa activities has been limited mainly to festival periods such as the harvest festival (*Kalralisiya*) held in late June and early July. These traditional social structures have also been transformed due to colonial

³² Taitung County, Bei-Nan Township, Household Registration Office, (<http://www.peina-house.gov.tw/page12-12.php>) Data as of December, 2009. This data may not be accurate due to a large amount of Dong-Xing village residents living in other cities for work.

³³ In the Taromak Rukai language *La* is a prefix for house/clan names thus the Inariki clan should be referred to as *Lainariki*.

Japanese and KMT pressures and policies, such as the reservation system, as well as influence from world religions, particularly the five Christian churches that are in the small village.

Since the 1950's major agricultural and economic policy changes have taken place that have introduced a series of cash crops which have impacted the nature of the landscape and it's relations to the outside world (Shi 2001:170). During the mid 1980's as Taiwan became an industrial power and the local agricultural economy provided less productive income sources, the emigration of young and middle aged people to find employment as wage laborers in cities has left Taromak with a majority of elderly and child residents. Since the mid 1990's the Taromak community has engaged in the active preservation of their traditions in the face of rapid change and cultural homogenization. These have come in the form of reconstructing the villages of their ancestors, Kabaliwa and 'Irilra; promoting local art, industries and ecotourism; beautifying Dong-Xing village with Rukai cultural symbols; and continuing to celebrate traditional festivals. Due to the heterogeneous nature and dynamic state of the Taromak community, there are many different views of how these developments should take place, and whether or not they are going in the right direction (Ibid:174-176; See also Qiu 1999). These issues and the above changes that have taken place have had an enormous influence on the Taromak landscape and the way that it influences and maintains local socio-cultural systems. The following chapters will discuss these changes, how the local Taromak perceive the future of their territory, and how it could be improved to greater contribute to their lives.

Although it has been noted that land and territory was traditionally very important to the Rukai tribe (Chiao 2001:17), little research has explored the dynamic meanings and roles that land and traditional territory play in the changing socio-cultural environment of the Rukai, or in particular, the Taromak. How did it maintain traditional socio-cultural structures? What role does it play now, and what role are locals and other groups shaping for its future? Former researchers have not answered these types of questions because they have tended to adhere to traditional anthropological approaches to culture and society as a mysterious entity separate from the surrounding environment. Studies, such as those discussed above, that focus *not* on the way that cultures impose meaning on nature, or the way that nature shapes culture, but rather on the inter-relationships between

nature and culture, have opened up new interpretations of nature-cultures as networks composed of landscapes, places, people, things, and spirits. Taromak is an excellent place to apply the combined approach discussed above that includes the ANT model as well as the anthropological concepts of Austronesian landscapes and places, because previous literature has shown that the ‘traditional’³⁴ Rukai tribe’s landscapes are rich with connections to the human community, and these landscapes and the relationships that intertwine them have gone through dramatic transformations in the past century. Thus the landscape and place concepts frame the territory of the Taromak, while the ANT model allows for a reinterpretation of its dynamic elements and interrelations. But above all, the local explanation of the Taromak landscape will be treated as paramount.

The above works, and several others, which represent one description of Rukai history and culture all provide valuable information that will be used throughout the thesis as evidence and clues towards understanding the nature of the landscape as an active entity. These works include: Ji-Chang Xie’s (1965) classic ethnography of the Taromak; Paul Jen-kuei Li’s (1975) collection of Taromak Rukai texts; Zhen-Ming Hui’s (1991) archeological report on the old Taromak village, Kabaliwa; Winnie Cheng’s (2000) Master’s thesis describing the Taromak view of people, home, and family relations; Tsung-Min Chaio’s (2001) collection of research on the history of the Rukai tribe; Taitung County Government Cultural Bureau’s (2001) collection of Taitung county’s Rukai history; Zhe-Yi Tian’s (2003) collection of Rukai myths and stories; Jia-Zhang Wei’s (2004) Master’s thesis on the changes in community power structures in Taromak and a nearby Puyuma tribe village; Taiwan Academia Sinica Institute of Ethnology’s (2004) collection of Japanese era reports on Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ (Paiwan) customs; Sasala Taiban’s (2006) PhD thesis on the hunting culture of the Kaochapogan Western Rukai group, as well as other works of his; Ming-Hui Wang’s (2006) collection of traditional Rukai customs, especially related to land and property rights; Zhong-Xi Liu’s (2008) work on sustainable plant use and ecotourism development in Taromak village, as well as the work of his students Xiao-Guang Zhuang (2001) and Pei-Shan Cai (2008); Mei-Hua Yang’s (2008) Masters thesis on the indigenous view of the

³⁴ Throughout this research the term ‘traditional’ is used sparingly to refer not to a static or appropriate cultural form, but rather the cultural state of the Taromak Rukai before the arrival of the Japanese in the late 19th century, and their forced migration out of the mountains.

contemporary political state of their traditional territories; and several other papers and reports that pertain to the topic of Taromak's traditional territory and landscape.

Information used from the above sources will not be treated as absolute, but rather as several interpretations, and they will supplement data collected during my fieldwork in Taromak, which is described below.

IV FIELD WORK AND LIMITS

In addition to this previous literature on the Rukai and especially the Taromak, the main source of data for this thesis comes from my personal exploration of the Taromak's landscape. The main fieldwork for this research was conducted from March of 2009 to March of 2010. Before that time period informal fieldwork was also conducted especially in the form of participant observation and informal interviews while attending village ceremonies, meetings and other activities. In addition to doing thesis-orientated fieldwork, I also taught a free short-term English class to elementary and junior high school students at the village community center, and with my research partner Galiguy La'inalalriki, facilitated a participatory video workshop with several elementary school children from the village. The participatory video workshop gave the participants an opportunity to introduce various places within their village, which they did quite well considering time and money constraints. Although the participatory video project did not end up being a direct part of the written results of this thesis it did provide a window into understanding how the children of Taromak see their landscape, and it opened up other doors into building greater rapport in the community.

Aside from the informal interviews conducted from 2009 to 2010, since 2007 I have spent several days a week in Dong-Xing village at my fiancé's house or with other Taromak friends chatting, working, or participating in general daily life activities. In addition I attended several village meetings; assisted my professor in collecting data for a community map³⁵; assisted several Taromak people in reconstructing their old village, Kabaliwa; attended village ecotourism activities arranged for Taitung University students, and other tourists; attended several village festivals including the harvest festival (*Kalralisiya*, twice) and the millet weeding festival (*Maisahoro*); accompanied village

³⁵ The data collected during this community-mapping project has been used in this thesis.

leaders on a post typhoon Morakot meeting with nearby destroyed village leaders; etc.. By engaging in participant observation activities I was able to gain rapport with my informants, understand the underlying life-ways of contemporary Taromak people, and get a first-hand account of how the landscape is intertwined with the everyday life of the Taromak Rukai. What I learned during these participant observation activities became the foundation of my research and interview questions.

From March 2009 to March 2010 I conducted a series of formal interviews with informants chosen for their respect in the community, for their expert knowledge, or for their active engagement in village affairs. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese by myself and with the help of my partner for this project *Galigai Raroradeng* of the *Lainariki* noble clan. Throughout the course of my fieldwork the Rukai language was used occasionally to describe locally specific concepts, but most of my communication with locals has been through our *lingua franca*, Mandarin Chinese. The formal interviews were all recorded and I transcribed most before the analysis stage of this project. The basic discussion starting points of my research questions are included in Appendix 4. Although not all of these questions were answered in my research, these questions opened up discussions with locals, which provided the data for this thesis. All of my informants have been assigned codes that maintain a local flavor, while at the same time showing the relativity of my research partner and my position in their society (see appendix 3). Throughout this thesis the term Momo refers to an elder male relative, Nama a late middle-aged to elder tribesman, Naina a late middle-aged to elder tribeswoman, and Takalri to a middle-aged tribeswoman or man.

As mentioned above, these informants were chosen for their respect in the community as cultural knowledge holders, or for their active community involvement. These informants provided an enormous amount of local knowledge, but as pointed out by one informant, by mainly interviewing what he called the ‘famous informants’³⁶ in the village, this thesis represents only part of the diverse opinions of the entire community, and thus is one of many research limits. Future studies in landscape among the Rukai tribe could particularly attend to the different perspectives on land and land use among

³⁶ Takalri A pointed out that the community’s ‘famous informant’ phenomenon is a result of many knowledgeable local’s not having a talkative or outgoing personality, thus their stories and viewpoints often go unheard.

different social classes. In addition, these class-based perspectives would be especially interesting to be discussed in light of changing identities and relations to the landscape during different periods.

Many factors limited this research project and should be pointed out before moving on. One obvious factor is that the language used throughout the majority of this research was Mandarin Chinese and not Taromak Rukai. On one hand, this limited direct access to the rich locally unique cultural concepts that are imbedded in the Taromak Rukai language. On the other hand, my adequate knowledge of Mandarin Chinese provided an appropriate *lingua franca* to discuss contemporary issues, especially considering that many Taromak under the age of 40 do not use the Rukai language to communicate on a daily basis. With the help of my partner *Galigai*, a local Taromak whose primary language of communication is Mandarin Chinese, and whose ability in the Rukai language is fair, most communication problems that we encountered were solvable. Another limit of this research was of course time and financial resources. While trying to arrange formal interviews I often came across scheduling problems due to informants busy work schedules and the many activities that villagers often attend, such as church, weddings, etc. Although the Taiwanese Education Bureau generously supported this project, a much larger budget would be necessary to study the entire Taromak landscape in full. With more time and money, this Masters thesis project could be extended into a PhD project that could possibly collect the range of relations imbedded in the Taromak landscape, and use GIS technologies to make this data accessible to younger generations, or for local management purposes.

The following chapters are a culmination of the data that I have collected during my fieldwork, and the above previous literature on the Taromak and the Rukai in general serve as supplements to this data. By viewing the Taromak landscape as a network of non-human and human actors, this experiment in contact with the real is an attempt at creating an interesting description of the Taromak's territory. It is a performance in the sense of Bruno Latour's 'good account', which he states "...will *perform* the social in the precise sense that some of the participants in the action – through the controversial agency of the author – will be assembled in such a way that they can be *collected* together (Latour 2005:138)." By viewing this project as performance, and not an

ultimate ethnography of reality, the reader can get a better sense of the unavoidable reflexivity involved, but by focusing on this collection of actors, and their description of their realities, this thesis can be considered an assemblage of the diverse and dynamic Taromak landscape.



CHAPTER TWO

Assembling the Landscape

I. TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE

The following sections in this chapter will discuss some of the main elements that make up the traditional territory³⁷ and landscape³⁸ of the Taromak tribe. It will be shown that many of the cultural traditions and social structures that are paramount to the Taromak are based on connections to their land.

To begin, the origins of the Taromak will be discussed along with how origin stories lay a foundation of precedence, as found in other Austronesian societies (Fox 1995b:219). A rich history of pre-colonial migrations marked throughout the landscape with old villages, lay out the range of the Taromak territory in time and space, while colonial migrations are evidence of the difficulties of colonial and post-colonial changes. The boundaries that surround traditional territory are known to exist statically, and are often thought of in connection with relations with neighboring tribes and villages that these border framed. Thus trans-tribal relationships are also key parts of the landscape's border regions.

Local categorization of the landscape (Sasala 2006:28-30; Liu 2008:4, Appendix I) is done in a variety of ways according to geography, topography, and land use. This research particularly focuses on categories of the landscape that lie beyond the village (*Cekelre*). Other research, such as Winnie Cheng's (2000) discussion of the family and house, and Ji-chang Xie's (1965) ethnology of Taromak, has provided valuable insights

³⁷ Throughout this thesis the term traditional territory refers mainly to the geographical area of indigenous people's traditionally occupied or claimed lands, which has grown out of the contemporary indigenous rights movement for recognition by national government agencies. Takalri A describes what the term traditional territory means in Taromak today, "Traditional territory, these words, as soon as everyone hears them, they understand, but how many people know it's range or its meaning, I think the younger the villager the less clear they are. I think this concept of traditional territory has only come into the village recently. But in the past, the elders did not call it 'traditional territory', they called it 'hunting territory (*dawalolowa*)'. Every clan and even individual, even chief clans all had a *dawalolowa* area...this is the previous concept of traditional territory. But the traditional territory that has been demarcated is based on when the elders went hunting, even places that people had lived before, and stories, anyway all the activities. So in the north, south, east and west there are place names, and the territory has been drawn up."

³⁸ Landscape on the other hand refers to the "cross-cutting ties of relationships that emerge from or exist in a place (Stewart and Strathern 2003:8)". These relationships are discussed below as past and present connections between an array of human, non-human, and divine entities, thus it is a broad enough conceptual frame to include contemporary and traditional ideas about and relations with a geographic area.

into the layout and structure of the village in Taromak. According to these sources the landscape of Taromak can be categorized as village land, which is surrounded by agricultural land, then by hunting territories and sacred areas, and finally by borders with other villages.

But local categorization of the landscape is often not referred to along lines of land use, instead it is based on a complex system of place names. All land in the territory has a traditional place name, which just as Basso (1996) finds among the Apache, carry cultural meanings and knowledge that influence the identity and actions of the Taromak community. While place names carry key cultural information, their active role in Taromak society cannot be understood without also comprehending some spiritual aspects of the landscape that still exists in a form influenced by world religions today.

As Barbara Bender (1993c) discusses, landscapes are often places of contestation, and this aspect of struggle over the territory is embodied as the local Taromak portray their relations with the imperial Japanese who occupied their land, and the Kuomintang (KMT) Nationalist Chinese government that took the Imperialist's place.

By introducing some key components of the Taromak landscape: origins, migrations, borders, relations, categories, places, spirituality, and conflict; a conceptual map of their territory will be assembled in this chapter. Although many of the cultural traits are similar to those described in the literature discussed above, this thesis provides local descriptions of the entities and relationships that compose the cultural landscape and create its characteristics.

1. Origins and Precedence

The origins of the Taromak demonstrate their deep ancestral connection to the landscape, and based on the principle of precedence, form social structures in the traditional community. In oral history, the origins of the landscape begin with the origins of the ancestors of Taromak (*marodrawdrang*), who through their actions and teachings have created its form. Although there are many versions of the origin story, most emphasize the geographical place of origin, which lies within the traditional territory, and the Rukai as the preceding human group to inhabit the surface of the land.

The origins of the Taromak, and other nearby peoples are most often explained as coming from common natural objects. The story that I collected in my fieldwork was that the first of the Taromak was a man of the Lrabalriyoso clan, who was born from a stone in the high mountain lakes at a place called Kariyalra near the territorial border with the Western Rukai. While walking through the forest he set eyes on a dazzling lily flower, which turned into a beautiful princess, and became his wife (Nama D). These stories of origin quickly become stories of the migrations and difficulties that the Taromak faced while establishing their community in the unstable conditions of the ancient world³⁹. Many different stories have been collected pertaining to the origins of the Rukai (See Tian 2003:27-50), some of which describe the Rukai as being born from the sun, soil, moon, ceramic pots, and smoke, and all of which point to a specific location within the territory where their original creation took place.

In Chiao's (2001:45-47) collection of Rukai history, she describes one detailed account of the origins of the Taromak, which establishes their precedence in the area. In it she describes the first Taromak as a boy named *Homariri* born from stone at a place called "*Kalila*", north of *Taidrengelr* Lake and south of *Daloarina* Lake. Soon after, a girl named *Sumurimu* was born from the earth and after they married and had children, these first ancestors of the Taromak moved to Mount *KinDoor*, which towers over their current settlement, to avoid a great flood. The Taromak's first encounter with other groups in the area takes place after the great flood receded and two eighth generation brothers, *Karimadao* and *Vasakara* left the *KinDoor* settlement in search of new lands. After passing through several uninhabited areas they arrived at *Ana'anaya* (Zhi-Ben, 知本), and stopped for a rest, where *Vasakara* moved a stone to make a seat for *Kalimadao*, who planted his walking stick in the ground. After passing through an empty Bunong tribe village, and the uninhabited coastal plains, they arrived back at *Ana'anaya* where a girl named *Rihimi* had been born from the stone that *Vasakara* had moved, and a boy *Arakaroma* had been born from the bamboo walking stick planted in the ground. These siblings were the first ancestors of the Puyuma tribe who established settlements abutting the east and southeastern borders of the Taromak territory. According to this Taromak

³⁹ These migration stories will be discussed in Chapter Two, section I, topic 2.

account, these first Puyuma were also the creators of the Amis tribe (*Mo'ami'ami*) who were born from the Puyuma's cooking pot.

The first-born Taromak male, Homariri, and his establishment of the Lrabalriyoso clan, sets up not only presiding rule of the Lrabalriyoso, but also the foundations of the social structure. This social structure is based on a continuous inherited line of chief status that stays within a particular house, and follows the first male descendent who inherits that house. This chiefly status, called *Talriyalralray*, gives the first male respect, rights and responsibilities in the community and especially within his clan. Although the chief of the clan is commonly the eldest male descendent of the last chief, exceptions can occur⁴⁰. All relatives of the *Talriyalralray* are considered *Ladee'alalai*, or noble clans. These clans can trace their origins to the *Talriyalralray* line, and therefore have special rights and responsibilities. Taromak has six noble clans, each with their own chief or head, but all are branches originate from the Lrabalriyoso. They are the *Lrabalriyoso* (the original family), *La'inaliki*, *Lradomalalrase*, *Lravelenga*, *Lra'akarako*, and *Lrathangirada* clans (Nama I, Cheng 2000:23). All other families are considered commoner class (*Lakaokaolro*) who have limited leadership responsibilities, but opportunities for social mobility and social class promotion (Nama C, Takalri A). Thus the social structure and social power system in the traditional Taromak community is based on the birth of Homariri from stone, and his descending line of power, which is carried through the Lrabalriyoso clan chief. Homariri's direct male descendents' precedence is recognized by all other villagers as the source of legitimization of their role as lord of the territory. This social power and the rights and responsibilities⁴¹ it entails can be traced back to a particular creation place in the landscape, which is what traditionally made the chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan the highest ruling power in the community.

The origins of clans, and their identity are not only encapsulated in their family names, but are also related to the territorial areas used by clan groups. As Xie (1965:68) explains that by telling ones family name and the place name of their house, an

⁴⁰ If there are no male descendents than a woman can take to the role, if the chief has no children, than an adopted child can take the chief's role, and if the eldest son does not want to take the responsibility, than a younger brother can take the role and inherit the Chief house.

⁴¹ These rights and responsibilities will be discussed in chapter III.

individual's identity, clan history, and social role would be clear. In my fieldwork people would often refer to their clan names as they would of a place. For example "A: Where are you from? B: I am from Raroradeng (a sub-clan of the Lainariki noble clan)". Thus clan names and territorial units are intertwined as a sign of identity filled with social information and based on a relationship to the original family.

Precedence is not only a common trait within the structures of clans in Taromak, but cross-tribe relations continue to be considered in light of the Taromak's precedence. As the chief (Nama I) pointed out to me,

"Actually our culture is older. Why do you think the Paiwan people came here for our cultural revival activities⁴²? All of their chiefs came here, actually they were originally Rukai, but they have become confused. If the Paiwan have these activities I will not go. They come here to find their roots."

Several traditional style pots in the Chief's house given to him by the Chiefs of the Paiwan tribe are evidence to the respects that he gets for maintaining the original family. But because the groups of Paiwan and Western Rukai have spread from their original source, according to Nama I, many of them do not know that their roots lie in the Lrabalriyoso clan of the Taromak. Their precedence, founded on the landscape, establishes the Taromak's traditional rights to their territory and their relations with nearby tribes.

This small excerpt from the origins, and migrations of the Taromak firmly establish and unite their creation place within their territory, their social structure and their inter-tribal relations based on precedence in the landscape. The Lrabalriyoso clan and the Taromak tribe are considered to be particularly powerful groups because of their direct link to the ancestral founders of the landscape. The socio-cultural characteristics of described here are thus a result of the relationships with the landscape.

2. Migrations

The Taromak do not only describe their community's identity with genealogical explanations, but also with a story of their journey through the landscape, which Fox (1997) calls a topostory. This tells of previous settlements, and actions that occurred in their tribal history. It also gives a clear account of the groups continued occupation of

⁴² The term, 'cultural revival' is referred to locally as 'Xun-Gen (尋根)' directly translated from Chinese as 'to search for the root'.

their traditional territory, which again establishes their precedence in the area, and their particular relationships with the landscape.

In the high mountains of Kariyalra, after the marriage of Homariri and Sumurimu, the Rukai have been genealogically estimated (Chiao 2001:48) to have continuously inhabited that first settlement for four hundred and forty years, when there was a great flood. As the flood water rose to cover the mountain peaks below, a brother named *Adarin*, his sister *Matoktok* and many other animals escaped to the high peak of Mount KinDoor⁴³, where the brother and sister encountered a range of difficulties. At Mount KinDoor *Adarin* and *Matoktok* were without fire, but saw smoke on a neighboring peak, so they arranged for the excellent swimming *Akece* (Reeve's Muntjac) and the sambar to retrieve it on a stick. But both attempts failed. Finally the brother and sister discovered how to make fire by rubbing certain types of wood together. They realized that if they did not procreate their kind would die out, so after many unsuccessful attempts, they had a healthy but blind daughter, *Gayagad*. One day the Sun dropped a betel nut out of the sky for *Matoktok* to chew, after which she gave birth to a son, *Sumararai*, who the Sun showered with gifts. When *Sumararai* grew up, his mother told him that he was a child of the Sun and had special powers that could solve the flood problem. So *Sumararai* used his magic to make the floodwaters recede to become what is now the Pacific Ocean. Soon after he married his half sister *Gayagad*, and they became the grandparents of *Vasakara* and *Rihimi* discussed above (Nama I; Chiao 2001:46).

After the floodwaters had receded, and the landscape that appeared had been explored, a suitable location for a new settlement was discovered and established as the first complete Taromak village⁴⁴. Their new settlement was in a place called *Taibelreng*⁴⁵, which translates to 'above' and is also a place name in the high mountain lakes near the creation place of the Taromak. *Taibelreng* is located at an elevation (800m – 900m) below Mt. KinDoor and above *Kabaliwa*, the primary settlement of the

⁴³ This is estimated to have occurred in 1593, although how this estimate has been established by previous research is not clear (See: Cheng 2001:20; Tseng 1991:10).

⁴⁴ It has been theorized that it was not until the Rukai left Mt. KinDoor, that the Western Rukai headed west, leaving behind the eastern side of Taiwan's central mountain range and the Taromak's traditional territory (Shi 2001:164).

⁴⁵ Tseng (1991:4) and Xie (1965:8) call this place *Kacikela* or *Katzikela*, but during my fieldwork, *Kazekela* refers to the center of a settlement or the true settlement. *Taibelreng* refers to the place name of that particular settlement.

Taromak at the time of colonization (Nama C; Nama E). The settlement at Taibelreng could be separated into the main Taromak Rukai section, *Tsikel*; the section for immigrant Western Rukai relatives of the Taromak noble clans, *Onasi*; and a section for immigrant Paiwan tribe relatives of the Taromak nobles (Xie 1965:8). The two immigrant communities arrived in Taromak to escape poverty in their areas, and were accepted into Taromak in order to increase the population for defense against enemy villages.

Due to a severe smallpox (*kulakulu*) and cholera (*vikato*) outbreak, possibly originating from encounters with Dutch explorers⁴⁶, the Taromak moved away from Taibelreng deeper into the southern lower mountains to a place called *Madorodoro*, where they lived temporarily. The group then moved to one of the Taromak's primary settlements called *Tamawlolroca*, which is a small plateau about one day's walk from the mountain lakes (*Taidrengelr*). This was an excellent place for living due to its topography, and according to some hunters that still pass through the area one can still find the remnants of many ancient stone slate houses there (Nama C). Although *Tamawlolroca* was a good location for the traditional life-ways of the Taromak, their isolation from their original village, other hunting territories near Mt. KinDoor, and trade with the eastern plains drew them to their most recent pre-colonial settlement at *Kabaliwa*⁴⁷ (Nama C; Nama E)⁴⁸.

Besides the migration to escape the smallpox and cholera outbreak, most migrations were explained by locals to be related to population expansion and the need for new fertile land to practice traditional swidden agriculture. As described by Nama C,

“About 800 years ago we lived together with the Western Rukai, at that time we practiced swidden agriculture, so one would take their clan to a piece of land and prepare it for cultivation. After a while the population increased and after

⁴⁶ It is unclear when this occurred, the oral history tells of an event long ago, when two women named *Dane'ana* and *Galayguy* (both common names today), went to the river to collect water and saw two strangers coming up the river with red hair and blowing smoke out of their mouths (Dutch explorer/colonists). The two women then ran back to the village where the villagers were building a house and told them what they saw. Then, two young men, named *Libali* and *Adongnade* killed two of the strangers, and left one tongue-less, at a place then named *Gonggong*. After this event that place became known as “*Yirulanaga*”, which means “the body covered with blood”. The outsider's heads were then brought back to the village, which may have caused the smallpox and cholera outbreaks (Jin: 1995; personal research).

⁴⁷ This migration is estimated to have occurred in 1713 (Tseng 1991:10).

⁴⁸ The old settlement at *Kabaliwa* is discussed in detail in Chapter Two, section III, topic 2.

hundreds of years the clans spread and separated into the different groups that exist today.”
Nama C goes on to describe that the different cultural characteristics of each Rukai tribe community are based on their proximity to different cultural groups.

“So look at their life customs, the Western Rukai moved closer to the Paiwan tribe, so they all can speak Paiwan language. Sometimes they will speak Rukai, but when they are mixed with the Paiwan, they mainly speak Paiwan language, so the Rukai language slowly declines. Now, the Rukai who moved north moved closer to the Bunong tribe so they speak Bunong, and they now have a Bunong accent. So for example the people from Maolin, when I speak Rukai to them they might understand two out of my ten sentences, sometimes they don’t understand at all. Or like the Western Rukai, if they speak ten sentences I might understand six. Some have just become like the Paiwan.”
Nama C describes the causes of the current cultural characteristics of the Rukai as being directly related to the landscape. Because of the Rukai’s agricultural relationship with the land, gradual migrations by clan groups throughout the landscape created the current distribution of the Rukai tribe. These migrations were also marked by cultural contacts, which changed the linguistic and cultural characteristics of Rukai groups.

After living in Kabaliwa for hundreds of years and reaching the peak of their power (Tseng 1991:5), the Taromak were infiltrated by the Japanese colonial army who set up a police station in Kabaliwa sometime around 1914, and after about 12 years began to push them into the plains and foothills (*Iridukua*) at the lower edge of their traditional territory. The inhabitants of Kabaliwa slowly moved down to the new main settlement, ‘*Irilra*, and last to move out of the mountains were the *Su’Adayn* group who moved to a settlement deeper in the foothills at *Doo*, near a Japanese built hydroelectric plant. After less than twenty years, in the 1930’s, the Japanese began to push the Taromak further into the open riverbed to an area called ‘*Olravinga* for easier control. But as World War II ensued and the Japanese army became preoccupied, the pressure to move subsided and the Taromak were split between ‘*Olravinga* and ‘*Irilra*. The first to move to ‘*Olravinga* were the *Su’Adayn*, but eventually most moved after the KMT take over for convenience (Xie 1965:9-10). In 1945 a powerful typhoon destroyed over 20 houses on the north banks of *Kadrakerala* River, after which the survivors moved down stream to a place on the south bank called *Sasu’aza*. The wide riverbed continued to be an unstable area, especially after a 1965 typhoon in which about 50 houses⁴⁹ were destroyed, and another typhoon in 1968 destroyed over 40 houses. The largest and most memorable

⁴⁹ This estimate does not include the houses near Da-Nan Bridge and in *Sasu’aza*. A total of 400 houses were destroyed including the entire Da-Nan area.

disaster in Da-Nan Village took place during a typhoon on August 27th 1969, when a fire broke out in the foothills and spread throughout the village due to the strong, dry southerly typhoon winds. By mid-night of the 27th around 40 people had died and 160 houses⁵⁰ had burned (Cheng 2000:23-26). This event is often cited as having the most devastating effects on Taromak's material culture, especially due to the loss of most of the tribe's valuable cultural relics⁵¹. After another typhoon flooded houses in 1973, many houses moved to an area, called *Kanalibuku*⁵², which is further away from the river to the north of 'Olavinga along the foothills. In addition several families moved from 'Irilra to Sasuaya, due to destruction of the 1973 flood.

The migrations of the colonial period have obviously been extremely difficult for the people of Taromak. As described by Nama I,

“We moved here ('Olavinga) in the 1930's. When we first got here of course it was a very difficult environment. My mother and father had to prepare the land for cultivation. They had to face a lot of difficulty because life here in the plains was very different. We are a mountain people, so we were used to a life of hunting and taking care of the traditional territory. And then we moved here to the plains.”

But the Taromak have a variety of views of the colonial period migrations. Nama D describes the colonial period migrations as not being accepted by his ancestors, but eventually being beneficial.

“After the 1945 war⁵³ and Taiwan gradually became nationalist, our grandparents slowly moved here and began to learn how to grow vegetables and rice. That's when our aboriginal life improved. Our grandparents were still not willing to move down here, but they had no choice because at that time one could not continue living in the mountains. In order to have water for growing rice (wet-cultivation), and growing vegetables one had to move here, and it was better. So our life improved. People who did not move down would see how other's who had moved had improved their lives, so they to slowly moved down.”

Nama E also provides his opinion of the colonial migrations,

“The Japanese were in Kabaliwa for 12 years, after that they moved us down, for 12 years they got along with us. Then they brought wine up to the people in Kabaliwa and

⁵⁰ At that time many houses were constructed with materials available in the foothills such as bamboo and grasses, as opposed to the traditional stone slate, and obviously more fire-retardant houses.

⁵¹ After these disasters, in 1970 the Chinese name of the village was changed from Da-Nan (大南) meaning 'big-south' but also sounding similar to 'big-difficulty', to Dong-Xing (東興) meaning 'eastern-prosperity'.

⁵² Kanalibuku is also known locally by its Chinese name Yong-Pu (永普) named after a Chinese man who lived in the area.

⁵³ After 1945 the Japanese lost WWII and were forced to hand over Taiwan to the National Chinese Military who were escaping from Mao's communist China, this is locally known as Guang-Fu (光復) which means the reclamation of Taiwan from Japanese rule.

said ‘do you want to buy some wine? Please go down to the grocery store in *Likabong*⁵⁴.’ So the villagers began to go buy rice during the day, and started trying to eat rice. They bought canned goods and wine at Likabong then brought them back to the village. They would exchange game and mountain goods with the Puyuma and Amis people for money, and then buy wine and other things.

This *Lridukua* (plain/river delta area) land used to be the Puyuma tribe’s, but the Japanese forced us to move our village here, and told the Likabong to move to Li-Jia in order to give the Rukai a place to live. Before this was all their territory, but they did not live here. Then the Japanese made the Rukai move to ‘Irilra and taught us how to grow and eat wet-cultivated rice. Before we just ate taro, sweet potato and millet, then the Japanese taught us to cultivate the land here, to dig out the stones and make grain fields. Originally this was not paddy land, it was a riverbed and was covered in large stones. At that time there was a lot of conflict with the people of Likabong”

Although these three interpretations of colonial era migrations represent different aspects and attitudes of the colonial migration period, the key is not their contradictions, but rather the importance that all these informants place on the movements the landscape and the socio-cultural changes that ensued.

The migrations discussed in this section can be thought of as topostories that engage the landscape not only as a geographically inscribed story, but also as an active element in the social formation of the tribe. Some of the themes of this active topostory describe the Taromak’s relations with the animals of their environment, the acquisition of knowledge, and problems of isolation and incest. It explains the formation of the social units of the community, their origins, and their geographical distribution. It gives evidence for the continued and preceding occupation of the territory. It explains migrations as a result of the agricultural relationship with land and the current cultural characteristics that resulted from that relationship. In addition, colonial pressured migrations emphasize socio-cultural changes and conflicts that developed as a result of the group’s migration from their original place in the landscape to the Lridukua.

3. Boundaries

The boundaries (*Tamalrokaya*) that surround the traditional territory and distinguish its parts are important parts of the Taromak landscape because they create and define social identities and relations. The landscape can be separated into two types of boundaries, 1) interior borders that separated clan and family land, and 2) exterior

⁵⁴ The Puyuma tribe village (Li-Jia, 利嘉村) to the north of Da-Nan village. The riverbed area below the Taromak’s traditional territory was originally occupied by the Puyuma.

boundaries, that separate Taromak territory (*daedae*) from other tribe's/village's territory. While the interior borders traditionally changed with the spread of clans, the exterior borders are said to have been fixed since the Taromak expanded their territory and established it as either cultivation or hunting grounds. Although government land categorizations have changed the nature of the Taromak-daedae relationship, these external borders remain fixed in the mountains and rivers, and in the minds of many elder Taromak who still remember them as representing the diligence of their tribe.

As clans spread out from their original house and cultivated nearby lands, the first to prepare that land (*Madrolroko*) for swidden cultivation would make stonewall Tamalrokaya around the used land, which would demonstrate their land use rights. Once a piece of land had a Tamalrokaya, other clans could not use that piece of land, and the rights of a particular family or sub-clan's land would be defined, as Momo A describes,

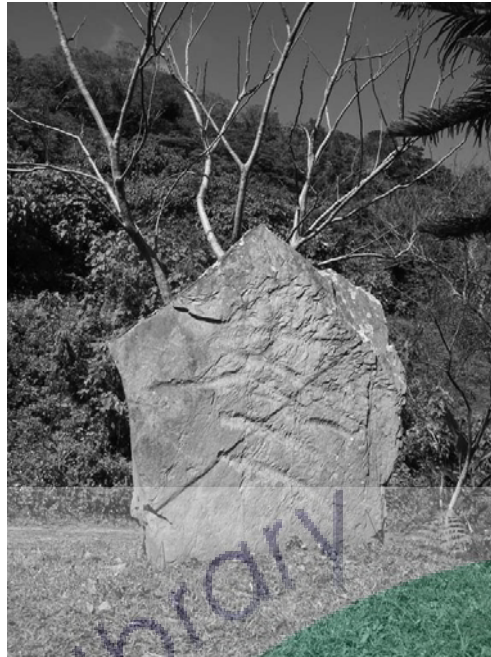
“This is our La'inaliki clan's land. We can all use it, but if one family creates a boundary in our area to use as cultivation, then it is theirs. As the clans gradually spread out, one family member could say that their grandfather was the first to open the land, so he could claim it.”

The establishment of a Tamalrokaya would authenticate a clan, or families' rights to cultivate a piece of land, and the more land that a clan or family had gave them more respect in the community, and more social power in the tribe.

Another form of Tamalrokaya are the large upright stones that mark particular neighborhoods (*sa'agiyagisi*) or other sites, called *Bacing*. These stones still can be found within the traditional territory marking the Taromak's ancestral landscape (See figure 2.1.3).

The Tamalrokaya and Bacing, are non-human entities that played an important role in the establishment of clan and family territorial rights, were a testament to their success as a social group in the community, and continue to mark the productive activities of their ancestors.

Figure 4
Large Bacing at entrance
to central Kabaliwa
(Photo: Caleb Portnoy)



Another type of Tamalrokaya are exterior boundaries, which follow rivers or mountain borders, and may also have been marked with arranged stones. These boundaries are often described as fixed and changeless (Nama B, D, C, A, etc.) but are not necessarily known by younger villagers, especially due to their remoteness. The Taromak's daedae was primarily made up of cultivation and hunting areas, with the hunting areas being further from the central village, thus making up the general land category near the territorial boundaries. These hunting territories could be easily distinguished by hunters who could make out hunting traps. If other groups from other villagers would come into the Taromak's territory to place their traps, then fighting would ensue. If the Taromak simply found other groups traps on hunting territory then they would throw them out (Nama B, Nama F). As Nama F puts it "If you cross into our traditional territory and take some mountain products, then we have the right to stop you, it's just like that." Boundaries were also an instrument for demonstrating the strength and power of the Taromak in relation to other tribes.

"Before they (the Likabong) could not come here to our mountains, at that time we Taromak were very bad, we could go to their place and hunt...so there would be fighting, and killing, and we would save their heads. It was only we Taromak that killed them, they would not dare kill us. So we Taromak were very bad. If they killed one of us, we all would go there. In the Japanese era this happened once (Takalri A)."

