



Universiteit Leiden

Curating a Symbolic Wedding:
The Dialogue between Indigenous Communities
and State in Contemporary Taiwan

Chia-Cheng Wu
(S2511436)

Supervisor: Dr. Fan Lin

Abstract

On September 12, 2015, an indigenous tribe, the *Kaviyangan* married their ancestral pillar to the president of the National Taiwan University (NTU). The pillar *Muakaikai* was taken from its tribe by the Japanese colonizer to the anthropology museum of NTU during the colonial period (1895-1945). As a national treasure, *Muakaikai* bares the colonized history of its tribe and the possibility of a new cooperative approach between the museum and the source community. Although the authorized heritage discourse still guides the practices of heritage in Taiwan nowadays, the *Kaviyangan* resisted it with their traditional cultural practice, and eventually came up with an innovative way of dealing with *Muakaikai*'s repatriating issue. In the heritagization process of *Muakaikai*, the *Kaviyangan* people not only built a long-term relationship with the museum but also strengthened their collective identity and intimacy to the tribe.

Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 Approaches to the <i>Kaviyangan</i> Case	4
1.1 Heritage, Indigenous Identity, and Museums	4
1.2 Whose Right: The Repatriation of Indigenous Heritages	6
1.3 Indigenous Heritage in Taiwan	7
1.4 The cultural intimacy in Indigenous heritage practicing	9
Chapter 2 The <i>Muakaikai</i> National Treasure Designation	10
2.1 <i>Muakaikai</i> , <i>Kaviyangan</i> , and the anthropology museum of NTU	10
2.2 <i>Muakaikai</i> the Pillar.....	12
Chapter 3 Debates of <i>Muakaikai</i> 's Heritagization	16
3.1 Previous Experiences: Two Cases of Indigenous Heritage	16
3.2 <i>Kaviyangan</i> 's agency: The Idea of Wedding.....	17
3.3 Discussion: National Treasure of Indigenous Objects	18
3.4 Conclusion	21
Chapter 4 <i>Muakaikai</i> 's Wedding with NTU	23
4.1 The metaphor of the virgin bride	24
4.2 Representing the Ancestors	25
4.3 Displaying resistance	26
4.4 Discussion: Political Performance on Both Sides	28
Chapter 5 After the Wedding	31
5.1 Doing the Relatives.....	31
5.2 Adhere to Rights Continuously.....	33
5.3 Conclusion	36
Conclusion	37
Bibliography.....	39

Figures

FIGURE 1. THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT AND THE PRINCESS OF <i>KAVIYANGAN</i> TRIBE.	1
FIGURE 2. THE LOCATION OF <i>KAVIYANGAN</i>	10
FIGURE 3. PAIWANESE CONCENTRIC-CIRCLE HIERARCHY SYSTEM.....	11
FIGURE 4. ANCESTRAL PILLARS IN <i>ZINGRUR</i> 'S HOUSE.	12
FIGURE 5. THE OLD <i>ZINGRUR</i> HOUSE WHICH WAS USED UNTIL 1935.	13
FIGURE 6. THE ANCESTRAL PILLARS IN THE OLD <i>ZINGRUR</i> 'S HOUSE.....	13
FIGURE 7 &8. <i>MUAKAIKAI</i> IN THE NTUMA.	14
FIGURE 9. THE FOUR INDIGENOUS NATIONAL TREASURES HITHERTO. TWO OF THEM ARE FROM <i>KAVIYANGAN</i>	15
FIGURE 10. THE NEW <i>MUAKAIKAI</i> NOW PLACED IN <i>ZINGRUR</i> 'S HOUSE.	21
FIGURE 11. THE YOUTH ASSOCIATION CARRIES THE PRINCESS'S SEDAN INTO THE PLAZA AND SURROUNDING THE SWING. ...	24
FIGURE 12. THE SECOND PRINCESS AND THE CHIEF ARE SITTING BESIDE THE BRIDE <i>MALJEVLJEV</i>	25
FIGURE 13. THE CHIEF <i>ALINGIN ZINGRUR</i> IS TALKING TO <i>MUAKAI</i> IN THE EXHIBITION ROOM.....	26
FIGURE 14. THE VILLAGE LEADER WEARS THE NECKLACE ON THE BRIDE AFTER CALLING <i>MUAKAI</i>	26
FIGURE 15. THE FEATHER FAILED IN THE EXAMINATION, AND THE PRESIDENT <i>YANG</i> DOES COMPENSATION WITH A POT. ...	28
FIGURE 16. PRINCESS <i>MALJEVLJEV ZINGRUR</i> DRINKS WITH THE MINISTER OF CULTURE.	29

Introduction

On September 12, 2015, the National Taiwan University held a special wedding ceremony. The groom was the president of the University. Surprisingly, the bride *Muakaikai* was an object of the ethnological collection of NTU Museum of Anthropology (hereafter NTUMA): a wooden pillar originated in the indigenous tribe *Kaviyangan*. Earlier in the same year, *Muakaikai* was registered by the Taiwanese government as a national treasure. Because *Muakaikai* had to stay in the exhibition room to meet preservation conditions, her tribe designated the chief's first daughter to be the agent of the bride and held the ceremony in front of the museum, which was the first heritage wedding in the world. (Figure 1)



Figure 1. The University president and the Princess of the *Kaviyangan* tribe. (Photo by Fu 2015)

The wedding ceremony was a solution to the question, “to return it or not to return it”, a conundrum that had troubled both the museum and the local communities. Since the awareness of a people-centered curating concept, museums started to be more concerned with the source communities of their collections, trying to compensate them for their once deprived rights while sticking to the dogma of artifact preservation. In this context, this wedding can be viewed as a breakthrough in the relationship between the museum and the indigenous community during the post-colonial era. Furthermore, the creative idea of the wedding was initiated by the *Kaviyangan* tribe, which makes this event even more meaningful as it represents the agency of the indigenous people while cooperating with the museum. In particular, given that *Muakaikai* is a national treasure, how the tribe and the museum found a way out in strict heritage regulations makes the heritagization of this ancestral pillar a case worth exploring.

In the process of the heritage registration, the *Kaviyangan* people's attitude towards *Muakaikai* and the museum inspired my curiosity on how a modern state and an indigenous community understand and interact with each other in the postcolonial period. More concretely, I aim to explore how the state incorporates the indigenous groups into its system via the regulations of cultural heritage; meanwhile, in this case, how do *Kaviyangan* people take advantage of this situation to improve their tribal and family positions? The main research question that would be initially tackled in this thesis is: How do indigenous peoples interpret or react to the meaning of national communities in the field of heritage? To answer this question, I tried to deal with these sub-questions in the following chapters: How do the *Kaviyangan* people understand the “national” treasure designated by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act? Besides, as an innovated way in the repatriation issue, what impact does the wedding ceremony have on the relationship between the museum and the indigenous community?

Through answering these questions, this research could contribute to understanding the ways in which the meanings of the pillar are constantly re-interpreted, negotiated, and how the pillar is entangled with the *Kaviyangan* people today. It could also shed light on Taiwan's existing regulations on heritage, examining the guidelines of the Act in selecting indigenous artifacts as cultural heritages, and tracing what impact they could have.

Methods of Fieldwork

The methods adopted in this research include participant observations, interviews, audiovisual analysis, and discourse analysis. Firstly, I conducted more than three-months of fieldwork from April to August in 2018 in order to get a better understanding of the daily life and religious practice in *Kaviyangan* village. During this period, I lived with a local family, joined the *Kaviyangan* youth union, and documented the making of the new ancestral pillars. After the fieldwork, I went back frequently and continued to participate in several rituals and events involving *Muakaikai*.

In addition to the observation of their daily life, I conducted interviews with core members in the *Kaviyangan* for their views on the heritagization and the wedding of *Muakaikai*. These interviews aimed to understand how the *Kaviyangan* people negotiated with the museum and made the decision to not repatriate their ancestress pillar. Interviews with the university and museum staff were also conducted to gain an understanding of their preparation and position for the event, as a comparison with the *Kaviyangan*'s version.

Thirdly, I examined the documentary “*Muakai*'s Wedding (*Muakai* 的跨世紀婚禮)” which was filmed by a photographer hired by the museum to commemorate this

meaningful event. As a discursive genre, the documentary reveals both NTU and *Kaviyangan*'s narrative of the wedding. The influence of the wedding on *Kaviyangan*'s cultural revitalization is shown in this film as well. In order to obtain perspectives from different groups, I also looked into the news reports about this wedding and the announcements from the museum and government websites. Therefore, the analysis of the media coverage supplies a broader and longer-term perspective on analyzing the wedding.

Chapter arrangement

Based on a chronological structure, this research presents the serialization process of the *Kaviyangan*'s ancestral pillar and its impact on the relationship between the tribe and the NTUMA, as well as its influence on the local cultural revitalization and the creation of *Kaviyangan*'s collective identity.

Chapter 1 reviews current notions of museum and heritage and their connection to indigenous groups, then followed by a focus on the heritage regulation in Taiwan, and finally discuss the identity issue in the field of heritage. Chapter 2 briefly introduces the social and cultural context of the *Kaviyangan*, exploring the factors that caused *Muakaikai*'s application as a national treasure. Chapter 3 follows the heritagization process of the pillar and examines the combat between the authorized heritage discourse that the NTUMA represents and the *Kaviyangan*'s own understanding of heritage, and how the two reached an agreement and came up with the idea of a heritage wedding. Chapter 4 summarizes the procedure of the wedding and highlights the specially designed plots in the ceremony, indicating the implied symbolic meanings and the *Kaviyangan*'s ulterior motives to empower the tribe. Finally, chapter 5 deals with the influence of the wedding according to observational research performed within the community. It reveals how the *Kaviyangan* people keep on fighting for their rights to the ancestral pillar while continuing to interact with the NTUMA. Meanwhile, they break the stigma from other tribes and transfer it as the aid on building their collective identity.

Chapter 1 Approaches to the *Kaviyangan* Case

The focus of this research is the national treasure registration of the *Kaviyangan*'s ancestral pillar. Why did the museum select this object to be on the heritage list? And how do the locals react to it? The answer would not only be associated with the discussion on heritage, museums, and nationalism but also inseparable from the indigenous identity in Taiwan nowadays. Thus, I would briefly review the identity issue in the museum and heritage fields, examining the relationship between museums and the indigenous communities today, and then focus on the object repatriation debate related to the *Kaviyangan* case. The current policies and discussions of Taiwan's indigenous cultural heritage would also be pointed out. Finally, the concept of cultural intimacy would constitute one of the main discussion frameworks.

1.1 Heritage, Indigenous Identity, and Museums

The association between heritage and the construction of national identity is well established in heritage literature (Meskell 2002, Smith 2006). Growing critical attention has also been paid to the role of heritage in the articulation and expression of identity in regional and even personal contexts (Ashworth and Graham 2005). Since the criticism of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) was addressed by Smith (2006), research reflecting on how the AHD from the state or professional institutions guides the local heritage practice has also been published. In settled societies, the AHD is also used to emphasize modern nations and relatively dilute the memory of indigenous groups (Harrison 2013).

As in the history of the concept of heritage, modern museums emerged with the development of nation states.¹ The so-called modern museums during the 18-19th century were accompanied by colonialism to the non-western world and nationalism within the nation-states, being one of the technologies of the State to carry out governmentality (Hooper-Greenhill 1945:167-190, Bennett 1995). The museology that developed under the practices of modern museums was seen to privilege both its collecting methods and its social links to the cultural tastes of particular social groups; by contrast, the social role of museums was less addressed (McCall & Gray 2014, Kreps 2008:28). As for the ethnographic collections in museums, on the one hand, these material cultures of the "primitives" were regarded as the evidence of the development of imperialism. On the other hand, their role in representing and preserving the vanishing culture of the pre-industry societies were emphasized by anthropologists

¹ The discussion of modern museums here is basically within the Western context. In fact, scholars have indicated that similar concepts of museum and curation also exist in other cultures (Kreps 2003).

