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### RESEARCH ARTICLE

# OBJECT IMAGE AND CONNOTATION: ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE WANSHAN ROCK ART IN KAOHSIUNG CITY, TAIWAN, CHINA

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### ABSTRACT

The Wanshan rock art located in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, China, is the only rock art site discovered in the Taiwan region, holding significant value within the Chinese and Austronesian rock art systems. Based on the investigation of the traditional cultural beliefs of the indigenous Rukai and Paiwan tribes in the area where the Wanshan rock art is situated, this study interprets the style and meaning of the Wanshan rock art images. It focuses on exploring the commonalities between wood carvings, pottery, and the images of Wanshan rock art; and conducts an investigation and preliminary study on the coexistence of megalithic culture and Wanshan rock art. By examining the ethnic cultural implications carried by the "objects" in the area of Wanshan rock art and the megalithic remains, this study deepens the understanding and knowledge of Wanshan rock art.

### KEYWORDS

Wanshan Rock Art, Rukai, Paiwan, Megalithic Culture, Austronesian

Binford views a cultural system as being composed of three subsystems: technology, society, and ideology. The operation and evolution of culture are the result of the interaction between this cultural system and the larger natural environment. "Artifacts do not interact with a single cultural subsystem but reflect all three: the technomic aspect of artifacts' technological rules shows how they are used to cope with the environment, the basic conditions of the sociotechnic aspect are reflected in all aspects of the social system, and the ideotechnic aspect is related to the ideological domain. In 1962, he proposed that each type of artifact could be explained from one of the three corresponding subsystems. By 1965, he pointed out that individual artifacts often contain information from all three subsystems, for example: a knife can be used for cutting, but its gold handle may display the social status of the upper class, and the symbols engraved on the blade may be prayers for divine protection." (Bruce, 2010) Binford believes that the interpretation of artifacts lies within the subsystems, so it is necessary to determine the role of artifacts in the cultural system and to reconstruct culture as a functionally operating system. However, archaeological findings are not sufficient to infer most sociotechnical or ideological information, and anthropology should be used to explore social ideology by examining the relationship between social behavior, beliefs, and material culture. Images attached to "objects" are formed under the shaping of ethnic culture, representing the beliefs, classification concepts, and social

structure of the ethnic group. By studying the "object images" (物象) of the Rukai people and related ethnic groups with cultural connections, one can glimpse the appearance of the culture in the region and provide the sociocultural environment in which the Wanshan rock art is rooted. At the same time, by expanding to the perspective of the Austronesian people, under the framework of early history on both sides of the strait and within the Austronesian context, the cultural coordinates of Wanshan rock art and the Rukai people are discussed, and the spread and exchange of early culture within the Austronesian region are explored. The coexistence of megalithic culture and rock art along the "Hualien-Taitung Valley" (Note 1) further places Wanshan rock art and the early cultural characteristics of Taiwan in the context of Pacific Rim cultures for comparative study.

Specifically, regarding "object images", the Paiwan, Rukai, and Beinan ethnic groups living in southern Taiwan often carve human figures, head patterns, hundred-step snakes, or deer patterns on religious artifacts such as ancestral spirit pillars and shaman's prop boxes, as well as on daily items like spoons, combs, and wine cups. Indigenous people in the southern region also have many customs such as sun worship, respect for the hundred-step snake, ancient pottery jars, love for lilies, and colored glass beads. These ethnic groups are skilled in wood carving and respect for deities. These images have a certain similarity in style with

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the Wanshan rock art; at the same time, they are based on a common regional culture that shapes common beliefs and presents similar “totems” on different carriers.

## 1. ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE NATIONAL CULTURE OF THE WANSHAN ROCK ART AREA

The Rukai and Paiwan tribes are hierarchical societies where chiefs and the nobility possess special rights to decorations. Particularly, human figures, human head carvings, and the hundred-step snake carvings, cross-stitching on clothing, glass beads, and lilies symbolizing female chastity and male bravery in battle are emblems of power and hierarchy, as well as a materialized system of social structure and beliefs.

### 1.1 The Symbolism and Significance of “Lilies” in Rukai and Paiwan Ethnic Groups

The lily is one of the important symbols in Rukai culture, symbolizing glory. In traditional Rukai life, lilies can be worn by both men and women, with specific qualifications varying by gender: women typically wear lilies during marriage (kialidraw), adoption (malali/matalragi), and wedding (marudrange) ceremonies. The qualification for men to wear lilies is determined by their hunting abilities. Men are eligible to wear lily headpieces after hunting five or six adult male wild boars, and after several sharing processes, once the tribal chief and elder hunters recognize the hunter’s skills and spirit, the tribe’s elder hunters bestow the lily headpiece upon him during a ceremony that includes another feast. Hunters who wear lilies are not only heroes of the tribe but also ideal partners in the eyes of girls. Additionally, chiefs and tribal leaders wear lilies during festivals and sacrificial activities.

Figure 1 depicts a Rukai woman wearing a lily headdress and glass beads, photographed in 1956. This style of attire has continued to the present day, with essentially no changes. Figure 2 shows the head ornament of Chief of the Wanshan Tribe, Lv Yiping during the 2018 Wanshan Warrior Festival. The head ornament is adorned with lilies, eagle feathers, and wild boar tusks, symbolizing a noble status. Figure 3 illustrates the design of a traditional bridal sedan chair used in a Wanshan Tribe wedding in 2018. The sides of the sedan chair are decorated with lilies, and the seat back features embroidered lilies, ancient pottery, and feathers. In contemporary festivals and sacrificial ceremonies, lilies remain one of the most important symbolic elements.

In traditional customs, there are two types of lilies: one is made of fresh lilies for headdresses, and the other is a variation of the lily, integrated and solidified into the Rukai’s attire system. This variation is found at the lower end of the traditional clothing hat, where red cloth strips are sewn with white triangles on both sides, symmetrically distributed, representing a stylized form of the lily.

### 1.2 The Symbolism and Significance of the “Hundred-Pace Snake” in Rukai and Paiwan Ethnic Groups



**Figure 1:** A Rukai woman wearing a lily headdress and glass beads (Image source: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)



**Figure 2:** Chief of Wanshan Tribe, Lv Yiping

The Hundred-Pace Snake, scientifically known as *Deinagkistrodon acutus*, is a large venomous snake species with strong aggressiveness and potent toxicity. It is commonly found in hilly areas and prefers to inhabit rocky terrains, capable of surviving at altitudes ranging from 100 meters to 1,400 meters. The *Deinagkistrodon acutus* has many colloquial names, the most common being the Hundred-Pace Snake, also known as the White Flower Snake, Hundred Flowers Snake, Five-Step Snake, Seven-Step Snake, Qi Snake, Valley Pit Viper, and Chinese Viper, among others. (Note 2) Unlike the King Cobra or the Banded Krait, which display conspicuous attack movements before striking, the Hundred-Pace Snake often attacks without any warning signs. Its venom is so potent that the name “Hundred-Pace” or “Five-Step” is derived from the belief that a person bitten by this snake would die within a hundred or five steps. Even if the victim does not die, the snake’s strong hemotoxic



**Figure 3:** The traditional bridal sedan chair in a Wanshan Tribe wedding

venom can dissolve muscles and blood vessels, causing extensive necrosis of tissue cells, often leading to amputations. Ancient Chinese literature also contains passages believed to describe the Hundred-Pace Snake, such as in the *Tai Ping Guang Ji* (“太平广记”) which states: “In the southern mountains and the five streams of Qian, there are venomous snakes, black and with upturned noses, coiled in the grass. Their fangs are recurved, and they can strike a person at a distance, coming straight like a swift arrow. A bite from these snakes is instant death; if they bite a hand, the hand must be cut off, and if they bite a foot, the foot must be cut off, otherwise, the whole body will swell and rot, with no chance of survival, these are the vipers.” Additionally, the famous Tang Dynasty literary figure Liu Zongyuan (柳宗元) described in his essay *The Snake Catcher* (“捕蛇者说”): “In the wilds of Yongzhou, there are peculiar snakes with black bodies and white patterns; they touch plants and trees, and all die. When they bite a person, there is no defense against them.”

In the Rukai and Paiwan cultures, the Hundred-Pace Snake is a symbol of strength, danger, and respect. It is often associated with the tribe’s warriors and is a significant part of their mythology and spiritual beliefs. The snake’s characteristics of stealth and deadliness are revered and are seen as a metaphor for the qualities a warrior should possess. The Paiwan and Rukai tribes have many origin myths related to the Hundred-Pace Snake, such as the “Sun Egg” legend. According to this tale, the Sun God once came to the world and laid two eggs, commanding two Hundred-Pace Snakes to guard them. Later, one egg hatched into a man, and the other into a woman, who are considered the ancestors of the Paiwan people. As a result, the Hundred-Pace Snake has become the guardian

deity of the Paiwan tribe. Some legends emphasize that the Hundred-Pace Snake is the ancestor of the founding chieftain, while others tell of a tribe’s maiden marrying the Hundred-Pace Snake. Essentially, the Hundred-Pace Snake is a significant motif in the legends and continues to be passed down to this day. In the Paiwan tribe, the symbolism and meaning associated with snakes are similar to those of the Rukai tribe. The Paiwan also consider the Hundred-Pace Snake to be their ancestor. The Paiwan terms for the Hundred-Pace Snake are “vuluvulung” or “ramaljeng”, with the former meaning “elder” or “elderly person”, and the latter implying “spirit” or “essence”. Japanese collector Jirou Miyakawa (1930) believes that the snake worship of the Paiwan tribe shares many commonalities with the Indian snake festival, Naga Panchami. However, the cultural connections require further examination. The Hundred-Pace Snake, as a form of decoration, often appears on pottery (Figure 4), wooden carvings (Figure 5), and stone houses. In Rukai culture, the Hundred-Pace Snake is associated with the origins of their ancestors and creation myths. In various oral versions of creation myths, the Hundred-Pace Snake is present, and some myths depict the ancestors as being born from the eggs of the Hundred-Pace Snake. In an interview with Fan Zhiqin, he stated that the Hundred-Pace Snake is a friend to their people; although fierce, it does not harm the tribe and is considered a companion and friend with whom they coexist. The local attitude towards the Hundred-Pace Snake is more of friendliness and reverence, and it is considered an auspicious creature. Therefore, there are no local customs of eating or killing snakes.