The boundaries were often places of conflict with other tribes, and the impressive extent (approximately 28,000 hectares (Nama I)) of the Taromak's daedae relative to their small population, continues to be a testament of their ability to protect these boundaries⁵⁵. But with conflict must come resolution, thus the borders of the Taromak's daedae were also places for harmonizing with nearby groups by sharing land, mountain goods, and forming marriage bonds.

Although the borders of the Taromak's daedae is said to have been fixed over time, the nature of these borders have changed due to transformations in the socio-cultural structure of the community, and it's relations with neighboring groups. Many major changes arose from the KMT government's occupation of the Taromak's daedae and the establishment of new categories of land. Over time the internal borders between clan and family lands were disrupted by government land privatization movements, which also changed the nature of traditional land rights. In the late 1950's the KMT government also established a boundary that cut straight through the Taromak's territory and designated a small section as Taromak's reservation land (estimated to be 1,413 hectares by Xie (1965:5)), and the rest of the territory to be managed by the Central Government's Forestry Bureau⁵⁶. Another major change to the nature of borders in Taromak's territory was brought about by the Catholic Church, which entered the village in the late 1940's.

"We had a lot of conflict with neighboring tribes, but after we became religious we started to have better relations. That's because everyone is a child of god...we all are brothers and sisters (Nama B)."

Therefore, religious influence from the Catholic Church directly influenced the nature of the territory and its boundaries.

But these changes did not necessarily decrease the importance of boundaries. For example, in recent years the Western Rukai Wu-Tai township local government, whose boundary abuts Taromak's traditional territorial boundary at the mountain lakes (*Taidrengelr*) near Kariyalra, has asked the Bei-Nan township government to change the boundaries to give them governance over the mountain lakes for tourism development.

⁵⁵ Some Taromak say that during the Japanese occupation it is said that in other villages, parents would not scold their children by saying that the Japanese police would come beat them, but by telling them the Taromak would come take their heads.

⁵⁶ A local perspective on this topic will be discussed in more detail throughout the following chapters and sections.

But the Taromak have refused to allow this because they believe that those sacred mountain lakes, and the creation site of their ancestors, lies within their territorial domain.

“The Ghost lakes have always been ours, but during the Japanese era the Japanese gave us a boundary that included the lakes, it was not the KMT who made the boundary, it was the Japanese. So we are not willing to go and change it, it can’t be changed, its from the Japanese era (Momo A).”

Here Momo A claims that the traditional boundary at the Ghost lakes was officially recognized during the Japanese era, therefore it cannot be changed. Thus the boundaries continue to be of importance for the Taromak, and after colonial era changes they have even gained legitimacy that can be used to justify their existence in modern politics.

The accurate portrayal of these boundaries requires more in-depth research and development of GIS techniques that can appropriately display a locally relevant boundary system. The following maps are only a suggestion of the boundaries that traditionally existed in an overlapping form and represented places of relations with neighboring tribes. Boundaries are not merely lines as represented in contemporary maps; they continue to be traditionally made up of ecological characteristics, historical events, and mythological tales that give them justification.

Boundaries are important elements of the Taromak landscape for a variety of reasons, some of which have been discussed above. Although the territory was considered a domain commonly held by the Taromak and their clan leaders, the Tamalrokaya defined each family and clan’s cultivation areas and demonstrated each group’s agricultural prowess. External boundaries were often places of conflict, but also places of harmonizing with other tribes, where the Taromak’s power as a landholding force could be demonstrated. Although colonial and contemporary governmental and religious changes have transformed the meanings of borders, they still remain important active elements of the landscape that will not be easily given up by the Taromak; especially because the Tamalrokaya continue to demonstrate the potential of the community.

II. NEIGHBOR RELATIONS

The complex relations that the Taromak have had with their neighbors engage their borders and are framed throughout their landscape. While discussing these relationships the Taromak often mobilize aspects of their territory and places within it to

describe their collectives. The following section will introduce the Taromak's perspective on relations with their closest neighbors, which include, the Western Rukai, the Paiwan (basically two groups one called *Su-'Adayn*⁵⁷, and another called *'Ariva*), the Puyuma, the Bunong (*Songaw*), the Amis (*Balangao* refers to the people of Taitung City, which was originally the Amis village of Ma-Lan), and Chinese immigrants (*Airang*).

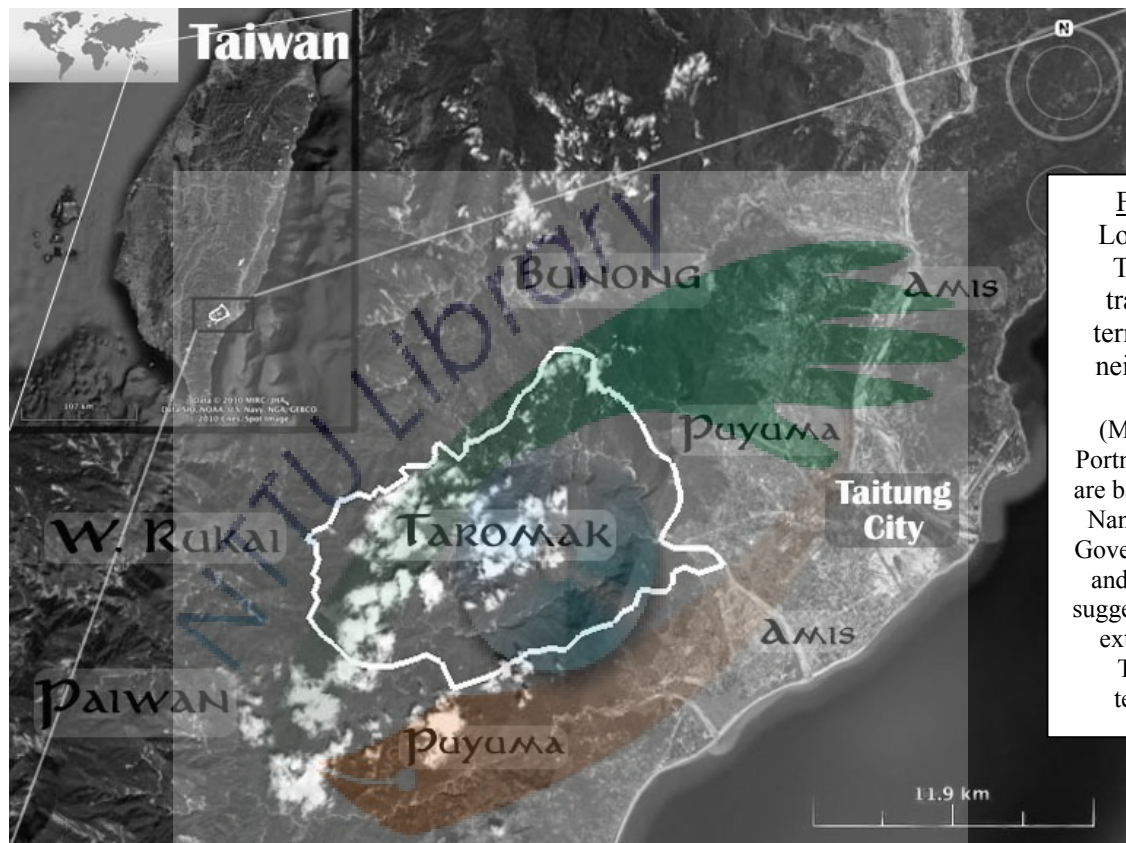


Figure 5
Location of Taromak traditional territory and neighboring tribes.
(Map: Caleb Portnoy. Borders are based on Beinan Township Government data and are only a suggestion of the extent of the Taromak territory.)

1. The Western Rukai

Although the Western Rukai are considered relatives of the Taromak, they have had a mixture of relations. The Western Rukai and the Taromak share a common border on the western side of the high mountain lakes (*Taidrengelr*) near the creation site of the Rukai. Because this area and the mountains lying east of it are considered belonging to

⁵⁷ The Rukai prefix *Su-* means resident of ___. Therefore *Su-Taromak* means 'a resident of Taromak'. In Rukai language other ethnic groups are referred to by their place of residence rather than by their Japanese era established tribal names.

the Taromak, and are great hunting areas, the Western Rukai would often cross the border into Taromak territory to hunt. Technically in order for a Western Rukai to hunt on the eastern side of the lakes, he must first get permission from a Taromak clan leader. In addition part of the meat must be given to the Taromak clan leader, and if the Western Rukai hunter comes across a Taromak person (child or adult), he must provide them with gifts of meat as well. These two groups are also especially close due to intermarriages that were common up until the colonial era when indigenous movement was more restricted. Also, because the Taromak provided land for Western Rukai expansion in the past, they were traditionally expected to ‘return⁵⁸’ to Taromak with gifts of abai⁵⁹ and other goods to give thanks once a year. These are just a few ways that the Western Rukai are expected to pay respects to the Taromak.

Conflicts with the Western Rukai are largely discussed as resulting from their migration back to Taromak in order to escape poverty in their Western villages. While the Taromak lived in Kabaliwa, the Western Rukai (even family members of Taromak residents) were restricted from moving in to their lands, and if they did it would cause fighting and violate both the Taromak and Western Rukai⁶⁰ chief’s rule. The migrants would have to sneak away from their homelands at night, cross the mountains through Taidrengelr, and arrive in Kabaliwa after 3 to 5 days. In Taromak they found comparatively more fertile land where larger and more abundant crops could be grown, as well as more boar and other game in the hunting territories. Momo A explains,

“When the Chief found out he would scold them, so they had to discretely come back (to Taromak). Their Taromak relatives would then tell the Chief ‘these are my brothers. They are very miserable. I will take care of them. They can use my land to cultivate.’ When they grew vegetables here they would say ‘Wa! The sweet potatoes grow so big! Back there (in their original homes) we were so miserable!’”.

Thus, the Taromak considered many of the Western Rukai migrants as refugees and all the clans provided free land for them to build homes and grow food. When these migrants entered the Taromak community at Kabaliwa, they eventually formed a small

⁵⁸ In my conversations with the Taromak, while many elders were speaking of the Western Rukai coming to Taromak, they would use the verb *return* rather than *come* demonstrating the idea that the Western Rukai broke off from their original home territory in Taromak. This further emphasizes the importance of precedence.

⁵⁹ Abai is a traditional Rukai food made of millet, pork, squash, peanuts, snails and other ingredients wrapped first in an edible leaf, than in a container leaf, then steamed.

⁶⁰ The Western Rukai Chiefs would not allow them to leave because they feared a complete migration of commoners to Taromak territory.

settlement called *Onasi* (named after the predominate tree in the area) to the west of central Kabaliwa. Up until the 1950's the Western Rukai continued to come to Taromak seeking refuge and more fertile lands. The current chief, Nama I, comments on his disappointment with these migrants' descendents lack of respect for the help that the Taromak provided them,

“Those who came from Ping-Tung (the county to the west) must give thanks to us Taromak. Several families came back, and the chief distributed land to all of them. And they came back with empty hands, they only brought their children. Then the tribesmen here gave them a place to live, land, and the things they needed to build a house. Now their descendents are not polite, they don't know respect.”

The Taromak provided a place for their Western Rukai relatives in their territory, but with the condition of a continued respect for the original inhabitants of the land. The relations between these groups are founded on territorial divisions, and the sharing of land and resources in times of need, which in turn requires the reciprocation of respect that transcends time and space.

2. The Paiwan

The Paiwan tribal territories lie to the south of the Taromak's daedae. The Taromak traditionally referred to the Paiwan according to their individual villages rather than as a homogenous cultural group. The two groups discussed here are the *Su-'ariva* who were considered enemies of the Taromak, and the *Su-'Adayn* who lived amongst the Taromak in Kabaliwa.

Due to conflicts over territory the *Su-'ariva* were considered enemies and they were often encountered in headhunting ventures⁶¹. The objective of the headhunt was primarily to return to one's village with an enemy head to gain hero status. Nama I described many headhunting ventures enacted by the Taromak for reasons involving territorial or marriage arrangement infractions.

But the Taromak's relationship with Paiwan groups have not only been confrontational. During the Kabaliwa era, many Paiwan tribe people migrated to Kabaliwa to live amongst the Taromak. Many of these Paiwan were related through marriage to the noble clans, and thus had the right to move to an area to the east of

⁶¹ Referred to in Chinese as 'weeding' (除草), the origins of this phrase are unclear.

Kabaliwa known as *Ada''Adayn*⁶². Most of these Paiwan tribe people originally came from an area to the south of Taronak, near Mount Da-Wu called *Ba'Adayn*, hence the place name in Kabaliwa. *Ada''Adayn* eventually established itself as a settlement where the Paiwan language was spoken (Xie 1965:55) and served as a buffer from enemy attacks from the east. Currently the *Ada''Adayn* area is owned by descendents of the *Su'Adayn*, and is used to cultivate cash crops such as ginger and betel nut.



Figure 6
'Adayn with betel nut
and former ginger
field (Photo: Caleb
Portnoy)

The various Paiwan groups and the Taronak conflicted over territorial rights, and fought for their heads; but also bonded through marriage and the provision of land. Descendents of the Paiwan groups (both *Su'Adayn* and later migrants) currently make up approximately 16 percent of the Taronak community and still know that their place in the society and the landscape is due to the charity of the noble clans and chiefs of the Taronak. This inter-tribal relationship is based on the boundaries and places of the landscape.

3. The Puyuma

⁶² Also called '*Adayn* or *Adai'an*.

Taromak relations with the Puyuma⁶³ had a similar mixture of conflict and harmony, but after the Japanese moved the Taromak to 'Irilra, and the traditional territorial boundaries blurred, the conflicts between the nearby Likabong Puyuma village and Taromak Rukai increased.

Pre-colonial interactions with the Puyuma were at times harmonious, and at other times conflicting. Harmonious interactions mainly included sharing and trading goods, marriage relations, and acts of territorial reconciliation especially in the Hongye river area. At times of conflict, the Taromak explain their consistent triumph over the Puyuma by citing their powerful men's house institution ('*Alakua*⁶⁴) which, among other things, was responsible for the protection of Taromak's territory.

Because of Likabong's proximity to the Taromak's main settlement, and because of colonial influences, their relations became especially strained. Likabong originally was not a village, but a working area for Puyuma people coming from a variety of villages. As the Puyuma cultivated the land there and built working huts, they began to amass a population and construct a more permanent residence, eventually becoming the Puyuma village at Likabong. Violent conflicts with the Likabong increased substantially after the Japanese moved the Taromak to 'Irilra and pushed them to begin cultivating the river delta, which was originally Likabong's territory. The interactions between these two groups increased as the Taromak had to go to the only supply store in the area at Likabong. Several incidents occurred during this time period, which are remembered well by the Taromak.

"Once a Rukai went to Li-Jia and was drinking at a noodle shop. I'm not sure what happened but one of us from Da-Nan was killed, and this started a fight. This was originally their place, then we gradually moved down into it. So there was a very strong chief named Gilragilraw, and he went through the mountains to where the people from Li-Jia were and he slashed heads, two of them. This was in the old days. He was stabbed

⁶³ The Puyuma villages nearby the Taromak include:

1. Kasabakan (Jian-He, 建和村), a large Puyuma village to the southeast of Da-Nan.
2. Damalakao (Tai-an, 泰安村; also known as Dabaliujiu, 大巴六九), which in Rukai means a flourishing land, and lies below the foothills of the northeastern edge of the Taromak territory.
3. Nanwan (南王), which lies downstream from Damalakao on the Hongye River.
4. Kachi'ulu/Kataiolro (Zhi-Ben, 知本), which is a steep mountainous area with a large river and natural hot springs to the south of Da-Nan village.
5. Likabong (the Puyuma tribe name for Li-Jia village, 利嘉村) that is below the eastern foothills of the Taromak territory on the northern bank of the primary river bed near in the area, and lies closest to Kabaliwa.

⁶⁴ The '*Alakua* will be discussed in more detail in later sections.

by one of them with a sword, but he would not die! He just pulled (the sword) in and slashed! He pulled out the sword, because he was stabbed in the stomach, not the chest, so he was not going to die immediately. So he killed two of them, and when he got back to Kabaliwa he shouted 'WAAA!! I got two of their heads!!'. (Momo A)."

Another incident that occurred while the Taromak were living at 'Irilra is cited by Nama E in which three Taromak villagers were attacked and injured while in Likabong. After returning to 'Irilra they reported the incident to the 'Alakua. The 'Alakua prepared their knives and went to Likabong for battle. For three days and three nights the Likabong hid in their houses. Nama E explains the cause for this conflict as being due to the Japanese making the Taromak take over the river bed area, which was once Likabong territory, and convert it to grain fields. These stories do not only describe the ethnic relations between the Taromak and their neighbors, but in fact they show that in pre-colonial times, these relations were intimately tied to the territorial stability of their landscape. As colonial era changes destabilized their boundaries, and brought in new forms of contact and exchange, the landscape became a place of more conflict.

Traditionally the relations between the Puyuma and Taromak were tempered particularly through marriage relations, but after the colonial era conflicts that occurred between the Likabong and the Taromak, this method of harmonious interaction became less effective.

"So even now young people still have the same impressions, the feelings are not very good between them (the Likabong) and the people from Da-Nan. The girls from Da-Nan who have married to Li-Jia (Likabong) have almost all divorced, now no one dares marry them (Nama E)."

Strained relations based on colonial era territorial shifts continue to lie beneath the contemporary connections between Li-Jia and Da-Nan village. In the above discussions the Taromak interpret their relationship with the Likabong as a fragile territorial balance over the landscape that mobilizes headhunts, marriages, boar meat, noodle shops and other human and non-human entities.

4. The Bunong

The Bunong, usually referred to as *Songaw* came from many different settlements generally situated in the mountains to the north of the Taromak's daedae. The interactions between the Taromak and Bunong also range from headhunt conflict to marriage relations, but tended to lean towards the friendly side.

The Songaw can be separated into two groups, enemy Songaw called *Baza* and friendly Songaw, called *Dalodalo* who were often relatives by marriage of the Taromak. These friendly relations were often cultivated within the hunting territories that were shared by the Taromak and the Dalodalo Songaw. When the Songaw obtained prey on Taromak hunting grounds they would give part of their catch to the people of Taromak, and the Taromak would in turn treat them like brothers. The Taromak would also share their catch with a Dalodalo Songaw and this was often the catalyst for marriage relations between the tribes.

“If you were a Bunong tribesman, and I’m a Rukai tribesman, and I got my prey but you didn’t, of course you need to go home, so I would give you a little. And next time you give me a little of your catch. Then we might ask, ‘do you have any sisters that I could marry? I have a sister you could marry’. Then we could marry closer, to walk from Kabaliwa to their village you need less than a day, so at that time there were many Bunong girls here (Nama E).”

Because of their marriage relations, Dalodalo Songaw and the Taromak continue to share many names such as the man’s name Tanebake, and the woman’s name Aow in Bunong and ‘Aelesa in Rukai. In this case it is clear that the landscape as a hunting area was an active force catalyzing the creation of harmonious marriage and product sharing bonds between the Taromak and the Songaw.

The primary boundary between Taromak and Songaw territory originally lied in the bed of Hong-Ye River to the north of Kabaliwa. At that time this border was a place of conflict between Baza Songaw coming from the north, Puyuma tribesman coming from the east, and the Taromak coming from the south who all came to the banks of the Hong-Ye River to hunt the sambar while they drank. Often conflicts would arise when the Taromak could not tell whether other hunters in the area were friendly Songaw or enemy Songaw or Puyuma. Often these unclear situations would lead to headhunting ventures that created serious territorial problems in the area. Thus, elders of the Taromak went to the Bunong village to negotiate reconciliation between the three groups. After the negotiations had succeeded and boars were sacrificed, the boundaries near Hong-Ye River were clearly demarcated, and the headhunting ventures ceased (Momo A, Nama A, etc.).

As marriage relations between the Taromak and the Songaw developed, during the pre-colonial Kabaliwa era, the Taromak donated approximately 70 acres for the Songaw to establish a temporary settlement. They continued to inhabit this area called

Malapula in Rukai, which has now become a popular hot-spring tourist destination, and is still mainly inhabited by Bunong people. To this day the Bunong of Hong-Ye continue to pay their respects to the Chief of the Taromak Lrabalriyoso clan by giving him gifts and inviting him to important events such as the opening ceremony for the hot springs. Thus, the Malapula area stands as a testament to the charity and wealth of the Taromak tribe. But relations with the Songaw are not simply inscribed into the landscape in places like Malapula or the Hong-Ye River as symbols. They are lived relations that extend from the landscape in the forms of hunting relations to the land, territorial rights, boundaries, and land donations. Thus the territorial and socio-cultural relations between the Bunong and Taromak tribes are inseparable.

5. The Amis

Although the Amis tribe's expansive traditional territory, which runs along the Pacific coast of Taiwan, does not directly abut the Taromak, the primary water source for the Ma-Lan village Amis came from rivers that flowed from the Taromak's daedae, thus creating yet another landscape based bond.

According to Nama E, the Amis of Ma-Lan village are called *Subalangaow* in Rukai, and looked to the Taromak for help during times of drought.

"Long ago they (Subalangaow) would sacrifice two cows and bring them to Kabaliwa to give the Taromak, because the people of Taromak provided them with their water. If one year it did not rain, they would come here to pray for rain in a rain ceremony, because this is the Eastern Rukai's land. The Rukai shaman and their shaman would hold a rain ceremony and pray for rain to flow down to them, because the rain definitely comes down from the mountains."

The Subalangaow-Taromak bond was based on the Subalangaow's need for water in drought periods, and the Taromak's territorial claim to the source of the rivers that flowed east into the coastal Amis lands. Again the relations between the Taromak and their neighbors are inseparable from their landscape, giving further evidence of the existence of a nature-culture collective, which defined the Taromak society and their relations with others.

6. The Han Chinese

The Han Chinese can be separated into three distinct groups, which include:

- 1) The *Airang*, whose origin lies in Southern China's Fujian Province.

2) The *Ngaingai*, or Hakkanese (Ke-Jia people, 客家人) who are a Chinese ethnic group that are spread throughout Southeast Asia.

3) The *Lautiya*, who are the Chinese that arrived in Taiwan after 1949 to escape Communist China. The majority of Lautiya are former soldiers for the Chinese Nationalist Army, who after leaving their families behind, married into many indigenous villages in Taiwan (Cheng 2001:22).

The Taromak have had their longest relations with the Airang who originally interacted with the Taromak as traders. The Airang would often exchange Chinese goods with the Taromak for their mountain game, furs, and other mountain products. In a few early cases, the Airang relations with the Taromak budded into intermarriages, which primarily involved a Taromak bride moving away with her Chinese husband. During the pre-colonial and Japanese colonial era the demand for mountain products gradually increased, which put pressure on hunters to travel farther in the search of prey to sell. But as time went on the demand for mountain products decreased and a demand for Taromak land took its place⁶⁵. Thus the Airang-Taromak relationship has been directly intertwined with the landscape and has become charged issue of conflict due to the illegal buying and selling of Taromak land that takes place. In contrast to Taromak's relations with other indigenous groups, their relations with the Airang have arisen more from market forces than from a diversity of exchanges based on territorial contacts. Nonetheless, the Airang-Taromak relations continue to be described as issues directly related to the landscape.

7. Daowadalraka

One final element of the traditional Rukai landscape that played a role in their territorial relationships with neighbors was the *Daowadalraka*. This was a place on the main path to central Kabaliwa where enemy heads were hung (or perhaps placed) on a large Banyan tree. The taking of heads generally resulted from two forms of conflict:

1) An outsider crossed into Taromak territory to hunt without permission or giving tribute to the Taromak clan landlord; or 2) The Taromak men would venture into enemy

⁶⁵ The Airang role in contemporary land use and ownership issues will be discussed in Chapter Three, section III, topic 5.

territory to bring an enemy head back to their village, thus becoming a hero in the tribe, which provided upward social mobility⁶⁶. Once a hunter or warrior returned with an enemy head he would hang it at the Banyan tree, Daowadalraka, where tribesmen and women would pay respects to their fallen foes as they passed by.



Figure 7
Fallen tree at
Daowadalraka
(Photo: Caleb
Portnoy)

“They would hang the head there, then the tongue would come out. If we need to pass that place we definitely have to put a betel nut there and say ‘I give you this betel nut.’ If people pass there (with out doing this) they will be injured. Although they are not one of our people, one still must give them a betel nut, cigarettes or a little wine as they pass and must say ‘*Gei do’wa vwanakwa omanita*’ (Meaning: *Do not hurt me, we are the same/we are together*) (Momo A).”

The Daowadalraka demonstrates that the relations between the Taromak and their neighbors cannot easily be reduced to either predatory or reciprocal (Descola 1996). The Taromak hunted heads in a predatory fashion⁶⁷, but also continued a reciprocal relationship with the enemy heads/spirits (gifts of betel nut, etc. in exchange for not harming them), shows that these predatory and reciprocal relations are just as intermixed as human (enemies) and non-human (the Daowadalraka tree) entities are within the

⁶⁶ Xu Gong-Ming (1993:69-90) discusses headhunting in the Western Rukai village of *Kochabungan* as not only being based on revenge fighting between villages, but also on the promotion of individual and village fame. Bird and dream omens limited the headhunt, and an enemy head was an integral part of ceremonies that ensured the productivity of agricultural and hunting subsistence activities. Thus, she concludes that the headhunt was intimately tied to the entire socio-cultural system of the Rukai and after being outlawed in the Japanese Imperial era led to many changes among the Rukai.

⁶⁷ See revenge example in Likabong headhunting case.

landscape. Thus, by maintaining appropriate relations with enemy spirits at the mobilized Daowadalraka tree, inter-tribal territorial relations could be ensured.

III. PLACE

This section describes the distinctly Austronesian importance of place in the landscape of Taromak, and the active role they play in the nature-culture collective.

1. Place and Place Names

While the Taromak landscape is categorized in a variety of flexible and overlapping ways (see appendix 1), place names represent an ancestrally fixed landscape categorization method that holds powerful meanings and influences for the Taromak. Place names, which portray a variety of place-based knowledge, have been passed down through the generations as the Taromak navigated through dense seemingly homogenous jungle, all the time knowing exactly where they were, what resources the area had, and the history of the area.

Place names are also especially important in Taromak for the effective management of hunting and cultivation areas. For example, because all hunting areas were named, if a hunter did not return to the village within his usual time frame (generally a few days), a search party could be organized, and his friends and relatives would be able to quickly and precisely communicate his location. In addition, if a hunter placed his traps in a particular area, he could describe their location to other hunters simply by revealing the place name, letting them know to avoid the area. Cultivation areas are also distributed in a system that connects particular clans to particular named areas. As Nama B states,

“There was a connection between land distribution and clan groups. This clan would cultivate the land in this area. For example, I am of the Lrababar clan and our hillside is back here, most of the land in this area is my clan’s. Behind the school here is called Valonihi, and it has all been cultivated by our clan.”

Place names have been an effective method of managing land use by clans for hunting and cultivation. They are a complex geographical information system that includes traditional knowledge, resource information, land use rights, historical memories, and changes to the landscape.

This traditional geographical information system is often remembered and talked about in the form of a path. In the interview excerpt below, Momo A, an adept hunter and mountain guide describes the path from the lower regions of the Taromak's traditional territory, to the highest elevations in the sacred mountain lake area, *Taidrengelr*.

"I will tell you all the way to the ghost lakes, because I know all these mountains, I know all the names.

This is 'Inaranaka, Inanaka means rust. When the Dutch came here we killed each other and the blood covered the rock wall here, so it looks like rust. After passing through Ini'raka there is Doo where the hydroelectric plant is. There used to be people living there to take care of the machine.

Next is Viriviri where the water gets caught and runs into the hydroelectric plant. Viriviri has a spirit there, so when women pass through that place they must take a tree branch to hide and protect their face from being seen by the spirit, or else they will be injured. It's always like this, the women will strangely become pregnant but when giving birth all that comes out is blood and stones! We are afraid that she has been harmed by the spirit, that place has a spirit that injures girls, so when we pass through there she must protect her face. Viriviri is a bad place so it was given this name, it is all a spirit place and there is a stream, that's Viriviri.

After passing through Viriviri is Mulrawnga, there is a building there. This place is all like a wall, and the stones are steep like this. In the old days while we lived in Kabaliwa we would go there with guns and watch for enemies, if any outsiders tried to pass through to go to Kabaliwa we would not let them, so that place, Mulrawnga was for protecting the village. Now the community college has built a house there, and our village built one there to. The one near the wall was built by the Cai-Ji-Guan (採集館), and the other bigger one was built by people from our village.

After passing through Mulrawnga is Suilrila, that uphill spot is Suilrila. I don't know why they gave it this name. During the Japanese era something very scary happened. Someone hung himself and his children there, everyone knows that that place is Suilrila. Maybe because he took something, so the Japanese were going to beat him, they were terrible. He was very afraid and ran there and committed suicide by hanging himself. That place is Suilrila, along the river banks its all walls of beautiful stone. Mr. XX's land is there where he grows betel nut and to the side it is a little flatter. I know all the names on every level you know!

That place is Suilrila, and then there is Adadai...after Adadai is Dilruma. The water there is extremely sweet, and it comes from inside. When you drink that water you feel very comfortable, that kind of water is hard to come by, Dilruma's got the best drinking water. It's mountain water and if sick people drink it they will get better, it's very comfortable. After passing through Dilruma you get to

our old village Kabaliwa. Below Kabaliwa is Angas, and then there is Dalradaka where the land drops down. The elders put a stone there, if your knife was not good you could use that stone. It was like a plank and you could hold your knife tightly and hit the stone, if your knife broke you had a bad knife, if it did not break it was a good knife. That stone is still there. So Dalradaka is where one tests their knife on the stone, my knife is good and won't break. Our knives are good because we use train tracks to make them, those knives won't break when you hit the stone.

Next is Samadilri where there is a stream, I don't know about that name. After Samadilri is Dakalrara, which means to look up, and is a very steep place. Everyone knows this name. After Dadalrara is Dadadeva, then is Kalilroko, which is like a red furry fruit. There are many Kalilroko in that area, which are a plant like Roselle flowers, but they are not seasonal. After Kalilroko you drop down to the river at Li'ala, then cross to Sasilrilva. Most don't know these names, some have never been, but older people such as myself all know Sasilrilva is there and many have passed through there. After Sasilrilva is Vadalar, which is just below the lakes, and is a flat area of the river. Now we have reached Taidrengelr.

Here Momo A takes on a journey through the landscape of the Taromak and brings alive many of the place names that describe the path. Along the journey memories of colonial events, natural resources, topography, medicinal attributes, dangerous spiritual places, and contemporary features of the landscape are intertwined in this chain of place names. These place names are active elements of the Taromak nature-culture collective in that they play a key role in traditional land management institutions, place-based knowledge transmission, and a conceptual framework for understanding Taromak's development.

Appendix 2 includes place names in the Taromak territory and place name meanings⁶⁸. According to informants, these place names make up approximately sixty percent of the total place names in the Taromak's traditional territory. In addition many descriptions of places either were not described by informants or have been forgotten.

Many elder hunters still pride themselves in the knowledge encapsulated in these places. Momo A, who has guided hundreds of soldiers during Japanese and KMT era times through the territory for their military training, exclaims, "I've been to all these places...I know all these mountains." But as fewer and fewer Taromak youth encounter

⁶⁸ Most of these place names and descriptions are the result of a traditional territory mapping project overseen by Professor Taiban Sasala, Professor Awi Mona, and conducted by Lisa Hu and myself. Supplementary sources include the '2005 Taitung County Bei-Nan Township Indigenous Peoples Traditional Names of Mountains and Rivers Comparative Report, Bei-Nan Township Office 2004 (台東縣卑南鄉九十四年度原住民傳統名稱與山川比對報告), Xie Ji-Chang's thesis (Xie 1965), and Zhuang Xiao-Guang's thesis (Zhuang 2002). The place name's corresponding points on a map of the Taromak's territory will not be shown to protect local knowledge.

their landscape as their hunting forefathers had, the place names are left in the landscape unused. Although many place names are being forgotten, and many of their meanings have already been lost, according to the Taromak they remain a fixed and changeless entity, which bonds their society with the landscape. Nama A explains the continued importance of their place names as "...just like the names of our elders, they (place names) can never be lost. When you have a child you must give it the name of one of your elders." Place names are just like the names of the elders in that they must be passed down from generation to generation, in order to ensure their survival.

Place names are not the only categorical system within the Taromak's landscape. Another active system is the one used by the government, which assigns numbers to every area of the reservation and forestry bureau land. Momo B points out,

"The government also has place names, they gave us land numbers, and now we have been separated into Li-Jia section, Da-Nan section, Dong-xing section, all the land has been sectioned and assigned numbers. But our traditional territory has names, and no numbers. Our system is more impressive than the government's."

As compared to the traditional place name system, the government's numbered area system is often described as being ineffective in the mountainous jungle terrain of the Taromak landscape, especially for the broad arbitrary range of each segment, not to mention its sterile lack of informative substance. The following sections will introduce two particularly important places in the Taromak landscape, *Taidrengelr* and *Kabaliwa*.

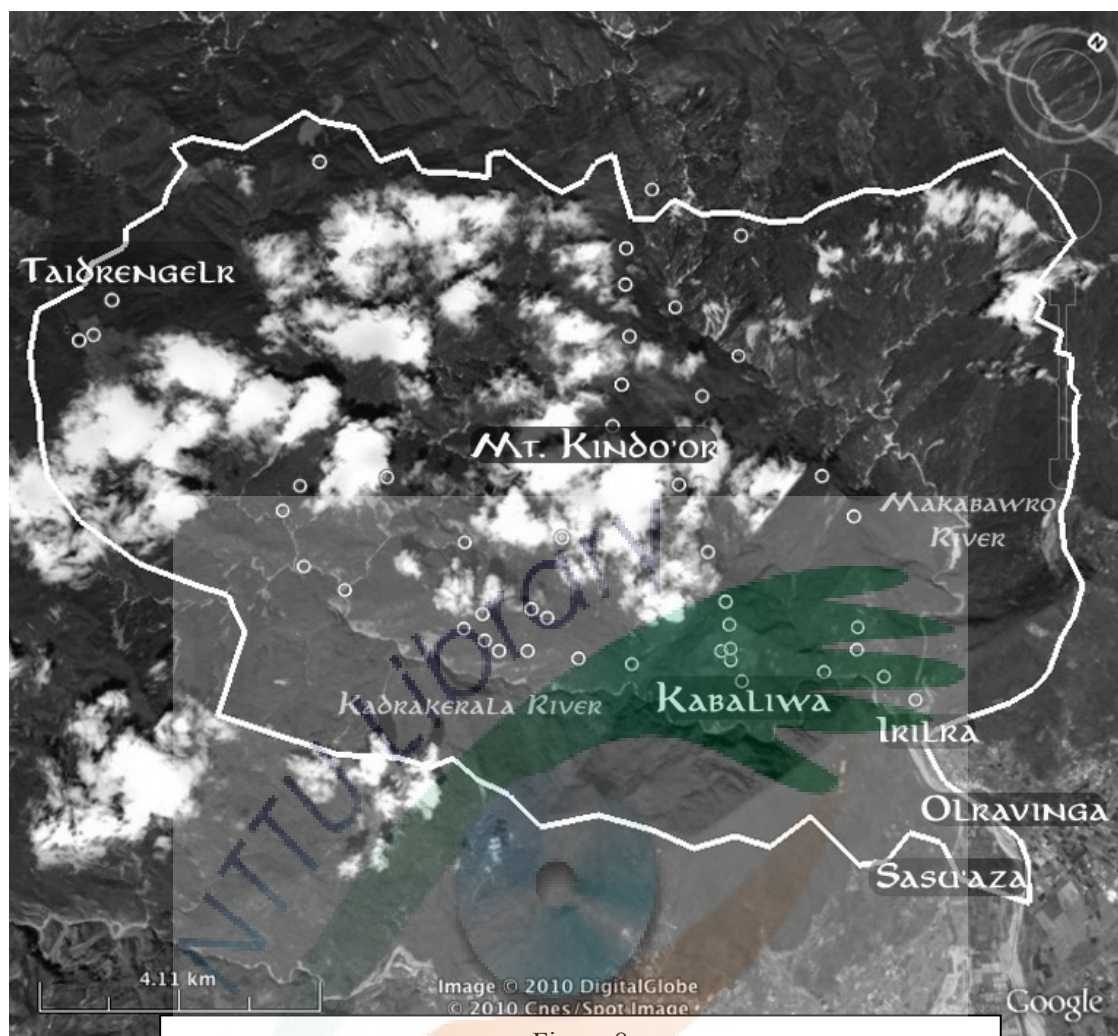


Figure 8
Location of several places (Recorded during 2008 mapping project conducted by local informants, Professor Awi Mona, Lisa Hu, and Caleb Portnoy) and key place names.

