

CHAPTER 4—LAIPUNUK PERSPECTIVES

“The Bunun, a proud people, were forced to a low place, both geographically and socially – forced into subordination below other indigenous ethnicities, the Japanese, and the Chinese. They went from living on top of the mountain to living at the bottom of society”

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This section of the thesis is an assessment of the history of the region, the peoples, and the elements, which shaped and changed their society. This includes identifying the unique challenges to researching Laipunuk history, as well as to explore the precarious coexistence between the Bunun, other indigenous groups, and the Taiwanese. Furthermore it will cover historical Japanese records, the forced removal of Laipunuk’s people from their homes, events of the Taiwan Forestry Bureau (TFB), and the events leading descendants of Laipunuk-born elders to return to their family villages and conduct *tribal mapping*. See *Map 10* at the end of this section.

Providing historical background on the Laipunuk region and people is crucial to understanding the significance of this *full* study, especially the ethnohistorical narratives and perspectives, which form the heart of this thesis. To some extent, this section serves as a literature review.

In the wider view, and as this section of the thesis will make obvious, several thousand Bunun lived in Laipunuk prior to the Japanese arrival – and the region was in an era of growth, prosperity, social change, and served as an important trade route. In a short period of time the Japanese subordinated, vanquished, and removed every living person from the region. We can say that the region went from a place of profound activity to a place of inactivity in a little over a decade (approximately from 1929 to 1942). For nearly sixty-five years, and until today, Laipunuk has remained uninhabited.

The Research

This topic poses the researcher several challenges: due to the remote nature of the region there are very few historical records; due to the late arrival and relatively short period of Japanese occupation of the region, documentation in the forms of written and photographic records a

quite limited; all residents were extradited by 1942 and never permitted to return⁸²; the vast majority of possible Laipunuk-born Bunun informants are now deceased; and archeological field work and survey has yet to be conducted.

However, as briefly addressed on page 1 of this thesis, there are avenues of research available. In detail, these include the following: Japanese government field reports⁸³; five Japanese public announcements from the early 1940s addressing small anti-Japanese revolt⁸⁴; research published by Dr. Ying-kuei Huang (a Research Fellow at Academia Sinica who was among the first Taiwan scholars to address this topic)⁸⁵; two Chinese theses (one discussing tribal movements prior to 1942 and one focused on relocations occurring in the Japanese period)⁸⁶; and testimony by Laipunuk-born informants and their children⁸⁷.

Although the above mentioned background defines the boundaries of research for this topic, it is nonetheless possible to address a number of key points and issues that not only provide a better understanding of Laipunuk people and history, but serve as an important prelude to the ethnohistorical perspectives presented in Chapter 4.2 and Chapter 5 of this thesis.

There are several key issues when addressing Bunun culture in Laipunuk. These include the following: the issue of when and why did the Bunun come to Laipunuk and were there another ethnicities there before their arrival; the issue of the incorporation of Chinese families into the Bunun social system (Istanda, N. 2004 interview); the issue of a marked shift from traditional egalitarian society to a more hierarchical structured society (Huang 2006 interview); the issue of the role which marriage exchange played in these processes; the issue of indigenous population pressures and external population pressures, namely those of the Qing Dynasty Chinese and the Japanese Colonial Government; and the issue of linking the past with current events, including tribal mapping, research expeditions, and land rights.

⁸² KMT logging teams in the 1970s and contemporary tribal mapping projects notwithstanding (this topic will be addressed later in this section).

⁸³ Three Japanese reports have been located and incorporated into this thesis: 1904, 1922, and 1930-1931. See Japanese references and Section 4.2 for a detailed literature review of these documents.

⁸⁴ This revolt, called the *Laipunuk Incident*, is addressed in great detail in section 4.3 of this thesis.

⁸⁵ Some of these materials were translated to English by author and interviews with Dr. Huang were conducted.

⁸⁶ These 2 theses, written in Chinese are by: Li Min-Huei (1997) *Tribes Migration and Social Reconstruction of Taiwan Aborigines in Japan Colonial Period: the Case Study of the Bunun of Bei-nan River*; and Tsai San Shen (2006) *Laipunuk Bunun Tribal Migration Before 1942*.

⁸⁷ These Bunun seniors primarily speak Bunun and Japanese, whereas their children primarily speak Chinese.

4.1. Laipunuk Historical Background

Huang Ying-kuei, a scholar on the Bunun people and history, considers Laipunuk a mystery: “When I began to research this area, I learned that very few scholars ever researched this place... and Laipunuk is among the last places to resist the Japanese” (Huang 2006 interview). Huang, who came to Taitung in the late 1990s to interview Laipunuk-born Bunun elders, urges researchers to take a wide perspective on this topic and explore the unique changes syncretism that occurred in Laipunuk. He identifies the Laipunuk Bunun as being among the last aborigines to encounter the Japanese Colonial Empire: “Until 1929, after thirty-four years of the Japanese rule, imperial political power still wasn’t enforced in the Laipunuk Beinan River Basin. According to Japanese maps of that period, Laipunuk was little more than a blank spot” (Huang 2006 interview). The following dialogue was transcribed and translated from Huang Yin-kuei’s interview in the short film *Return to the Busuh (Navel) Burial Site* (Tsai, S. 2005 video manuscript):

“In 1929, Japanese government made the first Taiwanese map that covered the whole area (map of the scale of 1:50,000) missing only one area. The one part that was missing was the area radiate from *Nei-ben-lu* (Laipunuk) as the center, along the whole Beinan River. This means that, as late as 1929, the Japanese colonial government still was not able to rule this area. And that is very interesting. This means that the ruling power of a modern country, until 1929, had not yet reached this area, which was radiate from *Nei-ben-lu* and along the Beinan River. In other words, we can say that this area is the last area to be annexed into the modern country ruling system. Well, she is the window of history. Actually, there are two layers of the meaning: one is the understanding of the past; the other one is the understanding of the current; they are both very important.”

First Residents

Little is known about Laipunuk before the turn of the twentieth century. When exactly indigenous people first lived or hunted in the region cannot be said for certain. The Isbukun Bunun may have expanded across the central mountains range of Taiwan in the eighteenth and nineteenth century – from *Raku Raku Stream Valley* to *Hsin-vu-lu Valley*; and in the latter half of the nineteenth century to the *Lao-nun Valley* and the *Nei-ben-lu* region (Chiu 1973: 70). Istanda, N. (2004 interview) suggests that the area may have been a mutual hunting ground for the Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, and the Puyuma. Huang (2006 interview) suggests that originally the Rukai were dominate in Laipunuk and it may have been a hunting area. Istanda, N. (2004 interview) understands the history in this way: “Laipunuk was originally Tsou, Puyuma, and

Rukai, but when the Bunun came the Tsou left; then the Bunun marry with Rukai and a relationship develops; this can be seen in the patterns of our dress or clothing, such as the patterns and the use of black color.”

This rare photo (see *Photo 5* below) of the young Laipunuk Bunun leader cloaked in Leopard skin and adorned with Paiwan style head gear is out of the ordinary:

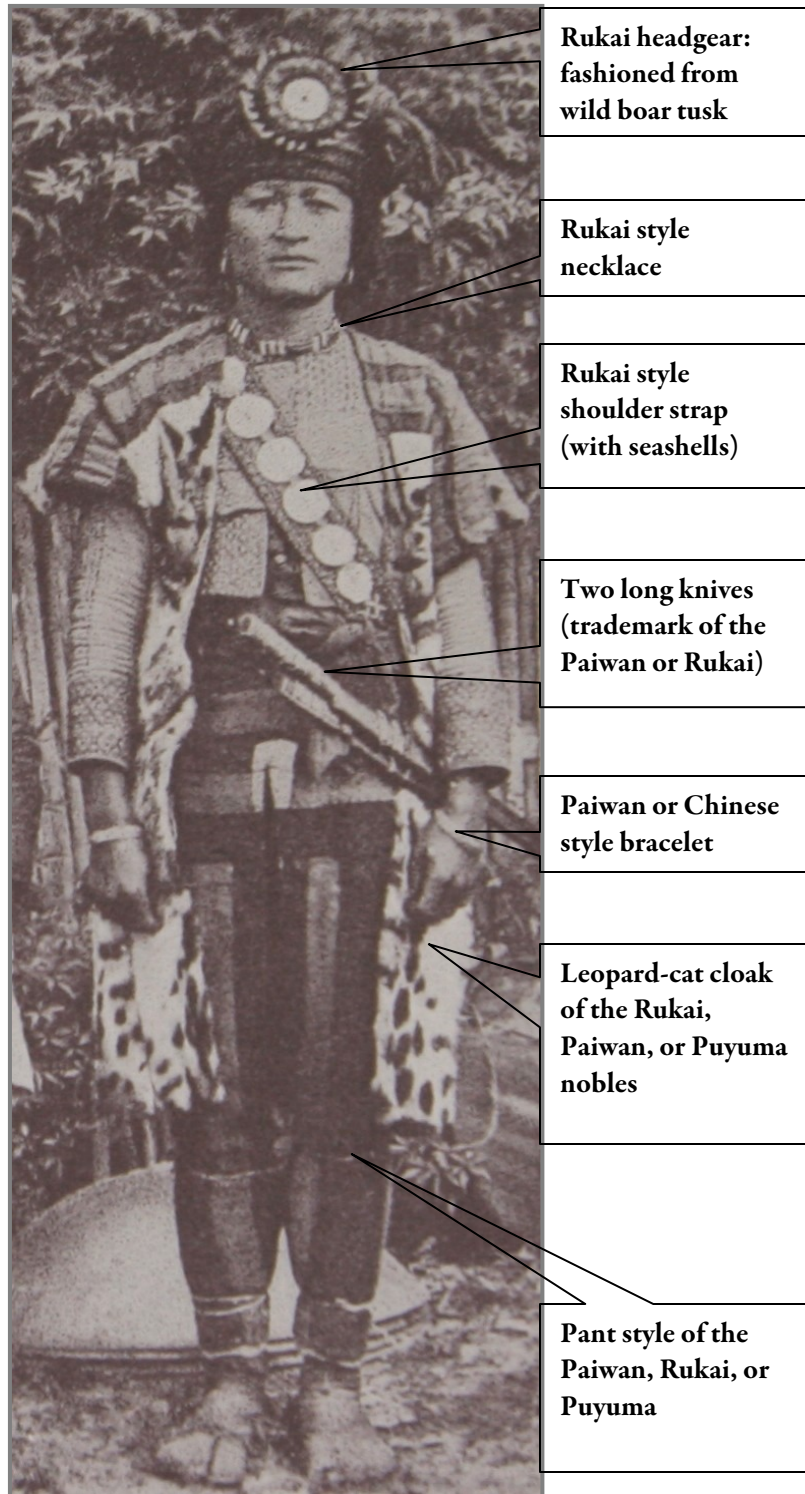
“Bunun don’t wear Leopard skin cloaks; only Rukai, Paiwan, and Puyuma nobles may wear this; nor was it common to wear headwear decorated with wild boar teeth like those of the Rukai or Paiwan; normally the Bunun only have one knife, yet the man pictured two knives like that of the Rukai and Paiwan⁸⁸; also the Laipunuk Bunun had brass bracelets and armbands, which likely came from Paiwan or Chinese, either from headhunting or from more likely from gifts. It may show good relations” (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The most commonly used skin was from the Taiwan deer [*Cervus unicolor swinhoii* (Sclater)], however, among ethnicities, which practiced a class system, chiefs and nobles wore leopard-cat [*Felis bengalensis* (Keer)] skins (Chen 1988: 34). The Paiwan and Rukai nobles wore headgear fashioned with wild boar [*Suscofa taiwanus* (Swinhoe)] teeth.

The Mantaoran

Istanda, N. (2004 interview) and Huang (2006 interview) agree that although the region was once under the influence of the Rukai, the Bunun got a foothold through trade and marriage exchange. When a Bunun girl is married out the involved families will maintain close ties (note that the male should not leave his family home, but it could possibly occur) (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). It is important to examine the ramifications of these intricate marriage relations. More than cultural implications, there are economic, social, and political implications. For example, marriage exchange means gift giving, such as gift giving when the babies come. The relationship between clans or ethnicities would initiate through marriage exchanges, and then build through trade. Istanda, N. (2006 interview) notes that Japanese wrote that the Bunun bought Laipunuk for money but he believes this thinking was based on western logic. Istanda mentions that there is an oral story that the *Madaipulan* area was originally traded for two Dutch guns (*ibid.*).

⁸⁸ N. Istanda (2006 interview) notes the Rukai and Paiwan style of using two knives may be borrowed from the Japanese. One knife is for enemies; the other for one’s self.



*Photo 5: Laipunuk Bunun Chief
Source: Sagawa Collection⁸⁹*

⁸⁹ Photo by Sagawa. Supplied to author by SMC Publishing Inc.

