

Genesis, Baseball, and the State: the Making of New Historicity among the Falangaw Amis of Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

This essay introduces and compares two different genesis narratives, the Arapanay genesis and the Palidaw genesis, compiled in two different eras. The focus of the comparison is not on asking which of them is historically correct. Rather, by contextualizing the backgrounds of these genesis narratives, we can better understand how the state, as both idea and apparatus, works together with local communities and causes changes.

The Arapanay genesis, well known in the past, consists of little characterization of modern historical consciousness, leaving the listener a sense of remote antiquity. Instead, the Palidaw genesis, popular nowadays, connects Falangaw and the modern world, which makes this genesis sound more convincing and imaginable. The Palidaw genesis has a lot to do with baseball, a sport promoted by the Japanese colonial regime. It was the key person, Piya, a famous baseball player in the Japanese period and a great grandson of a legendary headman, Kulas Mahengheng, who trained baseball players, held baseball games, documented oral narratives, and put the Palidaw genesis and the life history of Mahengheng in the baseball guidebooks.

I demonstrate that in the Palidaw genesis a sequence of place names are used as an alternative to genealogy to present Falangaw Amis people's ideas about what their past, present, and future should be. Given the discrepancy between the two geneses, I argue that social memory concerning a genesis is in fact a historical rupture that provides us with a modern myth, a myth about a new origin denouncing everything old as the mythical remnant. To describe the scheme and the materiality of the rupture, this essay presents how the Palidaw genesis narrative was produced and transformed into published texts, as well as the relationship between the Palidaw genesis narrative and the government-sponsored sport of baseball.

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It seemed that the state regulated indigenous people's biopower by promoting baseball and the Amis were subsumed into the global and omnipresent influence of modernity. However, this essay suggests that the Amis appropriated the framework of modernity that the colonial state imposed upon to fulfill some goals for themselves. In the case of Falangaw or in the Palidaw genesis, we see that the origin story partially parallel to the modern global history, but there are some plots and time frames incompatible with the global history. The genre, style, and purpose of the Palidaw genesis are modern, but the content of it, according to Benedict Anderson, does not completely fit the condition of modernity. I regard Falangaw Amis people's appropriating the framework of modernity as a manifestation of indigenous modernity. The consequence of such an indigenous modernity, expressed via the materiality of baseball, was the idea and practice of a unified Amis Tribe, which helped shelter the Amis from the epoch storms that tore the community apart and uprooted the people from their land.

In sum, there are two goals in this essay. First, through an analysis of different genesis narratives among the Amis, I highlight how modernity offered the local people a framework for restructuring or retelling issues like origin and history. Second, I highlight the surprising results of using a narrative framework provided by or borrowed from the state. Neither the top-down domination of the local people nor the bottom-up resistance towards state effect is enough to tell the whole story. This essay demonstrates that the interaction between the state and the local people is more dynamic than that of single-sided model of domination or resistance.

Key words : genesis narrative, historicity, baseball, the Amis, the state

“Origin is the Goal.”

—Karl Kraus, *Worte in Versen*

“The Great Revolution Introduced a New Calendar.”

—Walter, Benjamin, *Illumination*

There are two goals in this essay. First, through an analysis of different genesis narratives among the Amis, I highlight how modernity offers the local people a framework for restructuring or retelling issues like origin and history. Second, I highlight the surprising results of using a narrative framework provided by the state. These results manifest in how local indigenous people appropriate this seemingly overwhelming state narrative in order to highlight key issues about their origin, locality and historicity, as these pertain to their own outlook on the future.

In his “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” Walter Benjamin (1969: 261) provides the aphorism quoted above to describe the sense of homogeneous time in our modern world. Situated in that time, Benedict Anderson (1983: 24) makes a further argument about a sense of temporal simultaneity. According to this argument, time is measurable by common scales like clocks and calendars, which govern human perception, create a sense of being in temporal simultaneity where every scale of space and time is qualitatively equivalent. This latter sense of time, Anderson argues, establishes the modern sense of community, which becomes not merely vividly imaginable but also convincingly natural.

Here I use Benjamin’s insight as a tool to contextualize the conceptions of originality, historicity, and sociality commonly that have come to be shared among the Falangaw Amis community following the advent of modern regimes. However, the ethnographic data presented here also demonstrates that the space-time we inhabit now is not necessarily homogeneous. Some people, such as the Falangaw Amis, are not yet fully subjugated by the sense of homogeneous time. They have accepted the state-offered space-time framework, but put something of their own in it for the purpose of both attaching themselves to the modern world and retaining their singularity.

THE FALANGAW AMIS AND THE STATE

The Amis, an Austronesian speaking indigenous people or “Tribe,” live in Taitung City, eastern Taiwan (Fig. 1 and 2).¹ The Falangaw Amis, one of the biggest Amis communities, reside in Malan (馬蘭) or Falangaw, Taitung city, Taitung County (Fig. 2).

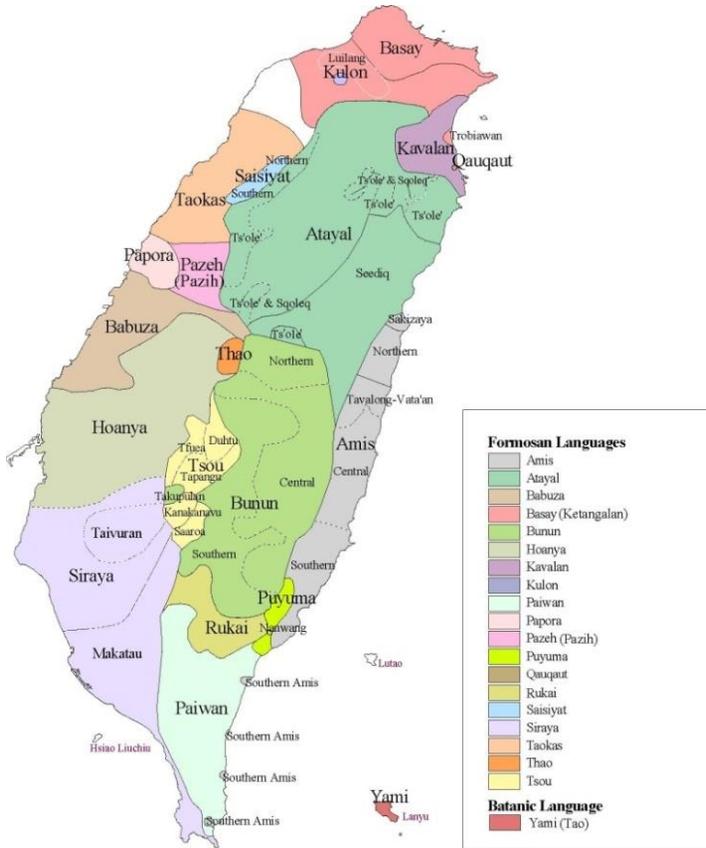


Fig. 1 Map of Formosan and Yami Languages. Adapted from Tsuchida (2009).

¹ All figures (maps) included in this essay have been drawn or taken by myself, unless otherwise specified. This essay proposes that the idea of “tribe” has to do with forms of power, especially power related to the state, meaning that “tribe” should not be deemed as a natural existence. To correspond with this proposition, here in Figure 1, instead of presenting the sixteen-tribe map of indigenous people, I use this Map of Formosan and Yami Languages to illustrate the general geographic distribution of indigenous peoples in Taiwan.



Fig. 2 Map of Taiwan

Traditionally most Falangaw Amis people were farmers and fishermen growing rice and fishing for subsistence. The term the Amis people use for community is *niyaro*, which means a social space within the confine of rail fences. The boundary between themselves and outsiders was obvious.

Since 1960, however, a large number of Han immigrants (Hoklo and Hakka) have moved into the Amis' traditional territory, and gradually boundary between the Amis and others has become blurred. The meaning of *niyaro* (*buluo* in Mandarin) has shifted from the confines of a certain social space to a noun denoting a group of people. Having no choice, many Amis sold their land to the intruders, moved outside of Falangaw, and established themselves elsewhere. Some of them even exiled themselves to metropolises, like Taipei or Kaohsiung, and became wage laborers, or took work on ocean-going fishing vessels.