(Handler 1985:192-194, Anderson 2006:184).

The reflexives on the previous curatorial practices entitled “new museology” was developed in the 1960s under the impact of post-colonial criticism and the emergence of large-scale social movements about identity politics in gender, ethnics, and so on (Sauvage 2010:108, Lu 2015:8). Rather than to stress on a nation’s greatness, the new museology promotes museums to be people-centered and action-oriented, which reflects on its practicing in conservation, the epistemological status of artifacts on display, and redefinition of museums’ relationship with the communities (Kreps 2008:28, Smith 1989:20-21). The trend of the new museology devotes to examining the power operation and identity construction in curation. Thus, the debate on indigenous collections can be viewed as a reflection of the Other-Ourselves relationships under the nationalism forming project. (Hu 2006:95-96).

In view of providing the perfect space for the cultural encounters in the colonial expansion, museums become the “contact zones” which are “sites of identity-making and transculturation” in the post-colonial period (Clifford 1997:219):

“contact zone is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjuncture, and whose trajectories now intersect.” (Pratt quoted in Clifford 1997:192)

In spite of the later criticism (Onciul 2013:83, Harrison et al. 2013:28-29), this concept not only unveils encounter histories that might be clouded by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination but also involves the “contact work” of curatorial practices to collaborate with the minorities (Clifford 1997:191-193).

The emergence of the new museology and the contact zones demonstrates that museums gradually acknowledge their social responsibility (Kreps 2003,2008). In this process, the local knowledge system may challenge the existing museum profession, either lead to conflicts or help to improve the curatorial approaches. The various ontologies of the relationship between humans and things in some indigenous groups inspire museums to reexamine their previous curating strategies based on the Cartesian mind-body dichotomy (Cruikshank 1995, Harrison et al. 2013). Besides, the active collaborations between museums and indigenous communities trigger higher sensitivity and more reflexive on the unequal power relations in the two units (Ames 1999, Peers, 2003:77, Varutti 2013).

This thesis provides another instance that emphasizes how the NTUMA and the *Kaviyangan* are constituted in and by their relations to each other. With the innovative wedding, the two parties pioneered an alternative approach to the previous co-curation

approach that typifies most cooperation between museums and communities. In their collaboration, the NTUMA is not only a contact zone of unveiling and healing the wound of colonization but extends its impact temporally and geographically through the marriage with the tribe.

1.2 Whose Right: The Repatriation of Indigenous Heritages

Along with the indigenous communities being aware of their rights due to the identity politics movements in the 1970s, the requests of repatriating their objects are increasing. The issue of repatriation has an important place in both the field of heritage and museology because it is related to not only artifacts, but also past injustices committed against the powerless, especially the indigenous people (Breske 2018:347). As Kuprecht (2016:177) noted, repatriation is “an opening of a bigger dimension to indigenous peoples in search of their cultural heritage, their cultural roots, and their collective identity.” Thus, the discussion on repatriation is indispensable in understanding the indigenous identity and rights in the era of decolonization.

The initiated act of the return of heritage was formally launched in The Hague Convention in 1954. Under the influence of the previous law of war after the large-scale damage in World War II, Hague 1954 defines the cultural properties as the “heritage of all mankind” in order to stimulate an international concern and protection of heritage. This convention involves a cosmopolitan notion that the interest of heritages transcends the boundary of nations, thus considered by Merryman (1986) as “cultural internationalism”. In contrast, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 1970 supports the retention of cultural property by source nations, indicating the connection between heritage and national identity, which was referred to as “cultural nationalism”.²

The debate of the two approaches above represents the binary perception of heritage. However, both of them overlooked the rights of groups that were included in national borders but were more powerless than peripheral countries, such as the aboriginals in New Zealand or First Nations of Canada (Watkins 2005). Only when the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was issued did the indigenous right of heritage become guaranteed officially. With the following laws enacted in Canada, Australia, to name a few, the object restitution has become the consensus internationally. For the sake of improving Indigenous peoples’ cultural identity and re-contextualizing objects in source communities, museums steadily adopt an open attitude towards the return of indigenous heritage (Kuprecht 2016:174-177).

² UNESCO 1970 is also known as the “Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property”.

However, arguments against rashly repatriate behavior are also addressed in the debate. First is the practical problem when executing the heritage laws. Some collections are traded with the mutual consent and the right of the new owners under legal transactions which should be protected (Kuprecht 2016); besides, collecting activities before the regulation is usually non-retrospective. Second, the cultural universalists still insist that cultural property should be shared with all mankind and with future generations, so the safety of heritage is prior to its ownership (Ibid.). Third, repatriation to the indigenous community may lead to the decay of objects when they are exposed to use. Despite the culture and people-centered perception in the new museology, the risk of object damage is a major reason for many museums' reluctance to execute repatriation. Last but not least, since the ownership of the repatriated heritage involves the identity politics of the current communities and previous groups, it may cause conflict among indigenous groups or even the entire society (Jacobs 2009, Françoizo and Strecker 2017). The above controversy on repatriation indicates that there is still a long way to go for the new relationship between museums and source communities in the post-colonial period.

The issues of repatriation and cooperation not only represent museums' aim to reverse the flow of power and sources of knowledge but implies that their conservation strategies turn from object-oriented to culture and people-centered (Thomas 2016). Nonetheless, the practices in the repatriation seem to be restricted in the binary concepts of remain and return. Therefore, the discussion on the heritage wedding may shed light on this problem and probe a possibility that connects the two concepts.

1.3 Indigenous Heritage in Taiwan

As mentioned above, the developments of heritage and museums are entangled with the formation of nation-states. Likewise, they were ideal approaches for the colonizers to discipline the colonized. As Anderson (2006:164-165) indicated, "The census, the map, and the museum profoundly shaped the way which the colonial state imagined its dominion—the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry." Being a settler society with multiple colonizers, the relationship between heritage and identity in Taiwan is even more complicated. The ideology of heritage policy nowadays is mainly influenced by two streams: The governance of Japanese colonizers (1895-1945) and the Han-centrism brought by the descendants from China since the 1940s.

The first official regulation of heritage was the "Preservation Law of the Historic, Scenic and Natural Monument" (*Shiseki meishou ten'nen kinenbutsu hozon hō*) in 1922, issued by the Japanese government. It is noteworthy that the selection of heritage during

this period was under the consideration of material cultural value and therefore included historical remains of different cultures (Y. Lin 2011). However, the heritage-choosing standards were still based on the colonial guideline and became propaganda of the Japanese regime.³ On the contrary, the Kuomintang (KMT) government selected the heritage with the Han-Chinese centrism to consolidate its domination legitimacy since it settled Taiwan in 1945. With the priority to economic development and the ideology of ethnic hierarchy, the KMT intentionally reversed the previous heritage list constructed by the Japanese, highlighting the nostalgia of ancient Chinese culture (Lee 2008:65-74, Y. Lin 2011).

Because of KMT 's ideology, the heritage of the indigenous people was not valued for decades until Taiwanese consciousness gradually emerged along with social movement since the 1980s (Tung 2016). The "Cultural Heritage Protection Act" was also revised in 2005 and in 2016 to conform to the pluralistic perspective emphasized in the 2000 Constitution Amendment.⁴ The revised act leaned toward a multi-cultural value and was supplemented with detailed laws specifically related to the indigenous people.

However, in Taiwan, the lack of repatriation laws like NAGPRA means that the sincerity of museums and indigenous communities is often more crucial in the practice of repatriation, and the form of restitution could only be treated case by case. Another problem is the top-down phenomena in heritage applications, and it is questionable whether local people can actually benefit from it (Hu 2011:224-225). Fortunately, anthropological curators in Taiwan are aware of the global trend to reconnect objects with source communities by means of repatriation of human remains or artifacts and are co-curating exhibitions with indigenous groups (Wu 2011, Varutti 2013, Li 2014, Lu 2015). Meanwhile, communities are also more active as they cooperate with museums. The case of the *Kaviyangan* in this thesis gives a glimpse of the agency of indigenous people and museums' reflexive in the heritage field in Taiwan.

Because of the insufficiency of the heritage laws, the artifact restitution cases are relatively scarce, and the collaboration between museums and indigenous communities is mainly with the temporary exhibition curation. In addition, most research and practices on the museum-community cooperation in Taiwan are short-lived and limited to single projects. Furthermore, many reflexive papers were more likely to present a

³ For example, there were several scenic and monuments be registered to memorize the stay of the prince Hirohito (later Shōwa Tennō) in 1990. These heritages with relatively short history can be viewed as the symbol of Japanese imperialism.

⁴ The first version of the "Cultural Heritage Protection Act" was enacted in 1982 to replace the 1930 "Law on the Preservation of Ancient Objects", which was issued by the KMT government out of nationalism.

successful collaboration instead of examining contact history in colonization (Lu 2015:27-30). Hence, the *Kaviyangan* case in which the museum becomes a relative with the community would be a significant instance in the repatriation debate, as well as in discovering the possibilities of the new and long-term relationship between museums and indigenous groups in the decolonization era of Taiwan.

1.4 The cultural intimacy in Indigenous heritage practicing

As Anderson (2006) noted, “Nationalism is not a self-consciously held political ideologies but a large cultural system”, the consciousness of community is formed through the daily cultural practicing. However, as Herzfeld (2016:10) indicated, Anderson’s nationalism theory mainly concerns the top-down formulating process of the nation-states without analyzing how and why the locals act in forming their nationalism. Herzfeld further argues that nationalism could not be developed by merely historical discourse or objectified cultural images; instead, it is built on the ordinary’s daily practicing and displaying on social poetics (Ibid.:6). Therefore, he addresses the notion of “cultural intimacy” to challenge the discussions restricted to the binary relationship between the state and the local:

“The recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality. Cultural intimacy, through associated with secrecy and embarrassment, may erupt into public life and collective self-representation (Ibid.:7).”

The concept of cultural intimacy helps us to see how the collective identity is formulated through the daily micro-operation, dissolving the rigid power relations theoretically, and revealing the continuous and co-constructing relationship between the individual and the public. Such a notion provides an alternative perspective to challenge the AHD's unilateral impact on the community and shows the agency of local peoples (Xia 2020), which corresponds to the trend of heritage research concerning the entanglement of people and heritage in everyday lives (Esposito 2014).

Since the *Kaviyangan* is under the layered framework from the family, community, and the ethnic group to the state, the concept of cultural intimacy is helpful in analyzing the intimacy and publicity within and between different layers. It also contributes to understanding how the *Kaviyangan* people strengthen their identity to the community through their own discourses in the heritagization process of their ancestral pillars. In addition, cultural intimacy highlights the uses of cultural form as a cover for social action (Herzfeld 2016:6), which is also emphasized in this research on the wedding ceremony the *Kaviyangan* people held to face the repatriation issue.

Chapter 2 The *Muakaikai* National Treasure Designation

2.1 *Muakaikai*, *Kaviyangan*, and the anthropology museum of NTU

Kaviyangan is an indigenous community located in Taiwu Township, Pingtung County in southern Taiwan. The name *Kaviyangan* means “right palm” in the local language, which refers to the topography of their first settlement. The villagers did not leave the old *Kaviyangan* until they were forced to by the Japanese colonial government in 1943. After moving twice, they were finally relocated to the current settlement in 1953. Nonetheless, local elders still remember and pass down the history and landscape of their ancestral place. Thus, although most tribal members have converted to Catholicism since the 1950s, they still inherit some traditions and memory of their previous lifestyles.

