Taiwan was the first area to come under Japanese Imperial rule. This study examines the cultural changes of the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan, the Puyuma in Chihpen, through their colonial experience by taking their sumo practice as an example. At Taitung city, Chihpen, ethnic sports such as long distance running, sumo, and traditional dance are performed in the "Xiao mi ji (millet festival)" in July every year. Of particular note is the existence of the "Dohyo (sumo ring)" in sumo. This form of sumo is the result of the cultural interaction made with the Japanese from the time of their first contact. This cultural interaction led the Puyuma to come a new appreciation of their own "traditional" culture and identity, which continues to this day. It came to have a new appreciation as their "tradition", and has also resulted by the end of today after the war. It can be said that Chihpen sumo has departed from the history of colonialism and has developed into its own unique ethnic sport.

Keywords: ethnic sports, acculturation, identity

1. Understandings of the issue

Taiwan¹ was once part of the "Great Japanese Empire" and was ruled as a colony. The reign of Japan started when Taiwan was ceded to Japan from the Qing dynasty², under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki which was concluded after the Japanese-Sino War (1904-05). Taiwan, in which Japan established the Governor-General Formosa prefecture, was a key military staging point for later southward campaigns. Taiwan remained a Japanese colony for the next fifty years until Japan’s defeat in 1945³.

Today, relations between Japan and Taiwan are rather complicated. Although there have been no diplomatic relations since 1972, when Japan recognized the People’s Republic of China as a sovereign nation, business relations between Japan and Taiwan have been very intimate⁴.

Culturally as well, it is not an overstatement to say that Taiwan is inundated with Japanese culture. Japanese-made programs are aired on a steady basis through multi-channel cable TV. Conversations sprinkled with Japanese words are a kind of a fashion for young people⁵. Generally, people use many Japanese words that have been adopted into their

¹ The state is known as Taiwan, and addressed as Taiwan among the UN member states as well. Because of these facts, the present study uses ‘Taiwan’.
² Starting from the event when the Qing dynasty annexed Taiwan in the late 16 C, Han Chinese people immigrated to the island, and settled there, establishing the basic character - the society with Han Chinese people in a position of dominance which includes minority indigenous inhabitants (Wakabayashi 2001, p.21)
³ Japanese occupation in Taiwan brought about intense resistance. In 1902, Japan broke down the indigenous guerilla force in Han Chinese inhabited area in the flatten. With 2,200 people killed and injured in the aborigine inhabited area in the mountains, Japan could manage to bring the entire island under control in the middle of 1910’s. Japanese rule in both security and administration covered all of Taiwan, with Governor-General-Formosa prefecture on top of the structure down to low-end police officers in the police station.
⁴ Japan's trade with Taiwan totaled 45.4 billion yen, and Taiwan was the fourth biggest trade partner in 2003. Approximately 660,000 Japanese visited Taiwan, and 730,000 Taiwanese came to Japan though the number became lower due to SARS in 2003. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
⁵ Such subculture is referred as ‘哈日’ phenomena, and those young people, '哈日族'.

Identity Seen in the Acculturation of Sumo Done by Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan, Chihpen Puyuma

Masashi Watanabe*  
*Research Associate, Waseda University, Faculty of Sport Sciences  
2-759-15 Mikajima, Tokorozawashi, Saitama 359-1192 Japan  
watanabe-m@aoni.waseda.jp  
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language. They rarely recognize that they originated from Japanese words. Taking a movie titled "To-san (多桑)" as an example, the pronunciation and meaning of the title itself are equivalent with the Japanese word "To-san (father)". In other words, it is merely the Taiwanese Kanji letter notation of the sound of Japanese word "To-san". Similar examples are abundant, such as "bento (boxed lunch)", "tatami (tatami mat)", "kanjo (study)" and "untensyu (driver)".

Having studied under the Japanese educational system during the period of Japanese rule, not a few people of the generation represented by the former president Li Deghui have a sense of closeness to Japan.

Japanese culture seen in today’s Taiwan is interactive and is based on free will, whereas the cultural, ideological influences under the colonial rule brought by Japan were compulsory and one-sided in the condition of overwhelming predominance. It is not appropriate to bundle up them together. However, cultural influences from Japan have become part of Taiwanese spiritual, sociological and material culture. Being tangible and intangible, or direct and indirect, their residual effects are evident today even long after Japan’s withdrawal from Taiwan.

There are different cultural events in today’s Taiwan which are considered to be influenced by Japanese culture to some extent. The present study will explore the cultural influences seen in Indigenous Peoples society, especially focusing on those which originated in the era under Japan’s rule. Specifically, Japanese Sumo wrestling performed by Puyuma (Beiinanzu)6, one of the indigenous Peoples tribes, will be discussed. In Japan, Sumo is regarded as the national sport, and therefore Japanese culture is deeply ingrained in this sport. Meantime, in the process of nation-state creation aiming at establishment of "Great Japan Empire", Sumo was easily connected with the national policy as Sumo-do, or the way of Sumo (Fujio 1938, pp. 67-82). Sumo is a perfect material discussing the relation between colonialism and a sport.

Chihpen in Taitung city Taitung county is the Puyuma’s place of residence. In July every year, the millet festival, ‘Xiao mi ji’ is held there. Several ethnic sports, such as marathon, sumo, and dance, are shown during the week in the festival. The fact that a Sumo ring, ‘Dohyo’, exists in the Sumo game there is noteworthy. In past studies on Sumo, the Dohyo has been considered to be unique to Japanese Sumo; among the sumo games carried out in the world7, sumo with Dohyo is seen only in Japan, characterizing Dohyo is a factor to determine the winner in Japanese Sumo (Watanabe 2003, pp.244-245). However, Sumo with Dohyo is seen in the Sumo performed by Indigenous peoples Puyuma (hereafter Chihpen Sumo).

Another point of interest is that the Chihpen people themselves use the Japanese word Sumo.

Chihpen Sumo is thought to be a form a wrestling originally practiced by the people and was later modified by the cultural contact during Japan’s colonial rule. By demonstrating this consideration, the present study aims to explore the issue of the identity formation in the course of modification of Chihpen Sumo.

Kasahara (1980) analyzed the community rites in Patikao as Puyuma’s traditional events from the viewpoint of social, religious backgrounds. However, the study on identity formation, at which the present study aims, has not yet been done. Regarding the relation between colonialism and sports, there have been studies analyzing modern sports on the basis of cultural dissemination. The perspective of the present study is to clarify how an ethnic sport in the native society has been evolving through inter-cultural contact.