Falangaw is located in Taitung City, the capital city of Taitung County (Fig. 2 and 3). Today there are two meanings for the name Falangaw. First, Falangaw, in a narrow sense, refers to the original *niyaro* founded by Kulas Mahengheng in 1875. Second, Falangaw, in a broad sense, refers to a social group rather than a place, and includes all of the satellite Amis communities living in most of the city's boroughs.² There has been a huge social

² Those satellite communities are Matang, Arapanay, Asiloay, Ining, Apapuro, Posong, Fukid, Cidingan (Fig. 3).

and democratic change undergoing in Falangaw: over 90% of Falangaw people have moved into satellite communities during the past fifty years (Lee 2007:110).

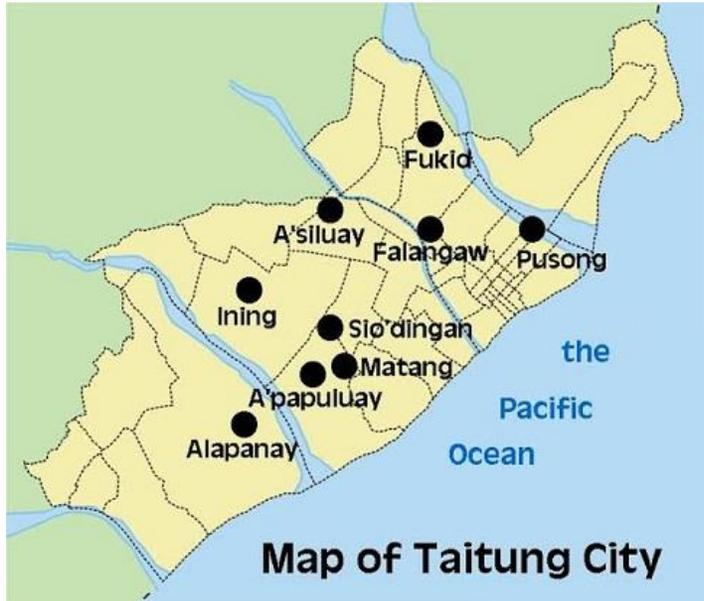


Fig. 3 The locations of Falangaw and its satellite communities

The Amis were matrilineal before the 1970s, which means that a man moved out of his mother's house and married into his wife's. This does not mean that men were of low social status. On the contrary, all public and political affairs are carried out by men. This is because *finawlan* or *masakaputay*, the age-sets that deal with such affairs, are exclusively for men. In other words, *marininaay*, or matrilineal kinship, operates outside of the public sphere and is opposite or complementary to men's *finawlan* (Huang 1989). Within *marininaay*, usually the oldest woman is the head of the household, but actually the *faki* or uncle (MB) holds the power to do rituals in the house and make decisions for his nephews and nieces.

The working of the age-sets demonstrates the basic political structure of an Amis community, and the names of age-sets reveal their perception of time, memory and history (Huang 1999:486; 2004:322).³ Age-set names are given as means to record the most important events happening during the preceding three years. Interpreting the signifiers of the age-set system can shed light on Amis conceptions of time and history. These names, moreover, are not just terms. Every member of an age-set carries the history or the

³ Unlike Polynesian chiefs who succeed on the basis of ascribed status, an Amis headman achieved his leadership or won public recognition because of his economic ability and capability of persuasion and negotiation (cf. Huang 1986; Sahlins 1963).

historical connotation of their age-set name until the end of his life.

A brief history of the Falangaw Amis' encounter with different government regimes needs to be introduced here. Before 1875 or before the arrival of Chinese and Japanese colonialist powers, the Falangaw Amis were both culturally and politically autonomous, and their life experiences were confined to their own community. Informants recollected that their ancestors did not have to pay tax to the government and had no idea about *modern* ethnicity.⁴ After 1875, the Qing government only demanded that the Amis acknowledge the sovereignty of the Qing state. Aside from this, no modern state regulations were deployed at the time among the Amis. During the Qing period, Kulas Mahengheng, the great headman, was assigned the role of headman of all Amis communities (Fig. 4). This was because Falangaw was the largest Amis community at that time and the government office was set just next to Falangaw (Wang 1998:71).

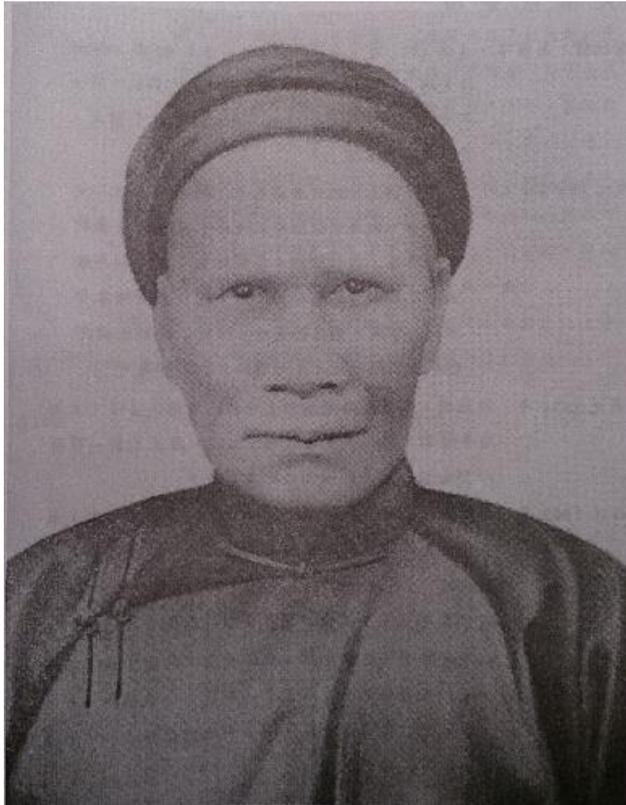


Fig. 4 Photograph of Kulas Mahengheng. Adapted from Guo (1989).

⁴ The central mountain range divides Taiwan into two parts. Unlike western Taiwan that has been controlled by different regimes for over four centuries, the eastern part was not penetrated by state powers before 1875. Before the advent of the Qing regime, the Amis had their own identity to distinguish themselves and other indigenous communities; such identity was different from the modern identity or ethnicity imposed upon by modern governments. Exploring the dialogical and negotiable processes and the results of the imposition is one of the aims of this research.

This was the first time that the Falangaw Amis experienced the state, and it shaped their basic mode of reaction to foreign state powers. At the time, the Falangaw Amis learned the necessity of connecting with bureaucratic institutions. This was the reason why, after China ceded Taiwan to Japan, Kulas Mahengheng and his fellows voluntarily led Japanese troops into Taitung and sent their men, together with Puyuma people, to attack Qing guerrilla forces.⁵ Given that in the periods of both the Qing (1875-1895) and the Japanese colonization (1896-1945) there was scarcely any significant power, such as capitalist or religious institutions, mediating between local indigenous groups and the governmental institutions, state power directly penetrated into the locality of eastern Taiwan.⁶

After 1895, the Japanese colonized and governed Taiwan more directly and effectively than did the Chinese (Qing) government. The most crucial difference between Chinese and Japanese rule for indigenous people was the making of a *modern* ethnic identity, a specifically ethnic minority identity subjugated by the modern state. No sooner had the Japanese colonial regime occupied Taiwan than Japanese authorities began classifying indigenous peoples. As a consequence, Falangaw Amis have since that time been taught to regard themselves as *ban nin* (蕃人), a new political identity that was assigned by the state.

The tactics used by Japanese colonial authorities were not abstract. For example, forty years after the Japanese colonized Taiwan, the Japanese governor-general invited the country's indigenous peoples, including the Falangaw Amis, to visit Taipei. There they were shown the things of colonial modernity, like naval vessels, modern buildings, trains, and zoos. After returning to Falangaw, the eldest men decided to name the newest age-set "la Taypak", meaning the Team of Taypak (Taipei), as a way to commemorate this extraordinary experience.