### 1.3 The Symbolism and Significance of “Glass Beads” in Rukai and Paiwan Ethnic Groups

Glass beads in the Rukai culture represent the social strata of the tribe. By identifying the style of glass beads worn, one can discern different social class identities. In traditional society, only the chieftain class could possess valuable glass beads (Figure 6), while commoners were limited to having ordinary glass beads.

Glass beads, in addition to representing social status, also hold religious significance, as they are believed to bestow blessings or serve as protective amulets. In Rukai legends, glass beads were given as a gift from the lake god of Hsiaokuei Lake when he married the beautiful woman Balen. Therefore, the tribe has always regarded glass beads as indispensable treasures for family inheritance and marriage engagements. Different patterns of glass beads have their unique names and legends, implying their ancient stories and meanings. For example, there are yellow beads (vurau) for protection against evil, land beads (cadacadagan) that guard the ancestral lands of the Rukai people, and sun beads (mulumulitan) that represent the status of chieftains. Thus, in Rukai weddings, glass beads are essential as betrothal gifts and family heirlooms. Nowadays, plastic beads are often used as substitutes for glass beads, adorning clothing, door curtains, and other items. However, traditional glass beads are still used for important weddings and ceremonies.

### 1.4 The Symbolism and Significance of “Ancient Pottery” in Rukai and Paiwan Ethnic Groups

Among the highland tribes, there are many examples of pottery being associated with religious beliefs, with the Paiwan and Rukai tribes having the strongest notions of pottery as sacred objects. In these two groups, it is common for chieftains or nobles to keep pottery jars that are considered sacred, sometimes preserving as many as twenty or thirty such jars. The tribe believes that these sacred jars have been passed down by their ancestors and strictly prohibit outsiders from touching them. Most of these sacred jars are primitive unfired pottery, but there are also glazed pottery jars. They come in various shapes and have specific names. Some of these sacred jars are personified and even have gender distinctions. For instance, the sacred jars kept by the Thoanjiradan family in Qianzai She, Kaohsiung County, are considered male, while those kept by the Lalvuan family are considered female. Other examples include legends of a female sacred jar marrying the Sun God in Dararu She, also in Kaohsiung County. (Li, 1933). The origins of the ancient pottery jars remain a mystery, as the manufacturing techniques are no longer found in the oral traditions of the tribes, and the myths of their origins often interweave stories of pottery jars, sun



**Figure 4:** The image of the Hundred-Pace Snake on an ancient pottery pot (photographed at the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan)



**Figure 5:** Snake patterns and human face carvings on a Paiwan tribe wooden barrel (photographed at the Taipei Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines)



**Figure 6:** Glass beads (left image photographed at the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan; right image photographed at the Taipei Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines)



**Figure 7:** Paiwan pottery jars (left image photographed at the Taipei Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, right image photographed at the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan)

eggs, and chieftain ancestors, which are rich in mythological color. Although Ren Xianmin (任先民) first proposed in his article *The Ancient Pottery Jars of the Paiwan* (“台湾排湾族的古陶壺”) *Tribe in Taiwan* that the pottery jars were likely foreign due to three factors: 1. The Paiwan tribe’s settlements are not located in areas that produce pottery, and there are no stories or locations related to pottery clay in their legends. 2. There is no knowledge of pottery-making, and no legends or stories involve the craft of pottery. 3. No tools, techniques, or remnants of pottery-making have been preserved. He even hypothesized that “the Paiwan pottery jars were likely introduced from outside, with the most probable source being the Amis tribe, or if not manufactured by the Amis, then possibly passed on through them.” However, the true technological origins of the pottery jars have not yet been resolved and may require further archaeological investigations of tribal settlements and chemical analyses of the pottery’s composition to clarify (Note 3). Yi-yuan Lee posits that the highland tribes, including the Paiwan, Rukai, Amis, and Bunun, once had the ability to manufacture pottery, but most of these skills have been lost over time. As a result, they hold the pottery that has been passed down from the past in high regard. Over the long passage of time, many myths have become associated with these pottery pieces, leading to the contemporary belief that regards pottery as sacred objects. Indigenous people in Borneo and the Philippines have been trading with China since the Song Dynasty and as far back as the Ming Dynasty. Their sacred jars are believed to have originated from Chinese merchants during the Song and Ming periods. When the importation of Chinese pottery ceased, these previously imported pottery pieces were

treasured and gradually became sacred objects. The Lasia tribe venerates Ming dynasty-style pottery jars, such as the “Ping’an Pot”, as offerings to their ancestors. The initial reasons for this practice are similar to those of the indigenous people in Borneo and the Philippines. However, within the Lasia tribe, this concept has evolved further, incorporating elements of ancestor worship. Perhaps due to the veneration of ancestral remains, the practice has developed into treating the pottery jars as the spiritual vessels of ancestors and venerating them as such. According to Yi-yuan Lee’s ethnological research, the customs of venerating pottery jars are most prevalent among the indigenous people of Borneo and the Philippines. The difference is that among the Paiwan, Rukai, Bunun, and Amis tribes in Taiwan, that is, the tribes in the high mountain regions, the sacred jars they possess are mostly primitive unfired pottery, while the jars in Borneo, the Philippines’ Luzon Island, and the Siraya tribe in Taiwan were introduced from China. That is, current ethnological and archaeological data cannot fully confirm the origins of the Rukai pottery jars, but it is highly likely that they were transmitted from the mainland to Southeast Asia and then to Taiwan. The ancient pottery jars that exist today are essentially left by ancestors, and currently, no one in the Rukai tribe knows how to fire ancient pottery jars.

In the Paiwan and Rukai tribes, ancient pottery jars are considered family heirlooms and marriage betrothal gifts preserved by tribal chiefs and nobility. They symbolize status, power, and are sometimes used in rituals or to store valuable items such as millet seeds and ancient glass beads, thus possessing a sacred nature. The tribes believe that these



**Figure 8:** In the wedding ceremony of the Wanshan tribe of the Rukai people, the husband's family presents a pottery jar with snake patterns to the bride's parents as one of the betrothal gifts

Jars are treasures bestowed by their ancestors and are associated with legends of their origin. For instance, a Paiwan legend suggests that their ancestors were nurtured within the jars, guarded by the Hundred-Pace Snake, and were born under the radiance of the sun, leading to the emergence of the chieftain's lineage. In Rukai mythology, the sun impregnated the pottery jar, and the man and woman born from it are considered the ancestors of the Rukai people. According to the tribes' accounts, ancient jars can be categorized into male jars, female jars, and yin-yang jars. Male jars are decorated with patterns of the Hundred-Pace Snake and human figures, while female jars feature raised studs, incised patterns, and sun motifs on their bodies. Yin-yang jars possess characteristics of both male and female jars. The tribes regard these ancient jars as the dwelling place of ancestral spirits and treat them with great respect, placing them on pottery racks inside the house and not touching them casually. On special festivals, they must be wiped with both hands. It is said that in the past, when a great chieftain married off his daughter, he would break off a piece of the jar's mouth and give it to the daughter as a symbol of sharing wealth and status. The jars do not lose their sanctity and value even if a piece is missing (Note 4). As shown in Figure 8, during a wedding in the Wanshan tribe of the Rukai people, the husband's family presents a pottery jar with snake patterns to the bride's parents as part of the betrothal gifts. However, this jar is a later replica and not one left by ancestors. The practice of presenting pottery jars in weddings has become a customary continuation of traditional culture, with its hierarchical symbolism being diminished over time.

In the past, only the chieftain and nobility were permitted to use carvings of human figures or the Hundred-Pace Snake. The traditional Paiwan and Rukai societies were characterized by a clear class structure, where the great chieftains held not only sacred status and political and economic power but also unique privileges in terms of symbolic decorations, such as embroidery, carvings, or tattoos. Human heads, human figures, and the Hundred-Pace Snake were emblematic decorations exclusive to the chieftain class. In contemporary Rukai life, the symbolic meanings of lilies, the Hundred-Pace Snake, and ancient pottery have been further generalized, becoming key elements in the decoration of communal public spaces. During festivals and sacrificial activities, these symbols continue to represent the chieftains and nobility, perpetuating their traditional symbolic significance. However, in everyday life, the use of these images is no longer exclusive to the chieftains and nobility; commoners may also employ them. This shift primarily stems from the impact of modern civilization on the Rukai people, where the

concept of social hierarchy has gradually faded into a symbolic form of traditional culture within their daily lives. Changes in the traditional ways of livelihood and social structure have diminished the strong class distinctions that these symbols once represented. The evolution of these symbols reflects the broader transformation of Rukai society, where the traditional social order has been influenced by modernization, leading to a more inclusive and egalitarian approach to the use of cultural symbols. While these symbols still hold cultural significance and are respected for their historical importance, their association with specific social classes has become less pronounced, allowing for a more democratic use of these traditional motifs across all levels of society.