The study consists of orally transmitted information from interviews obtained in field investigation that the author of this study has carried out since 2003 and literatures listed in the bottom of the study. Information in the case without special mention is based on the interviews.

6 Puyuma similarly to other tribes does not own its self-proclaimed name. It was once regarded as part of Paiwan under the civilization project by Japan. Panapanan as its name was suggested, but was not fixed. Since there was a certain period when the tribe had 8 villages, it was called ‘八社蕃 (meaning 8 village tribe)’. The tribal name of ‘Puyuma’ evolves from Puyuma village (Beiinan, Nanwan) which was once the most dominant among tribal villages.

7 ‘Sumo’ mentioned here is a hand-to-hand martial art fighting style. It is a generic term for the sports in that one performer defeats the other party with throw techniques. Sumo is one of the oldest martial arts in large number. It has been performed by various races regardless of regions and culture.
2. Society of Indigenous peoples and outline of field investigation

Historically, different terms have been used non-locals to refer to the aboriginal Taiwanese. Examples are the names such as 'Ban jin' (番人, 番人) and ‘Takasago zoku’ (高砂族) during the periods from Qing dynasty to Japanese rule. ‘Gaoshanzu’ (高山族) and the name pointing to the people who live in high mountains (山地同胞) were also heard after establishment the government of Republic of China. Today, they are referred as Indigenous peoples (hereafter Taiwanese Aborigines). The term was stipulated in Constitution in 1994 as a result of the Indigenous peoples so-called ‘Aborigines Movements’, conducted by the themselves 8.

Approximately 98 % of Taiwan’s population, numbering 22 million, is of Han Chinese ethnicity9. The remaining 2 % is aborigines, divided into 12 groups; Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Amis, Puyuma, Rukai, Paiwan and Yami (Sao). They were formerly designated as 9 groups, having been divided according to anthropological research undertaken during Japanese rule, and the classification was followed by the government after the Second World War, and then Thao, Kavalan and Taroko were included after the inauguration of Chen Shui-bian administration in 2000 10.

During the period under Japanese rule, Governor-General-Formosa prefecture designated Ban-chi (蕃地), the mountainous area in the central part of the island, as a special administrative district, and the eastern flatland area, inhabited by the Yami, Puyuma and Paiwan, as a normal administrative district, clearly making political distinction between the two. Although there have been administrative changes, the distinction between highland mountainous and lowland tribes has continued to this day.

Puyuma, the subject of this study, is a flatland tribe numbering approximately 9,500 11 today. The people live in the expanse of Taitung plain, a suburb of Taitung city, in the southeast area of Taiwan Island. The people originally had subsisted through slash-and-burn agriculture, mainly growing millets, sweet potatoes and taros, and supplementing their diet through hunting local game. Though sweet potatoes were grown during Japanese rule, the major product today is fruits as cash crops. Additionally, paddy cultivation was introduced in early time through contact with Han Chinese people.

Puyuma’s ten communities are scattered around the relatively narrow area of 20 km from north to south in the Taitung plain. Cultural differences among communities, such as difference in vocabulary, are not small. Meantime, Puyuma is said to be one of the tribe groups that experienced the biggest acculturation. The relation with Paiwan has been close and the contact with Han Chinese has been long. What is more, after the War, Han Chinese immigration has been particularly active.

Chihpen (知本社Chimoto) at the time of Japanese rule is situated on an arterial road 11 km southwest from Taitung city. The infrastructure is well-developed. Residential environment is almost same as that of Han Chinese community. According to the study done in 2000, the population is 3256 including 30% Indigenous peoples, numbering 970 12. However, this percentage does not necessarily indicate the actual status. The structure of ‘tribal groups 13’ became complicated through inter-tribal marriages. The ancestral register is recorded along paternal lines. Therefore, more people identify themselves as Indigenous peoples (Chien 2001, p. 101). Except for agriculture and livestock industry, occupational choices are not many. Obtaining a job in tourism related business in Taitung city and the neighboring Taitung hot-spring, the resort area representing Taiwan, is considered a high status job.

Chihpen is called ‘Katipul’, or ‘Tipul’ for short, in

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8 The word ‘Aborigines’ was specified in an additional article of the constitution in 1997.
9 Those people originally immigrated in 17-18 DC from Fujian and Guandong in mainland China. 75 % of the population is Fujiyanese who speak Nin Nan dialect, and 13 % is Hakka Chinese whose language is Hakk dialect. Additionally, after the War, Waisheng-ren were added to its population following the nationalist defeat in China.
10 In a broader sense, other 9 tribes (Pepo) are occasionally included. These tribes were blended into Han Chinese people in the early stage. Their cultures and languages are considered to have already disappeared.
11 According to the website of Executive Yuan Aborigines Commission as of June 30th, 2004.
12 Settlement of Han Chinese in Chihpen was strictly limited during Japanese rule. It is said that only 2 Han families lived in Chihpen.
13 It means that Taiwanese population consists of four groups; aborigines, Fujiyanese (HanNan people), Hkka and Waisheng-ren (new comers).
the Katipul language\textsuperscript{14}. It was also called ‘Chimoto’ using the kanji ‘知本’ during Japanese rule. Today, Puyuma people call it ‘Chepon’, and Han Chinese people, ‘Chiben’. In recent years, on occasions requiring traditional usage, Han-language signage of Katipul, ‘卡地布’, is sometimes used.

As characteristics of traditional Puyuma society, the headman, the seniority system and the male gathering place are pointed out. The headman is called ‘Toumoku’\textsuperscript{15} a vestige of the ‘Toumoku system (頭目制)’ instituted from the end of Qing rule period to Japanese rule. Although ‘Toumoku’ once asserted political and spiritual authority, today the status of a ‘Toumoku’ is merely a symbol of cultural integration\textsuperscript{16}. ‘Parakuan’\textsuperscript{17} (a male gathering place) was installed according to strictly divided seniority system. ‘Parakuan’ was the center of political, militaristic and tribal rituals. Young men lived together there, and were taught the social norms such as implicit obedience to a senior and thorough service. However, it was abolished and disassembled after the War.

3. ‘Sumo’ seen in the millet festival (小米祭) in Chihpen

‘小米’ is the Han language notation of millet which was originally the staple crop on which they based their subsistence. Among various rituals concerning to this semiannual crop, the first ritual concerning the harvest cerebration in the tribe is called ‘Kavakasaan’ in Katipul language or ‘Bunarasa’. ‘Bunarasa’ means a millet ear as heavy as a stone because it is fully laden with grains, indicating the concept of fertility.