The *Mantauran*, officially classified as belonging to the Rukai ethnicity, have distinct cultural and linguistic attributes. Zeitoun and Lin (2003) have documented the *Mantauran* oral history with a strong focus on language, which identifies that they once lived in the contiguous region to Laipunuk.

Istanda, N. (2004 interview) identifies the Bunun backpack used in Laipunuk, called *dava Laipunuk*, was of a Rukai style (smaller in size and dissimilar in construction than those once used by the Bunun), and that the patterns and colors of Laipunuk Bunun clothing incorporated Rukai traditional designs. Although the 2006 expedition team took over five days to reach *Wan Shan* (where the *Mantauran* once lived) from central Laipunuk (Shou police office)⁹⁰, Laipunuk elders account that it used to take just one and a half days (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). It has been documented that the Bunun living near *Madaipulan* had a close relationship with *Mantauran* people (*ibid.*) and that *Uvak* is a *Mantauran* given name that has come into the Laipunuk Bunun family names through marriage exchange (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview).

The *Wan Shan* area is known in reference to the following names: *Wan Shan* (萬山); *Mantauran Shan* (萬頭蘭山); and *Wan Do Long She* (萬斗籠社). During the 2006 Laipunuk expedition, Nabu Istanda explained to me that this area is known for some eight areas with aboriginal stone sculptures; and at least one of these stone sculptures may be related to marriage exchange. Named *Zu Bu Di Di Yan Diao* (祖布里里岩雕)⁹¹, it is said to reflect a story (called *Kopaca'e* by the *Mantauran*) about a marriage between a *Mantauran* man who married to either a Bunun or Tsou woman. Legend says that the girl was heartbroken, pushed away by her *Mantauran* husband. She waited solemnly for her husband but he never returned. In her anguish, she carved the rock sculpture in a cave of a *Mantauran* man, a Bunun woman, and a snake⁹².

Marriage exchange may have come about as result to make peace. There is an oral record of Laipunuk Bunun headhunting the *Mantauran*: “There seems to be only a few stories about Laipunuk Bunun going out for headhunting, and these are stories of Bunun headhunting the *Mantauran*. As I understand, the Bunun were making a real nuisance for the *Mantauran* – and the *Mantauran* would have been glad to reach an accord in order to stop the intimidation”

⁹⁰ See *Map 10* for the location of Shou, and *Table 10* and *Table 11* in Section 4.3 for toponymical details and Appendix for expedition information.

⁹¹ N. Istanda (2006 interview) suggests *Zu Bu Di Di*, although the Mandarin spelling is *Zu Bu Li Li*.

⁹² N. Istanda mentions that although it is not certain if the carving depicts a Bunun or Tsou woman, he believes it is Bunun. He mentioned about *Baibu* in relation to a snake, but this detail is unclear.

(Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Chiang (2006 interview) notes the curious relationship hunting, headhunting, marriage, and social accord:

“Indigenous marriage exchange may originate in the hunting grounds. The hunters may fight and/or make friends, meaning that the encounter in the hunting grounds was not always hostile; they may talk and make agreements. Marriage and headhunting were not mutually exclusive, and one may follow the other.

As for the Rukai, they have a long tradition of cross-village marriage; such tradition is built into their social system. A person should marry their own class, and this may cause them to look to another Rukai village for a suitable candidate. In some cases, a member of high or noble class would marry to a wealthy Taiwanese; in other cases they may have sought an elite family of another ethnicity for marriage, such as the Bunun. And the Bunun could have sought marriage with the elite Rukai.

With regard to Laipunuk, we need to examine the overall cultural concepts of ownership.”

Although the origin of the name *Laipunuk* is unclear, many Bunun elders believe it is a Rukai toponym (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). These elders indicate that the southeastern portion of the region was also called *Upunuku* or *Oponoho* and this name may be attributed to the *Mantauran* (a Rukai group) who live in the adjacent *Wan Shan* area bordering Laipunuk (*ibid.*). Zeitoun (2006 interview), a linguist and author who studies the *Mantauran*, provides an empirical indication: “The self-reference of the *Mantauran* is, indeed: ‘oponoho (whereby ‘ stands for a glottal stop).” With regard to linguistics, Zeitoun and Cauquelin (2006: 653) note that ‘oponoho is a toponym: “ ‘oponoho comes from Proto-Rukai **swa-ponogo* (Lit. from-*Ponogo*) where *ponogo* must be a toponym (does not reduplicate, just like other ‘true’ toponyms).”

Social Change

Huang’s particular knowledge of the traditional Bunun culture has helped him develop a new perspective regarding the Bunun society in Laipunuk, “Bunun in Laipunuk were shifting from egalitarian society to hierarchal society, this is theoretically very important” (Huang 2006 interview). The current democratic era notwithstanding, Laipunuk may have been the last place where many indigenous cultures came together to form a new culture. “With the Bunun serving as a catalyst, the Tsou, Paiwan, and Rukai influenced a shift in indigenous society in Laipunuk” (*ibid.*).

Huang (2001: 45) believes the Bunun were searching for hunting and/or agriculture places because of social divisions (Bunun men sometimes leave their village and found a new area if they can generate a following among their clan or village). These families or clans were looking for a new place to live because their original locations were overcrowded or simply too close to other tribes. T.B. Istanda (2004 interview) detailed their families accounts of searching for an uncrowned area to live, moving from place to place across the central mountains⁹³. Huang (2001: 45) labels early Laipunuk as the development of new area system, a process of connecting culture and new area system from both sides, a system that contained more activity, and was appealing for others to join in.

Huang bases his theory on a number of observations. Firstly, the early Bunun arrived in Laipunuk may have had to organize their social structure into large groups in order to fight or defend themselves from the Tsou (*ibid.*). As the Bunun normally had a family clan structure, large scale social organization could have influenced them to gradually adopt a hierarchical social structure. Secondly, Laipunuk was big and open, and the Bunun faced new and large area. There were at least ten very large Bunun settlements in Laipunuk (*ibid.*). Huang (2006 interview) suggests “Look at music and art to see the syncretism. In one village near Liu-kuei, I interviewed a Bunun artist who acknowledged, ‘my grandfather learned from the Tsou’. The early Bunun not so artistic, they were more practical.”

As aforesaid, Bunun life as very solemn, serious, and times were hard. This may demonstrate that the new Laipunuk system would have been attractive. There was less chances of being attacked by headhunting parties from other tribes: “There are no stories of headhunting within Laipunuk. I perceive that with Bunun’s fierce reputation and with so many Bunun in one area, other tribes would not dare. Certainly, any tribe who dared would face certain retaliation” (*ibid.*). As traditional Bunun society was tenuous, finding meat to eat and weaving cloth for warmth were a constant struggle, and living in clans scattered in the high mountains influenced their behavior and society: “Survival in the mountains was difficult, life was step by step, Bunun don’t dare to disobey taboos as life was too dangerous. Our lives were filled with danger” (*ibid.*). N. Istanda (*ibid.*) describes the feeling of traditional Bunun life as compared to the Amis of the lowlands: “We don’t make noise in the forest don’t sing alone. We should always be nervous (because, for example, of headhunting). Only at a gathering with family and some wine might you feel comfortable and safe. Comparatively, the Amis way of life was easier; they had good vegetables and fish, their relationship with Chinese came earlier (from the Qing period), and their headhunting was not as prolific. The Amis have a good social organization.”

⁹³ See T.B. Istanda’s self introduction in Chapter 5.

When discussing the shift in Bunun social structure, the influences from the Taiwanese should be carefully examined. Japanese documentation and Bunun oral history indicate that there were a number of Taiwanese males who married Bunun females and took up residence in Laipunuk. The Chinese position in Laipunuk may be peculiar in all of Taiwan and scholars haven't looked at this closely, and Laipunuk may still offer us insight to this topic (Huang 2006 interview). "The Chinese were living in this network; they were part of this network, meaning that they were not on the peripheral or edge of the society as a border translator or trader; they were part of the society. The Chinese were a key point in this situation. The Japanese point to twelve Chinese families (with nine houses) living in Laipunuk and they very suspicious of why the Chinese in Laipunuk" (*ibid.*)⁹⁴. The Chinese served as traders, as a communication network (especially as a link with the outside world), and as intermediaries or peacekeepers in Laipunuk. According to Japanese documents they found a Chinese gun shop in Laipunuk (*ibid.*). Istanda, L. (2006 interview) recalls *Anu Manglav*, a large stature and hard working man who "was a Taiwanese/Bunun gun maker who lived in Takivahlas. They called him *Anu Manglav* because *Manglav* means strong." She also remembers another Taiwanese man: "Suntut was a Taiwanese man who lived at Shou. He married a Bunun woman named Danivu (her Japanese name is Teluku). He died five or six years ago" (*ibid.*).

To understand the Taiwanese position in Laipunuk we must look the evidence of trade networks. Liu-kuei (called *Lakuli* in Bunun), Bao Shan village, and other villages (all of which are east of Laipunuk) were trade centers. Liu-kuei evolved to an important Japanese government trade center. Furthermore, Huang (2006 interview) notes that many Rukai have married with Bunun in that area. Early in the twentieth century, the Laipunuk people used to walk to Liu-kuei in one day to trade with the Taiwanese, and Istanda, N. (2006 interview) recalls a story which indicates the Laipunuk Bunun relationship with the Taiwanese was not always good: "There was a Bunun man from Laipunuk who went to Liu-kuei for trading and felt that a Taiwanese cheated or tried to take advantage of him. There was a fight and the Taiwanese man was killed. The Bunun man was injured. There are two stories about his fate, one story says he died on the trail on the way back to Laipunuk, the other story tells that he made it home where he died of his injuries."

Nonetheless, the relations among the Taiwanese and the Bunun were generally close within Laipunuk and are contributing factor to social change in the region. The influence of Rukai, Paiwan, and the Tsou notwithstanding, I have outlined four social systems in Laipunuk relative to intermarriage with the Taiwanese, which occur at a family level and to varying degrees.

⁹⁴ See Chapter 4.2 for the detailed records of the Japanese *field reports*.

Although such social behavior is a grey area, there were potentially greater and lesser degrees of Taiwanese language, religion, and extended family among the Laipunuk Bunun.

There are three different social systems of Taiwanese found in Laipunuk: (1) Hakka (called *ngai ngai* by the Bunun)⁹⁵; (2) Holo or Hokkien (called *put* by the Bunun); and (3) pingpu (sinicized plains indigenes called *Jivulan* by the Bunun). Istanda, N. (2006 interview) argues that the sinicized pingpu were so deeply sinicized that they followed a uniquely Taiwanese social system and were not considered an aboriginal tribe. Furthermore, the above mentioned ethnicities (Hakka, Holo, and pingpu) were mixed with Bunun to various degrees depending on the extent of intermarriage. For instance, a Hakka man could already have been half-Bunun at the time of marriage to a Bunun woman.

Table 6 partitions the potential influence of marriage on traditional the Bunun social system. In accordance with Bunun philosophy, *true Bunun* refers to anyone who wholeheartedly follows all Bunun traditions and customs. The Bunun/Chinese/Jivulan husband or wife represents the potential combinations of ethnicity and cultural behavior at the time of marriage, whereas the (+ or -) symbol indicate the potential for varying degrees of social system.

LAIPUNUK SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Marriage Structure		Social System
Husband	Wife	Varying Degrees of <i>True Bunun</i>
Bunun	Bunun	True Bunun System
Holo Chinese	Bunun	(+ or -) Holo / Bunun Systems
Hakka Chinese	Bunun	(+ or -) Hakka / Bunun Systems
Jivulan	Bunun	(+ or -) Holo / Hakka / Bunun Systems
Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	Bunun / Chinese / Jivulan	(+ or -) Bunun / Holo / Hakka Systems

Table 6: Laipunuk Social Stratification
Source: Author's Field Notes

Lin Zhu Mei, a Laipunuk-born elder attests to this complex mixture of social structure⁹⁶:

“My *put*⁹⁷ (Taiwanese) is from my father. My grandpa was pure *put* from Lakuli (Liu-kuei) and he married with a Bunun woman named Dua. He came in and

⁹⁵ The Bunun gave name *ngai ngai* to the Hakka because their language has tones that sound like *ngai ngai* to the Bunun (Lin, Z. 2006 interview).

⁹⁶ Translation by N. Istanda and author.

⁹⁷ *Put* is the Bunun term for Taiwanese and *maiput* means literally *original* or *true* Taiwanese.

out of Laipunuk, then he married my Bunun grandmother in Halipusun and then they lived in Takivahlas.

My papa also married with a Bunun who was named Maita. She was his first wife and she died. His second wife was a Bunun woman from Laipunuk's Halipusun village. Her name was Ali and she was my mama. So my father's family was from Lakuli (Liu-kuei), then they came to Takivahlas Village. Takivahlas had many *put*, but we lived under different systems, such as Hakka and Holo. My family's *put* was *ngai ngai* (Hakka). Other Bunun called us *maiput* (*original* Taiwanese). My father never went headhunting so he never participated in *malastabang* (the aforementioned report of heroic deeds)."