2. Taidrengelr

Taidrengelr, also known in Mandarin as the Ghost Lake (小鬼湖與大鬼湖) area, is of particular importance to the Taromak as a sacred region and the origin place of their tribe. The area can be reached in eight hours by an experienced hunter, but could take several days for one unfamiliar with the area and terrain. In the past the Taromak would hunt there occasionally, but not very often due to its remoteness from Kabaliwa. Now, very few Taromak have trekked to the lakes, but in the past young hunters would be

taken there by their fathers or grandfathers where they would learn the spiritual importance of these places.

“My grandfather took me there for training. He wanted me to know the road from Pingtung County (location of western Rukai) to Taitung County. He told me this road and that road, and then he told me how to see the mountains (Momo A).”

“Now at these lakes there are spirits and gods. You must not disturb the water. If you need to take water you must do it slowly and quietly, don’t just grab it at once like this, or else it will immediately rain heavily, or the clouds will cover you and you will not know where the terrain is. It’s very superstitious. There are many large round stones there, so it is difficult to walk. One can hunt there, but the animals may run into the water. One time my father got a deer and I flung a stone at it...Whoa! KAKAKAKA!! The thunder boomed! So we ran after the deer and tried to find it but could not. My father began to pray ‘this little child, he does not understand, please forgive him’ like that. Then the fog slowly lifted, and the deer was just at our feet. This really happened!”

Taidrengelr is a culturally important place, not only as the origin place site, but also as the crossing point into western Rukai territory, as a spiritual land, and also for the stories that include them.

The story and song of Balreng is well known among the young and old of Taronak, as well as among the Rukai of other villages (Tian 2003:264-289). The most important point of this story for this discussion is not its variety of versions, but its description of how the relationships of the landscape came to be. As told by Nama D,

“We Rukai have a legendary tale of old about the story of Balreng. One day a hunter went to his hunting area, which was at the little ghost lake (*Taibelreng*) to hunt. There are many animals there and the hunter caught a boar in his trap. As he was reaching for the boar he saw a hundred-pace viper⁶⁹ next to his prey. Then the snake said to the hunter, ‘Stop! You must listen to me, you cannot take that boar. If you follow my commands I will let you go, but this boar you must not take.’ When the hunter heard this he was very worried. He thought, ‘if I don’t do what he says this snake will definitely bite me.’ So the hunter answered the snake, ‘what are your conditions?’. The hundred-pacer said, ‘I have heard you have three daughters, you must agree to letting me marry one of them.’ When the hundred-pacer said this, the hunter was very afraid, ‘If I don’t do what he says I will be bitten’. So he answered ‘Ok, if it must be, I must return to the village and ask my daughters to see if they will agree to this.’ After saying this he came down from the mountains while the Hundred Pacer secretly followed from behind.

When the hunter returned home his three daughters were all there so he began to tell them the situation, ‘When I was going to take my prey, a hundred-pacer told

⁶⁹ Genus: *Deinagkistrodon*. Aka Sharp nose viper. The Hundred Pacer is a totem animal of the Rukai and Paiwan tribes and will be discussed in Chapter II, section 4, topic 2.

me that if one of you do not agree to marrying him, he will immediately bite me to death.' He first asked his eldest daughter for her reply, and what did she say? She said 'No, I don't like snakes, I hate snakes' was her reply. So he asked his second daughter who said 'No, no, no, I don't want to marry a snake!'. Finally he asked his last daughter named Balreng. When the youngest daughter Balreng saw that both her sisters had refused, she knew that her father would be killed, so she knew she had to make a sacrifice, so she agreed 'I will marry the snake!'. When the hundred-pacer heard Balreng's agreement from outside he suddenly became a man and came into the house and used his body to wrap up Balreng and take her away.

The villagers all heard the news that Balreng would marry, and on their wedding day they all saw the Hundred Pacer, but Balreng did not see a snake, she saw a man. The villagers were all surprised, 'How can a human marry a snake?'. But Balreng resolutely said, 'I must marry this snake prince.' On that day all villagers got dressed up to attend the wedding, and according to our custom, Balreng wore traditional clothing and looked beautiful as she danced and prepared to move away. When it came time for the snake to take his bride back to Taibelreng... Taibelreng is a very big lake, and the snake's family lives in the middle of the lake... all the villagers sadly accompanied them to Taibelreng. When they arrived Balreng looked back and told her father and mother, 'although I am marrying away, when I have time I will come back to see you all. When our villagers come back here to hunt, as you pass this road, I will prepare some food for you to eat. When you pass this road you can eat the food. If it is hot food, then I made it, if it is cold food do not eat it because it is made by a spirit or ghost.' After that when we Taromak people go hunting and pass through that place we happily eat the delicious food that she prepares for us, but only the warm food, and we thank Balreng.

After Balreng had been married for two years she gave birth to twins. After the twins had grown up, they would go out to play. One day two brothers saw two snakes and the elder brother grabbed a stick and the younger brother grabbed rocks to beat the snakes. Originally these hundred-pace vipers would not bite us, but because these brothers beat Balreng's snake children to death, they now sometimes attack us. This is the story of Balreng."

This story describes and links the relationships between a dangerous totem animal, a particular place in the landscape, and the Taromak people. Each time this story is told it activates Taibelreng the place, and the hundred-pace vipers that inhabit the landscape as key elements that constitute the Taromak collective. Thus, the Ghost lake area is not only inscribed with meaning, but for the Taromak, this place creates and sustains one aspect of the Taromak's cultural form.

3. Kabaliwa

Kabaliwa is the one of the most ancestrally important places in the Taromak's landscape. It is a gradually sloped hillside with several flat areas and steep cliffs near the

riverbanks. This terrain made a suitable place for constructing a village because of its topographical protection and safety from enemy invasion, landslides and flooding. Originally all the clans lived together in the Kabaliwa area in separate groups of houses. The population of Kabaliwa was rather small, until many Western Rukai immigrated, along with Paiwan people. Eventually Kabaliwa had approximately 200 households and was a powerful village in the region that maintained a large traditional territory in comparison to their population size.

In Xie's thesis he estimates the total number of households in Kabaliwa to be around 157, which he separates into eight distinct areas. Table 2.3.2, is based on his research conducted in the mid 1960's.

Area Name		Noble	Sub-Noble	Commoner	Han Chinese	Total
Kabaliwa	Paliu (Balius)	36	6	32	0	74
	Tatasi	0	1	4	0	5
	Taipulen (Taibelreng)	4	0	0	0	4
	Lulon	2	0	7	0	9
	Likilikiia	0	0	3	1	4
Onasi ('Angasa)		0	0	24	0	31
Ataiin ('Adayn)		7	0	24	0	31
Tatela		1	0	5	0	6
Total		50	7	99	1	157

Table 1
Kabaliwa areas and class
households (Source: Xie 1965:55)



Figure 9
Colonial era
Kabaliwa (Source
of copy unknown
by informant).

During my research, the settlement of Kabaliwa was described slightly differently than Xie's account⁷⁰. The center of Kabaliwa, called *Kacekelra* or *Kacekelre* (meaning the true village), was the residential area of all the original Taromak people who migrated from Mount KinDoor. The center of Kacekelra is called *Balius*, which as described by Xie (1965) is the location of the Chief's original house. *Balius* means to stack or pile up and one story among many of how this area came to be called *Balius* is that when the Taromak encountered the Dutch at '*Inaranaka*', they brought the Dutch heads back to the Chief's house and piled them up there. To the north up the hill from Kacekelra is *Taibelreng*, which sits above the main village and may be a pre-Kabaliwa era settlement site, as described in Chapter Two, section I, topic 2. *Taibelreng* (*Belreng* meaning above) was a cultivation area, but as the village spread, many people converted their Dawana (working hut) to houses and the area gradually became a settlement. Down the hill to the south of Kacekelra near the river is an area called *Katuka*, which was originally an agricultural area and not settled. To the east of Kacekelra was '*Adayn*

⁷⁰ According to Xie (1965:55-57), Kabaliwa, Onasi, Adai'an and Tatelaa were all separate settlements. Onasi was situated to the south of Kabaliwa and was made up of mainly Western Rukai commoners and nobles. Because this group was made up of outsiders, the noble families were considered commoners. Adai'an consisted of 31 households of Paiwan tribe immigrants mainly from *Kali* village's *Lavanavana* noble clan. Tatelaa, located to the West of Adai'an was a settlement of commoners. Kabaliwa can be separated into five areas, which include *Likilikiia*, *Lulon*, *Tatasi*, *Balius*, and *Taibelreng*. *Balius* was the social and geographical center of the settlements with most of the population, all six chief family households, and the two men's houses. Xie also describes the meaning of some of these place names within the Kabaliwa region, listed in appendix 2.

(discussed in Chapter Two, section II, topic 2), a settlement of Paiwan tribesman, and is now a betel nut plantation. Originally, to enter Kacekelra by road, one had to first pass 'Adayn, which had a guard post. This settlement, as well as 'Angasa to the west, protected central Kabaliwa from enemy attack. Above 'Adayn and to the east of Taibelreng lies 'Adangasa and *Gonggong*, both of which are taboo places where it was taboo to cut the forest for cultivation⁷¹. To the west of Kacekelra is the immigrant western Rukai settlement, 'Angasa, which is currently the boundary between the Taromak's reservation land and forestry bureau land. Stone structures can still be found here (figure 10), as well as fruit and betel nut trees in this area, which were planted by the ancestors of the Taromak.

Figure 10
Stone Wall at 'Angasa
(Photo: Caleb Portnoy)



After the Japanese removed the Taromak from Kabaliwa in the mid 1920's, the area was abandoned and the settlement area eventually became agricultural land. From then on the original stone slate houses were destroyed by both local Taromak as well as Han Chinese developers (Tseng 1991:4). Nama B remembers his father's house located

⁷¹ Naina A told a story of how at the taboo place, Ad'Angasa a Airang tried to use a backhoe to develop the land for cultivation, but as soon as the backhoe scoop hit the ground it broke. After fixing the backhoe they tried again repeatedly and even brought in Taoist priests to remove any evil spirits, but still the backhoe could not break the ground.

in ‘Angasa, and how it was destroyed by a backhoe, driven by a local for cultivation and goat raising in the 1980’s.

“Someone was digging with a backhoe there, ‘Why are you digging it up?’ ‘I bought this land.’... There used to be tens of houses there, but now you can’t see them. I can’t even find my father’s house! It’s really too bad! At that time no one was asking about our mother language, about our traditional territory, that had not started yet.”

The destruction of traditional houses in Kabaliwa is often discussed in light of the abandonment of the village, the privatization of land, the development of market-based agriculture, and the use of tools such as the backhoe or excavator. Colonial implemented institutions, and contemporary tools, have actively made their mark on the physical state of the landscape, and have influenced the cultural development of the Taromak.

Although most of these ancestral houses, which traditionally were of great importance to the Rukai (See Cheng 2000) have been lost, since the mid 1990’s reconstruction has taken place, and the active power of Kabaliwa to shape the Taromak collective is being strengthened⁷².

Kabaliwa is an extremely important place in Taromak because it has the ability to connect the Taromak with their ancestors, and explain the current state of their society. The transition from life in Kabaliwa to life at the base of their mountains is viewed as a pivotal period in the development of the community. The loss of their traditions encapsulated in place at Kabaliwa is stirred in some by the toppled stone slate buildings that lie on the ground crushed by backhoes. This loss is not felt by all the Taromak, but enough have been inspired by their ancestral connection to Kabaliwa to base a big part of their cultural revival near the central site of the Chief’s old house. Thus, Kabaliwa as a place has the power to re-inspire locally specific relations with the landscape, as well as stimulate conflict with human and non-human entities that block connections with the ancestral past.

IV. SPIRITUAL LANDSCAPE

Spirituality has played an important role in the relations between the Taromak and their landscape. The spirit world, which thrived beyond the safe confines of the village was a place where rules had to be obeyed, and particular elements of the forests had to be

⁷² Discussed in Chapter IV, section 1, topic 3.

respected in order to ensure ones individual survival, and the success of the community. Spiritual places within the landscape will be discussed in more detail here, along with particularly important spiritual structures, and the key totem animal, the Hundred Pace Snake. These spiritual elements of the environment will help reveal how the Taromak viewed their place in the world, and what role the landscape played in determining the Taromak's socio-cultural complex.

The Rukai traditionally believed that all things had spirits (*Aidrilringa*), and these spirits governed the success and failures of humans (*omas*). Chiao (2001:24-25) separates the traditional Rukai spirit world into 5 types⁷³ several of which are directly related to realms of the landscape that influence and are influenced by humans and their actions.

The Taromak's spiritual world is not necessarily something that can be separated into neat analytical units, but their traditional cosmological view can be briefly touched on here. The highest level of the spiritual world is called *Yabelreng* (*belreng* meaning up, or above), which they currently equate with the idea of a Heaven. The creator of mankind is known as *Toa'omas* (*omas* meaning human, *Toa* meaning to create or foster). Following these are a variety of *Aidrilringa*, which include ancestral spirits as well as bad ghosts known as *Babala*. The Earth is known as *Kiaza'obo ki subeleBelreng*, meaning the place covered by the very high⁷⁴. Below the earth there also exists an underworld inhabited by the *Suadryadring*, spiritual beings that according to legends, long ago provided the Taromak with millet.

⁷³ Chiao's (2001:24-25) categorization of the Rukai spirit world:

1. The first is related to hunting, this spiritual category governed the success of the hunt.
2. The second is related to mental and physical well being, therefore if one got sick, it was to this spiritual world that reconciliation must be obtained.
3. The third category was the ghosts of people who died unexpectedly outside of the settlement and continue to haunt the surrounding forests. In order to appease these ghosts, before one eats, they must drop a portion of food or drink to share.
4. The fourth category includes the ancestral spirits who died natural deaths.
5. The fifth category is a spiritual entity called *Taididingana* (Chiao calls these places *Aililinane*, but according to my informants the name for these places sounds more like *Taididingana*) which exist in particular places outside of the settlement and have their own characters and powers. When one enters a *Taididingana* place, they must obey certain taboos such as talking too loud, wearing certain clothes, etc. The result of not adhering to these taboos was often sickness.

⁷⁴ *Kiaza'obo* meaning 'covered', and *subeleBelreng* meaning 'the very high'.

The well being of a person's spirit (*abak*), as well as the well being of the family and tribe were largely dependent on the ceremonial activities of individuals and the community. Everything from praying before consuming goods, to praying before leaving a place and then upon arrival, to larger ceremonial prayer such as during the millet harvest festival, were all ways of protecting the individual or community from calamity, and ensuring good fortune, which was governed by the array of *aidrilringa* (spirits) that inhabited places in the landscape. Momo A describes what is to be said when one arrives at a destination point in the landscape, such as a hunting territory,

“We say, *Gusagai’yaBelreng kakuranakwa* (Heaven take pity on me), I’ve arrived at this place. I come from the generations of old, from my grandparents. I have come to this place not to injure you, I have brought gifts for you. Whenever I come I will definitely bring gifts for you. Do not injure me. The plants and things you have but don’t need, give to me. Take pity on me.’ Then we give some betel nut, cigarettes, food, or what ever you have. Then we say ‘I have given you these things, do not harm me. My grandparents are from here, *agana sunakua* (I am your grandchild), I have brought you things, I am not just anyone, I am your *lalaka* (child). Take care of me, do not harm me. When I come back here I will definitely share what I have with you, please give me whatever you do not need.’ But you shouldn’t say give me your best stuff!”

Prayers such as these are common and even children (although they may use a Christian style prayer) continue to pray before entering a stream to play in the water. This prayer is not only a symbolic act of protection from harm. It orients the individual to the landscape as a family relative and reestablishes a reciprocal relationship of exchange between the individual and the spirits of the landscape that govern its contents. This ceremonial act also reduces unchecked predatory behaviors that could harm either the individual or the landscape. This relationship is based on the fact that the individual’s ancestors are not only from that place, but also continue to be active parts of the landscape. Thus, the landscape is an embodiment of the ancestors with which the Taromak continue their relationship by enacting ceremonial exchanges on hunting trips or while visiting places outside the village.

According to the Taromak’s traditional beliefs, the body and mind of a person were very susceptible to spiritual powers that inhabit their landscape and could harm them if appropriate behaviors are not adhered to. When one got sick, and everyday folk remedies could not cure a patient, it was the responsibility of the female shamans, *Siya’elreng*, to communicate with the spirit world for a diagnosis and treatment plan. If

someone died in the village, an appropriate funeral ceremony will begin, which prohibits family members of the deceased from leaving the settlement to work in the mountains. Once the spirit is gone from the body, and the funeral ceremony is underway, the body would be buried in the ground under the family's house to keep his *abak* from roaming away from his home. Traditionally the bodies of the Taromak would face east towards the rising sun, *Talawa* (meaning place of the rising sun), with their heads pointing west. Besides the consistent positioning of the bodies pointing west, facing east, all houses in Kabaliwa face with their front doors east. A precise explanation of this traditional direction system was not acquired during this study, but could provide interesting clues to the traditional Taromak orientation system⁷⁵.

1. Taididingana

As discussed above, the Taromak's landscape is covered in place names that describe different aspects, and contain valuable information. Many of these places are known as *Taididingana*, which can be translated to 'spirit place' or a taboo place. These are places where the spirits roam and can easily inflict harm on a person if certain taboos are not adhered to.

The Taidrengelr area discussed in Chapter Two, section III, topic 1 is a good example of Taididingana in that it is a place with many spirits and taboos. Some of the taboos of Taidrengelr include: not disturbing the water, covering children in a shroud, and not speaking loudly. If these taboos are broken the skies will immediately cover in clouds, and a heavy rain will fall. Another example is Viriviri, discussed above in section II, topic 3, where women must hide their face as they pass. If they show their face to the spirit at Viriviri, or especially if they pee in that place, they will become pregnant (*maboy*), and die during the pregnancy. This has happened during some of the elder's lifetimes. Across from Viriviri in a flat area at the bank of the river is another Taididingana called *Kakalinga*. This place was originally part of the Taromak's territory until the Forestry Bureau took it, then sold it to a villager from the Da-Nan

⁷⁵ Nama I pointed out, "People must face the light of the rising sun (*Talawa*), you can't turn you back to the light!". Another explanation for the positioning of front doors in Kabaliwa on the east or southeast side of houses is that the mountain slope faces that direction and was a more reasonable than facing the hill behind houses.

bridge⁷⁶. After many attempts to develop the land there for agriculture, and build a house, the new land owner's projects failed, and their brother's died. Soon the mother simply left the land abandoned. According to Momo A, this was a popular exercising area for spirits, which prohibited people from developing the land there. Near to the northeast of Kabaliwa lies another Taididingana called 'Adangasa⁷⁷, and the nearby Gonggong. The water used in Kabaliwa originally flowed through these places, and the collection of wood and other materials from this area, as well as speaking loudly, was prohibited. These spirit areas are said to be inhabited mainly by smaller evil spirits called *Babala*, while other places hold larger more powerful spirits.

Before the Japanese and KMT governments exploited the rich timber resources in the Taromak's landscape, there were many enormous cypress and other types of trees. These trees are called *Dalrla'a* and are homes and places for mountain gods and ancestral spirits to rest during the day. Besides being extremely difficult to fell, these trees were traditionally not to be cut because of their value as a home for the spirits, and those that disturbed them would become sick and die.

The most powerful spirits that inhabit the landscape could be found at *Talrolroda ki adadinga*, meaning the places where the spirits walk. *Talrolroda ki adadinga* are located mainly along mountain ridges and especially where two ridges meet. For example Taidrengelr, the land above Sasuaya, and the ridges near Hong-Ye are known as these places. Between the months of April and May an enormous and very dangerous type of spirit called a *Mulukulukuda* roam the area and must be avoided or else one will begin to cough up blood and quickly die. To avoid being harmed by a *Mulukulukuda* the Taromak would not pass mountain ridges at night, and if they had to they would bring a torch. They would absolutely not sleep there or try to build anything there, and when they passed they would first forcefully breathe out (like a small cough) three times, than cross the ridge.

⁷⁶ By pointing out that someone is from the Da-Nan bridge, it often signifies that they are not part of the original village and are from another village, or are Han Chinese.

⁷⁷ Ad'Angasa is the site of the entrance cave to the underworld where the Taromak obtained millet from the *Suadiading* spirits. Once, a pregnant woman carrying a child on her back stopped to rest while exiting the cave and was turned to stone by the *Suadiading*, thus blocking the entrance to the underworld.

The talrolroda ki adadinga were dangerous places⁷⁸ that needed to be traversed with caution, and respected for the powerful spirits that inhabited them. These places in the landscape are points where the reciprocal relations (See Descola 1996:82-102) between the Taromak and the spirits of their surrounding landscape were maintained. But they were also points where at times the predatory nature of evil spirits could take advantage of unfortunate individuals by eating them alive.

Taididingana, the spirit places, are important parts of the Taromak's traditional territory in that they are active sites for the Taromak to relate with a variety of spiritual elements of their landscape. By respecting and taking steps to avoid the dangerous and predatory spirits that surrounded their village, the Taromak prevented calamity. By maintaining reciprocal relations with ancestral and other spirits located in the forests, the extraction of goods necessary for the sustenance of the community could be guaranteed. Successful relations with the landscape ensured the prosperity of the nature-culture collective, and as Momo A pointed out this relationship was based on the Taromak's place as a familial member of their territory. In the traditional belief system of the Taromak, they do not explain their social situation by using symbols of their environment (animism), or explain their environment using symbols of their society (totemism). In fact it is the network of relations that dictates the nature and outcomes of their collective.

2. The Hundred-Pace Viper

The Rukai are known to have several totem animals, including the clouded leopard, the eagle and the hundred-pace viper. In this section the Taromak's relationship with the hundred-pace viper will be discussed, and how the viper was an important element that reinforced their social structure will be introduced.

The Taromak have two names for the hundred pace viper, one being the male called *makabelreng* (belreng means up indicating that the male will jump), which is decorated with bright and colorful patterns; and the female called *makadaedae* (daedae

⁷⁸ Momo A remembers a story about a time when the Mulukuluda took someone as they crossed a ridge, "We had someone from Da-Nan go there and it became very, very cold. The guy could not make a fire, there was just no fire, and then the evil spirit killed him. This when we lived in Kabaliwa on the mountain that it faced. We looked and looked for him but he could not be found. Then someone ran over there and found that the *Kotohong* (a type of wasp) had eaten out his eyes. Even the meat on his body had all been eaten by the evil spirit."

means earth indicating the female's color) which is darker than the male. Both the makabelreng and the makadaedae are very dangerous snakes because of their aggressive nature, especially at night, their deadly bite, and their camouflage that disguises them in thick forest grasses⁷⁹. If a Taromak encountered a hundred-pacer on a path, they would tie a bundle of grass to a nearby tree and make a new path through the forest around it to guide the next person across. Although the hundred-pace viper is the most feared animal in the jungle, the Taromak traditionally did not hurt or kill it, and its main predator is the eagle. Now the Airang have introduced a market demand for the hundred-pace viper, and one can be sold for approximately three hundred US dollars.

When the Taromak elders encounter a hundred pace viper they will speak to it directly in the Rukai language to get it to move. Furthermore, they will refer to it as an ancestor or grandparent. As Momo A tells the snake, “(*Saigai kapabudeng*) Hey old one, why are you here? You need to get out of here or else a kid will step on you! Quick go! I must go into the mountains!”, after which the hundred-pacer will leave. This method is not always effective, especially when facing especially mean vipers that may talk back, moving their mouth and tongue for a very long time.

The chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan, Nama I is directly related to the hundred pace snake who he sees as his grandfathers (*Lratamulita*). According to him, these snake ancestors will eventually get old and become eagles, therefore the chief must wear eagle feathers and hundred-pace viper patterns on his formal attire, while commoners are not allowed this privilege. The vipers as well as eagles will often come to visit the chief at the ancestral spirit house next to his home every year before the millet harvest festival. The chief will then place some millet near the snake, and it will rub its head in the grains. Thus the actions of the hundred pace viper shows that the Taromak's relations with their ancestors is maintained, and although occasionally some one will be bitten, the chief's and villager's continued respect for the snakes maintains their society's stability. This relationship between the 'totem animals' of Taromak, and especially the chief, is expressed by using eagle feathers and snake patterns. The Taromak do not explain their

⁷⁹ The Taromak know that these snakes are less aggressive during the day, but will bite if stepped on; at night they will attack if a light shines on them, but will first rattle their tail for warning. When it is not raining the snake is most often found in grassy areas, and while it is raining they tend to stay in areas with brighter light. If a person is bitten and can continue to walk for over one hundred steps without dizziness and without falling over, they will survive.

totem animals as mere symbols of their socio-cultural system, but as ancestral actors that play a key role in the relationships of their nature-culture network, which created and sustains that socio-cultural system.

3. Spiritual Structures and Change

There are several man-made structures that can still be found on the landscape of the Taromak that are important elements of their belief system. But due to the influences of world religions, many of these structures have taken on different meanings. The two structures briefly touched on here are the ancestral spirit house, and the guardian stone (*Dake'akala*).

The ancestral spirit house sits next to the chief, Nama I's house and was traditionally an important part of every community. As the Taromak moved from 'Irilra to 'Olravaing, they took the spirit house with them, but it burned down in the 1969 fire. After that the chief built a new one, under the guidance of a shaman (*Siya'elreng*), where the fire had not reached. Nama I describes this as a lonely affair because most of the other villagers are not interested in traditional beliefs due to church pressure. This was also a difficult task for the Nama I because the forestry bureau did not allow wood collection from the Taromak's territory, so he had to collect enough driftwood for construction. The ancestral spirit house is used primarily for prayer ceremonies, during festivals such as the millet harvest or when the community is facing trying times. The house has two doors one for men, and another for the female *Siya'elreng*. This house belongs to the community but Nama I again points out that it has lost its traditional meaning because most people attend churches now, and he worries that after he is gone, no one will look after it anymore.

"It's just a memorial now, everyone believes in God the same way now. But actually every group of people communicates with God in different ways, some use incense, some use pork, etc. but we are a minority...now it is probably just me who does this. I just want to preserve this as a commemoration to our ancestors".

Following encouragement of a professor involved in indigenous and eco-tourism development in Taitung county, another ancestral spirit house was built in Kabaliwa, which Momo B describes as a product of cultural tourism development. The ancestral spirit house was traditionally an active element of the spirit-human relationship, which

governed the well being of the Taromak community. Due to the homogenizing influence of world religions the house has become a place of memories for some locals and cultural tourism for others. Although still an active element of the Taromak's nature-culture collective, its role has changed and has perhaps drawn away from its involvement in the maintenance of the collective.

The guardian stone, called *Dake'akala* is a place of prayer and protection for the village and its members. Originally the main *Dake'akala* was positioned at the entrance to Kabaliwa near the enemy head rack and was used for prayers before people left the village. This would provide protection along the journey from enemy headhunters or accidents, and was used to ask for good fortune on a hunt. While asking for protection and good luck one must give betel nut, wine, cigarettes or meat as an offering. Every village had a *Dake'akala* also for protection from enemy invasion, and if outsiders entered the village they would first ask permission from the *Dake'akala*. After the stone structure fell down in Kabaliwa and the Taromak moved to 'Irilra, they constructed another. But after they were Christianized and moved to 'Olrainga a new *Dake'akala* was not built until the 1990's when Nama E was the village leader. He explains that when he first began to put it up at the entrance to the village there was some conflict with village church members. But Nama E explains that the reason for the lack of destruction in Da-Nan village during recent powerful typhoons is due to their reconstruction of the *Dake'akala*. Recently another *Dake'akala* (See Figure 2.2.4) has been built along the road to Kabaliwa where a Japanese police checkpoint was once located. Due to changing belief systems, the *Dake'akala* has lost much of its active power to protect and provide. Although some Taromak people still believe in its traditional power, it has become a conflict point with the churches, as well as a starting point for cultural revival.

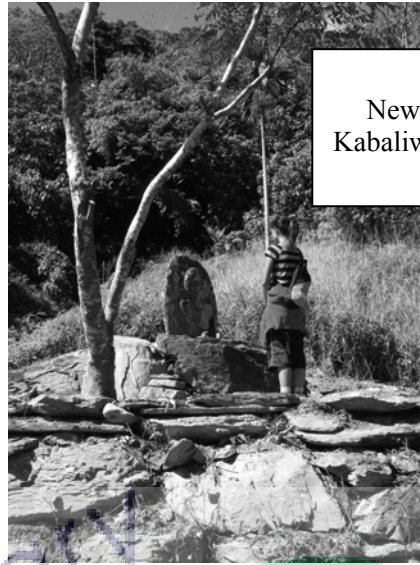


Figure 11
New Dake'akala at
Kabaliwa (Photos: Caleb
Portnoy)

As a place and non-human thing in the Taromak's landscape it continues to embody some remnants of its traditional meaning, which tied it to the traditional territory (for example, protection from enemy tribes, success in the hunt), while taking on new meanings that include traditional belief and church conflict, traditional cultural revival, cultural tourism, etc., thus changing its connections to other actors in the extended network. Therefore this spiritual entity of the landscape is not only inscribed with 'traditional' meanings and contemporary 'social' change, it also continues to actively influence the Taromak landscape by stimulating conflicts between the traditional and contemporary belief and economic systems, and motivating local identity. The Dake'akala has transformed from a powerful spiritual entity that managed relations between ancestral spirits, humans, and other landscape entities, to a stone de-activated by contemporary belief systems, and now to an intermediary between ancestral traditions and contemporary religions and global tourist markets.

The spiritual territory of the Taromak includes an array of divine and physical elements that were once key mediators between the landscape and the human community. These active mediators were focused in specific places in the landscape where the importance of proper relations with the land was concentrated. The Taromak's prayers emphasized their familial relationship to the spirits of the landscape, which maintained reciprocal relations and ensured the prosperity of the nature-culture collective. In

addition these prayers and the associated appropriate behaviors prevented predatory behaviors that were common between enemy tribes who had no familial relation. This spiritual relationship with the landscape could not be confined to either animistic or totemistic systems (Descola 1996:82-102), because it would be a mistake to view these relations, which created and maintained their socio-cultural system, as solely symbolic. Totem animals such as the hundred pace viper are not only symbols of the Taromak's ancestrally-based relation to the landscape, but because the viper is such a dangerous agent of the environment, the Taromak's ancestral ties to it ensured a mutually beneficial relationship. The traditional structures that once were epicenters for the maintenance of relations between the Taromak and their landscape have now been transformed with changing belief systems. On top of their traditional agencies they also activate conflicts between traditional beliefs and the church, the use of 'culture' for tourism development, and memories of ancestral life-ways. The changing roles of these structures are evidence of a shifting network that intertwines human, non-human and divine entities. This shift hints at a move away from relations with the landscape, and towards relations between other human groups, global markets, and religious organizations.

V. THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Because the effects of Japan's imperial control of Taiwan and the Republic of China's Nationalist Party (KMT) take over in 1949 were so strong, these political actors and events are viewed by locals as powerful elements of the landscape that continue to be a large part of their nature-culture collective. This section will briefly introduce local's views of Japanese and KMT influence on their territory.

In general, locals view the Japanese as an imperialist power, which gave rise to both positive and negative results. The Japanese first entered Taromak in the mid 1910's and established a police checkpoint and small school in Kabaliwa after 1914. By the early 1920's the Japanese had begun to move the Taromak, either by force or attraction into the lower foothills of their territory at 'Irilra and Doo. Some locals view this move as forced and mention that their elders wanted to stay in the mountains closer to their traditional resource base. Other negative views of Japanese control is based on their sole goal being to safeguard and promote the Emperor of Japan, thus ignoring the needs, and

taking advantage of the Taromak. Informants often mention that the Japanese forced the Taromak into fighting WWII, stole the valuable Cyprus (Hinoki) trees from their land, set up sugar plantations for their profit only, and set up a hydroelectric plant that only supplied electricity to the Imperial government offices in Taitung⁸⁰. The legal code set up by the Japanese was also very strict, and violations would be met by severe physical punishment. Even movement throughout the landscape was restricted by Japanese police who registered all individuals leaving the village.

The strict enforcement of laws by the Japanese is also sometimes viewed as a positive feature of the imperial Japanese era in that at that time life was safe from thieves or other mischief because of fear of repercussions. Other positive views include improved lifestyles compared to the pre-colonial era, development of schools, agricultural education (which was pushed on the Taromak for grain production to supply troops), and the reserve of some common use land in *Ganalibuke*. Around 1940 the Taromak were moved from 'Irilra to their present location at 'Olravinga, and some of the land around 'Irilra was protected as a watershed for the water source that fed Taitung City. This watershed continues to be a point of contention because the Taromak gain no benefits for protecting that land, which keeps Taitung city's water clean.

After WWII ended and the Chinese Nationalists took control of Taiwan in 1949, the KMT continued many of the Japanese approaches to indigenous governance. Again the wealth of their land was taken, especially timber, which had been all claimed as government property. The traditional territory of the Taromak was separated in the 1950's into reservation land, which is intended for indigenous use, and forestry bureau land⁸¹, which was managed by the central government's forestry bureau for timber industry. This reduced the Taromak's landscape from about 28,000 hectares⁸² to only 1,413 hectares (Xie 1965:5), and was further reduced due to the use of the reservation by the national sugar cane company, and because it was protected as a water source for Taitung city. The majority of the Taromak's traditional territory, which is demarcated as forestry bureau land is protected by laws based on protectionist ideology (Palsson 1996)

⁸⁰ The Taromak did not receive electricity from the hydroelectric plant in their river until the 1960's.

⁸¹ Discussed in Chapter III.

⁸² According to Nama I, chief of the Taromak.

that restricts the Taromak from continuing their cultural relations with their landscape, and directly influences the well-being of their collective. During the 1950's the reservation land and the common use land established by the Japanese was measured and privatized by the KMT, which led to many conflicts between the state conception of land ownership, and the traditional Taromak system. In addition, problems of reservation land being illegally sold to Airang also began to sprout up. During the martial law period in Taiwan (1948-1987) the KMT military was especially disruptive to the Taromak, as informants remember in the late 1950's the military officers would often come with their soldiers to cut large trees and bamboo from their land to make building materials, take their millet, corn and other crops, and even run over people with their trucks. During my interviews, the KMT is either described negatively as a colonialist empire, not commented on, or recent improvements are mentioned⁸³. According to Nama D, things did not improve until martial law ended, and the DPP came to power and introduced many of the subsidies for the indigenous peoples of Taiwan that exist today.

Local views of the Japanese imperialists, and Chinese colonialists have both negative and positive sides. Overall the changes are seen as having improved the lives of the Taromak in some ways, but also cost them their landscape, which in turn cost them their culture. The land policies implemented during these times critically transformed the Taromak's relationship with their landscape, especially by drawing new borders, drastically reducing their territory and creating new institutions of land use. These changes coupled with changes to the belief system of the Taromak and rapid introduction into the market economy had direct influences on their socio-cultural system. All of these changes and conflicts are not only 'inscribed' onto the landscape in places such as at the hydroelectric plant, but continue to act as elements of the landscape that produce conflict as well as stimulate the cultural revival movement⁸⁴.

⁸³ It is interesting to note that according to locals, a majority of indigenous people in Taiwan consistently vote for the KMT party during elections. Some explanations I have encountered for this include,

1. Originally there was no other party to vote for, so it became habit.
2. Originally in order to get a good job as a teacher or any other government position one had to be a KMT party member.
3. Mandatory military service was easier if one became a KMT party member.
4. Pre-KMT distrust of other the Han Chinese groups (*Airang*) that make up the DPP party.
5. The KMT is wealthier and thus more able to buy votes.

⁸⁴ See Chapter IV.

VI. ASSEMBLING THE LANDSCAPE OF TAROMAK

Bruno Latour's (1986, 1993, 2005) actor-network concept has been used here to create an analytical model of the Taromak's landscape, which interconnects the human, non-human and divine entities that compose this nature-culture network. This thesis argues that the relations between the human, non-human and divine elements of the landscape are the foundations of the cultural traditions and social structures of Taromak. Their physical origins, the legitimization of their social structure, and their precedence (Fox 1995B: 217; McWilliam 2006; Kahn 1996) are all founded on the nature of their connection to the landscape. Migrations are described as a type of topostory or topogeny (Fox 1997:91), which explain and geographically situate (Pannell 1997:65) the Taromak's origins, their traditionally appropriate place in the landscape, and recent changes that have transformed their socio-cultural system. The internal boundaries of their landscape divide the shared territory (Boulan-Smit 2006), while external boundaries are described as fixed places of conflict and harmony with neighboring tribes that continue to demonstrate the potential of the Taromak as a landholding force.