In Chihpen, the elder generation\textsuperscript{18} who received Japanese language education (hereafter Japanese speaking generation) speak Katipul language in everyday conversation, borrowing Japanese words for numeral and the concepts which Katipul language does not have. Occasionally, they speak Japanese to communicate each other. Accordingly, in order to distinguish Japanese language and words used in Chihpen, the present study refers to them as Chihpen Japanese. The millet festival is also called ‘Awa matsuri’ and ‘Syukakusai’ in Chihpen Japanese.

The millet festival held in 2004 (‘2004卡地布小米収穫祭’; hereafter the millet festival) in which the author made participant observations was hosted by Taitung County Katipul Cultural Development Association in Parakuan (youth center\textsuperscript{19}). Katipul Village Young Men’s Association was in charge of practical management of the festival and Katipul Village Women’s Association cooperated with it. As seen in these examples, the public organizations are a main body of the festival today. ‘Toumoku’ performs merely ‘Parishi’ (traditional fest rituals), though, in old days, all the rituals concerning from millet’s seeding, thinning, harvest to eating were conducted by ‘Toumoku’\textsuperscript{20}.

The millet festival is held for 8 days from July 11\textsuperscript{th} to 18\textsuperscript{th} in the national calendar\textsuperscript{21}. Not only ‘Parishi’ by Toumoku and ‘Chihpen Sumo’ but also other ethnic sports, such as marathon and dance are performed. Those ethnic sports will also be discussed in future studies.

The ‘Chihpen Sumo’ matches are held on the afternoon of July 14\textsuperscript{th}. Except for this occasion, the ‘Chihpen Sumo’ matches are not seen. Although the word Sumo is written as ‘摔角競技’ in Taiwanese

\textsuperscript{14} Generally speaking, it is considered as Puyuma language. Since the differences among tribes are not small, the present study regards it as Katipul Language. In Chihpen, they seldom use ‘Puyuma’ to refer to themselves. They use the word, ‘Chepon’. Practically, they express their language as ‘their own language’ in Chihpen Japanese.

\textsuperscript{15} Rahan (meaning Bishop) in Katipul Language.

\textsuperscript{16} In each variant of Chihpen (Mabaryu, Pakaroku, and Rubanyao), Toumoku exists. However, in Mabaryu, the successor after the death of the late Toumok has not yet been decided (as of May, 2005).

\textsuperscript{17} The word Parakuan signifies both the building as the male gathering place and its compound and space.

\textsuperscript{18} Japanese language affect not only in the spoken language but also on the way of thinking of part of Chihpen people. Even in their national language (Chinese), they first read text in Japanese. After that, in the case that they don’t understand the meaning, they read it in Chinese.

\textsuperscript{19} Han Chinese notation of present Parakuan which was arranged in the elementary school site by the Katipul cultural development association.

\textsuperscript{20} Without the ceremony performed by Toumoku, the people were not allowed either to do all the farming to grow millets or to eat them.

\textsuperscript{21} The national calendar means the new calendar. The old calendar was referred as the agriculture calendar. In Taiwanese society generally speaking, many of the yearly events are conducted according to the old calendar. However, Chihpen Puyuma uses the new one. This is an interesting fact, indicating the process of introduction of calendar in this community.
The males, from young boys in elementary school to adults in their 40’s, participate in the matches in order of age. First, the elementary school pupils perform the match fully clothed or shirtless. They do not wear ‘Mawashi’ (the belt worn in Japanese Sumo) or a belt. Hence, they do not wrestle with the arms around their opponent’s waist. Instead, they push and thrust each other with their arm extended in front of their body. One game matches and knockout three-game matches are performed.

Next, junior and senior high school students meet. Long white towels are given to the junior high students or elder so that they can wear them around their waist. The towel is like the ‘Mawashi’ in Japanese Sumo and it is called ‘Runain’ in Katipul language.

The referee is referred to as ‘Inuna nanau’ in Katipul language. A member of the Katipul Village Young Men’s Association alternately acts as a referee. The referees, in ordinary clothes, are engaged in the matches in different ways depending on their sport experiences. Some perform like western wrestling referees, with their shoes on and using a whistle. Others start the matches following the way of Judo, giving a word of command, ‘Hajime’ (start), and then shout out ‘Ippon’ to decide the winner who has defeated the opponent by a throw technique.

In the matches contended by junior and senior high school students, dynamic throw techniques are often observed. The throws involve in Judo techniques such as whisking away or off the opponent’s feet while grappling each other. It seems that Judo confined to its standing techniques are performed on the sand. This revolves largely from their experiences in sports as indicated in the fact that Chihpen elementary school leads the strongest Judo and wrestling teams in Taiwan.

Finally, the young men over 20 years old compete with each other. Some have just finished military service and others are simply regular, family men. Chihpen Japanese expresses these people ‘Seinen (Youth)’ or ‘Syakai jin (adult)’. The referees here are people of the Japanese speaking generation. They occasionally instruct wrestlers to start the match in the formal manner in that their fists touch on the ground in a half-squatting position. In reality, however, because many of the participants have been drinking alcohols such as ‘Sake’ since the morning, the matches become an entertainment attraction rather than the serious competition. Rules in these...
cases are not strict. The wrestler who has been pushed out of the ring comes back and continues to wrestle. In the matches performed by adults, the ring does not have the positive meaning of ‘Dohyo’ in Japanese Sumo which is observed in the matches of junior and senior high school students. ‘Oshi dashi (frontal push-out)’ and ‘Yorikiri (frontal force-out)’ are not the winning techniques there because of the lack of Dohyo concept.

The victory is said as ‘Patikao’ and the defeat as ‘Makunao’ in Katipul language. The brave wrester is titled as ‘Mainaianai’ and the weak is given a derogatory term, ‘Buriris’.

The young generation of Chihpen Puyuma understands the Chihpen Sumo as a completely different sport from Japanese Sumo aired on cable TV. On the other hand, some people in Japanese speaking generation, taking the concept of Japanese Sumo into consideration, try to explain Chihpen Sumo. What is more, not a few in those people even think that they should instruct the manners of Japanese Sumo such as the start posture with the wrestler’s fists on the ground, saying that the performances seen today do not work as ‘Sumo’. Those facts show that the understandings of Chihpen Sumo differ by generation. One is a group represented by young people who acknowledge that the Chihpen Sumo is a unique culture in Chihpen, and the other is clearly aware of that its origins lie in Japanese culture.