Istanda, N. (2006 interview) notes that a Bunun woman would feel shame if her Taiwanese husband does not follow Bunun way. He must go headhunting in order to *malastabang* and be a *true Bunun*. During *malastabang*, a man performs *dengaisa* wherein he acknowledges his maternal family lineage, such as maternal family name and village. Istanda (*ibid.*) recalls a *maiput* two sisters, *Ibu Maiput* and *Miwa Maiput*⁹⁸, who currently live in the Taitung area, whose Laipunuk-born family were Holo Chinese. Istanda notes their family was said to be very brave (*mangan*)⁹⁹ and he believes they likely participated in *malastabang*.

When wine, which is sacred to the Bunun, is brewed by someone who is not *true Bunun* is not *true wine*. Specifically, the name for true wine, *davaduda*, was changed to *dava jivulan* when it was brewed by *jivulan* (pingpu-related), peoples who were not considered as *true Bunun*.

How did the Bunun really see the Taiwanese? How did the Taiwanese see the Bunun? This issue is not well understood. However, in the case of Laipunuk, perhaps the early Western concept that ethnicity is a biological classification can be challenged, and we can consider ethnicity as a concept and human group which can culturally defined. Ethnicity in Laipunuk was plausible, penetrable, and a process. Although birth played a role, it was not the absolute variable, and the Bunun demonstrate a mechanism of social behavior that reinforces Bunun ethnicity. However, the importance of being *true Bunun* among the Laipunuk Bunun does not apparently carry the same level of importance as elsewhere in the Bunun world. This topic needs further research.

⁹⁸ *Maiput* has been taken as a family name.

⁹⁹ Bravery is called *mangan*, and a brave man is called *mamangan* (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The Japanese Period

The Japanese arrival in Laipunuk identifies the beginning of profound and rapid change for the Bunun. Within a short period of time the Japanese built a network of trails and police offices which cut through the mountains and river valleys across Laipunuk connecting Taitung (eastern Taiwan) with Liu-kuei (western Taiwan).

The Japanese would try to befriend and establish a leader or chief in each village area, then use that leader to persuade the other Bunun to accept Japanese: “If their designated leader wasn’t to their satisfaction they would find another influential man and sort of buy him over to their side and cleverly install him into authoritative positions. The Japanese gave gifts as incentive to pacify the Bunun” (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). At the beginning, the Laipunuk Bunun were allowed to speak Bunun, but then Japanese is taught at school, but they were still allowed to speak Bunun at home (*ibid.*).

The Japanese would initiate pacification with Laipunuk villages by offering simple gifts for simple compliances. This was a step-by-step process that often began with evasive strategies. As an illustration, as Bunun were adamant about keeping very long hair, a small gift might be extended, providing an individual would comply with an undemanding request. “A piece of cloth might be offered as an incentive to cut one’s hair and these people would intern serve as models of conformity” (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). *Photo 6* below, shows a young Laipunuk Bunun married couple who have conformed to Japanese rule by cutting their hair. The male’s cap, although of Bunun style, it is likely adorned with silver grass (*mang tza*)¹⁰⁰. The male’s white vest is traditional Bunun style and color. As previously seen in *Photo 5*, his necklace is distinctly of Rukai style. The female’s headwear may indicate Rukai influences or that of the Bunun from the Nantou County area (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). Her dress is of Chinese style.

When comparing the Chinese government to the Japanese government approach toward the indigenes, the Chinese approach was external, whereas the Japanese approach was internal: “Chinese control was indirect, non-interactive, and staged from the lowlands; while the Japanese approach was very direct, with policemen venturing deep into the mountains to interact and to pacify the people. The Japanese paid attention to the indigenes” (Blundell 2006 interview).

¹⁰⁰ The Mantauran have a story about wearing silver grass, wherein monkeys joke whether one who wears it is well dressed or looks foolish.

As the Japanese colonial power swept across Taiwan, from north to south, they encountered various levels of resistance from Taiwanese and indigenes alike. As they gained control in both the plains and mountains, pockets of indigenous resistance remained. These resistance groups included the Bunun living in areas contiguous to Laipunuk. In particular, one resistance leader named *Lamataxinxin* was especially troublesome for the Japanese until his capture (along with his two children) in 1932 referred to as the *Da Guan Shan Event*. (Huang 2001: 51) clarifies that before the *Da Guan Shan Event*, hunter's rifles and gunpowder came from Laipunuk, and that *Lamataxinxin* bought his gunpowder there. For these reasons, the Japanese use the *Da Guan Shan Event* to converge on Laipunuk and do mapping in order to gain control of the area.

Lamataxinxin is profoundly connected to this thesis topic for three reasons: (1) as the Japanese were increasingly agitated at indigenes resistance efforts, *Lamataxinxin* became a key issue; (2) Laipunuk was becoming known as a place of safe haven for gunsmiths, gun trading, and the manufacture of gunpowder; and because *Lamataxinxin* was a known gun trader and there was evidence of Laipunuk-made guns being sold to Bunun hunters (Huang 2006 interview); and (3) *Lamataxinxin* belonged to the Istanda family, many of which had moved to Laipunuk (Tama Biung Istanda, a key informant for this thesis, remembers when *Lamataxinxin* came to visit his father in Laipunuk)¹⁰¹. These are the key points of Japanese suspicions and concerns in Laipunuk prompting the construction of the Japanese cordon trail.



Photo 6: Laipunuk Models
Source: Bi South Studio (1932)

¹⁰¹ Refer to Chapter 5.1 for T.B. Istanda's memories of *Lamataxinxin*.

The Laipunuk Police Cordon

Although this topic is presented in some detail in Chapter 4.3¹⁰², I will briefly address this subject as a literature review. According to the *East Taiwan View* (Mao 2003), a Chinese publication based on the Japanese *East Taiwan Section Book* (1933), a publication which is more descriptive than it is informative save for it offers some of the only photographs of early Laipunuk ever taken: “The excavation of *Laipunuk Police Cordon* was agreed in the *South Tribe’s People Meeting* in the fifth and sixth year of King Taishou of Japan (1916-17 A.D.) This publication sites the need for a cordon trail in Laipunuk was a peacekeeping mission: “Hostility had long existed between the Bunun and the Paiwan. Bunun often went eastward to Pingtung Prefecture to headhunt the Paiwan people or down along Pasikau River (Luye River) executing endless bloodshed events at Chulu part of Taitung Plain” (Mao 2003: 321).

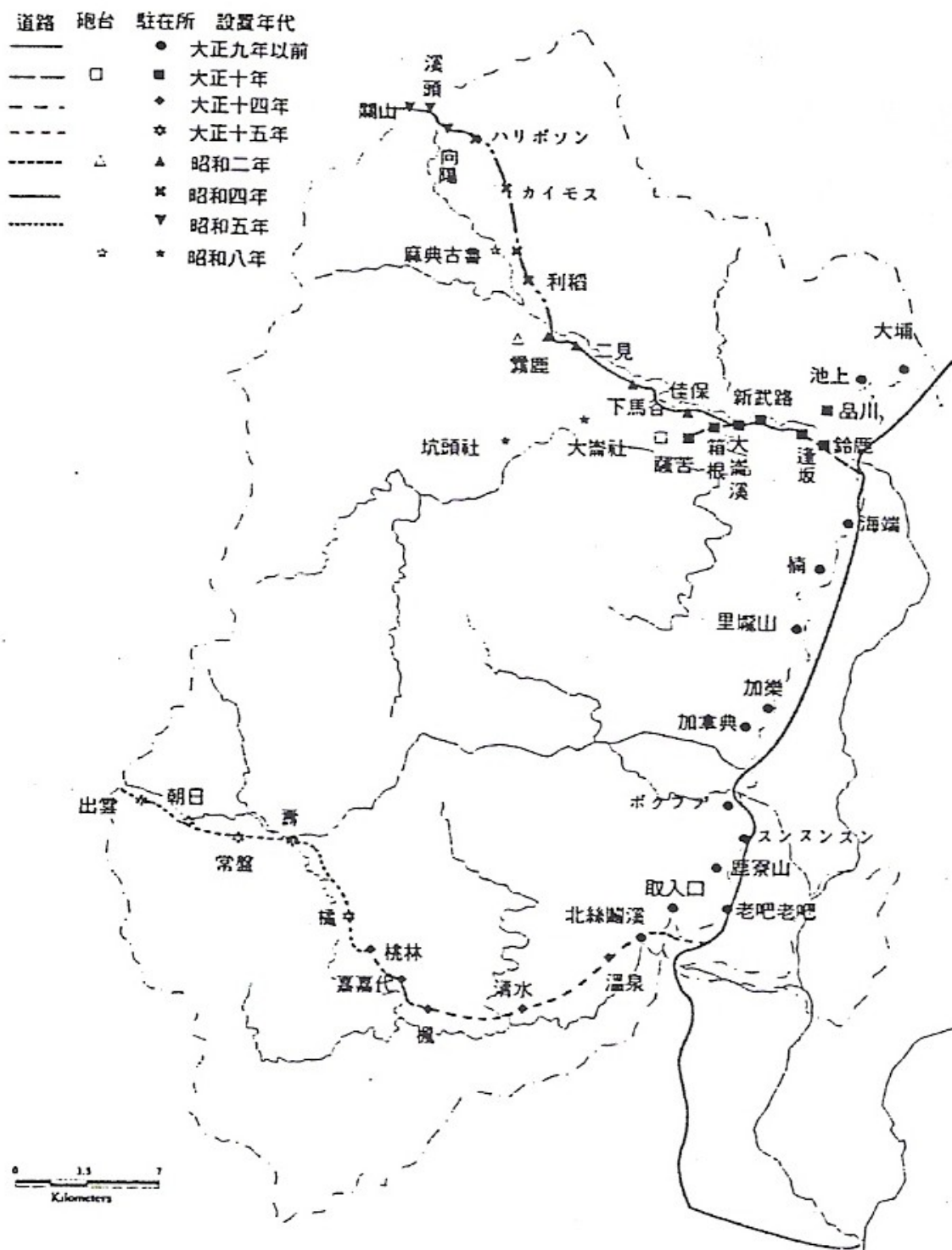
Made in 1933, *Map 9* below is the first map of Laipunuk showing the police cordon trail. Laipunuk comprises the lower portion of the map, which is somewhat blank with the cordon trail marked by a dotted line and the names and locations of the police offices. The upper portion of the map is the region where *Lamataxinxin* was living and the *Da Guan Shan Events* occurred.

The Forestry Period

For nearly thirty years after the Japanese left Taiwan, the Laipunuk region remained untouched. However, in order for the military to gain access to Taiwan’s remote regions, combined with the valuable resource of cypress wood, the Taiwan Forest Bureau (TFB) launched a campaign into Laipunuk.

The TFB first opened a road into the upper elevations of Laipunuk in the early 1970s. The primary reason was to cut and log timber resources, primarily cypress trees. Author explored this region during fieldwork conducted in January 2006. The forestry road has eroded and passage on foot was extremely dangerous. Landslides resulting from the deforestation were frequent.

¹⁰² See Chapter 4.3 (the *Laipunuk Incident*) for the detailed history of the Laipunuk cordon trail and the events which led to its abandonment. Furthermore, see the testimony of T.B. Istanda personal memories of the trail in Chapter 5.1.



Map 9: The 1933 Japanese Laipunuk Map
Source: Li (1997: 65)

N. Istanda (2006 interview) observes the TFB era constructively, inasmuch as it was an opportunity for the Bunun to return to Laipunuk:

“Although the few elders and descendants who returned to Laipunuk under the watchful eyes of the TFB witnessed deforestation, the resulting environmental degradation of landslides, dumping of discarded equipment and garbage, and a significant change in the landscape from the planting of common pine trees for tree farming, it nonetheless reconnected them to Laipunuk. From this was born the first wave of Bunun to return to Laipunuk, the rediscovery of villages and houses, and opened the door for the new generation of descendants to explore their family and cultural history.”