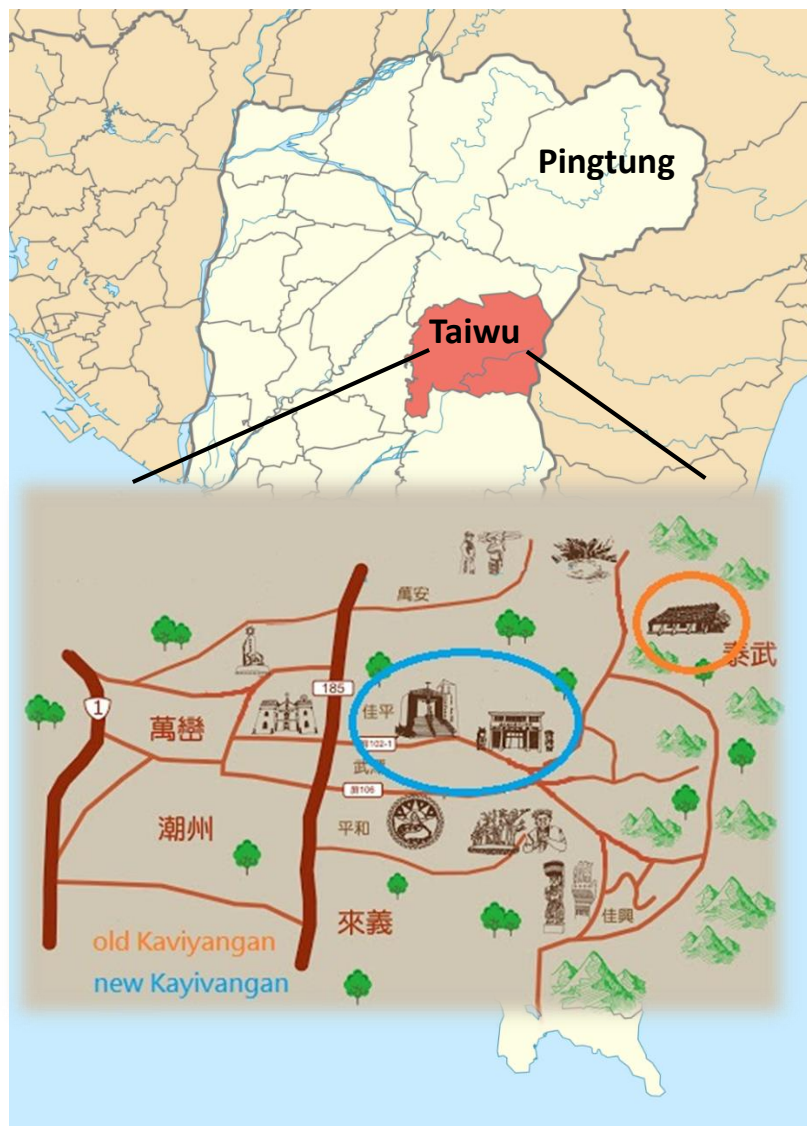


Figure 2. The location of *Kaviyangan*

Besides the memories of their ancestral place, the *Kaviyangan* found a community development association to help preserve their vanishing traditional culture. Most of the 800 *Kaviyangan* villagers and people from their neighboring areas are Paiwanese, one of the sixteen ethnic groups in Taiwan. The taxonomy of the ethnicity in Taiwan was established by Japanese scholars during the colonial period (1895-1945). As one *Kaviyangan* member said, “every tribe has been a state before”; however, for easy management of the colonial government, the Japanese researchers divided the local Taiwanese into several groups based on their cultural and linguistic similarities and differences. Although the classification structure has been constantly adjusted up until now, a shared cultural consciousness within the groups was established gradually since the introduction of taxonomy and the related policies (Chiang 1992, Lin 2018). Therefore, although the *Kaviyangan* and other neighboring tribes had been separate political entities before the colonial period, they share a collective identity of Paiwan nowadays.

The social hierarchy system in Paiwan society is based on blood lineage. Regarded as the “house society” (Lévi-Strauss 1987:152), the Paiwanese house refers not only to the building structure but also to the basis for self-identity and a component of social relationships.⁵ In principle, the eldest child (*vusam*) will inherit all the rights and the name of the house, and the other children should leave to build new houses and lineages. Thus, the chieftain family is the “*vusam*” of all tribe members and owns the rights to the lands and political dominance because it founded the first house of the *Kaviyangan* and became the ancestor of all locals. In the concentric-circle hierarchy system (Figure 3), the central chief status is supported by the class of “nobles” and the outer “plebeians”. Adhering to certain etiquette and taking responsibilities that suits one’s own status is the core element of Paiwan culture.⁶

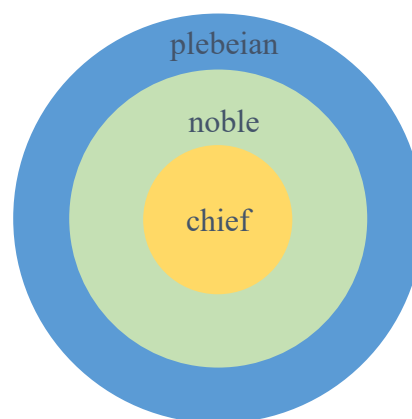


Figure 3. Paiwanese concentric-circle hierarchy system. A person’s rank may change due to marriage, but the chief’s dominance and rights will remain in the center eternally.

The chief family of *Kaviyangan* is the *Zingrur*. According to its oral pedigree, the *Zingrur* lineage has gone through eighteen generations since the first ancestress *Muakai*. Now the tribe is ruled by the female chief, *Alingin Zingrur* and her two daughters,

⁵ House is the basic unit of a Paiwan lineage. Besides, houses are also regarded as the ceremonial space, the place of origin, and where heirlooms are collected (Waterson 1998).

⁶ For instance, tribe members have to pay tribute to the chief family. Most of the Paiwanese land and tax regulations have been abolished since they were integrated into modern nations, but the nobles’ privileges in rituals and ornaments have been retained.

Maljevljev Zingrur and *ZuljeZulje Zingrur*. As a result of colonization and modernization, as well as the religious conversion of the *Kaviyangan* led by *Alingin's* mother around the 1950s, the *Zingrur* lost most of its political and religious power. Nevertheless, most tribal members still regard *Zingrur* as their spiritual leader. The Community Development Association also regards the *Zingrur* family as a symbol of *Kaviyangan* and aims to consolidate the etiquette order built on the concentric circle hierarchy centered on *Zingrur*.

Because Paiwanese buried the deceased beneath their slate houses, the chief's residence is considered as the ritual center for the tribe, since the ancestors of the chief family are also the ancestors of the entire tribe. In order to display their authority and to strengthen ties with their ancestors, the houses of chiefs are usually decorated with heirlooms, such as ancestral pillars made of wood or stone, decorative potteries, and exotic treasures. Likewise, the *Zingrur* kept precious artifacts in their old house, including five ancestral pillars of their first generations. (Figure 4)

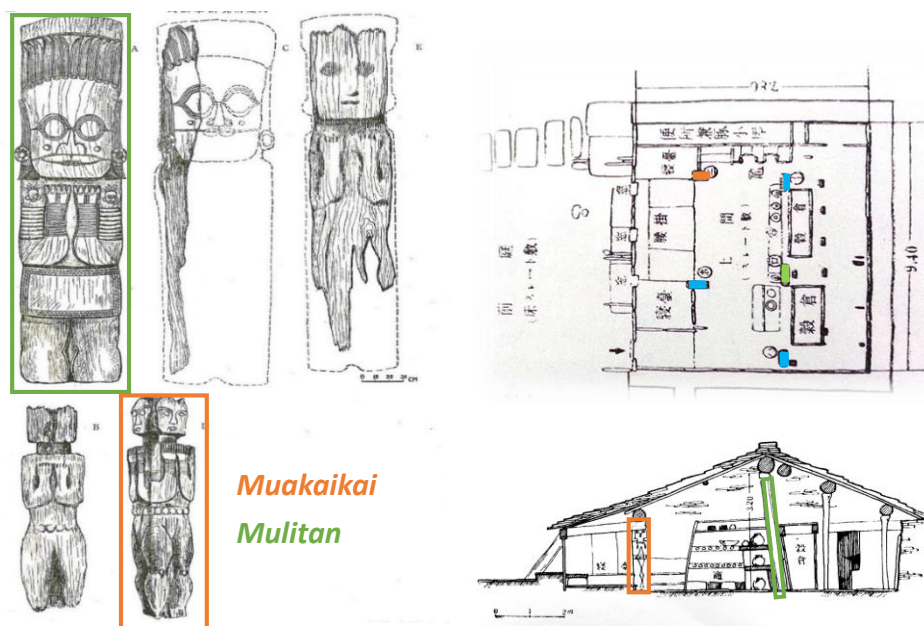


Figure 4. Ancestral pillars in *Zingrur's* house. *Zingrur* generations lived in the house until the colonial period since *Muakai* built it. (Illustrated by Ling 1958)

2.2 *Muakaikai* the Pillar

Muakaikai, the first ancestress of the *Kaviyangan's* chief family the *Zingrur*, is one of the five ancestor pillars in the old house. According to the local myth, *Muakai* is the only survivor from an accident that took place in their previous house; to avoid ominous signs, she built a new house and generated a lineage named *Zingrur*, the future leader of the *Kaviyangan* tribe.⁷ In honor of the *Muakai* ancestress, the descendants of

⁷ According to the myth, *Muakai* and her sister violated God's will, cooking more millet than they need. As punishment, millet flooded the entire house and only *Muakai* survived.

Zingrur carved her image on a support pillar of the house. Nowadays, around 300 years later, some parts of this four-sided pillar have decayed, but the most prominent features—six fingers and the eyes on the knees—are still clearly visible. Symbolizing the ancestress *Muakai*, the pillar is called *Muakaikai*, which received sacrifice offered by the spirit mediums during ceremonies.⁸ Thus, the pillar is said to be the concrete evidence of *Kaviyangan*'s origin myth and an emblem of Paiwanese ancestor worship.



Figure 5. The old *Zingrur* house which was used until 1935. (Obtained from NTU Anthropological Collection Information System 1932)



Figure 6. The ancestral pillars in the old *Zingrur*'s house. (Obtained from Kasahara Seiji 1995)

However, *Muakaikai* was sent to the collection room of the ethnography department at the Imperial University of Taipei (the NTUMA today) on January 10, 1932.⁹ Three years later, the colonial government designated the *Zingrur*'s house as one of the “Historical Spots, Scenic Beauties and Natural Monuments” (*shiseki meishou tennen kinenbutsu*) because of its architectural features and cultural significance (Utsurikawa 1936). Nonetheless, the Japanese government soon forced the *Kaviyangan* people to leave their old residence for management, which caused most of the pillars to rot due to the lack of care. Only *Muakaikai* and *Mulitan*, a pillar in the ruin that was then sent to the Academia Sinica in 1956, survived. As a result of the colonial policies, the *Kaviyangan* people have lost their memory of the old *Zingrur* housing as well as the ancestor pillars in it.

Muakaikai's story took a new turn when the curator of the Anthropology Museum prepared to apply for its national treasure status in 2014. The background of this heritage registration can be traced back to the previous national treasure case of *Mulitan*, another *Zingrur*'s ancestral pillar that is in the Museum of Institute of Ethnology,

⁸ According to the local elders, the repeated suffix of a name emphasizes the divinity of a deceased. Hence, I intentionally separate the two names in this thesis: *Muakai* for emphasizing her identity as *Zingrur*'s ancestress and *Muakaikai* for the pillar. Besides, I use the personal pronoun “she” to refer to the former to stress the agency of ancestors in Paiwanese religion.

⁹ There is no record on how the pillar was taken away. The museum's document only indicates that this pillar was obtained from a collector called Mizuno Tsunekichi.