4. Acculturation of Chihpen Sumo

In order to discuss the acculturation of Chihpen Sumo, the shifts of Chihpen Sumo is considered in the social changes from the era under Japanese colonial rule to the present days by analyzing literatures.

4.1. Puyuma’s Sumo in Ethnographical reports

Two kinds of reports by field work on Indigenous Peoples during the Japanese rule were issued in the ‘Taisho’ era.

According to the reports from the field work implemented by the investigation conducted by the Japanese authorities ‘Banzoku’ from 1910 to 1913, as ‘角力’ (the kanji letters for Sumo), the following description reads: "The young men belonging to the north and south ‘Takuvakuvan’ are separated into two groups. They start Sumo (Mapiipii). Each man, with grasping the other party’s hair, tries to whisk the opponent off his feet until the distressed opponent loses the will of fighting. When determining the winner, the leaders of the two ‘Takuvakuvan’ slowly proceed to the center, and untie their belt, which is the signal to stop the Mapiipii." (The Governor-General-Formosa Prefecture ‘Banzoku’ Investigation, 1921b, p.321)

Correspondingly, the report from the field work carried out from 1912 pointed out ‘角力’ or Sumo as one of various entertaining games that is called ‘Marubururu’ in ‘Chimoto’, and ‘Maruboro’ in ‘Roka (current ‘Lijia’ in Taitung city) (The Governor-General-Formosa Prefecture ‘Ban Aborigines Investigation, 1921a, p.251). Its rules, the occasions when it is held or its purpose are not described.

In the investigation from 1931 by Kiyoto Furuno, Sumo performed by Panapanayan22 tribe in ‘Roka’ is reported. Referring to the festival of winter millet, Furuno writes: "Children of the boys’ gathering place shoot and kill a monkey in the ceremony of the monkey festival. After that, the boys with birdlime on their hands grasp each other’s hair. This is called Marius. It looks like Sumo, and they perform this hoping that plants would bear rich crops so heavily that they fall down as children do as a result of fighting." (Furuno 1945, p.129) Its performance is similar to above mentioned ‘Mapiipii’ in that the participant grabs the opponent’s hair. According to the interviews by the author, it was held in ‘Nanwang’ during Japanese rule, and called ‘Mapigipigini’. It contained the idea of fertility that rich harvest would be promised on the land well-stepped by people. The local word ‘Marubu’ is given alongside of the Kanji letter of ‘角力 (Sumo)’ in the document. Though the direct mention is not seen, the fact that Sumo or ‘Marubu’ was performed is suggested.

22 This is one of the terms indicating Puyuma in the category of aborigines. According to the investigation by the author, ‘Pana’ means an arrow, and ‘Panapanayan’ is the place where an arrow drops. According to a tale, though they had inhabited in their cradle near Rubuaan, they had to move to other place due to lack of agricultural land. The spot is said to be the place which the arrow shot by Toumoku at the departure fell.
Meantime, although the walking competition and the local dance are referred in the description of the millet festival in ‘(Chimoto)’, Sumo is not (Furuno 1945, pp.130-132). The footnote reads "The interviewee did not own detailed knowledge about the agricultural rituals. Whereas, the religious rituals conducted to this day seem to be rare." The author of this study confirmed this matter through an informant who had known the Furuno’s interviewee. According to the informant, the interviewee came from Paiwan, and did not have any interest in the rituals. Therefore, from the reports, it is impossible to verify whether or not Sumo was conducted. Similarly, the description of Sumo in ‘(Hinan)’ is not seen.

As for Sumo in which the wrestlers grasp each other’s hair, one of the photos in the photo book published in 1911 reveals its appearances. The picture is introduced as a play game unique among Puyuma’s children, and is described as thus: "Both children grasp each other’s hair and try to force down each other. Even if one of the children is pulled down, as far as he does not utter the word of surrender, the winner is not determined. The match is quite rough" (Narita 1911, pp.108-109). The photo is distributed as a post card ‘A children’s play game of Indigenous People Puyuma (Shu 2003, p.146)’. (Figure 2)

According to the interviews of the author, three out of ten Puyuma villages hold the Sumo matches; Chihpen, ‘Jian he’ in Taitung city (Kasavakan, ‘射馬干社(Shamakan)’ during Japanese rule) and ‘Nanwang’ in Taitung city (Puyuma, ‘Hinan-sha’ during Japanese rule). ‘Dohyo’ exists in Sumo of all the three cases, and is called ‘Mariwosu’ or ‘Marariwosu’ for short in Chihoen, ‘Marufuru’ in ‘Jian he’ and ‘Maruburubu’ in ‘Nanwang’ in their own languages.

A videotape which introduces Sumo with ‘Dohyo’ in ‘Nanwang’ is produced by a local public TV station. Its title is “青山春曉 5. 卑南摔角 ”(Beinan sumo) literally meaning ‘Blue Mountains Spring Dawn 5. Puyuma Sumo’ (広電基金会推廣). In the video, it is explained that in older times, Sumo was performed by pulling the opponent’s hair. However, during the Japanese rule, boys started wearing their hair short, making this technique very difficult. Since then, Sumo has been wrestled by grappling each other’s belt. Those explanations suggest that they understand that today’s Sumo has evolved over time, from the original form in which contestants grabbed each other’s hair to today’s form.

Taking the above mentioned matters into consideration, we may conclude the following: Sumo had been performed in Puyuma, and a significant matter is that their Sumo was performed by grabbing the opponent’s hair.

4.2.1 Japanese Rule

Focusing on Chihpen Sumo, the changes of Sumo are specifically described here through the interviews with the Japanese speaking generation. The purpose of this section is, especially from the contents of interviews, to understand how the meanings of Chihpen Sumo changed for the concerned people, by knowing and analyzing the relations in the cultural contexts and the social process. By doing so, their concepts of society and value should be clarified, which is significant to comprehend their identities revolving from Sumo.

As mentioned above, today’s Chihpen Sumo is performed wearing a towel on the wrestler’s waist, or mid-section. Basically, ‘Oshi dashi’ or frontal push-out is the effective winning technique. For this technique, the existence of Dohyo is imperative. Distinction between inside and outside of Dohyo as an element determining the winner is the same as in Japanese Sumo.

However, the oldest person, aged 86, as an
informant describes that Dohyo had not existed in the original Chihpen Sumo or Mariworiwosu\(^\text{24}\), adding that Sumo performed with opponents’ grabbing each other’s hair had not been seen in Chihpen.