Moreover, to the Japanese colonizers the indigenous people of Taiwan were *ban nin* or "barbarians". Barbarity here meant both uncivilized and energetic. Two plans were put to work to govern and utilize the physical power of the indigenous people and civilize their "barbarity". One of these was to have young indigenous people, mostly males, conscripted or hired as coolies. Many infrastructure projects in eastern Taiwan were the results of indigenous labor during that time period, and this remains one of the most vivid memories that Amis people have about the Japanese.⁷ The other plan was to promote

⁵ After being defeated by the Japanese, the Qing regular troops later became guerrilla forces fighting against the Japanese in Taitung (Wang 1998: 312, 444-448).

⁶ According to Shih's studies (1976, 1986), the Falangaw Amis were highly Sinicized or enculturated by Han culture, which was why the Amis did not accept Christianity. However, Shih's theory says little about why there were hardly any religious groups existing and mediating between the central government and the locality. The Falangaw Amis was one of the earliest indigenous peoples to make contact with the Han and to accept Han Taoism, and Christianity did not arrive in eastern Taiwan until the 1950s. This could be the main reason why today most Falangaw Amis are not Christians.

⁷ In Falangaw, there were two age-sets named la Kuli and la Tifu (kuli and tifu mean coolie and dike).

sports in school as a way to tame indigenous “barbarity”. The Falangaw Amis tradition of sports (especially baseball) can thus be traced back to the Japanese period.

After World War II, Taiwan became the Republic of China, controlled by the KMT. Unlike the Japanese, who divided and ruled the country’s ethnic groups and left the social structures of indigenous communities basically intact, the KMT government adopted an assimilationist policy. Under this policy, external political and economic forces entered some indigenous communities, resulting in the indigenous people of Falangaw losing their land and means of production. As noted earlier, after losing their land, many Falangaw people scattered and formed satellite communities around Falangaw or became wage laborers in big cities.

Affected by the currents of both marginalization and global connection, some Amis came to think that they needed heroes. One of these was the legendary historical figure, Kulas Mahengheng, a headman who had cooperated with two colonial regimes (the Qing and the Japanese) in leading his followers on a march northward to other Amis communities in order to pacify riots.⁸ That is why in Falangaw, Mahengheng is regarded as the founding father of the Amis Tribe. My informants even argued that “We Falangaw people always think we are the leader among all the Amis communities because we are the most advanced and the strongest.”

⁸ Mahengheng and his entourage had marched northward to fulfill the task the Qing and the Japanese governments had entrusted to him. The first march happened during the 1880s, when the power of the Qing Empire was just entering eastern Taiwan. His last, and most significant, march was in 1900 (Wang 1998:414). This last march was significant because the Japanese magistrate accompanied him. Sagara Chotsuna (相良長綱), the newly arrived Japanese magistrate, sought to control other indigenous communities using Mahengheng’s reputation and influence. By so doing, the Amis communities, originally scattered and autonomous, were connected together and a common community of all the Amis became imaginable. After completing this task, Mahengheng and his followers returned to Falangaw. Today, in the memory of some Falangaw Amis people, it was because of Mahengheng’s marches that many other Amis communities and the modern Amis Tribe were founded.

THE QUESTION OF THE ARAPANAY GENESIS

The question of the Arapanay genesis concerns the huge discrepancy between existing ethnographic documents and local people's negation of those documentations. The first time I went to Falangaw to conduct my research was 1997, and before that time I had read a lot of ethnographies and had some preliminary ideas about the community I was to visit. All of the publications that I read were old-fashioned ethnographies which dutifully depicted Falangaw's religion, kinship, political organization, myths, language, livelihoods, and so on. Although there were different interpretations, all of the ethnographic descriptions were quite consistent. With the information I had obtained from those ethnographies, I started my first fieldwork research. However, very soon my informants told me: "We Amis are not what the books document."

An important difference between these ethnographic descriptions and reality pertains to the genesis of the Falangaw Amis. Regarding the origin of the southern (Falangaw) Amis people, *Taiwan Takasago-zoku Keit Shozoku no Kenky* [*The Formosan Natives Tribes: A Genealogical and Classificatory Studies*], an ethnographic account published in the Japanese colonial period (1935), says:

From a stone at Arapanay both the Amis's and the Puyuma's ancestors were born. ...

Once upon a time in Trirangasan, an old man and his two grandchildren, an elder brother and a younger sister, took a wooden mortar to escape from the flood and fled to Arapanay. The brother and sister, after escaping from the catastrophe, got married. Initially, their offspring were crabs, then came the stone, and later human beings were born out of the stone. The descendants of those human beings are the ancestors of both the Pangcah (Amis) and the Panapanayan (Puyuma) (quoted from Hsu 1956: 178).

There are different variants of the Falangaw Amis genesis that were published before the 1990s, such as the variant included in *The Collection of the Raw Barbarian Legends* (Chen 1964: 38-40). All of these variants, however, which were collected during that period of time, are structurally similar. All of these variants confirm that the Amis were from Trirangasan (or Cilakasan) and Arapanay, and the first generation of Amis were of stone-birth.⁹

Furthermore, all the documents mention a flood catastrophe and their ancestors' escaping on wooden mortars. Such flood legends are a common theme shared among almost all of Taiwan's indigenous peoples (Basuya.Boyizenu 1996; Hsu 1956; Li: 1998). The brother-sister dyad in this genesis story seems to suggest that the sibling/couple

⁹ In addition to Cilakasan and Arapanay, a minor branch of Amis people insist that Green Island, an island near Taitung City, is their place of origin. However, the latter is so minor that it is usually neglected.

complex relationship makes sense (Headly 1987) and also confirms the sibling relationship as a key idiom in Amis kinship (Chang 1987; Lo 2000).

In addition to the sibling/couple dyad, perhaps, what needs more attention is the appearance of the Other. When facing the question of genesis, the idea of the self always needs to be defined in reference to the Other so that questions like “Who are we?” and “Where we are from?” can hopefully be answered. In the Arapanay genesis, we find that the Puyuma, the Amis’ neighbor and deadly rival, appear at the very beginning. The Han Chinese and the Japanese, the colonizers of two different eras, also appear in other versions of Arapanay narratives, suggesting that these Others were originally the same with the Falangaw Amis. Obviously, the Arapanay genesis discloses an important message: once being born, everything is created. In the genesis, the Amis were born in Arapanay, a place very close to Falangaw, and the Puyuma, the Japanese, and the Han (the so-called Taiwanese) were born there simultaneously. Space and time, or locality and historicity, are static in the Arapanay genesis; there and then in the Arapanay narrative mean here and now in the reality of today.

However, in today’s Falangaw, according to my informants, almost nobody would think this genesis is correct. It would be refuted as nonsense if the researcher tells it to an informant, and the informant would instead tell a *true* genesis, the Palidaw genesis, as a reply. Is just one of them the true genesis? What is the discrepancy between the two all about?

In the Japanese colonial period, official translators and policemen were always nearby when ethnographers were doing their jobs, and the informants were mostly local leaders like *kakita’an*, meaning that the Arapanay genesis could hardly be a mistake committed by the informants. Scholars classified all Amis communities into five groups, and all the Amis geneses can be categorized into three types.¹⁰ Unlike Falangaw, nowadays most Amis communities think that the Japanese documentation of their origins is not that different from what they have known. So, what happened? To shed some light on this question of discrepancy, I present below the Palidaw genesis, the genesis that is regarded as the traditional and only authentic account by today’s Falangaw Amis people.

¹⁰ According to Japanese scholars, there are three main versions of genesis story prevailing in all Amis communities: Flood Origin (or Cilakasan Origin), Outlying Islands Origin (Green Island and Orchid Island), and Arapanay Origin (Utsurikawa, Miyamoto, and Mabuchi 1996[1935]:509). Cilakasan (or Tsirangasan) is a place north of Falangaw, and both Arapanay and Green Island are near Falangaw. None of the origin stories mention Palidaw (Hengchern, 恆春), a place very far away from these three places (Fig. 2).