Academia Sinica (hereafter abbreviated as MIEAS). Until the *Mulitan* case, no indigenous artifacts had been included in the heritage list as national treasure. Encouraged by the Ministry of Culture, the curators of the MIEAS applied *Kaviyangan's Mulitan* and a set of ancestral pillars from another tribe as the first two indigenous national treasures. According to the curators, they chose *Mulitan* for the following reasons:¹⁰ Firstly, its style and size are impressive and unique. Secondly, there is a relative abundance of first-hand records of this pillar by Japanese scholars. Finally, *Mulitan* is the only object from Taiwan that has been borrowed for exhibitions by the Musée du Quai Branly, showing that it is representative of the state.¹¹ Therefore, in 2012, the Cultural Heritage Review Committee considered *Mulitan* eligible to be listed as a national treasure.



Figure 7 & 8. *Muakaikai* in the NTUMA. (Photo Obtained from NTU Anthropological Collection Information System, Fu 2015)

Likewise, under the expectation of the Ministry of Culture, Hu Chia-Yu, the curator of the NTUMA, planned to choose some of its indigenous collections as national treasures in 2014. Besides the unique patterns and cultural significance of *Muakaikai*, Hu believed that it should have the same heritage rank as *Mulitan* since they were both from the *Zingrur's* house.¹² Therefore, she informed the *Kaviyangan* community of this project in the late 2014, anticipating a positive reaction.

¹⁰ I obtained this information through interviewing the curator of MIEAS on 24 April 2019.

¹¹ *Mulitan* has been displayed in the Pavillon des Sessions, Louvre by the Musée du Quai Branly for three times during its preparatory period between 1999 to 2011 (Hu et al. 2015).

¹² Information obtained from the documentary clip from an interview with Hu Chia-Yu.

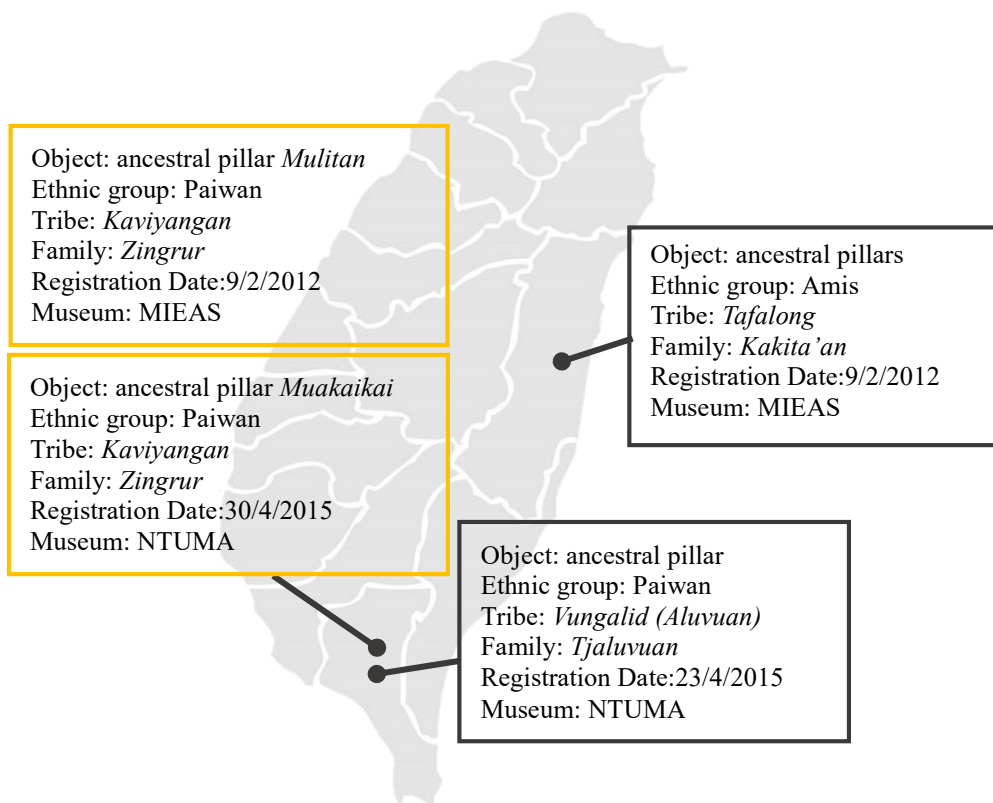


Figure 9. The four indigenous national treasures hitherto. Two of them are from *Kaviyangan*.

Chapter 3 Debates of *Muakaikai's* Heritagization

The *Kaviyangan* people had mixed feelings when they heard the proposal from the NTUMA (Taluviljav 2017). They felt proud because their cultural heritage was recognized by the state while knowing it would be less likely for *Muakaikai's* repatriation once it becomes a national treasure. At the community meeting in 2014, the villagers expressed their opinions. Some supported the NTUMA's decision for the sake of conservation; some preferred to request the government to build a museum to preserve the national treasure; others argued that *Muakaikai* should come back "home" after its long absence since 1932 (Wu 2017, Taluviljav 2017).

3.1 Previous Experiences: Two Cases of Indigenous Heritage

Although it was difficult for the *Kaviyangan* people to reach a fast consensus, their discussion was comprehensive because of their previous experiences with other institutions. As mentioned above, the pillar *Mulitan* became one of the first two indigenous national treasures in 2012. The MIEAS referred to the scholars' texts without comparing them with *Kaviyangan's* oral version. Only when *Mulitan* passed the heritage review did the team inform the tribe about the registration. At that time, the villagers knew nothing about neither the regulation nor the preservation concept of cultural heritage. "When the first spirit pillar [from our community] held by Academia Sinica was labeled a national treasure, we did not even know what it meant (Buchan 2017)", a member of the *Kaviyangan* community development association once said. The first collaboration between the *Kaviyangan* and the museum ended up with only the agreement for the national treasure application and a tour for some villagers to visit the MIEAS. Thus, the concept and knowledge the *Kaviyangan* people had learned of heritage from *Mulitan's* case were transferred into the intention to do more when facing the NTUMA in 2014.

In addition to their own previous case, the experience of other national treasures inspired the *Kaviyangan* people to go further with the *Muakaikai's* heritagization process. The pillars of the ritual houses from the *Tafalong* tribe played an important role in the tribe's cultural revitalization. Their story and the registration procedures of the pillars were recorded in a documentary by anthropologist Hu Tai-Li (Hu 2017). Hu then toured around indigenous communities nationwide displaying the film and holding discussions with the locals. The *Tafalong's* attitude toward their ancestors evoked the discussion on the spirits and traditional religion among the *Kaviyangan*.¹³ Because of

¹³ This information was obtained from the screening discussion record on the promotional blog of the documentary.

these experiences, the *Kaviyangan* people were more active when facing the *Muakaikai* case.

3.2 *Kaviyangan's* agency: The Idea of Wedding

After several meetings with the NTUMA, the different perspectives between the local knowledge system and the academic institutions gradually emerged. According to the museum curation guidelines, the labels and description of objects should include information about the materials, date, provenance, description of the form, basic context, and an inventory number. However, the Paiwanese way of illustrating the ancestral pillars usually starts from its relationship with the origin myth, connecting the stories to the form of the ancestral pillars. During the discussion, the elder of the *Zingrur's* family explained the meaning of *Muakaikai's* unique features, and its relationship with *Mulitan*, the pillar in the MIEAS. The transmitted knowledge from the elders not only supplied the background information which had been lacking in the museum's file but also helped piece together the stories of the *Zingrur* founding myth that were once neglected by the *Kaviyangan* people.

The positive experiences in these meetings encouraged the *Kaviyangan* people to participate actively in the discussion. For example, they together decided both the Mandarin and the Paiwanese name of the pillar on the heritage application form;¹⁴ the museum then revised the description panel in the exhibition room. Furthermore, the confidence of their culture that had emerged along with tracing their origin stories enabled them to show more agency when negotiating with the museum. After several meetings, the two sides met an agreement at the public hearing held by the Bureau of Cultural Property on February 26, 2015. Most *Kaviyangan* members agreed with the application of the national treasure and having *Muakaikai* stay at the NTUMA, while the museum had to fund a replica for the tribe. The community development association agreed on the condition that NTU should hold a wedding ceremony with their ancestress *Muakaikai* to represent that “she” was handed over to the museum at the will of the *Kaviyangan*. This idea came up during a private conversation of the association members who felt proud but also regret for not requesting the return of *Muakaikai*. They associated the complex emotions with the situation of the marriage of a daughter, which is one of the most important activities in Paiwanese culture:

We have no problem with transferring our ancestral pillar, but the process should not be that easy. Since *Muakai* has been the founder of the *Zingrur* family and therefore owns highest status, we should let this event be as

¹⁴ The title now on the national cultural heritage database management system is “排灣族佳平舊社 Zingrur 頭目家屋祖靈柱/ *na paiwan a kemasi Kaviyangan na lja zingrur a pararulj*” (Bureau of Cultural Property 2015).

ceremonious as marrying a princess (Taluviljav 2017).

This idea was supported by the NTUMA curator. On March 25, 2015, the committee members of the Bureau of Cultural Property approved to list *Muakaikai* as a national treasure, along with the NTUMA's another ancestor pillar from the *Vungalid* tribe, becoming the third and fourth aboriginal objects to be thus labeled.

3.3 Discussion: National Treasure of Indigenous Objects

In the heritage registration process of both *Kaviyangan* ancestral pillars, the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) was still presented in the selection standards, the concept of heritage and artifact, and the way of collaboration between the museums and the source community.

The Selection Standards

As can be seen from the interviews with the curators of MIEAS and NTUMA, the AHD is the guideline for choosing the appropriate indigenous objects as national treasures. An important criteria is whether the object has enough first-hand references, most of which were based on Japanese scholars' research during the colonial period.¹⁵ The importance of sufficient evidence to prove the eligibility of heritage is undeniable; however, it should be noted that only professional research and written records are considered as "references". The heritage application process is performed in museums and by the government. Therefore, if museums only take into consideration these existing authorized data without paying attention to other forms of knowledge such as oral tradition, then the heritage selecting process only enforces the authority of the professional and univocal discourse.

Nationalism also guides the heritage selection criteria. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the development of the modern heritage concept is entangled with the rise of nation states (Smith 2006, Harrison 2013). Likewise, in Taiwan, the list of the national treasures is under the impact of the identity policies vacillated between great Chinaism and the local Taiwanese awareness. Since the first national treasure was registered in 2008, nearly all of them were the objects transported from China by the KMT and are preserved in the National Palace Museum and the museum of the Institute of History and Philology until the rising nativism in recent years. In this context, the national treasure of indigenous objects bears the mission of the policy objective of promoting diverse local culture while being sufficiently representative to the nation. Given that *Mulitan* had been displayed in Paris and thus be qualified to represent

¹⁵ All information about *Mulitan's* registration process comes from interviews with the MIEAS curator.

Taiwan, it was suitable to be on the list of national treasures.¹⁶ Thus, in addition to referring to the judgement of experts of Musée du Quai Branly, *Mulitan*'s heritagization also indicates that the development of national identity lies in the perception of gaze from others, in where heritage plays a role.

It is worth mentioning that the museums are aware of the priceless value of the artifacts. When handed in the application, museums were asked by the National Property Administration to estimate the price of the pillars. The MIEAS curators then quoted a reasonable price for *Mulitan*, but noted on the report that “the value of the artifact should not be decided by its price” as a soft resistance. Indeed, the estimation of the objects' price is necessary for heritage regulation, but it may be unable to operate effectively when facing those with abstract substances, such as spirits. The valuation of *Mulitan* may be limited to the judgment of its unusual style, scarcity, and authenticity, but it may not be possible to incorporate the spiritual power that *Kaviyangan* people value among these criteria.

The Concept of Heritage

The definition of the ancestral pillar as heritage shows a Western-centered view of “things”, which is different from the *Kaviyangan*'s concept. First is the classification logic of indigenous artifacts. Ethnographic artifacts were once classified as “tribal art” or “primitive art” separately from mainstream Western fine art. By the 1970s, some scholars recognized that the primitivism in the art field is problematic because it assumed that the non-western artifacts were produced by undeveloped, uncontaminated, and less skilled “others” (Myers 2006, Mclean 2013). However, while seeking a more general aesthetic approach to display indigenous artworks, some researchers also worry about the shift “from artifact to art” will conceal the transformation in meaning that takes place when objects are taken out of one context and re-inscribed in another (McCarthy 2007:112).