In the millet festival Mariworiwosu had been carried out on the sand beach along with other exhibitions such as ‘Bunkasu (a distance race in Katipul language). In every spot on the sand beach, Mariworiwosu had been observed. There had not been any specific rules except that the winner was decided by pulling down or pinning one’s opponent. In other words, Sumo, in which gripping each other’s belt had been performed until the certain period under Japanese rule. Therefore, this Mariworiwosu can be understood as the initial feature of Chihpen Sumo. Dohyo as seen in Chihpen Sumo had not existed. As for ‘Mawashi’ or a Sumo belt, the loincloth worn as everyday clothing is considered to have had the same function as ‘Mawashi’ in Japanese Sumo.

According to this informant, Dohyo started to be installed in Parakuan, the site of the millet festival, in the early 1930’s. Since then, the place for Sumo has been permanently arranged so that Japanese Sumo could be practiced on a day-to-day basis as a discipline. Occasionally, the villagers wrestled with Japanese soldiers who were stationed to guard the coast. This means that, in Sumo of Chihpen Puyuma, original Mariworiwosu was displaced by Japanese Sumo.

Stating it differently, by the fact that the colonial modernism was brought into the Puyuma society, Japanese culture was accepted in different aspects during the Japanese rule, one of which was Japanese Sumo. Which is to say that, in 1930’s, Japanese Sumo was accepted in the presence of Mariworiwosu as a restricted code.

Meanwhile, taking a look at the background, the 1930’s was a big turning point for the ‘Great Japan Empire’. From the 9-18 incident in 1931, Japan started its inexorable path towards a 15-year war. In 1938 when the law of National Mobilization was enacted, the fulfillment of the war became the utmost priority for Japan. Taiwan, being a Japanese colony, was forced to contribute to the war effort. Japan’s policy of assimilation in Taiwan was intensified, and the policy attempting to change Taiwanese identity into the subjects of the Japanese Emperor, namely ‘Komin ka’ (皇民化) became the basic policy. In the administrative project to civilize the indigenous people as well, after the Wushe incident in 1930, Governor-General-Formosa prefecture issued a new outline of the civilization project (理蕃政策大綱) in 1931. The ultimate goal of this outline was the assimilation into Japan. Eventually, Japan’s previous suppression measures were reinforced as the indoctrination policy with a central focus on the Japanese language education in the special educational facility\(^\text{25}\) (Kondo 1996, pp.262-270).

The period of Mariworiwosu changes overlaps that of changes in the social situation. Generally, in the society of Aborigines, the process to assimilate into Japan brought about severe conflicts between the ruling side and the subordinate side as seen in the Wushe incident. By contrast, if confining to the narrations told by the Japanese speaking generation in Chihpen, they say that conspicuous conflicts were not observed.

The assimilation process in Chihpen Puyuma was viewed as a successful example by the Japanese authorities, described as "The utmost civilization and advancement among the plain native tribes" (Governor-General-Formosa Prefecture Aborigines Investigation 1921b, p.307). Whereas, Chihpen Puyuma narrate, in responsible manner, "When Japanese came to our village, they observed our culture, and told that nothing should be changed and should be left them as were(Chihpen Japanese)."

The emergence of a foreign variant is first captured through the ‘cognitive frame’ by the subject of the society concerned (Maekawa 2000, p.29). Comparing the social and cultural system of Chihpen Puyuma with that of Japan, considerable similarities are acknowledged. They could be the soil for accepting foreign variant.

First, in the occasion when Japan’s colonial policy was carried out, the congruities of the traditional rules and social customs of Chihpen Puyuma are pointed out. Especially in Komin ka during the final stage of Japanese rule, it was conspicuous. Amongst the Aborigine tribes, Puyuma is known for its bravery and strong sense of unity. It is considered as a society with imbued with a warrior ethic, respecting

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\(^\text{24}\) Nobody, except for the informant, recognizes it.

\(^\text{25}\) His educational institution was installed in the special administrative district in order to educate the aborigine children (Governor-General-Formosa prefecture Police was in charge). It was added to the police station, and a police officer doubled as a teacher.
courage and discipline. One of the examples is the commitment to implicit obedience in that a young man will stake his life on the senior’s command. Today, this is explained as the spirit of Sparta, or ‘Yamato-damashii’ (the Japanese spirit) (Chihpen Japanese). Although it is suggested that the idea was forcefully imprinted into their minds by the education under the colonial rule, it was not at all a foreign idea for Chihpen Puyuma. The narration is that the equivalent idea had originally existed.

It is also narrated that both ‘Bunkus’ and Mariworiwosu held in the millet festival were the training for headhunting as a religious rite of passage. The honorific title was given to the strong in each case. In the Parakuan facility, the fast runners and the strong wrestlers lived under the same roof, separated into respective two groups of right and left. This shows that the young men’s value in Chihpen Puyuma is mainly placed in the running and Sumo, namely in the relative merits of physical competence. In this meaning, Sumo is inevitably taken as being important.

Second, in the attempt to introduce ‘Seinen-dan’ (the youth organization), system as an organization of social indoctrination supported by the Governor-General-Formosa prefecture, traditional seniority system previously having existed in Chihpen Puyuma worked as a substructure. Parakuan was quite similar in its function and structure to ‘Wakamono-yado’ (Japan’s youth camp) that had provided the foundation of the youth organization in Japan. Therefore, replacement from Parakuan to the public youth organization was quite easy. Meantime, its similarity is pointed out also in the theoretical build-up by a leader of the youth organization in Japan, tracing the origin of the youth camp in the traditional seniority system in Indigenous peoples (Tazawa 1967, pp.282-285).

In Chihpen, the Chihpen youth organization was established in 1921, aiming at agricultural improvement, public moral improvement, national language pervasion and encouragement of savings (General Section of Taito Agency 1925, p43). In 1931, the Taito Agency’s guideline to establish the youth organization was issued with its principle, "The main purpose is to develop the qualification in the youth as a citizen with wellness and loyalty through mental and physical discipline". Following the guideline, the youth organization was established in each public school district. One of the rules according to the guideline encouraged Japanese Sumo as physical education (Taito Agency 1931, pp.72-74). In 1935, the Chihpen youth organization assembling place, a two-story concrete building, was constructed by the village collective funds (Taiwan Police 1935. 11, p.147). The Parakuan in each three tribes was integrated into one, and this building was called ‘Seinen Kaiakan (Youth center)’ which was equivalent to Parakuan in Chihpen Japanese. This concludes that the traditional social function applied by Parakuan was replaced with the public organization ruled by the police of the Governor-General-Formosa prefecture, positioning it as an end organization of the nation26.