### 1.5 The Symbolism and Significance of "Wood Carving" in Rukai and Paiwan Ethnic Groups

Wood carving is the most symbolic and hierarchically meaningful craft among the Rukai people, ranging from ancestral pillars related to the worship of deities and ancestors to everyday items, all are associated with wood carving. The shapes of wood carvings vary depending on the object, and in terms of material use, wood carvings primarily feature human figures, human heads, and snake patterns. As shown in Figure 9, the shield held by a "warrior" man from the Haocha tribe (好茶部落) of the Rukai people has four curled snake patterns. Figure 10 is a wood carving of an ancestral pillar from the former chief's house of the Paiwan tribe in Jiaping, now housed in the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, some of which are painted; from the shapes of the images in the wood carvings, it can be seen that the snake pattern is essentially similar to spiral or concentric circles, and the human face pattern with "joined eyebrows" is a main feature, almost reflected in every human face design. The coexistence of human faces and snakes in the images is very common, which is basically similar to the composition and style of the images in the Wanshan rock arts.

Regarding the production and inheritance of wood carving skills, Ren Xianmin (1957) points out in *A Carver of the Paiwan* ("记排湾族一位雕刻师") Tribe that the noble chieftains of the Paiwan tribe used carving as a pastime, and they were a typical class of "power and leisure". Similar to the Rukai, when the chieftains and nobles needed large wooden pillars, stone pillars, eaves, beams, or granaries when building their houses, they all followed the collective work method, adhering to the taboos that should be followed during the process, and inviting villagers who could carve to work together, only needing to provide food and drink; it can be



Figure 9: Rukai Haocha tribe man holding a wooden shield Figure 10: Paiwan wood carving ancestral pillar

seen that there was no professional “carver” at that time, and only the noble chieftain class could own and use carved items.

During his ethnological survey in Dainan Village, Beinan Township, Taitung County in 1956, Ren Xianmin collected many traditional Rukai

living utensils, some of which were carved with human faces, hundred-step snakes, and other patterns. Through the digital collection database of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, he obtained valuable information (Table 1).

Table 1: Some rubbings of Rukai items collected by Ren Xianmin during his 1956 ethnological survey in Dainan Village, Beinan Township, Taitung County

	<p><b>Horizontal Rubbing 1:</b>                  Length: 76.0cm Width: 21.0cm                  The image features coiled snakes, human head portraits, full human body images, and half-body human images. (Note 5)</p>
	<p><b>Horizontal Rubbing 2:</b>                  Length: 72.0cm Width: 24.4cm                  Two human head portraits, one full human body image. (Note 6)</p>
	<p><b>Horizontal Rubbing 3:</b>                  Length: 63.8cm Width: 23.5cm                  One human head portrait, one coiled snake on each side. (Note 7)</p>



**Figure 11:** Four Faces of an Ancestral Pillar (Image Source: Taiwan's Ministry of Culture, Bureau of Cultural Heritage)



**Figure 12:** Pair of Double-Spouted Cups from the Paiwan Tribe (Dimensions: 7.5\*72\*14, donated by Lin Qingfu, photographed at the Taipei Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines)

single-sided statues, while the female ancestral god pillars are four-sided statues. The ancestral pillar is a concrete manifestation of the belief in ancestral spirits. In the past, when the tribe held sacrificial ceremonies, the priest would first worship the ancestral spirits at the chief's house.

Wooden carved cups (木雕杯) are also important cultural heritage of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes. They are not only practical (used for drinking during ceremonies) but also carry symbolic significance. There are single cups, joined cups, and triple joined cups. In the Paiwan language, the joined cup is called "rangal", and the triple joined cup is known as "Telu". They are carved from a single piece of wood, with a cup on each side connected by a straight handle in the middle. The ends of the cups have handles that are parallel to the middle part, which can be held by hand. When two people drink together, they can either stand or squat, one holding the cup with the left hand and the other with the right hand, drinking simultaneously from the cup (as shown in Figures 14 and 15). The wood used for making joined cups is often selected from dense materials that are less likely to leak, such as blackheart wood, beech, red cedar, and *Xylosma congestum* (肖楠). Joined cups are mainly used during ceremonial or festive banquets to strengthen friendships. For example, at weddings, the bride and groom drink together from a joined cup to symbolize unity. They are also used to entertain friends and guests, expressing respect and friendship. In the past, joined cups were also used to reconcile hatred and celebrate victory in war. Triple joined cups are used during celebrations for leaders to drink together in the middle as a witness and honor. The triple joined cup may be a more recent derivation of the joined cup (Note 15). Common patterns on joined cups include snake patterns, human faces, human figures, deer patterns, and hunting scenes. Some joined cups are even inlaid with metal or gemstones for decoration. As shown in Figure 12, the joined

cup stored in the Shunyi Museum is carved with a human face in the middle, which has a "joint eyebrows" shape very similar to the human face motifs in the Wanshan rock arts.

Figure 13, the Carved Snake Pattern Single Cup, is a Paiwan tribal wood carving collected by Ren Xianmin in October 1956 from Taiwu Village, Taiwu Township, Pingtung County. The snakes at both ends of the wooden cup are in an "S" shape, with triangular patterns on their bodies. These triangular patterns are often found on the bodies of the hundred-pacing snakes, likely serving as a depiction of them. The phenomenon of snake images superimposed with triangular patterns is very common in the art of the indigenous peoples of southern highlands, becoming a kind of standardized image paradigm. The symbolic representation of the triangular pattern may be the "zigzag pattern", which frequently appears in rock art. In the Austronesian cultural circle, including Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Indonesia, the zigzag pattern often symbolizes "nakes" and is further abstracted into rock art, bark paintings, and textile patterns.

In the Paiwan tribe, there is a common type of wooden box known as the shaman's "toolbox", referred to in Taiwan as a "prop box". These prop boxes are often carved or painted with traditional images (see Figures 16, 17, 18). The shaman (pulingau) is an important communicator with the divine in the traditional beliefs of the Paiwan tribe, conducting rituals or taboos (palisi) to pray, bless, express the needs of the tribe, and convey the will of the spirits. The prop box, called "kanupitji" in the Paiwan language, is a container for the shaman's divination or healing tools. It is mostly square-shaped and comes in wooden and rattan-woven varieties. A layer of hemp cloth is sewn on top of the box, with a rope threaded through the mouth of the bag that can be tightened. When



**Figure 13:** Carved Snake Pattern Single Cup (photographed at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan)



**Figure 15:** The Paiwan people engaging in a communal drinking ritual with joined cups, as illustrated by Hu Jiayu, referencing the works of Suzuki Hideo



**Figure 14:** The Paiwan people of Hengchun using connected cups (Image provided by the Indigenous Committee, source: *Taiwan Memory*)



**Figure 16:** Paiwan Shaman's Medicine Box (Collected by Ren Xianmin in October 1956 from Jiale Village, Taiwu Township, Pingdong County, photographed at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan)


From the rubbings of the wood carving artifacts collected by Ren Xianmin from Dainan Village (Table 2), the following observations can be made: First, the universality of the combination of snake forms with human faces and figures is evident. Second, the feature of “joined eyebrows” is present in both human faces and figures. Third, the majority of the human figures are depicted in a squatting position, with variations in specific postures but all exhibiting characteristics of bent arms and bent knees. Chen Qilu (陈奇祿) (1978) has conducted in-depth and meticulous research on the carving arts of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes. In his 1978 publication *A Catalogue of Wood Carvings of the Paiwan* (“台湾排湾族群族木雕标本图录”) Groups in Taiwan, he broadly categorizes the carving styles of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes into nine types: Jiaping style (佳平式), Taiwu style (泰武式), Jiaxing style (佳兴式), Laiyi style (来义式), Wutai style (雾台式), Dainan style (Taolumak) (大南式(达鲁玛克)), Taimali-A style (太麻里甲式), Taimali-B style (太麻里乙式), and other free styles (其他自由式). As previously discussed, the Wanshan rock art features human-headed snake-bodied patterns. According to Chen Qilu’s classification of the wood carvings of the indigenous peoples of southern Taiwan, these images belong to the Taimali-A style, which is used as a motif in the wood carving works of the Dongpaiwan tribe in Taimali Township, Taitung County, and the ancestral pillars of the Rukai Dainan community (Taoma “Taolumak”) in Beinan Township, Taitung County.

“Jiaping Old Village is one of the tribes with a long history. The house of the Zingrur chief, known for its carving features, was designated as a historical site and natural monument in 1935. This ancient artifact was collected and stored by the Department of Ethnology at Taihoku Imperial University in 1932, before the house was designated. The origin of the cultural relic is clear and has special historical value. According to historical records, there were originally four or five ancestral pillars in the old house of the Jiaping chief, representing the first-generation male and female ancestors. This four-sided wooden carving ancestral pillar is a side pillar in the chief’s house, representing the female ancestor; according to tribal legends and the memories of the elders, it should be

the statue pillar of the founding female ancestor Muakaikai, which has a very special social and cultural significance. All four sides of the pillar are engraved with the same female ancestor image, with the figure’s hands raised flat in front of the chest, each palm having six fingers, and the legs standing straight. There are several parallel decorative circles on the wrists, and a waistband around the waist. The head shape of the statue is slightly square, and the eyebrows and nose are connected, showing the typical Jiaping style, which is very artistically representative.” (Note 14).