Back to the case of the *Kaviyangan*. *Mulitan* had been borrowed by the Musée du Quai Branly three times from 1999 to 2011 and was then registered as a national treasure by the MIEAS. Given that *Mulitan* is the only object borrowed from Taiwan, it is reasonable to presume that it was displayed out of the context. Following the context of being displayed in Paris for its outstanding visual effect, the curator stressed the aesthetic value *Mulitan* owns and classified it as “art” when filling in the application form.¹⁷ On the contrary, the NTUMA sorted *Muakaikai* as the “utensils of life or

¹⁶ Although *Muakaikai* is the main character of this thesis, its selection process follows the registration of *Mulitan*, so I primarily discuss the latter here.

¹⁷ According to the 2016 Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, the antiquities that *Mulitan* and *Muakaikai* belong to could be divided into three categories: arts, utensils of life or civility, and books or documents

civility” after the discussion with the tribe to highlight the *Kaviyangan*’s connection with its vanished ancestral belief.¹⁸ In fact, like many indigenous groups, there is no distinct boundary between arts and non-art in Paiwanese tradition. The so-called Paiwanese patterns are bound with its myths and social hierarchy (Xu 1992:300). Therefore, when incorporating indigenous artifacts into the modern heritage management system, the academic institution should take into consideration how the source communities prefer their objects to be viewed, to offer an appropriate interpretation.

Secondly, and perhaps more fundamentally, is the concept on the materiality of things. The Western concept puts emphasis on the authenticity of heritage, highlighting the nostalgia that historical artifacts or monuments can stimulate (Harrison 2013). On the contrary, some indigenous people believe that the decay of objects is a natural process, their focus is on the spirit contained in the objects or the process of their use (Hays-Gilpin & Ramson 2013). One *Kaviyangan* member stated on a public occasion that in the past the wooden ancestral pillars in the chief house may be rotten after decades, and the spirit medium would lead the spirits of ancestors to new pillars. At that time, pillars are more like vehicles of ancestor spirit than valuables that need to be carefully preserved.

Yet their view of things has been changed under the impact of modernization. The loss of ancestral worships and the demise of spirit medium prevented them from communicating with their ancestors, leading to their acceptance of preserving the pillar as a proof of the once existing tradition and of the authority of the *Zingrur* family. Moreover, the museum profession also contributes to the *Kaviyangan*’s decision of not asking for *Muakaikai*’s restitution. The curator of the NTUMA admitted that she had reminded the tribe members that *Muakaikai* is fragile and has to be kept in a proper temperature and humidity environment, which might affect their final decision. Therefore, in addition to their own desire to preserve the cultural artifact of the past, the unequal knowledge of modern heritage management between them and the museum also makes the *Kaviyangan* people lean towards professional opinions.

The “Replica”

When the *Kaviyangan* people agreed to not ask for reparation for the pillar, they requested the NTUMA to fund them to make a new pillar by a tribal artist instead. Throughout the observation of the carving process, I noticed that the artist’s definition

and audiovisual material.

¹⁸ Here I do not aim to choose a category that is more suitable for the pillars, but rather to draw attention to the dynamic of the classification.

of “replica” is different from that of the museum. For the latter, the original object would be measured carefully to collect the data for making a replica. Sometimes a sampling or a 3D scanning is also conducted. In contrast, the tribal artist made the pillar only by viewing the photos and sketches of the original pillar. Neither did he know the size of the original pillar nor its materials. “The reproduction need not be identical with the original”, he stated.

In fact, after understanding the contrasting *Kaviyangan* way of carving the pillar as well as their ancestral worship, the curator of the NTUMA believed that the new pillar cannot be viewed as a replica but another ancestral pillar with *Muakaikai*'s image, since the difference in their appearance is evident. For this reason, along with the sign of respect by not treating the pillar as a “replica” (seemed to show a lack of divinity), the curator challenged the existing heritage regulation by refusing to add the mark of “replica” on the new carved pillar. The Bureau of Cultural Heritage later agreed with the curator's decision on only noting the inventory number on the new *Muakaikai*.



Figure 10. The new *Muakaikai* now placed in *Zingrur*'s house. (Photo by author 2018)

3.4 Conclusion

As can be seen from the two *Kaviyangan* examples, the AHD still has an immense impact on Taiwan's heritage practice. The heritage selecting criteria are based on the research from scholars and the political concerns of nationalism, which are reasonable but may lead to a univocal heritage form. In addition, the logic of modern heritage classification and management may not be suitable for cultural artifacts of other cultures, especially those involving supernatural powers.

Nevertheless, the cooperation modes between the museum and the source community are becoming increasingly vigorous and thus influence the existing heritage regulating system. In *Muakaikai*'s case, because the *Kaviyangan* could participate in the process, they had more agency in deciding the title of the heritage and presenting their version of *Muakaikai*'s identity. In addition, viewing from the adjustment to the mark of the replica, it seems that negotiation in the rigid framework of heritage management is possible. The extraordinary idea of the heritage wedding also came about within this context. The *Kaviyangan*'s case proves that creative ways of collaboration between museums and the source communities resulted in more open discussion.

It is noteworthy to mention that the AHD and the *Kaviyangan*'s heritage discourse are not in binary opposition: When the NTUMA consulted the tribe of the pillar's context, an elder of *Zingrur* recognized the ancestor carved on the pillar as *Muakaikai*, and since then, his statement has become the authoritative interpretation of the pillar. Referring to this oral version, the NTUMA revised its display panel and the application references to the Bureau of Cultural Property. *Kaviyangan* members also stuck to it in public speaking and their publications. Since the *Zingrur*'s story was written down and was propagated, it turned into the official version of the pillar and might obscure other minor interpretations that spread orally.¹⁹

¹⁹ However, on the website of the Bureau of Cultural Property, the academic information about *Muakaikai* is still placed conspicuously in the introduction section, while the tribe's interpretation is listed below it to illustrate the context of the pillar. It might be administrative negligence given that the NTUMA was now adopted *Kaviyangan*'s version; nonetheless, it still resents a preference for academic research.

Chapter 4 *Muakaikai's* Wedding with NTU

Since *Muakaikai* was successfully registered as heritage in May 2015, the *Kaviyangan* people had been busy with the preparation of her wedding with the NTU for more than four months. Given the fact that a traditional princess wedding is an important event that mobilizes the whole village, and the fact that *Muakai* has been the eldest child (*vusam*) of the *Zingrur* family, her marriage is important. Furthermore, as an opportunity to promote the recognition of the community, the *Kaviyangan* people felt the urge to do their best to impress guests and tourists from all over the country. Therefore, the young generation learned the way of preparing the highest level of traditional wedding ceremony from the elders, including the decoration of the swing (*tjiuma*) for the bride, the types of betrothal gifts, and the special chant that can only be sung when the *vusam* of *Zingrur* marry.²⁰

Meanwhile, the staff of the NTUMA were utterly exhausted in preparing for the first heritage wedding in the world. The first and foremost item on their to-do list was to find a groom for *Muakaikai*. At first, the groom candidate was the chairperson of the anthropology department because the museum belongs to the institution. However, considering that the chairperson was a woman, the curator turned to the university president Yang Pan-Chi to meet the general image of a groom as a male and to receive sufficient funds from the university. Besides, it would demonstrate more respect for the *Zingrur* family by marrying *Muakaikai* with an agent at the highest level of the university, which is in line with the traditional Paiwanese pursuing a "properly matched" marriage to remain or enhance their status.

The president Yang Pan-Chi promised to be the groom and to support the wedding, but there were still many pragmatic issues to be solved. Since it was unimaginable for the NTU to marry an indigenous community, each step was complicated, even though it might be the most common procedure in a general wedding. For instance, the staff had to notify the police stations within the jurisdiction that the *Kaviyangan* hunters would fire a gun to welcome the souls of the *Zingrur's* ancestors on that day. How to ask the accounting office for expenditures on gifts, decorations, and even the pigs necessary for a Paiwanese wedding is another problem. As a bureaucratic institution, the NTU and the museum had to abide by the administrative norms, which were inflexible when facing such a wedding event that is out of the regular bureaucratic frame. The exhaustion of the staff shows that not only the sincerity of the NTU to marry

²⁰ According to the Paiwanese wedding tradition, only the bride from the noble family can swing the swing during the ceremony to represent her dignity and chastity.

the pillar but also the difficulty for a university in seeking innovative cooperation models with indigenous communities under the state system.

4.1 The metaphor of the virgin bride

Throughout several months of preparation, on the morning of September 12, 2015, the wedding ceremony finally took place in front of the museum. Witnessed by hundreds of people, the *Kaviyangan* youths sang a royal chant exclusive to the chief family *Zingrur*. Then, one of the members of the community development association introduced the meanings of the abundant gifts for *Muakai* given by the museum to show her supreme status as the *Zingrur* ancestress. Normally these gifts are only prepared for the virgin bride in view of the traditional Paiwanese value of chastity. These regulations are so strict that violators will be insulted by other villagers or punished by the spirit of ancestors. Yet, the presents for a virgin bride were included in this wedding even though *Muakai* already has generations of descendants, and her marrying agent, the princess *Maljevljev Zingrur*, also has married. Why did the *Kaviyangan* people offend this rule intentionally?

In my opinion, the *Kaviyangan* people wanted to display the most sumptuous wedding for the princess as well as the Paiwanese culture to the public. In addition, these gifts redefined the *Muakaikai*'s identity as a virgin, representing the new relationship between the NTUMA and the *Kaviyangan* in the post-colonial era. Thus, the wedding ceremony offered an opportunity to symbolically reverse the long-existing unequal power relationship. Through the wedding, the *Kaviyangan* took their ancestress back metaphorically and transferred her role into the princess(daughter) of the *Zingrur*. The emphasis on the bride's chastity symbolized that it was the first time they voluntarily sent *Muakaikai* to the museum. By doing so, the tribe drew a new discourse to confront a sense of deprivation since colonization.



Figure 11. The youth association carries the princess's sedan into the plaza and then surrounding the swing. (Photo by Fu 2015, Zhao 2015)

4.2 Representing the Ancestors

Even though their wedding idea was critically acclaimed by academia, the *Kaviyangan* people were under a lot of pressure from other Paiwan tribes. In the post-colonial trend of fighting for the once-deprived rights of the indigenous people, their act of giving up object restitution was regarded as a compromise to the museum, which was the symbol of the colonial legacy. In order to heighten their confidence in this decision, and to follow the tradition of Paiwanese weddings as well, the *Zingrur* family emphasized their connection with ancestors during the ceremony.

One of the instances was that *Maljeveljev Zingrur*, the eldest princess of the *Zingrur* family, was the agent of *Muakai*'s marriage with the NTU. Considering that *Maljeveljev* and *Muakai* are both the *vusam* of the *Zingrur*, it is most appropriate for her to play this role. Because she represents *Muakai*, her wedding can include gifts and swings for a virgin bride, even though she was a mother of two children. In addition, when *Maljeveljev* was about to put on *Zingrur*'s heirloom necklace, the village leader summoned *Muakai*'s soul to participate in her own wedding, symbolizing *Muakai* herself wearing it.²¹ By overlapping *Maljeveljev* and *Muakai*'s identity as the bride, the *Zingrur* authenticated their authority. This is important for the *Zingrur* because their traditional political influence had been weakened along with the vanishing of Paiwanese culture.



Figure 12. The second princess and the chief are sitting beside the bride *Maljeveljev*.