Third, the education of Japanese language should be discussed. The people were encouraged to develop Japanese language proficiency which would enable them to positively understand Japanese culture and to be assimilated27. In the case of Japanese imperialism, the school education played a similar role to the missionary in the Western imperialism (Komagome 1996, p.4). In Chihpen, the public school28 was established as an elementary educational structure under the educational section of Governor-General-Formosa prefecture as early as 1898 General Section of Taito Agency 1925, p.121. Additionally, evening classes of Japanese language were offered for adults.

As mentioned above, the cultural similarity between Chihpen Puyuma society and foreign influence brought by the ruling side had existed. The similar framework had also been there. In addition,
the educational attempts were made to develop the Japanese language ability regarding the people as members of the Japanese people. Considering these factors, Japanese culture was seemingly accepted without any adverse reactions from the existing Chihpen Puyuma’s existing social and cultural systems.29

However, if focusing on the changes of Sumo only, the cultural element of the Japanese Sumo was not only accepted. The changes into Japanese Sumo were developed on the previously existing cultural foundation of Chihpen Sumo, Mariworiwosu, as a result of the complex to ‘Dohyo’ that was an important cultural factor of Japanese Sumo.

Accordingly, other cultural factors making up Sumo culture in Chihpen Puyuma concurrently changed themselves. However, the people have consistently understood that physical capacity is regarded as ‘a cultural device to grapple and compete’, which is an important factor for Sumo. Therefore, regarding transformation of Mariworiwosu, it can be considered that sophistication in the factors of competition was brought about by the introduction of Dohyo.

Rather than the aspect of ‘acceptance’ which forces adaptation, the strategy is inferred in this transformation of Sumo, in that the foreign cultural elements were positively borrowed in order to survive under the foreign rule, and their own cultural function was reinforced by transforming without changing the essential qualities.

In the meantime, the transformation of Sumo caused changes in their way of thinking. As Japanese Sumo came to be performed in the Parakuan at the time of the millet festival, many people gathered to watch it. The eyes of audience suggest that the functional aspect of the millet festival shifted from the religious ritual to the festive entertainment.

In the course of time, Japanese Sumo is performed as one of play games among children. It is remembered that, in the occasions such as taking care of cows, children drew the circle, namely Dohyo, on the ground, then, wrestled with each other. This indicates that the Sumo carried out in the Parakuan or the millet festival was taken into children’s play.

In the ‘Inari’ shrine (one of the Japanese Shinto Shrines) of Taitung and other villages as well, Sumo assemblies were frequently held. The Sumo in those occasions was performed in exactly the same style as in Japanese professional Sumo. Not only Dohyo, but also ‘Gyoji’, the Sumo referee wearing a traditional costume and holding a ‘Gunpai’, the referee’s fan, in his hand, judged the match. In those assemblies, the good showings of Japanese police officers became people’s topics of conversation, and besides, the Chihpen youth organization as well showed good performances. Superiority of the youth organization was acknowledged by the groups of other villages because of its strong unity.

However, the Pacific War broke out in 1942. As the war situation was aggravated, the American battle plans began to attack even Chihpen, the activities of Parakuan were spontaneously ceased. Some young men went to the war as Japanese citizens by the conscription system calling up into the ‘Takasago volunteer troop’ and the special enlisted troop’. Chihpen Puyuma as well as other Taiwanese was incited to fight in the War.

4.2.2. Sumo seen in the civilization policy of the Governor-General-Formosa prefecture

Japanese Sumo was emphasized in the ‘civilization project’ by the Governor-General-Formosa prefecture. With the purpose of physical improvement and acquisition of Japanese spirits in Takasago-zoku (Governor-General-Formosa prefecture House Police Department 1943, p.94), Sumo was promoted, and ‘Takasago-zoku Seinen Sumo Workshop’ were actively operated by the government organization in each district (Taiwan Police Civilization Division 1943, p.93).

Stating that "Sumo provides the special effect to inspire the concept unique to the Emperor’s Japan and to build up the solid national spirits", with the attempt "to spread Sumo as the national sport around the entire island and aim at its healthy development", ‘Takasago-zoku Seinen Sumo Judgment’ and ‘Manners in Takasago-zoku Seinen Sumo Match’ (Governor-General-Formosa prefecture House Police Department 1941.11, pp.7-8).

29 Such cultural acceptance has been focused as ‘translational adaptation’ (Maekawa 2002, pp.180-181) in recent years. However, this analyzing concept starts from the premise in that the polarized framework statically exists, as seen in the schema such as West to Non-West and tradition and modern. However, since various elements which do not fall into the schema intricately intervene in the issues concerning to identity, it is inappropriate to generalize.
In March 1942, the island-wide "Takasago-zoku Sumo Assembly" was held in Taipei with the solemnity of Sumo-do. The Taitung group was the second winner in the Assembly (Governor-General-Formosa prefecture House Police Department 1942.4, p.2-3). In March of the next year 1943, the second Assembly was held (Governor-General-Formosa prefecture House Police Department 1943.4, p.84). As seen in these cases, Japanese Sumo was implemented all over the Taiwan Island in the late Japanese ruling period.

Generally speaking, all of them are regarded as a result of the assimilation project by Japan. It is said that the local history and culture were totally ignored, and Japanese culture was promoted in order to bring ‘Japan’ into Taiwan (Kimishima 1994, 107). Such cases were frequently shown in the periodical, ‘理蕃の友 (Rib an no to mo)’ published by Governor-General-Formosa prefecture. Other than the promotion of Sumo, the local tribal rituals such as the millet festival were banned, the local gods were replaced with Goddess of the Sun and Japanese New year cerebration and ‘Bon’ festival were imposed instead of their rituals, and were to be said that they were ‘improvements’. Correspondingly, in Taitung, the policy that all the rituals should be carried out in the Shinto shrine was announced (Taiwan Police House Police Department 1933.10. p.7). Whereas, in Chihpen, though the Chihpen Shinto Shrine was enshrined (Governor-General-Formosa prefecture Education Department, year unknown, p.19), the millet festival was held in the youth assembly hall as before. This means that the millet festival in Chihpen was not connected to the shrine which was the symbol of the colonial rule. This was one of the factors which Chihpen Sumo continued even after the War.

4.3. After World War Two

The previous section points out that the cultural similarity was one of the backgrounds of the transformation from Mariworiwosu to Japanese Sumo. However, because of this very similarity, convoluted longings for the suzerain state seen in Western colonies were not observed. The fact is that surprisingly many areas among the old colonies do not leave the traces of Japanese culture (Hashitani 2004, p.106).