THE PALIDAW GENESIS¹¹

About the place of origin, Sawmah, my eighty-year old informant, says:

In the beginning two people, the older sister Taluhaton and the younger brother Tafafafu, drifted to Palidaw, the southernmost point of Taiwan. To survive, they got married and twelve children were born. Years later, the twelve children (six males and six females) got married and became six couples, and that was how the Amis increased gradually in population.

In the past, our ancestors always lived by the sea, and they slashed and burned to get a piece of land for growing millet. When the capacity of the land was not enough, the six couples and their offspring moved subsequently to Lalawdan, Tafali, Ngofola, and Mamura.

When all family members moved north from Palidaw, the parents were at the end of the line. When they were arriving in Mamura, in order to take a break, the father stuck his bamboo cane into the ground and did not take it out. Therefore, today in Mamura you can find a bamboo stalk in a bamboo bush that is weirdly standing upside down. The parents of the first generation did not keep going. They stayed in Mamura because they became stones. All of the family members could not help, but kept going northbound.

In Supayan, the next stop, two brothers were at odds with each other, the family split into two halves. The younger brother's half became the mountain people, or today's Talumak Rukai people's ancestors. And the older brother's half kept moving to Sale'sen, Pakuluan, and Tiofok to find an ideal place to grow staples.

When they were in Tiofok, the size of the population increased a lot, and many of the clans that we see today were founded at that time. To facilitate agriculture, some religious practices were created to deal with droughts.

During that period, we Amis were living next to the Puyuma. One year, when it was a year of drought, some regular customs failed to be observed. For example, the Puyuma people were not invited to attend our harvest celebration; they were furious and banished the Amis. The Puyuma could do that because at that time the Amis were the new comers or the land borrowers and the Puyuma were the land owners. One significant thing also happened then: some Amis people, mainly people of the Raranges families, along with

¹¹ The source of this genesis is from my informant Sawmah. Sawmah was not the only one that could tell the Palidaw genesis. Many of my informants also narrated this story of origin to me, but in Falangaw people thought that Sawmah remembered the most details. Besides, Piya, Kulas Mahengheng's great grandson, wrote down the genesis and published it in some guidebooks or pamphlets. However, all the Palidaw stories I have heard and read are structurally similar, although not exactly the same, indicating that this genesis narrated by Sawmah is not completely fixed or pure.

their houses and other belongings, were magically converted into stones. Of course it was the Puyuma who made this happen. Today, the stone ruins at that place can still be recognized.

Later, our ancestors found a place near Tiofok, but they still had to solve the problem of drought. Amis people, at that time, had six leaders. Those six leaders discussed how to solve the problem every night. One day Tenged, one of the six leaders, dreamed of a unique bamboo tree in a bamboo field. In the dream, rather than pointing to the south like all other bamboos did, the bamboo, standing against the wind, was individually leaning toward the north, or toward the Tulan Mountain. After waking up, Tenged took this bamboo and used it to practice bamboo divination. One of the results of this divination was that he found an (age-set system to service the community, and after founding it, the leaders, Paong, Tenged, and Calaw decided that the age-set system needs a ritual, so now we have harvest festival.

In the Tiofok period, there were always a lot of conflicts with the Puyuma. For example, Taki, a Puyuma chief, came to flirt with an Amis woman and later was killed by her husband. For that reason, the Puyuma, again, banished the Amis. The Amis argued that that was not all their fault and insisted that they should not move anywhere unless the Puyuma bestowed them with living places and paddy fields. The conclusion of the negotiation was that a line connecting the Li-yu Mountain and the Maw Mountain was demarcated as the border line to separate the east, where the Amis inhabited, from the west, which the Puyuma occupied. After doing that, we Amis moved to a new place, a place called Sipaykio in the Japanese period. Then a huge flood came, and we moved again to the Li-yu Mountain .

In the Li-yu Mountain, our leader was Kulas Mahengheng. At that time, the Dutch tried to invade Taitung. Mahengheng knew it and tied his headscarf to a bamboo stick and went to the seashore, waving the bamboo stick to the Dutch vessels. Knowing that their whereabouts were exposed, the Dutch gave up the plan.

We Amis are from Palidaw, but some of the Palidaw Amis did not follow the first migration team. But during the period of Mahengheng's leadership, many Palidaw Amis came to Taitung. The village was too crowded to accept them, so it was arranged for those people to live and cultivate in today's Matang. But the Puyuma people also herded their cows there in Matang, and confrontations between the Amis and the Puyuma happened all the time. The three biggest and other minor Puyuma communities secretly united together to attack the Amis. Fortunately, the plot was disclosed, and the Amis won the battle. After the battle, Kulas Mahengheng ordered seven age-sets to guard against the Puyuma.

After this event, the Amis found that there still were many floods in the Li-yu Mountain , so our ancestors moved to the place we live now. Mahengheng prescribed that anyone who wanted to cultivate the field should do it southward, no other directions of cultivation were permitted.

Mahengheng, at that time, was not the only leader. In fact, there were two in Falangaw. Ka'at, the other leader, was jealous of Mahengheng's reputation, so the whole Falangaw had two factions. Two harvest festivals in summer were held in that period. Later, Mahengheng's camp also split into two parts. Kenni was the leader of the new camp. Ka'at, Kenni, and Mahengheng all led their followers northward to clear and cultivate millet fields. Places like Likilit, Palayapay, Lakat, and Kafom were cultivated by our ancestors. Today, some northern Amis communities claim that Kulas Mahengheng was their ancestor. That is not the truth.

Later came the Qing dynasty. That is why we have an age-set called la kuapin. Only a few years after the Chinese's arrival, the Japanese came. In the beginning the Japanese made a landing in Tiput and had fights with the Chinese. We Amis went to the seashore to greet the Japanese, but the Puyuma felt unhappy and they set traps on the shore. We Amis knew where the traps were and made a detour.

In the Japanese period, Falangaw had seven men's houses. Then there were attacks of malaria, and after that, only four of the seven remained. Before the malaria, usually an age-set, say la wusin, had one hundred and seventy members. After the disease, only some fifties remained. We lost many people. Later, the Japanese did a house registration, and the final number of houses was 322. Several times Mahengheng led the Amis on a march northward along the coastline. Some places were named after the march. For example, a place now called Madawdaw was a swamp, and after walking through that place, people's footprints were shining. The Amis put the dried shining footprint mud into opened calabashes and found that the mud was burnable. Many of the place names that we see today have something to do with Mahengheng's march. Following Kulas Mahengheng's leadership, the Amis kept going northward and built the three earliest Amis communities: Toktok, Lidaw, and Sakirayak.

Today, the northern Amis people copy everything that the Japanese have said; they say that the place of origin of the Amis is an island called Lakasan in Southeast Asia. Does this island really exist? Definitely not!

DISCUSSION

The Palidaw genesis, narrated by most, if not all, Falangaw Amis, shows that Palidaw, the southernmost spot of Taiwan, is the place of their origin. Such a viewpoint is not esoteric knowledge held by only a few. Rather, it is a belief widely shared among today's Falangaw. How is it possible that this genesis story cannot be found in academic publications until 2000 (Feng 2000)? And what does the emergence of the Palidaw genesis story mean? Some older informants told me that the “old” genesis narrative is not totally unknown to them. When, some fifty years ago, my informants were quite young, the narratives about the Trirangasan/Arapanay origin, together with the accounts of the stone-births, were regarded as fairy tales or jokes. However, as I have shown above, one hundred years ago scholars, who were usually Japanese, recruited eminent or official figures such as the *kakita'an* as their informants for ethnographic documentation. How could these important figures make jokes about this issue and under such circumstance? Furthermore, the problem remains the same: what does this Palidaw genesis narrative mean?

This problem could be tackled, first of all, by comparing the two genesis narratives. One of the most obvious differences between the two, of course, is the place of origin—the difference between the place (Arapanay) they inhabit now and the place (Palidaw) a hundred kilometers away. This discrepancy in place of origin indicates a process of migration, which is an issue of significant importance.