This section of the thesis employs a brief narrative recorded from Biung Istanda (nephew of T.B. Istanda) and was recorded on May 25, 2006¹⁰³. It lends insight to the events of that era:

“During the Forestry days, most of the loggers were Truku and Atayal, and some Bunun who had prior experience from Hualien. Most of the drivers were Puyuma but some were Paiwan. Many of these drivers married Bunun girls from this area. The *sherpas*, however, were exclusively Bunun. From my father’s house, we could go all the way to Laipunuk. In the old days there was a traditional way through Laipunuk. When I was just out of elementary school, at about twelve or thirteen years old, I went with my father (Nabu) and my uncle (Tama Biung) on a hunting trip. From here it took us about eight hours to reach Laipunuk then we would go hunting for another sixteen hours. When I was twenty years and returned from my military training, I worked for the TFB for five years. At that time we went hunting as far as *Beinan Zu* Mountain¹⁰⁴. I remember a type of hunting house there. At that time there was no place for us to earn money so when the TFB came we all went. We had to work for TFB in order to pay for a place to live. I remember the grass cutters who cleared the land for planting pine trees made 200 NT dollars for a day’s work. A Bunun *sherpa*, if he worked hard, could earn as much as 400 NT dollars a day. Bunun *sherpa* got paid by the kilogram. We took great pride in carrying heavy loads. My record was 108 kilograms. Dahu’s (Tama Biung’s Istanda’s son) record was 118 kilograms. In the morning we got up when it was still dark and walked by the light of our flashlights, reaching the work area by 8:00 a.m.” (Istanda, B. 2006 interview).

¹⁰³ Translated by N. Istanda and the author.

¹⁰⁴ *Beinan Zu* Mountain (3,295 meters) is the highest peak in the Laipunuk region. See *Map 3* and *Map 10* for location.

Logging operations ceased in approximately 1985 and the logging roads fell into disrepair. “As the stumps and roots of the giant cypress trees rotted, their hold on the soil gave way, triggering massive landslides, as well as the destruction of the TFB roads and trails – The TFB is part of the Laipunuk legacy” (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The Laipunuk Homecoming

In 1995 Pastor Bai Guan Sheng founded the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation and simultaneously began construction on *Bunun Buluo* or Bunun village. His goal is to foster economic independence for the indigenous peoples. The establishment of this center has been compared with the establishment of a new Bunun village, as if a new Laipunuk village (Istanda, N, 2006 interview). Bai Guan Sheng’s approach, although he lives imbedded in a modern world, suggests Bunun philosophical perspectives: “The Bunun were traditionally equalitarian and it was therefore natural for them to become democratic and Presbyterian. However, democratic position can be bought and I am against this. I feel a leader should achieve his standing... your ability should lead your position” (Istanda, B. H. 2006 interview).

Beginning in 1999, Prof Chiung-His Liu from National Taitung University, who was involved with an ecology association and served as the Austronesian Community College Executive Director in Taitung, encouraged Nabu Istanda to return to Laipunuk when he introduced the concept of *tribal mapping* (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). Istanda, N. (2004 interview) recalls,

“In the year 2000, with the coming of the new democratic government, I knew it was time to go there for myself. In 2001 we had a forum at Bunun Culture and Education Foundation and we invited Laipunuk elders. There were about twelve that came. The year 2001 marked the first trip back to Laipunuk. They went from Liu-kuei but got lost.”

On December 10, 2002 (Human Rights Day), with the permission and support of Taiwan Government Minister of Culture, a helicopter was hired to fly Laipunuk-born elders and descendants to the village of Shou¹⁰⁵, a Japanese police office and school, where they once attended Japanese language education. From Shou, elders and descendants hiked to three places: Kaidaptan, Madaipulan, and Takivahlas. This event was significant for several reasons: it was the first time for the elders to return to their birth areas in sixty-five years; the journey would have been impossible by any other means for these elders; and it acknowledged the government

¹⁰⁵ See *Map 10* and *Table 10 & Table 11* for locations and alternative names. This event was recorded in *Return to the Busuh (Navel) Burial Site* (Tsai, S. 2005 Video Manuscript).

recognition of the Laipunuk Bunun. The helicopter took only ten minutes to reach Shou, and Istanda, L. (2004 interview) expresses, “I waited sixty-five years for that ten minutes.”

In 2005, N. Istanda requested the contemporary Bunun pop singer *Biung* (Wang Hong-en), who is known for his modern compilations of traditional Bunun music, to compose a song about Laipunuk. Biung, a Laipunuk descendant, produced a song in tribute for the men and women who have made the journey home (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). This song, entitled *Nei Ben Lu* (*Laipunuk*) appears on the 2006 CD entitled *Zou Feng De Ren* (走風的人).

In 2006 the Istanda family organized the first ever trans-Laipunuk expedition which followed the traditional marriage and trade route over the central mountains. Starting in Hong Ye Village in eastern Taiwan, the expedition crossed Laipunuk in nineteen days, arriving in the *Wan Shan* area, west of the Central Mountain Range, where the *Mantauran* lived until the Japanese era¹⁰⁶. At the time of writing this thesis, there have been nineteen expeditions to Laipunuk initiated by the Istanda family and supported by friends of the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation.

Social Discontinuity

B.H. Istanda (2006 interview) shares his personal heart-felt observations regarding the Laipunuk-born elders:

“There is a very sad aspect of isolation and loneliness felt by our Laipunuk elders. Most of them speak Bunun and Japanese, yet the new generations speak Chinese. Their own children and grandchildren do not communicate with them well. Therefore the elders feel isolated and lonely. People today don’t understand them – how they think and how they see the world. For example, when they need to stay in the hospital they have a hard time communicating their symptoms and needs, and even the television shows are in Chinese so they can’t understand them, and since most of them never learned to read Chinese, they cannot read the newspapers and have no way to follow current events. I feel this is a tragic social injustice. This is why we invite them to visit and have free lunches at *Bunun Buluo*, so that they have other elders to talk with and share their memories of Bunun culture and Laipunuk.”

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix for the author’s description.

4.2. The Japanese Field Reports

The Research

The Japanese *field reports*, or field surveys, may also be appropriately identified as Japanese *police reports*. As during this period the police were employed in attending to a myriad of indigenous affairs: from conducting detailed surveys of villages; to substitute school teachers. There were three varieties of reports generated during the *Japanese Colonial Period* pertaining to Laipunuk. In order of their significance to this thesis study they are as follows: (1) *Taiwan Government Civilian Administration Department Affairs Section Report*; (2) Local administrative branch *Savage Investigation Report*; and (3) *Taiwan Government Police Affairs Report*.

This thesis will summarize the 1904 and 1922 *Taiwan Government Civilian Administration Department Affairs Section Report(s)*, and briefly overview a series of 1930-1931 local administrative branch *Savage Investigation Report(s)*. These reports, generated in 1904, 1922, and early 1930(s) serve as the main body of empirical record to population, social and economic structure, and agricultural practices of the *Japanese Colonial Period* in Laipunuk. Although primarily recorded by small groups of Japanese police/scouts who used Bunun guides to enter remote areas of their time, and are most basic in nature, they are nonetheless an important documentation of that period. “The information in these Japanese documents was translated by Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, approximately twenty to thirty years ago and were generally simple descriptions of the villages” (Huang 2006 interview). Huang (*ibid.*) proposes that “There may be some police documents yet to be discovered.” This thesis’ overview of the Japanese *field reports* of 1904 and 1922 is based on Huang’s Chinese translations and interpretations of the Japanese reports (published in *Taitung County History - Bunun Zu* in 2001). Translation was supported by Mr. Yan Zhao from the National Chengchi University Language Center and all transcription was done by the author. The material presented here has been reduced, simplified, reorganized, and written in the past tense. The author assumes responsibility for any inconsistencies from Huang’s work¹⁰⁷. This thesis section will then move to briefly address the 1930 – 1932 above mentioned report series reviewed by author with the support of Professor Chong Lin Lee, a Taiwanese scholar familiar with this topic and proficient in the Japanese language¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁷ This section of the thesis (Japanese *field reports* of 1904 and 1922) were drawn entirely from Huang (2001: 45-54). However, although care was taken to maintain authenticity, author’s translation and summarization of Huang’s work was reduced and varies from the original content.

¹⁰⁸ Translation conducted by Professor Chong Lin Lee and the author. All transcriptions done by the author.

Worthy of mention is the work done by the Taiwanese geographer Li Min-Huei (1997) *Tribes Migration and Social Reconstruction of Taiwan Aborigines in Japan Colonial Period: the Case Study of the Bunun of Bei-nan River*. This Master's thesis, relying principally on primary Japanese sources, used the abovementioned Japanese *field reports* to explore Laipunuk's traditional social structure and how the Japanese relocated the Bunun.

Definition of Terms

Terms used by the Japanese and Chinese may be peculiar to this subject, region and era. Therefore, I will briefly define them as follows in *Table 7*.

DEFINITIONAL TERMS OF THE LAIPUNUK SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE		
<i>Shi Wu</i>	施武	Chinese term referring to a large group of indigenous peoples.
<i>She</i>	社	Small village or community.
<i>Tou Mu</i>	頭目	Village leader or chief.
<i>Tong Shi</i>	通事	A Qing Dynasty system whereby a Taiwanese representative of Qing government, who has integrated with the indigenes, serves as a go-between or conduit between indigenous and the non-indigenous world.
<i>Fan Ding</i>	蕃丁	Common people of indigenous society hunter, farmer, gatherer, conscript.

Table 7: Definitional Terms of the Laipunuk Sociopolitical Structure
Source: Author

1904 Field Report

Due to the remoteness of this area, it was too far for Japanese to administrate. Using a *tong shi* as a guide, the Japanese made their first contact with the Laipunuk Bunun. They expressed their intentions to the Bunun and gave them gifts. The Japanese noted that there were many *tong shi* living there. There was sufficient merchandise, trade products, and products of daily use.

In the 1904 report the Japanese documented their investigation of an area just over the central mountains from Liu-kuei in the upper region of Laipunuk belonging to a group of *shi wu* (施武) which was made up of eighty-two families with 751 people. These families were small independent tribes with emerging leaders of the *shi wu* peoples. There were nine Taiwanese people living in this area; each one had their own trade area; each was married to indigenous; each one had worked for the authority of Qing government as a *tong shi* (通事); and each family had at least one child. These Taiwanese families inherited patrilineally the position of authority, their social standing or position acquired through gaining land, and their children wore Chinese clothes but spoke Bunun and knew little about Chinese culture.

Although the Japanese did not check house by house, they were suspicious that these *tong shi* provided guns and bullets to the indigenous peoples. The *tong shi* and indigenous had intermarried frequently and their relationship was close. Although they are not the same race, their customs were the same, especially those with geographic proximity. Trade occurred between groups without *tong shi*. The Japanese noted that the area was fertile, agriculture was abundant, and very large quantities of high grade tobacco were produced. The government (Qing government?) bought this tobacco grown by indigenes. Also there were bellows to work iron and to fix hunting knives and tools.

Based on the 1904 report, Huang (2001: 46) makes the following observations:

(1) The average size of a Bunun area in Taiwan was about 111 people, and whereas this Laipunuk Bunun area was composed of many small groups (*she* 社), totaling about 751 people, it had an unusually lot of people, and they were powerful and considered to be the leaders of the entire region; (2) nine of the trading Taiwanese families (who were from Taitung, Do Liu, and Nantou) traded with Liu-kuei and Dan Nei, and each *tong shi* was responsible for specific area, including inside the *she* and outside the village; (3) the merchandise traded was not only the goods for daily use, but also bullets and gun powder, and this is what the Japanese especially want to know; (4) tobacco was the most important agricultural product of the area; (5) the Chinese *tong shi* are all married with Bunun, have a very close relationship to the indigenous, and this type of situation is closely related to the Bunun's custom that the relationship between Bunun and their marriage partner's family is very important; (6) Laipunuk is a place whose peoples frequently interacted with others, such as the Paiwan, and this interaction with different race at the edge or periphery of this kind of area created a cultural mix or a new culture; (7) There were not just chiefs, there were *chiefs of chiefs* who had great authority, and this marks the shift from traditional egalitarian society to a society with different levels and different standards¹⁰⁹.

In 1911 the Japanese police organized a Laipunuk investigation team but the team couldn't cross into Taitung area. In 1914, Liu-kuei's political powers punished some disobedient traders, causing a break in the trade links with Liu-kuei and the plains areas, and forcing the Bunun to trade directly with the Japanese if they wanted new things from the plains. In the Liu-kuei area, there were eighty-six Taiwanese and Bunun who farmed together, and lived and stored millet in the same houses.

¹⁰⁹ Translation and summarization by Zhao and the author.

The 1922 Field Report

In 1922 November, the Japanese government made a second investigation, which was more detailed and penetrated deeper into the Laipunuk region. They recorded seventeen villages in Laipunuk comprised of a group who had moved from an area near Hualien forty-eight years earlier. Their leader often came to hunt in Laipunuk, knew that the land was fertile, and had a lot of prey. These Bunun discussed with *Mantauran* people about obtaining the right to move there. There were other independent groups of Bunun as well. Their houses were very similar to Paiwan¹¹⁰ (sides made of slate), had roofs made of cypress bark, and their houses were very clean. They had goats and pigs. The land was fertile and the people are hard working, providing them very well for many years.