In order to clarify the cultural influences of an old colony from the suzerain state, the important thing is that they should be captured in the changes of social situation after liberation or independence.

Following the unconditional surrender of Japan, Taiwan was incorporated into the Republic of China, one of the allied nations. Many of Taiwanese welcomed it as ‘光復 (the Han Chinese, meaning that their own land and people were returned)”31. However, the 2-28 incident broke out in 1947, determining the confrontation between the original province people (本省人; Bonsheng ren) and the external-province people (外省人; Waisheng ren) immigrating from ROC.

Immediately after the island was transferred to ROC, in Chihpen, part of Han Chinese attacked the police station where Japanese police officers were stationed. It is said that Chihpen Puyuma teachers32 of the Chihpen National School (its name was changed from the public school in 1941) along with young men of Parakuwan, being informed of the incident, rescued and hid the Japanese police officers. After that they offered foods from short-commons, and disguised those Japanese, and then sent them to the port where the boat to Japan cast anchor. Moreover, seeing ROC troops’ low morale, dreary clothes and poor armaments, many people were dismayed at the big differences form Japanese troops.

Those matters suggest that as their faint anticipation changed to disappointment, ‘glorification’ happened in their memories during Japanese rule as the counter-reaction against the anger and desperation toward ROC. Both Japan and ROC were foreigners for Chihpen Puyuma who had originally inhabited the area. This fact might lead to

30 As for the Shinto shrines that had been built during the Japanese rule, the ceremony to remove the soul from the shrine was conducted immediately after the Japanese surrender. Accordingly, the facilities for the Shinto shrine were abolished, or were confiscated by the government and then, diverted for different use (the memories of the war dead).

31 The Taiwanese people restored the nationality of Republic of China according to the directory by the government Executive Yuan (政府行政院訓令) in January, 1946. This caused new distinction, namely Bonsheng-ren and Waisheng.

32 He was the second puyuma student who graduated from the Taipei teacher’s school. After Taiwan regained its sovereignty in November 1945, he was responsible for Chihpen elementary school for 7 years as a headmaster. A headmaster of Aborigine was very exceptional.
Identity Seen in the Acculturation of Sumo Done by Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan, Chihpen Puyuma

sympathy to Japan, as the opposition against the new dictatorship. The Japanese speaking generation still frequently say "We received Japanese education" and "We possess Japanese sprits" (Chihpen Japanese). Those expressions contain the assertion of their identity and especially distinctive consciousness from Chinese.

As for the millet festival in Chihpen, "just after the War, the senior people in their 50’s assembled and restarted it, and the festival was carried out in the youth assembly hall in the same way as in old days" (in Chihpen Japanese). Sumo as well was performed there as before the War.

Figure 3 is exhibited in today’s Parakuan. Though the basic data is missing, judging from the year attached to other pictures and the long hair worn by the people on it, it is assumed to be Sumo performed after the War. What is taken notice here is existence of Dohyo and the start of Sumo with toeing a mark, following Japanese Sumo, though the surface of Dohyo is not packed. The participants wear underpants under Mawashi or Japanese Sumo belt. Taking above mentioned matters into consideration, the Sumo in the picture can be said to be yet another transformation from Japanese Sumo.

However, in those days, the new administration denied Japanese culture and Japanese elements, and was implementing the policy to erase Japanese influences, saying that ‘Japanese toxin should be eliminated’. Compared to the assimilation policy carried out by the Japanese government, more drastic assimilation to China was subsequently carried out. The new government placed the Chinese language education in center of the project, aiming at the establishment of Chinese consciousness and at the merger and assimilation into the mainstream, namely the Han race society. The cultural uniqueness of Aborigines was not admitted.

Regarding the implementation of Chihpen Sumo under these circumstances, their identities can be understood as follows according to the ‘narration’ by Chihpen Puyuma.

Firstly, under the circumstances where the new administration rapidly reversed its policy from the assimilation into Japan to into China, antithesis in their identity crisis can be observed.

Japan had been building the nation state with a defining culture. During its process, the identity of Chihpen Puyuma had grown, with a connection to Japan by means of a cultural device, namely Sumo. However, though they were placed in the status as ‘Japanese’ with the Japanese nationality, they could not be but ‘internal other’ in the existence of inexorable colonial discrimination.

Taiwan was abandoned by Japan due to militaristic defeat, and relations with Japan were severed regardless of their will. Although the liberation from the colonial rule, ‘光復’, was brought to the people as a result, the new comer ‘China’, in turn, denied their concept and the sense of value which had survived while being transformed until that time. However, in the very relation with the absolute denial, namely their sense of difference, for the first time they could recognize their own identity in relativity.

Secondly, as described that the recipient, not only imitate the culture of the ruler, but also accept in the active, strategic way (Guttmann, 1994 the sturdy aspect in positive, subjective manners can be recognized. From the viewpoint of outsiders, it is the behavior that conducts the sport brought by old ruler. Within their society, it worked as the cultural device to assert Puyuma’s cultural autonomy against ‘assimilation into China’.

33 As their own sense of value, not a few people consider matters concerning China as ‘evil’. Because of influence of this idea, on the contrary, they pursue the ideal, regarding matters concerning to Japan as ‘good’.
34 The people were hierarchically discriminated in various shapes, such as ‘the second class people’ for Taiwanese and ‘the third class people’ for Aboligines.

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In spite of the fact that the millet festival had functioned as an assertion of identity towards the outside, its status started to wobble according to the social changes inside Puyuma from 1950’s. The activities of young people in Parakuan were banned in the early 1950’s\(^\text{35}\). Consequently, the unemployed youth assembly hall was sold to an agricultural organization of Taitung. What is more, once traditional Parakuan and Karumaan (the small building used for traditional rituals\(^\text{36}\)) had been located together on the village’s common land which had also been regarded as the ‘space’ for religious ceremonies. On that same land, a Catholic church, ‘知本天主堂’ (hereafter the church), was built. Catholicism spread rapidly after the end of the War. Catholicism regarded Parishi as heresy, resulting in neglect of the tribe’s rituals such as the millet festival. However, it is narrated that since food and commodity were not supplied to the people unless they converted to Catholicism, the essential motivation for becoming a Christian was the expectation of materialistic reward. Indeed, it is told that not many a person went away from the church along with the stop of supply after the War.