Relations with neighbors can be separated into conflicting and reciprocal categories, somewhat similar to Descola's (1996) predatory and reciprocal modes of relation to the environment. Reciprocal relations include the sharing of food, resources, land, and marriage bonds, while conflicting relations include territorial conflicts and headhunts. It is important to note that headhunting was not a purely predatory act, in that after the head was taken, its spirit was reciprocated to in ceremonial acts. Although reciprocal relations between tribes may have been increased due to shared world religions, conflicting relations have also been increased during Japanese imperialism, and after the introduction of other global forces (such as market relations with the Han Chinese, and occupation by the KMT) that brought different conceptions of the landscape (Bender 1993C; Leach 2006; Carrier 2004; Tule 2006). Overall, Taromak's ethnic relations are framed by their landscape, and these relations still make up an active part of their nature-culture collective.

While landscape categorization systems in Taromak are diverse and complex, place names make up a fixed and highly informative system of classifying the territory.

This collection of places and their associated meanings (See appendix 2) intertwine traditional knowledge (Berkes 1999), spiritual characteristics, resource information, topography, land rights, historical memories (Basso 1996), topostories (Pannell 1997), conflicts with other groups (Morphy 1993, Myers 1986), and landscape changes. These place names also emphasize and reinforce the creation, as in Taidrengelr, and continuation (Sakai 1997), as in Kabaliwa, of culturally specific relations to the landscape. The power of these places is not their inscription onto the landscape as symbols portraying culturally specific ideas of nature and society (Hu 2008; Huang 1995), but their active influence on the nature-culture collective and the socio-cultural systems of the Taromak.

Spiritual aspects of the landscape embody the ancestors to which the Taromak must maintain reciprocal relations (Grimes 1997). The successfully maintained relationship with the spiritual landscape ensures the well-being of the nature-culture collective. Descola's (1996:82-102) classification system of animistic or totemistic modes of identification, and reciprocal or predatory relations with the environment is difficult to use in the Taromak's case because their landscape, as well as their neighbor relations are characterized by a network of ancestrally-based (Tuan 1977:157) connections that explain the collective and its outcomes, and maintain a dynamic balance between predation and reciprocation. The Taromak do not simply project their social lives onto an abstract environment in order to guide their behaviors (Hornborg 2003:105), rather, their social lives are made up of relations with their landscape, which in itself is a hybrid entity. Although the spirit house and guardian stones continue to gather (Casey 1996; Tilley 2006) the traditional relations between humans, non-humans, and divine entities, they have also recently begun gathering new meanings that embody religious changes, global tourism markets, and cultural memories.

The effects of colonial era and contemporary changes continue to be part of the landscape, which produce conflicts and stimulate the cultural revival movement. It is important to note that the conflicts that have arisen out of the colonial and post-colonial era are often framed as issues related to land and resources (Hirsch 2006), to which the Taromak see themselves as being the rightful managers due to their precedence. This interconnects all of the above elements of the landscape, from the origins of the Rukai

tribe to contemporary conflicts over land, in a network of natural, social, contemporary, past, local, and global phenomenon, which all take place in the landscape of Taromak. Therefore, the landscape of Taromak can be assembled as a network of interrelationships between active human, non-human and divine entities that intertwine and extend the landscape. Chapter III will delve deeper into how this network of actors creates and sustains locally specific socio-cultural characteristics and institutions.



CHAPTER THREE

The Active Landscape

In the previous chapter, the composition of the cultural landscape of the Taromak Rukai was described, and the interconnections between its human, non-human and divine elements were introduced. This chapter will delve deeper into the way that the landscape organized itself as a network of actors in mutual relationships, and how that network has changed dramatically due to a range of political, economic, religious, and other influences. It will be argued that according to the Taromak, the ability of the interconnections between the human, non-human and divine components of the landscape to interact maintained their socio-cultural stability and survival as a community.

The following sections will discuss how the landscape acted as a land tenure institution in agricultural and hunting territories, and how it had primarily inclusive characteristics (Carrier 1998:86-92), that bonded people, food sources and spirits through sharing relations and ceremonial activities. Traditional agricultural crops will be shown to play an important role in the connections between people and spirits, while hunting practices will be emphasized as an activity that deeply intertwined humans, non-humans and spirits in the landscape as mutually interacting and supportive entities. The management of land will also be shown to have been an interdependent institution in which the landscape actively supported the social structure of the community, while the social structure of the community actively supported the appropriate use of land and natural resources. The men's house, *'Alakua*, and the customary taboo system, *Tualisiya*, will also be introduced as active institutions that played a key role in the maintenance of the landscape. Most of these institutions now mainly exist in the Taromak's memories of their ancestral past, and issues related to the recent establishment of reservation and forestry bureau land management systems will portray a severe disruption in the landscape, which actively influenced the wellbeing of the Taromak community and their surrounding environment.

When these human, nonhuman, divine, local and global components are understood as active entities playing roles in the collective drama of the landscape, the

landscape's influence on the Taromak's socio-cultural systems and stability can be more clearly comprehended.

I. TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE

This section will show how the landscape acted as a land tenure institution, which was divided into clan and family use areas, but also shared through a system called *sualro'o* that maintained the socio-cultural system and connected the community to the spiritual world.

1. Agricultural Tenure

Agricultural land can be divided into three types.

1. Drorodroroko is land that has not been cultivated, and thus has high fertility⁸⁵.
2. Drorodroro is land that has been cultivated or left fallow for one or two years.
3. Madolo is land that has been used for a very long time, and thus has very low fertility.

Drorodroroko is highly valued, and the individual who is the first to prepare that land for cultivation, called the *Madrolroko*, and his descendents have the right to use that land until they do not need in it any more. The *Madrolroko* must move stones and cut trees to prepare the land, and then he must make a stone boundary, which gives him official land use rights, and cannot be moved. The Drorodroroko land prepared by the *Madrolroko* will be held by the *Madrolroko*'s clan and not by any individual in particular. This land was held as a common resource within the clan under the precept that the ancestor's land must be cultivated together by their descendents. As Nama I describes,

“We must all cultivate our ancestors land together. Everyone must cultivate it together. It used to be like this. No one ever said ‘this is mine’. It is all land that our ancestors first cultivated.”

Thus, each clan in Taromak had their distinct agricultural areas (see appendix 2), which were being used by many individuals, but shared under the principle of all being descendents of the *Madrolroko*.

⁸⁵ While asking informants about Ji-Chang Xie's (1965:135) quote that "...agricultural land's ownership rights are called *tolo*", they told me he might be talking about *Drorodroro* and *Drorodroroko*.

Individuals in the clan could use any land they wanted, as long as no one else was using it, and they got permission from the clan chief. Due to the nature of traditional swidden agriculture, land users would often change over time, and the more capable individuals or families would control a majority of agricultural land. Land would commonly be used for three to four years, and then would remain fallow for another three to four years. If one family or individual needed more land, they would ask the clan chief to separate a piece for them to use. The clan chief would give priority to clan members, then friends, in the distribution of clan held land. If a landholder, due to sickness or other reasons, was not able to productively use his land, they would seek out family or friends to use it, and then receive a contribution of the produce.

The contribution of land produce to chiefs is known as *sualro'o* and could take the form of meat or agricultural products given to the clan leader's house by land users. These contributions were especially important during the millet harvest festival, when millet would be given by cultivators to the chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan⁸⁶, at the ancestral spirit house, where it would be divided up amongst the chiefs of the six clans, guests and the needy, and used during ceremonies. Some of this millet was also retained in the ancestral spirit house as a seed bank for those that needed high quality millet seed. If a land user did not have a successful harvest they would place a millet stalk in a piece of wood and give it to the chief as a symbol of their unsuccessful harvest, but continued respect. The Paiwan tribe immigrant inhabitants of 'Adayn were responsible for giving *sualro'o* to two clan chiefs, one to the Lrabalriyoso chief, and the other to the Lavulega chief whose territory their settlement and agricultural land was on. All social classes of the Taromak would participate in giving millet to the chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan, who is responsible for connecting with the spirits during the millet harvest ceremonies. The successful ceremonies that ensue ensure the blessings of the spirits and abundant future crops. Thus, the *sualro'o* millet was an active agent not only in the sustenance of individuals, but also in the successful management of land, maintenance of the social structure, and favor of the gods.

⁸⁶ According to Xie (1965:136-137) the amount of *sualro'o* expected after the millet harvest was ten bundles of millet stalks, each bundle being thick enough to wrap two hands around.

This agricultural land tenure system was not without conflict, which would commonly arise when land left for a fallow period would be used by individuals who did not ask permission from the clan chief. This would cause conflict either within a clan or between clans, and community chiefs and elders would oversee and settle negotiations.

Agricultural tenure land was a common resource first of the clan, and then of the community. It was a land management institution that mutually reinforced the community's sustenance needs, their social structure, and their relationship with the spirits. The themes of precedence (Fox 1995b:217) and a divided but shared territory (Boulán-Smit 2006:171) are evident, but are only results of the system of relationships. The Taromak describe the ancestral Madrolroko's relationship with the land, and the *sualro'o* millet as key actors that maintained the wellbeing of the community.

2. Hunting Area Tenure

Again in hunting areas (*Talro'a*) the characteristically Austronesian themes of precedence (Fox 1995b:217) and a divided but shared territory (Boulán-Smit 2006:171) are evident, as well as the *sualro'o* system that bonded the community in an inclusive (Carrier 1998:86-92) land tenure institution. The hunting area tenure system has also been characterized by movement throughout the landscape, which allowed for hunting area regeneration and the appropriate use of human resources.

Overall, hunting territories were a common resource of each clan, and their use was overseen by clan chiefs, while being directly managed by individual hunters. These hunting areas were separated generally using geographical features such as mountainsides, valleys, large trees, and more specifically using place names. Each clan had a set of hunting places, which could be identified by place names (See appendix 2) and individual area hunters. If hunters from other clans set traps, or were caught hunting in an area outside of their own, their traps would be confiscated and fighting might ensue. To avoid fighting between hunters and clans, an outside hunter was responsible to give *sualro'o* to the hunting area's clan chief in a complex distribution system of animal parts.⁸⁷ Due to

⁸⁷ According to Xie (1965:140), hunters were generally expected to give the clan chief household the following items (all together called the *Linnaua*):

- The right hind leg of the prey.
- 1/3 of the liver (*asai*).

the dangers of hunting, and the difficulty of carrying a large catch out of the deep mountains, group hunts of up to four people would often be organized. These hunts required the gift of *sualro'o* to the primary hunter's helpers, as well as to the clan chiefs, also in a complex system of distribution⁸⁸. The *sualro'o* distribution connected the clan leader and all participant hunters in the sharing of meat, thus reinforcing the collective use of the landscape, the community's ancestral relationship to it, and the socio-cultural structures that formed out of that connection.

Hunting areas were also subject to change, especially when prey populations had been depleted after several years of trapping. The hunter would move to a different area of the clan's hunting territories and would build a new hut (*Olro*), or reuse an old one. Generally, a new hunting area would be chosen dependent on whether or not another hunter was already using that area, and the first to set up traps would maintain usage rights until they had removed their traps and set up in a different area. Eventually hunters may return to a hunting area that they had used before, but not until after very long time due to the abundance of hunting areas in their traditional territory. As Momo A points out, "Our land is so broad, we can't use it all! Our land goes all the way to the Taidrengelr!". The range of the territory was so broad that according to local hunters, overuse was not a problem as long as hunters relocated occasionally. Older hunters would also exchange hunting areas with younger hunters as they aged, in order to be closer to the village, while younger hunters could take advantage of the abundant prey in more isolated areas.

The hunting areas were shared by clans and divided into places claimed by individual hunters according to their precedence. The catch of the hunt shared as *sualro'o* was extremely important for the land tenure system in that it interconnected the clan chiefs who oversaw the hunting areas and all the participant hunters in a network of mobilized hunters, hearts, place names, huts, traps, gall bladders and chiefs. This tenure

-
- The heart (*avava*) of the prey.
 - The lung (*hapahapon*) of the prey.

⁸⁸ The distribution method for group hunts:

- *Sualro'o* for the chief as listed above.
- The primary hunter receives the head, skin, bones, gall bladder, and 1/3 of the *Linnaua*)
- The remaining 1/3 of the *Linnaua* is consumed at the hunting territory.

The remaining meat is divided up amongst all of the hunters, with elders generally receiving more.

system also allowed for movement in the use of hunting areas, which according to locals was ecologically appropriate. Therefore, the hunting area land tenure system was formed by the cross-cutting relations of the landscape, and maintained the nature-culture collective.

3. Land Inheritance

Land inheritance among the Taromak is relatively straightforward and flexible. The most important point being land must be kept within the clan family. This is because the land is not held individually, but commonly by the clan group.

Agricultural land is generally passed down from the father to the eldest son first, then if there is enough, to second and third sons. If an individual family has a lot of land, a father may pass some land down to his eldest daughter, then other daughters. Once land is passed on to daughters it stays in the female side of the family, passing on matrilineally. The reasoning behind primarily passing land down from fathers to eldest sons is that the eldest son is responsible for inheriting and maintaining the extremely important original house of the family (*katana*)⁸⁹. His younger brothers will also use the family's land, while the daughters will marry into other families who have their own agricultural areas.

Hunting land as discussed above is used by a hunter and then passed on to the next closest relative younger hunter who is capable of using that hunting territory.

The inheritance of land is not only for the living in Taromak, but also for the deceased. Naina A pointed out, in the past when some one died, if their family's land was sufficient, a piece of land would be set aside for the deceased individual's spirit to use. Providing the spirit with a piece of land to use would prevent it from roaming aimlessly and bothering other people.

4. Land and Work Sharing

One final important aspect of land tenure in Taromak is its collective quality. Although it is separated among clans and sub-clan family groups, it is all considered property of the Lrabalriyoso chief, and the chiefs of other clans. Furthermore, even

⁸⁹ See Cheng's (2000:50) discussion of the Taromak original house, *katana*, and separated house, *tatana*.

recently land has been shared with people who need it, and a system of work sharing intertwines the community and the land.

As discussed in the sections on neighbor relations, in the past land was given to immigrant groups from other tribes. This trend towards land sharing has continued into recent times when the Western Rukai moved to Taronak and were given land to use by land wealthy families. Also, after the floods and fires of the 1960's and 1970's the chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan distributed some of his clan's land to families who had lost theirs due to the natural disasters (Cheng 2000:25).

Work sharing, called *Moray'i* is also an important part of land tenure in that it interconnects individuals over the landscape through land use activities and manifests the collective aspect of land. *Moray'i* is a common system of work trade in which friends, neighbors and relatives would help each other on their farms, thus increasing the productivity of their land. Children would start *Moray'i* at about twelve years old, and continue working together with their friends and relatives for the rest of their lives. Agricultural *moray'i* was gender differentiated in that men would do the digging, cutting of trees and removing of roots (*pabidaw*), while women would do the weeding and planting. A ceremonial extension of the women's *moray'i* is the Maisahoro festival held in April, in which all the young women of Taronak weed the millet fields together and then run through the village delivering wood to their boyfriends.



Figure 12
Moray'i millet weeding during
Maisahoro festival. (Photo: Caleb
Portnoy)

Although major changes to the land tenure system have come about especially after the establishment of the reservation and forestry bureau lands⁹⁰, moray'i still exists among the Taromak who have stayed in the village. But because most young people have moved away to find employment in the industrial, rather than agricultural sector, the human resource base to engage in moray'i has been depleted. In addition the struggle for financial stability has led to people requiring money for work, rather than engaging in work trade relationships.

Land sharing, and moray'i remain important because they interconnect a wide range of individuals with the land, creating a tenure system that does not lie along the same lines of either strictly privatized or communal property. In fact the land tenure system of the Taromak was based on inclusive relationships that were recreated through the system of sualro'o, land sharing, and moray'i. These systems of inclusive land tenure maintained the network of relations throughout the nature-culture collective.

II. LAND USE

⁹⁰ See Chapter Three, section III, topics 4 and 5.

This section will describe traditional and modern methods of land use, which can be broken into agricultural, gathering, and hunting activities. All of these activities intertwined humans, non-humans and the divine into a network of landscape, which was mutually supportive particularly maintaining the human community's wellbeing. Colonial and contemporary changes have recently altered the nature of connections in this network, and as will be shown, have had serious consequences for the people of Taromak.

1. Agriculture

Agriculture in Taromak interconnected the spirits, crops, human community, and many other entities in relationships of mutual support that made up a network of landscape. This section will discuss some aspects of traditional agricultural methods and crops, the ceremonial relations that maintained agriculture, and the changes that have occurred due to market and national policy influences.

(a) Traditional Agriculture and Ceremonies

The Taromak traditionally practiced swidden agriculture, which was based on the rotational use of land. As discussed in Chapter III, section 1, topic 1, mountain agricultural land (*omaoma*) can be differentiated into three types,

1. *Drorodroroko*: Previously uncultivated land, or land left fallow for over seven years. Also the most fertile and valuable land to cultivate. Millet or rice is usually grown on this type of land.
2. *Drorodroro*: Land that has been cultivated for one to two years and still has some fertility. Drorodroro is also madolo that has been left fallow for one to two years.
3. *Madolo*: Land that has been cultivated for over two years and has lost most of its fertility. If the grower has no other land (drorodroro or Drorodroroko) to cultivate madolo is used for growing sweet potatoes or taro, which require less nutrients than millet or other crops.

By using a wide range of land in this swidden agricultural system, the productivity of the landscape could be depended on.

Usually in September or October, when it was time to move from madalro to Drorodroroko, the Taromak would first adhere to dream and bird omens⁹¹, and when the omens were good, prayers to the ancestors would be enacted asking for help and protection. After these ceremonies the following steps would be taken in preparation for land cultivation:

1. *Raba* = Cut the trees and larger growth.
2. *Lrawbo* = Burn grasses and undergrowth.
3. *Togoso* = clean up the land.
4. *Sabolro* = throw the millet seeds over the land in a mixture of soil and seeds or, 'odroli = plant sweet potato, corn (*Ngodrangodro*), or other crops.

Planting of crops would be carried out around a new moon period, when the sky is filled with stars, which indicates a plentiful harvest⁹².

Main traditional crops include *beceng* (millet), *bolrasi* (sweet potato), *taramonage* (squash), *radrisii* (peanut), and *Tay* (taro). Most of these crops originally were planted in January or February, and harvested in the spring. Millet was strictly grown in one season only, while other crops such as sweet potato and squash had two growing seasons, one from January to September, and the other from about October to January. Now millet is often grown twice a year⁹³. In addition to the above crops, a wide variety of beans (*karidrang*), gourds (*Tabololro*), grains and other crops are grown, most of which are planted in January and February.

Millet is the most important ceremonial crop for the Rukai. All stages of its cultivation are marked with ceremonies and festivals, and it is used in a variety of rituals. For example before planting millet a ceremonial prayer is held in which the ancestors are asked for a successful planting, and adequate rains. They are also asked for a successful harvest "but not too much because then there would be none left! (Naina A)." Although the adoption of world religions by the Taromak has declined the ritual use of millet, several of the millet cultivation festivals are still celebrated, and the chief of the

⁹¹ Similar to the omens discussed in Chapter Three, section II, topic 3(a).

⁹² This principle adheres to traditional crops, but not to corn, which is instead planted on certain dates, perhaps due to its introduction from other cultures.

⁹³ The chief pointed out that now that there are two millet seasons, he is not sure when to pray, and he dares not eat millet from the second season in fear of angering the ancestors.

Lrabalriyoso clan continues to use it in traditional ceremonies. The ceremonial use of millet includes it being the main crop used for *sualro'o*, it is an important component in *Tadila* house ceremonies, it is of primary importance during the *Maisahoro* millet weeding festival as well as during the *Kalralisiya* millet harvest festival in which the chief collects *sualro'o* and makes prayers to the ancestral spirits for thanks and generous future harvests⁹⁴. These ritual uses of millet emphasize its importance as a mediator between people and the ancestral spirits.

In fact, according to the oral history of the Taromak, the origin of millet is from ancestral spirits known as *Suadiading* that live underground. In a place above Kabaliwa called '*Adangasa*' there is a large stone shaped like a pregnant women carrying a child on her back⁹⁵. This was originally the passageway to the underground world where the people who live on top of the earth, could meet with those who live underneath. When the Taromak entered the underground world they would have to adhere to strict behavioral rules. For example they would have to close their eyes as they entered, and they could only take a grain of millet, which the *Suadiading* supplied them with. This one-grain of millet, when cooked would expand into a pot full of millet grains, enough to feed the family. Once, a woman and her sister wanted to see what would happen if they cooked a handful of millet grains, but as they did, the house exploded full of cooked millet, and one of the women was killed.

The *Suadiading* are people of the underworld, and have tails, which they are apparently ashamed of because when the Taromak would come to visit them they would sit in their millet-pounding vessel to hide their tail while sharing stories. The *Suadiading* would defecate into a millet-drying basket, and their feces were lazurite beads, which make up the most valuable centuries-old necklaces of the Taromak today. In recent years a *Airang* attempted to cultivate the land at '*Adangasa*', which is traditionally a spirit place and must be left untouched. According to Naina A, as soon as the *Airang's* backhoe hit

⁹⁴ According to Naina A, once a drunkard decided to test this *Tualisiya* and eat an *abai* before the chief's prayers were done. His mouth and face became crooked after that.

⁹⁵ Once, a pregnant women carrying a child on her back entered the *suadiading's* underground lair to collect millet, but on her way out of the entrance she stopped for a break, which was against the rules of the *suadiading*. Thus she was immediately turned to stone, and the entrance to the underworld was blocked.

the earth it broke and would not move. They tried again after giving several prayers, but the backhoe could still not move the earth, because it is a spirit place.

Besides the many ceremonies related to agricultural crops, the traditional rain making ceremony shows another glimpse of the nature-culture network in action. The last rain making ceremony took place in the early 1950's in a period of drought. At that time the women of Taromak would wear their bell skirts and walk along the riverbanks calling to the ancestral spirits saying 'We are growing millet and we need rain! Take pity on us! Udala (Rain)! Muleldalrdalr. Take pity on us.'. A *Siya'elreng* (female shaman), and the chief would perform more specific rituals, while the other villagers would pray using betel nut and other gifts for the spirits. This would sometimes cause it to rain immediately, or it might take effect after several days. People from other villages would also take part, especially because the Taromak were well known for their ability to effectively call forth the rain, sending water downstream. Naina A provided a more detailed description of the rain making ceremony,

"When it did not rain for a long time the young men and women would prepare to go to Mt. KinDoor. The strongest runner young man would run up to Mt. KinDoor wearing bells on his butt, to pick a special flower. Once he got the flower he would yell down to us. He would run down from KinDoor with the flower and everyone waited for him at Mulrawnga. When he got there they would separate and make a path for him, cheering him on. But this time he was not strong enough to continue running. The rain was chasing him and as soon as he stopped at Mulrawnga the rain came down. The rain would chase him because he took the flower from KinDoor Mountain. The shamans at Nanwang or other villages would pray and not get any rain, it was the Taromak that could get the rain. The runner could not eat before he went. At that time it was not successful because he stopped at Mulrawnga, so the rain just stopped there. You can't try again. This was when I was 16 or 17 years old. The flower is beautiful, and it only grows on Mt KinDoor, its called *Lrangoderesay* (coming from the root *udalre* meaning rain, it is a type of fern) meaning the flower of rain, it looks like the *lraragare* flower, which grows everywhere, but it only grows on a giant tree on KinDoor mountain. That was the last time they did it. The elders told us how to do that. We would do that if it did not rain. The chief would also be there to watch, but it certainly was not his duty."

In this rain ceremony, the *Lrangoderesay* flower of Mt. KinDoor was mobilized as an important actor in the relationship between rain and the Taromak. The ritual also connected the Taromak to their neighboring villages in that their rain ceremony was known as being most effective.

The traditional agriculture landscape of Taromak included a variety of actors whose appropriate relationship maintained the food supply of the human community. The

appropriate use of land in a swidden agricultural method sustained the community and allowed for soil regeneration. Stars, birds and dreams were messages from the spirits as to when it was a good time to cultivate. The most ceremonial important product of the land, millet, acted in a variety of ways that maintained relations amongst humans and the divine inhabitants of the landscape. By mobilizing the Lrangoderesay flower from the top of Mt. KinDoor, the rain was also engaged in order to provide water for the human community of Taromak, their crops, and their neighbors as well. The wellbeing of the collective depended on these relationships that interconnected humans, plants, and spirits.

(b) Contemporary Agriculture

Many economic, policy and lifestyle changes have transformed the agricultural aspect of the Taromak's nature-culture collective. The need for financial stability has led many young people to move away from the village to find jobs as wage laborers in the cities, thus reducing the local work force capable of maintaining an agricultural industry. In addition, land rights policies have made swidden agriculture legally unfeasible due to the amount of land needed for rotational use. These changes to land rights are described by Naina B,

“The agricultural area used to be far ranging and there was enough for people to move around within their clan-based districts. They may only use land for one or two crops, or up to several years and then move to a different area to cultivate. But then some people started to grow more long term crops, like betel nut or ginger on their land and so they got rights to the land when the government measured the reservation area and gave land rights to people using it. Other people who practiced traditional agriculture lost a lot of their land because they were using only part of it temporarily, and a lot more over the long term.”

The changes to land rights directly affected the crops grown, causing a trend towards more long-term crops, rather than short-term crops that are more suitable for a mobile swidden agriculture.

The government agricultural bureau has promoted several cash crops in an attempt to develop local indigenous economies. These crops include lemon grass, peaches, plums, wet cultivated rice, buddha head fruit/custard apple, betel nut, ginger, and Xiang-Chun (Latin name: *Toona sinensis*, leaves are used for Chinese medicine and tea). In the Japanese era, after the Taromak had moved out of the mountains rice was grown as a main cash crop, but now that most rice is imported from mainland China, its value has dropped

and other crops have been promoted. Plums were promoted about twenty years ago, but again, the mainland China plum market soon devalued the Taromak's plums. The most recent cash crops have been Xiang-Chun, which is difficult to grow because any chemical pesticides that drift onto the valuable leaves of the trees from other farms ruin the crop; and the Roselle flower, which can be sold back to the government agricultural bureau for little return. Although the Taromak continue to grow traditional crops for personal consumption in between cash crop seasons, the agricultural bureau now supplies subsidies for leaving land fallow, thus decreasing available land for these traditional crops. Forestry has also been promoted and many people gain very small subsidies for growing trees on their land that can be harvested after over twenty years⁹⁶. The land policies, cash crops and subsidies introduced by government development organizations have extended the Taromak's nature-culture collective into the realm of international trade, and have influenced the feasibility of maintaining connections between the many actors that originally made up and supported the collective.



⁹⁶ See Chapter Three, section III, topic 5.



Figure 13
Contemporary cash crops in Taromak.
(Photos: Caleb Portnoy)
A. Buddha head fruit.
B. Roselle flower with tall betel nut trees in background.
C. Xiang-Chun trees.

2. Collecting Mountain Products

Traditionally collected products⁹⁷ are too many to describe because the entire environment was the origin of almost everything the Taromak used. In general, rights to collected products were claimed by the land holder, and if an individual wanted to collect anything substantial they would be required to first ask the land holder. Most collected products did not require any special ceremonies, except for certain things such as after cutting a tree thick enough to wrap ones hands around, a stone must be placed on the stump, preventing any disrespect to the spirits and any resulting sickness. Some commonly collected products include rattan vines (*Uvai*) for making a variety of tools such as baskets, or rope; stone slate (*Alribi*), which was separated into hard dark male stone and soft light female stone, and used for building houses; *Tokonoy* (Aiyu), which is deep in the mountains and was often collected by hunters to sell, but has recently lost market value; *dokuy* used to make red dye; a variety of bamboo used for food consumption, building materials, etc.; and couch grass, *Thala* the thicker type, and *Igi* the thinner type used for roofing and other materials. Many different kinds of wood were also used, especially for construction, and similar to stone, many were differentiated by

⁹⁷ See Liu 2008, and Zhuang 2002.

gender. For example the *Takoradrong* tree was separated into female (in Chinese the sha-lou tree) and male (in Chinese the bi-tong tree), which was used for building. Another tree called *Badese* was separated into a thinner female type (in Chinese the di-mi tree) and a thicker male rot-resistant type (in Chinese the zi-du-mi tree) also used for construction.

Although the forestry bureau and the township government now hold the collection rights⁹⁸, the Taromak continue to use them in traditional ways, but in fear of being fined. Also, a breakdown of traditional land rights has occurred and people often do not ask traditional landholders before taking wild products from their land. Whereas the traditional collection of mountain products originally was an important part of the Taromak's nature-culture network, it has now become part of a landscape of conflict. This conflict has occurred because of government policies and land rights reforms that have interrupted these relations between plants and people.

3. Hunting

In this section hunting is emphasized as an activity that intertwines humans, non-humans, and the divine in the landscape and maintains the wellbeing of the nature-culture collective. First the prey of the hunter will be discussed, then the complex process of hunting will be introduced. Hunting prayers and taboos especially related to special animals will delve deeper into the spiritual aspects of hunting. Finally contemporary views of the changes to hunting activities due primarily to government limits and market influences, and the effects of these changes on the collective will be explored.

(a) Prey and Process

Although the hunters of Taromak will occasionally take small prey such as the Formosan Rock Macaque, flying squirrel, or rabbit. their main targets are the larger animals⁹⁹ listed below in Table 3.2.3.1a.

⁹⁸ See Chapter Three, section III, topic 4 and 5.

⁹⁹ The word for animals in Taromak is so close to the word for meat that a distinction had to be made by elders involved in mother language conservation. Animals and meat have been referred to as *Bulabulai*, but recently a term *Gulagulai* is being used (perhaps reintroduced) because it signifies movement. Animals can also be differentiated between domestic, called *nilra'owa* and from the mountains *maka'obola*.

Table 2
Taromak Hunter's Prey Categories

Prey	Further Categorization	Notes
<i>Onuang</i> (Sambar)	<i>Salrawnga</i> = Male	Can weigh up to 250kgs. Inhabit high mountains
	<i>Sa'adi</i> = Female	
<i>Baboy</i> (Boar)	<i>Baboya</i> = Boar with out tusks	Also separated into small (40-50kgs) and common; big headed with short body (150kgs) and most common;
	<i>Valisa</i> = Boar with large tusks	very large, called <i>Daladilu</i> ¹⁰⁰ (300kgs) and rare.
		If a hunter brings a Valisa back to the village, he is a hero. Once 10 Valisa have been hunted the chief awards the hunter with the right to wear the white lily flower. Although the Valisa is the most dangerous boar, it will only attack when it is injured.

¹⁰⁰ Name may come from Japanese for 'round'.

<i>Kisisi</i> (Formosan Serow)		Currently a protected animal.
<i>Akece</i> (Formosan Reeve's Muntjac/Barking Deer)		Most commonly caught prey. See Figure 14.



Figure 14
Successfully hunted *Akece*
(Barking Deer) using shotgun.
(Photo: Caleb Portnoy)

Hunting of the above animals can be separated into two methods. The more ‘traditional’ hunting method using traps, is considered by elder hunters as requiring more skill and knowledge of the terrain and behavior of animals. More contemporary hunting with homemade shotguns, generally takes place at night with headlamps. Many elder hunters continue to hunt with metal foothold traps, placing them in their hunting area, and

communicating with other hunters as to their trap's position. The following describes several features of a 'traditional' pre-hunt, hunting, and post-hunt process.

The hunting process begins the night before the hunter leaves the village as his dreams bear signs of what lies ahead. Obviously, good dreams are a sign of a successful hunt, while bad dreams are a sign of danger and may require the hunter to cancel his trip. If the hunter dreams of catching a big *Suaba* (snake), or eating sweet potatoes, taro, fish or meat, it is a sign of a successful hunt. In addition, because in dreams people represent animals, if one dreams of fighting a person and injuring them, it is also a good sign. Bad dreams include getting lost in the mountains in the dark, or getting attacked by spirits. Dreaming of domesticated (*nilra'owa*) animals such as raised pigs or cows, is also a sign of danger on the hunting trip ahead.

Many taboos adhere to the hunter preparing for his trip, some of which include not touching meat, not touching women's clothing (especially underwear), and sometimes sneaking out without telling their wife where they are going. A pre-hunt prayer is used to 'clean off' anything on the body or objects carried on the trip that may negatively influence the hunt. Momo A enacts a pre-hunt prayer as follows

"I take the water, and taro leaves, and breathe on it, and say '*sabo*¹⁰¹ *sabo sabo*' to clean off anything bad. I first clean things to bring on the trip, then I clean myself. '*Sabo sabo go ladako laisa*' I'm cleaning off the bad things, do not harm me, I must go into the mountains, don't do anything to harm me because I have already cleaned everything."

This cleansing ceremony prepares the hunter to enter forests without disturbing the spirits with anything 'dirty'. This emphasizes the relationship that the hunter must maintain between the spirits that make up the landscape in order to ensure his survival and the success of the hunt. It also separates him from domestic village life as a 'right of passage' into the more dangerous outside landscape.

Once the hunter has cleaned himself from any 'dirty' village substances, prayers must also take place at particular places *en route* and upon arrival at the hunting territory. The prayers are addressed directly to the place encountered, as described by Momo A,

"When you arrive you tell it, 'I have returned, I will not harm you, I am a *sunā* (child) of the old ages, I will not harm you.' When we arrive at a place we absolutely must give it some meat, wine or betel nut and we must say that place's name. When we get to Kalilroko we must say 'The god of Kalilroko, I have

¹⁰¹ *Sabo* means to clean.

returned. Look at all the things I have for you. Please do not harm me, I am a *suna* of the old ages’, ‘*Aogolakamadangalei ki Kalilroko, baowalida abaidomoninaka sa sanataobale sana toaniaolo, kakonolruakua lazilai kulraku lroda yazobakunomya*’, ‘I give you all these things, all these gifts, so please give me a little bit of what you have.

This prayer establishes a familial connection to the place, as well as a relationship based on mutual sharing and protection.

The landscape not only provides sustenance for the Taromak on their hunting trips, but also gives them information about what lies ahead on their hunting journey. A complex system of bird omens carries this information from the spirits to the hunter who has the ability to interpret these signs. Birds are described as the gatekeepers of the spirit world and thus can communicate between the two realms. Many different types of birds communicate with people through different behaviors and sounds.

Table 3
Bird Omens

Bird Type	Behavior and Sign
<i>Lililo</i>	A small bird that communicates with using different calls that have different meanings.
<i>Thalrimaong</i>	A small red bird that makes loud calls and leads hunters through the forest.
<i>Bakalarl</i>	Informs hunter of danger ahead, especially flash floods that could trap the hunter. Communicates though flying direction, flying right meaning ‘the way is safe’, and flying left meaning ‘danger ahead’.
<i>Tagaga</i>	Similar to Han Chinese views, the crow (<i>Tagaga</i>) is a bad omen, but only if it is seen in the village. The crow’s presence outside of the village is not interpreted as a bad omen.

Table 3 describes a few of the birds that foretell hunters of such things as a good catch, injury, storms, or a hundred pace viper ahead. These bird omens continue to be

adhered to by some elders, for example Momo A recently accompanied his relative and a Han Chinese into Kabaliwa as a guide. On the way he noticed several bird signs indicating trouble ahead. In addition to the negative bird signs, the Han Chinese sneezed several times, another bad omen, so Momo A decided to call off the trip, but his relative insisted on going ahead. After Momo A returned home, his relative soon phoned another relative because he needed to be rescued from Kabaliwa due to a severely injured hand. In this case the spirits of the landscape had mobilized birds to warn Momo A and his companions of the injury.

Warnings communicated through birds or other signs can sometimes be extremely difficult to adhere to while working in the mountains. Therefore methods of protecting oneself from foretold dangers exist. For example, if omens foretell danger ahead on a trail, but one must pass, one can cut off a piece of their clothing, breathe over it, say their own name, telling their spirit to wait there in that place. The hunter can then proceed but must return to the place where they left their spirit before nightfall. Upon return the hunter will call his spirit saying, “*Ila! Dadavacena!* (Let’s go! Let’s go home!)”, and head back. Leaving their spirit behind provides the hunter with temporary safer passage into danger foretold by birds carrying messages from the spirits.