The older genesis narrative suggests that the place of origin is Arapanay, a place very close to Falangaw. Events in the older genesis narrative, such as the landing, the sister-brother marriage, and the stone-birth all occurred in Taitung or at places around Falangaw. By contrast, the newly-told or newly-found genesis narrative shows that the Amis, originating in Palidaw, kept migrating northward until they finally reached Taitung.

What this means is that a distinct sense of historical depth and a different idea of locality can be discerned in the new genesis narrative. In the Palidaw genesis, the Amis are always migrating, and the listener would feel the depth of history gradually accumulating and evolving as the individuals in the narrative move from place to place. The Arapanay genesis narratives, by contrast, are more ahistorical, leaving the listener with little information except that some events irrelative to modern Falangaw happened in remote antiquity.¹² Such a “remote antiquity” suggests an absolute concept of the past and a

¹² Narratives about migration and the places the Amis went through during the migrating journeys can also be found in some variants of the Arapanay genesis (Utsurikawa, Miyamoto, and Mabuchi 1935:514, Sayama 2007[1913]: 151). However, unlike the Palidaw genesis, in the Arapanay narratives, actual historical and social events, such as the conflicts with the Puyma, the arrival of the Japanese, Kulas Mahengheng's great doings, the creation of age-sets, annual rituals and other social institutions, that contributed to modern historical consciousness were absent. Moreover, in the Palidaw genesis there is an explicit and unique south-to-north migrating direction that makes a clear sense of accumulated historical depth, which cannot be discerned in all Arapanay narratives as well (for more detail discussion,

sense of immutable locality. In a word, historical depth is hardly imaginable in the Arapanay genesis.

It is also worth mentioning that structurally, the Arapanay genesis narrative is not a single case. The genesis narratives of other Amis communities and of the Puyuma are all structurally similar to that of the Arapanay. All of these genesis narratives start from the landing after the flood catastrophe and continue with events, such as the brother-sister marriage, the reproduction of offspring, and the confrontation with other ethnic groups at the place of origin or at the places where indigenous people now live. In other words, the Arapanay genesis narrative, like that of other indigenous communities, could be summarized as: “in the beginning there is everything,” or “we have had everything since the beginning.”

In order to account for differences between genesis narratives that are structurally similar or that share the same motifs, Edmund Leach (2000) argued that such variation is necessary because it produces *redundancy*, which, like the redundancy broadcast in radio transmissions, serves to prevail over noise while facilitating the dissemination of information to all receivers. Here, following Leach’s opinion, different Amis and Puyuma genesis narratives exist for the purpose of spreading common motifs such as the flood catastrophe, sister-brother marriage, and self-other relationships.

In the newly-told genesis narrative, by contrast, things are quite different, thereby suggesting that this more recent account does not fit into the array of genesis narratives mentioned above. Instead, this more recent narrative serves to disseminate different messages, which cannot be found in the Arapanay genesis narrative. Although the Palidaw account shares with the other genesis narratives some common motifs, such as the flood catastrophe and sister-brother marriage, in the Palidaw narrative a sense of *singularity* can be discerned. In other words, this genesis narrative conveys an emphasis on, and an argument for, a singular origin. It suggests: “in the beginning, there was only one people, we Amis people. And after a certain period of time or after passing some definite stops, certain events, social institutions, and other ethnic groups, appeared or happened.” Now in this genesis narrative there is a sequence, and there is also a causal relationship between the before and the after.

I argue that the Palidaw genesis narrative has a sense of singularity because it allows the Falangaw Amis to differentiate themselves from both other Amis communities and from the Puyuma, and to claim the singularity of their origin. If such singularity has to be understood by employing the idea of seniority, the whole image implicit in it becomes transparent. The image can be depicted like this: in the beginning there existed no other peoples living in or around Palidaw, the place of origin, so we had nothing to do with the

Puyuma. Other ethnic groups, such as the Rukai, and other Amis communities, Toktok, Lidaw, and Sakirayak, for example, originated from us, the Falangaw Amis. Seniority matters because it props up the scaffold of singularity. And if we consider the principle of place as the metonymy or symbol to express the procession of time in the Palidaw genesis narrative (in contrast to the immutability of time/space to be found in the Arapanay genesis narrative), then the southernmost location means hardly anything aside from indicating which group is the oldest.

Furthermore, in the Arapanay genesis narrative, some events, such as the stone birth and the sticking of the bamboo cane in the earth, also appear in the Puyuma's genesis narrative (Sayama 2007[1913]; Tseng 1998), which describes the moment of human genesis. However, in the Palidaw genesis narrative, the events of the stone-birth and the bamboo cane occur in the middle of the Amis's migration, not at the very beginning of human genesis as is found both in the Arapanay narrative and in the genesis accounts of the Puyuma communities. This indicates that the Palidaw genesis narrative not merely demonstrates a singular genesis but also claims for this group a senior or advantageous status vis-a-vis both the Puyuma and other Amis communities.

I argue that this Palidaw account of their genesis is a modern narrative or an account of modernity. It is modern because it demarcates a clear boundary around a genesis narrative that belongs exclusively to the Falangaw Amis. Unlike the Arapanay genesis narrative, which makes people feel mythical, this Palidaw narrative, with its sense of movement and historical depth backed up by the idea of seniority, comes across more convincingly. In other words, this Palidaw narrative possesses some sort of historical consciousness and singularity/originality that is not present in the Arapanay narrative.¹³

My informants emphasized that, unlike the Arapanay genesis narrative, which they regarded as a fairy tale, the Palidaw genesis narrative was the authentic history. Raymond Williams (1976:146-7) suggests that the modern conception of history, involving human self-development, conveys a new sense in which historical events are seen as part of a connected process, connecting the past not merely to the present, but also the future. History in this modern sense often conveys a sense of progress, which shapes both the past and the future in knowable ways. To achieve this goal, something original like a genesis must be kept within an inherently retrospective frame, in which the idea of authenticity means something individual, singular, and brand-new (Ibid.: 230-231).

The Palidaw genesis narrative which implies a new imaginary of modernity, historicity, and locality is worthy of our investigation. One can easily find that in the new

¹³ Originality, according to Raymond Williams (1976:230), means something singular or relates to something new, which is always relevant to a retrospective sense. Williams further argued that singularity, originality, and a retrospective sense under certain circumstances are synonymous, or sometimes guarantee a sense of authenticity.

genesis narrative the Amis constantly migrated before arriving in Falangaw. I have talked about the places during the migration which give the reader a sense of historical depth. But the migration or movement itself needs more discussion. In the newly-found genesis narrative, movement can surely be understood as the dynamics of historical progress. Even after all the Amis people have settled down in Falangaw, the genesis narrative shows that Kulas Mahengheng continues to lead his people northward.

Another idea crystallized from this genesis narrative is the loss of land as the key impetus to historical progression, and that is why the Amis had to continuously move in search of an ideal place to inhabit and cultivate. Even after their arrival in Taitung, they were still forced to move because, in comparison with the Puyuma land owners, the Amis were land borrowers. Their efforts to establish themselves on the land are evident in the Palidaw genesis narrative. For example, almost all important social institutions and cultural practices, such as bamboo divination (*mi'edaw*) and age-sets (*finawlan*), were created to make strong connections with the land. Here an obsession with anchoring themselves on the land, which cannot be found in the Arapanay genesis narrative, is apparent.

I am not arguing against the Palidaw genesis narrative's historical veracity when I call it a new invention. Rather, it is an expression of a mental truth appearing nowhere in the old genesis narrative. Historical accounts (Hsu, Liao, and Wu 2001) show that a branch of the Amis migrated to Falangaw from Palidaw some one hundred years ago, just the Palidaw genesis narrative recounts. All these testimonies show that the composition of Falangaw society is by no mean homogeneous. On the other hand, Arapanay as a place of origin could also be true because no historiography shows that all of the Falangaw Amis are from Palidaw. The question is still unsolved, but the question itself is not the point. What really matters is that the two genesis narratives represent two different kinds of cultural logic or paradigms about time and identity. The question following from this is: what occurred that brought about this paradigm shift?