Likewise, the second princess of the *Zingrur* family shared her excitement when seeing *Muakaikai* in person at the NTUMA after the heritage review meeting, which made her feel relieved to cooperate with the museum:

²¹ The village leader is a key member of the community development association and the initiator of *Kaviyangan*'s cultural revitalization. Given that he owns abundant knowledge of cultural ceremonies and his administrative position, the leader took responsibility for the summon mission.

“The souls of our ancestors led me here and told me what to say for today... I know there are some criticisms of this result, but I would proudly tell everyone that we *Kaviyangan* people are blessed to collaborate with the NTUMA...I also believe that we have intimate ties with our relics in several museums, so please inform us of what you [several curators who came to the ceremony] have and make them accessible to us.”²²

In the name of their ancestors, her words show the utmost connection between the *Zingrur* family and the ancestors of the *Kaviyangan*, thereby empowering themselves when facing the community and even the museums.



Figure 13. The village leader wears the necklace on the bride after calling *Muakai*. (Photo by Fu 2015) Figure 14. The chief is talking to *Muakaikai* in the exhibition room. (Photo by Zhao 2015)

However, the engagement of the ancestors' spirits is not merely a political performance. Firstly, the traditional Paiwanese wedding already has political significance, such as expanding territory and forming alliances. Therefore, marrying the NTU can be regarded as an alliance with the university. Secondly, although there were no spirit mediums to communicate with their ancestors, the *Kaviyangan*s still tried to interact with them at the wedding, even in private. After the wedding ceremony in front of the museum, the chief *Alingin Zingrur* accompanied by a few tribe members and university representatives, entered the exhibition room and talked to the *Muakaikai* pillar, “We leave the pottery and necklace in the museum with you, please stay here to protect students and us Paiwanese. Do not miss your home.”²³ *Alingin*'s insistence on giving the gifts to *Muakaikai* not only indicates that she is the actual leader of the *Zingrur* but symbolically transfers the glory they obtained during the ceremony to their ancestress.

4.3 Displaying resistance

Realizing that this wedding would be viewed by their tribe members, other

²² Excerpted from her speech at the wedding on September 12, 2015.

²³ The content of her speech was acquired by interviewing the head of the anthropology department who witnessed the event.

indigenous groups, and academia, the *Kaviyangan* people chose to directly explain their dilemma and decisions to the public at the ceremony. The *Kaviyangan* host of the ceremony emphasized that they put forward the idea of the wedding in order to express their mixed feelings of self-pity and pride to *Muakaikai*'s heritagization. Besides highlighting their agency on the wedding idea, the tribal members spoke publicly with the opposition. When addressing a speech, the chairman of the community development association indicated that some tribal members still questioned the resolution and looked forward to the repatriation of *Muakaikai*, which he also anticipated. However, he then mentioned the strict regulation on the national treasure and the insufficient preservation condition in the tribe, both of which led to their decision to let the pillar remain in the NTUMA. By outright declaring their dilemma of repatriation, these core members of the association tried to persuade both the internal opposition and other Paiwanese tribes that although the wedding decision was not perfect, it was the best conclusion they could hitherto draw.

The examination of betrothal gifts, as one of the climaxes of the ceremony, also perfectly showed the community's mixed feelings in conducting the wedding. A noble that took responsibility for this procedure picked up the gifts respectively, inspecting them in a dramatic way. Then she announced whether or not they were in accordance with the status of the princess of *Zingrur*. Among the gifts, there was an eagle feather, which can demonstrate the hierarchy of a Paiwanese by the amount of patterns on it, failed in the inspection. The inspector insisted that in terms of *Zingrur*'s high status, there should be nine patterns on the feathers, not seven. Everyone laughed when witnessing the embarrassment of the NTU, and the president immediately added an iron pot as compensation for the blunder in etiquette. (Figure 15)

In fact, the community is responsible for the preparation of all gifts, including the deliberate mistake on the feather which had been known by the university in advance. "We were intentionally picky to symbolize that marrying out our daughter was very hard for us", a member said (Buchan 2017). In the Paiwan tradition, the bride's family will deliberately place obstacles for the groom to express unwillingness to let their daughter leave and show the dignity of the bride (Chiu 2001). Similarly, by this trick, the *Kaviyangan* not only presented reluctance to send off their ancestral pillar but also displayed an equal and even higher status with NTU to the public.

The *Kaviyangan*'s pickiness in betrothal gifts can be viewed as a performance that symbolized the resistance to not repatriating *Muakaikai* by attempting to humiliate the NTU. However, although the tribe hopes to use this representation to reduce criticism, voices asking for repatriation remain. Many tribal members did not give up the possibility of building a local museum for *Muakaikai* while people from other tribes blame the *Kaviyangan*'s easy compromise with the museum and that they did not insist on indigenous rights on their heritage.²⁴ On the contrary, some express opposition through muting the wedding. "Some people may be jealous to our luck to have *Muakaikai*. Yet they did not protest directly, but avoid talking about the wedding, hoping everyone will forget it soon", a local indicated.²⁵ This intentional silence frustrates the *Kaviyangan*'s eagerness on the visibility empowerment.



Figure15. The feather failed in the examination, and the president Yang does compensation with a pot. (Photo by Fu 2015)

4.4 Discussion: Political Performance on Both Sides

The *Kaviyangan* people realize that this wedding is not only related to their relationship with NTUMA but also plays an important role in the relationship between the indigenous people and the state today. Thus, they cleverly intervened in the repatriation issue with their cultural logic, expressing their reluctant but proud feelings in the traditional Paiwanese wedding procedures. Being aware of the gaze of others, *Kaviyangan* cautiously designed every part of the ceremony: They symbolically took back the pillar and then married it out, setting up obstacles to display their reluctance and pride, and proved their connection with ancestors. Moreover, the swing that could only be placed in their own territory according to tradition was set at NTU, signifying that the university now became part of the *Zingrur*'s domain.²⁶ Therefore, via

²⁴ For example, on a key development association member's Facebook post about the wedding, many tribal members expressed their unwillingness to this result and look forward to *Muakaikai*'s return.

²⁵ Obtained from my interview with a development association member on March 5, 2019.

²⁶ One of the reasons is that *Muakaikai* cannot leave the museum, so the ceremony that should be held at the bride's home (*Kaviyangan*) was transferred to NTU. Interestingly, the site that NTU proposed used to be the domain of another ethnic group, the *Ketagalan*. The *Kaviyangan* host of the wedding told me that he had apologized in his heart before the ceremony to the ancestors of *Ketagalan* for occupying

wrapping their position in the traditional wedding culture, the *Kaviyangan* people transferred the pressure of being examined into the visibility of the public to enhance their fame, empowering themselves among other indigenous tribes, and strengthen the collective identity of their community.

The NTUMA and the Bureau of Cultural Property took part in this performance as well. To the museum, this successful collaboration with the *Kaviyangan* demonstrated their aim on healing the breach caused by colonization, and it may stimulate more cooperation opportunities with other source groups of their collections. To the government, both the heritagization of *Muakaikai* and the wedding were perfect public exposure of their indigenous policy performance. Just as the Minister of Culture was the presiding witness at the wedding ceremony, the indigenous tribe and the museum formed the alliance under the state. Thereby, the nation-state incorporated the indigenous heritage and even the tribes into its dominion.

However, in this case, it is actually a bottom-up approach that ultimately led to a successful wedding. Despite the funding from the Ministry of Culture and the NTU, most ideas were generated and executed by the *Kaviyangan* with the full cooperation of the NTUMA. In fact, except for the aid from the Ministry of Culture



Figure 16. Princess *Maljevljev Zingrur* drinks with the minister of culture. (Photo by Zhao 2015)

(possibly out of political consideration), the tribe did not receive support from other administrative institutions including the Council of Indigenous People, the main institution responsible for indigenous affairs. Its absence may show the pressure from other indigenous groups that question the *Kaviyangan*'s decision not to receive repatriation, as mentioned above.

Although the *Kaviyangan* people show their agency in the bottom-up cooperation, they could not request for the repatriation of *Muakaikai* in the end, due to the heritage regulation. The unequal power relationship between the *Kaviyangan* and the museum (and the state power it represents) always exists, even though the tribe tries to use their culture to interpret and resist it. Therefore, in addition to praising the influence of the

their territory. Issues of indigenous people's land right and their relationship with each other are worth further discussion.

wedding, it is also important to question why the indigenous people but not the state make concessions. Realizing their relatively powerless situation, the *Kaviyangan* people hold the possibility of breaking the so far harmonious relationship with the museum as the last resort to claim their rights. “If *Muakaikai* is not treated properly, we will divorce NTU.”²⁷

²⁷ They made the divorce-possibility declaration several times in the seminars or the documentary premiere.

Chapter 5 After the Wedding

5.1 Doing the Relatives

After the wedding, *Kaviyangan* people put effort into maintaining their relationship as relatives with NTU. One action is that the community started to send invitation cards of their harvest festival (*masalut*) every summer to NTU. Interestingly, the cards were delivered by adolescents as a part of their rite of passage. To complete this mission, the young man has to find his way to NTU individually, greeting and singing the royal chant to *Muakaikai* in the museum, and hands the invitation cards to the university president and the NTUMA. This invented tradition has been implemented for three years since 2017. The community applies its yearly routine of inviting neighboring tribes in-person to the university and takes the opportunity to train the young members. More importantly, it changes their relationship with the pillar from an inanimate object in the museum into a “kinsperson living in Taipei” and stays in touch with the university.

Besides the newly established routine, the *Kaviyangan* also showed their care for NTUMA in unanticipated situations, such as holding a ritual when the curator Hu Chia-Yu passed away at the end of 2018. Knowing of her passing, the core members offered their condolences to the museum and hoped to have a mourning ritual at NTU for her. They brought a boar that they hunted and sang a mourning chant to her family and coworkers during the ritual. The leader of the village then emphasized that this ceremony could only be held for the community members or relatives. Therefore, through this ritual the *Kaviyangan* people show their intention to establish a long-term kinship with the NTUMA.

On the other hand, the teaching staff and students of the Department of Anthropology who had been the participants of the wedding also felt responsible for maintaining interaction with the tribe. They contacted the development association two years after the ceremony to participate in the *masalut* during summer vacation. A week before the 2017 festival, students arrived at the tribe to learn the Paiwanese culture and help the *masalut* preparation with the youth union. During the training at the old *Kaviyangan* site, students and the *Kaviyangan* young people together learned the stories from the elders, experiencing the ancient route to the old site, and prepared foods for the community for the coming festival.

As one of the seven students who has joined the *masalut* since 2017, I noticed that for villagers, our role has gradually shifted from college students to their relatives that study in NTU. Since we were assigned to different host families and build personal

relationships with them, the meaning of “kinship” is broadened from this symbolic connection due to the wedding to our own life experiences with the *Kaviyangan* people. The tribe members looked forward to seeing our identity transformation to *Kaviyangan* members. The village leader once revealed that he was moved to tears when hearing a NTU student said that “we are members of the *Kaviyangan* youth union Taipei Branch”. It proves that the relationship between the *Kaviyangan* and the NTUMA brought by the wedding is not only formal but also substantial and personal.

Complicity and Intimacy

According to my observation, the *Kaviyangan* people are cautious of both their interaction with the students and its implication. Some members of the community development association directly declared that the purpose of their cooperation with NTUMA is to promote *Kaviyangan*’s cultural revitalization; to get assistance from students for the community development plans; to broaden the horizons of their adolescents by establishing friendships with students with different life experience.²⁸ Considering the multiple roles of students, *Kaviyangan*’s attitude towards us may be similar to the complicity relationship (Marcus 1997) between the researchers and the informants. In other words, instead of a simple and naturally formed rapport (Geertz 1973), the cooperation between the tribe and the students (and the NTUMA they represent) is built on complex strategies and evaluations. On the one hand, the tribe pressures the students and the NTUMA via revealing its purpose explicitly and thus to achieve their goal for the cultural revitalization. On the other hand, by the direct expression, *Kaviyangan* shows the trust of the students and solidifies our sense of connection that “we are both NTU students and the members of *Kaviyangan*”. Some people may criticize the *Kaviyangan*’s ulterior motives in cooperation with the university; for the tribe, however, a straightforward claim of their ambition to students shows their sincerity and conscience.