The social structure was comprised of small groups made up of three or four families, and larger groups made up of about ten families. Although these families were separate, the relationship was very close. There were some Taiwanese families living with them; they were unusually progressive; and their customs were very close to both Bunun and Paiwan. The Bunun families were very unified and their relationships were very close. *Mantauran* and *Bali San* had blood relationships (marriage relations). However, three groups of Bunun did not have good relations with the plains indigenes.

There was a total of 128 families comprised of 1,112 people (528 men and 584 woman), and there were also some Chinese families living with them (twelve families with eighty-four people). Among those twelve families, four families were still living a Chinese lifestyle; two families had been influenced by indigenous people; and the other six families had been totally assimilated. The *tong shi* of this area survived by trading with indigenous people (including the use of gunpowder for trade exchange). If the government had some conflict with their trade or trade profits, then the *tong shi* may have instigated the tension among the indigenes and the government. This may be problematic because there was a profit-based motivation for the *tong shi* to remain lining there. And although the government was not very involved in Laipunuk, the people were still very civilized, more so than other Bunun areas. This may have been because of the effect of the Taiwanese people. These assimilated Taiwanese had not yet been required to relocate to the plains. However, there were four families (forty-three people) who were considered dangerous were recommended for relocation to the plains.

¹¹⁰ The Japanese classified the Rukai people as belonging to Paiwan culture, therefore, it is not always clear which groups they were referring to.

The Taiwanese had entered Laipunuk to live with the indigenes before the Japanese arrival. They lived in *Liu-kuei* and *Wan Shan* area and conducted trade exchange. The Laipunuk people went to *Mantauran* to trade belongings. They traveled back and forth. Furthermore, many Chinese *tong shi* went to Laipunuk and married with Bunun. The Bunun were trading their hunting exploits to the *tong shi*, who then would take the trade items to the plains to sell. The *tong shi* made and saved considerable profits.

Whereas the first report was primarily conducted in the high mountain area, the second report was wider in its geographic scope and much more focused on socio-economic behavior of the people. Furthermore, the Japanese learned that Laipunuk was much bigger than they thought, and much bigger than previously documented. Huang (2001: 46) provides a detailed comparison between new 1922 report and the earlier 1904 report by examining how the 1922 report was more succinct:

(1) there were more than seventeen village areas (*she*) and their population was actually 1,112; (2) there were twelve *tong shi* (not nine as previously documented), and the significance of gunpowder and trade with Liu-kuei were more complex than previously thought; (3) the marriage relations between the *tong shi* and local people was not only used to develop close relationships, but to gain personal trade power, control, and profit, and this indicates that marriage relations were very important; (4) Laipunuk culture had many influences, especially Paiwan and Han Chinese, and not just the family structure, but the house and family area, as well as other things, such as food and clothing; and most significantly, the Bunun were developing the *Paiwan noble system* with regard to land in coordination with the development of prolific trade exchange across the Taitung and Kaohsiung county lines (meaning an east/west trade exchange across the central mountains), indicating that the new social system was based on the new trade system; (5) with regard to the Bunun's lifestyle throughout the *Beinan River area*, the high mountain lifestyle had a high quality, and this may have been attributed to the Chinese¹¹¹.

Huang (2001: 49) indicates that Laipunuk had five very large indigenous groups (*shi wu*) involving eighty-one families with a total population over 1,900. There were twelve *tong shi*, and each *tong shi* controlled three to sixteen families. These *tong shi* had gained the people's trust, served as trade barons, and assumed the responsibility for weddings, ceremonies, and peace keeping among the common people (*fan ding* 蕃丁)¹¹². These *tong shi* provided a

¹¹¹ Translation and summarization by Zhao and the author.

¹¹² Reference Huang (2001: 49) and Li (1997: 48) for the mention of *fan ding* (蕃丁).

connection to the outside world for the *fan ding* and this is a symbol Laipunuk's unique cultural mix and creation (*ibid*: 50). Above each *tong shi*, there was a leader or chief (*tou mu*) who served as the land lords. Therefore, one *tou mu* had a power-relation with one *tong shi* (ratio was 1:1). With the population of 1,900 the Laipunuk society was almost same as Paiwan. In this way, the Paiwan land lord and the Laipunuk *tou mu* are similar (*ibid*: 49). Each *she* had a *tou mu*, and groups of *she* had a higher *tou mu* (*ibid*: 50).

Therefore, as Huang has identified, in Laipunuk we can see the development of a class system, with not only a chief (*tou mu*) governing an area, but with a *chief of chiefs* (a high *tou mu*) governing multiple areas. We can speculate that this was an emergence of a noble class, and distinguish the aforementioned shift in the Laipunuk Bunun society from a purely egalitarian Bunun system (achieved society) to a hierarchical or noble system (ascribed society). *Table 8* outlines the Laipunuk Bunun social structure:

LAIPUNUK BUNUN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

classification	level of authority	social function
higher <i>tou mu</i>	<i>chief of chiefs</i>	influence over a group of villages
<i>tou mu</i>	high <i>chief</i>	land lord, influence over the village
<i>tong shi</i>	medium	Control of trade, ceremonies, weddings, peace keeping, relation to the outside world
<i>fan ding</i>	low	hunter, farmer, gatherer, conscript

Table 8: Laipunuk Bunun Social Structure
Source: Adopted and modified from Huang (2001)

When the Japanese arrived, no matter what the level of the *tou mu*, they re-ordered the social structure to be sure the people and the villages are under their administrative power. Huang (2001: 50) notes that Laipunuk trade was not only centered on Kaohsiung; the Beinan River area of Taitung was also an important trade area. As this trade system developed, it became more and more attractive to others. Before the Japanese era, the Bunun of Yen Ping area (of Taitung) already knew that Laipunuk area had a *tou mu* system (*ibid*: 50), and before Japanese took over, Laipunuk was developing into a new system of hunting and farming (*ibid*: 51). The Japanese believed that the Paiwan, Tsou, and Bunun were a mixed system – and that the social culture was Paiwan, social organization from Tsou (art, carving, etc.), and wood/stone culture and music are Bunun (*ibid*: 50). In an economic context, the Bunun could purchase things and their culture moved away from a revenge system and toward an economic way of compensation. Therefore, Laipunuk was not only a trade system, but a political center, a trade system, and a

powerful society – and this was of great concern to the Japanese (*ibid*: 51). Table 9 shows the indigenous cultural syncretism of Laipunuk which was observed by the Japanese:

SOCIAL CULTURAL SYNCRETISM

ethnicity	social-cultural influences
Bunun	music, ceremony, use of wood and stone
Paiwan	socio-political structure
Rukai	social-political structure
Tsou	social organization, art, carving, etc.

Table 9: Social-Cultural Syncretism
Source: Adopted and modified from Huang (2001)

1930-1931 Field Report(s)

Apart from the above analyzed 1904 and 1922 *Taiwan Government Civilian Administration Department Affairs Section Report(s)*, the early 1930s local administrative branch *Savage Investigation Report(s)* are orientated toward individual household records. To demonstrate, they include information regarding the number of individuals in each house, the amount of pigs raised, plants grown for food and for medicine and general observations about living conditions, such as if the residents are clean, and the residences are well kept. Lee (2006 interview) notes that these documents, “Provide insight to living the conditions, population, and habits of that era, as well as information on hunting areas, tribal boundaries and disputes.”

Entitled *Taitung Ting Lilong Branch, Inside Nei Ben Lu Village*, the author has located eight of the original *field reports* (1930 - 1932). Although the author was not able to translate and analyze this material for this thesis, a section on the Laipunuk village of *Madaipulan* was chosen for review in some detail. *Madaipulan* is located contiguous to the *Wan Shan* region of the *Mantauran*¹¹³.

Regarding household diversification, the report notes the following: *Madaipulan* had a total forested area of 316 *jia*¹¹⁴ made up of 275 people in twenty-seven households. The largest household had forty-eight people, and the smallest household had only two. Average persons per household were 5.5 to 6.15. The largest family’s farming area was 19.2 *jia*. Of the twenty-seven households, eighteen were made by wood with grass roofs and nine had slate roofs.

¹¹³ See *Map 10* for the location of *Madaipulan* Village.

¹¹⁴ *Jia* is the old Japanese measurement for acreage.

The grass roofs weathered twenty years, whereas slate roofs averaged forty years. The roofs were low and inside the households were dark. The air circulation was not good and the smoke was damaging the resident's eyes. Their sanitation was poor. Outside of the houses there were a total of twenty-two storage huts: five for personal items, seventeen for farming implements.

The *Madaipulan* report is very detailed concerning material culture. For example, the following items were tallied for each household: buckets, pottery, baskets, cooking pots, rice bowls, tea pots and cups, tables, soap, hair oil, matches, etc.

Commentaries include the following observations: The feeling was that the government officials were generally welcome. The government had provided facilities as well as medicine. However, these people were not used to be controlled – and they were afraid. They were afraid that the officials might come to look for their weapons. When the police came and mentioned about guns they were worried. They showed more trust toward the Chinese than they did toward the Japanese. They had more daily contact with Taiwanese tradition, culture, and customs. They generally married with the same tribe to consolidate their tribal power but they did marry to other tribes. Many had the same last names, and this created difficulties for their marriage.

This report takes account of local and regional social disharmony. On a local level, of the twenty-seven household in *Madaipulan*, six of them were separated. This resulted from farming and land disputes, and/or because a grandson's (or son-in-law?) marriage brought about social disagreement. On a regional level the report noted that the Paiwan were enemies of the Bunun, and mentioned a Paiwan group named *Laipuan*. Unclear to author and translator, it mentioned of a Laipunuk group named *Subuku* noted to be blood-related and united together against other groups when need arose.

This report mentions two important details regarding Laipunuk's *Madaipulan* village Bunun social behavior: one is that village elders did not retire their powers of leadership as they became elderly; the other is that they had terminated their headhunting traditions.

Lee (2006 interview) comments that these reports offer significant empirical evidence for the study and terms the 1930 – 1931 *Japanese Field Reports*, “A rare treasure for the study of Laipunuk.”

Searching for Explanations

A key point to the above *Table 9* is that the Bunun cultural influence holds predominant. We can surmise that if Bunun music, ritual, and ceremony were still in practice (as they are inextricably linked as a *cultural package*), and that if following this *cultural package* makes one a *true Bunun*, then despite the dynamics of external cultural influence on the Bunun, and despite the shift in social structure from achieved to ascribed society, the people of Laipunuk were culturally Bunun. Was it the original egalitarian society or the hybrid society (a mix of egalitarian and hierarchical) which caused other ethnicities to join? Was it because this social system became attractive due to the integration of Chinese and the region's position as a trade route, inasmuch as this allowed the Bunun to have the benefits of the outside world without actually having to leave their familiar world, which attracted other Bunun groups to join? Perhaps we must consider the question of external pressures. Toward the end of the Qing period the demand for forest products, especially camphor, was intensifying, and the presence of the Qing government's *tong shi* system was spreading. Laipunuk offered three key spatial aspects: prime area for tobacco agriculture; animal products; and a remote location for the manufacture of guns and gunpowder (away from government scrutiny). With the arrival of the Japanese period, the external pressure of the global power was pushing toward Laipunuk from all directions until, in fact, Laipunuk was among the last frontiers on the island, and potentially it became the final frontier in all Taiwan. All of the abovementioned factors would have pushed indigenes together, all the abovementioned factors should be considered when searching for alternative explanations on the development of the Laipunuk Bunun cosmos that was discovered and surveyed by the Japanese.

To further illustrate the Laipunuk history and perspectives, this thesis will now adopt an ethnohistorical approach, focus deeply on the Japanese era, and target the events that led to the Bunun's mass exodus out of the Laipunuk region.

4.3. The Laipunuk Incident: An Ethnohistorical Research

Method and methodology

Methodologically, the oral history data presented here was drawn together and based on collective memory rather than personal memory. Thematically, the rationale for this section is three fold. Firstly, it pinpoints the abrupt end of Bunun culture in Laipunuk and sets the stage for Chapter 5, which focuses on ethnohistorical narrative, and verifies why thesis informants

(T.B. Istanda and L. Istanda) never returned to their house, home village, or the cultural practices described in this thesis. Secondly, it offers a window to the Japanese governing system and behavior, not only through the collective memories of the Bunun narrated through informant N. Istanda, but through the perspectives of several scholars. Thirdly, to provide empirical evidence based on Japanese documents published during that time. Overall, this section identifies the decisive loss of the Laipunuk Bunun's mountain homeland to the Japanese colonial rulers. Although background on the Japanese in Laipunuk was previously discussed, this section will offer additional insight relevant to the discussion at hand.