The four-sided wooden carving ancestral pillar from the house of the former chief Jinlule of Jiaping Old Village of the Paiwan tribe (as shown in Figure 11) is one of the most representative wood carvings among the indigenous peoples of southern Taiwan. It is currently housed at National Taiwan University. In terms of age, the official Taiwan authorities have dated it to “before 1932”. The specific age has not been accurately verified, and there are no written records. Figure 11 shows the four sides of the wood carving, indicating that this is a three-dimensional wood carving with images on all four sides, not a single-sided flat wood carving. The patterns on the four sides are basically the same, with both arms bent and held in front of the chest. In the past, the chief’s house would have four or five exquisitely carved ancestral pillars, representing the first to third generations of male and female founding ancestors of the chief’s family. The male ancestral god pillars are

**Table 2:** Some rubbings of Rukai items collected by Ren Xianmin during his 1956 ethnological survey in Dainan Village, Beinan Township, Taitung County.

		
<p><b>Vertical Rubbing 1:</b> Length 207.0cm, Width 71.5cm A nude male figure with a horizontal snake above the head. (Note 8)</p>	<p><b>Vertical Rubbing 2:</b> Length 206.0cm, Width 66.0cm, Human figure height 181.0cm A human figure with a horizontal snake image at the top. (Note 9)</p>	<p><b>Vertical Rubbing 3:</b> Length 198.0cm, Width 66.0cm, Human figure height 175.0cm A male human figure with a horizontal snake at the top of the image. (Note 10)</p>
		
<p><b>Vertical Rubbing 4:</b> Length 158.0cm, Width 65.7cm, Human figure height 136.0cm A human figure with a horizontal snake above its head, and two additional snakes above the first. (Note 11)</p>	<p><b>Vertical Rubbing 5:</b> Length 154.0cm, Width 50.5cm A nude human figure with a horizontal snake at the top, and two small snakes beside it. (Note 2)</p>	<p><b>Vertical Rubbing 6:</b> Length 126.0cm, Width 50.8cm Two coiled snakes, and a half-body human figure down to half of the lower limbs. (Note 13)</p>

carried, the rope can be hung over the shoulder. Inside the prop box, there are mainly small iron knives, bamboo tubes, pig bones, dried meat,

soap nuts, fruits, bark, banyan leaves or mulberry leaves, and small gourds. Bamboo tubes and leaves are used to hold pig bones and dried



Figure 17-18: Paiwan Shaman's Medicine Box (Photographed at the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines in Taipei)

meat as offerings, while soap nut fruits are divine beads (zaquzagu) used in communication with the spirits, often in conjunction with a divination gourd (ljiuyi). In the Paiwan tribe, shamans are mainly women. During divination, the shaman takes these small props out of the box, offers them to the spirits, and chants incantations. Then, the gourd is placed between the knees, and a layer of pork fat is applied to the curved surface of the gourd. The beads are made to spin around the arc of the gourd; if the beads stop on the surface without falling off, it is considered an answer from the ancestral spirits (Note 16). Early prop boxes were carved from a single piece of wood, while more modern ones are made by assembling wooden boards. Prop boxes are usually painted with traditional Paiwan images such as the hundred-pacing snake, human heads, human figures, deer, and geometric patterns, some of which are colored or inlaid. Binford suggests: "Although the dynamic systems of past cultures have disappeared, similar relationships between motion and stillness still exist in current cultural systems, such as the relationship between the structure of indigenous groups and the ecological environment, the relationship between the activities of indigenous people and animal and plant resources, and the relationship between their production tools, technology, raw materials, and modes of activity should be similar to past conditions. If there is a certain regularity in the current cultural system between the characteristics of human material culture waste and the accompanying human behavior, then the summary of this regularity by archaeologists can be used to extract information about human behavior and cultural dynamics from the material phenomena of prehistoric cultures." (Binford, 1983) Therefore, by analyzing the existing indigenous artifacts and their connotations, one can trace back to the meaning behind the rock art images.

In the Rukai and Paiwan tribes, the chief family lineage possesses a sacred status and economic privileges that surpass commoners, including exclusive rights to symbolic decorations. The types of property owned by the chief are also more diverse than those of commoners, including all the land, hunting areas, rivers of the tribe, and some symbolic decorations and items. Without the permission of the chief, tribal people are not allowed to overstep these privileges, or they will be punished or sanctioned by public opinion. Certain objects with magical functions and taboo colors, such as sacred pottery and glass beads stored in sacred sacrificial sites or ancestral spirit houses, are collectively owned by the tribe. Additionally, the chief's family has inherited various sacred pottery, glass beads, bronze knives, valuable treasures, and precious jewelry and clothing items obtained from trade with the Han or other ethnic groups. The chief naturally enjoys an advantageous economic position and can accumulate wealth through power without labor. They also interpret in oral tradition the divine bloodline relationship between their ancestors, the hundred-pacing

snake, and the pottery, legally monopolizing the privileges of symbolic signs and pattern usage. It can be seen that the images of snakes, human faces, and human figures common in the Rukai tribe have a strong connotation of hierarchy and power symbols, and these images are also the main images in the Wanshan rock art. Based on the native environment and cultural background of the Wanshan rock art, its interpretation is inseparable from the cultural beliefs and rituals of the indigenous peoples of southern Taiwan, such as the Rukai, Paiwan, and Puyuma tribes. The images of the Wanshan rock art are in the same vein as the images on the existing wood carvings and ancient pottery in the area. Since the age and origin of the existing wood carvings and pottery images are still uncertain, the chronological relationship between the images on these artifacts and the rock art is unclear. However, the symbolic meanings can basically be outlined through these existing artifacts, oral traditions, and origin myths.

The Wanshan rock art is a dual heritage of material and spirit for the indigenous peoples of southern Taiwan. The human faces and figures reflect ancestor worship, while the snake patterns are closely related to creation myths and snake worship. The spiral patterns, concentric circles, and zigzag patterns may be abstract variations of snake patterns. Although there is no ethnographic evidence for the cupules in the existing rituals, globally, cupules are a common type of rock art image and a cultural symbol shared by early ancestors. Similar to the significance of ancestral pillars, rock art may be a product of tribal sacrificial activities. The creation and sacrificial rights of rock art can distinguish "self" from "others", and during the sacrificial process, the leadership of tribal chiefs is strengthened and given a legitimate status, while also enhancing the cultural identity and cohesion of the tribe.

## 2. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF WANSHAN ROCK ART IMAGES BASED ON ETHNIC CULTURE

In 1988, Song Wenxun pointed out that the indigenous people of Taiwan migrated from the Austronesian language family: "The area south of the Yangtze River was originally not inhabited by the Han ethnicity, but by the Austronesian-speaking people, who later migrated southward due to pressure from the Han. The Yangshao culture represents the Han ethnicity, which is different in appearance from the prehistoric culture of Taiwan. The Neolithic culture of Taiwan reflects the complexity of the indigenous (indigenous people) migration, as they migrated from different regions. The different cultural systems displayed in various areas along the east and west coasts of Taiwan may have been caused by the large-scale migration of the Austronesian-speaking people between 2500 and 3000 BCE." (Huang, 1988) Peter Bellwood, starting from anthropological and archaeological research materials, posits that



**Figure 19:** Images of the first group of Wanshan Rock Art

Taiwan is the epicenter of the Austronesian diaspora. The widespread region, from Easter Island in the east to Madagascar in the west, and down to New Zealand in the south, exhibits a certain cultural homogeneity, which he believes is the result of thousands of years of dissemination from Taiwan. The author believes that Taiwan indeed holds an important position among the Austronesian peoples, with its concentric circles, snake patterns, and squatting human figures widely present both within the island and across Austronesian regions. However, the argument that Taiwan is the origin of the Austronesian peoples still requires more evidence for support. In terms of comparative rock art studies, the Wanshan rock art has extensive connections with the southeast coast of the mainland and the Austronesian peoples, but its relationship with the mainland is closer. The most typical examples include the inheritance relationship between the rock art of human faces and the General Rock in Lianyungang, Jiangsu, and the Xianzitan (仙字潭) in Hua'an, Fujian; the inheritance relationship between zigzag patterns, snake patterns, and the rock art in Xianju; and the coexistence of megalithic culture and rock art, which is common on both sides of the strait. Of course, the phenomena of cupules, snake patterns, vortex patterns, and the coexistence of megaliths and rock art are found in Austronesian regions and other continents, including Europe. However, with archaeological and ethnological data as the foundation and evidence, the relationship between Taiwan's and mainland's rock art is clearly more similar in style and meaning than that with Austronesian regions and other areas.

## 2.1 Cup and Ring Marks

Cup and ring marks, also known as "stone pits" in China, are referred to as "Cup and ring marks", "cup marks", or "cupules" in English. These marks are typically hemispherical indentations found on the horizontal surfaces of rocks, occasionally appearing on vertical or inclined rock surfaces. In terms of size, cup and ring marks usually have a diameter ranging from 2cm to 10cm and a depth between 0.5cm to 2cm. (Bednarik, 2010) Occasionally, larger cup and ring marks are found, with profiles generally resembling a hemisphere or the bottom of a pot. The spatial distribution of cup and ring marks is global, with the exception of Antarctica, where they have been found on all continents in large quantities. (Bednarik, 2008) Additionally, the combination of cup and ring marks with linear grooves and grid patterns is also widespread. Cup and ring marks are believed to have emerged during the Pleistocene and Holocene epochs, and records of them in archaeological and ethnographic materials are not common. They are universally present worldwide, have a long historical tradition, and continue to exist in some regions to this day, making them the most numerous type of rock art exist in the world. Benarik believes that Striation techniques such as cup and ring marks, grooves, rings, multiple concentric circles, tridents, zigzag lines, wavy lines, and multiple arcs were prevalent during the Middle Paleolithic period. Cup and ring marks can be further divided into "cup marks" and "shallow cup marks". "Cup marks" refer to a type of cup and ring mark that is usually made by grinding and has a larger diameter and depth. "Shallow cup marks" refer to cup and ring marks with relatively



**Figure 20:** Wanshan double row cup rock art, Taiwan



**Figure 21:** Wanshan "cup marks" rock art, Taiwan

smaller diameters and depths, typically not exceeding 6cm. In China, cup and ring marks are mainly concentrated in the eastern coastal areas and the central plains, with Henan being the most concentrated and having the largest number. Additionally, there are relatively concentrated occurrences in Anshan, Liaoning, Lianyungang, Jiangsu, and Wanshan, Taiwan. Common types of cup and ring marks include: single cup marks, double cup marks, double-row cup marks, plum blossom-shaped cup marks, scattered cup marks, square cup marks, combinations of grooves and cup marks or grooves, grid patterns, and abstract symbols. According to this survey and relevant literature, all the cup and ring marks found in Wanshan, Taiwan, are "shallow cup marks", and "cup marks" have not yet been discovered.