THE BACKGROUND OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE PALIDAW GENESIS

The first material to emerge regarding the Palidaw genesis is the 1981 *kiloma'an* guidebook. This book did not, however, attract much attention. Subsequently, the Palidaw genesis narrative went unreported until several years later when a guidebook for the Mahengheng Cup Baseball Invitational Tournament was published in 1987.¹⁴ This baseball tournament was held again in 1988, and then in 1989, with a similar guidebook published on each occasion. As a consequence of these tournament publications, many Amis families in Falangaw kept the 1987, 1988 and 1989 guidebooks (Fig.5). I am not, however, saying that this genesis narrative did not exist or was not acknowledged prior to 1981 or 1987. According to my informants, the Palidaw genesis narrative is their history and they have known this account since their childhood. Despite the earlier knowledge of this account, the Palidaw genesis narrative was not published and publicly distributed in Falangaw before 1981. For a traditionally oral society like Falangaw, published materials often signify a sense of authoritativeness, because variants caused by oral transmission may be minimized. This sense of authoritativeness could be further strengthened by including this genesis narrative in a publication of baseball rules and schedules, as was done with the guidebooks.

¹⁴ This tournament was held annually for three years (1987-1989) in order to commemorate Kulas Mahengheng. The tournament was limited to indigenous high school baseball players, and the tournament's guidebooks were published only as references for the tournament players and attendants.

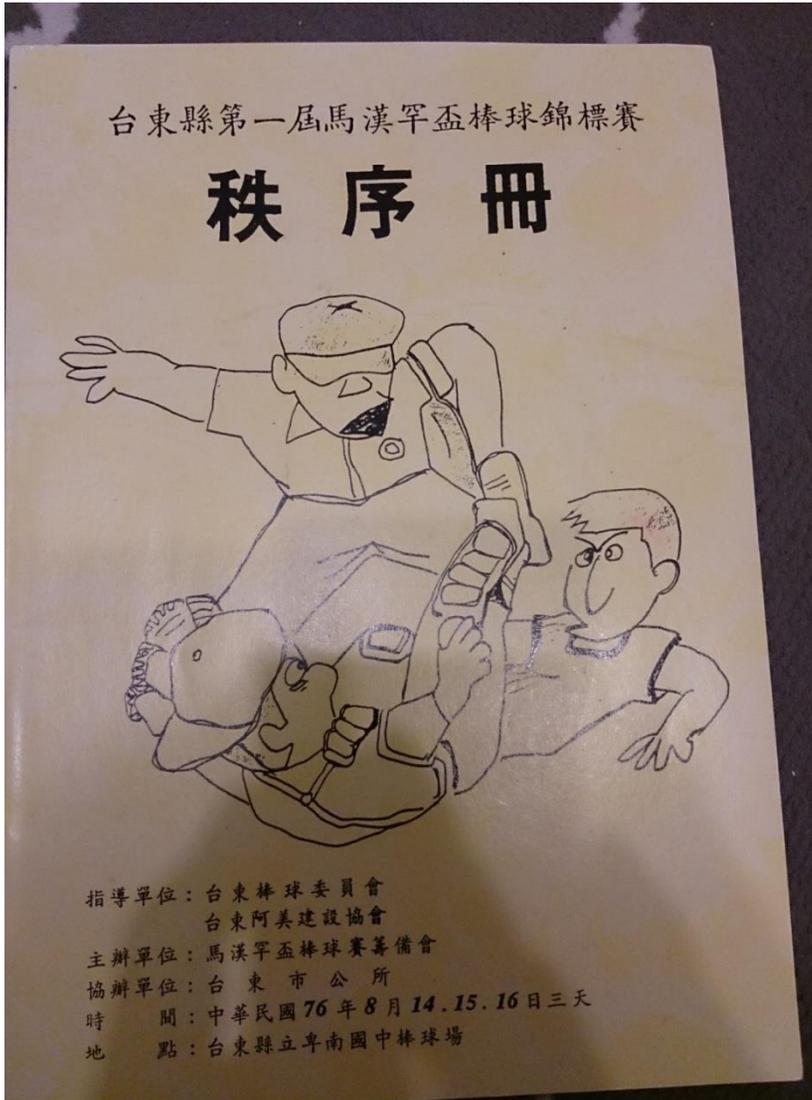


Fig.5 The guide book of the 1987 Mahengheng Cup Baseball Tournament

The first page of the guidebook included a photograph of the legendary leader Kulas Mahengheng. The inclusion of this photograph was path-breaking because, only a few decades prior, it was taboo for non-relatives to see a photograph of the deceased. My informant Palac recollected that when he was young, na Kakita'an, the family that Mahengheng married into, did not show the photograph of Kulas Mahengheng to outsiders, so he was quite impressed when for the first time he saw the photograph on the guidebook.¹⁵ What this means is that Kulas Mahengheng, despite having been famous for

¹⁵ In Amis, na is a definite article for family names. Here, for example, na Kakita'an, in English, means the Kakita'an family.

his accomplishments for decades, was not a public figure in Falangaw before the 1980s. Furthermore, in the guidebook there are a series of place names listed from Palidaw to Falangaw, indicating the route taken by the ancestors of the Falangaw Amis. In addition, some notes on the last pages of the guidebook express the author's idea about how the Amis Tribe, not just only the Falangaw Amis but all the Amis, originated from Palidaw (a genesis narrative different from that which is told by other Amis communities). These end notes also highlight Kulas Mahengheng's achievements, including negotiating with the Japanese and leading the Amis north. Finally, the most significant point in this guidebook is that the author emphasizes that all Amis groups should recover their traditional spirits and virtues by consolidating themselves into a single and united people, the Amis Tribe. How to achieve this goal? The Palidaw genesis narrative makes the Amis Tribe imaginable in today's modern world.

In fact, such a viewpoint is not commonly recognized by all the Amis communities. Every Amis community, except for the Falangaw, has its own genesis narrative, and although all the Amis people are ethnically similar, if not identical, there are certain linguistic differences among Amis communities. Northern Amis call themselves Pangcah, not Amis. The implication is that the Amis as an ethnic group is heterogeneous. The Falangaw were the first Amis community which interacted closely with the government. The Qing government adopted the Falangaw people's self-declaration and identified all the communities using a common language as Amis. Some twenty years later, the Japanese government followed this classification and further divided the Amis into five subgroups: Coast Amis, Nanshih Amis, Shoguruan Amis, Puyuma Amis, and Hengchuen (Palidaw) Amis. The five-subgroup classification was based on both geographic distribution and cultural similarity. The Falangaw Amis, in this classificatory system, belongs to the Puyuma Amis because the Japanese scholars who developed this system believed that the Falangaw Amis had been subjugated under the control of the Puyuma before 1875. Interestingly, here we can find that, from the viewpoint of Japanese scholarship, the Palidaw Amis and the Falangaw Amis were regarded as two different subgroups. This viewpoint is different from what the Falangaw Amis claim today. Although my informants asserted that most of the Falangaw Amis did not have a clear historical and political consciousness, some people, such as Piya (see below), felt it necessary to claim a leading status for the Falangaw among all Amis communities.

Why should this genesis narrative appear in a guidebook for a baseball tournament?

The ways in which the Japanese government managed indigenous people's bio-power by promoting certain sports, especially baseball, in educational institutions has attracted some discussion (Morris 2010). Informants who had experienced this period testified that their baseball teacher Piya always corrected their idleness, emphasizing important virtues such as discipline, endurance, and obedience.