By definition, ethnohistorical research is a synthesis of historical data and oral history (Webster's 2004: 273). An ethnohistorical research method has been employed for the following section of this thesis. The methodology included data collection from N. Istanda, by way of interview and the translation of three related Japanese police announcements appearing in the *Friend of Savage Report* published as a public announcement in 1941. The source (N. Istanda) was chosen for three reasons: I have field data from him; he is a polyglot (in Bunun, Japanese, Chinese, English) and is able to report his long-term findings to me in English; he previously interviewed a significant number of Laipunuk-born elders (including T.B. Istanda, and L. Istanda), regarding this event¹¹⁵ and he conducted field research in Halipusun where *Laipunuk Incident* perpetrator lived. The latter source (*Friend of Savage Report*) was chosen because I was able to locate the data and arrange translation¹¹⁶ of the three police announcements that are the only known authentic data available on this topic from this period.

Purpose and significance of this topic

In this chapter I am providing the first English language documentation of the *Laipunuk Incident* that resulted in the extradition of every man, woman, and child from Laipunuk in 1941. When approaching the study of Laipunuk the Japanese period is the most significant time of change. The *Laipunuk Incident* marks the pivotal moment in the loss of the Bunun's indigenous homeland. I will begin this section with appropriate background material that lends perspective to the events leading to this incident.

¹¹⁵ N. Istanda recounts the collective memory of Laipunuk elders, including interviews conducted by Tsai San Shen (Binkinuaz, T.). See Chinese language sources in this thesis for Tsai San Shen (2005) *Laipunuk Bunun Tribal Migration Before 1942*.

¹¹⁶ Translation was a methodical process supported by Professor Chong Lin Lee who is fluent in the writing of that period and familiar with the subject matter. Lee carefully researched the rank and post of each Japanese official in these documents to insure accuracy. All transcription was done by the author.

Background of the Laipunuk Event: Conflicting Ideologies

Bunun people had no cultural concept of nationalism as they lived somewhat isolated in the high mountains. The Japanese takeover was beyond their field of perception. When Taiwan became a Japanese colony, the Laipunuk Bunun were likely not aware of what was going on politically. In the case of the Laipunuk region, the Japanese showed up suddenly and began to take control of their lives.

The ideology of the Japanese toward the Bunun was clear-cut: “The Japanese official policy was to organize the Bunun, confiscate their guns and ammunition, and to change them into communal farmers (as in rice cultivators). The Japanese government considered the Bunun to be living on government lands, and disagreed with their culture and values.” (Fujii 2004 interview)¹¹⁷.

The Bunun’s ideology toward the Japanese was not as broad in scope: “The Bunun people don’t have the concept of *country*, therefore they saw Japanese as just another tribe; the Bunun’s fight with them was the same as practiced toward other tribes, meaning they would just headhunt a few individuals in order to maintain their territorial balance and harmony according to tradition” (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). “Bunun culture and thinking is to attack, defend, unite their leaders, perceptions/opinions of land, and their relations/leaders” (Fujii 2004 interview).

In order to demonstrate the power of the Japanese military to the indigenous peoples of Laipunuk, two very important events occurred prior to the advance of Japanese ground forces into the region:

10 May 1923: Japanese Air Force flies 3 days over Laipunuk to show force.

10 May 1924: Japanese Air Force flies 2 days over Laipunuk to show force.

(Fujii 2004 interview)

Eventually the Japanese conquered the Laipunuk Bunun with powerful armed forces and a strong political system. Although the Japanese ruled Taiwan for fifty years, the Laipunuk Bunun were only ruled for the final sixteen years.

When the Japanese decided to advance into the Laipunuk region, they had already faced decades of resistance in other regions. As aforementioned (section 4.1. of this thesis), prior to the Japanese occupation of Laipunuk, there was an armed struggle led by the Bunun hero

¹¹⁷ Professor Shizu Fujii, originally from Japan, and currently at National Chengchi University, is a leading figure on the Japanese period in Taiwan.

named *Lamataxinxin*¹¹⁸. In the years leading up to the capture of *Lamataxinxin* there was growing suspicion among the Japanese that Laipunuk was a potential source of support for his resistance, especially guns or gunpowder (Huang 2006 interview). Informant T.B. Istanda remembers when *Lamataxinxin* and his men visited his father's house in Sunjik and the families had a long and serious discussion. However, Istanda, T.B. (2006 interview) was too young to understand the content of their discussion. It is very interesting that after this meeting the Istanda family relocated to Takivahlas (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

The Japanese Cordon Trail

The Japanese cordon trail, although briefly address in the preceding section, will be addressed in detail in this section. As mentioned plans to construct a cordon police trail system into Laipunuk to control the Bunun began with in 1916¹¹⁹ (Mao 2003: 321)¹²⁰. This section of the trail was part of a larger scheme to connect Taitung and Kaohsiung Counties and was 126 kilometers in total (Yuan Liu 2006: 116)¹²¹. By 1925 the Japanese had completed the trail (Mao 2003: 321), which cut its way through the steep canyons along the Lu Ye River dividing the Laipunuk region into two parts¹²² and was very narrow and treacherous (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). The Laipunuk cordon trail began at the Pasikau police outpost (near present day Hong Ye Village, Taitung County), and terminated at the Liu-kuei (Lakuli) trading outpost in Kaohsiung County. This constitutes the main section of the Laipunuk cordon trail and included twelve police outposts. This stretch of the cordon was approximately sixty kilometers in length. *Photo 7* shows the cordon trail near Mamahav.

The below listed twelve police offices were strategically positioned along the main trail that served as law enforcement, communication, and education centers. Shou (Hisashi) outpost area had a trade office, indigenous children's education office, indigenous people medical office, and a public doctor's office (Mao 2003: 323). Both Shou and Chang Pan (Tokiuwa) became small villages, each with a *Shinto* shrine¹²³. *Table 10* serves as a cross reference for the police office names on the Japanese cordon trail. Bunun names have been added where possible.

¹¹⁸ As aforementioned, Lamataxinxin is of the Istanda family and distantly related to my thesis informants. With his capture (Da Guan Shan Event) the government accelerated their strategic plan to move the Laipunuk Bunun.

¹¹⁹ Japanese source dates are the *5th and 6th year of King Taishou*. Author has added 11 years to provide the western calendar date shown here.

¹²⁰ See Chinese language source list.

¹²¹ See Chinese language source list.

¹²² Refer to *Map 10* showing the Japanese cordon trail and other features related to this section.

¹²³ Japanese *Shinto* shrines (the imperial state religion of the era) in Laipunuk faced south (author, Laipunuk expedition 2006) symbolizing the Japanese *Southern Conquest* (Lee 2006 interview).



Photo 7: Laipunuk Cordon Trail
Source: Author, March 2005 Expedition

TOPONYMY OF THE LAIPUNUK POLICE CORDON TRAIL OFFICES

Police Offices	Japanese (Kana)	Japanese	Chinese	English	Aboriginal
1	紅葉	Mumizu	Hong Ye	Hot Springs	Dah Dah
2	清水	Shimizu	Qing Shui	Clear Water	Siusui
3	楓	Kaede	Feng	Maple	Kaili
4	松山	Matsuyama	Song Shan	Pine Mountain	Halipusun
5	嘉嘉代	Kokayo	Jaijiadai		Kakaiyu
6	桃林	To Lin	Tao Lin	Peach Trees	Tavilin
7	橘	Tsubaki	Ju	Tangerine	Takibana
8	壽	Hisashi	Shou	Long Life	Pisbadan
9	常盤	Tokiwa	Chang Pan	Often Stay	Takibadan
10	朝日	Asahi	Zhao Ri	Face the Sun	
11	出雲	Izumo	Chu Yun	Cloud Exit	Sakaivan
12	六龜	Lakuli (?)	Liu Kuei	Six Turtle	Sakusaku

Table 10: Toponymy of the Laipunuk Police Cordon Trail Offices¹²⁴
Source: Author

¹²⁴ Constructed from Japanese records and Bunun oral history. The numbering system provided here (offices labeled 1 to 12) was created by the author. *Authors note:* the Japanese names reflect *Shinto* Philosophy. Shimizu is also known as Komizu; Hisashi is also called Kutubuki.

Table 11 provides the distances between offices from Hong Ye to Liu-kuei based on a 1933 Japanese source¹²⁵. Distances shown below are based on the original 1933 Japanese chart which was given in *li* (里). The WWII Japanese measurement for one *li* was 3.924 kilometers (Li 1997: 27); whereas the nineteenth century *li* was approximately 1.8 kilometers (note that the current Chinese *li* or *gong li* is one kilometer). Therefore, the distances provided in Table 11 were generated by multiplying the original data by four and rounded down to the nearest tenth.

紅葉										
4.8	清水									
16.3	8.9	楓								
24.0	16.6	5.2	嘉嘉代							
32.0	24.6	13.2	8.0	桃林						
36.6	29.2	20.2	12.5	4.5	橘					
41.1	36.3	24.8	17.0	9.0	4.5	壽				
45.3	40.4	29.0	21.2	13.2	8.7	4.1	常盤			
52.2	44.8	33.3	28.9	20.2	13.0	8.5	4.3	朝日		
57.3	52.4	41.0	33.2	25.2	20.7	16.1	12.0	5.0	出雲	
60.0	52.6	41.2	36.0	28.0	20.9	16.3	12.2	5.2	.2	境界

Table 11: Distances by Kilometer between Laipunuk Police Offices in 1933
 Source: Adopted and Modified from East Taiwan Section Book (1933)

The Japanese gathered Bunun families and relocated them to new village sites where children were expected to attend elementary school to learn Japanese. Bunun families living in the lower elevations (nearest to Taitung), such as villages of Mamahav and Halipusun near Qing-shui and Feng offices, were among the earliest to be relocated. Similarly they were among the first to work as rice farmers near Luan-shan or Shang-li.

¹²⁵ Constructed from Japanese historical data. Source: *East Taiwan Section Book*, published in Taitung, printed in Osaka 1933. Authors note: Matsuyama (Song Shan) Office was constructed after 1933 (Istanda, N. 2006 interview) and is not reflected in the source data. The original source did not incorporate page numbers.

As aforesaid, throughout the 1930s, the Laipunuk Bunun were encouraged to relocate to the lowlands. The Japanese identified respected Bunun leaders in each village area and offered them incentives to relocate. This was often the first step to gain their obedience. During this period there were as many as two thousand Bunun in the Laipunuk region (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). By 1940 approximately half of the Bunun had been officially relocated to the lowlands. The remaining half would be extradited in a mass exodus in the wake of the *Laipunuk Incident*.

The Laipunuk Incident: An Overview

The following is the ethnohistorical account of the Laipunuk incident, surrounding events, and the life of the person responsible: Haisul Takisvilainan (referred to as Haisul from here on out). Haisul was the Takisvilainan family's leader of the Laipunuk's Halipusun tribe. His life is representative of the destruction of Laipunuk Bunun culture and language. Haisul rebelled against the Japanese and their policy to move the Laipunuk Bunun people from the mountains to the lowland plains near Taitung. He fought, killed, and decapitated many Japanese during a one month period beginning March 9th, 1941. The Japanese documented this event as *The Laipunuk Incident* (内本鹿事件) or *The Dou-Luan Mountain Incident*, and used it to fuel their extradition of the remaining Bunun from the Laipunuk geographic area. In the wake of the Laipunuk incident, Bunun families were torn from their villages overnight, their houses burned, and their lives dramatically changed forever (Istanda N. 2006 interview).

In the mid to late 1930s, Haisul left Halipusun with ten people of the Takisvilainan family to move to Luan-shan and Shang-li. It wasn't long before the lowland's infectious diseases like malaria killed several of Haisul's children¹²⁶ (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

In the face of this disaster Haisul planned his return to Laipunuk. The Japanese had strict policies and guidelines for Bunun who wished to visit their old village sites¹²⁷. And although he had gotten permission, he returned late and was punished (Istanda N., 2004 interview).

Haisul formed an armed resistance. With a group of Bunun men they attacked Japanese police offices from Shimizu (Qing Shui) to Kokayo (Jia Jia Dai)¹²⁸ and fled, hiding in the Beinan mountain area (Friend of Savage Report # 113, 1941).

¹²⁶ Accounts of this vary and there are no written records (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

¹²⁷ An application had to be filed in advance at the local police office and a specific date of return had to be agreed upon (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

¹²⁸ Japanese police office names are followed by Chinese names to provide clarity throughout this section.

The Japanese mobilized as many as three hundred people to catch Haisul and his company. They searched everywhere, including the Bunun houses of the people who had moved to the foot of the mountain (Istanda, N. 2006 interview). After a month of searching, Haisul and a few men were located in the high mountains. Eventually Haisul was convinced to accept surrender by Vilian, the leader of Pasikau tribe, under the pretext that he and his men would not be harmed (Friend of Savage Report # 13, 1941).

The exact fate of Haisul is not clear; it is only known that as time passed the Colonial power decided that because Haisul had killed so many Japanese he would be severely punished (Friend of Savage Report # 13, 1941). Some people said that Haisul and his family died in the Guan-shan police office after half a year (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

It was at this time, after the Haisul incident, that the Japanese forcefully moved all the Bunun people who still lived in Laipunuk to the foothills of the mountain and burned their houses. They were relocated into two areas consisting of three villages each (*ibid.*).