Furthermore, many tribe members often tell us in the semi-public, “*Kaviyangan* had been teased as the cultural desert by other Paiwanese tribes, but now we have an increasing knowledge about our lost culture and even more properly obey the rule in the etiquette of traditional hierarchy than many tribes do.”²⁹ Since *Kaviyangan* is one of the first indigenous tribes forced to leave their old residence by the colonial government, plus it is also the earliest tribe converted to Catholicism in Taiwan, it maintains relatively fewer Paiwanese traditions than surrounding communities. To shake off this dishonor, the *Kaviyangan* people have been developing cultural

²⁸ The information was obtained from my interview with a member of the development association on May 16, 2018.

²⁹ Obtained from my record of interview with a youth union member on May 25, 2019.

revitalization for more than a decade. Through continuous striving, they have overcome the once disgraceful “cultural desert” complex, and have cultivated the collective recognition of “cultural intimacy” in this process.

Interestingly, instead of concealing the embarrassment implied in cultural intimacy as some communities do (Jung 2013, Herzfeld 2016, Xia 2020), the *Kaviyangan* people openly discuss on occasion their loss in culture. Firstly, for the sake of revealing the past deprived experience under state power, they engage with the narrative of the “cultural desert” in the semi-public space, where they feel comfortable to self-disclosure while acquiring attention outside the tribe.³⁰ It is precisely the successful collaboration with the NTUMA in *Muakaikai*’s heritagization that renders such a comfort zone to the *Kaviyangan* people. Secondly, the term “cultural desert” is often mentioned in the context of discussing the wedding, which suggests that *Kaviyangan* now are confident to face their dishonored past. Therefore, they are willing to share this once awkwardness as evidence to contrast to the fruitful cultural revitalization and thus build closer connectedness with the museum that played an essential role in the heritage registration and the wedding.

It is undeniable that the *Kaviyangan* and the museum do have emotional links because of the wedding ceremony and the following collaborations. However, it must also be pointed out that these interactions are only possible through a clear assessment of the pains and gains of both parties. In other words, *Kaviyangan*’s collective identity is developed by their inward acknowledgment (Herzfeld 2016:10) of their position among Paiwanese tribes and displayed in the conscious discourse about their cultural revitalization. In this context, the cooperation with the NTUMA not only boosts the cultural revival practice but also enhances *Kaviyangan*’s confidence and identity via the public performance of the wedding. Moreover, the unfair treatment they have experienced due to colonialism over the decades has been rehabilitated slowly during the collaboration process with the museum.

5.2 Adhere to Rights Continuously

The documentary

As mentioned above, one of my analysis materials is the documentary about the wedding. At first, however, this film was no more than a video record under the request of the NTUMA to commemorate this ceremony. It was a year after the *Kaviyangan* people asked the NTUMA to make a documentary when knowing the museum held

³⁰ The examples are the speaking to the students and the youth union in front of the *Zingrur*’s house or the conference of indigenous rights held by NTU.

another ceremony with the other national treasure from the *Vungalid* tribe and hired a documentary team to film a movie of that event.³¹ To treat the two tribes fairly, the NTUMA promised to produce a film for *Kaviyangan* to present the wedding ceremony and their stories about cultural revitalization.

Throughout the participant observation in screenings of this documentary on December 30, 2017, I noticed that the core members of the development association highlighted their agency as well as the *Zingrur*'s dignity when collaborating with the museum. For instance, the members suggested that the director should add the part where they welcomed the soul of *Muakaikai* to attend her wedding when they gave the *Zingrur*'s heirloom to the bride, which means this wedding was approved by the ancestry. Moreover, when the youth union were invited to the premiere of the documentary at NTU on June 16, 2018, they sang the royal chant that could only be sung in their territory. By these means, the *Kaviyangan* people not only stressed the royal status of the *Zingrur* family but also demonstrated that NTU is their domain.

At the premiere, one member indicated that in spite of their pride in having a national treasure, the *Kaviyangan* did not give up the final goal of asking *Muakaikai* back to the tribe. "We just let the museum to preserve our pillar until we have the ability to protect it on our own. Besides, *Muakaikai* will belong to us spiritually in any situation." *Kaviyangan*'s reluctance to keep their pillar in the NTUMA may come from the great pressure from other tribes. Hence, they strive to express their position to the public via documentaries or related seminars.

Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples

To more concretely reserve their right to *Muakaikai* and *Mulitan*, they applied for exclusive rights for the intellectual creations of these two objects according to the "Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples" in 2017. Under the guideline of the multiculturalism emphasized in the 2000 Constitutional amendments, this act was issued in 2007, becoming one of the first special laws that aimed to protect the indigenous cultures of Taiwan (Lin 2007:187). This act stated, the intellectual products of traditional indigenous knowledge (rituals, music, patterns, craft skills, etc.) would be attributed to the applicant (families, tribes or ethnic groups), once it passed by the review committee by the Council of Indigenous People (Huang 2010).

Following the wave of applications after the implementation of the law, the

³¹ Since the NTU married *Muakai*, the next ceremony with the *Vungalid* could not be a wedding again. Therefore, the university built the brotherhood with the tribe, which is also an important way to establish an intimate relationship in Paiwan society.

Kaviyangan people also intended to exclude other use of their ancestral pillars' images and sculptures. However, although the *Kaviyangan* people had consulted the professors of the Department of Anthropology of NTU about this plan, they did not formally inform the NTUMA and the MIEAS about this application until they acquired the exclusive right. Therefore, when learning that their application was accepted, the core members of the development association expressed their concern about the ownership of the pillars between the tribe and the museums: For example, will the NTUMA violate *Kaviyangan*'s right unintentionally when launching souvenirs with *Muakaikai*'s image? If someone would like to use these images in their own artistic creation, should they inform the museums besides the *Kaviyangan*?³²

The *Kaviyangan*'s reaction showed its complicated relationship with the museums. On the one hand, they built the boundary with the museum via the application to ensure that the *Zingrur* could claim all the rights of its ancestors. On the other hand, because of the positive collaboration with each other, the community believed that the museums have good intentions and are willing to candidly discuss the usage of the ancestors' images with them. This attitude also shows that the *Kaviyangan*'s primary purpose of the application is not for the potential profit, but to protect and promote their culture. Like other indigenous groups, they put more emphasis on moral rights rather than economic rights (copyrights) on their traditional knowledge and practices (Chiu, et al. 2015:33).

The rising interest in this protection act among the native groups suggests that their understanding and practice of real rights from a shared concept shifts to the emphasis on exclusivity in the Western and Han cultures. As one local complained about a *Zingrur* member after the review meeting, "She kept the oral knowledge from her father as a secret until the meeting as if the ancestral pillars are theirs. Yet the pillars should not belong to any party. The representative on the application form is *Alingin Zingrur* merely because she is the chief of *Zingrur* and *Kaviyangan* now."³³

This member's complaints also implied the long-existing competitive relationship within and among different tribes. Especially in contemporary Paiwanese society, the chief families could no longer assert their practical power, lands, and people. Therefore, striving for symbolic powers such as rituals and family patterns had become an essential way for them to maintain their status (Chiu, et al. 2015:34). The laws and administration of their heritage are thus another arena that tribes and families implicitly compete for power. However, since the core of the legislation is rooted in the assumption of discrete

³² Obtained from my field notes on their meeting with the project assistant on February 25, 2019.

³³ Interview with a development association member after the intellectual creation review meeting on June 2, 2018.

and internally homogenous indigenous cultures, the attempts to assign intellectual property rights or the object ownership to a single community may freeze the ambiguous and unstable boundaries between the indigenous groups (Lin 2007).

5.3 Conclusion

In summary, since the wedding, the *Kaviyangan* and the NTUMA have maintained contact in a way that breaks the usual relationship of cooperation between source communities and museums in the past. The invitation cards, the funeral ritual, and the long-term interaction between students and tribal members displayed the relationship built on the recognition of being relatives to both parties. For the tribe, *Muakaikai's* wedding benefits its cultural revitalization; the past “cultural desert” term now turned into evidence of its effort on cultural affairs and helped in creating a sense of identity for the tribe.

Nonetheless, the relationship between the *Kaviyangan* and the NTUMA is not a simple rapport but based on each side's assessment of benefits and compromises. Facing the pressure from other tribes, the *Kaviyangan* publicly insists on its rights on the ancestor pillars and applies the intellectual creation protection on their heritage. Meanwhile, the NTUMA spares no effort in maintaining the relationship with the community in response to the doubt of its determination on decolonization from other indigenous groups. It should be noted that the inequality and difficulties always exist in this cooperation: On the one hand, the *Kaviyangan* people still cannot easily access their ancestral pillar which is in a distant city. On the other hand, under the generational alternation, the freshmen of NTU may not know their relationship with a Paiwanese tribe. Because of the differences in the organizational structure of the two sides, it is still unknown whether the relative relationship can continue in the long run.³⁴

³⁴ The teaching staff in the department of Anthropology suggested that the wedding should be informed to the next university president who would be the successor “husband” of *Muakai* in the future.

Conclusion

The heritagization case of the *Kaviyangan*'s ancestral pillars illustrates how an indigenous group fights for its deprived rights in the heritage framework through the cultural tradition, and thus enhances its self-identity. In the process of selection and application process of heritage, the AHD still dominates the logic and practice of heritage regulation in today's Taiwan. In the *Muakaikai* and *Mulitan*'s heritagization process, academic research in the past and nativism in the state's political policies are two decisive factors. In other words, the state includes indigenous cultural heritage as national treasures to incorporate the culture and politics of ethnic groups into its force.

On the contrary, when facing the state force and the profession norm of heritage, the *Kaviyangan* people adopted an innovative way of cooperation with the NTUMA, avoiding the dilemma between the national treasure designation and the artifact repatriation. They challenged the authority of the museum through the princess wedding, the core of their traditional culture, and showed their agency via the intentional scenario designs of the ceremony. Therefore, this wedding is a symbolic restart of the relationship between the tribe and the NTUMA, which overwrites the layers of the colonial past.

In addition to revising the unequal relationship with the museum, the wedding empowers the *Kaviyangan* in indigenous politics nowadays through enhancing its visibility and reputation in other tribes, and thus strengthen the *Kaviyangan*'s self-confidence. Through careful selection of cultural traits suitable for presentation, the *Kaviyangan* built an internal identity with the recognition of outsiders in the public occasion of the wedding. Therefore, compared with the national treasure's meaning in solidifying the national community, the *Kaviyangan* people care about eliminating the "cultural desert" stigma through the nation's recognition of their culture and consolidating their tribal collectivity. For more than a decade, the *Kaviyangan* has been looking for the lost tradition through cultural revitalization. The heritagization of ancestral pillars and the national treasure wedding effectively reduced their anxiety. Achieving staged success, the former embarrassment became the element of their cultural intimacy, enabling the locals to position themselves and the "*Kaviyangan* community" from the intimate emotional structure of self-pity and pride.

However, it is exactly that the wedding enhanced the publicity of the heritagization of *Muakaikai*, which led to *Kaviyangan*'s full awareness of the gaze of other tribes and internal opposers. While actively cooperating with the museum, they also had to exaggeratedly display their difficulties and positions to the outside world showing that

they adhere to their own rights of indigenous. Likewise, their divorce-possibility declarations, applications for intellectual creation protection, etc. are not only for claiming their rights but also a performance that takes into account the scrutiny from others. The communication with the NTU after the ceremony can also be regarded as the *Kaviyangan* not wanting the wedding to be criticized as a mere formality, but really the start of long-term cooperation. However, although it seems to be mind games, the cooperation and interaction between the museum, the tribe, and the students are sincere. This wedding, besides the political declaration of the decolonization intention and the empowerment of the *Kaviyangan*, also created a genuine relationship between the tribe and the NTUMA.