Here we see how a former colonized people cleverly employed the ways in which the colonizer disciplined them in order to achieve their own goal of self-reconstruction. Baseball demands a spirit of discipline, including adherence to rules, punctuality, bravery, and orderliness. The colonizers believed that inculcating such a spirit would help in colonial governance. What they did not anticipate was that the indigenous people would appropriate this tool of colonial governance for their own ends. I juxtapose the newly-told genesis narrative with colonial baseball education not merely because both coincidentally appeared together in space and time. Rather, I suggest that this unique genesis narrative contains a rationale of colonial modernity, which can be discerned in the way that baseball education was employed by the colonial regime. That is the reason why the Palidaw genesis narrative comes across as like a reasonable story with a start, procedures and a destination. This genesis narrative is, in a word, like a task to achieve, or a game to score.

The second reason why baseball matters here is that the teams which attended the Mahengheng Cup were all from Amis and Puyuma communities, while a sense of Falangaw leadership among Amis communities and a sense of parallel relationship with the Puyuma were proclaimed (at least such a proclamation can be read in the text of the genesis narrative printed in the baseball guidebooks). Furthermore, by hosting the games, an imagined indigenous community—the Amis Tribe—headed by Falangaw began emerging in Falangaw Amis people’s minds. In the baseball game’s opening and award ceremonies, Kulas Mahengheng and the genesis were repeatedly ritualized, and the hegemonic image of the genesis, in which Mahengheng is a key figure, became stabilized. Later, in 1995, some crucial people urged the city government to hold the Amis Joint Harvest Festival (聯合豐年祭). To do the job well, they edited a guidebook for this Joint Festival. Not surprisingly, the Palidaw genesis narrative, as included in the baseball tournament guidebook, also appeared in the Joint Harvest guidebook. Since its introduction at the first Joint Harvest festival, the guidebook has become standard feature at harvest festivals in Falangaw. Unlike the baseball tournament guidebook, which is now owned by only a few Amis people, almost every Falangaw Amis family that has participated in the *kiloman’an* (harvest festival) has at least a copy of this harvest festival guidebook.

The ritualization of the Palidaw genesis/Kulas Mahengheng did not stop at its inclusion in these guidebook. A few years later, the photograph of Kulas Mahengheng was hung on the wall of the *sefi* (Men’s House). In addition, *The Song of the Amis*, a song standardizing the Palidaw genesis narrative and canonizing Kulas Mahengheng’s achievements, was sung at the *kiluma’an*’s opening ceremony. It has since been sung at many important formal congregations.

Later in 1999, in Falangaw, the Flag of the Amis was created to represent the Amis Tribe. This flag testifies to the fact that the Palidaw genesis narrative has now become canonical in contemporary Falangaw. This can be seen in the centre of the flag, where

three key figures from the genesis narrative, Paong, Tenged, and Calaw, who established Amis social and cultural foundations, have been set (Fig. 6). The flag, song, and rituals have all been included in the opening and closing ceremonies of baseball games played by the Amis. These features have also been incorporated into traditional indigenous social organizations since the late 1990s, when the government converted them into officially-monitored corporations.



Fig. 6 The Flag of the Amis during a ritual

Who compiled this genesis narrative and put it in the guidebooks? The name of the guidebook editor/author is Piya na Kakita'an (aka. Guo Guang-ye or 郭光也).¹⁶ Piya, the great grandson of Kulas Mahengheng, was a distinguished student in the Japanese period. He was a member of the Chiayi Agriculture and Forestry Public School's baseball team (or Kano baseball team).¹⁷ In 1936, his team won the Taiwan national baseball championship and went on to represent Taiwan at the National High School Baseball Championship, or the famous Koshien Competition, held in Hyōgo-ken, Japan. That same year, when Emperor Shōwa's father-in-law came to Taiwan (Taitung) for an inspection visit, Piya was appointed student representative to greet this high-ranking Japanese official. After World War II, regarding himself as an intellectual, he engaged in politics and was elected as a county councilor. He soon gave up politics, however, after he disappointedly found

¹⁶ Piya na Kakita'an (1919-1993) was born into an eminent family. Kakita'an, in Amis, means the community leader, and the Amis use na Kakita'an to denote the family that Kulas Mahengheng belonged to. Na Kakita'an was not Kulas Mahengheng's natal family but his wife's because traditionally in the matrilineal Amis society, a husband moved into his wife's family and their children inherited their mother's family name. However, Piya did not move into his wife's family like other Amis men did at that time. Instead, he changed this custom and made his wife marry into na Kakita'an. In this way, na Kakita'an became one of the earliest Amis families to practice patrilineal marriage.

¹⁷ For the location of Chiayi, see Fig. 2.

himself being discriminated against by the KMT regime for his Japanese educational background and his inability to speak Mandarin. Later, Piya returned to the baseball and trained many Amis students. In today’s Taiwanese Professional Baseball League, over one-third of players are indigenous (mostly Amis), and one half of indigenous players are related to Piya, his teammates, his students, and relatives.

Piya spent his last years documenting everything traditional. In fact, being an intellectual he had to some extent lost track of the traditional Amis way of life. He also did not have close relationships with his age-set fellows and relatives. The Falangaw Amis people around him were reluctant to tell him certain things about the past which might violate taboos.¹⁸ To get this information, Piya bought a small fishing boat and invited his informants to fish, dine, and drink with him on it. The result of his “fieldwork” is a 180-page notebook written in Japanese, in which he sequentially documents Taiwan’s natural scenes, geography, historical epochs (in progressive sequence from the Dutch period to the KMT regime), the Palidaw genesis, events concerning Kulas Mahengheng, Amis cultural practices, and baseball histories, games, and rules (Fig. 7).¹⁹ Piya regarded these things as a complete whole because he paginated his work, and sequentially, as illustrated in Fig. 7, assigned a number to every item he documented.

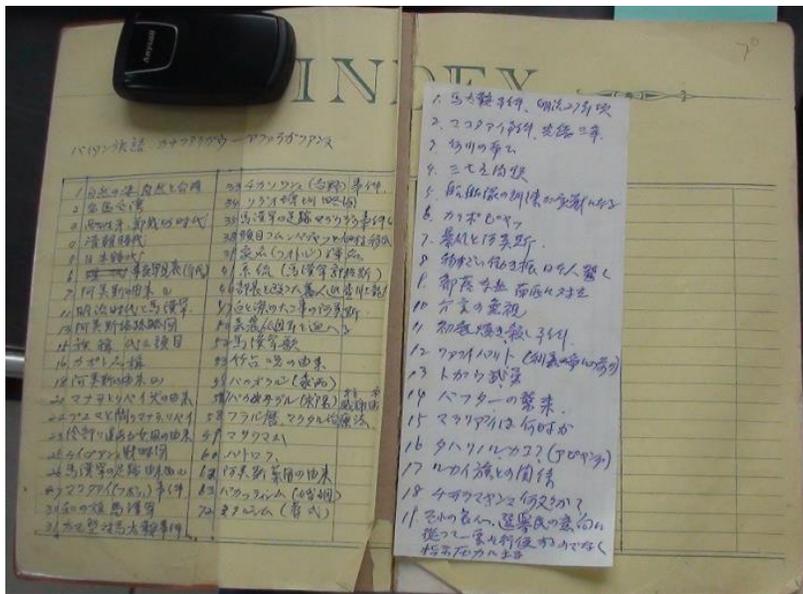


Fig. 7 Piya’s notebook

¹⁸ This belief, still prevalent in Falangaw today, has something to do with the Amis concept of the person. For more details, please see Feng (2015).

¹⁹ This notebook is not his only documentation. According to Panay, his daughter-in-law, after his death, his wife burnt almost everything he wrote because most Amis people of Piya’s generation believed that the deceased’s remaining possessions could be contagious and dangerous.

It is Piya's notebook that served as the source of the Palidaw genesis narrative, which was included in the baseball and the harvest festival guidebooks. The narrative included in the baseball competition guidebook is largely recreation from of Piya's notebook. I am not saying that everything concerning the Palidaw genesis narrative was Piya's creation. Rather, based on the interviews he conducted, Piya's work lays the foundation for the spread of the Palidaw genesis narrative. What I am arguing is that through his historical imagination, Piya reorganized or retold what he heard from his informants. In other words, history, as Piya put it, must have an origin, and the origin triggers historical evolution or direction, a direction toward a destination. Thus, the way Piya framed it, history must have a purpose, which implies that history must be starting from and going back toward the home base of the Amis Tribe. It *runs* only after identifying the origin and the direction of migration for future movements.²⁰

²⁰ Run is a baseball vocabulary which means getting scores in a game.

RETHINKING INDIGENOUS MODERNITY

The content of Piya's notebook was transferred to the guidebooks, the textbooks of Amis culture, disseminating the genesis narrative that we hear today. But what Piya could decide were only the form and the goal of the narrative; the content, effects, and the historicity of the genesis narratives are in fact independent of personal will. In this case, the sense of movement and the craving for connection with the land are two main motifs of the historicity hidden in the Palidaw genesis narrative and unable to be decided by anyone.

The Palidaw genesis narrative is a complicated text. It borrows an expressive frame from the modern nation-state to make the narrative of time and space more tangible or imaginable in comparison to the Arapanay genesis narrative. But the sense of time in this new genesis narrative is actually not homogeneous; it has its own rhythm, tempo, and density, which is different from the universal time introduced by Walter Benjamin (1969) and Benedict Anderson (1983).

Re-examining the Palidaw genesis narrative, it is easy to find that it has a beginning and a destination. The sequence of places is also used as an index for historical depth. However, the density of the narrative in the course of historical development is not even and universal, and the speed of the historical process is not steady either. More specifically, more time is spent in the narrative describing some events like the Amis going through certain important places like Palidaw, Tiofok, Mamura, and Kanafangaw (places where the events that suggest the Falangaw Amis's individuality and seniority occurred). The narrative only touches briefly on other places, such as Lalawdan, Tafali, Ngofola, and Supayang during the ancient Amis people's journey from Palidaw to Falangaw.

This genesis also has an axis of time different from that of universal history. One obvious example is Kulas Mahengheng's march north. From the viewpoint of the government, the purpose of the march was to pacify riots by pressing Kulas Mahengheng's reputation into service (Wang 1998:414). But to the Falangaw Amis, the march tells how the place names and communities along the way were created, and it implies Kulas Mahengheng's role as the founding father of the modern Amis Tribe. No single line in this genesis narrative mentions the historical fact that Mahengheng's march was due to his receiving the commission from the Qing and the Japanese governments. Moreover, the genesis narrative says that Kulas Mahengheng found the Dutch battleships and successfully prevented the Dutch from invading Taiwan.²¹ This is not actually true, but such un-truthfulness manifests one thing: the texture or density of time we find in the Palidaw genesis narrative is different from the one we perceive in the universal world

²¹ The Dutch colonized Taiwan for 38 years (1624-1662), and it is impossible for Kulas Mahengheng (1852-1911) to have witnessed any Dutch battleships during his lifetime.

history, the history in which crucial events are used as a reference for global space-time and are known to most of the world.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this essay, I introduced two different genesis narratives that were compiled in two different eras. I do not think we should focus on asking which of these narratives is the historically correct version, or how the issue of their narrative differences might be resolved. More interestingly, by contextualizing the background of these genesis narratives, we can better understand how the state, as both idea and apparatus, works together and causes changes and how local indigenous people experience and react to those impacts of state intervention.

Paul Ricoeur's (2005: 194-195) philosophical treatment of the distinction between origin and beginning suggests that the significant difference between the two genesis narratives presented here is that one fixes at an idea of unfathomable origin, while the other possesses an idea of beginning and genealogical movement. With the idea of beginning, Ricoeur (Ibid.:195) argues, one can escape the speculative vertigo of origin by replacing ourselves, our parents, and our descendants in the sequence of generations for the purpose of mutual recognition.

The Palidaw genesis narrative actually demonstrates the meaning suggested in Ricoeur's analysis, except that it uses a sequence of place names as an alternative to genealogy. But Ricoeur's ontological thesis cannot explain the problem concerning the politics of the genesis narrative. Every social memory concerning a genesis is in fact a historical *rupture* that provides us with a modern myth, a myth about a new origin denouncing everything old as the mythical remnant (Connerton 1989: 6-7). That is not enough. The scheme of the rupture and the materiality of the rupture still need to be offered. To describe the scheme and the materiality, in this essay I have presented how the Palidaw genesis narrative was produced and transformed in published texts, as well as the relationship between the Palidaw genesis narrative and the government-sponsored sport of baseball—that is, the issue of the politics of memory under colonization.

Scenarios do not, however, always follow what the governing power prescribes. It is partially right to say that the state is what local indigenes live by, as the state manufactures consent without coercion in the everyday experiences of subjected people. It is “partially” so because, in the case of the Falangaw Amis, while the state deploys symbolic capital to shape minds of its subjects, it does not necessarily succeed. The imagined community that the Falangaw Amis have shaped borrows the framework of rationality from the nation-state through some key local persons, such as Piya, but the results of the borrowing are surprising. In this case, we see how the some Falangaw Amis people like Piya took the scaffold of colonial statecraft and used it to build a protective history of indigenous modernity.

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起源、棒球與國家：台灣馬蘭阿美人的新史實性的創造

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摘要

本文介紹與比較美和(Arapanay)起源和恆春(Palidaw)起源，這兩個不同時代文獻裡的起源傳說。比較的焦點不在於去探問哪一個才是歷史真相，而是在將這些不同的起源傳說放置到它們的脈絡背景後，我們更能理解同時做為概念與機構的國家和地方社群二者間如何互動並產生改變。

流傳於過去的美和起源傳說並不大具有現代歷史意識，此說的故事情節會使讀者有一種身處深不見底的古代感。相反地，流行於當代的恆春起源說則連結起馬蘭和現代世界，讀者會覺得此說更加可信與可想像。恆春起源說與棒球這個日本殖民政權所推廣的運動有很大的關係。馬蘭的棒球運動和一個訓練球隊、舉辦球賽、記錄部落歷史、把恆春起源說和馬蘭傳奇頭目古拉斯·馬亨亨(Kulas Mahengheng)生命史放入球賽手冊的關鍵人物 Piya (郭光也，同時他也是著名棒球選手和馬亨亨的曾孫)有很大的關連。

恆春起源說以地名更迭這種另類系譜的方式來呈現馬蘭阿美人認為過去、現在、未來應是如何。從這兩種起源傳說的差異來看，我們可說與起源有關的社會記憶都是以歷史斷裂的面目呈現，以供給吾人一個關於新起源將一切舊事物指控為歷史殘餘的現代神話。本文藉由呈現恆春起源說如何轉變成出版物以及此說與棒球這個政府支持的運動之間的關連來描述前述斷裂的佈局與物質性。

表面看來，國家藉著提倡棒球來規訓原住民的生命權力(biopower)，而原住民則被納入這個全球性與無所不在的現代性體系的影響下。然而，本文論證馬蘭阿美人挪用了這個國家所強加於上的現代性框架來完成自己的目標。在馬蘭或恆春起源說的例子裡，起源故事有部分與世界史若合符節，但仍有一些情節與時間架構與世界史不相容。恆春起源說的文類、風格與目的是現代性的，但根據 Benedict Anderson 的論述，此說內容並不完全符合現代性的境況。我將馬蘭阿美人對此現代性架構的挪用視為是一種原住民現代性的展現。而這種藉由棒球的物質性的支持而來的原住民現代性的成果便是大一統的阿美族的概念及其實踐，這種概念與實踐幫助了阿美人找到了撕毀他們社群與把他們從土

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地上連根拔起的時代風暴來臨時一個庇護所在。

總之，本文目的有二。第一，藉由分析不同的阿美族起源傳說來強調當地的阿美人如何藉現代性所提供的架構來重構或重述一些像是起源或歷史的議題。第二，本文突顯在挪用國家提供或從國家借來的敘述架構後出人意表的結果。不管是由上而下對地方人們的宰制或由下而上對國家的反抗都不足以涵蓋全貌。本文所欲呈現的是吾人應以一種超越單一面向的宰制或反抗模式的眼光來檢視國家與地方互動的動態關係。

關鍵詞：起源敘說、史實性、棒球、阿美族、國家