Figure 20 shows the double-row cup marks located in the Wanshan area, all of which are "shallow cup marks" arranged in parallel and carved on the top of a large rock at the mountain peak. The large rock is situated on the edge of a cliff, with a stream valley below. Figure 21's "cup mark" petroglyph is located on a large rock in the mountains and is part of the third group of Wanshan rock art images. However, this "cup mark" should be naturally formed and is a misjudgment of the "cup mark" petroglyphs by Taiwanese scholars and officials. The meaning of the cup mark petroglyphs is quite abstract and difficult to interpret. When Sautuola's young daughter first saw the image of a bull on the ceiling of the Altamira Cave, being able to recognize it did not mean she could understand the symbols and meanings of Cantabria from tens of thousands of years ago. She merely understood the content indicated by the concrete image. Indeed, a large number of concrete rock art images provide indicative clues for our interpretation, but when faced with abstract shapes like "cup marks", "concentric circles", and "whirled patterns", it is difficult to directly read the content of the images, and more reliance on ethnographic materials is needed. Currently, there are over a hundred interpretations of cup marks, including celestial phenomena, blood sacrifice cups, holy water cups, sexual marks, the sun, the moon, climate change, roads, records of life and death, or war.

Chen Zhaofu believes that “in ancient Eastern religions, especially in ancient and later Indian religions, cup marks in ritual statues are mostly related to the worship of the mother – the fertility of the earth, symbolizing the beginning of all life.” Okladnikova (E.A. Окладникова 奥德科拉尼科娃), in her *Petroglyphs of Siberia and the Pacific North America* (Модель Вселенной в системе образов наскального искусства Тихоокеанского побережья Северной Америки “西伯利亚和北美太平洋岩画”), introduced that when Native American women in North America were giving birth, their husbands would carve circular cup marks on the mountains to pray for a smooth delivery. The cup mark petroglyphs found in many parts of the world exist as symbols of fertility worship. In Japan and South Korea, the cup mark petroglyphs are directly referred to as ‘sexual marks’. Zhang Yasha believes that: “The newly discovered large number of cup mark petroglyphs in the shallow mountainous area southeast of Anshan have a high degree of similarity to the cup mark petroglyphs of Juci Mountain in Henan and Lianyungang in terms of theme concentration, distribution density, site geomorphology, and production methods... There are some commonalities in the cup mark petroglyphs of the aforementioned regions: first, old or new Stone Age sites often appear near these rock art sites; second, rock art sites are usually associated with natural stone shelters; third, the arrangement of cup marks includes both row and scattered arrangements, with a considerable number of ‘plum blossom’ patterns; fourth, the cup marks are mainly shallow, but there are also so-called ‘cup-shaped marks’.” (Gu, 2015) Tang Huisheng (汤惠生) (2011), in his article *Petroglyphs of Jades, Gates, Concave Forms, and Hoofprints* (“玦、阙、凹穴以及蹄印岩画”), discusses cup rock art and posits that it symbolizes the connection to the heavens. He suggests that the grooves linking the cup markings serve as pathways to the heavens, and that these cup markings are remnants of the belief system centered around “communication with the heavens” in ancient Chinese shamanic civilization. The indigenous Rukai people of Taiwan hold the belief that cup markings possess the imagery of “origin”. In the Rukai creation myths, there is a notion of “stone birth”, and locals regard the cup rock art as the birthplace of their ancestors, symbolizing fertility worship. The abstract lines (grooves) interwoven within the cup markings represent the development and proliferation of the tribal lineage.

## 2.2 Human Figures and Facial Images

“Facial image” rock art is a general term for rock art that has facial features, and it is a conventional name in the domestic rock art community. In addition, there are other names for facial images in Chinese, such as “beast face”, “bird face”, “anthropomorphic”, “divine masks”, and “facial patterns”; in English, there are terms like “mask”, “human face”, “Anthropoid Faces”, “eye-mask faces”, and “eye/nose faces”. From these names alone, we can see that there is a debate over whether the facial images represent divine faces, human faces, or animal faces. Such debates are common in the rock art of Lianyungang, Jiangsu, Helan Mountain, Ningxia, and Yin Mountains, Inner Mongolia. However, in the Wanshan rock art of Taiwan, there is no such controversy, and it can be basically confirmed from the image shapes that they are “facial images” or “human figures”.

The study of Chinese facial image petroglyphs began with Chen Zhaofu (1994), who believed that: “The most important characteristic of facial image petroglyphs is that the vast majority do not depict real human faces, but rather some kind of definite mask. Most of the facial image works have an astonishing simplicity, as well as a schematic and abstract expression. Each facial image has its own character, with distinctive features and details. In other words, we see the same subject matter with endless diversity. These marks inscribed on rough stones reveal the strange and mysterious world of prehistoric art.” Afterwards, Mr. Song Yaoliang (宋耀良) (1993) conducted a systematic investigation of China’s facial rock art in the late 1980s and early 1990s, summarizing the distribution patterns and discussing their origins and significance. Song Yaoliang believes that: “According to archaeological discoveries in the past decade, there are at least about 100,000 ancient rock arts within China’s territory, which can be divided into several regions or systems. Among them, the facial rock arts are the most profound in meaning, distributed in a strip area of 4,000 kilometers along the northern and eastern coastal regions of China, constituting an aspect of the source of China’s ancient culture... Looking at the overall rock arts, one has to admit that China’s facial rock arts are also the most standardized, changing infinitely, yet always adhering to

their inherent regularity. Tens of thousands are scattered within a range of three to four thousand kilometers, strictly following their internal rules. This must be considered a spectacular prehistoric miracle. This can only be reasonably explained by the same culture or the uniformity of culture.” Mr. Song Yaoliang further divides China’s facial rock arts into eastern, central, and northern distribution zones in his book *The Image Characteristics and Types of Anthropomorphic Rock Art* (“中国史前神格人面岩画”) and further infers that the facial rock arts distributed on the Pacific West Coast of North America were spread from the eastern part of China.

Anati has visited China multiple times to investigate rock art areas involving facial images, such as Jiangjunya, Yin Mountains, and Helan Mountains, and believes that the time when Chinese facial rock arts began is roughly similar to the age of facial images in the Heilongjiang River basin of Russia, dating back about five to six thousand years. (Chen, 1994) In terms of spatial distribution, facial rock arts are usually found along the Pacific Rim. In terms of time, facial images typically emerged in the Neolithic Age and are often not as ancient as the Paleolithic cave paintings in Europe. Zhang Yasha (张亚莎) also proposed in the article *A Brief Discussion on the Culture of Anthropomorphic Rock Art in China* (“中国人像岩画文化浅谈”) that the distribution and formation process of Chinese facial rock arts were influenced by each other and agreed with Song Yaoliang’s view that the source of facial rock arts might be in Jiangjunya, Lianyungang, from which they spread south to Xianzitan (仙字潭) in Fujian and Wanshan in Taiwan, and north to the Xiliao River (西辽河) basin in Inner Mongolia, and then west to Yin Mountains, forming the first prosperous period in Yin Mountains, continuing west to Helan Mountains, forming the second prosperous period in Helan Kou, and finally disappearing in the Beishan area of Zhongwei County, Ningxia. Regarding the creators of facial rock arts: “The creators of facial rock arts are likely to be the original inhabitants of Jiangsu and Shandong who were engaged in primitive agriculture, the Dongyi people. The facial rock arts spread over a long time and distance due to the migration of the Dongyi people, giving a grand illusion.” (Gong, 2006) That is, the cultural attributes and spiritual core of Taiwan’s Wanshan rock art are derived from the Jiangjunya rock art on the eastern coast of the mainland, which was transmitted to Taiwan’s Wanshan through the rock art of Xianzitan in Fujian.

Figure 22 depicts a human figure image from the Wanshan Rock Art in Taiwan, with rays suggesting the sun on the head, but some scholars interpret it as “eagle feathers” based on the existing Rukai culture. The figure has its hands raised and legs slightly bent, which can be classified as a “squatting human figure”. There may be multiple whirled patterns around the figure, and according to the analysis of the wooden ancestral pillars mentioned earlier, the combination of the human figure and the snake pattern (whorled pattern) in this image is similar to the elements in the ancestral pillars. The dynamics of the figure are essentially the same as those of the ancestral pillars, possibly representing an image of ancestor worship or hero worship. Figure 23 is a human face image from the Wanshan Rock Art, made with metal tools, with the typical feature of “joint eyebrows”. Figure 24 is a combination of a human face and whirled patterns, with rays also present on the human face.