Although the heritagization of *Muakaikai* seems to be a perfect story, it still needs to be stressed that power inequality always exists. The knowledge system of the heritage practices is still unfriendly to the communities and cultures with different concepts of materiality; the deprivation of the rights of the indigenous since the colonial period also cannot be whitewashed by the innovating cooperation approach.

However, it is noteworthy that neither the country nor the tribe is an individual with a clear boundary but the assemblage of people and small units. Whether it is the national wedding per se or the revision of the label of the ancestral pillars' "replica", these could only be realized with the interaction, discussion and negotiation between the curators and the *Kaviyangan* members and within the tribe. The connections and compromises with each other show a flexible space in the seemingly fixed heritage regulation system. The *Kaviyangan* people experience the existence of the nation through a substantive organizational structure with the museum representatives. Therefore, the meaning of national treasure and the national identity it represents is understood by *Kaviyangan* through its daily micro-operation and its value for tribal identity.

Bibliography

Alexander, Edward P. & Alexander Mary. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*, Second Edition. AltaMira Press, 2008.

Ames, Michael M. "How to Decorate a House: The Re-negotiation of Cultural Representations at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology." *Museum Anthropology* 22, no. 3 (1999): 41-51.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. Ed. London: Verso, 2006.

Asai, E., Kasahara, Masaharu, and Yang, Nanjun. *Taiwan Yuanzhu Minzu Yingxiang: Qianjing Huilun Jiaoshou Sheyingji*. Taiwan Yuanzhumin Xilie. Taipei Shi: Nantian Shuju, 1995.

Ashworth, Graham, Ashworth, G.J., and Graham, Brian J. *Senses of Place: Senses of Time. Heritage, Culture and Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. Routledge, 1995.

Breske, Ashleigh. "Politics of Repatriation: Formalizing Indigenous Repatriation Policy." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 25, no. 3 (2018): 347-373.

Buchan, Noah. "Taiwan's national treasures: Plunder or preservation" Taipei Times, <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/feat/archives/2017/05/25/2003671243>, 25 May 2017 (accessed 28 December 2019).

Bureau of Cultural Property. "na paiwan a kemasi *Kaviyangan* na lja *Zingrur* a pararulj." <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/antiquity/20150501000002>, 30 April 2015 (accessed 8 May 2020).

Chiang Bien. "Paiwan zu de shehui wenhua renleixue yanjiu (shang):1895-1970." 排灣族的社會文化人類學研究(上):1895-1970. *Newsletter of Taiwan History Field Research* 24 (1992) :27-47.

Chiu, Shin-Hui. "House and objects--a study of Paiwan hierarchy" MA diss., National Taiwan University, 2001.

Chiu, Ying-Tsui, Pakedavai, Zepulj, and Dabiliyan Ahlif. "The Indigenous Traditional Intellectual Creations Protection Act and the Discourse of Cultural Identity: The Practice of the Pakedavai Family in Paiwan." *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies* Vol.8 No.1 (2015):1-42.

- Clifford, James. *Routes, Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Cruikshank, Julie. "Imperfect Translations: Rethinking Objects of Ethnographic Collections." *Museum Anthropology* 19, no. 1 (1995): 25-38.
- Françoizo, Mariana, and Strecker, Amy. "Caribbean Collections in European Museums and the Question of Returns." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 24 (4) (2017): 451-77.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books, Inc., 1973.
- Handler, Richard. "On Having a Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec's Patrimoine." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. History of Anthropology Ser., 1985.
- Harrison, Rodney. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Harrison, Rodney, Sarah. Byrne, and Anne Clarke. *Reassembling the Collection: Ethnographic Museums and Indigenous Agency*. Santa Fe, NM: SAR Press, School for Advanced Research Press, 2013.
- Herzfeld, Michael. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics and the Real Life of States, Societies, and Institutions*. Third ed. Routledge Classic Texts in Anthropology. 2016.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Hu, Chia-Yu. "Museums, Anthropology, and Exhibitions on Taiwan Indigenous Peoples: The Historical Transformation on Settings of Cultural Representation." *Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology*, 66 (2006): 94-124.
- Hu, Chia-Yu. "Indigenous Ritual as Intangible Cultural Heritage in Taiwan—Reflections on Heritage Politics and Cultural Transmission." In *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Local Communities in East Asia*, ed. Liu, Tik Sang, 201-225. Hong Kong: South China Research Center, 2011.
- Hu, Tai-Li, et al. *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo 60 nian fazhan teji 中央研究院民族學研究所 60 年發展特輯*. Taipei: Institution of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2015.
- Hu, Tai-Li. "Amei zu taibalang Kakita'an zuwu chongjian: 'Wenwu' guihuan yu 'chuantong' fuzhen de fansi." 阿美族太巴壠 Kakita'an 祖屋重建：「文物」歸還與「傳統」復振的反思. In *Kua • wenhua: Renleixue yu xinlixue de shiye*

- 跨・文化：人類學與心理學的視野. Institution of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2017.
- Huang, Chu-Cheng. "Indigenous Intellectual Creations and Sui Generis: A Critical Interpretation of the New Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples." *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies* Vol.3 No.4 (2010):11-46.
- Jacobs, Jordan. "Repatriation and the Reconstruction of Identity." *Museum Anthropology* 32, no. 2 (2009): 83-98.
- Jung, Shaw-Wu. "Cultural Intimacy and Integrated Community Building: An Ethnographic Study of Local Publicity." *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology* 52(2013): 55-102.
- Kreps, Christina Faye. *Liberating culture: cross-cultural perspectives on museums, curation, and heritage preservation*. Vol. 7. Psychology Press, 2003.
- Kreps, Christina F. "Appropriate Museology in Theory and Practice." *Museum and Management and Curatorship*, 23(1) (2008): 23-41.
- Kuprecht, Karolina. *Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Property Claims*. Springer International Pu, 2016.
- Laura Peers. "Strands Which Refuse to be Braided: Hair Samples from Beatrice Blackwood's Ojibwe Collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum." *Journal of Material Culture* Vol. 8(1) (2003):75-96.
- Lee, Fan-Yang. "The Development and Characteristic of Taiwanese Cultural Property Conservancy 1984-2007." *Journal of the Chinese for General Education* 13 (2008):57-75.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "The concept of House." In *Anthropology and Myth: Lecture:1951-1982*, 151-152. Basil Blackwell Inc. Press, 1987.
- Li, Tzu-Ning. 'From 'Ethnographic Objects' to 'Cultural Heritage': Implications from the 'Indigenous Collection Returning Home Exhibitions' of National Taiwan Museum.' Conference paper of International Biennial Conference of Museum Studies, 2014.
- Lin, Hui-chen. *The Brief History of Taiwan Cultural Heritage Preservation*. Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., 2011.
- Lin, Kai-Shih. "Using Intellectual Property Rights to Protect Indigenous Cultures: Critique on the Recent Development in Taiwan." *Journal of Archaeology and*

Anthropology 67 (2007): 185-220.

Lin, Kai-Shih. "Dangdai zuqun xianxiang de zaidi yunzuo yu maodun: Hengchun bandao manzhou diqu de kaocha." 當代族群現象的在地運作與矛盾:恆春半島滿洲地區的考察。In *Ethnic Group, Governance, and the Construction of New Order: Ethnicity under Neoliberalization*. Ed. Huang, Ying-kuei, 259-310. Socio Publishing Co. Ltd.,2018.

Lin, Yi-Hung. "A brief History of Cultural Heritage Conservation of Taiwan." *Journal of the National Taiwan Museum* 64 (1) (2011): 75-106.

Lu, Mei-Fen. "Toward Text and Communication: The Changing Presentation of Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples." *Museology Quarterly* 29 (3) (2005):5-36.

Marcus, George E. "The Uses of Complicity in the Changing Mise-en-Scène of Anthropological Fieldwork." *Representations*, no. 59 (1997): 85-108.

Marzia Varutti. "Learning to share knowledge: collaborative Projects in Taiwan". In *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*, ed. Viv Golding & Wayne Modest, 59-78. Bloomsbury, 2013.

McCall, Vikki, and Clive Gray. "Museums and the 'new Museology': Theory, Practice and Organisational Change." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29, no. 1 (2014): 19-35.

McCarthy, Conal. *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display*. Oxford [etc.]: Berg, 2007.

Mclean, I. A. "Contemporaneous Traditions' The World in Indigenous Art/ Indigenous Art in the World." *Humanities Research* 19.2 (2013): 47-60.

Merryman, John. "Two Ways of Thinking about Cultural Property." *American Journal of International Law* 80 (1986): 831-53.

Meskill, Lynn. "The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002): 279-301.

Myers, Fred. "'Primitivism', Anthropology, and the Category of 'Primitive art'". In *Handbook of Material Culture*, 267-284, SAGE Publications, 2006.

Onciul, Bryony. "Community engagement, curatorial practice, and museum ethos in Alberta, Canada." *Museums and communities: Curators, collections and collaboration* (2013): 79-97.

Returning Souls. "Huanying kan wan 'rang linghun hui jia' hou zai ci tie liuyan

huiying!” 歡迎看完「讓靈魂回家」後在此貼留言回應！
<https://returningsouls.pixnet.net/blog/post/89046811>, 21 May 2013 (accessed 19 May 2020).

Sauvage, Alexandra. “To Be or Not to Be Colonial: Museums Facing Their Exhibitions”. *Culturales*, Vol.6 (12) (2010): 97-116.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Oxford: Routledge, 2006.

Smith, Charles Saumarez. “Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings.” In *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo, 6-21. Reaktion Books Ltd, 1989.

Taluviljav, Adrucangalj. “Guobao zulíngzhu de hunli.” 國寶祖靈柱的婚禮 In *Kehua paiwanxue: Wenhua de chixu yu bianqian* 刻劃排灣學：文化的持續與變遷, ed. Tjuku Ruljigaljig, 227-268. Taipei: Yale, 2017.

Thomas, Nicholas. *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums Are Good for in the 21st Century*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016.

Tung, Yuan-Chao. “Returning to the Source: Re-orienting Museums in Taiwan.” Presented at Transpacific Taiwan: An International Symposium, 14 November, Watson Institute, Brown University, 2016.

Utsurikawa, Nenzo. *Taiwan Sōtokufu Naimukyoku hakkō shiseiki chōsa hōkoku dainibu: Tafalong sha kakita'an no ban'ya*. 台灣總督府內務局發行史蹟調查報告第二輯：太巴壠社カキタアンの蕃屋. Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu shiseiki meishō Ten'nenkinenbutsu chōsa iinkai 台灣總督府史蹟名勝天然紀念物調查委員會, 1936.

Waterson, R. *The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia*. New York: Watson-Guptill Publication, 1998.

Watkins, Joe. “Cultural Nationalists, Internationalists, and ‘Intra-nationalists’: Who's Right and Whose Right?” *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12, no. 1 (2005): 78-94.

Wu, Chao-Chieh. “The Possibility of Interaction between Museums and Source Communities: A Case Study of the Wedding Ceremony of the National Treasure in National Taiwan University.” *Journal of National Museum of History* 22 (2017): 179-200.

Wu, Ming-Chi. “The Symbolic Power of Objects: From ‘Heritages of the Chi-Mei Back to the Chi-Mei’ to ‘Restore Lost Ritual’.” *Journal of the National Taiwan Museum* 30 No.2 (2011): 14-19.

Xia, Cuijun. "Fluctuation between AHD and Cultural Intimacy: Heritagization of a Historic Private House in Qingtian, China." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (2020): 1-14.

Xu, Gung-Ming. "Paiwanic Ethnic Art and Society from the Viewpoint of Collection-Based Research." *Collection and Research* 3 (1992):297-305.