There were different explanations and meanings of whether or not Haisul was a hero or an offender¹²⁹ (*ibid.*).

Detailed Account of the Laipunuk Incident

[*Author's Note: Due to the range of sources recounting the following crucial incident in Bunun history, I am adopting a narrative approach in the telling of the story, much like that of my primary interview sources.*]

As above mentioned, Haisul was the Takisvilainan family's leader of the Laipunuk Halipusun tribe. Halipusun tribe was located at 1,100 meters elevation in the high mountains Laipunuk, perched on the mid-slope, and therefore there was very little level ground. "Haisul's house was located above the of Halipusun tribe area where his extended family had five houses. Haisul's house was the second one from right side. There was a small gully in their neighborhood with geological limestone formations. The Bunun name for limestone is *Halipusun* so their tribe was named Halipusun" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

"The gully at Halipusun was their source of water; it took twenty minutes round trip to walk there. Haisul's millet farming area was far from his house. Because of the bad living condition, Haisul had a strong and hardened personality. His family followed the traditional Bunun life

¹²⁹ Japanese reports and oral history reports do not always match clearly. Variances among individual accounts have been footnoted.

style. At first, when the Japanese built the Kaili (Feng) police office near their tribe, it didn't affect life much as was about a two or three-hour walk from Halipusun to Kaili at that time. Today there is no trail, so it is considerably longer" (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

One day, people of another family told Haisul, "The Japanese built houses in the foot of the mountain for us and arranged some people there can help us to grow paddy rice. If we go there, we don't have to worry about food or a house. If we don't go, the Japanese will be very angry" (*ibid.*). "Haisul was ultimately was compelled to leave with the other families of Halipusun. He moved to the Shang-li area, leaving behind the place that his umbilical cord (called *Busuh*) was buried"¹³⁰ (*ibid.*).

In Shang-li, Haisul and his family lived in the wooden house that the Japanese built for him (*ibid.*). In about 1941 they were sent to Taminik¹³¹ where they built a new house with the help of Japanese, "But the new house wasn't finished yet when Haisul went to fight" (Istanda, T.B., 2006 interview). In the daytime, he grew paddy rice for the Japanese with a fellow worker who was an *Ai-yong* (believed to be from an Amis or Puyuma tribe) (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Although Haisul had a new life, he didn't feel happy¹³². At that time, the place Shang-li had epidemics of malaria and other low land infectious diseases. As many as ten people died in a single day. Before long, Haisul's two children succumbed to sickness and died¹³³. Thus, Haisul thought Shang-li was not a healthy place to live because the air was bad. With each day he grew more determined to return to Laipunuk. At that time, when people went back to Laipunuk, they had to report to the police office their reason for travel, how many people were going, and how many days they would be absent. They were also required to keep a register. Haisul reported he needed several days and requested to take some tools and supplies (*ibid.*).

He stayed in Laipunuk for several days, but failed to return on time. The Japanese punished him: some people said that he was tied and hit, others said he was slapped. Regardless of what punishment had actually happened, Haisul was angry enough to swear revenge. He made a plan to return to Laipunuk forever and he prepared to kill the Japanese (*ibid.*).

Haisul's plan was to launch a surprise attack on the police offices along the Japanese trail, beginning with Shimizu (Qing Shui) from the east. Another family would initiate attack from

¹³⁰ The location of the umbilical cord burial is considered to be a sacred place according to Bunun tradition (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

¹³¹ Taminik is another name for Shang-li.

¹³² General statement based on many informants accounts.

¹³³ When and how the children died are unconfirmed (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).

Asahi (Zhao Ri) Office to the west. Haisul prepared guns, gunpowder, hunting knives, and lunch boxes. In 1941, on March 9, Haisul and a group of followers began to carry out his plan (*ibid.*)¹³⁴.

In 1941, March 9, Haisul left his house near Dou-Luan Mountain. Once in position near the Shimizu (Qing Shui) police office, Haisul and his men waited in ambush. At approximately 11:00 pm, they clandestinely entered the Shimizu (Qing Shui) police office. In the dark, Haisul killed several Japanese police officers as they slept. In the disorder, they woke up everyone in the office. Haisul and his men left the office rapidly. The Japanese were too startled to respond or fight (*ibid.*).

Although oral reports to Istanda, N., mention that there were several deaths that night Shimizu Police Office, the official Japanese police report reflects only one death that night. The report, headlined *Damage Situation, March 9, 1941 11:00 pm, Taitung Prefecture, Guan Shan county, Shimizu Police Office*, read “Sugawara Takeji, a 45 year old police patrolman at Shimizu police office at Guan Shan Taitung, was sleeping at the office when he heard someone calling his name. He went outside to investigate, encountered a surprise attack, was shot, and died instantly. The other policemen’s family, a total of seventeen people, received no harm” (Friend of Savage Administration Report, Issue #112, 1941).

Haisul and his people walked along the Laipunuk trail. They passed through the old Mamahav tribal area, arriving at Masuvanu tribal area near a suspension bridge. After they crossed the bridge, Haisul and his compatriot named Mahundiv (who was from Asahi) cut the cable between the pier and the support with their axes to slow or stop Japanese from catching up. Before long, the steel cable was broken, but before the bridge collapsed, Haisul took his men up the trail toward Kaili (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

They walked in the night on the familiar trail above the Pasikau (Lu Ye) River. When they spotted Kaili just beyond the suspension bridge, it was dark and the people were sleeping (*ibid.*). Haisul’s men attacked, gunning down many Japanese. In the confusion they also hurt a Japanese child. The Japanese were quick to return fire. In the chaos, people were screaming and the sound of gunshots sent Haisul’s men running into the mountains. Most of the Japanese’s bullets hit the trees; however one of Haisul’s men was hit in the leg (*ibid.*).

The Japanese police reported that a police sergeant and one boy were killed, with another boy injured. There was no mention of the damage to the bridge in the public announcement, but

¹³⁴ See T.B. Istanda narrative in Chapter 5 (our Laipunuk hero).

other details are very specific: “March 10, approximately 6:40 in the morning at Guan Shan County Kaede (Feng) Police Office, Police Sergeant Shimogawa Youjiro, 36 years old, was on duty at Kaede (Feng) Police Office, which is two and a half kilometers further inside the mountain from Shimizu (Qing Shui) Police Office, and got shot through the chest and was seriously injured. His eight-year old elder son Sumio was cut to the bone in the left ankle. Another Kaede (Feng) police office duty officer named Patrolman Kato’s eight year old elder son was shot directly through the back of the head and died instantly. The other officers, totaling twenty people, were unharmed” (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #112, 1941).

The police officers of Shimizu (Qing Shui) police office had already notified the Main Office (at the Hong-ye Police Office) of Haisul’s assault. The Japanese mobilized a group to arrest Haisul while Haisul and his company kept going up the trail. They were preparing for another attack at the Kokayo (Jia Jia Dai) police office. They didn’t have time to stop or think clearly. Although they had been successful in cutting the suspension bridge, they didn’t cut the police office’s telecommunication lines and the Japanese had received word of the attacks (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

When Haisul and his company arrived in the area of Kokayo (Jia Jia Dai), they attacked quickly, killing several Japanese. Haisul was also wounded. Haisul realized that their people in Asahi hadn’t attacked at the same time from the west as planned, so he and his men went deep into the mountains to escape (*ibid.*).

The official press release verifies the stories collected by Istanda, N., and indicates one confirmed death and one injury on the Japanese, however there is no record that Haisul was injured: “On the same day at the same time the on duty officer, Patrolman Ikeda was working at Kokayo (Jia Jia Dia) Police Office, which is one and a half kilometer further from Kaede Police Office, when his thirty-seven year old wife Mitoko got shot through the left ankle. Furthermore, twenty-five year old Amis tribe police assistant Baban, who had just come from Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Office to help, got shot through the chest and died instantly. The other four resident officers received no harm. All those injured were recovering at Kaede (Feng) Police Office with police doctors. All injured persons received at Kaede (Feng) Police Office and were being cared for by police doctors as well as by public doctors, which had been dispatched. The dispatched doctors arrived and are making good progress” (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #112, 1941).

Istanda, N. (2004 interview) retells the story that circulated in the following days, pointing out that Laipunuk area was not quiet, “People were impassioned; some were too scared to be silent. Also, the Bunun villagers living in Shang-li at foot of the mountain were said to have described the accounts vividly, as if they had been there too. Everyone was talking about Haisul and how he had killed many Japanese, and that he had fled to the mountains to hide and that nobody knew where they were.”

The Japanese paid serious attention to this incident. The people that worked in the Taitung City Hall were discussing how to capture Haisul. They put together Japanese police, people from the Amis and Peinan tribes, as well as Bunun family leaders to form a search group. Everyone carried a gun and food and went to Laipunuk the same night. They divided into several small teams to find Haisul (*ibid.*). The search expanded to include people in the low lands, police offices, search crews and miscellaneous others until as many as three hundred people were involved (*ibid.*).

As mentioned by Istanda, N., the Japanese had mobilized a large group of people to attend to this incident. The Taitung Prefecture¹³⁵ set up a special task force to search the mountains. They set up headquarters at Hong Ye Police office at the base of the Laipunuk trail and established communications with Kaohsiung Prefecture, bringing in the region’s section chiefs to take reassignments in field positions (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

The chain of command was under *Taitung Prefecture Section Chief Takahashi*, who assumed the position of Laipunuk Event Chief Commander at Hong Ye Police Office. Under Takahashi’s command, *Guan Shan County Savage Administrator Section Chief Iite* assumed position as the Laipunuk Event Commander. As event commander, *Chief Iite* was in charge of three officers who would oversee the field operations: *Police Officer Kobayashi* who assumed position as Laipunuk Event First Regiment Chief and was stationed at Hisashi (Shou) Police Office, *Police Officer Tomizawa* who assumed position as Laipunuk Event Second Section Commander and was stationed at Kaede (Feng) Police Office, and *Police Officer Ozawa* who assumed position as Laipunuk Event Third Section Commander and was stationed at Asahi (Zhao Ri) Police Office (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

Under these section chiefs and police officers, the man who took the front line and traveled with the local aboriginal guides into the jungle in search of Haisul and his men was *Savage*

¹³⁵ Japanese organized their regions as prefectures. Currently, this is Kaohsiung County.

Administration Section Chief Hirohite, Laipunuk Event Commander of the Logistical Support and Transportation Team” (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941). Lee (2006 interview) theorizes that the Section Chiefs (*Takahashi and Ite*) chose *Section Chief Hirohite* to assume this position based on his experience or relationship with the local aboriginal peoples, and the possibility that he could speak the Bunun language. *Hirohite* was in charge of logistics and transportation of men and materials up the trail, and went into the field with a group of five Bunun negotiators (*ibid.*). Working directly under *Hirohite*, five aboriginal men assumed positions as Laipunuk Event Negotiators: Anonena, Rasitalumanan, Obaku, Tahai, and Vilian. This chain command is clarified on the following page in *Figure 4: Laipunuk Incident Chain of Command*¹³⁶.

On April 1, the search team started from Asahi Police Office. The leader was Pasikau River tribal leader Vilian, together with Anonena from the lowlands near Dou Lan Mountain and four other men. They found footprints and located Haisul’s family at an upper river named *Xin Wu Lu Xi*, which originates east of *Beinan Zu* Mountain in an area the Bunun called *Conbailulunowan*. They had built temporary houses and were hiding, but they had little food, only a half a gallon of millet. They had gone to a hunter’s trap to loot. They were suffering from the cold temperature and hunger, and they were very tired. These events were reported on April 4 around 2:00 pm at Asahi police office (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

After one month’s search, the Japanese found Haisul in the Beinan Zhu Mountain region. The Japanese police officers and their followers, including the various aboriginal people, grouped together to discuss the next move, fearing that Haisul would continue the struggle. They decided on a plan to send Vilian, leader of Bunun Pasikau and a member of Haisul’s Takisvilainan family, to ask for surrender (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

¹³⁶ Constructed from Japanese Historical Data Source: Friend of Savage Administration publication, Taiwan Governor Office Police Department Announcement, *Laipunuk Incident, Second Announcement*, Showa 16, May 19, 1941, 113th Issue.