As mentioned above, Parakuan, a practical leading group for Chihpen Sumo, was disbanded and the millet festival had been ceased because of the loss of the ‘venue’ and the influences of the Christian missions for a certain period. Since the space in front of the church functioned as the tribe’s common land, the re-start of the millet festival seems to have been planned. However, the plan was forced to stop due to disapproval by the Presbyterian believers as well as other people.

Hence, the millet festival as a tribal ritual was stopped. In the meantime, the harvest festival\(^\text{37}\) as a Christian ceremony was held in the church. Chihpen Sumo was performed there by the Christian young people association. The harvest festival celebrated harvest of all the farm crops including millet.

The report by Himeno describes ‘the festival in Chihpen church’ as one of the events concerning to religious activities of the Catholic Church (Himeno 1995, pp.240-242). Though in the basic data, the year of participant observation was not written, it is assumed that the investigation was carried out from late 1980’s to early 1990’s according to the bibliographic sketch (Himeno 2004, pp. 434-437)

Whereas, the harvest festival held by the church is not recognized as a family in the genealogy leading to today’s millet festival. The general understanding is that the millet festival had not been held after 1950’s when the youth assembly hall, namely the male’s gathering place, stopped its function and Karumaan was removed. One of incumbent Tomoku who became a Christian in the earliest time points out that "the religion is different (Chihpen Japanese)". More specifically, the festival was held adamantly by the church and therefore, Parishi by Toumoku was not accompanied.

### 4.4. Democratization and Taiwanese localization

‘Indigenous peoples movements’ started from approximately 1983. The curfew was canceled in 1987 after continuing for\(^\text{38}\) years. Somber restriction of speech and crackdown on anti-Kuomintang came to disappear. This trend of democratization and Taiwanese localization roused the ethnic consciousness of Indigenous peoples, leading to amelioration of their social status and the process reconfirming their cultural and ethnic identity. In an attempt at a cultural reconstruction by Indigenous peoples themselves, ethnological materials during the Japanese rule were used as one of the bases.

Chihpen during the Japanese rule was a general administrative district which was not included as the anthropological investigation by Japanese. Therefore, the folklore data was scarce. Fortunately, however, the interview reports written by a Catholic priest remained. A German priest, Fr. Patric Veil who had engaged in missionary in and around Chihpen from the end of 1950’s to 1980’s took the interviews on tapes from his personal concern. Using his tapes, Chihpen Puyuma fathers led the project of documentation. The project was done through

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35 There existed a conduct that they hit a boy’s rear with a twig of cane covered by tiny prickles as physical punishment or a rite of passage. It is told that one of the reasons was that the wounds caused by this conduct became a social issue.

36 There are two types of Karumaan, the one for each Toumoku and the other for an individual. The former is applied in this case.

37 ‘農年祭’ in Han Chinese notation.

38 People who understand Japanese are limited to Japanese speaking generation, whereas they are not good at their national Language (Chinese). Hence, such a process was inevitable.
a complicated processes. These recorded reports spoken in Katipul language were transferred into Japanese texts by Japanese speaking generation, and then the Japanese text was translated into Han language texts38.

The culture of Chihpen Puyuma was resurrected and its permanence is assured by its transmission oral records to written texts. In the project, their mythology, history39 and customs40 which were the bases of their ethnic identity were recorded, and their annual festivals were revived. Today, this ‘translated culture’ is identified as Chihpen Puyuma’s tradition and authentic culture. In this meaning, it can be said that legitimacy of Chihpen Puyuma’s culture has been developed in the process in which the present is told through the past, rather than it is sought in the past.

Supported by the Council for Cultural Affairs, a committee to develop traditional culture of Chihpen Puyuma was established in 1993. Accordingly, the millet festival as part of cultural resurrection was restarted, and concurrently Chihpen Sumo came to be understood as Katipul’s culture and be carried out. Simultaneously, it gradually started to arrange ‘traditions’ such as reconstruction of the place for young people’s assembly after the committee applied for the demolition of the elementary school site to the government and been approved. With the formal approval in 1998, the committee developed into the cultural development association (‘台東縣卡地布文化發展協會’).

5. Conclusion

By focusing on Sumo observed in the aboriginal tribe Puyuma in Taiwan, the first colonial area under Japan, this study explored the identity of Chihpen Puyuma in its transformation.

Until the early stage during Japanese rule, the grappling Sumo having originally performed by Chihpen Puyuma had been conducted. In 1930’s, ‘Dohyo’, a cultural element of Japanese Sumo, was incorporated into Mariworiwosu, resulting that their original Sumo was transformed to Japanese Sumo. As the background of this transformation, influences from the policy of nationalization (‘Komin ka’), and above all the cultural similarities are pointed out.

Following to this, under the social circumstances after the War, Japanese Sumo was re-interpreted and transformed to present Sumo in Chihpen. In this transformation, their respective postures can be recognized, rather than the passive stance as ‘acceptance’ in the situation where ‘adaptation’ was forced. In order to survive the situation under the foreign dominance, they positively borrowed some of the foreign cultural elements, and transformed own culture without changing the essential part. By doing so, they intensified their own cultural autonomy, which they utilize to advocate their identity.

Besides, the changes of their identity can be perceived in the course of framework changes, from the ‘center-margin’ framework due to the relationship between a suzerain state and a colony, aversion to assimilation to Chine after the War to the present ‘post-centering and reconstruction of the center’.

In present Chicpen Sumo, Dohyo, an imperative code for Japanese Sumo, is not salient. Meanwhile, Chihpen Sumo has been clarified in literature, incorporating confirmation, reinforcement and reproduction of their identity. Judging from the matters mentioned above, Chihpen Sumo exists as part of Chipen Puyuma’s ‘cultural code’, which has already been detached from the history of colonialism.

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39 Because Katipul language does not own letters, words are expressed in Katakana notation or Han Chinese notation.
40 除喪祭 in January, 除癒安祖優 in April, 小米祭 in July and 少年祭 and 肥胤祭 in December
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Name: Masashi Watanabe

Affiliation: Research Associate, Waseda University, Faculty of Sport Sciences

Address: 2-759-15 Mikajima, Tokorozawa-shi, Saitama 359-1192 Japan

Brief Biographical History:
1992-1998- STAFF, Waseda University, Division of physical Education
1998- Master Degree, Education, Tokyo Gakugei University
2000- Master Degree, Human Sciences, Waseda University
2002- Research Associate, Waseda University, School of Science

Main Works:

Membership in Learned Societies:
• Japan Society of Sport Anthropology
• Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences
• Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology