

UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Barbara Kos

DEATH IN THE LIGHT OF SYMBOLIC EXCHANGE AND RITUALS

(SMRT V LUČI SIMBOLNE MENJAVE IN RITUALOV)

Master Thesis

Mentors: prof. dr. VESNA V. GODINA (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)

prof. dr. JOSEPHUS D.M. PLATENKAMP (WWU, Münster, Germany)

Ljubljana, 2006

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I should like to express appreciation to my mentors from the onset:

to Professor Godina for her enthusiastic lectures, profound knowledge and great support, and

to Professor Platenkamp who generously accepted me to study at his institute in Münster where I attended his inspirational lectures and studied under his tutelage.

I am in debt to both of them for broadening the understanding of the mystery of life that I have explored in my passage through this time and space.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1 Methodological approach.....	2
2 Structure of work	4
II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	6
3 The anthropologist’s tenuous grasp of societal essence	6
4 System of ideas and values	9
4.1 Social values.....	10
4.2 Dumont’s concept of hierarchy	12
5 Another view of the sacred and the profane	14
6 Rituals and/or systems of exchanges	15
III. FRAMEWORK OF THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF BELIEFS AND VALUES.....	20
7 Let the story begin – the One.....	20
8 Concept of the Two.....	22
9 Perception of the cosmological domain.....	25
9.1 The underworld	25
9.1.1 The “tree” and the “house” model.....	26
9.2 Heaven.....	27
9.2.1 The Gods.....	27
9.2.1.1 The Stove God	28
9.2.1.2 The Earth God	29
9.2.2 The ancestors	30
9.2.3 The ghosts.....	30
IV. RELATIONSHIPS THAT CONSTITUTE TAIWANESE SOCIETY.....	32
10 Lineage and family	32
11 Social roles of women and men	35
12 The ancestral halls – objects of prestige	36
13 The ancestral tablets.....	38
V. THE CONSTITUTION OF A TAIWANESE PERSON.....	41
14 Material part of the person.....	41
15 Spiritual part of the person.....	42

16	Name – the ancestral name	45
VI. COMING TOGETHER OF THE SOCIO-COSMIC CONSTITUENTS		48
17	Traditional marriage ritual	48
17.1	Announcement made to the ancestors	49
17.2	The main marriage day – separation from the father’s family	51
17.3	The second and the third days of the marriage ritual	52
17.4	Restrictions that should be respected during the marriage ceremony	52
18	Analysis of marriage rituals	53
18.1	The wife-takers’ gifts	54
18.2	The wife-givers’ gifts	56
18.3	Special position of a mother's brother	61
VII. INCORPORATION INTO TAIWANESE SOCIETY		63
19	Pregnancy and childbirth	63
20	Recognition of a child and the naming ceremony	65
21	Analysis of birth rituals	66
VIII. DISSOLUTION OF THE SOCIO-COSMIC CONSTITUENTS		69
22	The first mortuary ritual	69
22.1	Ritual of cutting the bonds and transfer of property	71
22.2	Accompaniment of the deceased’s spirit into the underworld	72
22.3	Ritual of nailing the coffin	73
22.4	“Getting out the roots”	73
22.5	At the graveyard	74
23	Offerings made after the funeral	76
24	Mourning rules	77
24.1	Mourning clothes	77
25	The second burial or the influence of ancestral bones	80
26	Analysis of mortuary rituals	83
26.1	The deceased’s relations with consanguines	89
26.2	The deceased’s relations with affines	91
IX. CONCLUSION		94
X. SUMMARY IN SLOVENE LANGUAGE (Povzetek v slovenskem jeziku)		102
XI. REFERENCES		124

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Dumont's concept of hierarchy as encompassment of the contrary	13
Table 8.1: <i>Yin</i> and <i>yang</i> in the hierarchical relationship of encompassment of the contrary	24
Table 15.1: Spirit and body as a person's constituents in the hierarchical relationship of encompassment of the contrary	44
Table 26.1: Chronology of the complete mortuary ritual	93

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 18.1: List of marriage gifts exchanged between the wife-taking and the wife-giving patrilineal lines....	54
Figure 21.1: List of birth gifts exchanged between the wife-taking and the wife-giving patrilineal lines.....	66
Figure 26.1: Stages of development and dissolution of socio-cosmic constituents of the Taiwanese person	99

I. INTRODUCTION

As a biological and also as a cultural phenomenon, death represents an important topic for scientific study especially in the fields of social and cultural anthropology. Death as a universal fact is more radical than life itself. Owing to death, through the process of evolution human beings have become as we are today. An assumption exists that death is the point in life not only an individual life but also the life of society in which scientists should search for the earliest beginnings of religion, philosophy, and psychology, and in short for beginnings of culture. The human being is aware of death and dying. However, in his experience of death, he always experiences the death of the other.

In today's individualistic western society death is a topic to be avoided in everyday conversation; it is a forbidden and awe-inspiring topic. It provokes ease and comfort. We are all aware of its presence, but nobody wants it to come. When it comes, as it certainly will, the person gets the whole picture of his more or less successful life and he sinks into oblivion. Written words, monuments, cheerful and successful children and grandchildren remain behind the deceased. It is their part to retain a good memory of the dead person. But nobody knows in what loneliness a person may have died or in what loneliness and pain a person's spouse may have remained. Usually relatives live with a sense of guilt and console themselves for hiding knowledge of coming death for the deceased's own sake. And what is most important: they try to forget the death as soon as possible; they try to suppress emotions and prolong their suffering. Here I pose a question: must dying and death be like that? Is dying in loneliness really a domain of modern society? How is death situated in the ideology of the non-modern society?

Death and dying unite all people of the world, despite sophisticated technological development or specific cultural beliefs. From the ancient past onwards, a human being has stood between hidden knowledge and fear, both of which occupy him at the confrontation with death. He still searches for the answers to reveal its secrets. Despite its universality fact, the understanding of death is culture specific. Every society understands, lives and honours life and death in its own way. Alongside birth and marriage, death is a special event that is accompanied by special rituals. The difference is only in the fact that mortuary rituals are the last rites among the *rites de passage*.

It appears to us that in non-modern society death occupies a different place in the symbolic

world of the society. Death is socialized in a different way, so that an individual much more easily undergoes its coming or the departure of his dearest person. Such is the impression. To live death as a transition and not as an event that designates the end of life profoundly changes attitudes and the notions of time and space.

There are differences in the perception of death and consequently in the attitude towards it. In my work, based on data from Taiwan, I focus on death as a process rather than an event through which a dying person loses his status. On the contrary, the deceased is elevated to a much more prominent status related to the ancestral domain. I will focus on mortuary rituals, particularly, the position of the deceased person and his dead body as well as his soul/spirit, on the one hand, and the position of the mourning group of people and the rest of society, on the other. Losses hurt, but an individual is not alone. Death is not hidden; it is uncovered, and, as such, it represents lesser pain. In my work, death will not be understood as a negation of life. On the contrary, life and death are going to be presented as an uninterrupted cycle where neither has a negative connotation. Accordingly, death cannot be studied in isolation from the rest of life, as an independent entity. How far must one go in describing mortuary rituals to get a total context for such actions? What is a total context for death rituals of a society if not society itself? My study will involve analyses of marriage and birth rituals, too, because all of these have their place in the whole picture of the cosmology in Taiwanese society, in which all of these are interconnected and related. Just as marriage and birth rituals are denoted by ritual exchanges, so are mortuary rituals, and a transformation of the deceased's spirit is accompanied by rituals of symbolic exchange between two domains.

1 Methodological approach

This study presents an analysis of the system of ideas and values of the Taiwanese people who are descendants of Chinese settlers who settled in the northern parts of the island, after arriving from southern parts of China. Data analyzed in this study are based on secondary data gathered by various specialists, among whom anthropologists prevail. In my work I need to lean heavily on the facts of their data published in different ethnographic works. In order to achieve my aims, I focused on rituals of birth and marriage, while paying more attention to funerary rituals. The Chinese system of representation among the Taiwanese is so vast and includes so many local and temporal variations, that it is difficult to generalize about it. But I have tried my best. I need to

make clear that in my work I have tried to sketch out new ways of looking at the data. For that reason, I heavily lean on Dumont's theoretical work, especially on the one about hierarchy, which is unique to Dumont himself. Further on, I employ the framework for the study of the structure of mortuary, marriage and birth rituals proposed by van Gennep in his work *Rites of Passage*, as well as the visible physical journey of the body in the funeral procession, and the invisible journey of the soul, which are two of the underlying principles of Hertz's work on mortuary rituals. I complement that working approach with new guidelines found in anthropological works about Melanesian societies done by de Coppet (1982), Iteanu (1994) and Indonesian society, the Tobelo in Northern Halmahera, studied by Platenkamp (1988). I have tried to follow their method of anthropological analysis; it is unfortunate that I had to omit the fundamental first step – fieldwork experience. This omission has forced me to seek relevant and appropriate secondary sources, which represent my database. Therefore I have studied works by the following schoolars:

- Morton Fried, who researched the Hakka people in Taiwan in 1948;
- Arthur Wolf, who gathered his data from farmers, coal miners and powerless segments of Chinese society from the southwestern Taipei Basin in the 1960s;
- Emily Ahern, who did her field work in a village in northern Taiwan (Ch'inan) in 1969, and
- Stuart Thompson who engaged in field work in the villages of western Taiwan in 1981.

Those anthropologists observed life among settlers who had come to Taiwan mainly from Chinese Fukien and Kwangtung. I cannot go further without mentioning Marcel Granet's profound works, in which he provided an illuminating examination of the whole of ancient Chinese culture. In his work, I became interested in the ancient ritual life of the rural people as evident in marriage, birth and death rituals in Chinese society. Thus my study is based on data gathered some 50 or less years ago. It is true that many things have changed during that period of time; on the other hand, in reading Granet's work dated in 1922 or the work of a current anthropologist, the data reveal the same characteristics in people's life: they still take care of and responsibility for ancestral worship; people of the household are still bound together by the Stove God. New Westernized gadgets do not disturb their beliefs, which last and will also influence their future.

My work is based on a comparative method, focusing on the different local usages related to worshipping death and life. These are summoned in models of birth, marriage and mortuary rituals, and all three together in an overall socio-cosmological model. The comparative method is supplemented by inductive and deductive methods, while analyzing past and present data. At the end of my study, I will provide a synthesis, which will present the Taiwanese system of representation from the highest level of its manifestation. I am aware that this is an ambitious goal, but I will try to come as close to it as is possible with limited knowledge and the limitations of time and scope of this study. Owing to the same limitations, many important topics have been omitted because each would represent another whole study by itself.

In my work I shall try to answer the following research questions. These can also be read as my working hypotheses:

- How does perception of inner universal order influence social life, and specifically, what values constitute an integral part of Taiwanese ideology?
- How is a person perceived in Taiwanese ideology, and how does that perception influence life and death among Taiwanese?
- Is death in Taiwan perceived as a process or as the final event in one's life?
- How does death, as an expression of continuity and discontinuity, order rituals of birth and marriage?
- Are funerals intended to give formal expression only to feelings of grief and sorrow, which must be expressed in society specific ways, or also intended for the rearrangement of relationships, which I assume do not cease at the person's death?
- Is there something more than the objects of exchange being transferred between subjects during specific rituals?

2 Structure of work

My study is divided into seven parts. *The first part* is the theoretical one, in which I set out the theoretical points of departure on which my study is based, particularly the analytical work of the study. I represent my understanding of Dumont's social ideology as a system of ideas and values, his "encompassment of the contrary", asymmetry between the sacred and the profane, and the

indispensable role of rituals as appropriate grounds for the whole range of exchanges.

The second part introduces the system of beliefs and values of Chinese ideology, from which Taiwanese ideology arises. There I introduce the socio-cosmic relationship that pervades the entire social life of Taiwanese. The Taiwanese conception of the cosmological domain is introduced in that part.

The main focus of *the third part* is on the social relations that constitute Taiwanese village society. Attention is paid to the lineages as a social structure and their main objects of unity, namely, ancestral halls and ancestral tablets.

How a person is perceived in Taiwanese ideology is revealed in *the fourth part* of my study, where the subordination of material parts and the superiority of ancestral name and spirit are explained.

The fifth, sixth and seventh parts represent the main body of this study, where models of traditional marriage, birth and death rituals are described and analyzed. The whole set of exchanges is traced out, those which mark the relations between the living and the dead, and which are needed in order to bring all constituent parts of any form of life together. In those parts I analyze appropriate contexts for needed transformations in order to guard social life from its repeated extinction. I trace what values govern the social life of Taiwanese, and what gifts exchanged in different contexts actually embody those values. All these are revealed through an analysis of marriage, birth and mortuary rituals.

The final part represents an overall conclusion, in which I make synthesize all the analytical work of my study in order to represent the basic values of Taiwanese village society, values which reflect their attitude towards life and death.

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3 The anthropologist's tenuous grasp of societal essence

Everything that the anthropologist studies can be designated as ideas and the values attached to them: society, family, culture, kinship and so on. Everything is based on ideas that are not biological in nature. They are social facts; they emerge from the society itself. To find out what makes a particular society different from others, anthropologists should pay attention to the representational system of the society in question. Anthropologists should focus on the structure of the social system, which is full of interactions and relationships. But where can such a representational system be seen? And, why the representative system at all?

We get the answer by following Emile Durkheim, his nephew Marcel Mauss and the group of scholars associated with the *Année Sociologique*, which provided an important framework for social anthropology. Following Durkheim's work, we discover that we behave as we do because we are members of a particular society and not because we belong to the *Homo Sapiens Sapiens* group. An individual subjective mind is filled with ideas of the society. Those ideas have an existence beyond the individual mind; in particular, they emerge from the society. Society "organizes itself lastingly within us. It arouses in us a whole world of ideas and feelings that express it but at the same time are an integral and permanent part of ourselves" (Durkheim 1995, [1912]: 266). Society can exist only by means of individual minds, and for this reason it must enter into us, become organized within us. But to understand the "way in which a society thinks of itself and of its environment one must consider the nature of the society and not that of the individuals" (Durkheim 1964, [1895]: xlix). In saying that, he oriented us to observe social facts, which are "ways of acting, thinking, and feeling, external to the individual, and endowed with a power of coercion, by reason of which they control him" (ibid.: 3). They are general throughout a particular society and unique to it alone. At the same time, they exist independently of its individual manifestations. Here we come to the collective mind, seen as the "conscience collective", without which social life would be impossible. Everything found in the society originates in the "conscience collective", and all social facts come to be seen as representations of this collective consciousness, as "representations collectives".

The conscience collective is a composite abstraction of the beliefs and sentiments that are shared by members of a particular society. It is seen as the “highest form of psychic life, for it is a consciousness of consciousnesses” (Durkheim 1995 [1912], 445). Collective consciousness exists before and after the lives of individuals. Anthropology compares societies by comparing their collective representations, which are culture specific concepts of thinking, not innate but social. The functions of morals, values, and religion can be explained by different forms of collective representations. Durkheim’s argument was that the human mind suffers the lack of innate capacity to make the complex classifications that all societies possess. For that reason we need a model for such arrangements of ideas, which is society itself. Society “was its own divisions which served as divisions for the system of classification. The first logical categories were social categories; the first classes of things were classes of men” (Durkheim and Mauss 1969, [1903]: 82), and the classification of objects in the world of nature was an extension of the social classification already established. Following Durkheim, everything found in the society has a social origin, all fundamental categories of human thought, especially the concepts of time and space. But contrary to Durkheim there was Lévi-Strauss, who in his work *Structural Anthropology* argued that it is true that society cannot exist without its symbolism, but that symbolism did not grow out of society. For Lévi-Strauss, symbolic thought should be seen as a given in man. Therefore, each society has its own system of representations, which makes it appear as a unique whole. For that reason, all social facts should be studied and observed in their own societal context. They should not be extracted out of it. They exist in relationship to other social facts, and particularly, with the whole, which defines their meaning.

Following Durkheim’s view that religion is seen not only as a “system of practices but also a system of ideas whose object is to express the world” (Durkheim 1995, [1912]: 430), Dumont argues that in society it is religion that encompasses the whole and that relates the whole immediately to action (Dumont 1986: 24). In point of fact, religion is a site for collective representations that express the reality of the particular society. From this view, a holistic approach is needed for studying any society. Mauss argued for the study of “total social facts” where attention should be paid to the “study of the concrete, which is the study of completeness,” where we should “observe the complete and complex reactions of numerically defined masses of men, complete, complex beings /.../ whole group and its behavior in its entirety” (Mauss 1990, [1950]: 103). In brief, birth, marriage and mortuary rituals should not be observed just within their contexts but also in terms of how those systems influence the whole.

But what kind of a “whole” is in charge here? On the one hand, there is a social whole, which Dumont (1980, [1966]: 39 – 42) does not see as a sum of parts but rather as a network of relations in which parts do not play a prominent role. They are neglected in such a way that they are not the bearers of their own individuality; they are not self-defined, but they are the result of that network which encompasses them. The whole social system is then governed and pervaded by the network of established relations. A single relationship is subordinated to the whole system of relationships, and its meaning, function or better, its value is determined according to that totality as well. It can be said that society, seen as a totality, takes the form of a set of values through which society expresses itself. And it is society as a totality that defines values. It defines the prominent value of the social system that encompasses all others. In that structure every relationship is oriented towards the needs of the whole, or as Dumont concludes: “it is the whole which governs the parts,” and he continues, “[in India] this whole is very rigorously conceived as based on an opposition” (ibid.: 43 - 44).

On the other hand, there is more than just the social domain. Society as a whole is seen as comprising also the domain that transcends it; that domain is called the cosmological domain, which, in the Taiwanese case, is composed of ghosts, deities and ancestors. This domain is so prominent that society cannot operate without it. Actually, the social domain is in a subordinate position in relation to it. Durkheim and Mauss argued that it is the social system that determines the cosmological one. But from Lévi-Strauss’ point of view, the influence is completely opposite; it is the cosmological that determines the social. How the cosmological system is understood, so is the social system constructed. He argues that natural species are not chosen because of their tastefulness but because they are good to think. And there is not just a culture-nature distinction, but also a third element, that of relations. Relations between culture and nature happen in different cultural contexts, which makes relations distinct from each other.

The cosmological whole is reflected in the social system. It is structured, and its structure can be seen in the social structure, in the social order. No matter what structure we are talking about, it is very integrated and it has no need to change. In what way are the two domains interrelated? Or, to express it better, what values make their relations alive, and are revealed in the essence of the particular society? This essence is represented by an all-encompassing ideology seen as a “social set of representations” (Dumont 1977: 17).

4 System of ideas and values

By defining ideology as the “system of ideas and values”, Dumont (1980, [1966]: 37) distinguishes between two kinds of ideologies and, consequently, between two kinds of societies; where the individual is a “paramount value”, he speaks of the individualism that is traced out in modern societies. Where the “paramount value” lies in the society as a whole, he speaks of the holism that is found in non-modern societies (Dumont 1986: 25).

In the individualism of modern society, the individual is *seen* as an independent, self-determining unit. He works to satisfy his own needs, and it is just a matter of coincidence that by satisfying individual needs society’s needs become fulfilled, too. Furthermore, society is recognized as a mean employed to satisfy the individual’s needs. As such, the individual is the holder of the highest value; he is free and equal to his fellows. What is more, all humanity is represented in each man. Individuals are not seen as hierarchically ranked but as equal and identical (Dumont 1980, [1966]: 4 - 16). Modern society is thus composed of individuals, who act as separate but equal units, as far as a juridical system is concerned. This is how modern man *thinks* about and *sees* the system.

On the other hand, as the opposite of “Homo Aequalis”, there is “Homo Hierarchicus” of the holistic societies. The ideology of non-modern society is recognized as a holistic one, where no values of equality and liberty can be found. In the holistic ideology, society is seen as a whole and not the individual. The collective idea of man and not of the individual can be found there. The organization of such a society is such that it can fulfill its own needs and not those of the individual, which occupy a much lower level (*ibid.*). The ultimate value in holistic society is to make contributions to the social system as a whole. The individual is recognized as an “*empirical* subject of speech, thought and will, indivisible sample of the human species (which I call for analytical clarity the particular man, and which is found in all societies or cultures)” and not as a bearer of value seen as an “independent, autonomous and thus (essentially) nonsocial *moral* being, as found primarily in our modern (commonsense) ideology of man and society” (Dumont 1986: 62).

But those two ideologies are just part of the “universal matrix” or, as I dare to say, the ideology of modern society can be seen as a permutation of the ideology of non-modern one. One of Dumont’s arguments is the existence of a universal form of society that must exist, no matter its

ideological type. And by employing the holistic approach in discovering that universal form, one is much closer to it because the holistic approach “gives a full dimension to society as a whole, and not to a non-social value, which is the individual” (de Coppet 1991: 142). And because the only way to find out something about our society is to compare it with another, and “because societies differ from one another in their systems of ideas and values, the comparison of societies requires a comparison of ideologies and not of elements a priori selected” (Barraud and Platenkamp 1990: 104). Our attention should be directed to the differences between the ideologies, because similarities cannot say much. On the contrary, differences can be very revealing.

When anthropologists make their studies and observations they often missed completely when they stick to the social facts and compare them with similar social facts that are found in their own ideology. They just train their ideological glasses onto the observed society, looking for the facts they are used to seeing. They ignore the difference between the ideological system of the observed society and their own society. I dare to say that such ignorance costs them the validity of their work. Through the system of representations, members of a society share the same worldview. Actually, the ideology is very powerful; it has the ability to convince people of a certain model of the world, according to which they live their own reality. Ideology typically makes communication among societies difficult. Ideologies of cultures cannot be challenged or even questioned by other cultures. But this is so often the case in many scientific works.

4.1 Social values

In the previous paragraphs, I frequently mentioned values as a constituent part of any ideological system. In 1951 Clyde Kluckhohn wrote a theoretical essay about values in cooperation with a team working on the project “A Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures”. It was published in Parsons and Shils’ book “*Toward a General Theory of Action*”. Following Kluckhohn, values

define the limits of permissible cost of impulse satisfaction in accord with the whole array of hierarchical enduring goals of personality, the requirements of both personality and sociocultural system for order, the need for respecting the interests of others and of the group as a whole in social living. The focus of codes or standards is on the integration of a total action system, whether

personal or sociocultural. (Kluckhohn in Parsons and Shils 1962, [1951]: 399)

For him, values are not directly observable any more than culture is; actually, values are embodied in culture and not distinguished from it. They are cultural products of all social interactions, and without them social life would be impossible. Values are actually manifested in ideas, and they synthesize the whole social system of relationships. As such, they are essential for the integration of society, and furthermore, as being manifested in ideas, they should not be separated from them while being studied. They are related and interdependent (Kluckhohn in Parsons and Shils 1962: 389 - 403).

Parsons understands the concept of value within the framework of action, which involves “an actor or system acting, a situation and a set of relations between them, which is sometimes called ‘orientation’” (Parsons in Robertson and Turner 1991: 37). He treats values as the relations that keep the actor and the situation connected and dependent. A value system of a social system is by definition a shared value system involving notions of what people should strive for and what they should avoid. That value system defines not what is, but what people ought to do. According to Parsons, values are not manifested in action unless people are committed to them. He argued that values give people a common set of criteria for making everyday decisions, a set of criteria that is incorporated into their personalities. After all, values are the key to social order (ibid.: 37-65).

Dumont describes value as “something different from being, and something, which, while the scientifically true is universal, is eminently variable with the social environment, and even within a given society, according not only to social classes but to the diverse departments of activity or experience” (Dumont 1986: 237).

In my words, every idea, I would suggest, every relationship, found in society is pervaded with a special, socially recognizable “essence” that identifies it. Gifts are a good example of bearers of social values, because they express special value that is recognized within a specific social context. It is not the gift itself, its material value, that makes us happy, but the value that identifies it. To every gift, to every relationship, an important value is prescribed that carries a recognizable social meaning. On the whole, values make social actions predictable. They define social contexts, in which they are an essential part of any social action. As a product of society, they are, through the process of socialization, built into our mind. It can be said that they

represent the device that enables us to think and to act. To expose an individual's freedom, for a member of the society, there is just one proper way to think and act. And this way is the society's way. For this reason, we need to be taught social values. Therefore, any concern about the scientific relevance and objectivity of an anthropologist's work, if the anthropologist bases his/her observance on the values of observed society, is illegitimate. Why? Values are not subjective in nature; they are not a product of solitary individual thought. They are social.

4.2 Dumont's concept of hierarchy

Before I go any further, I need to present Dumont's concepts of hierarchy, which casts light on every single aspect of life in society. Dumont's hierarchy¹, defined as a relation called the "encompassing of the contrary" (Dumont 1980, [1966]: 239), consists of at least two valued levels: the superior level where differentiation is excluded, and the inferior level where different values are not just different but also contrary. The superior level is the level of the supreme value where we can find the relationship of the unity between the part and the whole, because that part of the whole is at the same time its part and its equal. It is undifferentiated from the whole. On the inferior level, a relationship of distinction or the contrary is found. Both levels are interrelated, because the contrary at the inferior level is encompassed by the unity at the superior level. Because we are dealing here with two levels, it is important to shed light on what level is occupied by a particular relationship. It should be borne in mind that each action, each relationship is situated in a particular social context that is defined by social values. The whole social system is thus governed by the hierarchical "differentiation of values" (ibid.: 244). Hierarchy and hierarchical oppositions between the parts and the whole can be presented with the following diagram:

¹ It should be stressed that Dumont's perception of it has nothing to do with our notion of hierarchy as a ladder of commands and as a chain of decreasing/increasing power (depending on the way one looks at it). Its visual appearance is not shown as a taxonomic tree, and it is not seen as a secondary symptom of some process, but rather as an all-embracing or overall principle.

1 st level.....	X	
2 nd level.....	X	Y

Table 4.1: Dumont’s concept of hierarchy as encompassment of the contrary

It can be seen that there are not just two parts related to each other but also the whole, which is pre-existent. And it is the whole that determines the valued relationship between two parts found at the second, differentiated, level. The second part (y) can never become of the same value as the part (x) because it is the contrary. It is just part of the whole and not its equal. Because of that, the relationship between each part and the whole is not of the same value. And because of the coexistence of one part with the totality, on the first level we have **unity** and on the second level **contradiction**, both **at the same time**.

Perhaps it is difficult to see something as divided and total simultaneously; on the other hand, we live that kind of paradox every day. One needs to pay attention to our perception of the human body. We experience it as a whole, and at the same time we are very much aware of the parts that constitute our body. Each part of our body has its own position, which is not shared with any other part. This is also true for the left and right hands, which are generally seen as the same. On the contrary, their relation with the whole body is so different that it makes them unequal. Have we ever asked ourselves why we shake hands by offering the right hand and not the left? Perhaps because we are right handed? Really? Have we ever thought about the possibility that different values are prescribed to the right and the left hand, which make them unequal? Nevertheless, Dumont argues that “hierarchy is universal” (1986: 265), and my contribution is as follows: it is in us that we do not see it.

We have just seen that hierarchy subordinates one valued level to another, but it can “at the same time introduces a multiplicity of levels, letting the situation reverse itself” (Dumont 1980, [1966]: 241). Because all social life is going on in different social contexts, which are also defined by values, by shifting between contexts, we achieve an inversion or a shift of levels. The inversion always happens only on the inferior level, where what was superior in the superior

level becomes inferior in the inferior level and not vice versa. Also it should be stressed that inversion always happens only in the empirical level, not within the ideology. It can be seen that in the hierarchically organized levels two dimensions of distinction can be achieved: between the levels and within a single level. Accordingly, it is of crucial importance to find out on what level a particular relation is situated. For every context, the value in charge should be traced out. Actually, attention should be paid not only to the encompassing value but also to the encompassed one, which is “never simple to define, since, albeit encompassed, it is never totally integrated” (Barraud et al. 1994: 121).

5 Another view of the sacred and the profane

In exploring the values that order society as a totality and the relationships among them, we are going to find the gradation of values and the encompassment of a lesser value by a superior one. Iteanu (1990: 169-183), by restudying Durkheim’s work and by applying Dumont’s theory, affirms two forms of hierarchy. Durkheim prescribed strict separation of the sacred from the profane, while presenting them as two exclusive and universal categories. The set of prohibitions separates the profane from the sacred, and it is that set of prohibitions that divides society into those who are permitted the sacred and those who are prohibited from it. But the line between those two parts is not absolute. Iteanu argues that in society it is impossible to discover two distinct categories, where one is recognized as sacred and the other as strictly profane. In society, things are more or less sacred. He argues that in society a **gradation of values** in reference to a superior value is found. Values are gradated according to their relative sacredness. To that gradation, the gradation of prohibitions understood in relation to a superior value is also set. It is that set of prohibitions that protects the superior value. Why? The sacred is superior to the profane, and it can even destroy the profane, but the sacred cannot by itself approach the profane. It is the profane that can initiate contact with the sacred, of course, under strict direction of the prohibitions, which do not allow the profane to come closer to the sacred. If there were no prohibitions, the sacred would be immediately destroyed. This line of argument leads us to see the relation between Durkheim’s “sacred” and “profane” not as symmetrical but as asymmetrical. Iteanu defends that by applying Dumont’s **hierarchy of encompassment**, where the superior value encompasses the lesser value, and at the same time, on the inferior level the lesser value contradicts the superior one. Due to the encompassment of the contrary, a strict division between the sacred and the profane cannot exist. The profane can never be seen just as

purely profane, for being encompassed by the sacred, it “thus partially partakes of sacredness although, on a subordinated level, it escapes it to a certain extent” (ibid.: 182).

6 Rituals and/or systems of exchanges

Ritual is a groundwork for every relationship established by an exchange. What is more, rituals maintain a society’s identity and social relations. Here it is necessary to mention van Gennep’s pattern of “rites of passage” with rituals of separation, transition and incorporation, which are placed in relation to each other according to their specific purpose. His interest was not “in the particular rites but in their essential significance and their relative positions within ceremonial wholes - that is, their order” (van Gennep 1977, [1960]: 161). Because our life is designated with many passages from one status to the other, and so that society as a whole will not suffer any discomfort or injury, the rites of passage are engaged. According to van Gennep’s scheme, typical rites of separation are those associated with death, rites of incorporation are associated with marriage, and rites of transition are those associated with pregnancy, engagement and various initiations. But seen more precisely, rites cannot be so strictly classified into these categories, because it is obvious that categories spill over into each other. In observing death rituals, is not a funeral ritual also a ritual of *transition*? It *separates* the deceased from the living. It also *incorporates* him with his forbears. The same happens with the living, who, during the funeral ritual, are separated from the rest of the society because of the mourning period. They are under special conditions consisting of various taboos, and at the end of that period are incorporated again into the daily social life. Mortuary rituals label movement across social boundaries from one status to another – from the living to the dead ancestors. The gap between those two domains, namely social and cosmological, is huge. One can ask where the cosmological domain can be found. It is revealed and described in cultural myths, specifically myths of creation. Usually it is perceived as being above the sky, in the mountains, or below the sea. More than where the cosmological domain is placed, the fact that it is not here and now counts. Priests, shamans, and holy places like temples, churches and even gravesites where rituals take place, represent a bridge between them. Through them, the power of the gods and the ancestors can reach the social domain. Robert Hertz, who made contributions to the study of the collective representations of death, further examined the three-part structure of the rites of passage. He identified the intermediary period designated by the first, provisional burial in which many transformations are at stake, and the final, the second funeral ritual when the deceased’s

soul is admitted to the land of the dead and when all prohibitions placed by mourning are lifted. The final ceremony is no longer just a matter for the deceased's family but for the society as a whole. Death as a social phenomenon excludes the dead from the visible society of the living to the invisible society of the dead: "It is only when this process [of mourning] is completed that society, its peace recovered, can triumph over death" (Hertz 1960, [1907]: 86). The reason that we are afraid of death is its negative influence on the continuity of society.

Catherine Bell in her work *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* argues that "ritualization cannot turn a group of individuals into a community if they have no other relationships or interests in common, nor can it turn the exercise of pure physical compulsion into participatory communality." What ritualization² can do is to "take arbitrary or necessary common interests and ground them in an understanding of the hegemonic order; it can empower agents in limited and highly negotiated ways" (Bell 1992: 222). In stating this, she does not contradict, but tries to establish that ritual activities do not do what they are doing for the sake of solidarity, social control or power, which are frequently seen as the functions of ritual's activities. In this way she expresses the understanding of ritual action as seen by Emile Durkheim, Mary Douglas and Clifford Geertz. She argues that an anthropologist should find out what ritual activities share with other activities in the society and, on the other hand, in what way they are distinct from them. There are rituals that reveal the social structure and the representations that enable the anthropologist to gain an inside view of the system of ideas and values of the society in question (Barraud and Platenkamp 1990: 103 –106). Nothing more than misrecognition occurs when one observes gift-exchange and sees only reciprocal exchange of gifts, no intrinsic value, just a gesture of generosity. That kind of recognition is obtained when ritual is observed very narrowly, without a notion of the "wholeness", or better, without Mauss' notion of the "total social fact". It should be seen as "juridical, economic, religious, and even aesthetic, morphological" (Mauss 1990, [1950]: 101) at the same time. The totality should be seen from a level where everything mixes: body, soul and society. By studying anthropological work done by anthropologists in southeast Asia, I am able to say that in studying the interrelatedness of rituals, the hierarchical order of relationships established within a social domain and between social and cosmological domains can be revealed to us.

² To distinguish ritual from non-ritual activity, she uses the word "ritualization", with which she designates "the production of ritualized acts" distinguished from others by the way of acting (Bell 1992: 140).

Life in non-modern societies transcends the social context of life. Of vital importance are relations established between the social and cosmological domains. As I will establish, those relations are restored during the ceremonial exchanges taking place in rituals of marriage, birth, funerals, initiations etc. In the foreword of Mauss' work *The Gift*, Mary Douglas writes: "The cycling gift system is the society." She could not be more right. Through the whole set of exchanges, the society builds its own structure, and through the set of rules, it maintains its existence. With the set of rules, I have in mind Mauss' formulation of a set of social laws that determine and explain the giving and receiving of gifts in all their various and complex forms. These social laws place every one engaged in gift exchange under the obligation to give, accept and reciprocate. It is in the nature of every gift exchanged that each one "possess a special intrinsic power, which causes them to be given and above all to be reciprocated" (Mauss 1990, [1950]: 49). He argued that, because of that intrinsic power, gift and counter gift are the same thing. The received gift should be equal to the given gift. And this statement of Mauss led Lévi-Strauss further to develop the real function of gift giving and receiving, which is communication. In this communication, gift and counter gift are actually irrelevant. What is important is that by gift exchanging the relationships are established that govern life and make it possible. Platenkamp goes even further and argues that because in the process of exchange, people exchange two different wholes that are in relation, differently valued gifts are engaged in them. Gifts are not the same; they are unequal. For example, in marriage exchanges the groups of people are different in their origin, where one represents foreign origin and the other domestic origin. Exchanges between two groups create relations that will transform strange bonds into affinal ones.

The contrast between western and non-western exchange is generally known as a contrast between a commodity exchange and a gift exchange. In any society we find both types of exchange, contrary to Mauss' claim that only one type can be found. Mauss was caught in a paradigm of evolutionism. He thought that every society went from *gift exchange* to *commodity exchange*. The latter he found in modern, western societies, while the former in the non-modern, non-western, "primitive" society of Maori. According to evolutionism, *gift exchange* was slowly replaced by *commodity exchange*. Gregory (1982, 41 - 71) shows us the distinctions between *gift-exchanges* found in clan-based societies and *commodity-exchanges* typical of in class-based societies. In *gift-exchanges*, relations between the dependent transactors are established by the exchange of inalienable objects, while in *commodity exchanges*, the relations of equivalence

between alienated objects of exchange are established when one unit of x is exchanged for one unit of y. In the latter, it is price that describes value relations between exchanged objects, and it is quantitative in nature, while in the former, it is a kinship term that describes relations between dependent subjects of exchange. Those relations are qualitative in nature. *Exchange of gift* is made at two different points in time; a period of time must pass. In contrast, in the *exchange of commodity*, exchange is simultaneous; it happens at the same place and at the same time. The motivation of subjects in *commodity exchange* is to enlarge profit, while in *gift exchange* it is to acquire people who are obliged to the giver. Relationships created by *gift exchange* have the nature of debts. Because the gift possesses something that cannot be alienated from the giver, it must be returned. While giving the gift to the receiver, the giver is still the owner of something in the gift, and the receiver only possesses it. The receiver with the gift also accepts the debt – something of the giver that is incorporated into the gift and should be returned to the giver, because it can never be alienated from the giver. Between transactors, a gift-debt relation is established. The returned gift, on the one hand cancels the original debt; on the other hand, it creates a new debt. Therefore, a basic distinction between an economic act and gift giving is possession of something of the giver. While both Mauss and Gregory argue that both types of exchanges cannot co-exist in a given society, today we know that *commodity* and *gift exchanges* can and do exist in the same society. It is not a matter of whether one or another dominates the economic exchange, but the question is how they are connected. There are certain types of relations in society that are created in different domains. We cannot use money in all social domains. If we want to have a relationship, we do not want to pay. It is not a matter of which type of exchange exists in one particular society, but of where we allow *gift exchange* to take over *commodity exchange*. Shifts from *gift* to *commodity exchange* do exist (Parry and Bloch 1989: 1-32).

Following the group of anthropologists Barraud, de Coppet, Iteanu and Jamous exchanges can be seen as “activities in the course of which something is seen to circulate” (Barraud et al. 1994: 5). They are seen as a “movement of the whole” (ibid.). These anthropologists took into account the whole set of exchanges in their observed societies. In so doing, the whole configuration of ideas and values of the society could be analyzed. They show how the hierarchy of social values governs the whole of the relations between subjects and objects employed in the process of exchange, where these relations are subordinated to that hierarchy of values. They shed light on the “relative value of objects” (ibid.: 102) by showing that the value of the exchanged object

depends on the exchange in which it is involved. For example, the same food can carry different values in different contexts. They show us that the exchanges of each society must be viewed from the indigenous conceptual universe, where the specific relationships between people and ancestors are defined.

The system of hierarchical oppositions naturally pervades every exchange, which encompasses partners and groups, where in the subordinated levels of the exchanges individuals can satisfy their own needs, such as acquiring the necessary constituents for becoming complete social beings. But at the superior level, it is the society and its unending renewal that counts. Because of the circulation of universal constituents, society as a socio-cosmic whole gains its renewal continually. De Coppet, in his exploration of the Are'are society, criticizes the reciprocal role generally seen as a symmetrical system between two parties in the exchanges. He argues that the concept of reciprocity is not the underlying principle of the exchange. On the one hand, it makes partners separate, and even more, reciprocity makes them appear to be partners who come to the exchange just to satisfy their own needs. On the other hand, the concept of reciprocity shows exchange as a separate unit, the duration of which is very linear; it starts with the first gift and ends with the counter gift. The concept of reciprocity does not see the exchange as a part of the greatest whole, but treats it as independent or isolated from societal wholeness. The very nature of exchanges is that they are hierarchical and unequal, so never balanced. Their nature assures the never ending nature of the “chains of transformations” (de Coppet 1982: 192). The chains of transformation are crucial for the society because they foster the continual essence of its life. Peoples' first task is to get a role in these chains because “it is regarded by them [*the chain of transformation*] as essential to the success of the overall social process which changes continuous decay and death into the emergence of life” (ibid.: 201). The chains never stop; they are present all the time, because they make the general facts of social life possible. In my work I will posit that the study of exchange must extend to the relationships between two domains where the living are subordinated to the dead – without exchange there is no life and no death.

III. FRAMEWORK OF THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF BELIEFS AND VALUES

7 Let the story begin – the One

No sacred book contains all the basic beliefs that pervade the ideology of Chinese life in Taiwan. Instead of seeking ideas and values in books these must be sought in rituals, family worship, myths and tales. There are two main sources, both strong in their tradition and knowledge that reveal the Chinese ideological system. These are myths and Chinese philosophy. In what they say and how they express their knowledge, both sources are in agreement. Each speaks about the great beginning, about the existence of life, and about the formation of social life and its moral rules; in all these, the relationship between two domains is underlined; a relationship between the social and the cosmological domains in which the former is subordinated for its existence to the latter. Let us take a closer look at that belief, which pervades all of Taiwanese social life.

The ancient myths say that in the middle of the chaos the giant Pan-Ku was born, half human and half god. At his death, the transformation of his body created the world when his body was transformed into the various parts of the universe. The myth goes like this:

His breath became the wind and clouds; his voice became peals of thunder. His left eye became the sun; his right eye became the moon. His four limbs and five extremities became the four cardinal points and the five peaks. His blood and semen became water and rivers. His muscles and veins became the earth's arteries; his flesh became fields and land. His hair and beard became the stars; his bodily hair became plants and trees. His teeth and bones became metal and rock; his vital marrow became pearls and jade. His sweat and bodily fluids became streaming rain. (Birrell 1993: 33)

While at the time of the creation of heaven and earth everything found its place, when vegetation and animals evolved, there were still no human beings. It was the goddess Nu Kua, sitting on the banks of a spring and admiring her own reflection on the surface of the water, who created them out of the yellow dirt, mixed with water from the spring. The goddess Nu Kua was also the one who prescribed rules of marriage and ordered family life: that means prohibition of pre-marital sexual relations and marriages between people of the same surname. This is how life began,

according to the mythical stories (Birrell 1993).

On the other hand, the ancient sages' sources (Chan 1963) (Fung 1952) describe the creation of the world by primordial chaos, where primal breath was still in an undifferentiated, potential state. At a given point, the egg of chaos broke up and released the breaths, which escaped and separated. The light breath flew up and formed heaven; the heavy breath descended and formed the earth. In the end, the breaths joined and united in the center, which is represented by mountains. The highest mountain is treated as the epicenter of the universe, where heaven and earth meet. It is the place where gods can descend from the sky and where communication between them and people is enabled.

I have discovered that, regardless of the mythical interpretations, in Chinese thought a condition of cosmic unity was a precondition for the creation of life. There was a moment in time when that undifferentiated mystical unity separated into two (heaven and earth) or was transformed into multiple parts (transformation of Pan-ku's body which, nevertheless, resolved again into two – heaven and earth). Unity represents the highest level, the level of the One – the Wholeness, while its separation represents the inferior level where opposing and complementary parts are found. The primordial unity includes within itself the conjoined masculine and feminine principles, out of which everything is born. The One is the origin and the originator. It represents the egg that contained P'an-ku, the universal man, who grew up to the point where he separated heaven and earth. Between the One, as the originator and the owner of all life, and the two, there exists a set of relationships, for the image of harmonious life follows or strives for the reunion of the two in the One. But in earthly life this is not possible to achieve. Thus one should strive for the kinds of behavior and actions that enable one to regain the harmony of reunion in the One at the time of one's death.

In philosophical texts, the cosmic breaths or the breaths of heaven and earth mentioned above are commonly called *ch'i*. *Ch'i* establishes that people are made from the same material as mountains, earth, plants and animals. All things possess the essence of life or life-breath, that is *ch'i* (Schipper 1993, [1982]: 34). In old times the *ch'i* character was translated as “that which fills the body”, “that which means life”, also “breath” and “vapor” (Schwartz 1985: 72). Today its character depicts vapor rising from cooked grain (rice), which nourishes and maintains life. Weather is the *ch'i* of heaven. The essence of a plant is the *ch'i* of the plant. It supports and even directs all operations of the universe as well as the social order that governs actions and relations

among humans. *Ch'i* governs the creation and transformation of all things (Waley 1968, [1934]: 28).

On the other hand, village society does not talk about *ch'i*; ordinary people talk about a spirit or soul, which is given to them by the God of heaven honoured as the source of all things. The Great Supreme is all-pervading. In the old beliefs of the people and the shamanic tradition, this is he one who was there before heaven and earth. That primordial heavenly being is seen as the cosmic womb of all life, the womb which generates Heaven and Earth, and which embraces the whole universe. It is so much embedded within people's belief and thoughts that they turn to it for help and support in time of need (Granet 1975, [1922]). It is through *ch'i* that cosmological and earthly society are related and engaged in interaction. Misdoings change *ch'i*, and disharmony between them is created. In rituals, *ch'i* is altered again, this time in a correct way. Through *ch'i*, the cosmological domain is communicated (Asano 2002: 49). Through *ch'i*, heaven and earth create and nurture life, so people "receive life from their father and mother only because Heaven and Earth /.../ cause this to happen" (Asano 2002: 50). On the whole, *ch'i* is something that floats through the air without form, color or substance, and it is the essence that enables life itself.

8 Concept of the Two

The concept of *yin* and *yang* governs the Taiwanese view of present life as well as life after death. These are the two breaths, two principles seen as transformations of the primordial One. The idea of that concept is to understand the nature and composition of everything in the universe as a net of relations. Whether a thing is considered *yin* or *yang* depends on the role it plays in particular relation to the other thing, rather than on its inherent nature. *Yin* and *yang* are two contrasting ideas to which values are prescribed. The relations between them are not static, but cyclical, where the dominance of the first value rests on the inferiority of the second. Which value is in play depends on the appropriate context – the present situation of an action. The value of a thing being *yin* or *yang* is not fixed in stone. In one context, something can be *yin* in relation to another thing, but in another context it can be *yang*. For example, such is the exact role of the shamans, mediators and priests who mediate between the absolute *yang* of heaven and the *yin* of earth. When addressing heaven, they are *yin*, and when addressing earth, they are *yang* (Sangren 1987: 68-70). Stress should be placed on the central importance of the idea and value

of the whole, which is traced out in all life actions and relations during the constant but ever-changing progression. In the relationship between *yin* and *yang*, there lies the principle of polarity that should not be confused only with ideas of opposition. That polarities seen as male and female, sun and moon, heaven and earth, life and death, are different aspects of the same system or totality, in which a disappearance of either one would mean the disappearance of the totality (see further Sangren 1987). What is more, each of the two related elements is the constitutive element of the other, and neither can exist without the other; following that, in life, death is hidden, and in death, life waits to emerge. There is a relationship, a continual movement and change. Each of them wants to conquer and subdue the other, but it cannot, owing to their inherited nature – each of them lies in the heart of the other. That tension between oppositions that are not perceived as good and/or bad, but on the contrary, as differences and diversity, out of which harmony and unity evolve, pervades the entire Taiwanese ideology.

Yin and *yang* are perpetually in a relationship, proof of which is visible everywhere. That relationship pervades not just social life but the believed relations between the social and cosmological domains, too (see Chan 1963; Fung 1952; Granet 1975, [1922]; Sangren 1987; Schipper 1993, [1982]; Waley 1968, [1934]). All entities in the universe are conceived from that relation, which is intrinsically hierarchical³, meaning asymmetrical. *Yin* and *yang* can easily be shown in two columns of opposition or complementarity:

yang – heaven – father – above – sun

yin – earth – mother – below – moon

In such a form they complement or contradict each other so that one excludes the other, and there is no third possibility. In that case, totality is implied only in the background of the relation (Dumont 1980, [1966]: 241). Why these oppositions should not be seen in binary opposition is that they are not seen in relation to the whole; they are merely contrasted with each other. No link between different oppositions of the parts and the whole is created. Secondly, no differentiated levels can be found in their relationship. Their relationship is lineal, and not leveled. Thirdly, no distinction of values can be found, because there exists no value that would designate others. Parts differ just in their nature. Fourthly, owing to the negligence of the totality,

³ Here I mean Dumont's view of hierarchy seen as an encompassment of the contrary, as explained in the previous chapter.

symmetry is achieved, something that cannot happen in a hierarchical relationship where the totality is exposed and everything is asymmetrical. Fifthly, separating parts from the whole, or not perceiving parts according to the whole causes the separation from ideas and values. In the given example, if *yang* as the prominent value (as the totality) is neglected, values of *yang* and *yin* are seen as equal in status. They are not perceived in the relations that actually exist. Or as Dumont claims, we separate facts (assumed symmetry) and values (added asymmetry) (1986: 228). Moreover, it should be stressed that value does not depend on the element itself but on its relation to the whole. Sixthly, an inversion carried out in the binary opposition changes nothing. Everything remains the same. Reversal in this opposition is meaningless. Last but not least, if in the binary opposition stress is put on “OR”, in the hierarchical relations stress should be placed on “AND”. That means, complementarity is found on the superior level *and, at the same time*, contradiction on the inferior one.

<i>Yang</i>	
<i>Yang</i>	<i>Yin</i>

Table 8.1: *Yin* and *yang* in the hierarchical relationship of encompassment of the contrary

I am arguing that *yin* and *yang* should be seen as two contrasting ideas which have meaning not by themselves but when placed in relation to the totality. To those two contrasting ideas, different values are prescribed. In their relationship a prominent value prescribed to *yang* dominates an inferior value prescribed to *yin*. And if we know that the whole is always ordered and so complete, it is *yang* that on a higher level encompasses the contrariety between *yin* and *yang* found on the lower level. The relation between *yin* and *yang* is hierarchical, with the dominance of *yang* as a value. What *yin* is in terms of value and what *yang* is in terms of value I will try to discover during my analysis of Taiwanese social life. Here it should be stressed that the *yin* and *yang* relationship is primarily a socio-cosmic relationship, the relationship between *Earthly Mother and Heavenly Father* (see Chan 1963; Fung 1952; Granet 1975, [1922]; Sangren 1987; Schipper 1993, [1982]; Waley 1968, [1934]), and thus the relationship between the living

and the dead. Heaven and earth are in a state of interaction from which life flows. People observe this process in nature; they plant and harvest their crops accordingly and therefore develop a rhythm of life (Granet 1975, [1922]: 37-53). For village people, life is the interaction of male and female; rain and sun (*yang*) fall on the earth (*yin*) and crops grow. Their life is pervaded by that all-encompassing relationship, which engages everyone to be part of it in order to live and survive. Heaven and Earth are the origin of life; ancestors are the origin of groups. Without any one of these human life would be impossible.

9 Perception of the cosmological domain

The Chinese perception of the cosmos or the cosmological domain is perceived as being composed of heaven, earth and a watery underworld.

9.1 The underworld

The underworld is best described in relation to the world of the living. For this purpose I will refer to Ahern's work, where a shaman⁴ described this domain to her. The underworld is a different but ordered place. It is organized into nine stages or kingdoms, each ruled by an officer who is in charge of punishment. They judge the doings and misdoings of the dead. The underworld is the domain where arguments between the living and the dead take place. To settle those arguments, many gifts should be offered to the deceased and to the officers in charge there. The task of the medium is then to suppress these quarrels. Having crossed the underworld, the medium goes up to heaven where he deposits gifts from the living (Ahern 1973: 232).

⁴ Shamans or mediums are able to make contact between two worlds separated by the mountain zone. Mediums are possessed by the gods. Each medium has its master, who makes invocations by reciting sacred formulas to call the gods and the ancestors. The master and the medium are the interpreters of the cosmological domain (Schipper 1993, [1982]: 53). Mediums fall into a trance and get in touch with the spirits to whom the medium is directed. On the way, there are the spirits of deceased relatives who get the opportunity to communicate with the living through the mediums who come across them (Ahern 1973).

9.1.1 The “tree” and the “house” model

Each person is believed to have a house with a garden and a tree in the underworld. The house and the tree represent the body of the living person and so reflect its condition. If anything is wrong with the body, a person wants to check the condition of the house and the tree by traveling to the underworld with the medium’s help. If a bad condition is found, workmen in the underworld are hired to repair what is wrong so that the situation in the world of the living can recover (ibid.: 236).

Let us now take a closer view of the tree and the house model. The roots of the *tree* represent the feet of a person, and the tree itself a person’s reproductive functions. A woman’s tree is a flowering one, representing her children. As soon as a child is born, the bud opens and turns into a flower and drops off. A damaged flower on the tree represents a child who has died, or a stillborn child. For example, if a married couple tries in vain to become pregnant, the shaman is called to lead the woman to assess the condition of her tree. The objects of observation are the buds: that is, how many buds are still on the tree, and how many flowers have fallen (Ahern 1973: 237). There is a similar report about the flower garden, in which each woman has a plant with red and/or white blossoms. Red one shows that she is pregnant with a girl and white with a boy. The plant is guarded by the Goddess Mother and fertilized by a couple of gardeners who also plant a new one. When a woman wants to become pregnant, when she wants a new plant to be planted, she put a paper flower in her hair. When visiting the other world, the Goddess Mother and the gardens should be offered a small gift for carrying out their tasks (Schipper 1993, [1982] 53). The *house* represents the upper parts of a person’s body. The water well of the house reflects the organs of the body, namely the heart and liver. The floor of the house reflects the urinary system, and the bricks at the bottom of the stove the intestines. Any disease in a person’s eyes can be speeded towards recovery by repairing mistakes found in the electric lights of the house. If the person is suffering from facial disease, the top of the stove should be observed. The walls reflect a person’s skin and the roof of the house a person’s head (Ahern 1973: 238). Visualized in a vertical line, with the house on top of the tree, they represent the human body in totality.

That the two worlds are related to each other, or, to express it better, that the world of the living is subordinate to the underworld, is revealed by the influence the latter has on the former. It is not just the symmetry in counterparts but also the superiority of the “house” and the “tree” over

the living person that becomes clear. The condition of these two reflects the condition of a person's organs and not vice versa. Disease in a particular part of the human body is treated by assessing the condition of the corresponding part of the person's house and tree in the underworld (ibid.: 239). This shows the encompassing relationship between the two worlds, where the underworld actually encompasses the world of the living. Ahern demonstrates on the complementarity of the two worlds, where erasing a problem in one world influences change in the other world. Problems on which the living are working can also be solved in the underworld.

9.2 Heaven

Heaven is perceived as a domain where the gods, the ghosts and spirits of the ancestors dwell, as well as the highest authority that controls earthly life. Heaven is anthropomorphized as the Emperor of Heaven or the Jade Emperor. Also called the "Lord on High", the Jade Emperor is the supreme god in the world of the gods and is also held to be the ruler of the cosmos as a whole (Schipper 1993, [1982]: 27). The domain of heaven reflects the hierarchical levels of the social domain, in which the highest level is the level of the ruler (for example of the emperor and the empire); the second one is of lineages and their patriline (families), and the lowest one of strangers and beggars. The highest level in heaven's domain is of the gods, the second is of the ancestors and the lowest one is of ghosts (Wolf A. 1974:175). To these three classes of cosmological beings, human characteristics are ascribed. That the social bureaucratic order is very similar to the bureaucratic organization of heaven shows us a case of cosmo-morphism, one that reveals the homology between cosmological and social organizational structures.

9.2.1 The Gods

Under the supreme god there is an unclear network of enumerated gods related to nature, such as the wind god, the god of the sea, the god of water, the mountain god, the stone god, the god of the land, the god of woman's womb and so on and on. All are worshiped and asked for protection where necessary. A relationship needs to be established with the particular god. In life and ritual practice, such ramification of gods is not of primary importance; people focus instead on local cults and ancestor worship (Wolf A. 1974).

Gods wear the robes of officials; they dwell in temples guarded by divine generals; they punish crimes committed; they can be bribed; they write reports and hand these on. They are far more powerful than men. They can cure illness, punish misdoings, and control the weather; they can intervene in natural and social processes that occur in the social domain. They have power. The collective name for the gods is “*Sin*” (ibid.: 144). Their supremacy over the world of the living reveals the subordination of earthly society in relation to the cosmological domain. According to the myths and ancient wisdom about the creation of the world and life itself, gods are seen and perceived as the creators and owners of human life. People are created according to the gods’ image; their bodies are the result of the gods’ work. People see life as a gift from heaven, where their ancestors dwell (Birrell 1993; Chan 1963; Fang 1952). Granet, in his work on ancient China (1975, [1922]), reveals that gods are the originators of ordered life, and they are/were the king, the lord, the father and the husband who represented heaven on earth. They are/were the Jade Emperor’s mandatories. I can conclude that, because of the debt of life one owes to the originator, one should serve his parents, his rulers, gods and ancestors.

Lieh-tzu, an ancient sage, expresses it best:

Your body does not belong to you; its form was lent to you by heaven and earth. Your life does not belong to you; it came into existence with the interaction of the energies of heaven and earth. Your mind and your spirit are not yours to control; they follow the natural ways of heaven and earth. Your children and grandchildren are not yours to possess; they are but the flakes of your skin, for procreation was granted to you by heaven and earth. (Wong 1995: 24)

On the whole, people are not the owners of their lives - they are the owned ones.

9.2.1.1 The Stove God

In the kitchen of every family there is a large brick-cooking stove, meant, of course, for preparing food, but also seen as a symbol of the family by which the family identifies itself as an independent entity according to other families of the lineage. While the independent families of the household can share other family facilities, they never share the stove, for the soul of the family is localized in it. The Stove God is the lowest ranking god, just as in the society the

family is seen as the smallest corporate unit. The Stove God dwells in the cooking place of the family. Every year at the New Year, the Stove God makes reports about the family to the Emperor of Heaven. In order to prevent him from saying bad things about the family, he is offered a sweet rice cake to make his lips sweet (Wolf A. 1974: 133 – 134).

9.2.1.2 The Earth God

The Earth God (Wolf A. 1974: 134-136) has two tasks; the first task is the protection of the living from wandering spirits, and the second task is keeping record of whether human activities are good or bad. This god makes regular reports to his superiors. Because of its second task, all local events, births, marriages, illness and deaths should be reported to it. Moreover, people need its permission to build a new house and to destroy the old one. Schipper (1993, [1982]: 50) describes one important task of the Earth God: leading dead souls to heaven, actually accompanying them. It should be stressed that the Earth God serves local communities and not kinship groups. When people migrate from one village to another or settle in towns, they change their local Earth God, whereas the connection with their natal village from the view of ancestral worship remains intact. This also reveals that the Earth God is a multiple god. People keep its little images in their homes to protect them and their homes. Images are kept as close to the ground as possible usually on the floor under the altar. That the Earth God is a local god is mentioned by Wolf in a situation where repair work is in progress on the village temple. At that time people encircle the temple with a bamboo hoop to prevent the Earth God from leaving the village while its dwelling place is under construction. The village's Earth God is a "local representative of a higher authority⁵" (Wolf A. 1974: 138). This can be recognized by peoples' act of bringing the ashes of burning incense from the big temple in town when they build a new village temple. They put the ashes in their incense burner to ask the City God in the big temple to send someone to live in the new temple and protect them. For all work the Earth God does, it is paid monthly in rice and paper money.

There are also gods to whom only women pray. These include the Mother Goddess, with whom a relationship needs to be established for gaining help in becoming pregnant, and the God of a

⁵ An immediate superior to the Earth God is the City God, who appears in public three times in a year when a procession of people carries its image all across the city to check the borders of the city (Wolf A. 1974: 139).

pregnant womb for protection of the fetus. The gods are worshiped publicly in temples and privately in a lineage's ancestral hall. They are offered uncooked and uncut food, like a whole chicken or long pieces of pork (Harrell in Wolf A. 1974: 194).

9.2.2 The ancestors

Ancestors are members of one's descent group. They exercise control and authority over the living, and the living can never get rid of this because of the remains of the ancestral bones. Seen as the guardians of lineage order, they are often consulted by the living for advice. They direct the lives of the living. They control marriages and inspect the alliances of the living (Granet 1932: 236). The living are indebted to their ancestors for property, land, the family name, and above all, for the gift of life. Or as Wolf's informant says, "ancestors are your own people" (Wolf A. 1974: 8). They have to be worshiped and are offered food in the form of a real meal. Man's relations with his ancestors are general and permanent; as a descendant of a junior generation, he is obliged to worship them and take care of their spirit (ibid.: 168). To gain their sympathy and good will, relationships must be forged with them. Neglecting to worship them can lead to misfortune among the living. They can cause illness, which can also result in death. While the gods punish misdoings against society at large, the ancestors take care of only the lineage's welfare and that of their descendants. Ancestors can give life and also send death.

9.2.3 The ghosts

Ghosts are the spirits of people who have no descendants to worship them and the spirits of those who have died unnatural death like suicide, drowning, murder, and also those who died far away from home and are forgotten. They have left their normal cycle of life and death, so their spirits cannot reenter it. Now they are seeking revenge. Quite often they are called the Hungry Ghosts or wandering spirits. The only way to escape from that state is to find a substitute for them. Publicly, ghosts are worshiped outside the temples and also in dangerous places because people believe they are concealed in such places. Privately, ghosts are offered masses of cooked food and paper clothes outside the home at the back, like beggars. That happens during the Ghost Month, in the seventh lunar month, when the Hungry Ghosts are allowed to wander the social world (Harrell in Wolf A. 1974: 193 - 194). But since these are malicious and of no help, why should they be worshiped and given offerings? The reason lies precisely in their maliciousness,

for they can cause accidents, death, illness, crop failures and confusing behavior among people. They are the objects of fear among the living. Because people can expect nothing from them but misfortune, they need to make offerings to them, “so that they will go away and leave you alone. They are like beggars and won’t leave you alone if you don’t give them something,” are the words of one of Wolf’s informants (1974, 170). The categorical name for ghosts is “*kuei*” (ibid.: 168).

IV. RELATIONSHIPS THAT CONSTITUTE TAIWANESE SOCIETY

Ancestor worship and rituals of marriage, birth and death reveal bonds of consanguine and of affinity relations. On the one hand, men are provided with consanguines, or relatives by blood, while on the other hand, they must choose their affines, relatives by marriage. In Taiwan all rituals are placed in the context of ancestor worship. Those rituals also reveal that Taiwanese society is composed of relations between the living as well as of relations between the living and the dead. My work suggests models of social relationships, which I see in the background of social rituals. They may turn out to be bad models as one come to know more and more about Taiwanese society, but at this point, I must stress that they should be seen only as hypotheses about life in Taiwanese society.

10 Lineage and family

A primary form of social organization in rural areas of Taiwan was and still is a lineage organization. Lineage represents a group of descendants originating from a common apical ancestor who came and settled in a certain area in the island as immigrants from mainland of China. They are patrilineal, which is expressed in patrilineal descent calculated through men only, in inheritance from father to son and succession by the eldest son, and in virilocal residence, meaning that a newly married couple should live with the groom's natal family. Thus, every lineage includes all different patrilineal descent lines, sons and brothers, their wives and unmarried daughters and sisters, who marry out and become members of their husbands' lineages. From this point, a man worships his parents, his paternal grandparents and his remote agnatic ascendants. In such lineages prestige and reputation are in men's hands; everything started from the apical ancestor through the whole line of ancestors who all have tried their best to contribute to the lineage's prestige and name. Members of a lineage share the same surname and common land, which is cultivated by the descendants of the founding ancestors. A lineage's surname and its land distinguish one lineage group from other lineages with which a particular lineage has relationships, as well as uniting them as members of a particular group. Division by generations and age differentiation within one generation are two principles of classification within the domestic community, represented by the oldest member of the most senior generation, who bears the title of the Elder (Ahern 1973: 75-89; Granet 1975 [1922]: 39, 51, 58-59). The

essence of kinship is contained in the name of the family, which is the “sign of a sort of identity of substance, specific and incommunicable” (Granet 1975, [1922]: 39). Therefore, the name and the land are two aspects that have never been sold and/or lost. They mark members of patrilineages of the lineage, as well as their ancestral group.

Kinship is seen in a way of thinking about rights and duties with respect to the land and to the ancestors. There exist **obligations** that define that social organization. The first obligation is the **exogamy rule**, involving a prohibition against marrying inside the lineage group. When a lineage’s family wants to marry a son, the family searches for a bride, and as a family opposed to the family of the bride, the former acts as a wife-taking family, and the latter as a wife-giving family. When marrying a daughter, the same family now acts as the wife-giving family in relation to another that seeks a new bride, thus in relation to the wife-taking family. Every family has relations with their affines; with the wife-taking affines as well as with the wife-giving affines (Ahern 1974). Because of the establishment and maintenance of those relationships, family and the lineage, of course, can survive. And to those relations social values are ascribed not to the groups themselves. The second rule is the right of **inheritance of property** of the deceased member of the lineage, and rule of **corporate land**. The ancestral land is registered in a man’s name and a father passes it on to his sons. At the father’s death the land is divided among all sons, where the eldest son receives sole authority over the divided land (Ahern 1973). The ancestral land unites the living with the dead as well as the living with each other. It is the land that unites descendants over generations into a corporate body with ritual, economic and political interests. If there is no land, there is no joint worship. With the inheritance of ancestral land, there is continuous replacement of fathers by their sons.

As a territorial unit, lineage is a place of the founding ancestors. The large lineage compound, usually a U-shaped dwelling place, can be composed of four households, built over time, each governed by one married brother. Three generations can live in different sections of one household. Four separate households share the same main hall, the center of the compound (Sung-Hsing in Wolf A. 1974: 185). Families are distinguished from each other by the cooking stoves around which family members gather. Family can be seen as a group of particular people who eat together. With food, a family expresses its relations with other people, for in Taiwan they marry those with whom they do not eat rice (Wolf A. 1974: 176). Sharing of food symbolizes the solidarity and identity of a group. Offerings of food are associated with rituals that establish social relationships. But the focus is not only on relationships among the living.

Food offerings should and must also be exchanged between the living and the dead. Otherwise, relationships between social and cosmological domains cannot be established. Eating food offered to the gods and the ancestors means direct communication with higher authorities. It also means to assimilate quantities of their essence. Granet's investigation of the remote Chinese past reveals the belief that, by so doing, a person's substance increases and his spirit is enabled to live longer with a person's body, and its long survival is assured. The ancestors are offered food that comes from the lineage's land that is prepared by the lineage's members and that suits the taste of the ancestors (Granet 1975, [1922]: 80). In case of division of the father's household, the original stove always remains in the possession of the oldest brother, while the youngest ones transfer coals from the old stove to invite the Stove God to join them (Sung-Hsing in Wolf A. 1974: 184 - 186). While the division of the stove marks the division of the lineage's families, the ancestral hall as an undivided entity expresses the solidarity of a lineage in relation to other lineages. Also when a lineage spreads over several villages, this does not cause splitting of the ancestral hall, which remains in the old compound. Those members who settle in other villages just make domestic shrines, which never take the place of the ancestral hall (ibid.). The latter is the focus of the lineage as a whole. It is a house of origin for all members of the lineage.

Over several generations, a lineage becomes a very large group; as a result, many villages are actually lineage villages. Therefore, a village cemetery and a village temple belong to the particular lineage. Thus families of the lineage remain permanently linked, and the major linking institution lies in worship of common ancestors. A cemetery is a replica of the village itself, and the graves of the village's houses (Thompson S. 1990). Just as in a child's birth, when attention is paid to the body, a house is an intermediary between two worlds, thus is the cemetery a kind of intermediary between the social domain of the living and the cosmological domain of the dead, at the time of death, when attention is paid to the spirit. A typical **village temple** in Taiwan is the result of joint effort by all the village people. It is made as a copy of the cosmological world. Its main door opens towards the south; on each side of the door there are images of the Green Dragon on the east side and the White Tiger on the west. The roof imitates the Paradise of Immortals, the sacred mountain. It is meant to be the highest roof of all the houses in the village. Under the roof there is a celestial ceiling, and the base of the temple is square, representing the earth. At the top of the roof there are two dragons confronting each other over a pearl, which is located in the center. The pearl represents the radiant energy *ch'i* that emerges from the incense burner in the temple. Temples are not built just for worshipping the gods and ancestors. They are

appropriate place for gatherings from the village's daily affairs through boxing events. Temples are the center of the village, with the incense burner in a special place. If the village does not have a temple, people still gather together, having an incense burner that circulates among families. The family, which is in turn to possess it, is obliged to organize the year's festivals and it is called "the master of the incense burner". Other families are consequently called the "servants of the incense burner" (Schipper 1993, [1982]: 21 - 22). The incense burner is the symbol of the community, its social body. I see it as a mean for communication with the cosmological domain. Once in every generation there should be a restoration of the temple, during which the community receives help from other communities, which have made alliances by sharing the incense. It is a lavish and expensive feast, and thus a great competitive opportunity for the communities' leaders, an opportunity to build up their reputation. The ritual is in the classical Chinese language, so nobody who participates understands anything. During the great feast, offerings are made to heaven (ibid.: 80-81).

11 Social roles of women and men

"A boy is born facing in,
a girl is born facing out."
Chinese proverb
(Freedman 1965, [1958]: 31)

The Taiwanese family is focused on a child's obligation toward its parents. A boy is forever in his parents' debt for the gift of life. He owes them respect, and obedience, and he is obliged to provide another generation to carry on duties related to the ancestors and to guarantee a continued line of descent after his own death. His name gives him a sense of value, of personal worth. He is responsible for the continuation of the long list of names found in the genealogical tree of his patriline. He needs to carry on the family name and good fortune (Wolf M. 1979: 14 - 15). A man is identified with the family; he is born into the family, and he remains a member throughout his life and even after his death. His every action is taken in the context of his group. By giving a feast, a man and his group build up their name by expanding social relations. During these feasts, gifts are exchanged between the man of honour and his wife-takers and his wife-givers, or so to speak, exchanges between the living as well as between the living and the dead, as we will see presently. He builds up his, and so his lineage's honour. Importantly, having sons is a sign of wealth and honour, a symbol of stability and respectability for the man and the lineage. The absence of male offspring means the end of the worship of the whole line of

ancestors (Wolf M. 1979: 32).

Women's place is quite different in Taiwanese society. A girl's place in her natal family is just temporary. From her birth she is raised and expected to marry out and give children and her labor to her husband's family (ibid.). For her father, she is an outsider, "the excess baggage" (Watson 1989, [1982]: 176), but "the precious gold" (ibid.) for the family into which she will marry and produce its lineage. Actually, she is an outsider for the wife-takers' lineage too, but an essential one. The wife-takers try their best to bring her into their home to bear a new generation for their lineage. Thus, after marriage, she belongs to her husband's family, and she worships his paternal ascendants, his ancestors. Women contribute to the lineage's well-being by working on the land of their fathers, and, after marriage, by working on the land of their husbands. In the fields both sexes can work together side by side. Only men do the agricultural work of preparing the field, while seeding or harvesting is female activity. (Ahern 1973: 128). After her death she is buried in her husband's village. She is also subjected to double burial; her bones are exhumed and cleaned but never mixed with male bones, probably because her bones are the product of an alien lineage. Because her help in creating and prolonging the line of the wife-takers' lineage, her spirit is invited to dwell on her husband's ancestral altar, but she does not become an object of the ancestral rites (Watson 1989, [1982]: 179).

Lineage has its "face". It is much easier to lose "face" than to have it. When nobody gossips about the family, the family/lineage has "face". Women have a great power to lose "face" for their husbands' families. If male family member does something considered wrong, engages in illegal or immoral acts, women talk about him not just in their women's circle but also outside it. And when a man loses "face", this can bring shame to his family and his ancestors. If his deeds are sufficiently immoral, lineage members can expunge his name from the written genealogies (Wolf M. 1979: 40). The village political domain is reserved just for males, while domestic domain is for females (Yamaji 1991: 56).

12 The ancestral halls – objects of prestige

Any lineage ritual, be it an announcement of engagement or one of new life, marriage, or death, takes its place in a large corporate lineage hall, where the ancestral tablets and the gods' images are displayed and where exchanges between the living and the dead occur. The ancestral hall is the property of the lineage as a whole; a single household, does not own it. "The activities that

single families carry on in the hall, such as weddings and death-day offerings to the ancestors, are related to the interests of the whole group. The acquisition of a daughter-in-law, points toward the future addition of sons to the lineage and, satisfies and glorifies the entire line of ancestors of the family whose son is marrying.” (Ahern 1973: 97). Like announcements, offerings at the death-day festival also please all the ancestors.

The ancestral halls serve as a symbol of the lineage as a whole when facing the outside world. The ideology of the whole lineage presents an undivided face in relation to the outer lineages. When feasts for the lineage ancestors are provided, they invite outside people as their guests. They guide them and offer them a tour around the hall and explain carefully every detail of the hall’s aspects. One’s roots can be traced there, for the content of the hall forms the essence of the lineage line, where one connects himself with his roots and where one returns to his beginning. The ancestral hall is the foundation of lineage heritage, which is passed to succeeding generations. The hall always remains in the possession of the direct descent line, meaning in the line of the eldest sons, generation after generation (Ahern 1973: 95-97). So, in the lineage hall lavish offerings are made to the ancestors “by the men of each household to demonstrate to the ancestors and visitors alike that they were prospering and able to afford such expenses. On this occasion such as weddings, the hall is a public display place where men can both glorify the ancestors and impress onlookers from outside the lineage. The men, more often in evidence when matters of extra-domestic authority and prestige are concerned, almost always make these offerings” (ibid.: 98). Just as the beauty of a well-decorated hall is a matter of pride, so is the ugliness of it or even worse, a broken down hall, a matter of shame for the whole lineage. Inability to rebuild the hall is a sign of poverty in the particular lineage. Because “the state of the hall corresponds to the state of the lineage; a fallen hall is an embarrassing proof of the declining fortunes of the lineage” (ibid.: 100).

Thus, in Taiwan the ancestral halls are symbols of wealth, reputation and honour of the lineage as a whole. When feasts are performed, the lineage builds up its name, its face, its reputation. The value of prestige is ascribed to the relations a lineage has with other lineages through ancestral halls; thus ancestral halls are important objects in the competition among lineages. Ancestral halls are symbols of indivisible social unities when lineages represent each other. Seen from that point, ancestral halls are public places wherein all work undertaken is the business of the lineage’s men and as such contributes to building up its name. There is no place for women; this is a male world. The ancestral hall represents a social level, where relationships among

lineages are valued for name, for reputation and for honour.

13 The ancestral tablets

In the ancestral hall there is a large, high, wooden altar placed in the center of the back wall. The altar is not just a table for the ancestral tablets. It is the seat of the head of the lineage. Like the hall, the altar is regarded as the exclusive property of the lineage, including any objects displayed on it. In front of the altar there is a table for offerings to the ancestors. Facing the door on the left, the gods are placed, and on the right side of the altar, there are wooden boxes for ancestral tablets and an incense pot. In relation to the gods ancestral group is in the inferior position (Ahern 1973: 93)⁶.

The ancestral tablets of four generations are displayed on the ancestral altar all the time. Creating a new tablet leads to the removal of the great-great-grand father's tablet to a common box full of ascending ancestral tablets, which do not receive individual offerings like those exposed on the ancestral altar. When the ancestral tablet joins those remote ones, the name of the deceased man can be given again to a newborn child. The dead gradually lose their individual character and slowly become impersonal and undifferentiated. Taiwanese ancestral worship can be seen as composed of two levels. On the level of an individual family, there is the domestic worship seen through daily offerings of incense and food on the first and the fifteenth day of every lunar month carried out by women on a home altar. Those offerings are made for the recently dead. On the level of a lineage, there is lineage worship in the ancestral hall, where a collective body of a lineage's ancestors is worshiped. The men have a prime role in those annual festivals, such as the New Year festival, the Festival of Hungry Ghosts, and the Tomb Sweeping festival, which express the unity of the lineage. In these rituals, relationships between the living and the dead are honoured. The dead are honoured as the source of the living. As long as a son's father is alive, the son is not allowed to gain the full responsibility needed to carry out the ancestral rites. After a father's death, the eldest son becomes obliged to provide his burial and rites for the recently

⁶ Ahern's standpoint is facing the altar where the gods' images are placed on the *right* side and the ancestral tablets are kept on the *left* side. But the altar is meant to look out to a newcomer; therefore, one should adjust him/herself to the altar's position to get its left and right orientation. For me this is important because the domination of the left over the right is an important issue in Taiwanese ideology.

dead as well as regular worship. Only he gains that authority, right and obligation to perform ancestral worship; in his ritual task he represents all his brothers. His younger brothers are limited to taking part in the offerings made by him. Thus in a father's eyes, a father has only one son, who has brothers (Granet 1964, [1958]: 320, 364).

Not everybody is allowed to get the ancestral tablet, or to become a full member of the lineage. This right is not simply gained by males at birth or by females on marrying into someone's lineage. For example, there are no tablets for dead children because they are not considered as potential ancestors, for, in their short life, they did not have an opportunity to contribute anything to the lineage. It is considered that a contribution to lineage honour is a crucial factor in achieving an ancestral tablet, and not biological ties. The enrichment of the lineage is seen through one's contribution to the wealth and size of the lineage. Among deceased men, only those who are direct descendants of the lineage, who married, who had male children, and who handed down ancestral property (rice land) to their sons can achieve a place on the ancestral altar of the lineage. Their sons are obliged to make them tablets and make offerings for them. Among males who are not allowed to have a seat in the ancestral hall are uxorilocally married men who stayed with their wives' families, worked there, and allowed their children to bear the wives' surnames. As a consequence, they lost membership in their fathers' lineages. From a female point of view, a woman who married into her husband's lineage and accepted his surname, and who provided the lineage line with new descendants is given a full lineage membership and so is granted on ancestral tablet with a seat in the ancestral hall. Also a married woman who did not give birth can be provided with an ancestral tablet because of her commitment and potential contribution to her husband's lineage. A different situation pertains to a woman who dies before marriage still in her natal house. She does not belong to her father's house, while at the same time she has not been accepted in a husband's house where she would be supposed to die. For unmarried girls, a special temple should be built because their bones are not allowed to be placed anywhere on the lineages' land (Ahern 1973: 121 – 127). From another point of view, one who is not a lineage member and who inherits ancestral land is obliged to worship the person from whom he obtains the property. On the death day anniversary, the receiver of the land “who receives the fruits of the land once belonging to a dead person may be obligated to offer part of those fruits to the former owner...” (ibid.: 153). Ahern also reports many examples in which she found ancestral tablets of strangers and adopted people in the lineage's ancestral altar. They have been worshiped as ancestors of the lineage for their contribution to the lineage's land or line of

descent.

I can conclude that lineage is a stable social institution that transcends individual deaths. Its essence cannot disappear by death or increase by new births; through birth and death, its members just pass into a different form of existence. It can be said that giving and receiving ancestral land and other property establish a link of relationship between the giver and the receiver, and that lineage is not a biological but a social institution. Lineages are units of social and religious institution composed of the living and the dead, among which ritual actions such as exchanges are performed. In Taiwan there exist certain right and duties within Ego's patrilineal descent group. But there are also those linking Ego to the natal patrilineal group of his mother. This I will reveal presently.

V. THE CONSTITUTION OF A TAIWANESE PERSON

Taiwanese do not conceive the appearance of the world as a creation. What is important is a way, not a goal in itself. On the way there are transformations, which develop, maintain and renew the cosmos. Things in the world receive their spirit or essence from Heaven and forms or bodies from Earth. When these two come together, we have life; when they disintegrate they return to their original state of undifferentiation. The distinction between immaterial and material is a distinction between the enduring and the mortal. While the body dies and vanishes, the spirit is perceived as permanent and thus all-encompassing. The vital essence is all around. That can also be inferred from the relationship between society and its members, a lineage and its members. While individuals are mortal, society is not. It is perceived as permanent. As a totality, Taiwanese perceive a human being as a spiritual being, which implies subordination of material parts to immaterial parts. It will be established that a person is composed of the socio-cosmic relationship or *yin - yang* relationship, which is a constitutive relationship of the entire universe. Nevertheless, a human's constituents are also the constituents of the entire universe – of heaven and earth.

14 Material part of the person

The body as a unit is treated as *yin* in relation to an immaterial constituent. It is a product of the earth, and its nature is to rely on all the things that the earth produces. Bones and flesh are its main constituents engaged in the relationship with the whole body. Bones are consanguine matter; a child gets them from the father's side, the side of the father's ancestors (Lévi-Strauss 1969 [1949]: 393). Bones represent continuity for they remain after one's death. In relation to the whole body, bones are *yang* in essence. On the other hand, a child gets flesh from the mother's side, from the side of its affines, and it does not last (ibid.). Like the body, which perishes after death, flesh rots or is transformed into earth, thus it is *yin* in essence. In the absence of life, flesh represents a dangerous combination of *yin* forces. Bones, when they are cleaned of flesh, are treated as *yang* (Watson 1989, [1982]: 178). Men freely communicate with bones, with the *yang* remains of the corpse, for the “ancestral rites are performed by men for men, in the total absence of women” (ibid.: 179). The realm of the ancestors is pure *yang*:

In order to maintain this pure realm, however, males must reproduce themselves through the flesh of women they take from alien lineages. After death a prospective ancestor must be cleansed of every particle of flesh he inherits from his mother. Women, as the very embodiment of *yin*, are transient beings. They do not survive beyond the living memory (which itself is dependent on the flesh) of their immediate descendants. Men, on the other hand, not only gain a kind of immortality for themselves but they also attain continuity with their ancestors ... (Watson 1989, [1982]: 179)

The body serves as a temporary container of the spirit, which does not die; it survives the death of the body by its transformation into pure ancestral spirit. Therefore body and spirit are also found in an all-encompassing relationship, the body being of *yin* and the spirit of *yang* essence. From the belief that a human is conceived as a spiritual being, spirit as *yang* essence encompasses the contrary between material and immaterial parts.

15 Spiritual part of the person

The body and its shadow, an object and its reflection in water (one should recall the goddess's Nu Kua's work of human beings), real life and dream life, suggest the idea of another life parallel with this life and of the doings of the "other self" in it. With "other self" I mean the spirit, which can leave the body in dreams. Illness is caused by temporary loss of the spirit, and death is the result of permanent separation of the spirit from the body. The presence or absence of a person's spirit designates that person's life and death. The spirit comes to the body from outside. It can be said that throughout life, a person tries his best to build up this aspect of his being. There exists a constant need for success, for becoming someone, for continuing the family line, for worshipping one's ancestors. All that can be achieved through the net of relations with other people with whom man can form relations only during exchanges. By establishing and maintaining those relations, one's immaterial part is gradually built up. But the joke of life is that total completeness can never be achieved during earthly life.

The Heavenly Father gives spirit, which is as a totality perceived as *yang*. Spirit is conceived as being composed of two related parts: of the heavenly part *hun* (*yang*), which is contrasted with

the earthly part *p'o* (*yin*). *Hun* is expressed in the power of breathing, in a voice, and in a person's vitality, while *p'o* is the spirit expressed in bodily movements and biological functions. *P'o* is closely tied to the earth, so its aim is to rejoin the earth as soon as possible, which happens exactly after death when *p'o* is buried with the body (Granet 1975 [1922]: 81-82; Schipper 1993[1982]: 36; Yu 1987: 371). During one's life, *hun* grows (which is shown by changing one's personal name), and survives death. I am going to argue that after death, *hun* undergoes transformations from *hun* through *kuei* into *sin* (this is not so expressed in my sources). The first transformation happens in the underworld where it is judged for its misdoings during life. It can happen that the person's spirit stops on that level if there is nobody to burn paper money and to worship the deceased, and therefore becomes a hungry ghost. The second transformation into *sin* happens after its salvation when all misdoings have been paid for. At that time the deceased spirit is transformed into a divine ancestral spirit – a *sin*. When the ancestors are worshiped, they are worshiped as *sin* spirits. A *sin* can be asked, and it answers questions. Owing to that quality, communication between the living and the dead is possible. The living can communicate with their ancestors through the mediums or shamans (Aijmer 1984: 31).

The spirit is a formless force, which in connection with the body enables the living being to be alive. When the spirit enters the body, that is called life, and when the spirit leaves the body, that is reflected in death. It should be stressed that the division between *p'o* and *hun* is not a subject of discussion during one's life. They are joined together within the body. Furthermore, flesh and bones cannot form without god's gift of the spirit. The difference between two spiritual constituents becomes an object of attention after death when the two parts return to their origin. *Hun* can also be named the life-breath of heaven. It is believed that a person's individuality is constituted exactly by the *hun*, for it complements the highest parts of the personality and name. Although the *hun* arrives last, it leaves the body first (Granet 1975, [1922]: 81 - 82). In contrast to the *hun*, the *p'o* can be named the life-breath of the earth. A spirit is a part of the cosmos as well as the whole society. Seeing *sin* as the final transformation of *hun*, leads me to the notion of *hun* as the major component of a human being which is expressed in the voice and is thus in direct relation to a person's name. By building up one's name, one contributes to the growth of one's spirit. Acquisition of spirit is not an individual goal. Spirit is distributed among the members of a lineage. Members of a lineage are only temporary recipients of the spirit; *hun* and *p'o* come together only for a limited period of time, for the duration of one's life. We have seen that members of one lineage are united by a single surname. It designates not only its members

but also lineage land, land-products such as rice, and other things that are in the domain of the lineage (according to belief that vital breath enhances everything). I can say that the living and the dead of a particular lineage share the same essence, the lineage’s essence. But the birth of a child does not entitle child yet to that share. By the first breath, a child receives it from heaven, but it has not yet been identified; the spirit only enables child to be alive. A child needs to step into a relationship with his father’s ancestors to be identified with the group to which he belongs. And that happens through the precious gift of a name.

On the whole, everything that has been said about Taiwanese belief about a living person’s constituents can be represented as in Table 3:

Spiritual being (<i>yang</i>)			
Spirit (<i>yang</i>)		Body (<i>yin</i>)	
<i>Hun</i> (<i>yang</i>)	<i>P’o</i> (<i>yin</i>)	Flesh (<i>yin</i>)	Bones (<i>yang</i>)

Table 15.1: Spirit and body as a person’s constituents in the hierarchical relationship of encompassment of the contrary

For further implications of my work, another belief needs only mention, in order to avoid opening another topic, which, like everything else, should represents a study by itself. This is the concept of a microcosm and a macrocosm, into the line of which, the human body and soul are only diminished reflections of the entire universe. As the gods and the goddesses live in heaven, thus do they live and dwell in a human body, where particular body organs host particular gods or goddesses. This means that one’s body is essentially of the same nature and the same structure as the universe at large (Chan 1963).

16 Name – the ancestral name

Some facts should be said about Taiwanese belief in regard to names and naming. A Taiwanese person has a name composed of a surname (usually one syllable – one Chinese character) and a personal name (usually comprising two words – two Chinese characters). All patrilineal relatives bear the same surname. The first word of the personal name is the same for people of the same generation, and only the second word of the personal name designates the individual itself. A personal name must not be the same as that of any living relative (Aijmer 1984: 16). Taiwanese names imply the notion that people have something in common; the sharing of generational and lineage names links them together through time. They form a group as a whole. The ancestors are remembered by their names, which are transmitted to their descendants. As has already been established, it is only after the removal of the ancestral tablet from its individual position to the ancestral box of tablets that the ancestral name can be given to a newborn child. Those names are historical treasures of the lineage and constitute its identity. And the ancestors are the owners of the lineage's names. The succession of names marks the transmission of *hun*, of the *yang* principle, if you like, among lineage members. They share a vital force that 'compose' all members of the lineage. From the structure of the name, we see that generational names differ among themselves less than do names on the level of the personal name. On the level of the lineage name, a degree of individualism is not a matter of question among lineage members; they are united; they share the same spirit from the apical ancestor on down, while it forms a distinctive element when they stand in relation to members of other lineages. They are different units. Names are actually social aspects of the spirit. The important thing to mention is that it is only seniors who can address juniors by saying their names and not vice versa. The junior approaches the senior by addressing the senior with generic names, like "grandfather" or "older brother"... (Wolf A. 1970: 205). I dare to conclude that the written name is a visual embodiment of the person's *hun* (see also Granet 1964 [1958]: 182), and in being spoken or written, it represents a person's "face". Taiwanese are very much concerned with what people say and think about them. In everyday actions they try to avoid becoming an object of gossip. That would offend the lineage's name and ruin their influence or honour (Wolf M. 1979: 112-127). The name is a specific essence of every lineage; it is its "*hun*". Therefore, I would say that the name is the sign of relationship. The name possesses the individual, rather than the individual possessing the name. A clear example of that is the situation of a woman, who at marriage ceases to belong to her father's name – she receives the responsibilities and duties of a new name.

That *hun* and a person's name are closely connected is shown by the reaction of family members during the first moments of a recent death when the deceased's person name is cried out loudly by the relatives. Probably, by doing that, they try to call back the deceased's *hun* and to persuade it to rejoin the body. Proof of that can be found in Yu's article "O Soul, Come Back!" (Yu 1987), in which he describes the conception of the spirit. When a person is ill or has died, that person's *hun* is believed to wander around. In feudal times people climbed to high places such as roofs or trees, waving a piece of the dead person's cloth and in loud voices called back the person's *hun* by calling his/her name (ibid.).

That a person progressively builds up his/her *hun* can be observed in the acquisition of new names at different stages of life. For example, at birth a child is given a "milk name", which remains with the person throughout life. When starting school, a child is given a "book name"; at marriage a "great name", and a "taboo name" is dotted down on a spirit table at a person's death. Women rarely participate in public life, thus they normally bear a single name throughout their lives (Denny in Eliade 1987, vol. 10: 306). Women increase their *hun* by giving birth to many sons, and by any work that contributes to their husbands' lineage. Thus, changing the name designates an increase in a person's *hun*. Giving a nickname to a child can also protect it. The nickname makes the child unattractive to malicious ghosts, who love to attack unprotected beings, or beings with still weak *hun*. For that reason, little boys are sometimes given girls' names, since girls are thought to be less subject to ghost attacks. The name is carefully chosen, often after consultation with the geomancer ensure that a child's name accords well with its moment of birth. Sometimes people bear the names of holy mountains or rivers, in order to receive from them not a just name but also their particular vital force (Granet 1975 [1922]: 74-92). Do not forget, the *ch'i* is all around and animates all things: mountains, animals, vegetation, rivers – everything. People are connected with all things because all things have the same owner, the same originator: the Primal Oneness. The holiest of holy places are considered powerful ancestral centers whence a person can get specific virtue and which provide the person with authority, name and prestige. But in order to achieve that, relationships need to be established, which is enabled by gifts exchanged between the owner of such virtues and the person who wants to get them, the owned one.

On the whole, a conjunction of spirit, body and name constitutes the living human being. Their interrelation can be observed in the “repair” work done on the tree and the house model in cases of diagnosis and treatment of illness. Their coming together brings life, and their disjunction ends it. The spirit encompasses the body and the name, although it can also exist alone. But it is not human beings who are the owners of their parts. They attain these by entering into relations with the ancestors and the gods. The last two categories have relations with the Primordial One, who is the original owner of all life. Spirit is the product of heaven; body is the product of earth. At death, each returns to its source. Spirit, as pure and light rises and floats to heaven; body, as muddy and heavy, sinks and is absorbed into earth. Therefore, death is not the end of things, but a return to the origin. The components making up the person go their own way, returning to what they were before they became parts of the person. The gifts of heaven and earth are there for use, but the living know they cannot call them their own.

VI. COMING TOGETHER OF THE SOCIO-COSMIC CONSTITUENTS

17 Traditional marriage ritual

“Marriage is for the good relations of two surnames that are joined. Above, it allows one to serve the ancestral temple; below, it provides for the continuation of the line of descendants.”

(Li-chi in Ebrey 1991: 55)

My work is concerned with a traditional form of marriage, where a man marries a woman who is brought into his father's house. At the same time, I must stress that in Taiwan other forms of marriage do exist, such as those where a man is married in his wife's father's house, and all his children bear the wife's name, or the marriages of widows, and even ghost marriages. In Taiwan marriage is supposed to be permanent. It makes a woman not only her husband's wife, but also a member of his descendant line. That membership does not dissolve with the husband's death. In a sense, his death has no effect on the status of his wife. Social relationships, as ritually defined, continue as though the man were yet alive. When a woman breaks this bond by remarrying, she threatens the entire nature of the bond itself.

Marriage brings a new set of relationships between two lineages, two families – relationships of affines. Dumont describes a relationship of affinity as a relation between two males when the sister of one male is given in marriage to another. An alliance relationship actually defines the mother's brother's relation to the Ego's father. They are distinguished as being affines to each other (Dumont 1983: 10 – 11). Seemingly, two groups of consanguines with two different surnames having no relationships before marriage are linked together with new relationships of affines. The establishment of such relationships is possible if there is the exchange of a bride, thus for its continuity a family must have daughters.

The main part of the marriage ritual can be explained by the preparation of the girl for a new status where new roles and duties will be expected of her, by separation of the girl from her natal house, by her transfer in a state of marginality into a new house, and by her acceptance into a new house (Ahern 1974; Freedman 1967; Wolf M. 1979).

17.1 Announcement made to the ancestors

A go-between⁷, who is chosen by the wife-takers, and whose main task is to find a girl suitable for the wife-takers' family, makes the first overtures between two families. The go-between plays the role of supervisor in the exchange of gifts. If the groom is not satisfied with the bride and feels cheated, he does not blame Heaven or his parents; there is the go-between who is near at hand ready to carry the burden of complaints (Freedman 1967: 13). But the girl's parents are also interested, specially her father, in the good name or reputation of the new family. The go-between arranges the first formal meeting at which red cards with birth details of the boy and the girl in question are exchanged and placed on the family altar for three days. Because of the belief that marriages are made in heaven, their horoscopes should be analyzed and matched in order to see if their union is in accordance with cosmological intentions. By presenting red cards, the family receives the ancestors' opinion about the boy and the girl. If something negative happens in the household in those three days, it is recognized as disagreement on the part of the family's ancestors. If nothing happens, the match is agreed and the engagement can proceed on (Wolf M. 1979: 117).

The engagement ceremony is held at the wife-givers' place. A girl undergoes the pinning ceremony. In old times, the hair on her forehead and temples was cut off, and she received an adult name. The wife-takers, the boy's parents and close relatives, bring gifts of food and gold jewelry for the bride-to-be, which will return later to the wife-takers' house with the bride, and red envelopes full of money. In the wife-giver's ancestral hall, a ring ceremony takes place, at which the bride receives a ring from her future mother-in-law (Ahern 1974: 282). Acceptance of these gifts, which are displayed in the ancestral hall, marks the beginning of affinal relationships. Everything associated with marriage must come in pairs, and it should be reported to the ancestral hall what has been received as well as what has been given. Gifts in pairs designate the conjunction of man and woman and their reproductive function needed for the continuation of life. The wife-givers should not accept all the gifts of food, but some of them. The remaining unaccepted gifts are returned. If the majority of gifts are returned, that costs the wife-takers face.

⁷ Granet mentions an axe as the go-between's emblem that symbolizes the necessary separation of the branches from the trunk, in order to make possible preparation of faggots in which branches of different origin can be bound together (1964, [1958]: 153).

If the wife-givers are not satisfied with the amount of money received and their face is offended, they can return all of the gifts, and so ruin the wife-takers' face. At the announcement of the engagement, the wife-givers make and send out engagement rice cakes. These are also spread in front of the ancestral altar to announce to the ancestors that the daughter is marrying out. Six of them are sent to the wife-takers' house for their ancestral altar to inform their ancestors (Wolf M. 1979: 122 – 126).

The time between the engagement and the marriage depends on many factors. Money for the “dowry”⁸ should be accumulated, sewing should be done, but ideally within a year from the engagement a marriage takes place. A few days before the wedding, the “dowry”, a caravan of vans and carts, arrives at the wife-takers' house. It is a major expenditure for the wife-givers. It is composed of money, fabric to make into clothing, all the furniture for the new house, a radio, a television, etc. The caravan of “dowry” is publicly displayed; thus everyone can estimate the amount of money spent on the “dowry”. It influences the wife-givers' face (Wolf M. 1979: 124). The “dowry” is the bride's property given to her by her own family, and it is seen as a share of the family legacy. Ahern reports a special ritual that is performed by the groom when the “dowry” arrives at the wife-takers' house. The groom, accompanied by his brother, who holds an open umbrella over the groom's head, opens the largest chest of drawers, unlocks one of the drawers, opens it, looks at the paper flower in it and immediately closes it again. That chest is the only private place the bride will have in her new home. She keeps the key where she may keep the most precious possessions. By “opening the flower”, which is the name of the rite, the groom has violated the bride's private place and symbolically influences her impregnation to bear sons quickly (Ahern 1974: 286).

⁸ I have placed the word dowry in quotation marks because I assume that western categorization is at work here. I did not find the Taiwanese word for it and its meaning.

17.2 The main marriage day – separation from the father’s family

In the days before and after the marriage, women of the bride’s house lament continuously. On the wedding day, the wife-takers send gifts of silk, wine, jewelry, money and a whole pig to the wife-givers. The bride is transferred in one direction, the pig in the other. On the threshold the bride is given (by the wife-takers) a sparerib from which she eats the flesh but without gnawing the bone (Thompson S. 1990: 101). The wife-givers give a roasted pig’s head and tail to the wife-takers (Watson 1989, [1982]: 177).

At the last meal with her natal family, the bride takes a central position around the little table, a place away from the door. That is the place for a guest. Opposite to her, sits her father, in the place of a host. Her mother sits on the bride’s left and her sisters on her right. No one else sits behind the table. They are served with a joint of pork and a bowl of noodles. The mother and sisters try in vain to feed her; she refuses to open her mouth. They are all crying. The groom arrives at the bride’s house. He is served a bowl of soup containing a soft-boiled egg yolk, which he must break. The go-between calls the couple up front to the altar to bow first to the gods and then to the bride’s father’s ancestors. In the old days, a sedan chair was used to carry the bride to the groom’s house, but now she is transferred by taxi or motorbike. The groom and the bride leave the house, doors being slammed shut behind the bride to prevent any draining away of the wife-givers’ wealth. Also for that reason, right before the departure, the bride’s brother spills some water on the vehicle, indicating that just as the spilt water cannot return to its container, so the bride cannot return to her natal family. A tremendous noise of firecrackers accompanies their leaving. They return to the wife-takers’ house by a different route, which should also cover a long distance (Fried and Fried 1981: 127).

A fortuneteller calculates the time for entering the groom’s house. When entering the house, everyone is reminded not to step on the threshold, on the counterpart of the head of the house. In the house, an old woman, whose husband is still alive and who has many living sons, guides the bride in such a way that the way is clear of the mother-in-law and any pregnant women, if there are any in the house, for the bride and the pregnant woman are two persons in an auspicious state (Wolf M. 1979: 137). Having been exposed to possible malevolent spirits during the drive from the natal home, on arrival, the bride is subjected to a ritual treatment involving covering the mirrors and purification by smoke, in order to make her clean of evil forces (Freedman 1967: 18). The husband joins her, and together they worship Heaven and Earth, the ancestors, and

parents in the ancestral hall. After that, a special meal is served to the young couple, at which they are fed by a third person. Usually it is the go-between who feeds them, and while doing her job she recites phrases of fertility, longevity and happiness. Beside a big wedding feast, the great event of the first day takes place in the new couple's room, where the bride is put on show, and both of them are objects of ritual teasing by the senior and the junior of the new house. Only after that event, is the young couple left alone in their room (Wolf M. 1979: 138 - 139).

In the evening, the wife-takers prepare a big wedding feast, at which numbers of tables in the courtyard are covered with red cloths, and a large community is invited. At that time, the wife-givers return the visit, with no red envelopes. It is the bride, walking around the tables, who is given red envelopes containing gifts of money by all the guests. This money remains with her as her own money in her new life (Fried and Fried 1981: 129).

17.3 The second and the third days of the marriage ritual

On the second day, a new wife prepares a meal for her parents-in-law, and she is presented to the family elders. After that the parents-in-law give her a meal. **On the third day**, a new couple makes a ceremonial visit to the bride's natal home; that visit ends her transitional state between two statuses. From now on she is a full member of her husband's house, and a guest in her natal home. The parents (the wife-givers) offer her sweet cakes as an offering for the Bed Mother, and six fertilized chicken eggs, which should be placed under the marriage bed and allowed to hatch there (Ahern 1974: 289).

17.4 Restrictions that should be respected during the marriage ceremony

Every chance of a meeting between the bride and pregnant women should be prevented. In passing from her father's house to her husband's house, she must keep her eyes lowered because her gaze is potentially dangerous. The bride is covered with an umbrella whenever she is exposed to an open place – this prevents her from seeing heaven. There is also the precaution about finding a route to avoid passing a coffin if a death has occurred in the neighborhood. Just as a person in the mourning period is prohibited from attending a marriage ceremony, so is the marriage ritual postponed for a period of a hundred days if a relative of either the bride or the groom dies before the wedding day. It is inappropriate to hold a marriage during a period of

mourning (Ahern 1974: 284). All those groups of people like brides, pregnant women, and people in mourning are all in a transitional period of their lives. They are very vulnerable because of the state of being “between”. On the other hand, there are wandering spirits of the deceased, who seek new bodies to dwell in because theirs are already in the process of decaying.

As with other aspects of Taiwanese social life, so the marriage rituals have been influenced by the winds of change. A white dress has displaced the traditional red one. In the old days the bride’s temples and forehead were depilated to allow the mature woman’s hair to grow, whereas nowadays they visit beauty salons. In the past, a bride was prohibited from touching the ground on her wedding day; nowadays she freely walks in and out of the house, and when crossing the threshold she is just lifted by one of her brothers (Fried and Fried 1981: 131).

18 Analysis of marriage rituals

Through the marriage ritual, relationships between two lineages of different surnames are transformed from a relationship of strangers to an affinal relationship. Those marriage relationships comprise relations among the gods, the dead and the living. For this reason, the most important feature of the marriage ceremony is not its ritual performance, but the chain of gifts that underlines and establishes those relations. We can observe the continuous movement of gifts and visits from one side to the other. These gifts are actually being given to both groups’ ancestors, a fact that is shown by the display of gifts in the ancestral halls. Every step taken during the marriage ritual must be announced to the ancestors – the last bride’s meal with her natal family, her departure and arrival in the new family – all gifts that have been received and given must be reported to and/or shown in the ancestral hall, starting with the red cards that conform to ancestral agreement for particular groups to join together. Special values are attached to the gifts, which also represent the fundamental elements of the whole universe, as well as values attached to the affinal relationships found in different contexts. Let us see what those gifts are and what values are ascribed to them.

we give them? They owe the means of obtaining descendants to us who have given them a daughter-in-law. It's a debt greater than all other, and one they can never pay off. (Ahern 1974: 281)

From that statement, I can conclude that the fertility of the bride does not belong to her father's lineage. As we saw, she is "born facing out" of the lineage, to the husband's lineage, to his ancestors.

For the gift that returns home, I would suggest that jewelry presumably symbolizes the lineage's circle of ancestors under whose authority a new woman will be subsumed by marriage. By that gift, the wife-takers' ancestors come for her, and by accepting jewelry she agrees to that, too. Therefore, the value attributed to the gift of money and jewelry is that of the ancestral name, of reputation, and therefore of wife-takers' ancestral image.

Eating the wife-takers' offered meat and refusing meat offered by her parents implies that the bride ceases to be a member of her natal family; she becomes one with her husband's lineage. The bride being aware of that, the mother and sisters try in vain to feed her with her father's lineage's meat, for she has already consumed the wife-takers' meat/pork; she is already in the process of changing ancestral group. According to the common perception that pork is strengthening meat, I assume that the wife-takers' gift of meat possesses the strength of their ancestors. Thompson S. (1990: 98) reports on the symbolic role of pork, according to which eating a particular part of a pig's body can strengthen the same part of a human body; thus, pig's liver strengthens the liver of the eater. Pork is also the prescribed diet for new mothers to gain their strength back. As we will see, pig is an object of exchange in all major rituals – in birth, marriage and mortuary rituals. Thus the gift of a pig by the wife-takers in the context of marriage rituals is endowed with the authority of the wife-takers' ancestors. It is *yang* value that is attributed to it, and it contrasts with the *yin* value of the rice given by the wife-givers.

The life that is given away in the form of woman is replaced by another form of life – that of a pig. By assuming that, another presumption can be made: the presumption that not only the living but also their houses are composed of different constituents. By a brides' leaving her natal house, the house loses the counterpart of life, which, in order to prevent losing its unity, should be replaced by a different entity that designates the same part. In receiving it the family remains whole – on one side, the body and life contained in the house leave the house with the bride, and

on the other side, body and life as constituents of the house come back via the gift of pig. I have found a written source that supplements our knowledge relating to the offered pig by saying that in ancient times a pig was the main offering to the wife-givers' household gods. In modern times, in the courtyard there can be found an elevated table with a pig's head on it, symbolizing the open way and communication with Heaven (Stein 1990: 137). Now, if I combine that information with the main idea of a micro-macrocosmic principle, I can posit that in the bride's leaving of her natal family, the family suffers the loss of an amount of the gods and the goddess, which dwell in the bride's body. In order to prevent the loss of the unity of the house, a live pig is given to the family. One must remember that, according to the micro-macrocosmic principle, the nature of the biggest mountain is the same as the nature of the smallest feather. Thus why could a pig's organs not reflect gods' and goddess' dwelling places in heaven, as do human's organs?

18.2 The wife-givers' gifts

On the other side, the wife-giving group provides gifts of "dowry" and rice (in the form of engagement cakes), which I assume are valued for life and for fertility. By giving a woman in marriage to another group, they create a relationship of affinity, one that forces the wife-givers to give away their ancestral rice, which is ordinarily shared by family members who share the same name, and as such it designates the unity of the family. Rice is shared between a family's ancestors and the living. It is the product of the ancestral land, which is also kept within the family, within the lineage. As a product of the ancestral land, it is a gift of the ancestors to the living. By consuming it, the consanguine relations are revealed. By marriage, the bride is transferred from her father's eating group to her husband's group. I dare to say that eating the "territorial" rice increases the absorption of their shared essence, and on the other hand, establishes relations with that territory and with the group that live there. The consumption of rice, or rather the consumption of its essence, is kept within the family line. In spite of everything that has just been said, when the wife-givers give a woman in marriage to the wife-takers, they create a relationship of affinity, which obliges them to give away their ancestral rice to the wife-takers. If they do not sacrifice their rice to the ancestors, children will not be embodied with life, with the spirit. A life giving relationship is created between two ancestral groups.

It is time to explore the union of the two principles in rice, too. Rice is composed of *yin* that comes from the earth in which it grows, and of *yang* from the sunlight (heaven), which it absorbs. Allow me to shed light on how rice as an object of gift exchange is cultivated. I will briefly present an ancient ritual called a “Dragon boat festival”⁹ that Aijmer described in detail in his study of ceremonial practice associated with rice transplantation. I have chosen it because of villagers’ perception of agricultural harvest, which is in their eyes much more than just a natural product. I argue that a special social value is ascribed to rice. Its cultivation is not possible if the relationships between social and cosmological domains have not been established. Here is a brief description of that festival (Aijmer 1964: 107 – 117):

In the end of April the rice is sown in the earth and at the end of May the women transplanted rice plants in the flooded fields. The dragon boat festival is celebrated after the rice transplantation. The aim of the festival is (1) to fight away strange ancestral image, which has an effect on lineage’s rice land, and (2) to enrich young rice plants with a vital essence. All that work is in the ancestors’ hands. The condition of the transplanting rice is regarded as the condition of a drowned person. Planted under water, it loses its *hun*; they are the ancestors who regain back vitality and productive power of the uprooted and transplanted rice plants by recalling plants’ *hun*. Each dragon boat, built in a colorful image of a dragon, represents a certain lineage, thus the members of the crew are men from one lineage. During the festival, the situation before marriages needed to be achieved. In-married women return to their natal villages, enabling the lineages to be cleaned off of the strange ancestral images, which are believed to have negative influence on the rice fields. Not just the in-married women but also the strangers are expelled from the villages during the feast. A clear division of groups between the wife-takers and the wife-givers is emergent. At the arrival, the ancestors find on a shore all their living descendants without any outsiders. The living gives them gifts of food. The ancestors bring with them the rain-producing dragons, which are believed to give birth during the visit in the rice fields. Aijmer assumes that this infuses the fields with the productive power. Positive influence on the rice field comes from the group’s ancestors while negative influence comes from the wife-givers group’s ancestors, from the group

⁹ Nowadays, the popularity of the “dragon boat festival” has made it into a five-day event, when the Asia Dragon Boat Race Championships are held (Lee 2000).

on which the wife-taking group actually depends for their existence. The fight between boats represents the fight the lineage's ancestors have against the ancestors of the wife-giving lineages. In driving away their negative influence on the rice fields, the wife-takers need to show their superiority over the wife-giving group. On the other hand, the fight between the ancestors is needed because of the incorporation of the strange ancestors into one's lineage during marriage ritual. Just before the beginning of the boat fight, they throw pots of rice and a peach associated with longevity and productive power into the water. By that act, the ancestors plant the rice, and because the rice is exposed to the negative influence of the wife-giving ancestors, that is shown by throwing it into the water thus being exposed to the fertile but the negative *yin* influence of it. After the boat fight, different items are hung up on the visible places of their houses showing on the winners and the losers of the race. The festival finishes by the livings' accompaniment of the ancestors back to the domain of the dead. Dragon boats are full of thanks-giving gifts given by the living. The ancestors take with them also the remaining negative influence of the other group's ancestors.

What I find as interesting in Aijmer's analysis of that ritual is *firstly*, the perception of the other's group ancestors as intruders, where not just the dead but also the living of the wife-giving group are so perceived. Their dangerous nature is spread all over the wife-taking ancestral land, the living and also the rice. Their negative influence needs to be fought off; the wife-takers need to fight away their negative influence, and by doing that gain their own name and reputation. *Secondly*, this ancient festival actually represents a superior context in which relations valued for reputation (*yang* value) are established between lineages. In those relationships, it is the wife-takers who need to fight off the wife-givers in order to gain their reputation and build up their name. The Dragon Boat Festival represents a context where *yang* value prevails over *yin*. *Thirdly*, even more interesting is the villagers' attitude toward rice. Rice is perceived as a living being with *hun* and *p'o*, which on transplantation into the water fields loses its *hun*, and, as with a deceased person's *hun*, its *hun* needs to be called back. To restore its growing strength, the vital force of the young shoots needs to be recalled. Rice cannot reproduce by itself. It needs to be planted (buried) in the earth, and when shoots are ready, they are actually drowned (second death) in water, where they are exposed to the fertile forces of water. One can see the whole process as a cycle of life and death, where death is urgently needed, for it contains the seeds of life. All this work is a concern of the whole lineage, of the living and of the ancestors, as well as

the whole society. Rice is thus conceptualized as an animate thing that comes into being and grows like all entities possessing *hun* and *p'o*. The rice field embodies the source of a lineage's fertility. On the ancestral land, ancestral rice is grown as the result of the lineage's fertility. Ancestral land becomes pregnant, and rice is its crop with, own its *p'o* and *hun*. The rice is alive and transmits the spirit to the living. Am I exaggerating in saying that the essence of the divine ancestors flows up through the watery field into the seedling plant? And that the divine spirit flows through rice to those who need to receive it? As Granet (1975, [1922]) shows, the rice seeds must be fresh; they are always saved from the last crop – the last generation of growth. All that implies to me that the fertility which rice represents is an unconditioned circle of immortality, where a lineage's fertility imbues generation after generation with life. I dare to go further and claim that rice is not a commodity – it is alive; it enables the circulation of the all-encompassing and necessary *hun* and *p'o*. Rice and human bones are aspects of a single unity – of the divine ancestors. The invisible ancestors are the owners of the land and of rice. Neither is an object of selling, for they embody the spirit. As a member of lineage, one has the right to take out the spirit of rice; one has the right to consume it. By harvesting the rice, its *p'o* remains within the earth, or it returns to earth, while by cooking it, the smoke designates the release of its *hun*, which can nevertheless also reach the ancestors.

The bride is seen as an embodiment of life; her body is considered as a container of life. As an exchanged object, she is seen as a member of and a stranger to her father's family, as well as the causer and transformer of a relationship of strangers into a relationship of affines between two different surname groups. The wife-givers and their ancestors are givers of life; they are the founders of the wife-takers' flesh, of the *yin* essence that is the predominant principle during life. The wife-givers' extensive gift of "dowry" suggests that it is not only the object of exchange itself, but that an important aspect of concern for the new couple is hidden behind the gift. It is a direct gift from the bride's father to a new couple who will create a new life. Nevertheless, it also influences the wife-givers' name and honour, which is implied in the procession of vans through the whole village to show off in front of the village society. There is another gift of the wife-givers', the gift of a pig's head and tail. By analyzing the marriage ritual only, I cannot extract the whole meaning of that gift; moreover, forcing its meaning at this stage could lead to mistaken conclusions. The full account of meaning must wait until the mortuary rituals, when I can represent the picture in its totality.

Following the final presentation, the time comes for the bride to be separated from the ancestors of her father's lineage. She is born facing out towards somebody else's lineage. Wearing jewelry that belongs to the groom's lineage and represents the ancestral image of his lineage effects this. From now on, she belongs to the ancestral influence of her husband's group.

In the context of marriage, where relationships between two different surname (ancestral) groups are predominantly valued for life, it is the wife-givers, givers of life, who are superior in relation to the wife-takers, takers of life, who need to subordinate their ancestral name to the reception of life from the wife-givers, a process which is shown by the subordination of gifts valued for *yang*, namely money, pigs and jewelry. Thus, with the superior gifts of rice and "dowry", relations valued for life or fertility (*yin* value) are established between two families. Through the wife-givers, the wife-takers' ancestors can create new life. The wife-givers' role is to release the vital force and enable the formation of bones and flesh of a new life, to renew the life of the wife-takers' group. As a result of bones and flesh coming together, the spirit will have a seat or a new body to dwell in. Without the new bride, that would be impossible. The wife-givers are thus seen as a link between the living and the dead on the wife-takers side. They are responsible for the life continuity and prosperity of the wife-takers' lineage. Ahern reports on the special respect accorded to the wife-givers, for they are offered special seats of honour at weddings and birthday celebrations in the wife-takers' house. There are three different groups of wife-giving affines that are seated according to their value. The most important seats go to the bride's father or brother; the second honoured seat is offered to the groom's paternal grandmother's father or brother, if the link is still there, and the third honoured seat is offered to the groom's mother's brother or father. Those three groups of wife-givers have given wives (life) to the groom and his paternal lineage (Ahern 1974: 291). Therefore, in the context of marriage, a gift of meat given by the wife-takers is subordinate to the gift of rice given by the wife-givers. Further on, I would like to stress that marriage relationships should not be seen as individual in nature; on the contrary, they should be seen as essentially collective in nature. In marriage, two groups and not two individuals come together. But also within this view a catch can be hidden, for our attention should be drawn to the relationships established between those two groups and not only to the groups themselves, because groups are a complement to the relations.

On the whole, marriage represents a context in which the values of life and fertility, thus *yin* values, are displayed. Therefore, at marriage rituals an inversion is achieved where the wife-takers have to subordinate their ancestral name, reputation, thus their *yang* value, to that of the

wife-givers. Actually, that is the case in all relationships in which *yin* value is a predominant value in relation to *yang*.

18.3 Special position of a mother's brother

“In heaven T'ien Kung is the highest,
on earth mother's brother is the highest.”

Chinese proverb (Ahern 1974: 290)

Attention should be paid to a woman's brother, who plays an important ritual role in her life. A sister and a brother, or from a new-born child's view, its mother and mother's brother, originate from the same flesh. The mother's brother is seen as the source of his sister's children directly through the flesh transmitted by the mother/sister. This relationship with her brother continues after her marriage. This is self-evident; he has given “life” to her husband's lineage. He has great influence over her children. At the wedding of his sister's daughter, he must give a small banquet in the sister's daughter's honour. She must come unannounced to her mother's natal house, where the mother's brother serves her with six different dishes. He must be constantly prepared for this visit and able to afford to offer such an expensive meal. Ahern reports that eating that meal with her mother's brother assures her prosperity. The role of guest of honour is given him at the wedding of his sister's son (Ahern 1974: 291). Further on, he will supervise the division of the land when his sister's sons want to divide their father's land and also at the separation of stoves. In both cases, his presence as the wife-giver is needed. At the division of the ancestral land, he has the final word, and nobody can dispute his decision when settling arguments between quarreling brothers who are trying to divide their father's land and the rest of his property after his death. At the establishment of economically separate households, a special ceremony is needed when the separation of stoves takes place. Here again, the mother's brother must be present as the wife-giver who brings a gift of kitchen utensils and dishes for the new house (ibid.: 290). It is obvious that the division of stoves takes place after the young couple's marriage when a man decides that his family will not live with his younger brother's family. Consequently I assume that the mother's brother's gift of kitchen utensils and dishes for a new, separate family can be treated as a final marriage gift of the wife-givers that does not expect any counter-gift in return. Further on, at the married woman's death, her coffin cannot be closed before her brother determines that she died a natural death. Not just for her, but also for his brother-in-law's death he must ascertain the cause of their death.

Knowing that the mother's brother has many roles, Ahern hints at his role as a transformer (ibid.: 304). As a representative of the wife-givers' group, a group valued for life and fertility, he acts ritually in all transitions that affect the living. For those transitions to be achieved, outside help is needed. Transitional stages in the processes of creating a new life, of changing social status and of cutting ties all require outside help. It is the wife-givers and their ancestral group who demonstrate that outside help for a man's lineage by giving the initial gift of life.

According to everything so far established, I can assume that in Taiwan they practiced, and probably in some remote areas still practice marriage by the mother's brother's daughter. My data does not explicitly confirm that assumption, neither does it preclude it. I base the assumption of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage on the role of the mother's brother, and on the requirement of marrying two different surname groups together. We have seen that a name is transmitted through a man's line. A male ego can marry his mother's brother's daughter, for they do not share the same surname. Following that, marriage with a father's sister's daughter should be seen as a prohibited form of marriage, because "bones" and "flesh" in that case would come from the same surname group and a sort of "damage" can happen. There is also the notion that the distinction between "bones" and "flesh" is not made according to individuals (the father or and mother) but according to groups. Both are needed to make a human being.

VII. INCORPORATION INTO TAIWANESE SOCIETY

19 Pregnancy and childbirth

A new wife offers prayers to the Mother Goddess for the goddess' help in becoming pregnant. To receive help, the woman needs to establish a relationship with the Goddess by offerings of rich food. During the period of pregnancy, there are restrictions and taboos placed on the pregnant woman, all in order to protect the fetus. Accordingly, there are her daily offerings and prayers to the God of a pregnant womb, which protects the fetus. The God of a pregnant womb enters her room and dwells there until the delivery of a child. If a woman goes to a local hospital, which is normal practice nowadays, a ritual specialist is called to find an object from her room where the god is hidden. That object is taken to hospital with the pregnant woman (Fried and Fried 1981: 53). In observing prohibitions obeyed in the house during a woman's pregnancy, one can recognize symbolic connections between the house and the uterus, for everything wrongly done in or to the house can influence the conditions of the child in its mother's womb. For example, hammering in the house is not allowed because the child will be unable to be born. Hammering designates driving nails through the child's body. Food received through windows cannot be eaten, because the child's legs and arms will come out first and so make the birth difficult. Furthermore, when entering and leaving the house, one should not aimlessly wander in and out but intentionally cross the threshold. Otherwise, the child will have difficulties in emerging. When firewood is brought into the house, one should be careful that the front part comes in first and not the roots (Lin 1991: 31-33). Morton and Martha Fried report on further prohibitions, like a restriction on tying strings in her bedroom because this will affect the child's fingers; not using scissors, for using them can harm the child's ears. The pregnant woman is barred from attending funerals as well as weddings; her appearance at a funeral might result in a miscarriage; on the other hand, the new couple might suffer harm (Fried and Fried 1981: 52).

A child is born in father's home, in the home of his ancestors. The home symbolizes a kinship group and a line of descent. Regardless of modern practice, the peasant people treat hospitals as not the best start in life (Wolf M. 1979: 53). Birth takes place in the darkest part of the woman's room, where just incense burns, and where the washing of the new child takes place. During that time, all men of the house are prohibited from entering the room. The major responsibility for

care of the pregnant woman is taken by her mother-in-law, not her husband (ibid.: 53-54). Shortly after birth of the child, the wife-takers notify the wife-givers about the happy event by sending them a gift of a rice dish, chicken soup¹⁰ and rice wine (ibid.: 55). All male children are announced in that way, which is not the same for the second girl when just a rice dish is offered (Ahern 1974: 289). The wife-givers respond with gifts of food (chicken, wine and noodles), gifts of clothing for the child, gold jewelry and a red quilt (Fried and Fried 1981: 53) (Wolf M. 1979: 55). Their gifts include a long strip of cloth that the mother will use while carrying the child on her back. These gifts are the mother's brother's gifts to his sister's child (Ahern 1974: 289).

Breath designates that a person is alive. It is believed that during the first child's breath, the spirit enters its body. Before that, a child is not regarded as an independent human being but as part of its mother's body. Consequently, if the embryo dies through miscarriage, no funeral rite is performed (Yamaji 1991: 64). Traditionally, the umbilical cord and placenta were wrapped in a cloth and buried. After the delivery, there is a month of a rest for the mother. During that time she follows the instructions prescribed by traditional Chinese medicine, as well as several prohibitions. She is not allowed to wash her body or hair. She must avoid contact with cold water. If she ignores that prohibition, the wind will come into her joints and cause permanent damage to her health (Fried and Fried 1981: 54). Owing to the loss of blood that flowed to the fetus, a pregnant woman is treated as "cold", and the child as "hot" because of the received blood. She cannot eat vegetables, but meat, particularly pork, which is regarded as perfectly balanced, neither "hot" nor "cold". After birth she needs recovery and consumes "hot" food to regain her strength. The child is given root medicine to reduce the heat (Topley 1974: 235 – 237). Not just the mother, but everything related to birth is considered unclean and dangerous for others, even the room where birth takes place. The place is ritually dirty for a full month, and in that period of time those who assisted at delivery are also subject to pollution. As with the mother, the assisting group is also prohibited from attending wedding ceremonies, because the pollution of birth may affect the bride in a sinister way (Wolf M. 1979: 57). On the last day of the month, the

¹⁰ Margery Wolf provides the interesting information that chicken in the Taiwanese language has the same sound as the word for family, which is "ke". She assumes that by giving a new life to the wife-takers' family, the family owes the new mother a share of "ke", literally and symbolically. Her diet during the month of rest is composed of chicken dishes, too (1979: 56).

prohibitions on the new mother are lifted, her room is cleaned and she can resume her normal daily life.

20 Recognition of a child and the naming ceremony

After the period of seclusion, the ceremony of the child's naming is performed. On that day, the child is rubbed with oil, dressed in new red clothes received from the wife-givers, and taken out by its father so that people can see the child. At this event, the child's father gives an offering of food (cooked rice, pork, wine), especially for his wife's brother, and a great feast is provided for closest relatives and friends, at which all are told the child's name (Fried and Fried 1981: 55). For the next few years, until the age of six, everything is a game for the child. But after that age, life becomes serious. The undisciplined, easy life changes to one of hard work, pain and sorrow. A father changes his behavior completely. The son is no longer allowed to sit in his father's lap; suddenly the father wants and expects respect and obedience. In contrast, a mother places love first but wants to have her son's respect, too. Children spend long hours in school and work hard, for learning must be painful; learning must be burdensome. Being daily present in school, doing home-work and extra lessons, a child can be engaged with schoolwork twelve hours a day. It is hard work, but at the time of final results, success is sweet. All the names of successful students appear in a special section of the newspaper. Diplomas are "exhibited" in the ancestral halls where ancestral tablets and shrines of gods are placed (ibid.: 82 – 83).

For boys there is also a special obligatory initiation, which happens between the ages of 15 and 20. It is a capping ceremony, which takes place in the ancestral hall, and which is needed for continuous ancestral worship. In that ceremony, the boy is ritually dressed in adult clothes and given an adult name, which now becomes the term of address for the boy. "*May this name be greatly honored, may you be a gentleman and gain eminence, act correctly, and achieve greatness. Preserve forever what you are receiving*" (Ebrey 1991: 43). In new clothes and with new name, the boy is presented to the ancestors, to whom he offers wine, and to the lineage elders, as well as to local elders and his father's friends (ibid.: 35 - 45). From now on, the boy can serve the ancestors by worshiping them.

21 Analysis of birth rituals

After the rituals of bringing flesh and bone together, rituals of birth provide a child with a socially recognized membership in the social group. Birth itself does not guarantee that. The value of ritual as a symbol of the integration of the child into society is manifested. During the naming ceremony, the child’s first social relationships with its father and father’s ancestors are established. That first relationship will enable the child throughout all its life to build up its social relationships and to enhance its name. Without the gift of a name and a sign of recognition, a child would remain illegitimate. Deprived of that relation, a child has no right to inherit the property of the father. What is more, such a child would not belong to any group; it remains without ancestors. Thus the given name is an initial gift by which a child slowly becomes identified and placed into its father’s group, into the group of its consanguines. The child starts its life with a “milk name”, which will increase during its life through different activities like successfully completed education, marriage, giving birth to many children, especially sons, and through hard work. It should be added, as with marriage and birth rituals, it is not a matter of individual reaction, but of creating and entering into the whole system of relations that are the result of rituals and values and not of bare biological facts. Now let us see what gifts are exchanged during birth rituals:

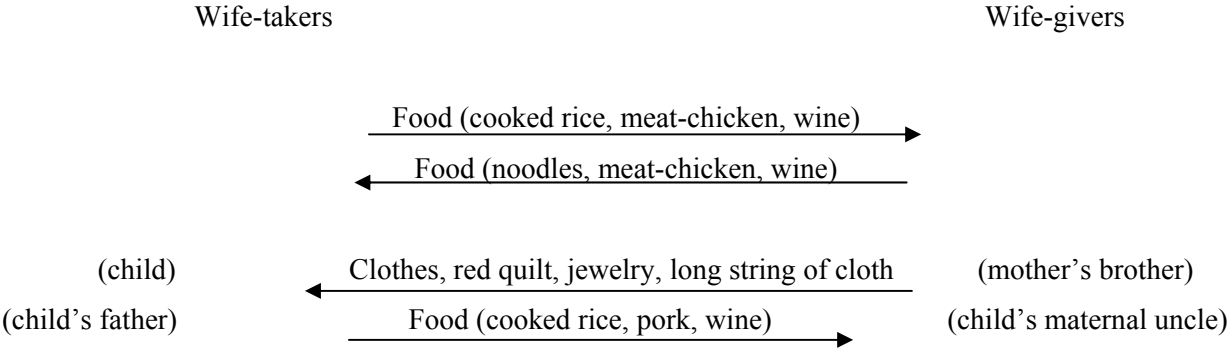


Figure 21.1: List of birth gifts exchanged between the wife-taking and the wife-giving patriline.

The wife-takers’ gifts at the announcement of a birth have a great deal in common with their

gifts of food during marriage presentations, which are also transferred in the same direction. Their subordinate position is expressed by those gifts, just as those gifts are the wife-takers' gift for the wife-givers' ancestors, as a sign that the promise given at marriage has been fulfilled. In the wife-givers' response with gifts of food, I see their further concern for the new mother because her first meal after delivery of the child can be seen in it. The importance of maternal relatives is further observed in the child's mother's brother's gift of clothes, jewelry and a harness. I wonder if the wife-givers, as givers of life, have spiritual authority over the child until the capping ceremony for a boy, when he is introduced to his father's ancestors. Nevertheless, the child and its mother's brother derive from the same flesh, which is further signified by the mother's brother's special role in relation to his sister's children, as was explained in the previous chapter. All these gifts acknowledge relationships between the child's family and its life-givers' ancestors' family.

The child's father's gift of food comprising cooked rice, wine and pork, shows the father's debt relationship with the child's mother's brother (his ancestors) and again the prominent role of the mother's brother. Pork is given to a person who will contribute to the child's upbringing and who will have an important role later in the child's life¹¹. Here again I can see worship of the affines' ancestral group despite the fact that the society is based on the rules of patrimony. Furthermore, the presentation of pork can also influence the strength of a person's spirit – its *hun*. It can be observed that the first meat presented is chicken whose strength is less powerful than that of pork. At birth, a child has only *p'o* spirit, a soul of blood. The superior *hun* is related to breath. That is revealed after the child's first cry and later in its name. The father gives the name after consultations with feng shui masters or fortunetellers, who first check the god's will for the newborn child. The name is selected from an undifferentiated group of ancestors.

In my analysis I would like to explore the father-child relationship, which I perceive as a relationship between two strangers. In so arguing, I need to mention an ancient naming ritual from feudal times, when a father made a relationship with his child by holding the child by its right hand and giving it a name. The right of giving a name was achieved by the father only after killing an enemy, whose head he buried in the courtyard. By that act, a father actually overcame or mastered the victim's soul, and he gained paternal authority over the child (Granet 1964,

¹¹ See the chapter "Special position of a mother's brother".

[1958]: 323 - 324). The gesture of holding palms resembles the situation of binding together two strangers, as in the military brotherhood, where blood taken from the arm underlined the relation between soldiers. It should be stressed that a father completed this ceremony only for his the first-born son, for he was the only one with the primal right of ancestral worship.

But until the capping ceremony, every child belongs to his mother's world; after it, communication with her is eliminated. With the capping initiation, a boy enters the agnatic group. In the ritual, the father takes a prominent seat, but he does not play an active role in it. It is a host who leads the ritual. I could not find any information about who this host is. That leads me to the speculation that the host could come from the wife-givers' affines, whom I claim have spiritual authority over the child till that event. With that speculation in mind, the child's maternal group now hands the boy over to his father's ancestral group. Another very important thing should not be overlooked – with the initiation, a boy gains the ability to engage in further exchanges between him and his ancestors. Now he steps into a direct line of patrilineal descendants by receiving an adult name. There is no separate initiation for girls as in the case of boys, except their receiving a hairpin at the engagement ceremony. This underlines the fact that in Taiwanese patrilineal society the position of girls is inferior in relation to the position of boys.

I would also like to shed light on the fact that in the marriage ritual, it is the groom who is a gift receiver and his father-in-law who is a gift giver. Now, in the context of birth, it is the child who is a gift receiver and the child's mother's brother who is a gift giver. It can be seen that with a new generation, a new circle of gift exchanges is opened. To sum up, with the exchanges of gifts, two relations have been established: a relation between the child and its mother's group, which provides the child with body, with life, and a relation between the child and its father (his ancestors), which provides the child with the ancestral name.

And lastly, as with marriage, birth also represents a context in which a change of level is achieved. The set of prohibitions valid during a woman's pregnancy and after birth highlight the attention paid to the growth of the fetus. Behind that, the dominance of *yin* is expressed in the fact that everything related to the male is prohibited from the scene. Birth happens inside of the house (*yin*), in the dark corner of the female room (*yin*); sharp objects (*yang*) and men (*yang*) are prohibited from being present in the nearby surroundings. Therefore, in the context of pregnancy and birth, it is *yin*, valued for life and fertility, that is recognized as a superior value in relation to *yang*, valued for name and reputation, which is suppressed by the former.

VIII. DISSOLUTION OF THE SOCIO-COSMIC CONSTITUENTS

22 The first mortuary ritual

Preparations for a funeral such as buying a coffin, locating a burial site, making the mourning clothes might be made well in advance, while the rituals themselves begin just before death. As soon as it is apparent that the person is dying, he is moved into the ancestral hall in front of the ancestral tablets to be close to the ancestors. The ancestral tablets are covered with hempen or white cloth to protect the ancestors from the sight of death. They avoid moving the corpse after death; that is considered dangerous. A dying person is placed on a bed of boards supported by branches (Ahern 1973: 164). At the moment of death, an immediate announcement of the event should be made to the Earth God, the governing authority in the underworld, in the village temple. Near the dead body, an inscribed banner is placed, a “spirit cloth”, on which the name and status of the deceased are written. The “spirit cloth” is attached to bamboo and placed next to the paper shrine where a temporary paper tablet is placed. Additionally, on the paper tablet all three deceased’s names, as well as his social status and the day of death are written down. All offerings for the deceased made by relatives and friends are placed in front of this paper tablet (Thompson L. 1998: 47). When a person dies, the women of the household burst into wailing, and they sing laments in which they make direct references to the deceased. Men never wail; they never use their voices but they play instruments. The house is marked off from others by plain white papers that cover red talismans for family good luck, which hang on the main door of the house. All this is done in the name of public announcement and to advise the community of the death (Wolf A. 1970: 191).

A Taoist priest is hired as an expert who plays gongs and bells while standing the body and chanting. Most relatives sit to the side, chanting and attending to food preparation. The role of the priest during the funeral is one of great importance and responsibility, for he is the one who has all the strings in his hands. He is the one who knows how the rituals should be performed, what should be done next and by whom. “The worst thing that can happen is for a funeral to start but not be finished properly,” is one of the frightening thoughts of the Taoist priest (Watson 1990: 120). In the service, the priest chants in his own specialized vocabulary from the sacred texts. In chanting, he does not make direct reference to the deceased. The family calls the

geomancer to choose the right day for the funeral. The chosen day must be as propitious for the living as for the dead. It is believed that on special days dangerous monsters are at work that can cause further deaths and loss of wealth for the descendants. The possibility that the corpse might be inclined to attack is highest on incorrectly chosen days. But a lucky day for the family and the deceased can be unlucky for a guest; to warn the guests, the list of birthdays is hung out at the funeral. Anyone who finds his date simply stays away (Ahern 1973: 164 – 165).

A public ceremony takes place with a procession involving the priest, musicians and the deceased's senior son, who has the role of chief mourner, from the house to a place outside the village where the chief mourner buys water from a stream, from the God of water. This water is taken to the house and used for washing the corpse by the sons and the grandsons if the deceased is male, or by the daughters-in-law if the deceased is female. The corpse is dressed in plain, new clothes (Thompson L. 1998: 46).

The direct descendants of the deceased, dressed in mourning clothes¹², wait for the wife-giving affines at the gates of the compound. A special table called the "affines' table" is placed in front of the house so the wife-givers will need to pass it before they reach the coffin. The affines' table is covered with a piece of colorful embroidered textile turned wrong side out. A container half filled with raw rice, serving as a holder for three unlit incense sticks is placed on the table. The container is wrapped in strips of red paper. When the group of wife-givers reaches the table, the senior male among them picks up a corner of the cloth and folds it back onto the table, now showing the right side up. He picks up the incense sticks, turns them upside down and places them back in the rice container, still in the upside down position. The chief mourner, the senior son of the deceased, prepares a tray with a funeral costume for his mother's brother (Ahern 1974: 295). The wife-giving affines give long colored cloths inscribed with the name of the giver and his relationship to the deceased. The lengths of textile are tucked into bamboo sticks and displayed in the ancestral hall. The wife-givers' cloth strips are given in the place of the highest honour in relation to the cloths from the mourning family's wife-taking affines' (ibid.: 281).

¹² On the subject of mourning dress, I go into in detail in Chapter 24.1 *Mourning dress*.

22.1 Ritual of cutting the bonds and transfer of property

Women stand around the body keeling and wailing. Suddenly the tempo of the action begins to increase; the wailing grows louder. Out of the noisy chaos an order evolves around the corpse. Behind the oldest woman of the lineage, standing next to the corpse, weeping and keening, rocking back and forth, other people form a line that stretches away from the corpse down the steps leading from the hall. An assistant priest brings a length of string, which he ties around the deceased's wrist and passes through the hands of people in the line. They do not touch the string directly with their hands because everyone has rolled a slip of mock silver paper money around it, so the string passes through the folds. A stick of incense is also rolled in the paper money. Reciting incantations, the Taoist priest faces the corpse. After a while he moves down the line and cuts the string at each person, so that everybody holds a separate piece of it. When the pieces of string, paper money and sticks of incense are collected in a basket, the basket is taken away from the hall and burned to ashes (Ahern 1973: 171-172).

Before placing the deceased into the coffin, the descendants gather around the corpse wailing and keening. After a while, the deceased's hand is placed in a container full of coins, nails and grain, and stirred around, while the wailing and keening approach the level of screaming. As soon as the ritual is over, the deceased is put into the coffin. At the same time, someone from the lineage prepares a small bowl of cooked rice and three parts of cooked chicken: the head, the wings and the feet. In front of the ancestral hall, a lineage member throws on the ground the cooked rice and the chicken's head. A dog is called and directed toward the food. As soon as the dog takes the head in his mouth, the dog is beaten and chased away. One of Ahern's informants commented, "the dog, which stands for the dead man, is beaten so that he will run far away and not return. He has enjoyed his share of the property, so he should not come back and bother the living" (Ahern 1973: 197 - 198). Feeding the corpse is often performed, which at the same time separates and unites them. They put food in the deceased's mouth or just touch his lips with the food. Until burial takes place, twice in a day the daughter-in-law puts out a bowl of cooked rice and a bowl of five dishes with a pair of chopsticks (placed vertically in the food) on the table near the coffin. This is done without the presence of the wider community. Later, the family members eat the food. The offered food is not chosen according to the deceased's taste, as is the case with food offered to the ancestors. Vertically placed chopsticks are unique and separate such meals from the meals of the living or meals offered to the ancestors. The situation between the deceased and the family members is the same as the position of the family towards the

community: still part of it but also apart from it. This offering should be made till the burial (Thompson S. 1990: 81 - 84).

22.2 Accompaniment of the deceased's spirit into the underworld

A day before the burial, paper effigies are made representing the deceased and the ancestors who have been invited to guide the deceased and accompany him. The road to the underworld is full of obstacles and monsters; hence the deceased's spirit needs help. Nevertheless, there are also the rulers who judge the spirit for all misdoings, which can be canceled by the performance of this ritual. The ritual of accompaniment takes place in an open area in front of the ancestral hall and comprises several stages. The focus is placed on the paper figure that represents the deceased. The Taoist priest performs the ritual along with several assistants, such as musicians and acrobats. In the first stage of the ritual, the priest and his assistants walk around a square table placed in an elevated position. One assistant holds the paper figure, another the paper figure of a horse. Imitating riding the horse, they gradually speed up their tempo to the point where they cannot stand it any longer, and run off the performing stage. The acrobats, who perform acrobatic acts, several including fire, immediately replace them. Sparks fly through the air, frightening onlookers, but opening the gate of the underworld. The next stage of the ritual is designated when the deceased reaches the gate of the underworld. At that time, the paper figure is moved to the center of the table. The priest, standing on the elevated level, loudly reads out the name and address of the deceased and his descendants and ascendants, so that officials in the underworld will know who is coming. In the last stage of the ritual, two tables are placed in front of the hall connected by a single length of cloth, usually the piece of cloth that is used for carrying the child on its mother's back. The cloth represents the bridge to which full attention is paid. The paper figure is moved to the table farthest from the hall, along with the incense pot. The musician plays, and one of the assistants appears as the Earth god. The priest tells him that there is somebody who needs his help crossing the bridge between two worlds. For an exchange of money, the god is willing to help, so the descendants drop coins into a bowl placed under the table each time they circle the group of tables while walking behind the Earth god. They circle until the god is satisfied with the sum of money collected. One of the descendants takes the paper figure, the other the incense pot, and both slowly cross the bridge. The descendant kneels before the figure and the deceased's son throw a pair of divining coins. Landing of both coins with face up shows the moment when the deceased reaches the land of the underworld safely. Descendants

help by offering vast quantities of silver paper money, which is recognized as the principal currency in the underworld. They stand in a circle, holding each other by the hand, around the pile of silver paper money until it is lit and burned down. By keeping the circle closed, they prevent any snatching of the money by the ghosts who wander around (Ahern 1973: 222 - 224).

22.3 Ritual of nailing the coffin

The corpse is placed in the coffin filled with mock paper money. A boiled egg and a stone are placed in the deceased's hands if he left behind a spouse. It is said that the spouse can remarry the deceased when the boiled egg delivers chickens and when the stone dissolves. Here again the point is stressed of the separation between the deceased and the living. Daughters-in-law still in their child-bearing years, stand around the body wearing green cloth tucked into their mourning belts covering their reproductive organs. They rub their hair against the coffin and sing laments (Watson 1989, [1982]: 162).

Burial cannot take place until the nailing of the coffin is finished. The chief mourner offers a tray with a hammer and four nails wrapped in red paper to the mother's brother (the wife-giver). In former times the mother's brother performed this rite, but nowadays he employs a priest's assistant. The nails must be hammered into all four corners of the coffin. While hammering the nails, the mother's brother utters loudly: "May the family have many sons." How strong and influential his words are can be seen from Ahern's informant's remark: "whatever the mother's brother says will come about" (Ahern 1974: 297). Thompson reports that right after the encoffining, uncooked rice is placed on the coffin lid to signify the benefits the mourning family will have after consuming it (Thompson S. 1990: 82).

22.4 "Getting out the roots"

Immediately before the coffin is accompanied to the graveyard, offering tables are arranged in front of the coffin loaded with food offerings given by the community. Such food offerings include cooked rice, meat offerings and cups of wine. On each table the central position is accorded to the raw pig's head with the pig's tail tucked under it. These are gifts from the deceased's married daughters, or rather the wife-takers. Afterwards, only the direct descendants and their daughters-in-law eat these gifts in a specially prepared meal (Watson 1989, [1982]:

175). There are also unopened cans of drinks, and unopened packets of biscuits. Neighbors and friends (the wider community) also come to the farewell feast and offer food for hungry ghosts. Offerings for ghosts are provided outside on the road. The rite is known as “feeding the flaming mouths” (Thompson S. 1990: 85 - 86).

In front of the offering tables, the affines’ table is placed, and in front of the affines’ table mats are arranged. A bowl with earth and a plant is placed under the affines’ table. Thompson observed that the plant was a scallion, the roots of which had been cut off. It is in the nature of the scallion to grow as long as its roots have soil to grow. At weddings, scallion is given to the bride in order to plant it in her garden (Thompson S. 1990: 89). Two by two, the wife-givers come and kneel before the table. The priest’s assistant reads loudly a document announcing to the deceased how much food has been offered and how much silver paper money will be burnt for him. After the reading, the wife-givers are offered glasses of wine; they raise these up and pour the wine into the bowl with the plant. They repeat this action three times. The next pair of wife-givers comes, and they repeat the same procedure. During all that time, the deceased’s descendants are crowded under the table. Right after pouring the wine, the coffin is removed to the graveyard (Ahern 1974: 297 – 298).

22.5 At the graveyard

The procession includes a large portrait of the deceased, followed by the inscribed banner or “spirit cloth” and funeral banners of the affines. Bearers carry the coffin; the chief mourner walks close behind the coffin, carrying the temporary paper tablet and the container full of grain, coins and nails. His eldest son follows him. The consanguines follow, dressed in mourning gowns. Traditional Chinese instruments such as pipes, flutes, drums, bells, cymbals and gongs, lead the procession accompanied by a tremendous noise of firecrackers. At the graveyard, in front of the grave, a three-meat offering (a slab of pork, a whole chicken, a fish), three cups of rice wine, and burnt gold paper money are offered to the Earth god for allowing the grave to be built, actually for opening it. Silver paper money is burnt for the ghosts to prevent their malicious influence (Thompson L. 1998: 50). Afterwards the coffin is buried in the grave, which from the side view is seen as a pregnant woman’s belly, and from a bird’s eye view has the shape of the character omega (could there be any similarity with the shape of a vulva?) (Thompson S. 1990: 104). Then the priest stands in front of the grave, holding the container in one hand, with

other hand throwing out handfuls of the contents over the grave, calling out “May this family have high officials, wealth, and many sons!” Here is the comment of Ahern’s informant about this feature: “We tell him [*the deceased - the ancestor to be*] we have taken proper care of him so that his grave will be comfortable. In return we hope he will protect us, bringing us the benefits we ask for” (1973, 180). Thompson reports that the contents of the container are later distributed to the mourners. He also observes that before the coffin is placed into the grave, a few holes are drilled in the foot-end of the coffin (Thompson S. 1990: 104 - 105).

Together with the coffin the “spirit cloth” is buried. Now, attention shifts to the spirit paper tablet. The Taoist priest places the last dot on the paper tablet with red ink (or cock’s blood as I found in Thompson S. (1990: 102)). The members of the family breathe on the brush, for it should be consecrated by the breath (*ch’i*). “I mark your eyes and your eyes see, I mark your heart and your heart beats” (Schipper 1993, [1982]: 37). Those are the priest’s words accompanying which he dotes the paper tablet. This is now the seat of the deceased’s spirit (*hun*) until it is replaced with a permanent wooden tablet. The table is placed on a container in front of the grave, where another offering of cooked rice and five bowls of food are offered. At the end, those offerings are brought home. The deceased’s eldest grandson carries the container and the paper tablet (Thompson S. 1990: 89). Sources differ about which route to choose when returning home; some opt for choosing the same way, so that the spirit will not lose its way (Thompson L. 1998) (Ahern 1974), while others prefer to choose a different way, so that the ghosts cannot follow them (Watson 1989, [1982]).

On returning from the grave, the filial son is agitated and uncertain about the wandering “*hun*” of his father; thus he makes three offerings in front of the paper shrine to calm the spirit. Everyone who has been at the graveyard needs to be cleansed. Water used for this cleaning and also that from washing the corpse require special care for disposal. Usually it is carried far from the village in a stream that flows directly to the sea (Watson 1989, [1982]: 168).

During a big communal feast prepared in the courtyard, at which participation of the whole village is required as well as the priest, mourning descendants are not allowed to eat the pork offering, because eating it “would be like eating the dead person’s flesh,” says Thompson’s informant (1990: 96). They are also prohibited from eating pork prior to the burial because the deceased urgently needs the flesh. They are allowed to eat rice from the container and other dishes brought back from the graveyard. They eat separately from the guests in the ancestral hall

as a sign of their social seclusion (ibid.: 90).

23 Offerings made after the funeral

After the burial, the deceased is not left on his own, but for 49 days after the funeral, at intervals of seven days, seven offerings are made to help him to adjust to a new life in the underworld. It takes 49 days to cross all the halls in the underworld. On the morning of the seventh day after the funeral, the Earth god takes the deceased to the lake in order to wash his hands. Seeing his nails turned black, the deceased for the first time realizes that he is dead. The deceased is led to a mountain where he can have a last glimpse of his descendants. From this reason, the relatives wake up very early to make offerings and weep because “if we get up early enough to wail before the ancestor finds out he is really dead, then his own sorrow will be lessened. The more we weep, the less he must,” say Ahern’s informants (1973: 225). In these offerings, food is offered for the rulers of the underworld so that they may be less cruel to the deceased. On each seventh day the deceased’s family provides his departed spirit with an offering of rice and side dishes twice a day: once in the morning and once in the evening. Incense sticks and silver paper money are burnt and women wail. These offerings are made to the paper tablet that is placed on the table at the side of the ancestral hall. In the final stages of the ritual during the 49 days when the whole village is gathered, the descendants prepare and offer many paper objects, like decorated houses fully equipped inside. The number of paper houses and paper figures depends on the number of the deceased, thus on the group of dead who have died since the last one. It is believed that on an adequate day and hour the deceased move into new houses in the underworld in a manner that resembles the moving in of living people. At the beginning of the ceremony, each paper figure is placed in the paper house, and a bowl of sweet soup made of red and white balls of rice is served along with chopsticks in front of the house. The ceremony ends when divining coins land face up, and everybody has been served with the same sweet rice soup. All the paper objects are carried into the hall where they are kept until the 49th day, when they are carefully carried out to avoid damaging their surface in order to be burned and so transferred to the underworld (ibid.: 227 – 228).

A special funeral service is again performed on the 100th day after the death, on a day that in the late imperial times was called “the cessation of weeping” (Brook 1989: 482), and another funeral service one year later. In the first three years after the burial yearly spring offerings are made on

the death festival days, when they clean up the graves and burn incense and paper money. There is no need for food offerings. They throw divination objects to ascertain if the dead are satisfied. Worship on the death day anniversary is a duty for man, who owes it to his direct ascendants. On the 100th day, or on the first or the second anniversary day of death, the spirit paper tablet is burnt and replaced by the permanent wooden tablet, which is placed on the ancestral altar next to other ancestral tablets of the four generations. The temporary table on which the paper tablet was kept is destroyed, actually thrown out on the road. This act should be done with great care in order not to make the evil spirits angry. On the wooden tablet the same data are inscribed as on the previous one. A pinch of the incense ash from the incense burner that was placed on the temporary table is put on the incense burner placed on the ancestral altar (Thompson L. 1998: 52).

24 Mourning rules

In the mourning period, mourners are withdrawn from social activities like marriages, and they do not visit the temple. They are affected by death, and this is the reason for their seclusion. They become social again after the rite of purification at the end of the period of 49 days, when a great feast to honour the dead is held. At that time mourners are free to participate in social life again. The end of the mourning period is marked by changing the mourning clothes - by replacing the natural color of hemp with clothes of red. The color of death is replaced by the color of life and luck. This happens in the public area. The mourning clothes are waved through fire as a sign of purification; some of them are burnt like hemp (Thompson S. 1990). But other sources report that their seclusion finishes when a permanent tablet replaces the temporary one, which happens on the first or the second anniversary of death (Wolf A. 1970), (Ebrey 1991). Despite the duration of the mourning period, the mourners should be aware of their status throughout the period needed for the transformation of the dead into an ancestor.

24.1 Mourning clothes

In Taiwan the funeral procession is very colorful, owing to the colorful clothes mourners wear. All mourners wear hoods: women's hoods are so long that they reach the women's waists. The hood is usually plain, sometimes with red and green stripes. Wearing mourning clothes is an obligation of the junior generations towards the senior generations. Following that, the

deceased's father, grandfather, mother's brothers and older men of the lineage are not obliged to wear any mourning clothes. The mourning clothes of the relatives differ in color. The sons wear the natural color of hemp, the grandsons yellowish gray with the exception of the eldest grandson; the great grandsons, dark blue, the fourth generation, red; and members of the fifth generation, yellow. The clothes also differ in material across the generations. The chief mourner's clothes do not offer him any comfort at all. Quite opposite is the situation with the junior generations, whose materials become finer and more pleasant to wear. In Taiwan, red is a symbol of joy and good luck; for this reason, a traditional bride's dress was red. But we can observe that the mourning clothes of the members of the fourth generation are red. Could it be that the mourning dress expresses joy and good luck, perhaps even prestige? Following Wolf's argument, the answer is positive. Yes, the red of their mourning dress expresses the great achievement of the deceased; it shows that the deceased's great contribution to the lineage is not threatened by extinction. This is even more emphasized by yellow of the fifth generation, which wears the color of the emperor. But the fifth generation is an extraordinary case for the deceased to await, expressing his long life and the great job he did. But **distant mourners** who are not members of the household also wear red. Here another characteristic of the color red should be mentioned. Red is always used as a protection from evil forces or bad influences, which death absolutely designates for all. We have seen that, in the case of death, the red talismans of the house are covered with white paper. But as soon as a death is publicly announced, neighboring houses hang out additional red cloths above their doors to expel evil forces. Thus the distant mourners' clothes, basically white with a piece of red cloth, do not express joy but are a sign of protection, concludes Wolf. All **male affines** also wear white gowns and hats with a stripe of red. They are distinguished among themselves by patches of different colors attached to their hats according to generations (i.e. a daughter's husband wears a yellowish gray patch of the second generation; a granddaughter's husband, a dark blue one and so on). They are not obliged to wear rough materials. Wearing red depends on membership in the household. If the deceased's brother lives in his own household, he also wears a piece of red, otherwise not. It would be a sign of joy. A brother from the same household wears plain white mourning dress (Wolf A. 1970: 189 - 193).

It is time to shed light on the situation with the deceased's **eldest grandson** who is mentioned above with reference to the second generation's mourning clothes. He is obliged to wear the gown of the second generation, yellowish gray one. But he covers it with the gown of the

deceased's son. When the procession heads to the grave, he is dressed like the deceased's son. But while coming back from the grave, he changes the type of filial piety, the son's gown being now covered by a yellowish gray one, and so he returns as a grandson. When Wolf asked nearby people why he was dressed like a son, he received answers like, "he is the smallest son" (ibid.: 195). And as the smallest son, the grandson has the right to inherit a share of the family land, as do the deceased's sons. His part of the land bears his name and not the name of his father; it is not shared with the grandson's brothers but remains intact until his death, when his sons will divide it. Why he returns as a grandson, was explained to Wolf as follows: he is just a grandson and has no rights over his father's property neither over that of his father's brothers. "He is grandfather's son but not his father's brother" (ibid.: 196).

Arthur Wolf's informants could not agree on what color of mourning clothes women should wear. They did not take a unified position when they talked about the deceased's daughters. In the case of a **married daughter**, it is clear that she belongs to her husband's family. But here some also claimed that her hood should be that of the deceased's son because her head still belongs to her father's house, while others claimed that on her hood a yellowish gray patch of the second generation should be attached as a sign that she is married. Disharmony also appeared in the case of an **unmarried daughter**, where some claimed she should wear the son's gown because she still belongs to her father's house, but others argued she should wear the gown of the second generation and in no case be equated with sons (ibid.: 203).

25 The second burial or the influence of ancestral bones

A long time ago an emperor wanted to build a great wall around his kingdom. To provide a labor force, he conscripted thousands of young men. Conditions were so terrible for the workers that many men died and were buried under or within the wall. When one young worker had not returned home for some time, his wife set out to find him. When she learned that he was dead, she cried until the entire wall fell down. Then in order to find her husband's bones, she bit off her fingertip and let the blood flow onto the ground. Whenever the blood hit one of her husband's bones, that bone came up and joined together with the others until the skeleton was complete. People told her to carry the skeleton in her arms so that her tears would fall on it, making veins of blood on the bones, and resulting perhaps in a return to life. Just then, Tho-te-ma (the wife of Tho-te-kong, the Earth god) offered different advice. She said it would be better if the woman were to carry the skeleton on her back. But as soon as the wife did this, for she readily accepted the advice of the goddess, the skeleton fell apart. Tho-te-ma gave this bad advice because she was feeling evil-hearted and thought that there were enough people in the world already. After the bones fell apart, the woman put them in a pot and buried them, marking the place with a stone. Thereafter, people continued doing this. Today, our picking up of the bones is equivalent to the wife's using her bleeding finger to find her husband's bones. We pick up the bones in order to let the dead live again. Ahern's informant (1973: 203 - 204)

The final stage of the dead is disintegration of the flesh, because the flesh is not the proper product of death, but the bones. Watson points out that rotting flesh is the ultimate form of disorder in the cosmos (1989, [1982]: 181). After six or seven years, the coffin is dug up; a bone specialist sorts the bones and reconstructs the skeleton. Larger bones are dabbed with red and tied together with a red string; smaller bones are wrapped in red paper. They are placed in an urn (the container). The urn is placed in the same hole left by the coffin. Around the urn, a concrete housing can be built with three walls on the side and a gravestone in front. This is a tomb. On a tombstone, the date and the taboo personal name of the deceased are written. At that time the

dead are finally dead. In comparison with the corpse, the bones are less harmful and more dead. The flesh of the dead body is destroyed, but what remains is kept by the living (Aijmer 1984: 23). People compare tombs with houses. They place colored papers on top of the grave, which represent the roof tiles of the tomb. The tombstone represents the doorway. Red paper on the tombstone represents the red papers displayed on doors at the New Year and marriage. Not just the grave, but also the urn is seen as a womb, and the tombstone as a doorway to and from the womb (Thompson S. 1990: 104).

In cases when opening the coffin reveals that the body has not decayed at all, or when there is still flesh on the bones, the corpse is seen as a threat to the living. “When there is flesh left, it is good for the dead man but bad for the living. The dead are supposed to be reduced to bones,” Ahern’s informants affirm (1973: 204). In no case can they cut off the remaining flesh because “cutting off the flesh would be just like killing the ancestor” (ibid.: 205); the flesh must decay naturally. In order to clean the bones of rotting flesh, they cover them with wine to make the flesh rot away, for wine “makes things to go away” (ibid.: 298). Finally, the bones, when cleaned of flesh, are treated as ancestral remains.

After the bones are cleaned and placed in the urn, attention is paid to the condition of the urn and to the location where it is placed. It can happen that the urn has a leak, so that ants can enter or water can be a problem (Ahern 1973: 183). Attention focuses on external conditions, owing to the transmission of geomantic influences to the living. The transmission of geomantic influence of the cosmos through the bones is achieved by annual offerings of roast pig at the grave of the ancestors. Good influence flows through the ancestral bones to the pigs’ flesh, which is then carried back to the village and offered to the living – to the male descendants, reports Watson (1989, [1982]: 181). They can place more than one ancestor’s bones in the same tomb under one condition: if their horoscopes fit. Their horoscopes are analyzed by the geomancer, but according to Ahern’s survey, in most cases husband and wife are buried together (1973: 186). The concern is oriented towards the comfort and happiness of the ancestors, which is, nevertheless, closely related to geomancy. Of course, there exists a great difference between a professional geomancer’s technical knowledge and the village people’s beliefs about the geomancy of the grave. Where the professional geomancer is busy with calculations of the specific configurations of hills, valleys, and streams surrounding the grave, to enable the flow of invisible primordial

energy or feng shui currents, village people are concerned with a beautiful and pleasant view, which not just the ancestors but they, too, would enjoy¹³ (Freedman 1970: 178).

Poor condition of ancestral remains leads to sickness, bad crops or no crop, infertility, and generally to misfortune. On the other hand, if grave offerings are appropriate, the grave kept in good condition and the ancestors enjoy comfort, these will bring good fortune. Or, as one of Ahern's informants said: "If the ancestor in the grave is happy, he will help us. If he is uncomfortable, he will punish us with sickness or trouble so that we fix what is wrong. If his grave is not especially comfortable, but not seriously lacking either, then he may or may not help us" (1973, 181). In Ahern's survey, because ancestors are a source of geomantic benefits, descendants must ensure his comfort in the grave from the first moment of his burial. Choosing the right time for burial, the right time for cleaning the bones and removing them to the urn is just one of many steps that could lead to the ancestor's satisfaction and to family benefits. If the time between the first and the second burial is pleasant for the family, the urn with the ancestor's bones is put in the same spot. If the family suffers misfortune during that period of time, the urn is moved to another place to improve the ancestor's condition. Thompson says it would be ideal if the grave were surrounded by two hills to the right and left side; water should be running inwards to the location of the grave, so as not to take away beneficial forces of primordial energy. At the location of the grave, the wind should not be too strong or too mild. Great importance is paid to the position of the ancestral bones, particularly the skull, which should be oriented outward from the grave. The correct position of the skull has a huge effect on the increase of prestige, but not for all, just for one of the deceased's sons and his line of descendants. For that reason, there are great quarrels among brothers when choosing the best place for the grave to gain those geomantic influences. It is believed that a man's fortune and that of his descendants are largely determined by his lineage's ancestral graves. There are many examinations of the feng shui influences on bones. They check the color of the bones and their

¹³ Feng shui, literally "wind and water", has great influence on everything. The shape of land and water on the earth influence the flow of universal influences that also influences human life. Feng shui is employed for nurturing relationships with gods and ancestors. Thompson reports that the entire village can be set up according to these influences to ensure the prosperity and safety of future generations. That rules are as follows: the village should be set up at the foot of the hill with water in front to balance the forces coming down from the hill. The interior and exterior of the houses, the size of roads in the village, also the sizes of the trees are determined according to the feng shui rules (Thompson L. 1998: 15 – 16).

conditions. If the bones are black, that indicates bad feng shui, and they should be immediately removed from the old place to a new location (Thompson L. 1998: 18). Watson reports that whether or not a woman is subjected to a second burial, her bones are not the subjects of feng shui transmission to the living (1989, [1982]: 179).

26 Analysis of mortuary rituals

Following van Gennep's tripartite scheme of rituals (1977 [1960]), I can observe three stages of the mortuary ritual. Firstly, there is a period of *separation*, when the consanguines' sever bonds with the deceased, when the deceased must release his property to the living, and when affines cut their relations by "getting out the roots". There is also the closing of the coffin, the funeral procession that accompanies the coffin outside the village to the village graveyard, and the final putting of it into the grave. Actually every rite in the first mortuary ritual designates the deceased's separation from the society. Secondly, a period of decaying and rotting of the corpse until just bones remain designates the time between the first and the second mortuary rituals. This is a period of *transition*, during which the deceased's spirit wanders around between two domains; it cannot return to the body, owing to the rotting process of the flesh, and it still cannot settle into the cosmological heavenly domain, for its "*hun*" has not yet been transformed into "*sin*", which happens when the flesh rots and only clean bones remain. This period coincides with the time of the spirit's salvation, when after paying for all its misdoings, "*kuei*" ascends from the underworld into the heavenly domain as "*sin*". Thirdly, that transformation of "*hun*" into "*sin*" can be seen as an *incorporation* of the deceased's spirit into the ancestral group of "*sin*" spirits, which is confirmed by the inscription of the permanent wooden tablet. When a new ancestral tablet appears on the ancestral altar, the ancestral tablet of the fourth generation's direct ascendant joins the undivided and undifferentiated group of the lineage's divine ancestral "*sin*". This category is also treated as purely of *yang* essence, waiting for a new life to come. From that ancestral group, a new name is given to a newborn child.

The first mortuary ritual signifies the prominent changes that happen as a result of a recent death. It is a time when the body starts to rot. The spirit has no place any more where it can dwell. It is free to fly away, but that is not so easy. In vain do the living call for its return. By providing a paper shrine and a spirit tablet, where the deceased receives all offerings, the living's concern for the deceased's spirit is expressed. It is not the deceased's body that is the receiver of those

offerings, but the spirit. The spirit wanders around seeking a new body to dwell in. For that reason, the living should pay attention to the spirit, do all the work necessary for its support, and should not disturb it. Owing to the wandering spirit of the deceased, a list of birthdays is displayed in a prominent place to warn those people who should avoid the place of death, for they are in potential danger from the spirit's attempts to find a new body. They could become ill, or any kind of calamity could happen to them. In the same position are brides, pregnant women and small children. The priest is aware of that, which is expressed in his concern for correct performance of rituals. I see the priest' role as the spirit's guide, for he is the leading person in the funeral procession and the one who communicates with the gods, which is revealed in the sacred language that he uses. The priest must switch to a higher level of language in order to enable a certain communication between the social and the cosmological domains. By using the sacred language, the relationship is identified as well as the addressed party. The prayer is a gift exchanged for something else. The semantic meaning of the sacred prayer is irrelevant. The aim lies in the identification of a relationship that preexists. Prayer activates that relationship. Furthermore, the priest also helps the spirit at every stage of its transformation, in the form of guidelines for crossing the underworld, dotting the tablet and so on. He also helps the living to cut all relations with the deceased, and helps them in their work of preventing the deceased from returning. The priest is the one with "broad horizons" of competence that bridge the gap between the social and the cosmological domains. In a way, just as the go-between intervenes between two different social wholes, two families of different surnames in the marriage rituals, so is the priest a go-between for the deceased's spirit and the gods, as well as between the deceased's spirit and the living – a go-between serving two domains. Because of the decaying process of the body, it is not only the group of mourners that becomes impure, but also the house of the deceased family. This is expressed visually by white papers that cover the red ones.

Periods of separation, transition and incorporation also underlie the life of the mourning group, which, after the incorporation of the "*sin*", is re-incorporated into social life. Here I should stress that the mourning period is not of the same duration for all mourners. The duration of mourning depends on the kinship relation of the mourning person with the deceased. For those with distant relations, a period of mourning ends after 49 days, while the consanguines' period last from three months (descendants of the 5th generation) to 3 years (a pious son) (Wolf A. 1970). The pious son is also the only one who inherits the father's property and other material goods. He inherits the overwhelming authority, his father used to have, as well as strict responsibility and obligation

for ancestral worship. The senior son replaces his father's position and authority at the end of his mourning period. Thus, not only the material of the mourning clothes but also the period of mourning depend on the type of kinship relation. Their seclusion is not a matter of contact with the deceased's body, but a matter of relations. From another view, the mourning family's position reflects the deceased's position; they attend the great feasts, but they eat separately from the wider community. Their position towards the society is similar to the deceased's position towards his family. Maternal relatives are given a subordinate position by their reduced right to mourning, which is expressed in the shortest period of mourning as well as in their clothes. The mourning period, which highlights the disability of the group of mourners until the end of transformation, is seen as assistance from the living for the deceased's spirit transformations. The mourners enhance the deceased's spirit transformations by burning paper money for its redemption, for it is "real currency" in the underworld. As the spirit is without form and color, so is the smoke of burning money. Burning transmits everything the spirit needs in the domain of the dead. It is believed that the smoke carries the essence of the paper money or any paper object to the ancestors in the spirit world. The living offer wine to force the rotting phase and burn a huge number of incense sticks, which also help the transition of the body and the spirit. When the smoke rises and the ashes fall, is that not reminiscent of the division of the spirit (smoke) as it leaves the decaying body (ashes)? Whenever the living call upon the ancestors, be it at the Spring Tomb festival, or at the New Year festival or at worship, they burn sums of paper money while wine is poured around in a circle, and they burn incense sticks. They call the ancestral spirit's presence among the living. This suggests a parallel between the wine that sinks down into the earth to search for the ancestral *p'o* (valued for *yin*), and the smoke of incense sticks that rises up to the sky (heavenly domain) to search for the ancestral *sin* (valued for *yang*). At the end of the mourning period, people under mourning restrictions become social again. Life in the deceased's lineage can circulate again. Now that the mourning group can take part in rituals, they are allowed to marry, and the deceased's property, namely ancestral land, is divided among his sons. The eldest son succeeds the deceased father.

These transformations in progress during the first mortuary rituals are designated by the impure state that brings to a standstill the whole social life of groups and things related to the deceased. According to Hertz's studies, the intermediate period is brought to an end by the final, the second funeral ritual when the spirit is admitted to the land of the dead and when all mourning prohibitions are lifted. I would have expected that the periods of changing the paper tablet for the

wooden one and the period of the second mortuary ritual, when bones are exhumed and cleaned, would coincide. But from written sources, this is not the case. I would expect this because of the Taiwanese belief in the ancestral tablet as the seat of the ancestor's spirit. The paper tablet is needed for the time of spirit redemption; whereas, when all debts are paid off, it receives the wooden one. This can be related to the transformation of *hun* into pure *sin*, which in my assessment should happen at the same time when the bones are clean and free of flesh that is when the cleaned bones reunite with ancestral bones in the tomb. In the Taiwanese case, the mourning period also stops before the second mortuary ritual begins. At the end of the mourning period, the ancestor, as a *sin* spirit, is constituted; it is considered completely settled in the world of the ancestors, and the worship may begin. The change of a paper tablet for a permanent wooden one designates the ancestor's incorporation back into society. It is seen that the ends of the spirit and body transformations do not coincide. They have the same fate, but owing to the heaviness of substance, the latter needs more time to be transformed into ancestral bones only. When the paper tablet is changed for the permanent wooden one, the ashes from the incense holder on the temporary altar are also joined with the ashes in the incense holder on the ancestral altar. This designates the unity of all ancestors in the world of the dead as well as the unity of the whole lineage.

By studying Granet's work about Chinese feudal times (1975, [1922]: 83 – 85), I can shed light on the grandson's prominent role also seen in his mourning clothes mentioned above, as well as the lengthy mourning period of the deceased's pious son. The pious son, according to the rules of filial piety¹⁴, had to undergo a tremendous pressure of fasting, no washing, living in seclusion in a hut without any conveniences, where he had to sleep on the earth, for his father was in the earth, too. The pious son would be so badly weakened that he needed the help of all his kin to assist him during the obligatory ceremonies that marked the stages of the deceased on his way to becoming an ancestor. All prescribed restrictions grew milder as the mourning period reached its end. When the pious son became purified enough to be ready for communication with the ancestor - the dead man who after a period of time had already been transformed into a group of ancestors a ritual of inheritance of property and a succession from father to son was performed. A representative of the ancestor was chosen among the living. Usually this was the deceased's

¹⁴ Filial piety is not addressed only to the dead. It is composed of paying a son's respect and gratitude toward his father, his noble lord, during his life by serving him from morning till night.

grandson who, for that task also underwent the purification period through the retreat. The grandson was seen as an incarnation of the grandfather, who was defined as the most important relative. During the sacrifice to the ancestor (to the grandson, and pious son's son), a pious son offered food to the ancestor and bowed down to him. Spoken words reached the pious son through the chanter accredited for oral communication with the ancestral domain. It was the grandfather's words whose spirit animated the grandson. Through that ritual, the pious son, now head of the family, gained the family fortune, a long line of descendants, honour and longevity. Prestige was transmitted from father to son through the grandson. I mention that ancient ritual because of the grandson's prominent role even during the modern Taiwanese mortuary ritual.

From Granet's work we can discover that in ancient times a new born child was placed on the ground for three days, during which it absorbed life from the domestic earth; the child was nourished by Mother Earth. If the child survived, it entered the group of the living. Mother Earth decided that by giving the child power, made evident in its loud crying. This marked the start of one's life. At death, the dying person was also placed on the ground, for Mother Earth was the one who decided if the time of death had come. Three days after a person's death, it was put into the earth (1975, [1922]: 50, 52). In the birth rituals we saw that the umbilical cord and placenta were wrapped in a cloth and buried. Thus they are returned to the earth, to the Earth God, where they wait for the body to come. At death the body is returned to the earth where it reunites with its placenta, shall we say, and that circle is thus completed. Placing the birth remains into the earth can be seen as a small funeral that ends one period and begins a new one. On the spirit level, birth can be seen as an opposite transformation of death, a leaving of the invisible world of the dead to enter the society of the living.

I would like to analyze one difference that I have found between the marriage and the mortuary rituals. During marriage exchanges, people operate with real money only. This is also the case at birthdays, when red envelopes are given to the celebrator and during visits, when red envelopes are presented by the guest to the host. But while worshipping the dead and during mortuary rituals, there is no trace of real money – only mock paper money, or rather, spirit paper money is employed. Taiwanese distinguish three categories of spirit paper money. Gods are offered gold spirit money; the ancestors and ghosts are offered silver spirit money with a difference: ancestors are given “big silver” money, while ghosts are given “little silver” money (Wolf A. 1974: 181). Therefore, real money is always an object of exchange among the living, while “mock” money is an object of exchange between the dead and the living. This can be supported by informants'

explanations about why in their rituals people offer real food but unreal money to ancestors, gods and ghosts. One informant told McCreery that “spirits take only the essence of food, leaving the rest for humans to eat. Spirit money, when burned, turns into real money in the world of the spirits” (1990: 1). Not ignoring their comment, here again we witness a release of the essence, of the all-pervading *ch'i* seen in the smoke of burning incense sticks as well as that created by cooking food when vapor designates its release. All these are related to the spirit.

Frequently mentioned is the container, the “*tou*” in Taiwanese or, in translation, the “golden womb” (Thompson S. 1990: 103). The container plays particular roles in different phases of the rituals, specially, in mortuary rituals. It is made of wood in a cylindrical shape. In the past it represented the standard measure for rice, while today it is a ritual measure for offering. Its name “*tou*” can also be used for the female genitals (Martin 1990: 173). Thompson reports that the same word is used for the urn in which ancestral bones are placed as for the red bag into which women used to give birth (Thompson S. 1990: 95). Schipper says that it is a symbolic name for the belly, the womb and the center of the body. Among Taoist priests, it is used for keeping safe the ritual instruments and sacred writings against evil forces (Schipper 1993, [1982]: 72). In the mortuary ritual it is filled with coins, nails and grain. According to the villagers, the grain stands for crops or food in general, nails for male offspring and coins for wealth and financial success (Ahern 1974). The container full of rice is put on the coffin lid. Male descendants and their wives eat that rice, which ensures peace and plenty. As has been established, another content of the container is the temporary tablet of the deceased carried by the son or the grandson to and from the grave. The container therefore, is an object in which ancestral bones, rice, and in the past a newborn child find their place, as well as symbolizing fertility influences. Nevertheless, its cylindrical shape hints at the shape of a womb, suggesting, that not only its content but its shape also imply its transformative and vital nature. The deceased’s last touch of the container’s contents reveals that the container is a source of life, prestige and honour from one generation to the next. As such, it can be associated with a kind of whole in which *yang* and *yin* values are represented.

As in marriage rituals, music features in mortuary rituals in the form of loud firecrackers or traditional instruments. In both cases, music probably designates a transition, when a bride leaves the natal family and approaches the husband’s house, and secondly, in the funeral procession when the deceased leaves the village and is accompanied to the cemetery. Therefore music/noise punctuates the transition to a new status. Its intensity could keep ghosts away from

the vulnerable bride or corpse. From a traditional point of view, the pure nature of music lies in its imitation of “the harmony of Heaven and Earth” with “its source in Heaven” (Granet 1975, [1922]: 107).

26.1 The deceased’s relations with consanguines

The first mortuary rituals reveal the consanguines’ separation from the deceased, which is the main concern of the rituals of cutting the bonds and the transfer of property, when the cutting of the string and the division of a chicken are performed. The string designates the link between the living and the deceased, and therefore, its cutting marks their separation. The deceased must give up all his belongings and property, which is symbolized by the last touch of the contents of the container full of symbols of fertility and prestige, and the division of chicken. According to Ahern’s informant, the chicken wings and feet represent the property held by the descendants (1974: 198). The dead should be kept away from the living and thus prevented from coming back and making trouble for the living. The act of placing the boiled egg and the stone into the deceased’s hand also implies the separation between the deceased and his wife. During a period of 49 days, the deceased’s *hun* goes through judgment. The gifts of food, paper money and incense sticks are meant to pay off the deceased’s spirit sins. They are gifts for the gods and the officers in the underworld. If there are no relatives to make those offerings, the *hun* cannot pay off its sins in order to attain the transformation into *kuei* and thus become hungry ghosts, who seek revenge. A big event at the end facilitates the whole group of those dead people of the lineage who have not yet received that ritual, to be prepared for elevation to the ancestral domain.

At the funeral women are not affected by the polluting nature of the decaying flesh as men are. The latter should be careful not to touch such flesh, because that act would harm their *yang*, vital essence. Only the chief mourner can touch the corpse. By all his acts and duties, the elder son is exposed to the greatest quantity of death pollution. By washing the deceased’s face, he takes on a major quantity of pollution. This is the price or his sacrifice for the new role to which he will be entitled – he will gain authority and prestige in the areas where his father once had it. He is also the one who inherits most of the deceased’s property. Women are not affected in the same way, because they are of the same essence as the decaying body, valued for *yin*. Because a negative aspect is ascribed to both, the essence of the decaying body will not corrupt their vital essence

(Watson 1990: 113). It may sound strange, but it is precisely the pollution of death that designates the significant part of it – its negative value of fertility or the life giving value of death. As a rotting vegetable carries in itself the seed of life, so does human death give meaning to the necessary fertility. Thus fertility can be seen from two aspects – the positive one of growing and the negative one of decaying. Therefore women do not inherit the deceased's property but his life essence, which must not be lost, but transferred to the next generation. The same can be observed in the cultivation of rice, when at the last harvest some seeds are saved for a new one – the fertility of one generation is thus closed off but transferred to the younger one (Granet 1975 [1922]). During the mortuary ritual, this is achieved by the daughter-in-laws' act of rubbing their hair against the coffin. The green color of the cloth tucked into their mourning belts covering their reproductive organs is the color of growth and fertility (Watson 1989 [1982]: 174).

I would say that the period of the transformation of the deceased into pure ancestral *sin* is therefore valued for fertility precisely for the negative value of decay and decomposition. Until the final transformation, the fertility as decaying exists as the dominant *yin* value. Actually, an inverse order of values is achieved. When the final transformation of *hun* is achieved, that is, at the rising of the ancestral tablet on the ancestral altar, and when the ancestral bones are activated for transmitting the geomantic influences, the *yang* value of prestige, ancestral name and reputation prevail as a dominant value. At that time, pure ancestral *sin* has been awaited and attained, and brought back into society. The transfer of gifts valued for life/fertility and name/reputation exchanged between the living and the ancestors during the second funeral ritual at the grave (roast pork), and those that are made during ancestral worship during festivals at the ancestral altar (offerings in the form of a real meal) help to create an uninterrupted circle of relations between those two domains time and again. According to the belief that all things on the earth have spirit, during the preparation of food, the spirit contained in the food separates and is offered to all ancestors of the lineage. In return, the group of the living receives gifts of prestige and reputation, ancestral names and progeny.

26.2 The deceased's relations with affines

On the other hand, relationships of affinity are brought to an end by the wife-giving and the wife-taking affines' roles in the particular rituals. The wife-giving affines do not come to worship the deceased. In Ahern's description of their arrival, particularly the senior man's prominent role, their role of not worshipping the deceased is stressed. She extracts that firstly, from the senior's man act of turning up a corner of a bright, colored cloth that is used for weddings and New Year festivals, and secondly, from his turning upside down of incense, which he also keeps unlit (Ahern 1974: 295). We can speculate that he, as the senior of the wife-givers, is older than the deceased. In this case, we know that mourning is an obligation juniors owe their deceased seniors and not vice versa. It is also the juniors' task to light the incense sticks for their deceased seniors; thus he places them back unlit and, what is even more, in an upside down position. Strips of red paper placed around the container actually protect wife-giving affines who are not direct descendants of the deceased. The senior man among the wife-givers changes the normal situation for mourners into a situation for non-mourners. It is an inversion where members as non-mourners are contrasted to the descendants as mourners, or an inversion in which life subordinates death. If they do not come to worship the deceased, what, then, is their role? The answer could be hidden in the ritual of "getting out the roots", which, I would say, symbolizes the rotting of the deceased's flesh by pouring wine over the roots. It is in the nature of wine to influence the matter "to go away", in this case, to get rid of dreaded aspects of the corpse, to help the corpse to rot and to ensure its non-return. The scallion may refer to the deceased's body, to the bones while earth on roots refers to the deceased's flesh, which is washed away from roots or decayed from bones into earth. Therefore, the wife-giving affines, by pouring wine, activate the process of rotting. As well, pouring the wine can also be seen as the guidelines for the deceased's *p'o* to sink into the earth. Nevertheless, the presence and the role of the wife-givers are of high importance, for the ritual of "getting out the roots" is needed in the transformation of the deceased's material parts into bones only and his immaterial parts into pure ancestral "*sin*" spirit only. Therefore, at death the wife-giving affines are responsible for the dissolution of a person's constituents.

At birth, the first dress for a newborn child is received from the wife-givers' family; it is the gift of a mother's brother for his sister's child. At death, we see the opposite situation, when the mother's brother receives a gift of clothing. That gift made by the chief mourner to the deceased's wife-giver could be traced as the return of a body; the flesh (body) came from this

family, but at death life has gone, thus the body is returned in the symbol of clothing. One could say, that the deceased does not come from that family, which is true, but one should look at that gift from another perspective; at marriage by giving away the bride, the wife-givers' house suffers loss of unity unless the gift of a pig is offered to them to recompense the gods and the goddesses for the bride's body. At death, the body itself is not given back to the wife-giving family but the "empty" dress, which symbolizes the "empty" body, empty of the spirit, the gods and the goddesses. The body as a principle itself has come from that family, and now it is returned. By that gift, life itself is replaced, and the life giving aspect between two families is brought to an end.

I would now like to explain the wife-taking affines' role. We saw that during the marriage ritual, the wife-givers offer the gift of a roasted pig's head and tail to the family into which their daughter is given. Now, in the mortuary ritual, the tables are covered with fresh pigs' heads and tails, brought by all the wife-taking affines of the deceased's family (the wife-givers). It is the deceased's "out" married daughters who bring those gifts. The receivers of those gifts are the wife-givers' direct lineal ancestors. Here I would like to recall on the belief about the vital essence that is a constituent of everything, whether animate or inanimate. In raw food, the essence is still present. In preparation by cooking or roasting, the essence is released, and it can be seen as a vapor. It is light like the spirit (*hun*), and it floats up to the sky. Thus in marriage rituals the wife-givers release the essence in advance, while in the wife-takers' example, the gift still possesses the essence. In relation to the former gift, it is the latter that is of highest importance. But the importance of the first one should not be diminished – it enables the offering of the second one. The raw pig's head and tail could designate the release of the deceased's spirit, which is not the case in the marriage ritual, when the implication of the coming together of body and spirit is the main focus. With these final prestations, another symbol is expressed – the termination of the relationship between the deceased and his wife-taking affines. With each wife-taking affine relationships have been created because of the daughters; thus the daughters are now also those who will bring them to the end. Watson's informants mark that time of the ritual as making "a good beginning and a good end" (1989, [1982]: 175).

<i>Separation</i>	<i>Transition</i>	<i>Incorporation</i>
[Death]	[Period of 49 days]	[After 1 to 3 years]
[Start of mourning]	[Offerings of: food and wine paper money paper objects incense sticks]	[2nd burial - Reunion of the ancestral bones]
[Cutting the bonds]		[Celebration - offerings of: food and wine paper money incense sticks]
[Nailing the coffin]		
[Giving up the property]		[End of mourning]
[Absorbing the essence]		
[Returning the body] - to WG		[Succession of authority and inheritance of property]
[Getting out the roots] - WG		
[Good beginning - good end] - WT		
[Dotted the paper tablet]		[Erection the wooden tablet - reunion of the ancestral name]

Table 26.1: Chronology of the complete mortuary ritual

IX. CONCLUSION

The ideology of a holistic Taiwanese society is pervaded by the existence of two hierarchically interrelated worlds. There exists a socio-cosmological order in which social life cannot be lived without relations with the Gods, the ghosts and the ancestors. They are omnipresent. Ideas about death take central position in their system of representations, and rituals related to marriage, birth and death are carriers of important cultural information about Taiwanese peasant society. These rituals of passage serve the need of the society to adapt to changes that, after all, lead toward the end of life. In the end society is fragile because death is something you cannot grab or hold. Upon marriage, a newly married couple can be congratulated, and life has the potential to avoid extinction; at birth, a newborn child can be held and life embodied in it, too; but at death society remains with empty hands. Its order is disrupted. Rituals of passage slowly lead toward that end, rituals which again transform, or better, socialize death into new life, and through which society renews its existence time and again. Rituals of passage are social institutions that control social life. They are a product of society.

Modern ideology separates the group of the living from the group of the dead, and this separation leads to a separation of life and death. In Taiwanese ideology the place between the two groups is a place of rituals and exchanges. To go even further, in our society an individual is separated from relationships in which he is actually embedded, while in Taiwan, a person is a product of a whole set of relationships. In Taiwan important relationships do exist between the wife-takers and the wife-givers, between men of a lineage, as well as between the living, the gods and the ancestors. Two types of relationships exist there: relationships between the living, and, on the other hand, relationships between the living and the dead. The totality of those relationships represents the basis for gift exchanges, during which beings and things circulate. In this circulation relationships are valued and arranged into an intrinsically hierarchical order. There is no question of an isolated individual. Therefore, marriage rituals are not meant as marriage rituals alone, neither are birth and mortuary rituals. Through those rituals, life between the living, on the one hand, as well as life between the living and the dead is enabled time and again. The great winner is society itself in wining the never-ending game with the natural cycle of life and death in which death plays a superior role. In these intrinsically hierarchical relationships of the encompassment of the contrary, the cosmological domain encompasses the contrary between the living and the dead. The latter, in one way, dominate the life of the living, but at the same time,

they depend on the living for their reintegration into the socio-cosmic system. They depend on the worship done by the living. In the same breath, the living need to pay all due respect and duties towards the dead in order to prevent life's extinction, meaning, in order to receive gifts of rice at harvest and gifts of progeny. Worshiping common ancestors strengthens the collective consciousness of the group of the living.

The ideas about *yin* and *yang*, the cosmological Two that emerged from the One, represent an all-encompassing relationship that governs social life. According to the results of my work, in the Taiwanese view, *yin* and *yang* are two contrasting ideas with added values; to *yang*, the value of reputation is prescribed and to *yin*, the value of fertility. The original owner of the *yin-yang* relationship is the Primal One, the original owner of all life. Owing to that relationship, every person can attain all its constituents, and on the higher level, society is re-established time and again. *Yin* and *yang* cannot be separated from each other. They are principles of life as well as part of a socio-cosmic order. Therefore, the value of yang is seen as a relationship between yang and yin. In the system of relations, relations are seen as actions that are based on values. Exchanges are based on values, and values are within the things exchanged.

Therefore, life in Taiwanese society is pervaded by the hierarchical order of two values: reputation and fertility, which can also reflect two interconnected circles that exist on two different levels. The *yin* circle – the circle of “flesh” and “*p'o*” is the circle of the life-cycle of the living as well as decaying at death and dying. Thus marriages, births and the first mortuary rituals, that is, rituals that engage different patriline, represent the first circle, where life and relationships valued for fertility are at stake. Decaying is seen as a negative value of fertility, where we should not perceive only decay of the dead body but also the rotting of plants and animals. While sinking into the earth, “flesh” and “*p'o*” are recycled back into the cosmos, and they produce fertile earth. That ensures continuity of life. The positive aspect of fertility is life, of course. The *yang* circle – the circle of “bones” and “*hun*” is the circle in which relationships between the living and their ancestors as well as relationships with living relatives are expressed. Those relationships enhance a person's name and prestige as well as that of the whole lineage group. Thus the second mortuary rituals, as well as the ancient Dragon Boat festival, that is, rituals that engage different lineages (here patriline is not expressed), represent this circle, where relationships valued for reputation are at stake. During life, a person forms relationships by ritual activities and the exchanges involved therein and thus increases his *yang*. At death, *yang* leaves the body to join the *yang* of the ancestors of the deceased, which look after the

prosperity and reputation of their lineages. Between the two cycles, the cycle of the second funeral ritual is the superior one, where, by the transformations in progress, the deceased group is equalized with the ancestral domain. Without ancestors there is no life; without life there is no death, and without death there can be no ancestors. The circles are therefore concluded and spin round again into eternity.