On the journey home from the hunting ground a hunter would often encounter many other hunters on their way into mountains. This was an important point of exchange between the communities that shared the hunting area. The different clan’s hunters would interact throughout the mountains exchanging meat, and information. In addition, other tribesman who had access rights to the Taromak’s hunting territory would also participate in these exchanges, which would also spark inter-tribal marriage relations¹⁰².

Another point of meat sharing was at place called *Tamabababaza* near *Samadilri*. At *Tamabababaza* the hunters would rest just before returning to the village, and the catch would be divided according to the meat separation method described in Chapter III, section 1, topic 2. This place name reflects it’s important function as a place of sharing in that it is named after *mababay*, meaning to transfer, give back.

¹⁰² See Chapter Two, section II, topic 4 for Bunong-Taromak relations.

Sharing with passersby would continue until arriving, at Doo¹⁰³ where the hunter carrying meat would take the root of a certain kind of tree, flatten and roll it into a thick cord, then light it, which would give off a fragrant smoke and continue to slowly burn. This would symbolize that the hunter was not going to give up any more meat and was heading directly home, where further prayer ceremonies would continue¹⁰⁴.

The prey and processes of hunting traditionally make up a network of relations between a variety of actors, including prey animals, spirits, chiefs, places, birds, and fellow hunters. These relations aligned the nature-culture network in a way that promised the men of Taromak a productive role in their society, which was seen as mutually supportive for all other actors.

(b) Prayer and Taboo

Pre, during, and post hunt prayers were extremely important for maintaining a positive relationship with other entities in the landscape. As Nama F puts it “If you don’t pray, the spirits will not take care of you”. One condition of these prayers is that they are conducted in a local manner with the local language. Momo A describes his experience taking his Puyuma tribe friend on a hunting trip with him, and as they prayed the Puyuma friend did not speak the Taromak language, and further more his style of prayer was foreign. According to Momo A, that was the reason why his friend got lost, and his traps all disappeared. “What is the guy? I do not know him?” is what the spirits would say while a foreign prayer was conducted in a foreign tongue. By using the local language, and practices of the local belief system, a more intimate, effective and safe relationship with the landscape can be established.

The pre-hunt prayers¹⁰⁵, as well as other hunting related prayers, stress the familial relationship between the spirits of the landscape and the hunter, and their reestablishment of a mutual bond of protection and exchange. In pre and during hunt prayers several phrases are often repeated such as, ‘I am you *sunakua* (grandchild)’, and ‘*kakuranakwa* (Take pity on me)’. In addition, gifts were always given to the spirits of

¹⁰³ Close to the colonial era ‘Irlra village, site of hydroelectric plant.

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter Three, section 2, topic 3(b).

¹⁰⁵ Previously introduced in Chapter Three, section II, topic, 3(a), and Chapter Two, section II, topic 1.

places along the journey to, and at the hunting area. Prayers also particularly take place at the home before the hunt at the central prayer pillar of the house (*lomotom*), as well as while leaving the village (*cekelre*), entering the outside world (*lalawa*), and at the *Dake'akala*¹⁰⁶.

Post hunt prayers emphasized pleasing the prey and its relatives. Immediately after returning from the hunt, the hunter would take the head of the animal, put millet grains into it's mouth, and blow the grains in, letting the animal eat the millet. He would then tell the animal's spirit to invite his relatives to come join him at the hunter's house, where they will receive a similarly cordial greeting. The clan's *Siya'elreng* (female shaman) would then be invited over to perform a ceremony at the hunter's house in which the animal's head would be waved around in circles at the front door of the house, as the animal's relatives were invited to come join the happy occasion. The head would then be put into a basket for drying and could only be eaten by the *Siya'elreng* and sometimes men. This would conclude the immediate post-hunt prayers.

Prayers of thanks would also be carried out after the hunt,

“*Mwalangnga yaBelreng labaisu naiya ki...Bulabulai, ya latainniya lo yakabaiyanaiya*’ (Thank heaven for providing us with meat, please take pity on us and give us a little more) ‘*baiyimo sakikai baowa gei manima gei botolro, abai*’ (We will share our wine, meat, abai and *manima* with you) When we make abai we need to give to the spirits. If you don't give to the gods they will not give to you (Momo A).”

These prayers were directed at the heavens and reassured the spirits that their provision of meat would be reciprocated appropriately.

The hunter would conduct another prayer associated with post-hunt human-animal reciprocation at least every month. In the hunter's house an entire wall would be used as a rack for the skulls or lower jaw of the hunter's catch. All hunter's had a rack and it could include thousands of lower jawbones. The racks were organized according to size of prey in the following order from top to bottom: *salonga*, *baboi*, *kisisi*, and *Akece*. A prayer would often be conducted at the jaw rack in which the hunter would blow wine and millet over the bones showing them how good a host he had been to them. The hunter would then chant to the bones, “*kolrome, kolrome, kolrome*, animals come quick, come quick, your home is here! *Alalrakasasa*, your clan/family is here, come

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter Two, section IV, topic 3.

quick, come quick! (Momo A)” By conducting post hunt prayers, a reciprocal relationship with the families of animals, and the spirits of the landscape was maintained. The fact that these prayers require the use of Taromak language and customs reinforces the ancestral relationship that the Taromak have with their landscape and all the entities of its composition.

The clouded leopard (*Likulraw*), the Taiwan bear (*Comay*), the eagle (*Adrisi*), and the hundred pace viper (*makaBelreng/makadaedae*) are considered taboo to be hunted. Besides the viper, if any of these animals were caught in traps or killed out of necessity the hunter would undertake a lengthy ceremonial prayer for forgiveness at a place outside the village area called Talikoyava (named after the clouded leopard, *Likulraw*). As the hunter got close to the village he would yell (WAAA) to inform the villagers of what had happened. Two yells indicated an eagle had been caught, three yells indicated a bear, and four indicated a leopard. The hunter would then bring the animals body to a cave at Dalrillikuwa where he would remain for one week of prayer ceremonies. It was believed that if the hunter returned home before the prayers were complete, his family would become severely ill.

In the cave at Talikoyava, the hunter would pray for forgiveness from *YaBelreng* (the heavens), “I am sorry, YaBelreng gave us this. I did not mean to harm. Of course I am sorry about what you have given me. After this it will not happen again (Momo A).” During this time of prayer, only the elders of the village can come to Talikoyava to eat the meat of the animal¹⁰⁷. After the prayers had been completed, the hunter would dispose of his clothing, go to the river and clean his body with rough couch grass¹⁰⁸, thus preparing to return to the village cleansed of his sin. These taboo animals are powerful creatures of the landscape, and their death by the hand of man was seen as a breakdown of the relationship between the human community and the spiritual world, which had to be mended before the hunter could return to the village. Again, the wellbeing of the nature-culture collective is seen as depending on properly functioning relationships between an array of actors.

¹⁰⁷ According to some informants, the fur of the bear and leopard, and the eagle’s feathers originally could not be used, and only recently has the chief or a great hunter worn them as a symbol of high rank.

¹⁰⁸ Latin name *Elytrigia repens*.

(c) Contemporary Hunting Changes

The above section showed how the activity of hunting interconnected numerous human, non-human, and divine entities in a network of predatory and reciprocal relations, which maintained the collective. These relations were connected with other communities through exchange and territorial conflict, and in the past century this network of relations has been extended to include powerful new actors. This section will briefly discuss changes to Taromak hunting practices and the influences from these new actors.

Although the Han Chinese fur, game meat, and Chinese medicinal animal product trade changed the nature of hunting in the 19th and early 20th century, and Japanese Imperial control also had an effect on hunting practices, locals mainly point out policy changes that have occurred since the KMT government political takeover as the main point in which hunting, and the relationships with all the entities involved were transformed. One powerful change brought about by the Japanese was their prohibition of the *sualro'o* system of game meat sharing with noble clan leaders. This destroyed the class structure of the Taromak, taking away the leadership role of the chiefs, and directly influenced the hunting area tenure system, which went hand-in-hand with the social structure.

Another type of change mentioned is due to Christian influences, the existence of a plethora of gods and spirits that inhabited the landscape has been denied, and the traditional taboo systems that were an important part of hunting have been refuted. As Nama F points out,

“The Presbyterian Church opposes our traditional culture (hunting ceremonies), like traditional cultural prayer. They think that the world only has the god that they pray to. Actually, the hunters today that attend the Christian, Catholic or Presbyterian Church still bring (on a hunting trip) wine and things to give for prayer. I have seen many like this.”

The religious change explained here is one intended to lead to the acculturation of the Taromak into mainstream religious systems, but instead has brought about an increase in internal diversity in which hunters adhere to western religions while continuing traditional hunting prayer.

This type of internal diversification is not a marked characteristic of the Taromak's response to the changes brought about by KMT policy introductions¹⁰⁹. The Taromak explain these changes as being directly influenced by the global environmentalist movement, and having serious consequences for their relationship with the landscape. Nama G describes this political change,

“It's a legal problem, because the law is not from our county, it has been promoted by the whole outside world, it is conservation, this is one problem. Originally, when our traditional territory was demarcated as forestry bureau land there was not much influence. At that time everyone continued hunting as normal, and no one was overseeing it. We were not influenced until the worldwide conservation movement came. We indigenous peoples originally depend on this for our lives. If we do not have money to buy anything, then we go to the mountains and look, we take things to sustain our family's lives. Now we still need to eat meat, so we continue to use this method to give our family's something to eat. It was like that until the conservation. The expulsion we received was huge. Now if we go into the mountains we must go secretly, and when we return we must be very sneaky. Originally I had two eyes, now I have six, seven, and eight! I must watch out for people!”

Approximately twenty years ago the effects of the global conservation movement had taken its toll on the hunters of Taromak. Many hunters were caught, fined or jailed if they could not pay their fine. Originally the forestry bureau would patrol the mountains but could only report an offender to the police, who would handle the arrest. But now the forest bureau police have the right to arrest and fine individuals directly. Locals see the police patrolling their territory as individuals and not purely as extensions of a fixed law. As explained by Nama H, some police will let hunters go in order to take the catch for themselves, and others will immediately arrest the hunter. In the past 10 years the Taromak have seen less enforcement, but the few hunters left practice in constant fear of prosecution.

Since the conservation movement, the people of Taromak have also seen changes occurring as a result of the development of indigenous hunting rights¹¹⁰. A hunting

¹⁰⁹ Article 16 of 2006 Wildlife Conservation Act:

Protected Wildlife shall not be disturbed, abused, hunted, killed, traded, exhibited, displayed, owned, imported, exported, raised or bred, unless under special circumstances recognized in this or related legislation.

Protected Wildlife products shall not be traded, exhibited, displayed, owned, imported, exported or processed, unless under special circumstances recognized in this or related legislation.

¹¹⁰ Article 21-1 of the Wildlife Conservation Act:

festival has been established, which gives the Taromak the temporary right to hunt, but government researchers create limits according to estimated stock of animals. Although the Taromak do not necessarily adhere to them, especially due to the fact that they cannot control what falls into their traps, they have often been limited to 10 boar per season. Off-season hunting activities require the hunter to first register with the township government and inform them of what, when, where and how they will hunt. This requirement is often ignored by hunters because of the difficulty of adhering to the bureaucratic process, especially considering the indeterminate nature of traditional hunting practices (i.e. dependence on dreams, bird omens, etc.). These limits established by internationally influenced national government policies, and their enforcement have interrupted and criminalized the relations between humans, nonhumans, and the divine engaged in during hunting practices, thereby having a detrimental impact on the nature-culture network, which these relations sustained.

The story of the hunter's jaw rack, an important actor in the nature-culture network, provides clear insight into the effects of government imposed hunting limits. Originally tens of thousands of sambar, boar, serow, and barking deer lower jawbones covered the hunter's prayer jaw rack. As discussed above, these jaw bones were cared for as if it was their home, given millet and wine, and the hunter communicated to the descendents of these animals through their jaw bones, inviting them to join their ancestors in his house. If these jawbones were thrown out the hunter would be cursed with failed hunts. During the early KMT period when hunting limits were set in place, the hunters heard that they could be arrested if the police found their jaw racks¹¹¹. Momo A's father, an avid hunter, in fear of arrest, loaded the jaw bones of his and his forefather's catches into four large trash bags, took them to a cliff near the bank of the river, and buried them under stone. Unfortunately, during a typhoon flood they were all washed into the sea. Momo A now puts only a few of his boar skulls and jaw bones on

Wildlife may be hunted or killed for traditional cultural or ritual hunting, killing or utilization needs of Taiwan aborigines, regardless of Article 17, Paragraph 1; Article 18, Paragraph 1; and Article 19, Paragraph 1.

Hunting, killing or utilizing wildlife in the condition listed above shall be approved by authorities. The application process, hunting method, hunted species, bag limit, hunting season, location, and other regulations shall be announced by the NPA and the national aborigine authority.

¹¹¹ See above footnote.

his living room shelves as a memorial. The skulls are still valuable and can be sold for up to NT\$5,000 (US\$157). He dares not put more than a few boar bones, and never puts sambar antlers, or skulls for fear of arrest see (see figure 3.2.3.3). The hunter's jaw rack, once a place of communication between the diverse entities of the landscape, and a symbol of a hunter's prowess, has been transformed by government policies into a dangerous criminalized entity, and by the Taromak into a memorial of the past, and place of resistance.



Figure 15
Contemporary hunter's jaw rack, made up of Valisa jawbones and skulls, with hundred-pace viper artwork behind jawbones.
(Photos: Caleb Portnoy)

Hunting in the Taromak nature-culture collective maintained both the power of the chiefs through the system of *Sualro'o*, the dynamic social status of the hunter, and the relationship of reciprocity and communication between humans, animals and spirits, which in turn ensured the provision of sustenance. The appropriate meat sharing relations that sustained life and the above nature-culture structures flowed between ancestral spirits, their human descendents, and animals, intertwining the entire collective throughout the landscape. The national conservationist policies that connect the Taromak nature-culture network to global ideologies have interrupted these relations, which have

led to the deconstruction of the social structures that they supported and to a re-assemblage of the landscape and the society that inhabit it.

4. Fishing

Rukai rivers were traditionally separated into large rivers, which were generally the property of the highest chief, and streams, which were overseen by the landholder of the area, which that section of river flowed through (Wang 2006:147). The traditional method of fishing in Taromak was called *darolro* in which a section of river was blocked off and a poisonous root was smashed on rocks in the water, causing the fish to be temporarily immobile. Individuals were not allowed to do this and the villagers would monitor their river to prevent outsider or individual fishing.

Once a year up until the 1940's or 1950's, a village wide *darolro* would be held after the chief and elders had met and decided that the fish in the river were especially plentiful. The chief would then hold a ceremony, and all the villagers would come to the river with the poisonous root. The fish were so abundant then that people from other villages, including the generally hostile Puyuma people, would be invited to participate and take the fish. The catch was first distributed amongst chiefs, who then distributed to sub-clan families. The *darolro* was often connected to a rain ceremony during the millet-seeding period (January / February) in which the villagers would call for rain while they fished. Although fish poisoning was eventually prohibited by the national government, people from outside the village have come to the Taromak's rivers freely to fish using poles or nets, and the fish stocks have been greatly depleted in comparison to fifty years ago, before the fish poisoning prohibition.

The yearly *darolro* was an important collective activity that connected the Taromak with other nearby communities, and provided the entire region with fish. The traditional prohibitions of individual fishing, while allowing collective and managed fishing, seem to have been more effective than the current locally inappropriate national system.

III. LAND MANAGEMENT

The actors and activities described above were once aligned in a network of relationships that made up the Taromak's system of landscape management. This section will discuss how these entities mutually supported the social structure; how the men's club (*'Alakua*) served and united the village, as well as maintained its territorial integrity; and how a traditional legal system, known as *Tualisiya* was a set of rules regarding proper behavior in relations between humans, nonhumans and the divine. Changes to these management systems will be discussed intermittently, and the final two sections will introduce local views of contemporary land management and policies.

1. Social Class and Land Management

Traditional land management in Taromak is inseparable from the social class system, as well as the methods of land use described in Chapter Three, section II. Land tenure, as described in Chapter Three, section I was generally held overall by the chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan who had rights as the most direct descendent of the first Rukai ancestor¹¹². The traditional territory's agricultural and hunting land was then separated amongst the six clans dependent on their ability to manage and use their areas. The main chiefs of these six clans oversaw the distribution of land and products, the ceremonial connections to the spiritual world, which guaranteed a productive relationship with the land, as well as conflict resolution between land users related to land use. Sub-clan commoner level families were allotted a piece of land from their clan's area depending on their ability to use it productively. In addition to the clan chief, clan elders also played an important role in overseeing the appropriate use of land by particular families.

The clan chiefs and elders, and especially the *Talriyalralray* (chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan) were specifically responsible for land management negotiations and conflict resolution. Commonly, disputes would arise after a land user would leave their agricultural land after three or four years of use for a fallow period of about the same time. When returning to reuse the land they would find other people using it who had not

¹¹² To reiterate, the class system was based on the chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan being the direct descendent (following the line of eldest males) of the first Rukai who came out of stone. All other clans are branches of the Lrabalriyoso clan, and all have their own chiefs. These chiefs are respected because they inherit the original house, known as *katana*, while the chief's family's branches (i.e. his siblings that form new families and homes) become sub-clan families/homes called *tatana* (Cheng 2000:50).

asked permission from the land holding chief or the previous user. The main chiefs would then negotiate a resolution, and have lower ranked people deal directly with the parties in question. Nama I, the current Talriyalralray, describes this traditional legal system,

“The most respected in the community was the Talriyalralray. He had a lot of power, he could do a lot, like a coordinator. He would deal with all kinds of disputes. Before there was no court, this was the responsibility of the Talriyalralray. Before there was no fines, why? Because that would hurt people’s feelings. It would just be reconciled. Two bottles of wine, one bottle of wine, every one make peace together. Because we can’t split up, our community could not split up. Not like now elections cause the community to split up. The worst thing for indigenous societies is the election system, because it causes the community to divide.”

The Talriyalralray, was an especially important figure for resolving of disputes related to land, and maintaining the integrity of the community. His role as overseer of the landscape and his special connection to the spiritual world, based on the origin place-based stories, gave him his managerial role. The end of the *sualro’o* system, the privatization of land, and the advent of the election system all led to a break down of the community as a united entity.

Although sharing of products¹¹³ was generally the case in pre-colonial Taromak, the chiefs, or original houses (*katana*), would receive a type of tribute (discussed in previous sections) known as *Sualro’o*. *Sualro’o* was the most important part of the land management system, because it mobilized and interconnected the entire community. Primarily made up of game meat, and part of the millet harvest, other products, such as squash, corn, millet, etc. could also be given to the clan’s *katana*. In general approximately ten percent of the millet harvest was given to the chief, who must make a prayer to the ancestors before consumption of the millet could take place¹¹⁴. If one had a successful crop but did not give *sualro’o* to the *katana*, then it would be ok with others, but their following crops and hunts were expected to fail. This was because the chief would not be able to make appropriate prayers to the ancestors, thanking them for their support. Besides being used for the chief’s family’s consumption and ceremonies, the

¹¹³ “Eating together tastes better (Nama A).”

¹¹⁴ Naina A saw the results of a drunkard who tested this taboo and ate millet before the chief had prayed, which immediately twisted his mouth and face to become crooked.

sualro'o was also distributed by the clan chiefs to poor families, to feed the orphans raised by the chief, and some was kept as seed stock.

As the six clans developed independently in their individual hunting and agricultural areas, the clans and sub-clan families competed with one another for access to land. If one sub-clan group was more productive they would gradually be awarded more land to use by the clan chief. This would produce more sualro'o, thus leading to a more prosperous clan and community. The act of giving sualro'o directly mobilized the producer to give to the katana, mobilized the chief to redistribute goods back to the community, and mobilized the ancestral spirits to provide more support to their descendents through the landscape.

Although Japanese era policies prohibited the sualro'o system, locals explain that it continued until the land management system changed. Takalri A describes how sualro'o as a land management system, which supported the community's sustenance and culture, changed dramatically after KMT era policy changes.

"Sualro'o extends into many different cultural aspects. But after the land was restricted, culture was similarly constrained, and then everyone's lives began to change. Their lives became without sualro'o culture, without hunting culture, without collecting, without growing millet. Everyone has gone to a hotel to work, to do odd-job wage labor, or find other employment, all just to get by. So culture more rapidly vanishes. Now young people probably can't imagine we only came from Kabaliwa around 1926, not even one hundred years ago, from our original culture, from wearing tree bark, from just knowing simple cloth materials, from that lifestyle it has only been one hundred years. Look, it is very related to land. When we left that land, and then that land was restricted, the culture was similarly unable to propagate."

Here Takalri A shows how important land, and the sualro'o system are to the culture and livelihood of the Taromak. Take away the traditional institution of land management, and all of the aspects of life that it extends through and interconnects with are directly affected.

The social system of the Taromak was an integral part of land management because it united the nature-culture collective through sualro'o. In other words, sualro'o encouraged the productivity of the clans and supported the power of the chiefs who maintained harmonious relations between people and the ancestral spirits who controlled the success of harvests and hunts, which led back to the successful production of sualro'o. When the government changed the land management system, this network of relations

was interrupted, and the livelihood and culture of the Taromak were negatively influenced. From this case it is clear that society is dependent on the associations that compose it (Latour 1986, 2005).

2. 'Alakua

The 'Alakua is a men's house made up of age ranked young men from about twelve years, until married. It serves as a place of training for young men, and a service and protection institution for the village. Originally, Kabaliwa had two 'Alakua one for members of noble clans called *Rinasoka*, and another called 'Inavoka for commoners and the immigrant residents of *Angas*. These two houses would often compete with one another, and at times the competitions could turn violent. During the Japanese era, when the Taromak were moved to 'Irilra, the elders of Taromak decided to unite the two 'Alakua's into one. The sleeping quarters of the 'Alakua continue to be separated into a *Rinasoka* and 'Inavoka side, but the young men can sleep on either side. The 'Alakua is a place for young men to learn how to be productive members of Taromak society, to serve the community, and to develop bravery and diligence while competing with one another.

Many of the 'Alakua's duties are related to the management of the Taromak's territory. The list below gives several examples of the community service that the 'Alakua was traditionally engaged in year round.

1. Help with any kind of work such as land clearing, harvesting, etc. ('*osakaele*). Ordinarily the family or individual being helped would prepare food, wine and gifts for the 'Alakua's help.
2. Help elders to carry things if met on the road.
3. Help building houses, the house builder would ask the 'Alakua leader for their help.
4. Firefighting.
5. Mountain Rescue.
6. Protect the village from enemy attack.

7. Help each other court girls. This may include helping the suitor collect firewood, give meat, or help work for the girl's family. Also assist with engagement preparations and ceremonies.
8. Particularly related to the management of the territory was the 'Alakua's duty to monitor its use, especially in the far reaches of the boundaries. This would occur approximately once a year in the winter when the 'Alakua had more free time after the fields had been cleared, and while the women were seeding the fields. They would then patrol through the territory (also with non-'Alakua villagers) especially at the boundary areas checking to make sure no other tribes were setting traps in their land, and negotiating with other tribes about territorial issues. Elders still remember the last time this was done in the 1940's when they were in grade school. Now, because of changes to the 'Alakua, a lack of leadership in the institution, and the changes in hunting practices, the 'Alakua's monitoring of the territory has stopped.

Clearly, the 'Alakua was an important part of the Taromak's territorial management, community service, and village defense system.

Although the 'Alakua and its general role still exist, many changes have taken place. These changes were particularly brought on by the change from an agricultural society, which gave the 'Alakua a lot of work helping produce food, and protecting the village and family; to an industrial society in which young men and women must find more effective ways to earn money outside of the village. Furthermore, the lack of work available for young men and women has led to diminished social standing and abundant alcoholism in the community. To avoid this, most young people move away to find jobs in the cities. In the face of these hindrances, the 'Alakua continues to be active for the month preceding the harvest festival, in which dedicated young men who have not married and have remained in the village train their younger brothers, and help the community prepare for the festival.

Once a key managerial institution in the Taromak nature-culture collective, the 'Alakua system continues to be an important part of the landscape in that it unites the village men and mobilizes them to protect their territory, and the collective of entities that constitute it. This institution of territorial management has faded due to the demands of

contemporary society. In particular some government policies, such as mandatory military service for young men, and the land policies that have decreased the amount of usable land for the Taromak, have left the 'Alakua with less members, and less motivation for community service.

3. Tualisiya

This section will introduce the traditional Taromak taboo system, called *Tualisiya*, which is also thought of as a traditional legal system by some locals. The word Tualisiya comes from the root '*asalisi*' meaning prayer and is often referred to as behaviors to avoid during ceremonies, such as sneezing, and farting. Tualisiya also refers to moral behaviors, many of which are related to the maintenance of relations between humans, nonhumans, and the divine in the landscape. The list below introduces several Tualisiya particularly related to the land, that ought to be avoided.

1. One must adhere to dream and bird omens before and during trips into the mountains. To not adhere to these omens is Tualisiya.
2. When a village member dies, going into the mountains to hunt or collect is Tualisiya.
3. The elders considered turning over the land, by plowing or using a backhoe, Tualisiya.
4. Eating millet before the chief finishes conducting the ceremonies of gratitude to the ancestors is Tualisiya. It has been witnessed that when one breaks this Tualisiya their mouth and face become twisted.
5. After land has been prepared for cultivation by an individual or family, and another person or family attempts to use that land, it is Tualisiya. This is because it does not show respect for the original land opener, *Madrolroko*.
6. Cutting the *Daralra'e* tree (Banyan) or *Seve* tree (Bishop tree, Latin name *Bischofia Javanica*), which are houses of the spirits, results in sickness, and if the wood is burned, the smoke will destroy one's throat.
7. Cutting trees on mountain ridges destroys the path of the spirits (*Talrolroda ki adadinga*), therefore it is also Tualisiya.

8. To not respect elders in general is Tualisiya, and there are many detailed rules about respecting the elders. For example certain types of food that are a rare species, such as river eel or shrimp, could only be eaten by elders. The reason being if the young people could eat them there would be none left. The warning for young people was that if they ate the eel or shrimp, they would only be able to run backwards.
9. Not adhering to the words of the chief or elders (for example in land disputes) was also Tualisiya, which needless to say maintained peace in the community.

In general breaking a Tualisiya would result in sickness or other serious problems for the perpetrator, after which a *Siya'elreng* (female shaman) would hold a ceremony to communicate with the spirits and ask what malixi (something wrong) the person had done. A pig sacrifice and prayers for forgiveness would often follow this. Although these Tualisiya still exist in the community, and many are intuitively adhered to, the effects of contemporary world religions have transformed many of them from belief, into superstition or blind faith.

Some locals describe Tualisiya as a traditional legal code, thus explaining its role in the management of land. Here it can be understood as a behavioral code that structured the relationships between humans, nonhumans and the divine, thus maintaining the nature-culture collective.

4. Contemporary Land Management

The following two sections will introduce the contemporary land management system, seen by locals as an occupation of their entire traditional territory by making it the property of the national government, and taking away their rights to the land, thus severing the relations between humans, nonhumans and the divine that maintained the wellbeing of the community. Basically, the contemporary land management system in Taromak is discussed by locals as being separated into land governed by the National Forestry Bureau; and Reservation land, which is governed by the National Indigenous Council and the Bei-Nan township government, all of which is overseen by the central government. Previous authors (Yan and Yang 2004; Chen 1998; etc.) have described in depth the background of these policies in depth as they developed from 19th century

Japanese imperial policies, through KMT colonial era adoption of Japanese management systems, and into the current management system. This section highlights the fact that by separating the human community of Taromak from the other human, non-human and spiritual entities of their landscape, these policies have deconstructed the once unified management systems discussed above and created a landscape of conflict that has negative impacts on the lives of the Taromak, and the entire nature-culture collective.

(a) The Forestry Bureau

In the early KMT period an arbitrary line was drawn through the Taromak's landscape just past Kabaliwa that separated their 28,000 hectares of territory into approximately 26,587 hectares of forestry bureau land, which was turned over to the national government for control and management; and 1,413 hectares of reservation land that allowed the Taromak limited use.

The land occupied by the forestry bureau continues to restrict the Taromak's relations with their landscape. Hunting has been prohibited, the collecting of mountain products has been prohibited, cutting any trees has been prohibited, and even the collaboration between the Taromak and other tribes over the management of their territories has ended due to the forestry bureau's occupation of their territories. Although collecting mountain products and limited hunting has recently been permitted¹¹⁵, a difficult bureaucratic process lies in between the Taromak and their legal interaction with their landscape. The chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan has applied to collect wild vegetables for three years and has been consistently denied, also pointing out that the process is very difficult and costly.

The Taromak originally depended on their mountainous landscape, but now especially due to occupation by the forestry bureau, their livelihoods have been taken away. The chief explains that they originally had a sufficient system of management, which has now been taken away along with the land, and those determined Taromak who

¹¹⁵ Article 15 of the 2006 Forest Law

If the forest is located in the traditional territory of aboriginal people, the aboriginal people may take forest products for their traditional living needs. The harvesting area, variety, time, paid/unpaid, and other rules should be decided by the central government agency along with the central government of the aboriginal people.

wish to continue their relationship with the land have become criminalized by the National Forest Law and the Wildlife Conservation Act.

“Now it is very difficult because it (the traditional territory) is all the forestry bureau’s. Before it was very coordinated, and we had an adequate system. Now the Forestry Bureau has taken it all away, so we can’t continue doing that. Now it is the Forestry Bureau who deals with the land and uses it. So the only way for us indigenous people now is to steal.”

Although some locals do not mention a lot of conflict with the forestry bureau, others point out that at the time when their land became demarcated as forestry bureau and reservation, they did not understand the meaning of the laws or the restrictions that would be brought about. Now the Taromak are more capable of legal resistance, and they have been asking for the forestry bureau to return their land rights, but without success.

The forestry bureau’s managerial role in the Taromak landscape has taken the place of a pre-existent management system, especially in the hunting areas. The restrictions and changes that came along with this institutional change have disrupted many of the connections discussed in the previous chapters that maintained the relations between humans, nonhumans and the divine. In turn this has disrupted the nature-culture network at a variety of levels, most importantly separating the Taromak from their ancestral landscape that they have depended on since the time of their creation. This separation obviously destroys locally unique socio-cultural characteristics, criminalizes the local management system, and creates a land management system in which local actors (hunters, chiefs) are powerless, and extra-local actors (government officials, national policies) use their powerful connections to national and international entities to inappropriately define local landscape relations.

(b) Reservation Land

During the Japanese imperialist era an arbitrary reservation area was mapped out by imperial officers, but according to the Taromak, major changes did not occur until the land registration efforts during the early KMT period. At that time most people continued to use their mountain land in a traditional manner, but they were also busy developing the plains around ‘Irilra and ‘Olravaing for wet rice paddy agriculture. During this time KMT government students came to the village, measured and numbered the land, and registered land users or people who could prove land rights with Japanese

era documents. This system of privatized land rights not only drastically reduced the amount of usable land for the Taromak, it also restricted locals from continuing their original inclusive method of land management, which directly influenced the relationships that intertwine their collective.

Because the KMT students did not take into account land that was in a fallow period, much of the clan's land was not registered and became government property. In addition this system did not take into account the fact that land is often lent to more productive families, by families who did not have the means to use it. Furthermore, all the land of Taromak was originally the property of the chiefs who shared it with their relatives and immigrants. Thus when land was only registered and privatized for individual land users, it directly conflicted with the traditional system of land management that interconnected the entire human community, the products of the land, and the ancestral spirits that inhabit the landscape. The area of land that could be legally used by the Taromak was also greatly reduced because people had no Japanese era documents proving any ownership of the land.

Many other limits on use of the reservation land restrict the Taromak from productively interacting with their landscape. Individual households are limited to the amount of land that they can use¹¹⁶; much of the land is protected from use because it is a water source area that supplies Taitung City; the type of crops grown and building on reservation land is restricted; the land cannot be used as collateral for bank loans; the land is limited naturally because it lacks the nutrients to grow cash crops; and the governments restrictions on who can own land cause issues of inheritance¹¹⁷; and locals have few other choices than to engage in illegal relationships with Han Chinese if they need to sell the land¹¹⁸. The effects of the reservation policies¹¹⁹ have left the reservation land valueless

¹¹⁶ The chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan once was the lord of the entire territory, now he does not have enough land to distribute among his children.

¹¹⁷ As described by locals, to inherit reservation land one must be at least half indigenous and must take the family (Chinese) name of their indigenous side. The children of a half-indigenous individual and a non-indigenous individual (1/4 indigenous) cannot inherit their family's reservation land.

¹¹⁸ It is illegal for non-indigenous people to buy land, but because many indigenous people are in need of money, they will sell the land to wealthy Han Chinese people who often hire the indigenous legal landholder for manual labor.

¹¹⁹ See Taiwan's 1990 INDIGENOUS PEOPLES RESERVATION LAND DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT PROCEDURE.

as a foundation of wealth, insufficient in area to be passed on to the Taromak's descendents, and too restricted for productive development. Thus, the reservation is seen as Government property, with indigenous people only having the right to work there, and wealthier Han Chinese often usurp even this right. Nama I explains,

“We all don't have any land! Why don't you (the township government) even give us our land to rent? Why don't you give us back our land? Why don't you give us back our ancestor's land? Why do you rent it to the Han people? Why don't you give it to us? Where is the land for our children? It is really not fair!”
The right to use and manage this small section of the Taromak's traditionally territory is seen as being usurped by the mainly Han Chinese government, and Han Chinese individuals, thus creating a landscape of ethnic conflict, and an explanation for the financial and social difficulties that the Taromak face today.

The conflict over Han Chinese use of reservation lands is common throughout Taiwan (Chen 1998), and in Taromak it continues to turn the landscape into a place of ethnic conflict. This is especially true because the majority of the Taromak community continues to emphasize the importance of keeping their land within their clan based families. As Nama G describes,

“One can only sell their land if they have some difficulty. But first they must ask their brothers and sisters if they want it. Of course first ask men, and if they all can't buy it, you can sell it to someone else. Our elders taught us ‘We cannot let outsiders come into our traditional territory’, and the land is the same, you cannot sell it to outsiders. Everyone seems to know this... We must continuously pass it down to our descendents, because this is our clan's wealth. This is the viewpoint.”
But the market economy and indigenous people's need for financial stability sometimes influences this viewpoint,

“For example, I want to sell this land for one million (NT) dollars, but my brothers and sisters cannot afford it. If someone else can buy it for one million, of course I must sell it to them. In these times it is like this (Nama G).”
The need for financial stability among the Taromak can lead them to sell their land illegally to wealthier Han Chinese, while the land stays in their name. This is viewed by some people in Taromak as a selfish act by the individual who sells or rents their land, and by others as a necessary evil. The Taromak fear that if all their land is illegally sold, or rented to the Han Chinese, they will have no where to go because many cannot afford land outside of the reservation.

In recent years the situation has changed and the Han Chinese who illegally bought reservation land in the past don't want it anymore because of its lack of value.

This has led to a trend of the Taromak buying back their land from the Han Chinese. But this has also led to conflicts because the Han Chinese often want to sell for more than the Taromak can afford to buy their land back. In addition, because reservation land cannot be used to take a loan out, enough money cannot be raised by a family to buy back the land. This situation continues to create ethnic conflict on the reservation land.

In the face of all these legal and financial limitations that disrupt the connection between humans, nonhumans, and the divine entities of the landscape, the Taromak continue to actively find ways to stay connected to their land. Traditional crops continue to be grown throughout the village and reservation land mainly for personal consumption. Contemporary cash crops, such as ginger, betel nut, Roselle flowers, etc, (some of which are organized and subsidized by the government's agricultural bureau) are grown throughout the reservation by the Taromak and Han Chinese. In addition a government forestry program has been established, which provides saplings to land owners and small subsidies for the yearly cutting of undergrowth. Although the Taromak receive very little income for forestry, they see it as a source of wealth for their descendants, who can reap the benefits approximately twenty years after the saplings have been planted.

As Huang (1995) points out in a Bunong tribe village, the effects of a market economy, religious change, and national policies have transformed the symbology of indigenous space. But it is important to remember that as Latour (1993:106) points out, no one lives in a world of only signs and symbols, and these symbolic changes are merely one type of result of a transformed nature-culture collective that has many serious consequences. In Taromak, these transformations have come about as the relations between people, millet, *sualro'o*, boar, chiefs, stone *Bacing*, birds, trans-tribal relations, and ancestors are severed and replaced by active policies, Han Chinese, application forms, transnational economics, backhoes, dollar bills, mail-order brides¹²⁰, and land titles. Similar to the Forestry Bureau land case, new extra-local reservation land actors have altered and divided the network of locally determined landscape-based associations that once maintained the nature-culture collective of Taromak, and have established a

¹²⁰ One example of a selfish Taromak selling his land was described to me as a man requiring money to pay for his mainland Chinese mail-order bride. He sold off most of his land to pay for her, then when she ran off with his money, he sold the rest of his land to pay for another mail-order bride.

disunited management system that ineffectively controls the expanded associations of the landscape.

IV. THE ACTING LANDSCAPE

This chapter has shown how the diverse actors of the Taromak landscape were interconnected playing mutually supportive roles. It has also shown how contemporary changes, in particular government land and conservation policies have extended this network of actors to include many global concepts and entities.

Although traditional land tenure in Taromak is very similar to the inclusive property relations described by Carrier (1998), it not only includes humans, but also a variety of active entities that inhabit the landscape. Precedence defined some of the relationships between actors, but the locally unique systems of *sualro'o*, *molra'eyi*, and land sharing maintained the tenure system and intertwined its many constituents.

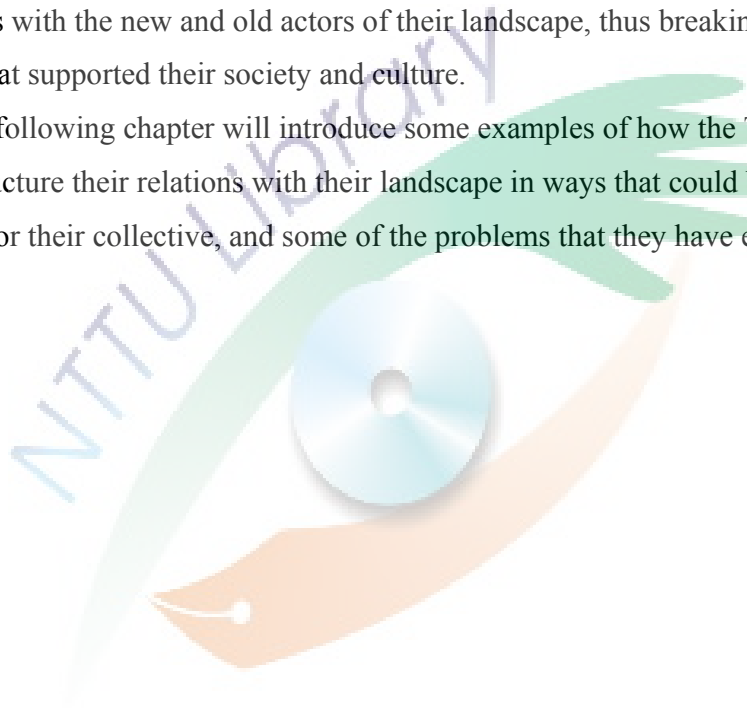
The appropriate relations that during agricultural land use activities flowed between spirits, people and plants maintained this collective of landscape actors. Reciprocal and predatory relations between animals, spirits, people and places were maintained again through appropriate conduct and prayer. Furthermore, these relations supported the role of all actors in the collective. Contemporary changes, most of which have been translated through government policies, have extended the network to give non-local actors power over the Taromak's landscape, and have criminalized traditional relations through policies of exclusion.

The relations between actors aligned along the lines of land tenure and use, made up the structure of the land management system of Taromak. This system we overseen by the chiefs and implemented by land users, whose position and relationship was maintained by the *sualro'o* system, which also included other important actors such as ancestral spirits, millet, and prey. The '*Alakua* was another important institution that organized young men who could manage the territory collectively. The *status quo* land management institution was also maintained by *Tualisiya*, which coded appropriate behaviors and relations between actors. These traditional land management institutions, and the many local actors that it supported, changed dramatically after contemporary systems were established. The forestry bureau's occupation of most of the Taromak's

territory has severed and criminalized many of the relations between actors, thus taking away their role in the collective. The reservation land policies replace traditional relations between the actors of the landscape, introduce many new entities and usurp the Taromak's right to define their relations with these new and old actors.

The traditional landscape acted as a collective of human, non-human, and divine entities whose appropriate relations maintained their structure and role. This traditional land management institution was made up of a network of mutually supportive relationships between an array of actors. Contemporary policies and changes have transformed this institution by taking away the Taromak's power to define their relationships with the new and old actors of their landscape, thus breaking apart the collective that supported their society and culture.

The following chapter will introduce some examples of how the Taromak would like to restructure their relations with their landscape in ways that could be more supportive for their collective, and some of the problems that they have encountered on the way.



CHAPTER FOUR

The Landscape Moving On

I. RETURNING AND REVIVING THE LANDSCAPE

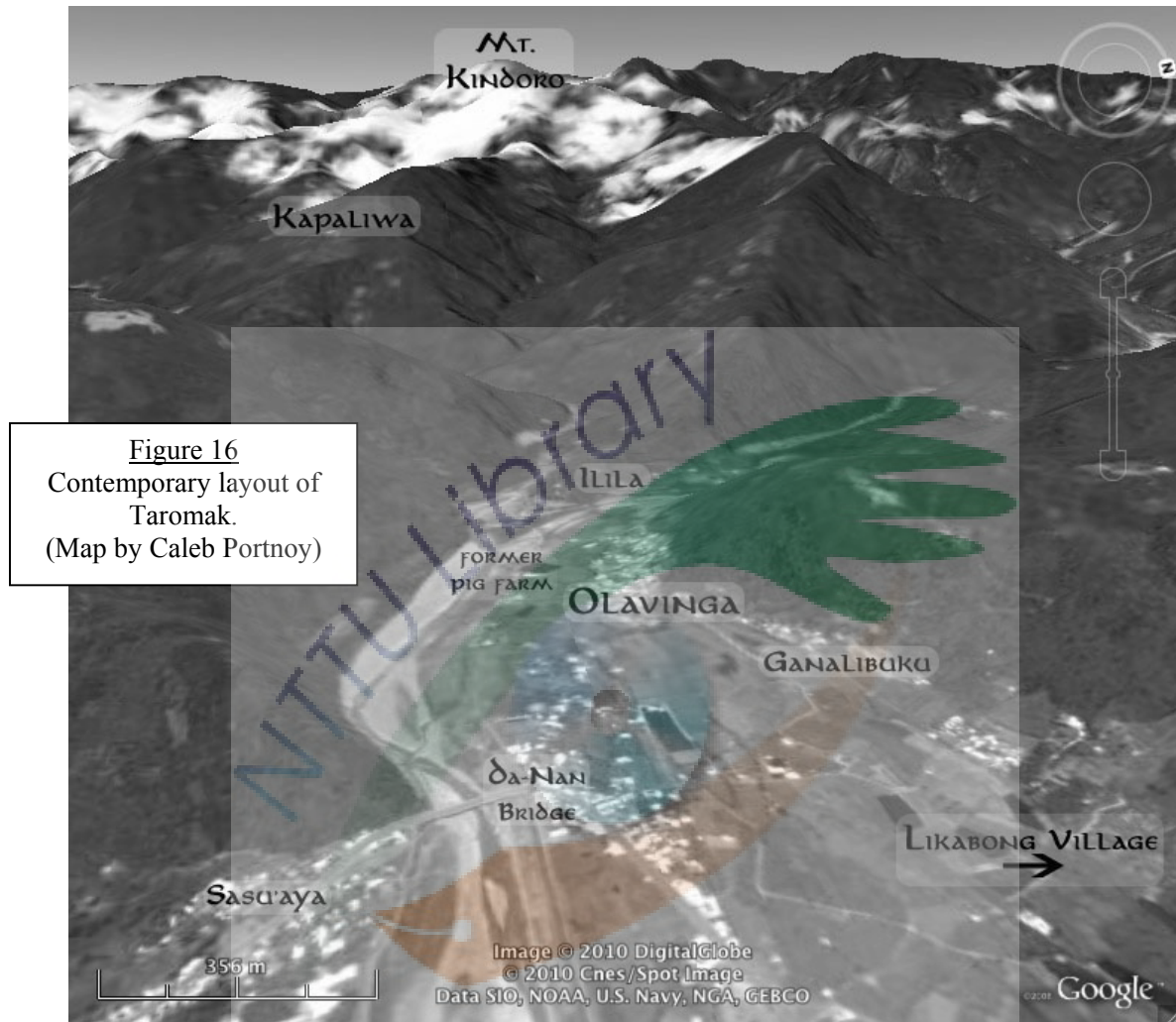
The preceding chapters used Bruno Latour's ANT model to introduce the landscape of elements and relations that are involved in creating the Taromak's nature-culture collective. This final chapter will discuss from a local's point of view, how the landscape should move forward into the future, and what kinds of relations and elements it should be made up of. The previous chapters set up the context for understanding the present situation of Taromak, the role of the landscape in that context, and what that role will be in the future.

The wide variety of opinions¹²¹ within Taromak about the future of their village and landscape provide multiple perspectives on the present and future situation. This chapter first examines the issues of returning the Taromak's traditional territory through local perspectives on why the landscape is important, and in particular the importance of Kabaliwa as a cultural heritage site that is currently being recreated by the community. The Kabaliwa case illustrates the community's ability to bring the landscape back to life after years of separation, but these efforts still face political issues that are discussed in the following section on local politics, collective action, and religion. Although these political challenges hinder the community's collectivity, the pig farm case shows that the community can work together to achieve victories, but as long as their territory is claimed by the national government, their success is dependent on the government's legal and financial support. The final sections of this chapter introduce several local movements and perspectives on the future of the landscape, the characteristically Austronesian continued importance of places in the landscape, current and future projects meant to revive the landscape into a productive network, and the ultimate goal of indigenous self-governance of their territory.

This chapter shows that although the Taromak landscape network has been extended to include many new elements, often causing some of its original constituents to

¹²¹ The opinions within this chapter are only a fraction of those that exist.

lie dormant, the human community of Taronak has been actively recreating and redefining their network to more effectively maintain their collective.



1. The Importance of the Landscape

The previous chapters showed how the Taronak landscape intertwines human, non-human and divine elements to create a network of mutually supportive relationships, and how colonial era and contemporary remodeling of the network have transformed these relationships. Although many of these changes have disrupted the Taronak's connections to their nature-culture network, their landscape continues to be regarded as a key component governing the survival of their culture and community. This section

introduces a local's point of view on the importance of the landscape, the natural resources it provides, the relationship of mutual preservation between the human community and the landscape that has existed, the role that the landscape provides for the human community, the senses of place that are embedded in the landscape, and the ultimate need for the landscape to be returned to the people of Taromak in order to maintain the network of relations that support their community and culture.

The Taromak continue to consider the natural resources of their landscape as part of their subsistence base and life support system. As Nama D points out,

“Our traditional territory of course has resources, these resources include minerals, forests, water, and wild animals, anything that grows out of the ground. These resources raise us; our life depends on these resources. If we don't have these resources we cannot survive, so this traditional territory is what all of our survival depends on. So it is really important, minerals, water, and air is all included. So for the Rukai tribe, the traditional territory is very important. Basically it's the resources, these resources, but if these resources are not mine, if they are other people's, how do I live? How do I survive?”

The many resources of the Taromak landscape are responsible for the survival of the community, as long as they stay in their possession. Nama H describes the attachment that this mutually dependent relationship creates,

“The traditional territory is extremely important for this village's life ways. Because the territory is so big, if they don't have it, probably many people would die. Why? There would be no place to hunt, no place to collect Aiyu, no place to collect mountain trees, and other wild vegetables. So they feel that this traditional territory is extremely important. Why do I say this? If it was not important they would have already not be using it, but even now, the older generations are still hunting, catching boar and other animals, collecting Aiyu and other things. So one can say that they have a strong feeling for their territory, if they did not have that feeling, they would not go.”

While engaging in traditional life ways and activities, the Taromak maintain their relationship with other elements of their landscape, which in turn provides material and emotional sustenance. Nama G further describes the relationship of mutual dependence that the Taromak human community has with their landscape, and how it is defined as an ancestral relationship,

“If analytically speaking we ask, what is this thing called the traditional territory? It is the place where we have existed since we were little, we must safeguard this from when we are young until we grow up. It includes our ancestors, our grandparents, they are here, they are from this place, and then they formed a village. We depend on this place to live, to survive. We absolutely must continue to safeguard this place that is ours.”

The Taromak wish to remain in and protect their landscape not only for the natural resources that provide them with material and emotional sustenance, but also because of their ancestral relationship with its many elements.

This ancestral relationship that the Taromak have with the elements of their landscape has developed over generations to become a powerful 'sense of place'. As Nama H has observed,

"From the beginning, the people of Dong-Xing Village had a lot of feelings for this place. For example, within this territory, they have given every area a name. If this place is mine, I would be very familiar with every piece of grass, every tree. If I walk over there and meet a tree, I will know it. So, they are extremely familiar with their territory, and have a lot of feelings for it. The people of the village are familiar with every mountain, and every person. In every move, they know the place."

Nama H is describing how local knowledge is developed by familiarity between people and other elements of the landscape, and how this familiarity creates a sense of place that is important to the Taromak.

While attempting to describe the importance of the traditional territory, many locals are at a loss for words because of its inseparability from the many aspects of their culture. Takalri A sums this point up,

"If we look at things from the aspect of land, if we leave the land, the community's land, which is the root of the community's culture, we will *mamudo*, which means 'to perish'. The culture would perish. If there is land, because this environment extends into a life adapted to this environment, and from this life extends this culture. This culture is just our daily life, which creates the many main features of our culture, because our life is in this environment."

In other words, the Taromak's culture and way of life has formed out of their unique relationship with their landscape. Without the landscape, the culture and life-ways of the community will *mamudo*.

The Taromak also describe how the landscape provides the human community with a productive role in their nature-culture collective, but when the relationships between humans and other elements of the collective are blocked by such things as application forms, land policies, and financial burdens, this role is taken away and social problems such as alcoholism ensue.

"As long as there is prey, men are dependent on hunting. We are a meat-eating people. No matter if you are a heroic man, every man's value is dependent on his ability to hunt (Momo B)."

Traditionally, a man's worth was dependent on his productive role as a hunter in the nature-culture collective. But this all changed after conservationist policies interrupted this relationship.

"I am not a hunter, because we don't have an environment to hunt in. If we had that environment, perhaps the men in our village would all have hunting experience, but now we don't have that environment. So now we indigenous people carry a pen, and don't hunt, who really hunts? Those who really hunt don't dare say so because they are afraid of getting arrested. They have all become silent hunters (Takalri A)."

Because the hunters of Taromak's relationship with their landscape have been criminalized, they have gone from proud productive members of their community to either 'silent hunters' or 'modern' individuals without cultural experience. Nama B describes further detrimental effects of separating people from their role in the nature-culture collective,

"How are people dieing now? Getting sick from drinking, getting in a car accidents from drinking, getting divorced because of drinking too much, all these things happen from drinking too much alcohol. Alcohol is not bad, just drink less! (How is the drinking problem related to the traditional territory?) Of course if we have work, this drinking problem becomes less frequent, if you don't have work you are just at home every day, and people who drink come to see you."

Conditions that restrict the Taromak's productive role in their nature-culture collective increases alcoholism, alcohol related death and other social issues described by Nama B.

Because of the importance of the landscape, and the detrimental impacts of policies that have separated and restricted the Taromak's relationship with their land, the community would like the land returned, and to recreate their relations with it in ways appropriate for the contemporary context. As described in Chapter Three, section III, topic 4 and 5, the traditional territory is divided into forestry bureau land where the Taromak's activities are extremely restricted, and reservation land which the Taromak 'borrow' from the government, and which has little economic value. Nama C describes the severity of the issue,

"We have always used a wide territory, but the forestry bureau has become the land owner of it. If we want to go hunting, or do something, we must first apply. If you want to pick some plants, some wild vegetables, you must go through the forestry bureau for a picking permit. Then the reservation is occupied by the Min-Nan people¹²² who use about 80% of it. So now over 80% of our traditional territory is the forestry bureau's, and we can't use. The remaining land, which is

¹²² The Min-Nan people make up the majority of Han Chinese in southern Taiwan, and originally are from southern Fujian province, China. They are also referred to as *Airang*.

less than 20%, like in Kabaliwa, is supposed to be for the Rukai tribe but is used by the Min-Nan people for growing betel nut. So what is left for us to use? Basically nothing. So I keep hoping that the Airang return our land, the reservation part of it, so that we can use it for business. And if we can't use it for business, then the government can use it for forestry."

As discussed below, the Taromak community has been actively using legal procedures in order to get their land returned, and has been attempting to develop the local tourism industry, as well as create more opportunities for forestry projects in which the government could provide subsidies, and the land could be protected from erosion. But these projects cannot be accomplished while the land remains restricted and occupied by non-local agencies and individuals.

The following section describes the Taromak's attempt to rekindle a relationship with their old village Kabaliwa, and the variety of issues that this project entails.

2. Reconstructing Kabaliwa

Places in the Taromak landscape continue to be important as they gather meanings, and interact with a variety of local and global elements. Kabaliwa is the main cultural heritage site in Taromak and since the mid-1990's reconstruction of the old village has been taking place. The first structure to be rebuilt there was the 'Alakua or men's house built in 1999, followed by the chief's house in 2005, the ancestral spirit house in 2006, a commoner style house in 2007, a guardian stone in 2008, and recently an observation platform and partially cemented road in 2009. There have been a variety of perspectives on the reconstruction of Kabaliwa, discussed below in the generalized categories of support and opposition.



Figure 17
Site of Kabaliwa reconstruction
at Kazecele.
(Photo: Caleb Portnoy)

Reconstruction of Kabaliwa has basically been an effort to uncover the ‘roots’ of the Taromak’s ‘mother culture’, and to protect and pass on this ancestral place.

“The Eastern Rukai migrated from Kabaliwa to where we are now at, ‘Olravainga. Kabaliwa is the root of our culture. In Rukai it is called *twalrai*, ‘to come from that place’. So it is important to reconstruct Kabaliwa because it is the mother of our culture. When a mother is pregnant she is connected to the baby by an umbilical cord, right? Cultural reconstruction is for contemplating this original umbilical cord of culture, so one must return to the mother’s side. Now where is the mother? If you don’t return to Kabaliwa, where will you go? That is the mother! Once one arrives at Kabaliwa, they think ‘Hmm, what was Kabaliwa like? Where did it come from?’ That will cause one to think about the entire land, the entire culture, the original-traditional life, and how these people came about. Regardless of the fact that many people bring in their current beliefs, because we all have a belief system now and some say ‘what are you doing going back?’. But humans are diverse! We cannot use that single perspective to look at this issue, we should accept more diversity (Takalri A)!”

Takalri A describes here the reasons for reconstructing Kabaliwa and one of the oppositional views against it, which has been influenced by contemporary belief systems.

Figure 18
Reconstructed
central Kabaliwa
area with 'Alakua
building on far
right.
(Photo: Caleb
Portnoy)



The reconstruction of Kabaliwa is seen as being particularly important as a place to develop local identity and to educate local youth by reconnecting them with the place of their mother culture. Education programs intend to bring young people to Kabaliwa and have them stay to be educated by elders on how to live a traditional lifestyle¹²³. By developing youth identity and local knowledge the Taromak intend to build their self-respect and confidence in a world dominated by Han Chinese culture. The reconstruction of Kabaliwa is also an attempt to stimulate the local tourism industry and develop local employment by bringing tourists to Kabaliwa with local guides to experience the lifestyle of the Eastern Rukai, and to teach them about the plants and animals of their landscape. These tourism ventures also intend to connect traditional culture with international conservationist values, thus appealing to contemporary trends in indigenous/eco-tourism. One informant claimed that overall approximately 80% of the locals in Taromak support the reconstruction projects because of its value as a cultural heritage site and its potential for creating local jobs in the tourism industry. In addition many informants pointed out

¹²³ For example, how to find one's way in the forest, how to find food, how to live without electricity and tend a fire, how to catch wild animals and find wild vegetables, and how to build houses from local natural materials.

the need for appropriate development that would not damage the community or environment.



Figure 19
Reconstructed
commoner's house
at Kabaliwa. Built
using local slate
stone.
(Photo: Caleb
Portnoy)

Much of the opposition for the reconstruction of Kabaliwa is passive and is based on fears of over-development. These include fears of backhoes destroying the mountains, karaoke bars, hotels, cafes, and food stalls lining the roads, further selling of reservation land to outsiders, increased crime or disrespectful visitors, the construction of a concrete road to Kabaliwa causing more over-development, and the environmental problems such as pollution and potential landslides that might come with tourism development. Other people point out that the facilities, such as the road, are not safe enough to promote tourism, and that tourism development is not as important as other issues that need money and attention. Because the reconstruction programs have been in cooperation with the community college and other outside individuals and organizations, some locals are also concerned that these outsiders may be controlling the projects. In addition, these conflicting perspectives on the reconstruction of Kabaliwa are not only a contemporary phenomenon, but in fact some elders believe that Kabaliwa is inhabited by the ghosts of their ancestors who will take away their spirits if they go there, leaving only a shell of a body behind. These oppositional perspectives demonstrate the internal diversity of the

Taromak as well as the many new and old elements of the landscape that are being included by promoting reconstruction and tourism development.



Figure 20

Recently paved road to Kabaliwa. Some people fear that over-development could cause environmental damage, while others see the roads construction as enabling the Taromak to reconnect with their ancestral landscape. (Photo: Caleb Portnoy)

Many of the above fears are realistic and must be addressed by the community, but several other problems that have been encountered on the road to reconstruction continue to hinder the Taromak's ability to reclaim and reconstruct their land. These problems are directly related to two contemporary entities, 1) the reservation land policies developed by the KMT government, and 2) the market economy on which the Taromak now depend.

Problems related to land rights in Kabaliwa began when the KMT measured and registered people's land according to who was using it at the time. Because much of the land in Kabaliwa was not being used at the time of land measurement, many individuals and families that can still find the housing or agricultural sites of their forefathers were not able to register for their land. Now, because indigenous families can only apply for a limited amount of land, if registering for their ancestral land in Kabaliwa or elsewhere exceeds the limit, they will be denied land rights. Other areas of Kabaliwa were registered for and several people in Taromak own land titles to it, while some of that land has been rented or illegally sold to outsiders. These land title issues and the fact that the Taromak have to adhere to other people's rules on their own territory causes much

frustration while trying to reconstruct Kabaliwa. One solution to this that has been proposed is to make Kabaliwa a common property cultural heritage site.

Taiwan's Indigenous Council, as well as the township and county governments have passively supported the reconstruction projects by supplying grants for temporary activities, but applying for these grants requires the Taromak to jump through the hoops of the bureaucratic process. This grant money is then handled by the local development organization for paying for reconstruction materials and labor by willing locals. Other problems have come about after locals receive payment for their labor and then continue to expect payment for all other participation in activities¹²⁴. This issue stems from the fact that many people are too busy, financially troubled, or passive to volunteer their time for unpaid reconstruction projects. Money earned from tours is divided amongst local workers, guides, and the development organization, which has led to some conflicts over how the money should be distributed. Other issues have arisen due to the need for locals to first invest some money while preparing for tourism activities, which they may be unwilling to do because of their own financial hardships. Some informants also complained that it was difficult to find good local guides who could interpret accurate information and traditional stories to tourists, hinting at the need for more training and capacity building.

¹²⁴ For example, the chief's house collapsed but no one volunteered to fix it, and no money was supplied to arrange for local workers or repair supplies, thus leaving it in disarray.



Figure 21
Local volunteers
rebuilding the
observation deck
at Kabaliwa.
(Photo: Caleb
Portnoy)

Many of the Taromak continue to view Kabaliwa as an extremely important place in their landscape, which, if reconstructed and revived, could provide many emotional and material benefits to the human community. But the problems that have come about during the reconstruction projects and the justified fears of others in the community show that the Taromak's landscape is no longer only made up of ancestral spirits, chiefs, boars, and hundred-pace vipers. The network of landscape now extends to include a variety of new actors such as: government, tourism, and conservation organizations, backhoes, land policies, global tourism markets, karaoke bars, world religions, concrete, student and worker schedules, and grant applications. If the reconstruction of Kabaliwa is to be successful, the community of Taromak needs to create their relationships with the new and old elements of their landscape in locally acceptable and appropriate ways. The limited land rights, financial assistance have been described here as recreating Kabaliwa as a place of cultural heritage with conflict.

3. Governance and Collective Action

The governance of the landscape in Taromak has gone through many transformations in the past century especially due to imperial Japanese and KMT influence. Traditional local politics were run by the clan chiefs and community elders

who were responsible for resolving land disputes, overseeing land distribution, and other governance issues. Village representatives and heads are elected by the community, and three local assistance organizations govern most local issues, while township and county governments as well as the Taiwan national indigenous council oversees the use of reservation land.

One of the main problems with the current political system is that these overseeing agencies are headed by government officials who lack professional experience in dealing with indigenous land rights issues, and often do not understand the problems that the Taromak face. Furthermore, these government officials often change office, so the Taromak must continuously deal with new officials and re-inform them of their locally unique situation. The Taromak mainly need help from these officials while dealing with land title issues, land inheritance, legal issues related to reconstruction projects, and in general dealing with bureaucratic and legal processes. But with out adequate knowledge of the local situation, these officials only create more hindrance to effective governance.

Government officials often implement projects intended to stimulate economic development in Taromak, but are usually only short-term and are seen by locals as simply bureaucratic profiteering in nature. As Nama C points out,

“Its all bureaucratic profiteering, the government doesn’t promote things well. This year we do it for a while, and then we must keep on changing what we are growing. Right now we are growing Roselle flowers. Everyone is growing them, and they think the benefits are good. Then the government will say ‘Hey! Too much! No one is buying this!’, and we must change our crops again.”

The short-term nature of these programs makes it difficult for the Taromak growers to develop their relationship with, and effective production systems of the crops promoted by the government. This stems from the government officials lack of understanding of the needs of the local community, and the entire nature-culture collective.

The ignorance of government officials is not the only problem coming from contemporary governance issues that directly influence the effective maintenance of the nature-culture collective. The chief of the Lrabalriyoso clan in particular views some democratic changes as being detrimental to the collectivity of the community. As he described in Chapter Three, section III, topic 1 “...now elections cause the community to split up (Nama I).” He makes this point because he sees the competitive nature of the

election system causing the community to split into factions who attack each other in order to win elections. He points out that this violates the *Tualisiya*, or code of conduct.

This division of the human community has led to less of a capacity for collective action, and more internal factions and selfish individualism. Many different groups have different opinions and the passive and contradictory perspectives of contemporary village leaders often cause distrust and a lack of confidence in the elected officials ability to do what is best for the entire heterogeneous community. Some informants pointed out that people nowadays only do things that they can personally receive direct benefit from, and traditional village leaders, such as the chief, also agreed that they can only do a little because they must take care of themselves and their immediate family. But in order to maintain the nature-culture network in places such as Kabaliwa, some amount of collective action must be continued.

“For example, when we do cultural work we can’t talk about benefits, we can only talk about contribution. We can only talk about pushing these youth and kids to know our culture (Nama C).”

“My principle is to hope that everyone can all have a common consensus that this culture is our village’s, it is not just those few individual’s. Everyone needs to reconstruct, and everyone needs to unite. Furthermore everyone needs a service mentality. Today for our culture, everyone get up and push, today let us all volunteer to reconstruct, this is my principle (Nama G)¹²⁵.”

Cultural work, as a form of not-for-profit collective action, is described here as necessary for the continuation of cultural identity.

But during my fieldwork it became clear that the diverse opinions and lack of collective action was directly related to the activities of the church. Some informants pointed out that the different churches¹²⁶ have different views of the cultural reconstruction projects underway.

“The Church’s view is if they go there (Kabaliwa) they are all practicing ancestor worship with the chief, and using traditional ways to worship. (The church thinks) This village should use the church’s ceremonies, and Christian ceremonies to do it. But they have not thought, we also have the Catholic Church, as well (Nama C).”

The different churches in Dong-Xing village have different perspectives of the traditional belief system, thus dividing the community in relation to cultural reconstruction projects.

¹²⁵ It is interesting to note here that other informants complained that Nama G, the elected village head, had never been to Kabaliwa and had yet to participate in reconstruction efforts.

¹²⁶ There are five churches in Dong-Xing village.

Overall the church's involvement in the political structure and collectivity of Dong-Xing village seems to have divided the community along religious lines, created some conflict with the traditional belief system which was intimately connected to the *Tualisiya* conduct code, the respect for the chiefs, and the *sualro'o* system, and the entire landscape, as well as given the people of Taromak more responsibilities while involved with the church. Clearly these divisions of ideas and activities have had an effect on the internal politics of the community and their ability act collectively.

The political and religious division of the community has influenced the Taromak's capacity to collectively engage with the other elements of their nature-culture collective, and to become a more self-reliant community. These difficulties of self-reliance are also related to the emigration of young people to cities in search of employment.

“When the young men are here, this village springs to life. When the young women are here this village becomes more beautiful, it's like this isn't it? We have always been productive like this. We shouldn't need to depend on the outside to be productive, we should use our own natural way, use the natural resources, these rivers and valleys, and Kabaliwa. We can all use our own way to be productive (Nama C).”

Nama C points out here the importance of collective action for a productive functioning of the nature-culture collective that can self-sustain the community in a 'natural' way. This is the ideal situation, but first the internal political and religiously divisive issues discussed above must be dealt with in ways that lead to collective action. Furthermore, outside political entities must not interfere with this process and hinder the Taromak's ability to be in a mutual supportive relationship with their nature-culture collective.

4. The Pig Farm Case

The collective capability of the Taromak community to re-establish mutually supportive relations with their landscape are clear in the still evolving pig farm case. A pig farm within the Taromak's reservation land had been continuously creating air and water pollution problems as the stench of pig waste spread throughout the community into homes, schools and churches, and pig waste runoff ran into the rivers and ditches that run through the village. Locals had complained to the township government that the

pig farm owner would only clean up his farm and the surrounding area when authorities arrived to assess the environmental impact of the farm.

Eventually local leaders and the community protested and sued the farm owner. Nama F describes the early stages of the issue,

“Because that land is reservation land, and the Min-Nan people were continuously occupying that place, so we did not know what was going on with it. We thought it was just land owned by the boss. Then because of the stench, every afternoon we could not stand it here! The entire village stank, especially when the wind blew south. Then when some one finally checked, the land was not his, he said he had a lease, and it turned out he did not have any lease rights!” While protesting, the local Taromak never told the pig farm boss he had to leave the reservation or move his farm; they only wanted him to improve the sanitation problems. But when the township government and indigenous council looked into the matter they discovered that the boss was not legally renting the land. He was in fact occupying three parcels of land, one of which had been registered for use in the past by a local person, and two of which had never been registered for and thus were the property of the indigenous council. After the boss lost the proceeding lawsuits, he closed down his pig farm and moved away, leaving the remnants of the pig farm behind.



Figure 22
Recently abandoned pig farm on southern edge of Dong-Xing village in Taromak reservation land. (Photo: Caleb Portnoy)

Currently, the Taromak community is trying to find out why the pig farm has been left behind and not removed by the government. It has been over six months since the farm owner left the land, but the pig stalls and structures still remain. The

unregistered land on which the farm structures stand has been returned to the national indigenous council as owners, and the township government as managers, while the Taromak people wonder if they will be given the land to use for their own collective projects.

“Right now we are determined to use that land, to have it returned to our village. Once it has been returned to our village we can build a new ‘*Alakua*’¹²⁷, and a theater, and a place to make lazurite beads and other crafts. We could sell these things and sell clothing there (Nama F).”

The Taromak would like to turn a once negative place of conflict in their landscape into a place that could be beneficial to their community and the collective at large. But they complain that in order to gain common land rights to use that place, village leaders must first go through a lengthy bureaucratic process and negotiate the conditions of its use with government agencies.

The pig farm case demonstrates that the Taromak community continues to be an active force in their landscape, reshaping it for the mutual benefit of their nature-culture collective. But apathetic government bureaucracies actively hinder the progression of cases like these by creating legal hurdles for the Taromak to get through, and by not earnestly mobilizing the means to make these goals that could actually improve the nature-culture network as a whole, a reality.

II. FUTURE OF THE LANDSCAPE

The previous sections of this chapter described how the human community of Taromak has continued to be an active force in their nature-culture network especially as they push for their territory to be returned and the many issues related to their landscape to be resolved. The following sections attempt to provide a rough road map of where locals hope the future of the landscape will lead.

In general this research has shown that the landscape is a network of mutually supportive connections between a collective of humans, non-humans, and divine entities, and that by redefining the nature of these relations in favor of national politics or market trends, the wellbeing of the elements of the collective have been endangered. Therefore

¹²⁷ The current ‘*Alakua* (men’s house) is located next to the Da-Nan River, which violates government laws that prohibit building structures in riverbeds.

the Taromak seek mainly to have their traditional territory returned so that they can recreate their role in the landscape.

“Our place of existence is here, the place where I grew up is here. I hope that our traditional territory, which is over twenty thousand hectares, can be developed well...and let it proliferate. For a period of time we can use things from this area, and protect another area from use, and then after we use one area, we just protect one area and use another, and continue like this starting with one and then relieving it. Then our traditional territory will be protected and we will have our basic subsistence needs (Momo B).”

From this quote it is clear that in general, the Taromak wish for their mutually supportive relationship with their territory to be returned. Furthermore, the principle of this land use relationship is based on the traditional rotational use of agricultural and hunting land discussed in Chapter Three, section II.

The Taromak have proposed many ways to regenerate their relationship with their landscape in mutually supportive ways that also take into account contemporary market and conservationist pressures. The ideas for selling local products, crafts and developing tourism can be viewed negatively as a simple commoditization of culture, or as this research has shown, as a way to recreate their landscape as a place of existence and maintain a productive role in their nature-culture network. Other proposals have been the opening up of reservation land for expanding their settlement area, and for cultivation of local produce. “We can be more at peace when we grow the things we eat ourselves. We need our land back (Nama B)!” Here Nama B comments on the benefits of knowing where your food comes from and whether or not it is grown safely, thus having a relationship with it. Forestry programs have also been proposed as a way to protect the mountain slopes from landslides and as an investment for the future that could also provide employment opportunities for local youth. Some informants are particularly attracted to forestry programs because unlike the constantly changing government promoted agricultural cash crops, timber would always have a good market value.

Again, overall the Taromak want to return their land to local management and find ways to bring the youth back to the nature-culture network by developing a productive role for them on the landscape.

“We are now saying expand employment. Now people are leaving the factories, and one after another they are coming back to the village. So if the land is returned to us, we can reconstruct our traditional stone slate houses. If the land is returned to us, we can produce and market things ourselves, depending on what

we want to do. Then everyone in the entire village can foresee a way for us to be productive here, to grow something as a product. I want to ask the opinion of tribesmen working far from home, 'In the future, if this village's land is returned to you, if the government returns it to you, what will you do?' I want to hear what these tribesmen working outside of the village have to say (Nama F)."

If the issues of land rights, and the selling off of land discussed in the preceding sections are resolved, the Taromak believe an opportunity may be available for their fellow tribesmen to return to the village and find employment. This would strengthen the village and its relations with all other entities in the landscape, thus reinforcing local culture and life.

Again the main obstacle for recreating a mutually supportive nature-culture network remains the policy issues that block the relations that once flowed through the landscape.

"So what should be done about the traditional territory in the future? Actually the current situation is that indigenous peoples cannot self-govern their land. How should we plan out the future? No one can immediately make a clear expression of how the traditional territory can be used in the future. I believe you can't get anyone to say, because it involves national policies, because the land is all within the limits of the nation. Even the recent autonomous region laws and land laws, they all still have not passed. So there is no concept, basically we just can't move (Takalri A)."

Here Takalri A points out that in order to even begin to recreate the relations between the human community and the landscape, the national government needs to first make policy actions. Thus in the Taromak nature-culture network, national policies remain to be powerful actors that impede mutually supportive relations between human, non-human, and divine entities. But the Taromak are also powerful actors in their network and, although greatly impeded by national bureaucracies, they will continue to recreate their relations with their landscape, as described in the following sections.

1. Reinventing Places

The importance of place continues today as the Taromak recreate and revive cultural connections to places in their landscape. Chapter Four, section I, topic 2 explored how Kabaliwa is being recreated as a cultural heritage site and the role it may play in the local tourism industry. Chapter Four, section I, topic 4 showed how the Taromak have already made progress transforming a place of conflict, the pig farm, into a place that could potentially support local cultural activities and industries. Places and

place names remain important parts of the landscape because they hold many key attributes, including stories, histories, and meanings, of the Taromak culture. As Nama G puts it, “I hope you young people know (these places), and then you will know the meaning of Taromak.” Thus places remain in the landscape as capsules of culture waiting to be re-opened by the youth. This process of reopening places can be clearly seen in the case of Kabaliwa, as well as in the following cases of *Sasuaya* and the ghost lake region.

The place, *Sasuaya*, is located on the southern bank of Da-Nan River, which was once considered Puyuma tribe territory. While at Kabaliwa, the Taromak would come to *Sasuaya* to collect this place’s many red and yellow stones, which were used for knife sharpening (*Sasuaya* means sharpening stone). After flooding during the 1950’s destroyed many houses in Dong-Xing village, many Taromak people moved to *Sasuaya* where the land is safe from flooding and landslides. Now the community consists of a mixture of Taromak Rukai, Puyuma, Amis, and Han Chinese people. Some conflict has arisen because the government named the place Subaiyang, after the Puyuma tribe name, and inscribed Subaiyang on the community center. Recently the Rukai of Subaiyang have been protesting the use of this name, and wish to change it to the Rukai name *Sasuaya*. This case demonstrates how important place names continue to be for the Taromak people.

The ghost lake region, described in Chapter Two, section III, topic 2, also continues to play a role in the nature-culture network as a place of spiritual and representative power for the Taromak Rukai. Nama E describes his dream of reviving this power of the ghost lake region,

“I have always had a dream to build a trail to the ghost lakes in my life. I want to build this road in order to let outsiders know that the well of Rukai culture is here. Because when this trail opens, and the world meets Taidrengelr, the villager’s self-confidence will appear. This trail is not for mountaineering or seeing the beautiful scenery; it has a cultural meaning inside. Before a Rukai person dies please go back to little ghost lake and take a look...after you see little ghost lake, after you die you will go back there.”

Nama E is describing the cultural importance of the little ghost lake area, and the role it could play as a provider of confidence for the people of Taromak. He also describes how it could become a place for stimulating the local economy, “This could also generate employment for the village, because culture and economic value output need to be

combined to last.” For the Taromak, places continue to be seen as actors that support the cultural and economic wellbeing of the community. By reinventing these places and their cultural and economic role, the Taromak hope to improve their community and life.

2. Running Rivers

The rivers and streams that run through the Taromak’s landscape have become especially active in recent years as they connect the human community to the international conservation movement and become a point of conflict between the county government and the village over resource rights.

The Da-Nan river (*Kadrakeralra*) and the Li-Jia river (*Makabawro*), which intersect at ‘Irilra, make up the primary large rivers in the landscape and in the past faced the accumulation of a large amount of trash especially in the 1970’s when each community was responsible for dealing with trash disposal on their own. Around this time Nama H was a teacher in the Da-Nan elementary school and was interested in the environmental conservation movement just taking form in Taiwan. After witnessing the results of other village’s river protection efforts he began a similar project of river protection involving the county government, local police, and conservation organizations. During the meetings that ensued a small group voiced resistance to the project because they argued that they depended on the river’s fish for food and income. These river users were hunters who primarily sustained themselves by using local resources. Eventually more and more locals agreed that the trash problem had to be taken care of, and the resistance grew quiet. When the river conservation project began, the local youth volunteers would consistently collect about one truck bed full of trash every week. They soon discovered that a majority of the trash came from people outside the village looking for a convenient place to dump. After about six months many people became aware of the river cleanup efforts and less trash was left in the riverbed. After about the second year there was hardly any trash, and the cleanup process came to a conclusion. Although these efforts were effective for a while, Nama H complains that in recent years household trash has been appearing in the riverbed again.

What is interesting about this case is not who was dumping trash, but how the international environmental conservation movement of the 1970's and 1980's influenced this small aspect of the Taromak landscape. It justified the protection of the river from human use, thereby ignoring and disconnecting local hunters from their resource base, while also providing stimulation for a community organized river cleanup movement. The actions of the conservation movement in the nature-culture network changed the role of the river from being a provider to being protected, and the human communities role from being mutually intertwined with many aspects of the river¹²⁸, to being its protector.

Although Nama H claims that this shift of roles has deteriorated in recent years due to the return of trash in the rivers (perhaps because the conservationist activities were not continued), the Taromak continue to see themselves as protecting the river and river water by not using the valuable land that the government has set aside as a protected watershed area. Nama D pointed out that the water that comes out of these rivers provides the nearby Taitung City with 80% of its water.

“We are the ones who protect the environment here. We limit our cultivation and our hunting to keep the environment more pristine, which provides good drinking water for Taitung city. Others get a great benefit from this, but we get none. I say we all go piss in the river during the festival.”

Nama D and other village leaders have demanded compensation for the use of the river water that they kept clean, but they have only received a slight deduction from their water bill. Locals point out that by providing compensation for the land used as a protected watershed area, their reconstruction and other community projects could have more stable financial backing.

In the past, the rivers of Taromak's landscape connected their village internally and externally to other tribes during rain making ceremonies, and collective fishing events. During these activities the village chiefs, and the Taromak community were respected for their special relationship with this regionally important water source. Now, conservationist ideologies have further justified the Taromak's claim as protectors of the river water deserving compensation for their efforts. Thus, the running waters of the river have not only flowed through nearby communities, but have also been connected to

¹²⁸ As discussed in previous sections the river was a site of interconnection between nearby villages especially during rain making ceremonies, and the group-fishing occasion supported the sualro'o system and community collectivity.

national resource policies and international environmental movements. These new interconnections could eventually give the rivers of Taromak an important economic role if the community is compensated for protecting watershed areas, thus strengthening the nature-culture network with mutually supportive relations.

3. Autonomy

The ultimate goal touched on by most informants for the future of their landscape has been for their traditional territory to become a locally appropriate form of autonomous region. The reasons for their position should be clear from the preceding chapters that illustrated the ancestral connection that the Taromak have with their land, the mutually supportive relationship with the other entities of their landscape that maintain local culture and life-ways, and the problems that have arisen from a loss of their right to define and continue their relations with the landscape. In general, locals believe that autonomy would allow them to recreate these connections in ways that are appropriate for the contemporary needs of the community, but several locals also pointed out the difficulties of financially maintaining an autonomous region without outside support.

The struggle for autonomy is inseparable from the global fight for indigenous autonomy in post-colonial states, and many locals often point to indigenous rights successes in other countries such as New Zealand while describing their hopes for the future. They also see the connections that these goals have to other aspects of cultural life such as maintaining their mother tongue, which some informants explained may disappear in fifty years.

“If we want to make our traditional territory into an autonomous region, because this traditional territory is all our Eastern Rukai tribe’s, Taromak’s, then people must be able to say ‘you have land, you have your language, then you also have autonomy’. Then we could become the same as a nation. Who would dare offend that? So language and land definitely have a close relationship. (Nama D)”

In the fight for autonomy the connections between language and the landscape could become increasingly important, thus giving the mother language of Taromak a powerful role in maintaining and being maintained by the nature-culture network.

The potential for autonomy in the contemporary context is an uncertain issue, due to the political and economic problems that could arise with its establishment. Although some informants described it as a straightforward project,

“Indigenous autonomy is simple, make clear this traditional territory, this is your traditional territory, you manage it on your own. The workers there, the county mayor, and other officials are all from inside, this is called autonomy. Most important is the traditional territory. So the first limit is to clearly investigate the traditional territory (Nama D).”

“When the traditional territory becomes autonomous, it will become a nation with a government and all issues will be managed by ourselves, like a county. But even now the problem has not yet been resolved. For example the previous chairmen of the national indigenous council worked very hard at considering the land issues and how to have it returned, including the forestry bureau land. But every time the administrative premier changes, the chairmen also changes, and their projects are dropped (Nama C).”

Other informants pointed out that becoming an autonomous region may not be all that simple, and that not all the issues would arise from the higher branches of the national government. Nama I explains that border and territorial disputes may arise with the Western Rukai, especially because their county (Wu-Tai) government has already tried to take control of the Taidrengelr area. Nama I is afraid that if this happened and the area became an autonomous region managed by the Western Rukai his descendents would have to pay an entrance fee just to visit the home of their ancestors. He believes that the entire Rukai region should be combined as an autonomous region. But he also points out that the government would not agree to this because if Taitung county was divided into the traditional territories of six tribes (Rukai, Puyuma, Bunong, Amis, Paiwan, Tao), land left for the government would be limited to the small offshore green island. In addition, there remains much disagreement on the autonomy issue among the people of Taromak particularly due to fears of a lack of sufficient income without help from the national government. Informants pointed out that although the Taromak’s territory is huge, the land is steep leaving little arable land, and few features that could be developed for the tourism industry. Some in Taromak fear that their financial needs could not be met by relying on their local natural resources alone.

But the bottom line remains, these issues cannot be resolved while the government continues to hinder the Taromak’s ambitions of reclaiming their place in the landscape.

“If our territory became an autonomous region, the village leaders and traditional culture must be very strong and deep. We must go back to the traditional cultural systems, and then match those with the present systems. If we use the government’s specifications there is no way it would work. Why? In the future it may become an autonomous region, and you may need to be financially self-sufficient, and so you must have money...If we go back to the traditional culture that I just mentioned, go back to *sualro’o* culture (tribute system), to *moray’i* (work exchange system), go back to the basic culture of the village when everyone was cohered together, then everyone will do things for this village voluntarily, everyone will unite to complete something. Go back to a form of self-sustaining management. But this is very difficult. So those two sides must be combined. Use our inherited cultural point of view, and move the village’s heart to unite and use volunteerism. Then match that with parts of future government bills that we can use...but if we do not go back to the village’s specific cultural meaning, back to the village’s united heart, we won’t be successful. We must go back to the mother, the culture of the mother’s body. If you can’t reconstruct that...the land is the mother (Takalri A).”

For some form of autonomy to be successful, an array of entities must be re-aligned in mutually supportive relations. Here Takalri A points out that the various elements and institutions of the Taromak’s traditional culture must be revitalized, which means that the relationships between people, things and the divine must be recreated in order to re-unite the community. In addition to that, the government must support the financial and legal practicalities of the community. Takalri A also made clear that in order for these traditional cultural attributes, and the cohesion of the community to be revitalized, the Taromak must go back to the landscape.

III. THE LANDSCAPE MOVING ON

The nature-culture network of Taromak continues to expand creating connections with new elements, while also contracting into itself rekindling traditional relationships with places, ancestors and other entities. The Taromak continue to depend materially and emotionally on the interconnections of the landscape, many of which have been severed by government policies that restrict these relations and thus threaten the socio-cultural life of the community. Although the human community continues to push for a revitalization of these relations especially at places such as Kabaliwa and the old pig farm, a lack of the financial backing, capacity building, and legal support that come from new network entities, again limit the success of these projects. In addition, fairly recent political and religious divisions in the community have had detrimental effects on the human relationships that make up the nature-culture collective.

Although new network actors such as government policies and international markets hinder mutually supportive network relations, many local proposals have been put forth in this chapter as to how to re-establish these connections in light of the presence of the new actors. But in order for these proposals to develop into actual projects, the locally inappropriate legal restrictions on the land must be dissolved. By reinventing places such as *Sasuaya* and the ghost lake area, the Taromak continue to stake a claim to the future of their landscape as well as their economic and cultural stability. By re-mobilizing the landscape's rivers the Taromak may also have found a way to maintain mutually supportive roles with other nearby communities, which would in turn strengthen the extended nature-culture network. Finally, the ultimate goal of autonomy represents the Taromak's aspirations to re-create their mutually supportive position in the collective that now includes an array of new and old, local and global entities. This chapter has shown that in general the Taromak hope that their landscape will move in a trend towards the reclamation of traditional relations, while at the same time reshaping relations with contemporary network actors in locally appropriate ways.

CHAPTER FIVE

Daedae ki Taromak: Conclusions

The preceding chapters have framed the Taromak's landscape as "the cross-cutting ties of relationships that emerge from or exist in a place (Stewart and Strathern 2003:8)" and have used Latour's Actor-Network Theory model to explore these relationships and the socio-cultural characteristics that they create. The results of this exploration have shown that by dropping the nature-culture divide, a variety of relationships between entities are revealed, and a more clear understanding of local descriptions of 'what is going on' can be obtained. The following conclusions are based on these local descriptions, and often match up with previous anthropological findings. The unique contribution here is to integrate these diverse entities and relations into a conceptual map that assembles the landscape, shows how it acts, and describes how it may move on.

First of all, the landscape of Taromak has been shown to be made up of a variety of active entities that cannot be divided by the modernist nature-culture dichotomy (Descola, Palsson:1996). These actors include, but are in no way limited to spirits, millet, chiefs, bird messengers, rain clouds, wild boar, the hundred-pace viper, underground ancestral beings, the *Lrangoderesay* flower, jaw racks, the clouded leopard; and more recently backhoes, national policies, wet-cultivated rice, international markets, application forms, Han Chinese, and many more. Key among these entities are the places that not only gather such things as traditional knowledge, resource information, land use rights, historical memories, and landscape changes (Casey:1996, Basso:1996), but also actively connect the Taromak to their ancestors, as in Kabaliwa; define the Taromak's relationship with other landscape actors such as the hundred-pace viper in the Taidrengelr; unite the community and justify social structures, as in the origin and migration sites; maintain relations between the mundane and divine worlds, as in spirit places; and activate conflicts between traditional culture, neighboring ethnic groups, contemporary belief systems, the state, and culture as commodity concepts, as in the spirit house, guardian stone places and other places such as the pig farm. Furthermore the collective entities of Taromak cannot be described as either global or local (Leach:2006) because

the landscape extends its connections to global markets, conservation ideologies and indigenous movements, and influences by Dutch diseases, as well as Japanese and Chinese regimes. Thus, the landscape of Taromak has been described as being assembled by an array of actors, which Latour would classify as including human, non-human and divine entities that flow between past, present, local and global zones. The diverse entities of the landscape have been described here not as symbols of social characteristics, in fact they have been shown to be the building blocks of socio-cultural characteristics. Although they may have symbolic characteristics, many of them are more actively powerful than mere symbols in that they connect people, ancestors, and global economies; without them, the landscape would not be only missing a symbol, it, and the socio-cultural characteristics that it supports, would be transformed.

While it is clear that the Taromak's landscape is not made up of purely 'socio-cultural', or 'natural' elements, the question remains: How do the Taromak classify the diverse active entities of their landscape? Along the same lines, this thesis has used ideas such as place, landscape, and space, but has not discussed in detail the question of whether or not the Taromak would define these terms in the same ways as the scholars discussed above. By answering these questions, future research could develop even more effective models for understanding local conceptions of place, landscape and space. Latour and other scholar's classifications and models are only vehicles for entering locally unique landscapes, and they do not provide a complete understanding. Although this research shows that the Taromak's landscape cannot be broken into socio-cultural, natural, local or global elements, it only provides a window into the complex and dynamic conceptions of the landscape that exist among the Taromak. Nonetheless, the model provided by ANT, and landscape theories, have provided several significant conclusions.

Secondly, the array of entities discussed in this thesis are connected by diverse and dynamic (Bender:1993b, Morphy:1993) relations that in pre-Japanese era times when the Taromak autonomously controlled their territory, were locally determined through systems such as the *Tualisiya*. The Taromak's modes of identification and relation with the many entities of their landscape could not be defined as either totemistic, animistic, naturalistic, reciprocal, predatory, or protectionist (Descola:1996), because relations

include a mixture of all of these attributes. In general, locally determined relations had the potential to be conflictive, but this was avoided through relations of mutual support and respect. Internal and external boundaries were often the sites of conflictive relations with neighboring tribes or clans, but they were also the sites of establishing clan and trans-tribal rights and obligations, showing the success of the clans and the tribe in general, and were places of sharing and developing relations with neighbors. Neighbor relations were created by these boundaries as well as an array of other actors, some of which include river waters, shared meat, human heads, mountain products, and river fish. Relations with the divine were enacted while hunting, growing crops, and interacting with the landscape in general. Other important non-human actors, such as millet, meat, bird messengers, and betel nut, successfully mediated these relations. The diverse spiritual entities that inhabit the landscape, such as the ancestral hundred-pace viper, are considered extremely dangerous, and conflicting relations with them were avoided through the exchange of gifts, mutual protection, claiming ancestral relations, and adhering to taboos, especially in taboo places (*Taididingana*) or after killing taboo animals. By avoiding conflict with the spirits of the landscape, the subsistence base of the human community could be guaranteed, and the collective of entities could be harmoniously maintained. Thus, the effective resolution of conflict and the sustained, locally determined relations of mutual support between the diverse human, non-human and divine entities of the landscape created and maintained the state of the entire nature-culture collective.

Thirdly, now that it is clear that the landscape of Taromak is an assemblage of human, non-human, divine, global and local active entities that ‘traditionally’ were arranged in relations generally aimed at preserving the entire collective, the way locally unique socio-cultural institutions are formed and maintained through this assemblage of relations can be extrapolated. More specifically, the following relations that were based on the landscape formed social rights and obligations, identities, and other social institutions. The shared identity (Tuan 1977) of the Taromak and their topogeny (Fox 1997) arise from the origin place in the Taidrengelr area and the migrations through the landscape, which were influenced by swidden agricultural methods and led to cultural similarities between neighboring tribes. The pre-colonial land management institution

was based on place names that defined and categorized the landscape (see appendix 2). The key social characteristics of an inclusive property system (Carrier 1998) and precedence (Fox 1995(a), (b); Guo 1993; McWilliam 2006) were also based on the assemblage of landscape entities and their relationships. For example the precedence of the Taromak and the Lrabalriyoso clan's high rank is founded on the origin place; boundaries demonstrate the rights and obligations regarding sharing the landscape; the *Moray'i* work trade system maintained the shared characteristic of property and the collectivity of the community; while relations between clans, chiefs, spirits, hunters and other actors associated according to the *Madrolroko* principle of precedence and the *sualro'o* system, supported the human community's subsistence needs, and the social structure. Other landscape actors such as the hundred-pace viper, further supported this entire system by having an ancestral relationship with the Taromak and providing a powerful symbolic source for maintaining the social structure. The human community of Taromak also gained a productive role from their landscape in general through hunting, collecting, cultivating, and managing it, which also maintained the '*Alakua* social institution. All of these examples demonstrate that the relations between the human, non-human and divine actors of the landscape created and maintained the characteristics of the nature-culture collective. By maintaining the relations described here, the human community of landscape 'users' is intertwined with the many other entities of the landscape, whether they be traditional spiritual entities, or contemporary man-made contraptions, such as the backhoe. When these relations are defined by extra-local actors, such as national policies, the human landscape 'users' and the 'physical' landscape are unraveled, and the nature-culture collective is interrupted.

Fourthly, Latour (1986; 2005) points out that power is only the result of the associations that compose it and that society is a weak result of these associations and thus must be 'taken care of'. This research has shown that once the relations between the many of the actors landscape have been interrupted, socio-cultural institutions deconstruct and the power of the collective to 'take care of' their society is weakened. Japanese imperial involvements introduced an array of new actors and relationships (i.e. imperial use of natural resources, wet-rice cultivation, etc.), which transformed the interconnections of the landscape. Also, Japanese era migrations led to increased

conflicts with neighboring tribes, and agricultural ‘modernization’ changed the people-millet-spirits link, thus influencing the *sualro’o* system and the social structure. When the KMT government claimed the Taromak’s territory as national territory, the nature-culture network was extended and disrupted through problems such as bureaucratic cash-crop profiteering, and many landscape relations, such as hunting and collecting, were criminalized by global conservation trends promoted by the forestry bureau. This led to the lost role of hunters and other human producers in their landscape. In addition exclusive land rights policies interrupted *sualro’o* relations and the social structure of the human community. The Taromak explain that due to the interruption of these relationships, many social and economic problems have ensued. Thus, the local actor’s ability to define and maintain their associations with the landscape has been usurped by other actors who have created conflicting relationships. Without locally determined mutually supportive associations, the power of the community to maintain their society and nature-culture collective has also been usurped.

The importance of the landscape for the people of Taromak should now be clear. The landscape and the diverse relations that once intertwined it created and maintained their society. Since then, their connections to *sualro’o* millet, foreseeing birds and many other traditionally important landscape actors have been blocked by land policies and application forms. This actively influences the Taromak’s socio-cultural characteristics and the wellbeing of their community. Therefore, the active landscape and its network of relations directly influence the lives of the Taromak.

Fifthly, by understanding the importance of the landscape, the Taromak’s contemporary attempts to recreate the mutually supportive relations that once intertwined it, appears contextually appropriate. These attempts include the reinvention of places such as the Taidrengelr region, the reclamation of the pig farm, and the reconstruction of Kabaliwa for building self-confidence, identity, inspiring collective action and providing other material and emotional benefits. Other attempts are the promotion of tourism and community forestry and returning the river’s role of connecting communities in mutually beneficial ways. By recreating these relations the human community intends to rebuild their active role in the maintenance of the landscape, but in order to do that they must have ample autonomy and capabilities, which they currently lack. This is clear from the

restrictive national policies, occupation of land by non-local entities, financial hardships, lack of collective action, fears of over-development, and apathetic governance, that local people describe as hindering their attempts. Not all, but many of these factors that hinder the wellbeing of the Taromak nature-culture collective arise from locally inappropriate policies and governance, which have broken down the network of relations discussed above.

Finally, this issue becomes a question of relativity. Should the Han Chinese majority State be allowed to continue practicing particular relativism (Latour 1993:105), which lets them define the Taromak landscape as Nature and stipulate the Taromak's relationship with that Nature? Or should the anthropologist's cultural relativism (Ibid:104) be adopted which can accommodate the Taromak's *cultural interpretation* of a Nature that can only be truly determined with social science? Or could Latour's (Ibid:106) symmetrical anthropology provide a relativistic approach that breaks down the Nature-Culture divide, and allows the Taromak to once again mobilize their collective in ways that they see are locally appropriate? This research has shown that the State's relativistic approach interrupts the relations that entangle 'nature' and 'culture' and once supported the collective. This research has also shown that the approach of cultural relativism disrupts these relations by underestimating the cultural landscape as a passive text, and relying on the natural or social sciences to define Nature or Culture, thereby ignoring the crosscutting relations that create the two. The contribution of this research has been to show that by combining recent anthropological landscape theories, and Latour's Actor-Network Theory, a new perspective on the importance of land and territory for socio-cultural institutions and cultural diversity has been developed. Anthropological explorations of landscapes can learn from the approach of viewing locally unique landscapes as being made up of inter-related diverse un-dichotomized entities; while ANT theory can be adjusted and adapted to local contexts in order to show how cross-cutting associations continue to influence nature-culture collectives.

As the Taromak once again recreate the associations that constitute their landscape in locally appropriate ways, the wellbeing of the nature-culture collective will once again stabilize. Until then, the lush green millet stalks that sway in the spring

breeze will continue to resist the unmanaged extensions of chaotic contemporary life,
bring smiles to the ancestral spirits, and feed the children of Taromak.



APPENDIX I

Landscape Categories in Taromak

The Taromak both divide and share their landscape, but the systems of dividing and sharing are various and overlapping. The landscape categories discussed by Sasala and Liu (2006; 2008) are one method of territorial division according to characteristics of elevation, but there are also other methods of division that adhere to other characteristics of the surrounding environment. In this section general landscape categories are briefly discussed, then the traditional territory is separated into village, swidden agricultural, hunting and river areas, which are discussed individually¹²⁹.

As mentioned above the traditional territory of the Taromak, including all its mountains, rivers, forests, plains, and plateaus are called *daedae*, which translates generally to ‘our land/territory/domain’. To specify the land that belongs to Taromak, one could say “*Daedae ki Cekelre*”, in which *cekelre* means village. This phrase demonstrates the shared characteristic of the Taromak’s territory, centered not on a notion of being Rukai, but on being a member of the *cekelre*. The elevations of the *daedae* can be separated into several levels that include,

1. *Lridukua*: The lowest flat land area near sea level, which is not suitable for human inhabitation due to its heat, high humidity and the common presence of mosquitoes.
2. *Sisiya*: The sloped land in the middle elevations of the mountains (550m-800m), which is a suitable place for people to live and is the traditional living area of the Taromak.
3. *Taibelreng*: Which literally translates to ‘upper’ and includes the higher elevation areas in the mountains that are cold, not suitable for humans, and are inhabited by many spirits.
4. *Dradekai*: Describes land deep in the mountains.

¹²⁹ The Taromak will not solely hunt in hunting areas, or cultivate in agricultural areas. At times prey will be obtained within gardens and the land around houses will be cultivated. Therefore, although these divisions exist, they are fuzzy and by no means fixed.

The general landscape of the Taromak can also be categorized according to land gradients, which is an important factor in an environment with common rock and mud slides (*Aneidukadu*). These land gradients include,

1. *Lridukua*: Same as above but specifically referring to flat land gradients.
2. *Sawdradraza*: Refers to steep land gradients.
3. *Tantokadra*: Refers to a land gradient that is prone to collapse.

These land gradient areas are specifically important while deciding suitable places for constructing a new village, or opening land for swidden agriculture. The above two examples of general environment categorization systems demonstrate that the landscape is often described in terms of traditional nature-culture habitats (*Sisiya*), and characteristics important for survival (*Tantokadra*).

Cekelre, can mean village, residential area, or country. It is also a root of many other words such as *Kacekelre* meaning the real village, and *Zegecekelre* meaning ‘although we may not be related by blood, we are all one family’. The village is separated from everything outside the village, called *laolaowa*. Before one leaves the cekelre and enters *laolaowa* they must pray first at their house for safety, then again as they reach certain places on their journey through the landscape. The suitable placement of a village in the steep mountainous terrain of their territory is often a point of pride as people will often mention how safe their old village *Kabaliwa* was from enemy attack, flooding, and land slides, especially compared to their current colonial created location. As Nama C points out,

“Sometimes I notice (while on hunting trips and passing through old villages) the way that elders placed their village was like they had a sense of the landscape. Their cultivated land was always behind the settlement, and it is all solid ground. Here it would be flat (settlement area) and then it would gradually rise (cultivation area), they would live in this place. If enemies tried to do anything, they would be the first to see, if there was an attack from the back, one could see them coming... When I’m looking at the geographical area, it really seems to be in order to guard against attack, as well as for the production and protection of the millet, sweet potato, and taro cultivation land. It also could guard against attack from outsiders attempting to plunder or headhunt.”

The placement of villages in the landscape was of key importance for the protection and agricultural development of the tribe.

Agricultural land, known as *Ta'o lrace lracenga* (land prepared for cultivation) or *Angagada* was primarily used for crop production, but patches of bare land within settlement areas were also used as house gardens. Primary swidden agricultural areas were close to or surrounding the village area, and were marked by family work huts called *Dawana*. Landscape categories based on swidden agriculture are separated into landscape into the three dynamic types discussed in Chapter Three, section II, topic 1(a).

Hunting territories, called *Talro'a*, extended from the edges of cultivated areas to the boundaries of Taromak's territory. The hunting areas that were very close to the cekelre were often used by elderly, or less competent hunters, while the far hunting territories that could take days of trekking to get to, were used by the most able hunters and often had the most prey. A *Talro'a* was used similarly to agricultural areas in that after a few years when a hunter had depleted the prey population, they would move to a different *Talro'a*, resulting in a general trend of moving further and further from the village. Eventually the hunter would return to a *Talro'a*. *Talro'a* are marked by a hunter's hut, called *Olro*, which are held by a hunter and demonstrate his claim to the hunting area. The *Olro* can range from wood or slate constructed shacks, to caves or sheltered rock overhangs, and were used for tool storage, prayer, meat drying, etc. In general the hunting areas could be separated based on species' habitats. For example reeve's muntjac and mountain deer inhabit flat areas, while Formosan Serow and bear inhabit steep areas¹³⁰.

Rivers within the landscape were separated into their respective area place names, which will be discussed in the next section. In Taromak Rukai, *Dakalralr* means river and the major rivers in their territory include the Da-Nan river, *Kadrakerala* (meaning big river) which runs through the middle of the Taromak's territory; the Li-Jia River *Makabawro* located in the middle northern regions of the territory; and the Hong-Ye river (Rukai name unknown, described with place names along the river), which is the northern boundary of their territory.

Categorization of the landscape in Taromak is complex, and is largely dependent

¹³⁰ Data related to hunting, agriculture and fishing will be discussed in Chapter 3.

on the activities and relations with the landscape involved. Furthermore, categorized areas overlap and are dynamic. Talro'a from an agricultural perspective can be seen as Drorodroroko, and can be converted into agricultural land, gradually becoming Drorodrora. But its suitability for becoming an agricultural area is also dependent on its gradient, thus requiring a gradient categorization system. Therefore, in order to discuss methods of categorizing the Taromak's territory, categories must be seen as overlapping and not fixed. This 'fuzzy' quality of landscape categorization may have played a role in the flexibility of traditional social institutions that managed the relations between the Taromak and their landscape.



APPENDIX II

Taromak Landscape Place Name Table

Categorized as: 1) Settlement Sites, 2) Historical and Local Knowledge Site, 3) Geographical and Resource Knowledge Site, 4) Taididingana (Spirit Places), 5) Hunting Territories, 6) Cultivation Areas, 7) Miscellaneous and Unknown Meaning.

Settlement Sites

Place Name	Description
‘Adayn^Δ	Area to the east of Kabaliwa, which was home to Paiwan tribe immigrants coming from Ba’adayn village near Mount Da-Wu.
‘Angasa (Onasi)	Named after the Anagasa (Onasi) tree, which grows in the area.
Taibelreng^Δ	Above Kabaliwa, and meaning above the village (Dai = the most, Belreng = Upper). This is a Pre-Kabaliwa settlement, the site of a past plague, and an area of the Kabaliwa era settlement. Also a Lrabalriyoso and Lra’akarako clan cultivation area.
Tamawlrolroca^Δ	Primary post-Taibelreng, pre-Kabaliwa settlement deep in the mountains.
Doo^Δ	Meaning hot things (reason for this place name is not clear). This was the colonial era settlement of the Su’Atai’in clans and it acted as a vanguard post for the defense of the village. It is also the site of the hydroelectric plant.
Kanalibuku^Δ	Current secondary settlement of north of ‘Olraisinga. Home to many Taromak Rukai, western Rukai and other immigrants.
‘Irilra^Δ	Japanese colonial era village located where the Li-Jia and Da-Nan rivers join. From 1926-1928 the Taromak were moved out of Kabaliwa and most moved to ‘Irilra where the Japanese could control them. The name may come from Muaylryly, meaning temporary housing in Rukai.
Kariyalra^Δ	Origin place of the Rukai north of Taidrengelr and south of Daloarina lake.
Kabaliwa	Primary ancestral settlement of Taromak Rukai.
KinDoor^Δ	A high cold mountain with little water. All original Taromak people migrated from KinDoor. <i>Sua KinDoor ako</i> means to be a brave person, and points to those who can climb Mount KinDoor can be considered heros. Mount KinDoor is considered an sacred mountain and is a very important place on the Taromak’s migration path. Once a year before the harvest festival in July the youth of Taromak will be led on a trek to KinDoor to visit their ancestral homeland.

Longolro [†]	In the Lulon part of Kabaliwa the Hilulon tree grows, hence the name.
Lingiliya [†]	This name derives from the harvest festival taboo, which restricts villagers from leaving the village area. If one must leave the village, in order to lift the taboo an individual had to sleep in a separate small hut for one night. The next day the taboo would not apply to them and they could leave the village. This separate small hut was originally located in a place called taulallikilikiia, which became the settlement likilikiia.
Modorodoro ^Δ	Temporary settlement after cholera and smallpox plague.
‘Olavinga ^Δ	Current location of Taromak in Dong-Xing village.
Sasuaya ^Δ	Current secondary settlement south of ‘Olavinga across Da-Nan bridge. Home to many Taromak Rukai and other immigrants.
Tatsi [†]	Area of Kabaliwa named after a shrub.

Historical and Local Knowledge Site

Place Name	Description
Angebau ^Σ	Angebau is said to be the home of the rain god on Mount KinDoor. At times of drought the villagers would go there to pray for rain.
Dalradaka ^Δ	A low place where hunters would slash rocks with their knives (<i>labo</i>) to test the quality of their blades.
Tamabababaza ^Δ	Meaning giving, a hunter's resting place where meat was exchanged between the main hunter and helpers who may have assisted in carrying meat out of the mountains. To give is <i>Daomababay</i> . Also described as a place name that means to transfer/make friendly relations (<i>Mababay</i>). Girls would wait to greet their men with flowers on their way back from hunting trips.
Hadrimolu ^Σ	Was once a lake also called Damadadiisa. According to legend a young woman named Damada loved young men, so when the chief had a chance he would push a young man in. But one of the victims swam out and went to take revenge on the chief, so the chief gave him this piece of land called Damadiisa.
‘Inaranaka ^Δ	“Iranaka means rust. When the Dutch came here we killed each other and the blood covered the rock wall here, so it looks like rust (Momo A)”.

Malapula^Δ	Area near Hong-Ye river donated to the Bunong who lived near there in order to temper strained relations. Currently a popular hot-spring tourism location.
Mulrawnga^Δ	Now a popular swimming and BBQ area for residents of Taitung City, this was once the main entrance area to Kabaliwa. The road was confined to a narrow entrance by piles of stones, which made it difficult to enter. On return from headhunting, a warrior would at this place pray to the enemy's head in order to remove evil spirits. Only once the prayer was complete could the enemy's head be brought into the village. This was also a place for warriors to rest after battle, and before returning to the village.
Sorira^Δ	A place along the river where on hung himself to avoid being punished by the Japanese for committing a crime.
Tatolaylaylra^Σ	Once a year the Taromak will have a ceremony using millet to pray to this hunting area. Before hunting the hunter will first come to this place. Also a place for making arrows.

Geographical and Resource Knowledge Site

Place Name	Description
Alrivisi^Δ	A small flat area on the second highest mountain in the region.
Bakanga^Ω	A type of evergreen tree (cryptocarya).
Bazo^Δ	Meaning pools that form below waterfalls.
Barongolro^Δ	This is a river bed with towering boulders on both banks. The sky becomes a thin line while looking up from here. One can swim downstream from here, but going back upstream is not possible. Meaning a hole or cave.
Belebelebele^Δ	A place with many Bananas
Binarebara^Δ	Above Tabilribilribilra where the land is very flat. Cut wood would first be collected in this area, then it would be carried to Tabilribilribilra, and finally pulled down to Kabaliwa.

Boolu^Σ	Meaning Bamboo.
Tabilribilribilra^Δ	This place has many good materials for building houses, and because it lies above Kabaliwa on a slope, these materials were often dragged down to Kabaliwa. Thus, <i>bilribilri</i> means to pull, or drag, hence the name.
Dakalrara^Δ	Meaning to look up, this is a very steep place.
Drakes^Ω	A place with many stout camphor trees.
Dilruma^Δ	A water source where the water tastes sweet and has healing properties.
Dringila^Ω	A place with many wild tangerines
Tokonoy^Δ	Abundant Aiyu plant (used for making jelly), thus named after the plant. Lradomalalrase clan hunting territory.
‘Er’ere^Δ	A place on the Da-Nan river with abundant limestone deposits. Named after an individual whose hunting territory was in the area.
Kamalrawang^Σ	Meaning a gap, this place is the saddle of a mountain.
Kasese^Δ	Meaning damp and moist. All year round the sun cannot be seen here, due to light rain or fog.
Katuno^Σ	A place where rocks are half submerged by water. Also a common water collection spot.
Kantobotobor^Δ	This place has two giant stones that form a natural sheltered area. Hunters would often rest here in the natural hut, and the passing stream serves as a good water source.

Katalriydro^Ω	Meaning many small mulberries.
Lobo^Σ	Meaning hibiscus.
Ludugunga^Σ	A place of converging rivers
Matongohoho^Σ	The mountain to the left of the Makabawro river.
Malrobaba^Δ	A very high and rugged mountaintop, which lies above the large ghost lake.
Melemele^Δ	Meaning soft, the ground here is covered in tree roots and sitting here feels like one is sitting on a spring.
Binalralrawana^Σ	A place with scenery that looks like a bowl
Rodrolrong^Ω	A place with many Trema trees.
Ta'awsabisabika^Ω	A place with many rattan palms (<i>wvay</i>), which looks like a betel nut (<i>sabiki</i>) grove.
Takilrobolrobwa^Ω	<i>Taki</i> means to take, and <i>lobo</i> means hibiscus. The Taromak would go to this place to take the bark of the hibiscus tree to make rope.
Tatala[†]	Named after the Tatelaa tree, which grows in the area.
Thilralumalumay^Ω	Meaning a place with a lot of Yushania genus bamboo. Below Kindo'o Mountain.
Twarolithi^Ω	A place with many <i>arolith</i> (weeping fig).

Vatalre^Δ	A flat area of river bed near the ghost lakes.
Vede^Δ	A place of many waterfalls. Prey would often fall into this area and could not be retrieved because one could not go in
Cekese^Δ	This place has a lot of thin bamboo, which were often used as prayer tools. Bamboo that has not yet been cut for worship is called silarumai, and after it is cut to become a tool for prayer it is called zegese.

Taididingana (Spirit Places)

Place Name	Description
‘Adangasa^Σ	This place was the original entrance to the underworld where the underworld people would provide the Taromak with food. Once a pregnant woman carrying her child on her back and using a walking stick went to the underworld to get food, but was told not to look back by the underworld people. At the entrance to the cave she looked back and turned into the stone shaped like a pregnant woman carrying a child, which blocks the entrance to the underworld at ‘Adangasa.
Taidrengelr^Δ	The high mountain lake area. The meaning here is ‘still/motionless water’ with <i>dengele</i> meaning motionless. Here one cannot see where the water comes from or where it goes. This is a spirit place with many taboos and stories.
Gonggong^Σ	Gonggong is a place above Kabaliwa where there are many Tualisiya concerning taking of forest products. It is also a water source area.
Kakaringkinga^Δ	A place where spirits roam, prevent crops from being grown, houses from being built, and can even cause death.
‘Uga’ugalr^Δ	A barren land in the Taidrengelr areas where plants do not grow. This place is often shrouded in fog so one cannot find their way. This is a taboo place where joking or singing, bring about the thick blinding fogs. This is the boundary between Taitung, and Pingtung counties. Named after the grass that grows in the area.
Viriviri^Δ	A spirit place where women must not pee in, and must hide their face from evil spirits.

Hunting Territories

Place Name	Description
A'auola [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan hunting territory.
Kalilri ^Δ	Meaning a mountain summit. A hunting area.
Heles [†]	La'inalriki clan hunting territory.
Kaisa [†]	La'inalriki clan hunting territory.
Kalilroko ^Δ	A hunting area
Lekeleke [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan hunting territory.
Kamalavang [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan hunting territory.
Kaledele [†]	Lravelenga clan hunting territory.
Katupola [†]	Lradomalalrase clan hunting territory.
Riyalra ^Δ	A hunting area.
Makapauelu [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan hunting territory.
Makadelalu [†]	Lradomalalrase clan hunting territory.
Malrababa [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan hunting territory.
O'otro [†]	Lravelenga clan hunting territory.
Rata [†]	La'inalriki clan hunting territory.
Rwadayng ^Δ	A hunting area. This hunting area's path goes towards a Bunong tribe village. It is also intersection point of roads that pass through Malebaba, Ele'ele (a place in the river that has abundant limestone), and Tokonoy (which leads to the Bunong village).
Tatouala [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan hunting territory.
Dinelekelra [†]	Lrathangirada clan hunting territory.
Watrle ^Δ	A hunting area meaning a large mountain.

Cultivation Areas

Place Name	Description
Atetenana [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan cultivation area.
Kawdrosong ^Δ	Above Doo, this was 'Adayn's cultivation land
Giluku [†]	Lradomalalrase clan cultivation area.
Hilryusi [†]	La'inalriki clan cultivation area.
Heles [†]	La'inalriki clan cultivation area.
Kakaringkinga [†]	Lrathangirada clan cultivation area.
Kakigigiua [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan cultivation area.
Kanamabaraw ^Δ	The furthest reach of Taromak's cultivation area beyond which lies hunting territory.
Kapulupula [†]	Lrathangirada clan cultivation area.
Kinnakaliya [†]	Recorded as Lravelenga, Lradomalalrase, and Lrathangirada clan cultivation area.
Kintakoko-nana [†]	Lravelenga clan cultivation area.
Latate [†]	Lradomalalrase clan cultivation area.
Lugutu [†]	Lrathangirada clan cultivation area.
Madorodoro [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan cultivation area.
Mwalikilri [†]	Lrabalriyoso and Lra'akarako clan cultivation area.
Palama [†]	Lravelenga clan cultivation area.
Pulaga [†]	La'inalriki clan cultivation area.
Pupula [†]	Lravelenga clan cultivation area.
Thalai [†]	Lravelenga clan cultivation area.

Soi'yaw [†]	La'inalriki clan cultivation area.
Talukulukua [†]	Lravelenga clan cultivation area.
Dratare [†]	Lravelenga clan cultivation area.
Varanishi ^Δ	The hillside behind the Da-Nan elementary school, primarily used by the Lrababar clan.

Miscellaneous and Unknown Meaning

Place Name	Description
Dadadeva ^Δ	
Daomusa ^Δ	A place for wrestling.
Dingila ^Δ	
Rakaraka	
Li'ala ^Δ	A place along the river near the ghost lakes.
Ngatro ^Ω	
Samadidri ^Δ	
Sasilrilva ^Δ	
Sembilu ^Δ	Meaning below Kabaliwa.

Δ: Results of a traditional territory mapping project overseen by Professor Taiban Sasala, Professor Awi Mona, and conducted by Lisa Hu and myself.

Σ: Unpublished data from the 2005 Taitung County Bei-Nan Township Indigenous Peoples Traditional Names of Mountains and Rivers Comparative Report, Bei-Nan Township Office 2004 (台東縣卑南鄉九十四年度原住民傳統名稱與山川比對報告).

Ω: (Zhuang 2002:74)

†: (Xie 1965:56-57, 139-140)

APPENDIX III

Key Informant Table

Codes according to relationship to author's research partner, Galayguy Raroradeng.

- *Momo describes an elder male relative.*
- *Nama describes a late middle aged to elder tribesman.*
- *Naina describes a late middle aged to elder tribeswoman.*
- *Takalri describes a male or female middle aged tribesman.*

Informant Code	Notes
Momo A	Elder of the La'inalriki clan. Expert trapper and mountain guide.
Momo B	Elder farmer and trapper.
Naina A	Elder farmer.
Naina B	Elder farmer.
Nama A	Trapper and craftsman.
Nama B	Retired town mayor.
Nama C	Cultural preservationist, expert plant gatherer, etc.
Nama D	Representative for Bei-Nan township's indigenous peoples.
Nama E	Former town mayor, hunter.
Nama F	Retired police officer, village mayor candidate for 2010, hunter.
Nama G	Current village mayor, migrated from Western Rukai village as a child.
Nama H	Amis tribesman, moved to Taromak as a young schoolteacher.
Nama I	Also known as <i>Namaga Talriyalralray</i> , Chief of the Lrabalriyoso tribe, cultural preservationist.
Takalri A	Village activist, chairmen of several village committees.

APPENDIX IV

Core Research Questions and Categories

核心問題：

1. 當地 Taromak 人如何看待與傳統領域的動態關係？
2. 為什麼這個關係是（不是）重要？
3. 在這種關係中地方（Kabaliwa）扮演什麼樣子的角色？

問題的分類與分支：

1. 發源與遷移
 - a. Taromak 人的發源地與故事是什麼？你們這群人是從哪里來？
 - b. Taromak 的人 / 你的祖先住過哪些地方？住那邊大概多久？
 - c. 日本時代的時候你們會不會去這些地方？去那邊作什麼？光復之後呢？
 - d. 你去過這些地方嗎？去那邊做什麼？去那邊感覺怎麼樣？其他人也會去那些地方嗎？你希望你的後代也經歷過那些 Taromak 祖先留下來的地方？如果後代忘記這些地方而沒有去，Taromak 族會怎麼樣？為什麼會這樣？你認為這些地方代表什麼？
2. 界線與鄰居族群
 - a. 達魯瑪克的傳統領域有沒有界線？那些界線是在哪里？
 - b. 你們當地人跟其他部落的人怎麼知道這些界線？這些界線是穩定的或會改變？
 - c. 透過荷蘭人，日本人，和國民黨的影響，這些界線有沒有改變，什麼樣子的改變？
 - d. 達魯瑪克的人如何用母語稱呼居住在附近的部落與族群（卑南族，布農族，排灣族，阿美族，漢人，等等）？
 - e. 很久以前達魯瑪克人跟這些部落有什麼樣子的關係？在日本時代達魯瑪克跟這些附近的部落有什麼樣子的關係？目前達魯瑪克跟這些附近的部落有什麼樣子的關係？
 - f. 之前外環道有一個養豬場，你可以告訴我他怎麼會蓋在那里，又發生什麼事情，而關閉？你對這件事有什麼看法？
 - g. 聽說目前台東市利用的水源是從大南溪來，你覺得你們 Taromak 部落的人應不應該受到某些回饋 / 利益 / 權利？為什麼？
3. 地方與地名
 - a. 達魯瑪克的傳統領域內有那些比較重要的地點？為什麼這些地點是特別重要？在日本時代這些地方還是重要嗎？那光復之後呢？目前達魯瑪克人還是覺得這些地點是重要嗎？為什麼或為什麼沒有？

- b. 聽說 Taromak 的傳統領域有很多地名？為什麼有這麼多地名？地名包含什麼樣子的意思？一些地名有沒有故事有關那個地名...例如...？地名是不是重要，為什麼？你如何知道這些地名？誰負責取得地名？這些地名會改變嗎？
- c. 你有沒有覺得地名對原住民同胞是重要？為什麼？台灣政府應該正名這些地名嗎？
- d. 在 Taromak 某個家族利用的土地有沒有地名？這個地名跟那個家族有關係嗎？那個地名是從哪里來？那個地名會不會改變？
- e. 你居住的地方叫什麼名字這個地名是什麼意思？大南這邊的土地有沒有很多地名，或者只是在山上有很多地名？為什麼有那麼多地名？這些地名是從哪里來？
- f. 聽說過大南橋那邊有兩個名稱：Subaiang 與 Sasu'aza。為什麼有兩個地名？你覺得我們應該用哪個地名？政府承認哪個地名？

4. 景觀

- a. 母語有沒有部落，領域，聚落，獵區，農田，這樣的字？這些字是什麼意思？跟中文的意思一樣或有一點不太一樣？
- b. 對你來說傳統領域是什麼東西？
- c. 你們如何分類你們的周圍環境？聽說有三層：最高的是 Taibelreng，中間是 Sisiya，最低的是 Liukua，是這樣嗎？你們在這些地區會做什麼？這些地區代表什麼？
- d. 很久以前你們有沒有不同的土地分類？那些分類？這些分類有沒有母語的名稱？
- e. 在日本時代這些分類有沒有改變？光復後呢？
- f. 目前透過現代與政府的影響你們怎麼分類土地？你覺得這樣的制度在這邊適不適合？你覺得這個制度應該怎麼改變？

5. 農業

- a. 母語怎麼稱為種東西的地方？傳統上你們種什麼樣子的菜？母語怎麼稱為這些菜？日本人來之前你們在哪里種採？
- b. 目前還有人在種小米，地瓜，這樣傳統食物嗎？
- c. 日本人來之後還是可以在那邊種東西嗎？日本人來之後你們在哪里種東西？光復之後在哪里種？目前在 Taromak 的傳統領域里有種什麼樣子的東西？誰在種？是當地人或別人？
- d. 很久以前大部分的農地是誰的？是個人用的和家族用的？可以隨便找地方種菜，或有沒有限制有關在哪里可以種菜？如果某個人想要開墾更多地，怎麼辦？
- e. 很久以前土地可以被買賣嗎？日本時代土地可以被買賣嗎？目前土地是不是常常被買賣？這個有沒有影響到傳統土地的意思？你覺得目

前 Taromak 的土地應不應該被買賣，或是不應該可以賣給平地人嗎？

- f. 你覺得政府有沒有協助你們在土地利用或買賣的問題？怎麼改善呢？
- g. 傳統上，農地是怎麼被繼承？通常誰會得到大部分的土地？誰決定？日本時代或光復之後的政策有沒有影響到傳統土地繼承的方式。目前土地是怎麼被繼承？
- h. 經濟上土地扮演什麼樣子的角色？從以前，這個角色有什麼樣子的改變？
- i. 目前土地對 Taromak 的人的經濟還是不是重要？政府有沒有限制你們土地的經濟潛力？這些限制有沒有正面和負面的方面？
- j. 政府，像農會地區，有沒有影響你們改變種植符合經濟價值的農作物，有得到利益嗎？
- k. 聽說在這邊你們都會用換工的方式做工作，是嗎？這個在母語怎麼講？你覺得這樣的活動對部落有哪些功能？現在還是會做嗎？
- l. 開墾，種東西，拔草，收割，等等的農業活動有那些儀式或禱告？怎麼做這個儀式？為什麼要做？在那里做？日本殖民政府與國民黨有沒有影響到這些儀式？目前大家會不會做這樣傳統的儀式？
- m. 你覺得繼續種這些傳統農作物（像小米）是不是重要？會不會繼續種？

6. 魚獵

- a. 你們會狩獵那些獵物？有沒有一些禁忌打的動物？
- b. 有沒有一些禁忌打獵的地方？哪里？為什麼在這些地方不行打獵？
- c. 政府會不會限制你們的狩獵？那對你們的文化有什麼樣子的影響？
- d. 你們現在有一個狩獵節日嗎？這個是傳統的一個狩獵節日嗎？為什麼有？
- e. 你們去打獵的時候有沒有一些規則有關那些獵物，什麼時候（季節），和在哪些地方可以打獵？有沒有傳統狩獵的限制？
- f. 你們去打獵的時候會不會做一些儀式或禱告？在哪里做，怎麼做，什麼時候做？
- g. 你通常是在哪些地方打獵？母語叫什麼地方？你的祖先也是在那邊打獵嗎？
- h. 你如何學到狩獵？什麼時候學？現在的年輕人也會打獵嗎？你覺得年輕人去打獵的時候可以學到什麼？打獵有什麼重要性？
- i. 傳統上你們會去河邊拿魚嗎？怎麼做？在哪里做？什麼時候？跟誰一起做？什麼魚都可以抓嗎？你會不會去抓魚？在哪里？什麼時候？

7. 收集

- a. 你們 Taromak 的人會收集哪些東西？大部分可以去哪里收集？什麼地方都可以嗎？你去收集東西的時候有沒有什麼儀式，或規則有關收集？

- b. 你怎麼學到在森林可以收集什麼東西？你覺得 Taromak 的後代會有這種能力嗎？
- c. 政府有沒有限制你們可以收集的東西？你對他們的限制覺得怎麼樣？如果你們可以隨便收集會不會破壞環境？
- d. 你有沒有參加過南島採集館的活動？覺得這個組織怎麼樣？

8. 家與住地

- a. 很早就以前，要蓋房子的時候通常是什麼時候蓋（結婚之後 / 定婚之後？），會在哪里蓋？個人要自己蓋嗎？
- b. 傳統上，蓋房子的時候，在哪里可以找到那些蓋房子的材料，像石板，木頭，等等？可以隨便去拿，和有沒有規則？
- c. 家是怎麼繼承？如果有幾個孩子，哪個孩子會留在原家，那些要搬出？

9. Kabaliwa

- a. 你的祖先之前在 Kabaliwa 居住嗎？你知道在哪里嗎？
- b. Kabaliwa 這個地方原本是不是包括居住的地方，種菜的地方，狩獵的地方，等等。
- c. Kabaliwa 的土地是怎麼分配，例如什麼人都可以用，或一些家族有他們自己的土地，和都是頭目的？
- d. Kabaliwa 有哪些地區 / 部分？哪些團體會居住在哪些地區？為什麼是分開的？
- e. 達魯瑪克的人什麼時候從 Kabaliwa 遷到'Irilra（比利良）？那時候你們祖先願意下山嗎？那時候有沒有衝突？
- f. 達魯瑪克人從 Kabaliwa 搬下來，有沒有回去？為什麼和為什麼沒有？
- g. 目前 Kabaliwa 是誰的土地？為什麼屬於這些人的？
- h. Kabaliwa 跟大南村有什麼樣子的關聯？聽說 Kabaliwa 的一部分叫做 Kacekelra，然後大南村的一部分也叫做 Kacekelra，真的是這樣嗎？有沒有類似的關聯？
- i. 你們什麼時候開始重建 Kabaliwa，為什麼要重建？
- j. Kabaliwa 是不是有一個祖靈屋？這個是什麼東西？在大南村頭目家旁邊也是祖靈屋嗎？為什麼這兩個地方都有？
- k. 對你來說，理想未來的 Kabaliwa 是怎麼樣？
- l. 你覺得大部分大南的人，還有在大南的團體（包括教會與其他非政府組織）都會支持重建 Kabaliwa 的運動嗎？你覺得有那些不同的看法或觀點？
- m. 重建的時候政府的立場有給予支持和限制的方面？

10. 社會階級

- a. Taromak 有哪些階級？這些階級有沒有母語名稱？你本身是在哪個階級？
- b. 傳統上頭目扮演的角色是什麼？有沒有改變？什麼時候改變？為什麼改變？
- c. 哪些階級有沒有比較多土地？那些階級會使用他們的土地，或他們會讓別人用他們的土地？
- d. 傳統上，打獵、收集東西、或收割的時候，是不是要給頭目一部分的你獲得的東西？給哪個頭目？大概要給多少？那時候為什麼要給？給頭目之後他會怎麼用那個東西？現在大家還會嗎？為什麼有改變？
- e. 土地被日本人測量之後，誰受到比較多？為什麼？你自己覺得這個測量方式是不是一個公平分配土地方式？
- f. 目前那些團體有大部分的土地？這些人會使用那個土地或租給別人？目前誰在利用大部分 Taromak 的土地/傳統領域，如何使用？

11. 'Alakua 與教育

- a. 很久以前在 Kabaliwa 的時候有幾個 'Alakua？都是叫做 'Alakua 嗎？為什麼不是只有一個？
- b. 'Alakua 的傳統角色是什麼？那現代的角色是一樣嗎？
- c. 男人在 'Alakua 的時候會學到什麼？
- d. 在豐年祭之前 'Alakua 是不是去 KinDoor 山？為什麼會去？你們去那邊的時候會經過那些重要的地方？去那邊的時候，年輕人會學到什麼？
- e. 女生也有沒有跟 'Alakua 類似的一個組織？很久以前那？女生通常會在哪里學到這些傳統生活的東西？
- f. 日據時代還是有 'Alakua 嗎？從前都有嗎？那 'Alakua 的內容有沒有改變？
- g. 目前部落內的爸爸媽媽與教會都會支持他們的孩子參加 'Alakua 的活動嗎？

12. 精神的傳統領域

- a. 你覺得對你的祖先來說，土地與傳統領域有什麼樣子的精神重要性？
- b. 在傳統的信仰上，Taromak 的世界有哪些靈魂？
- c. Taromak 的人什麼時候開始改變信仰到基督教，佛教，道教，等等宗教？這個改變有沒有影響到 Taromak 人跟土地的關係？
- d. 目前土地與傳統領域對 Taromak 的人有沒有精神上的重要性？目前 Taromak 的人有沒有仍信仰一些傳統的概念？
- e. 在學校附近的守護神石頭代表什麼？之前在 Kabaliwa 就有那個嗎？它會保護那些地區，例如就部落而已嗎？它叫什麼母語名字？你小時候還有守護神石頭嗎？什麼時候開始有新的那個石頭？為什麼要再做？你覺得那個是很重要的一個象征嗎？

13. 傳統領域的未來

- a. 你本身希望 Taromak 的傳統領域未來有什麼樣子的改變？
- b. 你覺得政府應該繼續管理你們的傳統領域或由你們自己管理？有什麼不一樣。

14. 政治上的問題？

- a. 對你來說日本人是殖民者嗎？
- b. 你覺得他們控制台灣的時候對 Taromak 當地產生什麼負面和正面的影響？
- c. 對你來說漢人與國民黨是不是殖民者？
- d. 你覺得目前台灣政府有關你們傳統領域的政策當地產生什麼負面和正面的影響？有那些可以改善的方向？
- e. 達魯瑪克的人還是可以在傳統領域做事情嗎？可以在山上作的事有沒有被限制？這些限制會不會影響部落？對你來說，這類問題如何改善？



Bibliography

English Sources:

Acheson, James M.

- 2006 Institutional Failure in Resource Management. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35:117-34.

Anderson, Benedict

- 1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Revised Edition). London, New York : Verso.

Basso, Keith H.

- 1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press.

Bender, Barbara ed.

- 1993(a) *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Providence, Oxford : Berg Publishers.
1993(b) Introduction: Landscape – Meaning and Action. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Bender, Barbara ed. 1-17. Providence, Oxford : Berg Publishers.
1993(c) Stonehenge – Contested Landscapes (Medieval to Present-Day). In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Bender, Barbara ed. 245-279. Providence, Oxford : Berg Publishers.

Berkes, Fikret.

- 1999 *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management*. Ann Arbor : Braun-Brumfeld/Taylor and Francis.

Boulan-Smit, Christine

- 2006 Traditional Territorial Categories and Constituent Institutions in West Seram: The Nili Ela of 'WELE Telu Batai and the Alune Hena of Ma'saman Uwei. In *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*. Reuter, Thomas ed. 157-177. Canberra : ANU E Press.

Carrier, James G.

- 1998 Property and Social Relations in Melanesian Anthropology. In *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition*. Hann C. M. ed. 86-92. Cambridge UK, New York USA, Melbourne AUS.
2004 *Confronting Environments: Local Understanding in a Globalizing World*. Carrier, James ed. Lanham, MD : Altamira Press.

Casey, Edward

- 1996 How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena. In *Senses of Place*. Feld, Steven and Keith Basso ed. 15-52. Santa Fe : School of American Research Press.
- Chen, Yi-fong
- 1998 Indigenous Rights Movements, Land Conflicts, and Cultural Politics in Tawian: A Case Study of Li-Shan. Louisiana State University, Department of Geography and Anthropology. PhD Dissertation.
- Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari
- 1987 A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis, London : University of Minnesota Press.
- Descola, Philippe and Gisli Palsson
- 1996 Introduction. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Philippe Descola and Gisli Palsson ed. 1-21. London and New York : Routledge.
- Descola, Philippe
- 1996 Constructing Natures: Symbolic ecology and social practice. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Philippe Descola and Gisli Palsson ed. 82-102. London and New York : Routledge.
- 1994 In the Society of Nature: A Native Ecology in Amazonia. Cambridge UK, New York USA, Melbourne AUS : Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
- Fox, James J.
- 1995(a) Origin Structures and Systems of Precedence in the Comparative Study of Austronesian Societies. In *Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan, Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, number 3*. Li, Paul Jen-Kuei et al ed. 27-57. Taipei : Academia Sinica.
- 1995(b) Austronesian Societies and their Transformations. In *The Austronesians; Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Bellwood, Peter and James J. Fox, Darrell Tryon eds. Canberra : ANU E Press.
- 1997 Genealogy and Topogeny: Towards an ethnography of Rotinese ritual place names. In *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. Fox, James J. ed. 91-102. Canberra : Australian National University.
- Grimes, Barbara Dix
- 1997 Knowing Your Place: Representing relations of precedence and origin on the Buru Landscape. In *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. Fox, James J. ed. 116-131. Canberra : Australian National University.
- Guo, Pei-yi

- 1993 'Island Builders': Landscape and Historicity Among the Langalanga, Solomon Islands. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Bender, Barbara ed. 189-209. Providence, Oxford : Berg Publishers.
- Hardin, Garrett
- 1968 The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science Magazine*, Vol. 162, December 1243-1247.
- Hirsch, Eric and Micheal O'Hanlon eds.
- 1995 *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Hirsch, Eric
- 2006 Landscape, Myth and Time. *Journal of Material Culture*. Vol. 11(1/2) p. 151-165. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Hornborg, Alf
- 2003 From animal masters to ecosystem services: Exchange, personhood and human ecology. In *Imagining Nature: Practices of Cosmology and Identity*. Andreas Roepstorff and Nils Bubandt ed. 9-30. Aarhus, Copenhagen : Aarhus University Press.
- Howell, Signe
- 1996 Nature in culture or culture in nature? Chewong ideas of 'humans' and other species. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Philippe Descola and Gisli Palsson ed. 127-144. London and New York : Routledge.
- Kahn, Miriam
- 1996 Your Place and Mine: Sharing Emotional Landscapes in Wamira, Papua New Guinea. In *Senses of Place*. Feld, Steven and Keith Basso ed. 167-196. Santa Fe : School of American Research Press.
- Latour, Bruno
- 1986 The Powers of Association. In *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?* Law, John ed. 264-280. London, Boston, Henley : Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1993 *We Have Never Been Modern*. Translated from French by Catherine Porter. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore : Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- 2005 *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford, New York : Oxford University Press.

- Leach, Edmond
 2006 'Team Spirit': The Pervasive Influence of Place-Generation in 'Community Building' Activities along the Rai Coast of Papua New Guinea. *Journal of Material Culture* 11: 87-103
- Lewis, E.D.
 2006 From Domains to Rajadom: Notes on the History of Territorial Categories and Institutions in the Rajadom of Sikka. In *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*. Reuter, Thomas ed. 179-210. Canberra : ANU E Press.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei
 1975 *Rukai Texts*. Nankang, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC : Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica, Special Publications No. 64-2.
- McWilliam, Andrew
 2006 Fataluku Forest Tenure and the Conis Santana National Park in East Timor. In *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*. Reuter, Thomas ed. 253-275. Canberra : ANU E Press.
- Moran, Emilio
 2006 *People and Nature: An Introduction to Human Ecological Relations*. Malden USA, Oxford UK, Victoria AUS : Blackwell Publishing.
- Morphy, Howard
 1993 Colonialism, History and the Construction of Place: The Politics of Landscape in Northern Australia. In *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Bender, Barbara ed. 205-243. Providence, Oxford : Berg Publishers.
- Myers, Fred R.
 1986 *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London : University of California Press.
- Palsson, Gisli
 1996 Human-environmental relations: Orientalism, paternalism and communalism. In *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*. Philippe Descola and Gisli Palsson ed. 63-81. London and New York : Routledge.
- Pannell, Sandra
 1997 From the Poetics of Place to the Politics of Space: Redefining cultural landscapes on Damer, Maluku Tenggara. In *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. Fox, James J. ed. 163-6173. Canberra : Australian National University.

- Roepstorff, Andreas and Nils Bubandt
2003 General Introduction: The critique of culture and the plurality of nature. In *Imagining Nature: Practices of Cosmology and Identity*. Andreas Roepstorff and Nils Bubandt ed. 9-30. Aarhus, Copenhagen : Aarhus University Press.
- Sakai, Minako
1997 Remembering Origins: Ancestors and places in the Gumai society of South Sumatra. In *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*. Fox, James J. ed. 42-62. Canberra : Australian National University.
- Sauer, Carl
1925 *The Morphology of Landscape*. University of California Publications in Geography. Number 22: 19-53.
- Stewart, Pamela J. and Andrew Strathern
2003 Introduction. In *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Stewart, Pamela J. and Andrew Strathern ed. London : Pluto Press.
- Taiban, Sasala (台邦 薩沙勒)
2006 *The Lost Lilly: State, Sociocultural Change, and the Decline of Hunting Culture in Kaochapogan, Taiwan* (Doctoral Dissertation). Seattle, WA : University of Washington.
- Tilley, Christopher
2006 Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage. *Journal of Material Culture*, Volume 11(1/2): 7-32. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu
1977 *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press.
- Tule, Philipus
2006 We Are Children Of The Land: A Keo Perspective. In *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*. Reuter, Thomas ed. 211-236. Canberra : ANU E Press.
- West, Paige and James Igoe, Dan Brockington
2006 Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 35:251-77.

Chinese Sources

Cheng, Winnie (鄭瑋寧)

- 2000 *Ren, Jiashi yu Qinshu: Yi Taromak Rukairen Weili* (人、家屋與親屬：以 Taromak 魯凱人為例, People, Home and Family Relations: The Case of Taromak Rukai). Masters Thesis. Hsinchu, Taiwan : National Tsing Hua University (新竹：國立清華大學)

Chiao, Tsung-min (喬宗恣)

- 2001 *Taiwan Yuanzhuminshi: Rukaizu shipian* (台灣原住民史：魯凱族史篇, The History of Formosan Indigenous Peoples: Rukai) . Nantou: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province (南投：台灣省文獻委員會) .

Huang, Ying-kuei (黃應貴)

- 1995 *Tudi, Jia, yu Juluo: Dongpushe Bunongren de Konjian Xianxiang* (土地，家與聚落：東埔社布農人的空間現象, Land, House and Settlement: Dong-pu village Bunong Space Phenomenon). In *Kongjian, Li yu Shehui* (空間，力與社會, Space, Power and Society). Huang, Ying-Kuei (黃應貴) eds. Taipei : Institute of Ethnography, Academia Sinica (台北：中央研究院民族學研究所)

Hu, Jackson (胡正恆)

- 2008 *Lishi Djinghua yu xingxianghua: Lun Dawuren Jiatuan Chuangshi Jiyi ji qi Dangdai Quanshi* (歷史地景化與形象化：論達悟人家團創始記憶及其當代詮釋, Landscape- and Image-Making of History – Kin Group Founding Memory and its Contemporary Interpretation). In *Kuanrong de renleixue jingshen : Liubinxiong xiansheng jinian lunwenji* (寬容的人類學精神：劉斌雄先生紀念論文集, In Memorial Essay Collection of Liu, Pin-hsiung. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica) 199-232. Taipei : Academia Sinica Institute of Ethnology (台北：中央研究院民族學研究所).

Jin, Rong-hua (金榮華)

- 1995 Taitung, Danan Village: Rukai Tribe Oral Literature (台東大南村：魯凱族口傳文學, *Taitung Danan cun: Rukaizu Kouchuan Wenxue*) . Taipei : Institute of Chinese Literature, China Cultural University (台北：中國文化大學，中國文學研究所)。

Tsai, Pei-shan (蔡佩珊)

- 2008 The Study of the impact of Tribal Ecotourism to the society, culture, economic and ecology of Taromak. Take tribal studying camp for example

(部落生態旅遊對達魯瑪克部落社會、文化、經濟與生態的影響：以部落留學為例, *Buluo Shengtai Luyou dui Taromak buluo shehui, wenhua, jingji yu shengtai de yingxiang: yi buluo liuxue weili*) Masters Thesis. Taitung, Taiwan : Department of Institute of Life Science, National Taitung University (台東：國立台東大學生命科學研究所).

Tseng, Cheng-ming (曾振名)

- 1991 A Survey Report on the Primitive Settlements of Rukai, Paiwan Aborigines in Tai-tung County (*Taitungxian Rukai, Paiwanzu Jiushe Yizhi Kancha Baogao*, 台東縣魯凱, 排灣族舊社遺址勘查報告). Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University, Occasional Paper Series, No. 18. Taipei : National Taiwan University, Department of Anthropology.

Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (中央研究院民族學研究所)

- 2004 *Fanzu Guanxi Diaocha Baogao Shu (diwujuan)* (番族慣習調查報告書「第五卷」：排灣族第四冊, Investigative Report on Tribal Customs and Habits, Book 5, Paiwan Tribe) Taipei : Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (台北：中央研究院民族學研究所).

Lin, Jiang-yi (林江義)

- 1996 *Tan Rukaizu Zuqun yu Fenbu* (談魯凱族族群與分布, Discuss Rukai Tribe Ethnicity and Distribution). In *Yuanzumin Xiandai Shehui Shiyong* (原住民現代社會適應, Indigenous Modern Social Adaptation). Cai, Zhong-han (蔡中涵) ed. Taipei : Educational Broadcasting Channel (臺北市：教育廣播電台).

Liu, Zhong-xi (劉炯錫)

- 2008 Study of sustainable use of wild plant resources by indigenous people, a case of Taromak tribe, Rekey ethnic group, Taiwan. The tertiary section. Tawian : Agricultural Council Forestry Bureau, Executive Yuan (台灣：行政院農業委員會林務局).

Qiu, Li-wen (邱麗文)

- 1999 Danan hou de Yujin: Taromak de Xiwang Gongcheng (大難後的餘燼：達魯瑪克的希望工程, Embers after the Big Disaster: Taromak's hope project). Taipei: Cultural Construction Committee, Executive Yuan (台北：行政院文化建設委員會).

Shi, Tian-fu (施添福) et al.

- 1999 *Taitung xian shi dili pian* (台東縣史地理篇, Taitung County History: Geography). Taitung, Taiwan : Taitung County Government (台東：台東縣政府).

- 2001 *Taitung xian shi: Paiwanzu yu Rukaizu Pian* (台東縣史：排灣族與魯凱族篇, Taitung County History: Paiwan and Rukai Tribe). Taitung, Taiwan : Taitung County Government (台東：台東縣政府).
- Tian, Zhe-yi (田哲益)
 2003 *Rukaizu Shenhua yu chuanshuo* (魯凱族神話與傳說, Rukai Tribe Myths and Legends). Taizhong, Taiwan : Morning Star Publishing Co. (台中：晨星出版有限公司).
- Wang, Ming-hui (汪明輝)
 2006 *Yuanzuminzu chuantong xiguan zhi diaocha zhengli ji pinggu naru xianxingfa tixi zhi yanjiu – tsouzu, rukaizu pian* (原住民族傳統習慣之調查整理及評估納入現行法體系之研究 – 鄒族、魯凱族篇, Information Collection and Assessing of Bringing Indigenous Peoples' Traditional Customs into Existing Legislation – Tsou Tribe and Rukai Tribe). Taipei : Central Government Council of Indigenous Peoples Report (行政院原住民族委員會, 委託研究報告).
- Xie, Ji-chang (謝繼昌)
 1965 *Taitungxian Danancun Rukaizu Shehui Zuzhi* (台東縣大南村魯凱族社會組織, Taitung County Danan Village Rukai tribe Social Organization). Masters Thesis. Taipei : National Taiwan University, Institute of Archeological Anthropology (台北：國立台灣大學考古人類學研究所).
 1997 *Rukaizu* (魯凱族, Rukai Peoples) in *Yuanzhumin wenhua jiben jiaocai, xiace, diliuzhang* (原住民文化基本教材(下冊)第六章, *Introduction of Indigenous Cultures*, Vol. 2, Chapter 6), edited by National Institute for Compilation and Translation (國立編譯館編), 1-24. Taipei: National Institute for Compilation and Translation (臺北：國立編譯館).
- Xu, Gong-ming (許功明)
 1993 *Rukaizu de Wenhua yu Yishu* (魯凱族的文化與藝術, Culture and Art of the Rukai Tribe). Taipei: Daw Shiang Publishing Co. (台北：稻鄉出版公司).
- Yan, Ai-jing (顏愛靜) and Guo-zhu Yang (楊國柱)
 2004 *Yuanzuminzu Tudi Zhidu yu Jingji Fazhan* (原住民族土地制度與經濟發展, Indigenous People's Land Institutions and Economic Development). Taipei: Daw Shiang Publishing Co. (台北：稻鄉出版公司).
- Yang, Mei-hua (陽美花)

- 2008 Traditional Territories of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples under New Partnership Agreement: A Research based on Taiwanese Indigenous People's Point of View (「新伙伴關係」下的台灣原住民傳統領域問題：部落觀點之研究, {xinhubao guanxi} xia de Taiwan yuanzhumin chuantong lingyu wenti: buluo guandian zhi yanjiu). Masters Thesis. Hualien : National Dong Hwa University, Institute of Ethnic Relations and Culture (花蓮：國立東華大學族群關係與文化研究所).
- Zhang, Jia-wei (張家瑋)
- 2004 *Yuanzu minzu shequ quanli jiegou bianqian zhi tantao: yi Beinan zu Lijia shequ, Rukai zu Dongxing shequ weili* (原族民族社區權力結構變遷之探討：以卑南族利嘉社區、魯凱族東興社區為例, Discussing Indigenous Peoples Community Power Structure Changes: A Case Study in Beinan tribe Lijia Community and Rukai tribe Dongxing Community). Masters Thesis. Kaohsiung, Taiwan : National Sun Yat-sen University (高雄：國立中山大學).
- Zhuang, Xiao-Guang (莊效光)
- 2002 Study on Vegetation Ecology and Plant Utilization on the Traditional Territory of Rukai Tribe in Taromak (Masters Thesis). Pingtung, Taiwan : National Pingtung University of Science and Technology (屏東：國立屏東科技大學).