Figure 22: Wanshan rock art - human figure



Figure 23: Wanshan rock art - human face



Figure 26: Wood carving of a human face



Figure 24: Wanshan rock art - human face and whorled patterns



Figure 27: Paiwan tibe wooden comb






Figure 25: Human-faced pottery jar

Figure 25 features a human-faced pottery jar, a typical artifact from the Shisanhang site. Figure 26 displays a wood carving of a human face from the Paiwan tribe's joint cup (连杯), and Figure 27 is a wooden comb from the Paiwan tribe, which is engraved with human face patterns. A common characteristic in the depiction of human faces on these three artifacts is the "joint eyebrows", which is consistent with the style of human faces in the Wanshan rock art. Similar stylistic features can also be found in mainland China's human-faced rock art, stone carvings, and jade carvings of human faces.

The "joint eyebrow" human-faced images are characterized by their interconnected eyebrows and the intersection of the nose with the middle of the eyebrows. Based on micro-erosion dating, such human-faced images in the Jiangjunya rock art of Lianyungang, Jiangsu, date back approximately 6000-4000 years. These types of human-faced images are widely distributed in the Jiangjunya of Lianyungang, Helan Mountain, Yin Mountain, and the Siberian region of Russia. In the Jiangjunya, the "joint eyebrow" human-faced images evolved from "ancestral human-faced images", reflecting the connotation of ancestor worship. The "stone carving human-faced images" in Table 3, photographed at the Hebei Provincial Museum, were unearthed from the Cishan culture and belong to the early Neolithic period, dating back to the same period as the similar human-faced images in Jiangjunya. However, due to different social processes in each region, both the Dongyi region where Jiangjunya rock art is located and the Central Plains region where Cishan culture is situated had earlier agricultural production and entered the Neolithic and Iron Ages earlier than Wanshan in Taiwan. In the central mountain range of Wanshan, Taiwan, archaeological sites suggest that the area was

**Table 3:** Mainland China's "Joint Eyebrow" Stylized Human-Faced Images

		
<p>Rock art human face images of Jiangjunya, Lianyungang, Jiangsu</p>		<p>Stone carvings of human faces</p>

still in the Neolithic Age around 2000 years ago, and ironware appeared between 1000-1500 years ago, marking the Iron and Stone Age. Therefore, judging from the image style and social progress, the human-faced images in Wanshan rock art are not earlier than 2000 years ago. Based on the overall analysis of the engraving marks in Wanshan rock art, some human-faced images were made with metal tools, dating no earlier than 1500 years ago, and the age of the human figures is usually similar or more recent.

In ancient times, the creation of these human-faced images was rich in interpretation. For instance, Block believed that the representation of human faces was based on their relationship with the spirit world: "The relationship between the artwork and what it represents in primitive art is the relationship between the mode of description and the actual identity... Not only do the deities worshipped in a certain society need to be understood through masks, but also because the mask is the dwelling place of that divinity, it itself has a special sacred relationship with that spirit world." Wenget believed that human faces were often associated with beliefs in ancestor worship: "In ancestor worship and the worship of deities, primitive people liked to have tangible symbols or descriptions of deities as the objects of their religious ceremonies. This is because they had such a belief: the ceremonies performed at the beginning could truly cause the deities to possess these symbolic objects or descriptions." In the specific socio-cultural context of Wanshan rock art, human-faced images or human figures may symbolize ancestors, possess the characteristics of ancestral divinity, and are a representation of ancestor worship in agricultural culture.

In ancient times, why were these human-faced images created? The explanations for this are also very rich. For instance, Jane Block believes that the representation of human faces is based on their relationship with the spirit world: "The relationship between a work of art and what it represents in primitive art is the relationship between the mode of description and the actual identity... Not only do the deities worshipped in a certain society need to be understood through masks, but also because the mask is the dwelling place of that divinity, it itself has a special sacred relationship with that spirit world." (Jane 1991) Gerhard Ludwig Weinberg, believes that human faces are often linked to beliefs in ancestor worship: "In the worship of ancestors and deities, primitive people liked to have some tangible symbolic representations or descriptions of deities as the objects of their religious ceremonies. This is because they had such a belief: the ceremonies conducted at the beginning could truly cause the deities to possess these symbolic representations or descriptions." Specifically, in the socio-cultural context of the Wanshan rock art, human-faced images or human figures may symbolize ancestors, possess the characteristics of ancestral divinity, and are a representation of ancestor worship in agricultural culture.

**2.3 Concentric Circles and Whorled Patterns**

Concentric circles and whorl patterns are the main graphic elements in Wanshan rock art, abundant and widely distributed. Among the indigenous highlanders of southern Taiwan, these two types of images are generally considered to be the abstraction of snake patterns. As shown in Figure 28, the snake pattern on the ancestral pole of the Paiwan



**Figure 28:** Snake Pattern on the ancestral pole of the Paiwan tribe



**Figure 29:** Wood carving sewing board (Collected by Li Yiyuan in Laiyi Village, Laiyi Township, Pingtung County in January 1956)

tribe is characterized by the coexistence of snake patterns with human faces and figures, a phenomenon that also exists in Wanshan rock art. Some snake patterns are decorated with grid patterns or zigzag patterns, and while zigzag patterns are present in Wanshan rock art, grid patterns have not yet been found. Figure 29 is a wooden carving of a needle and thread board, featuring a snake pattern with triangular zigzag decorations wrapped around a human face, forming a symbiotic phenomenon of human faces and snake patterns. In the ancestral pole wood carvings of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes, snake patterns are the most common accompanying graphics, symbolizing the protection of ancestral spirits. They may have the same significance in rock art.

The distribution range of rock art images like concentric circles and whorl patterns is very extensive, found from the Damaidi in Ningxia on the mainland to the Juzi Mountain in the Central Plains, and to the Jiangjunya in Lianyungang. Globally, these types of rock art images are distributed across Europe, America (Figure 31), Africa, and the islands of the Austronesian language family. Due to their widespread distribution, it



**Figure 30:** Whorled patterns in Wanshan rock art



**Figure 31:** Tepetzingo-Coatepec Rock Art, Mexico State

is difficult to trace their origins, or the emergence of these images may be based on some fundamental commonalities in early human spirituality and belief (such as Louis Williams' research on "visionary" and "ecstatic" states). However, in terms of cultural connotations, the interpretation of these images must still be placed within their original context.

Anati suggests that with the emergence of Homo Sapiens, there arose a more complex need for communication. Vocalizations, gestures, and other forms of communication that are neither language nor images cannot be preserved. The creation of graphics has facilitated the development of communication. The petroglyphs we see on all continents today provide a new perspective for studying prehistoric humans. Petroglyphs in many countries across Asia, Africa, America, Europe, and Oceania share structural similarities. Petroglyphs are an expression of early humans' worldview and self-expression. They can help us understand cultural patterns, and when we master the chronological sequence of petroglyphs, they correspond to the culture of different historical stages. Linked with their themes, we can gain insights into some aspects of prehistoric human life. Hunting and food gathering represent people's lifestyles, while weapons, tools, and other artifacts represent the technological capabilities of the time. Images depicting myths and beliefs are rooted in the spiritual world of the people at the time and their understanding of the relationship between humans, nature, and the supernatural. The study of petroglyphs plays a significant role in our construction of human history and our understanding of specific ethnic groups and cultures.

### 3. THE WANSHAN ROCK ART AND THE MEGALITHIC CULTURE OF THE TAIWAN REGION

In the early 20th century, some scholars (Note 17) believed that all megalithic remains belonged to a category known as "megalithic culture". There is a certain connectivity in the geographical affinity and implications between megalithic culture and rock art, such as the presence of rock art in the form of concentric circles, trenches, and cup marks near megalithic remains in places like Silbury Hill in England, Glastonbury Tor, and Monte d'Accoddi in Sardinia. In Southeast Asia (such as Indonesia, India) and mainland China, from the Chifeng of the Liaodong Peninsula to Lianyungang and further south to the Pearl River Basin, as well as in the Central Plains region of Henan, there are widespread megalithic remains near rock art sites, including types such as standing stones, cairns, alignments, stone shelters, and stone circles and lines made up of small stones. The Jiangjunya rock art in Lianyungang, Jiangsu, is located on a massive rock in the mountains, and archaeologists such as Su Bingqi believe that the megaliths at Jiangjunya were prehistoric sacrificial sites. In the Juzi Mountain of Henan, cup marks are often found in association with megaliths, altars, and stone structure ruins. In Taiwan, this phenomenon is similar to that of the mainland, and there is a symbiotic relationship between the two, which may be related to the widespread megalithic worship in early human societies.