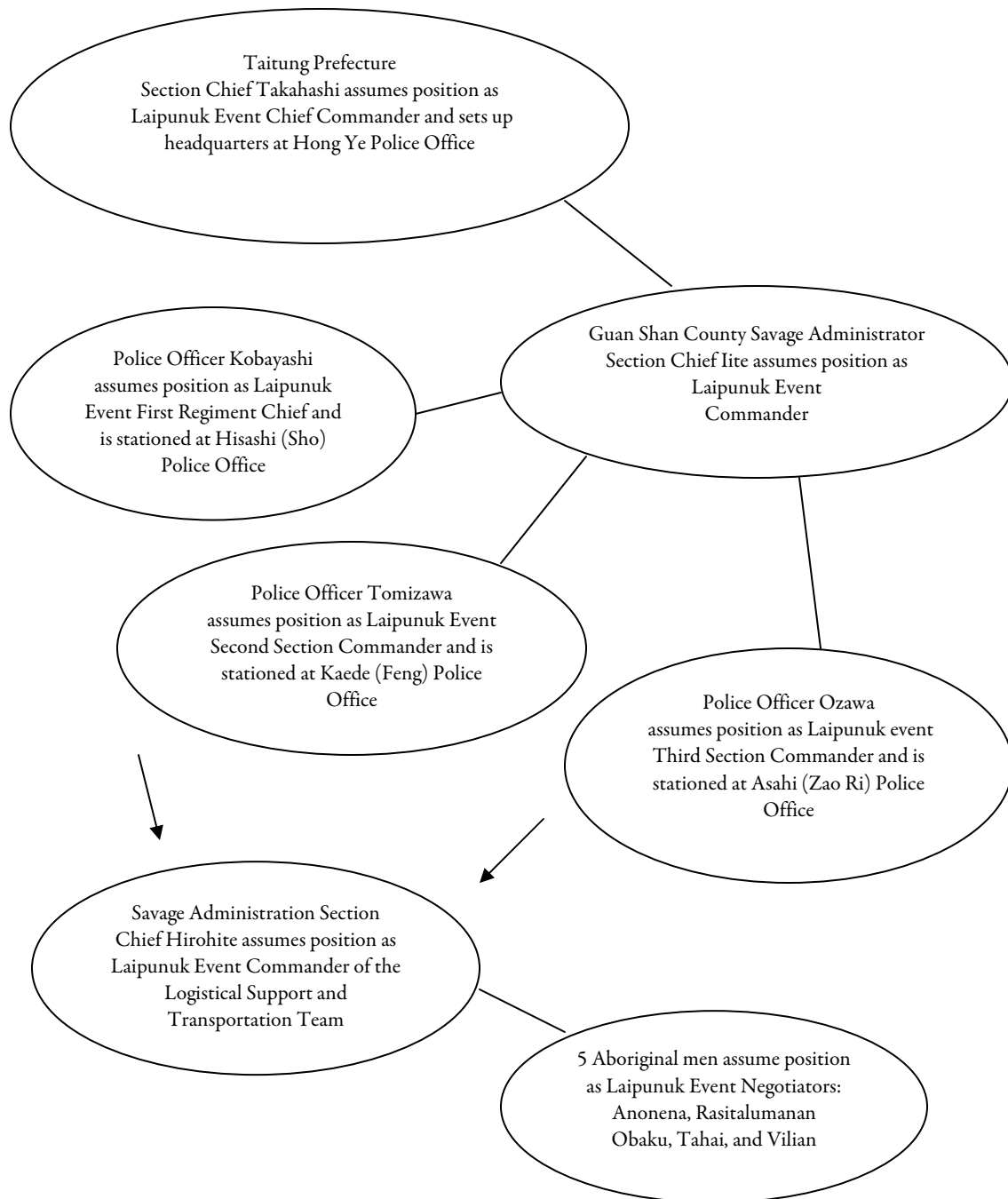


Figure 4: Laipunuk Incident Chain Of Command
 Source: Constructed by the Author from Japanese Historical Data
 (See Footnote 118)

The Taitung prefecture police squad, in cooperation with a neighboring mountain aboriginal tribe, discovered Haisul and his family inside the boundary line between Taitung and Takao (Kaohsiung) Prefecture's *Beinan Zu* Mountain (10,906 feet). They were hiding at the north-east side of the mountain by the left bank of the small river in a temporary house (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

Haisul's compatriot Mahundiv knew things were getting serious. In the early morning, Mahundiv found a huge rock and hid behind it, preparing to commit suicide. Mahundiv held his girlfriend, aimed the gun at her back, and shot her in the heart. She died instantly. He reloaded the gun and committed suicide (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

Vilian spent from morning until afternoon convincing Haisul and his group to surrender. The Japanese promised that they would not kill them if they would come peacefully. Haisul accepted the terms and his men handed over the Japanese's heads they had collected. Japanese police officers confiscated their guns (*ibid.*).

On April 5, in the early morning, the Nakano area chief named Obaku, the Shimono area leader Rasitalumanan, and three more influential aborigine men convinced the "violent savage Haisul" to come down from the mountain and apologize to the police officers (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941).

On April 7 at 3:00 pm, together with the persuaders (Obaku and Rasitalumanan) and fifteen people from Haisul's family came down to Asahi police office to apologize. Present also were Hirohite, Kobayashi, and 'influential high mountain aboriginals' Obaku, Tahai, Vilian and others as witnesses. The Japanese gave them a very serious lecture. Haisul apologized for what he did and then swore not to do it again. They gave up their 4 guns as proof (*ibid.*). Haisul, his family, the scout team, Japanese police officers, and Bunun leaders all came down the trail to the Hong-ye Police Office at the base of the Laipunuk Mountains. The Laipunuk incident was over (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).

On the same day, April 7, at 8:00 pm, the 'violent savage family' arrived at the Hong Ye search team headquarters under very severe guard, together with *Hirohite* and his fellow officers and the aboriginal tribe people (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #113, 1941). The entire incident lasted more than eighty days (Friend of Savage Administration Report Issue #115, 1941).

Haisul was allowed to go back to Luan-shan / Shang-li, where the Japanese built a small house for him. He returned to the same life he had lived before the Laipunuk Incident as if the entire

thing had never occurred. He grew paddy rice and plowed his fields; life was again laborious. Very few people ever visited Haisul and his family and he felt disheartened (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). Haisul and his wife and children had no millet, so the Japanese wanted him to work all year. At harvest time, once the family had enough millet, the Japanese took him to court. Taitung City Hall gave verdict and the Japanese government announced an order: Haisul should be put to death and all Bunun people would be extradited from the Laipunuk area (*ibid.*). “They killed him: the Japanese were very clever” (Istanda, T.B. 2006 interview).

On October 31, 1942, Haisul and his family took the last one photo in front of the Guan-shan police office (see *Photo 8* below). Then they were sentenced to death. Their action of refusing the *moving policy* was over. “The whole family was killed; only Hu Jin-mu’s mother and Yu Jin-gu’s mother were alive” (Istanda, N. 2004 interview).



*Photo 8: The Takisvilainan Family Warriors of the Laipunuk Halipusun Tribe*¹³⁷

When the order to evacuate was announced, the people of Laipunuk didn’t have any time to prepare. They left with nothing. Many thought that they would be allowed to come back. The millet, tools, and hunting guns...everything was left behind (Istanda, N. 2004 interview). As a group, the Bunun people walked down the Laipunuk trail. The line of people was long and magnificent. Everyone was silent all the way. Two pregnant women gave birth on the way and their babies’ umbilical cords (*busub*) were buried on the trail (*ibid.*). As soon as the Bunun left, the Japanese burned all the houses to prevent any hope for their return or another incident like Haisul’s from happening again.

The Laipunuk incident and Haisul’s story was gradually forgotten. The young people today only know that long time ago there was a man, whose name was Haisul, had killed many

¹³⁷ Haisul is pictured front and center.

Japanese. There are those who remember him as a hero, and those who remember what he did as wrong and destructive (*ibid.*)¹³⁸.

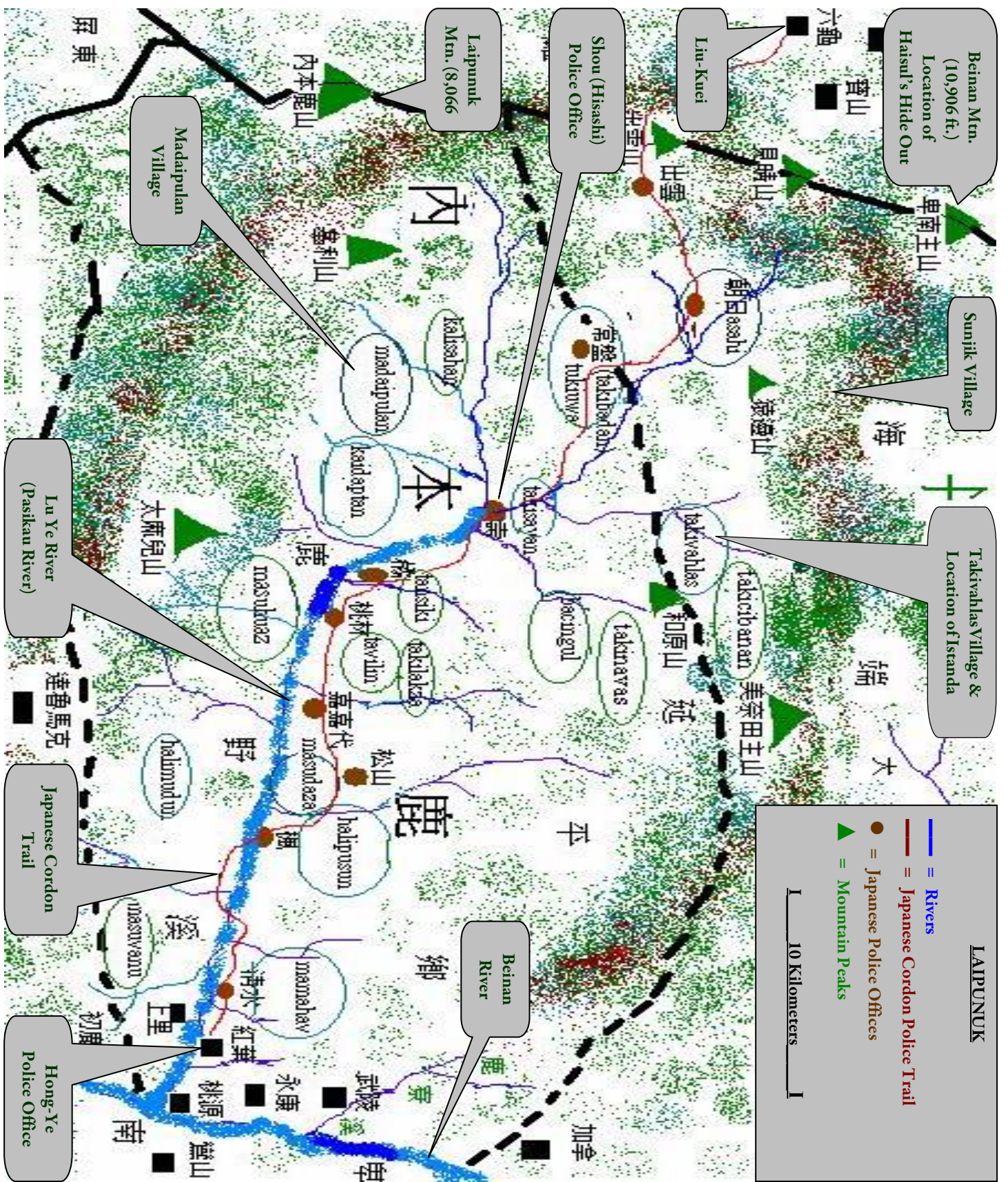
Conclusion

The *Laipunuk Incident* pinpoints the end of human habitation in Laipunuk in the twenty-first century. It provides an empirical focal point defining the ultimate stage for traditional indigenous culture in a traditional natural environment on Taiwan before the advent of global power. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 explored Laipunuk's Bunun culture, the precarious cultural mixing between the Bunun and the Holo and Hakka Chinese, and the Rukai, Paiwan, and Tsou ethnicities. This chapter indicates that the development of social structure was based on trade, economy, and power, and that the Bunun were able to live outside of direct Chinese and Japanese authority well into the *Japanese Colonial Period*, yet they had access to materials and trade benefits from the globalizing world outside of Laipunuk.

Section 4.3, the *Laipunuk Incident*, marked the end of human habitation in Laipunuk. The region went from a flourishing mountain culture and trade network to an empty place almost overnight. With regard to the issue of land rights, *Laipunuk Incident* provides the Bunun with a clear-cut event beyond their control, thus, defining the loss of their culture and land.

This thesis will now move to the ethnographic narratives of two Laipunuk-born thesis informants. *Map 10* on the following page serves as a reference for Chapters 4 and 5.

¹³⁸ Opinions and willingness to discuss the issue of whether or not Haisul was a hero or the man responsible for the demise of the Laipunuk people varies widely among the elders as this can be a "very sensitive issue" (Istanda, N. 2006 interview).



Map 10: Laipunuk Reference

Source: Base Map Designed by Tsai, San Shen 蔡善神 (Binkinuaz, Tabai) (2005); modified by the author