

# Paiwan

## Introduction to the ethnic group

The name of this ethnic group has various forms and possible transliterations, such as Paiyuan, Bawun, Paiwun, Peiwan, Paywan, Bawan and Paiwan. The westernized spelling Paiwan has been suggested by Ogawa Hisayoshi and Asai Erin, two Japanese scholars in the linguistic seminar at the former Taihoku Imperial University. Rui Yifu, in “Taiwan tuzhu gezhu huayi mingming niyi” “The proposal of a standardized naming system of Taiwanese Aborigines” (台灣土著各族劃一命名擬議), mentioned that the meaning of the group name “Paiwan” is unclear. But according to Tadasu Suzuki, the name originates from one of their myths. In the Paiwan’s myth, their ancestors lived in a place on Dawu mountain called “Paiwan,” where heaven is said to exist, and since the current group spread out from this location, the name of the place was adopted as their group name. Some group members explain that “Paiwan” also means “human being.”

The earliest and most complete categorization of the Taiwanese aborigines was proposed by Japanese scholars, Ino Kanori and Awano, during the period of Japanese rule (1895-1945). They divided aborigines into seven groups: the Atayal, Bunun, Tsou (or Sao), Paiwan, Tsalisien, Puyuma and Ami. Right after their research, Torii Ryuzo published a report in 1910 in French, categorizing aborigines into nine ethnic groups: Atayal, Bunnun, Niitaka, Sao, Tsalisien, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami and Yami. The “Japanese expert of aborigines,” Ushinosuke Mori, simplified the category by combining the Paiwan, Tsalisien and Puyuma into one group, the “Paiwan” (which was later known as “the Paiwan group”), plus the Atayal, Bunun, Sao, Ami and Yami to make six ethnic groups. The “Barbarian Management Offices” under the Authority of the Police in the Taiwan Sotokufu (Governor-General of Taiwan) released “the Aboriginal Census” (蕃社戶口) in which it added the Saishat to Ushinosuke Mori’s categories, making seven ethnic groups. Since then, this categorization was adopted as the official one during Japanese rule. Hwei-Lin Wei criticized that this category did not take group relations into consideration, even though it was based on field research; it was, therefore, merely an arbitrary listing. Utzukawa, Mabuchi Toichi and Miyamoto coauthored the book “The Formosan Native Tribes : a Genealogical and Classificatory Study” (台灣高砂族系統所屬の研究) in 1935, in which they treated the Puyuma as an independent tribe called Panapanayan, changed the ethnic name of the Tsalisien into Rukai, and separated it from the Paiwan based on differences in their languages. They also suggested changing the name of the famous ethnic group in the eastern coastal plain, the Ami, into Pangtsah. Therefore, the Taiwanese aborigines were categorized into nine ethnic groups: the Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Panapanayan, Pangtsah and Yami. Many scholars have different opinions on the categorization, but now, the state and the general public accept the nine ethnic group categorization system (comprised of the Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Pyuyuma, Amis, and Yami/Dao), and they also accept the Thao, Kavalan and Tarogo (Truku), which recently were officially recognized, for a total of twelve ethnic groups.

## Geographical Distribution

According to “The Aboriginal Demographic Statistics of the Taiwan and Minnan area in the ROC” conducted by the Council of Indigenous Peoples under the Executive Yuan in 2003, the population of the Paiwan is 69,625, making it the third largest ethnic group behind the Amis (147,895) and the

Atayal (89,693). The Paiwan mainly live in the southern chain of the Central Range, from Damumu Mountain and the upper Wuluo River in the north to the Hengchun Peninsula in the south, and also in the hills and coastal plains in southeastern Taiwan. Administrative districts where they live include Sandi, Majia, Taiwu, Laiyi, Chunrih, Mudan, Shihzih and Manjhou Townships in Pingtung County, Beinan, Jinfong, Taimali, Daren, and Dawu Townships in Taitung County, and a few in Jhuosi Township in Hualien County and Sanmin and Taoyuan Townships in Kaohsiung County.

The Paiwan are divided into the Raval and the Butsul subgroups. The Raval subgroup lives at the upper stream of the Buwuluo River, which is about eight hundred meters in elevation, at the confluence of the Koushe River and the western hill of Nanda Mountain, in Saijiia, Koushe, Anpo, Shashi, Dalai, Dewun, Dashe, Sandi and Maer Villages in Pingtung County. The Butsul subgroup is composed of the Paumaumaq (or Northern Paiwan), Chaboobol, Parilario (or Southern Paiwan), and Paqaroqaro (or Eastern Paiwan) branches. The Paumaumaq branch is settled in the region from the Koushe River in the north to the Linbian River in the south, mainly in Fawan, Majia, Beiye, Liangshen and Jiayi Villages in Majia Township of Pingtung County, Taiwu, Jiaping, Pinghe, Wutan and Jiiasing Villages in Taiwu Township, Yilin, Gulou, Nanhe, Wangjiia, Wunle and Danlin Villages in Laiyi Township, and Cijiia and Lilee Villages in Chunrih Township. The Chaboobol branch resides from the Shuaimang River in the north to the Linbian River in the south, mainly in Chunrih, Shihwun, Gueichong and Guhua Villages in Chunrih Township in Pingtung County, and in Jhukeng, Fonglin, Danlu, Caopu, Shihzih, Heping, Nanshih, Neiwun and Neishih Villages in Shihzih Township. The Parilario branch is scattered along the Hengchun area in southern Taiwan, mainly in the Nyureng tribe of Mudan Village in Mudan Township, as well as Mudan, Dongyuan, Sihlin, Gaoshih, Shihmen Villages in Mudan Township and Manjhou and Lide Villages in Manjhou Township of Pingtung County. The Paqaroqaro branch is found in Taimali, Daren and Dawu Townships in Taitung County, at the eastern slope of the Central Range, at the site of the drainage area of the Dawu, Dajhugao, Ganzihlun and Taimali Rivers, including Tuban, Taiban, Sinhua, Anshuo, Nantian and Senyong Villages in Daren Township, Binmao, Sinsing, Jiieda, Bilu, Liciiou and Jiialan Villages in Jinfong Township, Dawang, Jinlun and Duoliang Villages in Taimali Township, Dajhu, Daniao, Dawu and Shangwu Villages in Dawu Township, and Danan Village in Beinan Township.

Paiwan tribal living areas are situated below 1,500 meters in elevation, with a majority of tribes building on hills between 100 and 1,000 meters. The Japanese government implemented a migration plan to move tribes in deep mountain areas outward to the hills after the Wushe incident in 1930, and this had a significant impact on the Bunun, the Atayal and the Paiwan. The local government under KMT rule launched another large-scale migration plan targeting the Paiwan tribes in Pingtung and Taitung Counties; the plan called for building new communities and provided assistance with transport to relocate deep mountain tribes.

### **Social Structure and Social Organizations**

Paiwan social structure is hierarchical, based on land ownership and primogeniture. Land ownership is passed along to the first born children; thus, primogeniture forms the basis of the hierarchical social system. The hereditary class system consists of three social tiers: the noble class, the distinguished class and the commoner class. Tribal members inherit their social status at birth. In the Fawan tribe, for example, there are three social tiers: the noble class (mamatsangilan) are landlords' close relatives who are divided into landlords, core nobles, secondary nobles and marginal nobles through kinship ties with the landlords; the distinguished class (pualu) are inferior

to the nobles but superior to the commoners, whose first born will inherit the status of pualu, while their other children will become commoners; the commoners (kaktitan) are landlords' relatives who do not share at least one great-grandparent with a landlord. The membership of this class is more diverse; while some members are distant relatives of landlords, others are not landlords' relatives at all.

One main feature of the hierarchical social structure is the allocation of privileges along class lines. To be a landlord, one must own farms and houses. He can collect taxes, such as land tax, hunting tax, mountain tax, water tax and so on; he is granted the privilege of getting a full human shape tattoo, a special family name, a special personal name, a larger house with a snake, deer, or human head carving on the lintel, a human sculpture in the front living room, a platform in front of the house, the right to cohabit with single women before marriage, the right to wear leopard leather, and exemption from military duty, which is inherited by all of the landlords' children. The distinguished class has similar social status to the marginal nobles but differs only by tattoos and personal names. The commoners must earn their living and decorations by labor, and enhance their social status through personal performance in warfare or hunting games or through carving skills; otherwise, marriage can be another route to a higher class for their next generation. The Paiwan apply three marriage rules to upgrading or downgrading in class, which are also known as the "three hierarchical marriage forms": marriage with the same class (mitservong), marriage with the upper class (slungua), and marriage with the lower class (slungoja). Marriage with the upper or lower class takes both status and wealth into consideration, and can occur both among different classes and also between different levels of the nobility. The Paiwan do not have strict marriage rules that apply to members in the same class. The status of individuals and their descendants can be modified through marriage among different classes.

The Paiwan nobles were holy and sacrosanct and also had special personal and family names as well as household emblems shown on carved stone pillars, crossbeams, and lintels; they also had the right to wear special decorations such as leopard leather, lazurite beads, and tattoos. The items they use were decorated with distinct patterns, such as human heads and hundred-pace snakes. There is still some awareness of hierarchy in modern Paiwan society. The Paiwan people know the relations between one another's class; even though the chief no longer has the right to collect taxes, they still respect the landlords and the nobles. For example, the most honorable seat at a banquet is reserved for the chief, who will receive the first toast, too. Young people still follow this custom today.

<http://www.dmtip.gov.tw/Eng/Paiwan.htm>, also with more information.