The earliest researchers of the megalithic culture in Taiwan can be traced back to Japanese scholars such as Shigeyoshi Mori (森丑之助), Torii Ryuzo (鸟居龙藏), and Tadao Kano (鹿野忠雄). In 1926 (the 16th year of the Taisho era), Japanese scholar Torii Ryuzo published an article titled "台湾の古代石造遺物に就て" (On the Ancient Stone Relics of Taiwan) describing the discoveries of stone coffins, pillars, and mortars at sites in eastern Taiwan such as

Baishoulian (白守莲) and Xinzhuang (新庄) by Torii Ryuzo, and postulated that these stone artifacts should belong to the Stone Age, sharing the same nature as the megalithic culture (Megalithic Culture) widely found in the Indochinese Peninsula and the South Seas Islands. In 1930, Tadao Kanowrote "台湾东海岸巨石文化遺跡に就て" (On the Megalithic Cultural Relics of the Eastern Coast of Taiwan), describing the "megalith" phenomena he investigated at seven sites including Beinan (卑南), Saoba (扫叭), Baishoulian (白守莲), Xinshe (新社), Shingilepu (石寧埔), Jiaozouwan, (加走湾) and Gongpu (公埔). In 1976, Professor Song Wenxun (宋文薰) (1977) of National Taiwan University published an article titled "台湾东海岸の巨石文化" (The Megalithic Culture of the Eastern Coast of Taiwan) in a Japanese anthropological journal, where he first divided the Neolithic period of the east into the coastal type "megalithic culture" and the longitudinal valley type "Beinan system culture" (卑南系统文化). In a subsequent article in 1980, he further named the megalithic culture "Qilin Culture" (麒麟文化), while renaming the Beinan system culture to Beinan Culture. Qilin Culture has since become a synonym for the prehistoric megalithic culture of Taiwan. According to Professor Song Wenxun's definition, the main types of megaliths in Qilin Culture include stone coffins, walls, pillars, shouldered single stones, grooved single stones, stone wheels, and statues, with one of their main characteristics being made from materials such as tuff, breccia, sandstone, and andesite from the coastal mountain range. The characteristics of the "Beinan system culture" of the longitudinal valley type lie in the megalithic relics found within the valley, primarily made from metamorphic rocks such as schist, metamorphic sandstone, and slate, thus the shapes of the artifacts are mainly plate-like or flat-column-shaped, completely different from the block-like characteristics of Qilin Culture's megalithic relics. Archaeologists such as Liu Yichang (刘益昌) and Guo SuQiu (郭素秋) generally believe that these longitudinal valley megalithic relics were formed under the influence of Qilin Culture. In summary, the megalithic sites in Taiwan are mainly found in the Hualien-Taitung Longitudinal Valley and the Beinan area, not far from the coastline. However, based on the analysis of the origin of the stone materials, these large stones may have originated from the Central Mountain Range and were carried by rivers such as the Beinan River to the coastal plain area.

On both sides of Taiwan's Coastal Mountain Range, there are numerous sites that preserve artificially crafted stone coffins, stone walls, single stones, human-shaped stone statues, stone wheels, and stone pillars. Among them, the Dulan Site, located on a gentle sea terrace about one kilometer northwest of Dulan Village (都兰村) in Donghe Township (



Figure 32: Megaliths at Dulan Site, Taitung



Figure 35: Zhongyong Site in Changbin, Taitung



Figure 33: Stone Coffin at Dulan Site, Taitung



Figure 34: Original appearance of the moon-shaped stone pillar in Beinan, Taitung (Note 18)

东河乡), Taitung County (台东县), is the most concentrated area of megalithic culture (as shown in Figures 32 and 33). The Dulan Site (都兰遗址) dates back to 3000-2000 years ago and was surveyed on the ground by Tadao Kano (鹿野忠雄) in 1927. The Taitung County Government declared it a third-level historical site in 1988 (the 77th year of the Republic of China, 民国77年), and in 2006, it was revised and announced as a county-designated site.

In the early 20th century, Tadao Kano (鹿野忠雄) discovered a group of

“upright slabs of rock arranged in rows” in the Beinan river terrace in Taitung. According to the description, it might have been a “stonehenge”. In 1980, due to the realignment, widening, and establishment of the Beinan new station for the Eastern Line railway, numerous stone pillars were demolished. Now, only a solitary moon-shaped stone pillar remains on the right bank of the Beinan River (Figure 34), which is 4.5 meters tall, made of slate, and the stone material is believed to originate from the Central Mountain Range, possibly transported downstream along the Beinan River (卑南大溪). Tadao Kano (鹿野忠雄) once pointed out the affinity between the “mega-stone cultural zone” on the east coast of Taiwan, the “solitary stones” of the Paiwan tribe, and the stone pillars inside houses. He believed that most of these large stones were probably used as pillars for houses, with round holes in the stone pillars to accommodate beams. In Taiwan, scholars refer to large stones that stand alone as “single stones”, which are further divided into “shouldered single stones” and “grooved single stones”. Some sites feature shouldered single stones with a grooved form on the other end, which scholars believe are likely the result of the stylization and abstraction of original human or divine figures, and are thus considered related to religious, ceremonial, or sacrificial behaviors. Some researchers believe that these single stones represent sexual organs. Taiwan has a significant number of single stones, but their true purpose remains unknown to this day. Shouldered single stones are also known as male stones, while grooved single stones are known as female stones. Concentrated “single stone” sites include the Donghe Taiyuan site in Taitung, the Changbin Baishang’an site in Taitung, and the Changbin Zhongyong site in Taitung. In 1930, Tadao Kano’s survey found the highest number of single stones at the Changbin Zhongyong site (as shown in Figure 35), where the ground was once covered with single stones. Later, these stones were dug up by villagers and used as decorative foundation stones, for building stone walls, as windbreaks, and for campus decorations.

In the old tribe of the Wanshan mountains, there is a massive rock known as the “Dulai” (pronounced in the Wanshan language) divine stone. Every year during the millet harvest season, the villagers would perform a ritual to worship it, usually by offering a pot filled with newly harvested millet to the divine stone. At the same time, the tribe’s shaman would predict the following year’s harvest during the ritual. According to the oral account of Fan Zhiqin (范织钦), the old Wanshan divine stone was not to be touched. When the Japanese arrived in old Wanshan, they did not believe in the divine stone. Several Japanese soldiers who touched the divine stone experienced an electric shock-like condition, with their bodies twitching on the ground. The people of old Wanshan poured water on the soldiers and beat them with sticks before they returned to normal. After this incident, the Japanese no longer dared to touch or offend the divine stone. The creation myth of “Stone Birth” exists among the Rukai, Paiwan, and Beinan tribes in the southern high mountains of Taiwan, indicating the close spiritual and cultural connection between the indigenous people and “stone”. The widespread presence of megalithic ruins in the Hualien-Taitung Valley and the divine stone legends among the high mountain indigenous people like Wanshan illustrate that the early culture of the Taiwan region was deeply influenced by the “megalithic culture”, sharing certain cultural similarities with the southeastern coastal and central regions of

the mainland. The existence of megalithic sites such as the Puyuma site (卑南遗址), Changbin site (长滨遗址), and Dulan site (都兰遗址) near the Wanshan rock arts further demonstrates that the coexistence of rock art and megaliths is also a phenomenon in Taiwan.

Discussing the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, such as “object images”, rock art, and megaliths, inevitably raises the question of their origins, a topic that has always been somewhat controversial, including theories such as “Austronesian origin theory” (“南岛起源说”), “Indochina Peninsula origin theory” (“中南半岛起源说”), “Chinese mainland origin theory” (“中国大陆起源说”). Taiwanese archaeologist Liu Yichang believes: Austronesian is not only originate from Taiwan, but “capital” of Taiwan at that time is at Taitung. The Austronesian people set sail from Taitung with jade artifacts as tokens of trust, heading towards Southeast Asian countries. Four thousand years ago, Taitung might have been more bustling than it is now. For the Austronesian people, the ocean was not a barrier but a pathway. In Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam, and Thailand, jade artifacts from Taiwan dating back over 3,000 years have been discovered. It is confirmed that the people at that time had spread out from Taiwan. The “capital” of the Austronesian group is in Taitung, on the basis that: “The Kuroshio, monsoon, and coastal currents in Taitung are the most suitable starting point for long-distance navigation in Taiwan, allowing the South Island people to spread out smoothly, the South Island people live on the sea, have strong navigation ability, and the existence of the jade industry, which proves that Taitung was the capital at that time”, “The archaeological unearthed cultural relics also found a large fish backbone with a diameter of about 2 cm, Confirming that humans had the ability to sail out to sea and catch large fish, the ocean provided abundant resources that allowed Austronesian peoples to thrive. Liu Yichang regards that Taiwan had been the capital of Austronesian peoples for as long as 2400 years. The Taiwanese jade spread to Southeast Asia along with the Austronesian people. Approximately 2,400 years ago, as bronze and glass bead-making technologies developed in Southeast Asia began to spread to Taiwan, the popularity of Taiwanese jade came to an end, leading to the gradual decline of Taitung’s prominence.” In fact, before and after the Common Era, with the introduction of ironware and glass ornaments, Taiwan had moved beyond the Stone Age. Until the 16th and 17th centuries when a large number of Han Chinese immigrants arrived in Taiwan, various regions across the island were generally in the Iron Age of the prehistoric period (such as the Shisanhang (十三行文化), Fanziyuan (番仔园文化), Niaosong (莒松文化), Guishan (龟山文化), Jingpu (静浦文化), Kanding (坎顶文化), Beiyeh (北叶文化), and Daqiuyuan cultures (大邱园文化)). During this time, South China had entered a historical period of using ironware, and Penghu also officially became a settlement for Han Chinese people during the Tang and Song dynasties.

Based on more solid evidence, it is proven that the culture of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples originated from the mainland and was transmitted to Taiwan through the Indochina Peninsula. This cultural system, which was transmitted to Taiwan from the Indochina Peninsula, is also very likely to have first entered the Indochina Peninsula from the mainland before arriving in Taiwan. For instance, Dr. Zang Zhenhua from the Institute of Archaeology at the Academia Sinica believes that the Neolithic sites on the southeastern coast of Hainan Island are very similar to those in Taiwan during the same period: the sites are surrounded by sandy bays, and remains of fish, shells, deer, and pigs have been found at both locations, with pottery styles also being very similar. The burial methods are the same, with bodies laid on their backs, limbs straight, and heads facing southwest. “This indicates that they all come from a common early cultural tradition, suggesting that the origin and spread of the Austronesian language family should encompass the coastal areas south of Fujian to the Coastal area of Beibu Gulf, meaning the Austronesian language family may have spread from South China to the Indochina Peninsula and then to the islands of the Pacific, providing more evidence for the ‘multiple pathways theory of Austronesian language family dispersion.’” In other words, the “Indochina Peninsula theory” is essentially a branch system of mainland cultural transmission. As early as 1889, Kern published Linguistic evidence for the determination of the original homeland of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples, using the method of linguistic paleontology, comparing more than a hundred Austronesian languages spread across various regions, and preliminarily concluded that: the origin of the Austronesian peoples, if not in Indonesia, would be

on the east coast of the Indochina Peninsula, as far north as the southern frontier of China, south of the Tropic of Cancer; the southernmost part extends beyond Java, around eight degrees south latitude. This indicates that from a linguistic perspective, the “Indochina Peninsula theory” also considers the Austronesian peoples’ place of origin to be possibly south of the Tropic of Cancer in mainland China.

In addition to the influence of the Indochina Peninsula cultural system on the indigenous cultures of Taiwan, the Hemudu culture of the mainland may have had a more direct impact on the indigenous cultures of Taiwan. Australian archaeologist Peter Bellwood considers the Hemudu culture to be the source of the original Austronesian culture’s rice farming economy, and the development of rice agriculture, along with the resulting population growth, is the fundamental reason why the ancestors of the Austronesian people spread from the mainland to the oceans. Zhang Guangzhi and American scholar Ward Goodenough believe that the Hemudu culture had a significant impact on the Neolithic cultures of later Fujian and Taiwan. Due to the limitations of archaeological materials, Zhang Guangzhi and others cautiously point out that it is not clear whether the Neolithic cultures of Fujian and Taiwan are the result of the southward migration of Neolithic residents from the Hangzhou Bay area or merely influenced by that region. However, they also point out that it is quite possible that a considerable number of people migrated south from Hangzhou Bay. Therefore, exploring the spread of the Hemudu culture is of great significance in exploring the Neolithic cultures of the Fujian-Taiwan region and the origins of the Austronesian people. From the southern Zhejiang Oujiang River basin to the northeastern Guangdong Han River basin along the coast, the known Neolithic cultures can be divided into three stages: early, middle, and late. The earliest Neolithic culture is named after the Keqiutou site (壳丘头遗址) in Pingtan (平潭) County, Fujian, known as the Keqiutou culture (around 6500-5500 years ago). The Keqiutou site is characterized by a large number of marine shells and deer bones, indicating that the main means of livelihood at the time were marine fishing and hunting. Whether the origin of the Keqiutou culture is related to the southward expansion of the late Hemudu culture is a very interesting question to explore. Comparing the types of unearthed artifacts, we recently proposed that the earliest known Neolithic culture in the coastal areas of Fujian, the Keqiutou culture, may have originated from the southward Hemudu culture. The shape of the stone adzes, the characteristics of the pottery, and the shape of the jade earrings all have strong similarities with the late Hemudu culture, and its age (5000-6000 BP) coincides with the late Hemudu culture. That is, the southern boundary of the Hemudu culture has reached the Wenzhou area in southern Zhejiang. With its mature navigation technology, it is not surprising that it further moved south along the coast to the Minjiang River area. In addition, the close relationship between the Fugudun culture on the coast of Fujian and the Tapenkeng culture (大垵坑文化) in Taiwan also illustrates the closeness of the two sides of the strait in prehistoric society and the spread of culture. Zhang Guangzhi (张光直) in his article *Archaeology of the Southeast Coast of China and the Origin of the Austronesian People* (“中国东南海岸考古与南岛语族的起源问题”) believes that “the Tapenkeng culture is likely to be a representative or part of the representatives of the Austronesian people. If the Fugudun culture across the Taiwan Strait can be further proven to be part of the Tapenkeng culture, then the homeland of the Austronesian people would be pushed to the southeast coast of the mainland. According to the current materials, the geographical range of these materials is concentrated on the coast from the mouth of the Minjiang River to the mouth of the Hanjiang River in Fujian and eastern Guangdong.” This theory places the earliest source of the Austronesian people on the Tapenkeng culture on the west coast of Taiwan and the Fugudun culture on the coast of Fujian. This transmission route is basically consistent with the rock art, which, as a relic of ancient culture that has survived to this day, cannot be separated from the evolution and spread of rock art styles without the larger cultural context. The source of Taiwan’s rock art may originate from the Dongyi culture in the Lianyungang area, absorbing a large number of Ouyue cultural (甬越文化) elements such as “snake patterns” and “broken line patterns” during its southward process, and then further to places like Xianzitan (仙字潭) in Fujian and Baojingwan (宝镜湾) in Zhuhai, across the strait to Taiwan, and spreading within Taiwan. Due to the fact that the indigenous people in the southern high mountains of Taiwan accepted Sinicization and external influences later than the indigenous people in the northern plains, the wood carvings, rock art, and ritual sacrifices of the indigenous people in the southern high mountains of Taiwan have more preserved

the original appearance of the culture.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The “physical images” of the indigenous peoples of the southern high mountains in Taiwan, such as wooden ancestral spirit pillars and ancient pottery, illustrate the characteristics and composition methods of images in the culture of this region. By analyzing the “object images” of ethnic groups such as the Rukai and Paiwan, the pictorial connotations of the Wanshan rock art have been explored. On this basis, further discussions have been conducted on the production methods, stylistic types, and comparisons of similar rock art, confirming that the Wanshan rock art was continuously added and produced over a longer period of time. The earliest production time of the Wanshan rock art does not predate 2000 years ago, and thematic images such as whorled patterns may date back to around 1500 years ago. According to the engraving traces, the Wanshan rock art has been continuously processed by metal tools, and the addition and production of the rock art may have continued until the last few centuries. The origin of the Wanshan rock art may have followed the route from the General Cliff rock art in Lianyungang, Eastern China, southward through Xianju rock art and Xianzitan rock art to Taiwan’s Wanshan, integrating the Yue culture with the Hemudu culture as its core during this process. Similar to the rock art in the southeast coastal areas of the mainland, the Wanshan rock art, located at the southern foothills of the Central Mountain Range and the southeast coast of Taiwan, features the coexistence of megaliths and rock art. Regarding the origin of Taiwan’s indigenous culture, there are theories such as the “Austronesian origin theory”, “Indochina Peninsula origin theory”, and “Chinese mainland origin theory”. Archaeological and ethnological evidence suggests that Taiwan’s indigenous culture originated from the mainland, with some cultures in southern Taiwan being particularly influenced by the Indochina Peninsula. Based on linguistic and archaeological evidence, this part of the culture may have been transmitted from the mainland to the Indochina Peninsula and then to Taiwan Island.

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#### ANNOTATION

Note 1: The “Hualien-Taitung Valley” is a longitudinal valley landscape in eastern Taiwan, sandwiched between the Central Mountain Range and the Coastal Mountain Range, formed by the compression of the Philippine Plate and the Eurasian Plate. It is named after Hualien and Taitung counties and is also called the East Rift Valley because of its location in the eastern part of Taiwan Island. It is about 180 kilometers long from north to south, 2-7 kilometers wide from east to west, with an area of about 1000 square kilometers and an altitude of 50-250 meters. The valley’s terrain is mainly alluvial plains, with many terraces interspersed among them. The main rivers include the Hualien River, Mugua River, Shoufeng River, Wanli River, Guangfu River, Matai’an River, Xiugulan River, Xinwulv River, and Beinan River, which together shape the main landscape of the valley.

Note 2: [https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deinagkistrodon\\_acutus](https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deinagkistrodon_acutus)

Note 3: References: Ren Xianmin, The Ancient Pottery Jars of the Paiwan Tribe in Taiwan, in the Collected Issues of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Issue 4, 1960, pp. 163-224. Xu Gongming, A Material Culture Study of the Paiwan Tribe’s Concept of Property: Based on the Collection of Field Investigation Materials from Museum Specimens, executed by the National Museum of Natural Science, the 80th year of the Republic of China.

Note 4: References: Hu Jiayu, Cultural Relics, Shapes, and the Art of Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples, National Taiwan University Publishing Center, the 104th year of the Republic of China, p. 189. Sakiru Pavavalung, The Abode of the Ancestors’ Spirits, Pingtung: Executive Yard Cultural Park Management Area of Council of Indigenous Peoples. 2006.

Note 5: Digital Archive Number: 16539 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16539>

Note 6: Digital Archive Number: 16540 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16540>

Note 7: Digital Archive Number: 16518 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16518>

Note 8: Digital Archive Number: 16514 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16514>

Note 9: Digital Archive Number: 16513 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16513>

Note 10: Digital Archive Number: 16515 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16515>

Note 11: Digital Archive Number: 16512 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16512>

Note 12: Digital Archive Number: 16511 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16511>

Note 13: Digital Archive Number: 16517 Citing URL: <http://c.digitalarchives.ioe.sinica.edu.tw/16517>

Note 14: Provided by Taiwan’s Ministry of Culture, Bureau of Cultural Heritage

Note 15: References: Hu Jiayu, Cultural Relics, Shapes, and the Art of Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples, Taipei: National Taiwan University Publishing Center, the 104th year of the Republic of China, p. 94.

Note 16: Reference: Kobayashi Yasutaka, “高砂族ハイワヌの民芸”, Tokyo: Mikuni Shobo, 1944. Chen Qilu, A Study of the Indigenous Cultures of Taiwan, Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., Ltd., 1992. Hu Jiayu, Cultural Relics, Shapes, and the Art of Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples, Taipei: National Taiwan University Publishing Center, the 104th year of the Republic of China, p. 178.

Note 17: For example: Grafton Elliot Smith and William James Perry of the Manchester School

Note 18: Provided by the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

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