In the social contexts valued for life and fertility, in the *yin* circle, an inversion happens where relations valued for reputation need to subordinate themselves to those valued for fertility. But this never happens in the social contexts valued for reputation, in the *yang* circle, because it is the superior one. Therefore, the *yang* circle is implied on both levels; on the lower level it contrasts with the *yin* circle, and on the higher level it encompasses the contrary of the lower level. Reputation always designates the higher valued contexts. The Dragon Boat festival represents a context where reputation is the superior value because relations with the apical ancestors of lineages are at the fore, and under those owners the unity and solidarity of lineage society is displayed. One needs to recall that the ancestors are awaited on the shore, a detail which refers to the first immigrant settlers of each lineage who came to the island from the continent. With their help, the lineage, spread over the whole village, fights away the influence of strange ancestral images of their wife-giving groups¹⁵. The ritual actions that unfold during those festivals and events should not simply be seen as people's adaptation to their environment. In these activities lineages, as parts of the whole, play their role and so enable society to achieve its reproduction. The activities are not restricted to the social domain, but the cosmological

¹⁵ Also interesting is Aijmer's speculation about the flow of visits happening between the two domains. He sees the ancestors' visit to their living descendants during the Dragon Boat festival as a return visit in response to the visit of the living made on the third day of the third moon, in April, when people clean and visit the graves, and offer gifts of food and wine at graves. Nevertheless, this is also the time of the year for sowing the rice, when ancestral land is cleaned and prepared for accepting the offerings of rice seeds. Rice seeds are offerings to the ancestors. The second circle of visits between the dead and the living happens in the second part of the year, when at autumn equinox, before the main harvest of rice, people climb mountains to obtain essence from heaven (*yang*). It is a day when all souls are freed from the underworld. At that time the living invite the ancestors to visit them during the New Year time when all lineage members return from cities to the focus of the lineage, that is, to the ancestral hall, to participate in rituals for lineage ancestors. At the New Year, ancestors visit their living descendants (Aijmer 1968: 95 – 96).

domain also has an important role there. Actions are intertwined and cannot be understood properly if they are not observed from the global level, the level of the society.

In Taiwanese reality, life is played out between the owned and the owners. We know that the living cultivate the land, but it is not they who possess it. They are composed of body, spirit and a name, but they are not the ones who own these. The greatest worry of the Taiwanese is the failure to be buried in domestic soil because the flesh and bones of the deceased body belong to the ancestral land. From any point of view, the social domain is subordinate to the cosmological domain. A bridgeable gap between them is reachable by the interrelated system of gift exchanges, through which valued relations are created and social life is made possible. Now, offerings should not be seen as payments to the gods and the ancestors in order to have them do something for the living, but rather as seeds for relationships, which need to grow. A big difference exists between these gift exchanges and the system of buying and selling that prevails in modern societies. The difference lies both in intent and in result. Every ritual exchange provokes a vital power, breath or *ch'i* to make rice seeds and descendants strong and fertile.

The foundation of my work is the idea that a human being is composed of different constituents, namely, the body, the name and the spirit, which are also the constituents of animals and plants, of nature and of the universe itself. By acquiring those constituents, a person becomes part of a socio-cosmological order, because this acquiring process is far from being a biological process, a concept which I have managed to present. Nevertheless, acquisition of those constituents is a social requirement. A person becomes part of that order through various gift exchanges that take place during funerals, marriages, births, initiations, and festivals, where relations that bring together the socio-cosmic universe are established. By establishing relationships among the living and between the living and the dead, those constituents are driven together. Through exchanges during marriage rituals, “bones” and “flesh” (body) come together, and it is the women who must procreate to unite those two under the protection of the gods and the ancestors. When “bones” and “flesh” bond together, the spirit can come. A child is not born with complete *hun*. It has *p'o*, which is necessary for life. *Hun* is composed of various social relations created for a person through many rituals, starting with the naming ceremony and continuing throughout a person's life. The nature of a person's relations with other entities, his being dead or alive, equips a person with a particular place in the social structure, which nevertheless determines a person's existence. The succession of names marks the transfer of *yang* among members of the lineage. Through rituals surrounding death, the deceased becomes part of the socio-cosmic

universe. His flesh rots and together with *p'o* rejoins the collective *p'o* in the Earthly Mother. After transformation into *sin* his *hun* is invited to join ancestral *sin* in Heaven. The separation of the body and the spirit leads toward a transformation of the deceased into an ancestor. The source of those constituents lies in the primal god, of course, but for his body he is indebted to his father's group of ancestors for providing him with bones, as well as for the ancestral name received, and to his mother's group of ancestors for providing him with flesh. For the spirit, he is indebted through the intermediary gods to the Primal One. The ancestral spirits embedded in wooden tablets control the everyday life of the living descendants. These spirits grant prosperity and success as well as sickness and death. Ancestral names continue to exist as long as there is a living memory of them, while there are descendants with duties of worship and prolongation of patrilineal lineages. The ancestral halls and the ancestral tablets assure enduring lineage against extinction.

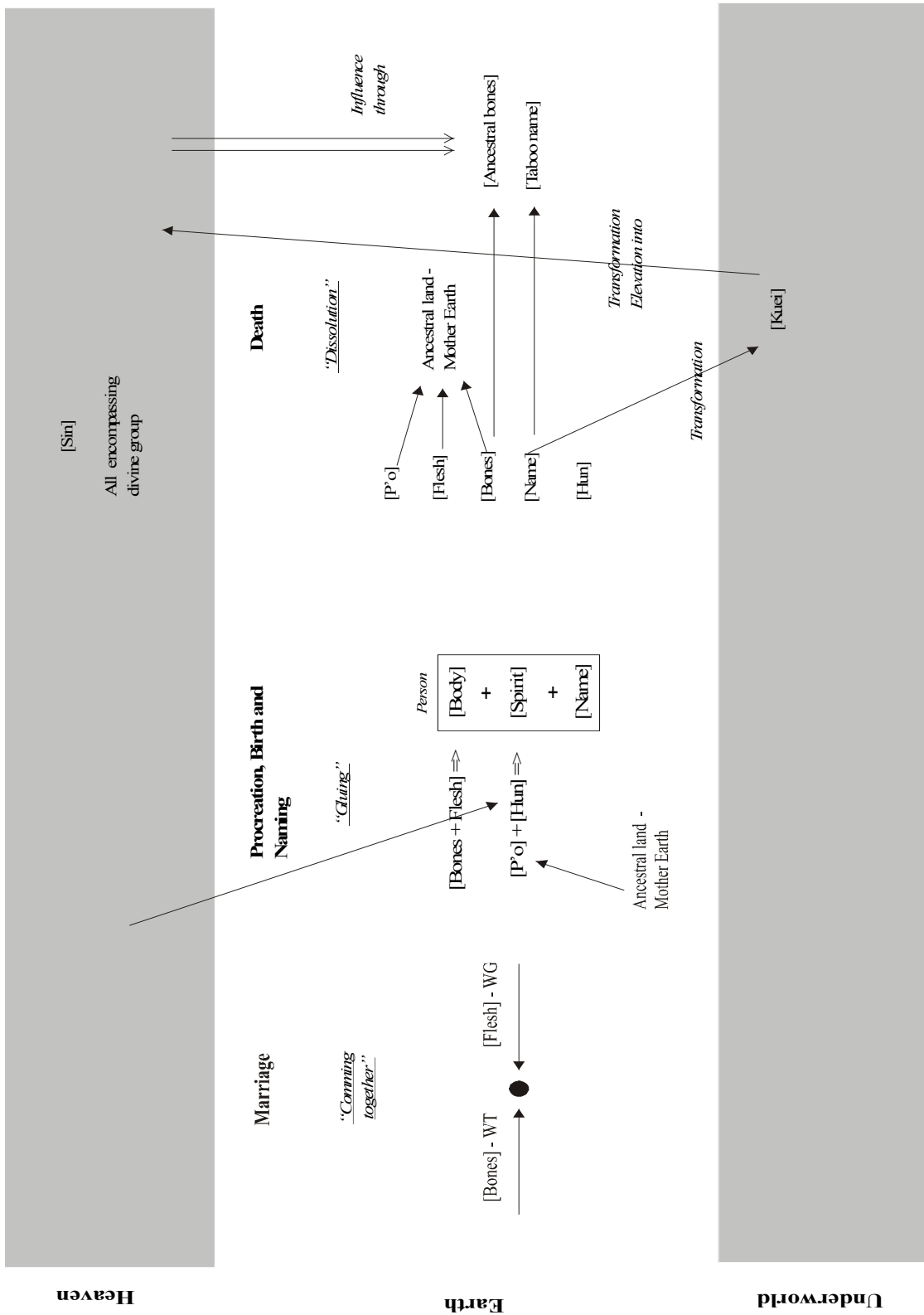


Figure 26.1: Stages of development and dissolution of socio-cosmic constituents of the Taiwanese person

Thus it has been firmly established that the Taiwanese person is a product of relationships that are activated by the exchange of particular gifts. What is prominent in these exchanges is the fact that constituent parts are also presented as valued parts as gifts in the exchanges. Meaning, in the exchange of gifts the person's necessary constituent is presented. And in particular that interchangeability of exchanged objects and human constituents plays a central role in the whole set of gift exchanges. Thus body as a valued constituent is "body", to which the social value of "fertility" is ascribed. On the other hand, name as a valued constituent is "ancestral name", to which the social value of "reputation" is ascribed. According to that system of classification, the wife-givers, as givers of flesh, are valued for fertility, and the wife-takers, as givers of bones and name, are valued for reputation. The owner of their reputation is their apical ancestor. Their gifts are also valued for the same values. Turning time back, the very first exchanges made between the apical ancestors of lineages and domestic people of the island are repeatedly represented in marriage ritual exchanges. The wife-takers' gifts are gifts of foreign origin. Their money and gold jewelry come from trade affairs with the mainland; thus their gifts are valued for reputation. On the other hand, the wife-givers' gifts are of domestic origin; they are products of domestic land, thus rice, textiles, silk and food are all valued for fertility. Those values represent gifts of living essence. But the relationship between the wife-givers and the wife-takers does not satisfy the need to be a complete person. I have established that their relationship provides only one constituent, that is the body. A person becomes socially recognized when an ancestral name is granted to him by the established relationship with his father's group of ancestors, which provide the person with reputation. Through a man's life, he builds up his reputation by participating, for example, in the Dragon Boat festival by hard work, by successful activities with other lineages' men, where a man's lineage must compete for reputation and expresses its unity. By circulatory ritual exchanges, gifts valued for fertility and reputation contribute to and enable not just the transformations of people's relationships but also the construction of the social structure as a whole, as well as its permanence.

One function of mortuary rituals thus lies in separating the dead person from the living, in helping the spirit's wandering between two worlds and in a final incorporation of the pure spirit into the ancestral world. Through a chain of ritual acts surrounding death, the deceased is transformed into an ancestor. Since rituals establish new relations not only between the living, between the very group of people in question and the rest of society, but also between the living and the dead, the function of mortuary rituals can be defined in establishing relations between

the cosmological and the social domain. I can argue that Taiwanese mortuary rituals are based on the concept that the source of natural increase and productivity comes from the dead. Thus mortuary rituals have power and purpose of turning the firstly negative value of death into a positive image of lasting transcendent reality. This is because from the Taiwanese point of view, rotting and decaying are needed for the “distillation” of life out of death. If unnatural death happens, or if there is nobody to burn sums of paper money and incense sticks for the deceased’s spirit’s transformations of *hun* through *kuei* into *sin*, the renewal of the world of the living cannot be attained. The regeneration of life is lost forever, owing to lost transformation of death into fertility. Therefore, mortuary rituals serve social more than individual ends by maintaining coherent social life. And as such, mortuary rituals cannot be studied in isolation from other rituals. Social representations of life and death should be understood in relation to and in the context of the socio-cosmological whole. I have tried to show how, among the Taiwanese, death is not seen as a natural process that designates the last step of the individual’s life. Rather it is a social event in which the society achieves its re-birth and where its relations with the encompassing domain are re-established time and again. With every mortuary ritual, the society celebrates a new triumph over death. Through the cult of the dead, society enables its continuity by nurturing continuity between the living and the dead, and not only among the living. When the dead are transformed into ancestors, society as a whole is endlessly recreated. The inability to see death as a transition and transformation forces us, westerners, to see death as an absolute end. The incapacity of our societies to transform the dead lies in the dominant position of the individual that is prescribed. While in Taiwanese ideology, the dominant position is prescribed to relations between the living and the dead, to which the individual is subordinated.

The Taiwanese representational system connects the individual to the rest of the society in three ways: by placing the self in the society, in nature and in the cosmos. Thus it is not in vain to conclude the work with these reflections:

Sky is our absolute nature, without obstacles and restrictions; earth is our reality, our relative daily experience. With ritual acts we connect the absolute with the relative, sky with ground, and heaven with earth – all in order to unite the heavenly immortal nature of our spirit and the earthly mortal nature of our body.

X. SUMMARY IN SLOVENE LANGUAGE (Povzetek v slovenskem jeziku)

V delu z naslovom »Smrt v luči simbolne menjave in ritualov« poskušam predstaviti simbolni svet kitajskih priseljencev na Tajvanu, njihovo ideologijo, ki se zrcali v prepletenem sistemu idej in vrednot, kateri zaobsega hierarhično povezanost tako družbene kot kozmološke sfere. Sprva sem bila prepričana, da mi bo vstop v njihov svet omogočen preko spoznavanja in analiziranja ritualnih praks, ki spremljajo proces umiranja, smrti in pokopa. A vzporedni študij antropoloških del antropologov, ki so svojo pozornost posvetili kulturam jugovzhodne Azije, je viharno zamajal moje dotedanje prepričanje. Podučil me je z dejstvom, da ni življenja brez smrti, kakor tudi ni smrti brez življenja – enostransko proučevanje mortalnih praks in ritualov vodi do popačene, nepopolne predstave o ideologiji neke družbe. To proučevanje je potrebno dopolniti s hkratnim razkrivanjem tančice skrivnosti, v katero so zaviti tako dogodki kot so rojstvo, poroka, iniciacije, poljedeljske aktivnosti kot tudi mitske zgodbe. Šele takrat se nam lahko razodenejo ideje, verovanja, prepričanja, odnosi in vrednote, ki predstavljajo tisti mirujoči, tihi, v ozadju delujoči del, ki poganja vseobsežno družbeno-kozmološko kolesje družbe. Takrat, v nerazumljenem kaosu družbenih praks, uspemo uzreti simbolni red proučevane družbe.

S takšnim pristopom se mi je tajvanska družba razkrila kot družba holistične ideologije, katere družbeno-kozmološki red zahteva vsakodnevno negovanje vzpostavljenih odnosov med živimi, kot tudi odnosov, ki jih imajo živi z vseprisotnimi bogovi, duhovi in mrtvimi predniki. Lahko trdim, da na Tajvanu ideje povezane s smrtjo zasedajo centralno mesto v ideologiji družbi, ravno tako kot so rituali povezani s poroko, rojstvom in smrtjo nosilci pomembnih informacij o kulturi pretežno kmečke družbe severnega Tajvana. Ti rituali prehoda omogočajo družbi njeno prilagajanje na vseskozi prisotne spremembe, katere nenazadnje vodijo do samega konca življenja posameznika. A ne konca družbe. Ob smrti tako družba kot posameznik ostaneta praznih rok. Ničesar ni, kar bi lahko prijeli in držali v roki. Ob poroki je tu novo poročeni par, kateremu se lahko čestita za korak, ki vliva upanje za neprekinjeno nadaljevanje toka življenja; ob rojstvu je tu novo bitje, novo življenje, katerega je moč zazibati v naročju in tako čutiti izpolnjeno tiho obljubo, sklenjeno s poroko; ob smrti pa roke tako posameznika kot družbe ostanejo prazne. Red je porušen. Grozi propad. Konec. Posameznik je minljiv, a družba ni. Družba s svojim sistemom presega posameznikovo eksistenco. V odnosu do posameznika je torej trajna. Njeno trajnost ji zagotavlja sinhroni sistem ritualov prehoda, kateri počasi in varno

vodi življenje posameznikov do njihovega konca in kateri na koncu uspe transformirati smrt v novo življenje. S tem se v družbi zopet vzpostavi red in družba zmagoslavno plapolja z prapori zmage, saj ji je, kot že tolikokrat poprej, uspelo socializirati smrt. Tako videni, so rituali prehoda institucija v službi sistema družbe, torej tista institucija, ki nadzoruje in usmerja tok družbenega življenja. Ritualni prehodi so produkt družbe. Potrebno je poudariti, da rituali, povezani s poroko, rojstvom in smrtjo niso vršeni zgolj ritualov samih. Skozi te rituale teče neprekinjen tok življenja tako med živimi, kot na drugi strani med živimi in mrtvimi. Odnosi, stekani med njimi, so osnova vseh simbolnih menjav, ki se vršijo znotraj družbenega sveta, kot tudi med družbeno in kozmološko sfero. Ali, kot v svojem delu ugotavljata Platenkamp in Barraudova, ti rituali razkrivajo tako strukturo in predstavo družbe, s katerima antropolog uspe doseči notranji vpogled v sistem idej in vrednot proučevane družbe (Barraud in Platenkamp 1990: 103 – 106).

Odnose, najdene znotraj reprezentativnega družbenega sistema Tajvana, sem poskušala videti kot hierarhične odnose v Dumontovem smislu obseganja nasprotij, v katerem je celotni sistem sestavljen iz vsaj dveh ravni. Iz nižje, podrejene ravni, na kateri se nahaja istočasno nasprotujoči in dopolnjujoči se odnos dveh elementov do celote, ter hkrati iz višje, nadrejene ravni, katera zaobsega razmerje, ustvarjeno na nižji ravni. V primeru Tajvana torej kozmološka sfera kot superiorna in vseobsegajoča sfera s svojim obstojem obsega odnos, ki ga najdemo na nižji ravni, kjer se nahaja hkrati nasprotujoči in dopolnjujoči odnos med živimi (družbena) in mrtvimi (kozmoška sfera).¹⁶ Slednji, po eni strani, širijo svojo moč v usmerjanje in

¹⁶ Drugo, kar je izstopajoče pri Dumontovi hierarhiji (1980), je vloga enega izmed delov, ki igra dvojno vlogo: vlogo celote in hkrati vlogo dela, ki po svoji naravi nasprotuje drugemu delu. Kot nedeljiva celota se nahaja na nadrejeni ravni, kot del pa na podrejeni ravni. Drugi element pa je vedno samo del celote in nikoli celota sama. Kaj predstavlja celota, je odvisno od situacijskega konteksta družbene akcije. Celota vedno določa družbeno vrednoto razmerja, ki ga ima del do celote. Pri tem je potrebno poudariti, da na podrejenem nivoju lahko pride do tako imenovane inverzije ali zasuka, kjer kar je v splošno veljavnih okoliščinah zasedalo podrejeno mesto, sedaj prevzame mesto nadrejene vrednote. Moram poudariti, da se zasuk lahko zgodi zgolj na podrejeni ravni in nikoli v ideologiji sami, temveč zgolj v empiriji. Dumont v razumevanju ideologije družbe kot sistema idej in vrednot torej izpostavlja pomembno vlogo (1) odnosov delov do celote, (2) vrednot, ki evaluirajo odnose, (3) nivojskost ter (4) družbeni kontekst. Vsak družbeni odnos prežema določena družbena vrednota, katero določi celota sama. Katera je ta družbena vrednota, je moč izslediti s spremljanjem darov, ki se menjavajo znotraj določenih ritualnih praks in s tem določenih družbenih kontekstov. V različnih družbenih kontekstih nastopajo različne družbene vrednote! Dar nas ne zadovolji sam po sebi, oziroma njegova materialna narava. Zadovolji nas ravno vrednota, ki jo dar

nadzorovanje življenja živih, po drugi strani pa so v celoti odvisni od akcij živih, katere omogočajo integracijo mrtvih v družbeno-kozmoški sistem. V isti sapi morajo živi izpolnjevati obveznosti in odgovornosti do mrtvih zato, da omogočijo neprekinjen krogotok življenja, ali drugače, da so lahko obdarjeni s kozmološkima darovoma bogatih letin riža in zdravega potomstva. Iz tega vidika na Tajvanu čaščenje skupnih prednikov ne zagotavlja le miru in reda, temveč krepi in utrjuje skupno družbeno zavest.

Kozmološki začetek

Da bi razumeli tajvansko sedanost, pomen in namen družbenih institucij in praks, se moramo najprej posvetiti »resnicam« njihovih svetih knjig. Tako miti kot stari kitajski filozofi vsak na svoj način razkrivajo isto resnico. Oba vira pojasnjujeta Veliki Začetek, Kreacijo Nebes in Zemlje, Pojav Življenja. Pojasnita nastanek človeka ter vlogo in pomen družbenih praks. Oba vira razkrijeta tisto gonilno silo kitajsko/tajvanske realnosti, ki je predstavljena s prvotno Enostjo, iz katere je nastalo vseobsegajoče kozmološko razmerje Dvojega, kateri omogoča in prežema življenje samo. Kozmična Enost (Chan 1963; Fung 1952), ali velikan Pan Ku v mitskih zgodbah (Birrell 1993), predstavlja predpogoj kreacije življenja. Enost v sebi vključuje združena in nasprotujoča si principa – moški ali jang in ženski ali jin princip – iz katerih se rodi vse. Odnos, ki ga celota nadrejenega nivoja (nivo totalitete) zahteva od elementov podrejenega nivoja (nivo delitve) med seboj in do nje same, predstavlja vseobsegajoč in vedno prisoten kozmološki odnos – jin in jang odnos. Ta odnos ni potrebno iskati, da bi ga našli. Ta odnos Je. To je odnos med Nebom in Zemljo, to je odnos med možem in ženo, to je odnos med očetom in sinom, to je odnos med tujcem in domačinom, to je odnos med poročnima skupina, kjer ena ženo potrebuje, druga pa ženo da. Skozi ta odnos se pretaka vitalna esenca imenovana ch'i (kozmični dih), medtem ko preprosti kmetje govorijo o duši ali duhu, kateri oživlja tako človeka kot skalo, rastlino, žival, kot tudi medsebojne odnose. Ch'i se ne vidi, duh se ne vidi. Vidi pa se para, ki se

predstavlja. Zato je k vsakemu daru in k vsakemu družbenemu odnosu pripisana določena vrednota, ki v svojem kontekstu razodeva ustrezen družbeni pomen. Nadalje, družbene vrednote omogočajo predvidljivost družbenih akcij, saj definirajo družbeni kontekst, v katerem se vršijo določene družbene akcije. Družbene vrednote se kot produkt družbe skozi proces socializacije uspejo vcepiti v njene posameznike tako uspešno, da postanejo samoumevne, točneje, omogočajo razmišljanje in delovanje na družbeno določen način. To prepletenost in soodvisnost delov in celote, ter ideologijo družbe kot sistem idej in vrednot Dumont predstavi v svojem delu *Homo Hierarchicus* (1980, [1966]) London/Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

vali iz kuhanega riža; čuti se sapa, ko se izgovori posameznikovo ime. (Waley 1968, [1934]: 28). Brez kozmičnega diha ali duha ni življenja. Gospodar te kozmične esence pa je Eno (po filozofskih viri) ali najvišji Bog (v mitskih zgodbah) (prim. dalje Chan 1963; Birrell 1993; Fung 1952; Granet 1975, [1922]; Sangren 1987; Schipper 1993, [1982]; Waley 1968, [1934]).

Pripisovanje jin-jang odnosu zgolj idejo odnosa binarne opozicije je napačno. Njuna polarnost nižjega nivoja, videna kot ženski in moški princip, luna in sonce, zemlja in nebo, smrt in življenje, so zgolj drugačen vidik istega sistema, ene in iste celote, ki se reflektira na višjem nivoju in katera zaobsega njuno binarno delitev. Umanjkanje tako enega ali drugega elementa bi povzročilo učinek izbrisa celote same (prim. dalje Sangren 1987). Zato moramo Lévi-Straussovo pozornost iz podrejenega nivoja binarnih opozicij razširiti na pozornost vseh nivojev kot celote. Omenila sem, da pri Dumontovi hierarhiji eden izmed elementov že predstavlja celoto, medtem ko drugi zgolj iz nje izhaja, oziroma umesti tisti element, ki je celota sama ter kot tak na nižjem nivoju (kar je tudi edini nivo, na katerem se ta element lahko pojavi) nasprotuje in hkrati dopolnjuje in tako pravzaprav omogoča obstoj celote. Celota brez tega elementa nima vrednosti, tako kot element brez celote ne. Med njima vlada odnos rivalstva in prevlade, a zmagati ne more zgolj eden, vedno sta dva, kar izhaja že iz njune narave – seme jina leži v jangu, tako kot seme janga leži v jinu. Ali drugače: v življenju se skriva smrt, tako kot se v smrti skriva življenje. Brez življenja ni smrti in brez smrti ni življenja. Ni potomcev brez prednikov, kot ni prednikov brez potomcev. Ta družbeno-kozmoški odnos, v katerem se družbi pripiše vrednoto jina in kozmoški sferi vrednoto janga¹⁷, prežema celotno kitajsko / tajvansko ideologijo (glej Chan 1963; Fung 1952; Granet 1975, [1922]; Sangren 1987; Schipper 1993, [1982]; Waley 1968, [1934]). V delu ugotavljam, da sta jin in jang pravzaprav dve nasprotujoči si ideji, katerima so pripisane določene družbene vrednote: jangu je pripisana družbena vrednota časti (v smislu ugleda, slave, dobrega imena) ter jinu družbena vrednota rodovitnosti (v smislu razmnoževanja, obilja, plodnosti)¹⁸. Pravzaprav ta vseobsežni družbeno-kozmoški odnos vlada tako kozmosu kot družbi in omogoča interakcijo med njima. Jin in jang sta življenjska principa (družbeni vrednoti) ter hkrati gradnika družbeno-kozmoškega reda. Na mestu je, da zopet izpostavim, da

¹⁷ To je že odnos, ki ga najdemo znotraj podrejenega nivoja. Prvi nivo, ki zaobsega delitev omenjenega nivoja, predstavlja kozmoška sfera (jang), iz katere je nastalo vse ostalo.

¹⁸ V nadaljevanju jang vrednoto opredeljujem s pojmom 'čast in ugled', jin vrednoto pa s pojmom 'rodovitnost in življenje'.

mora biti vrednota janga kot vrednota 'ugleda in časti' videna kot aktiven odnos med nasprotujočima in hkrati dopolnjujočima se jin in jang vrednotama. V družbeni mreži so odnosi pravzaprav opredeljeni z akcijami, ki temeljijo na, oziroma so vzpodbujeni z družbenimi vrednotami, ki ustvarjajo red. Akcije se izražajo skozi ritualne prakse porok, rojstev in smrti, kjer znotraj simbolnih menjav sledimo gibanju posebnih darov. Ravno te simbolne menjave predstavljajo most med družbeno in kozmološko sfero, preko katerega se vzpostavlja družbeno-kozmološki red.

Struktura kozmološke ravni

Tajvanska predstava o strukturi kozmološke ravni je tridelna. Kozmološko raven sestavljajo nebesa/nebo, zemlja in vodno podzemlje.

Podzemlju vladajo uradniki, ki skrbijo za poravnavo vseh dolgov in prekrškov, ki jih je človek zagrešil v svojem življenju. Tu se sodi duši umrlega. Za njeno čistost, torej za odpis dolgov, so potrebne številne daritve predstojnim uradnikom podzemlja (Ahern 1973: 232-237). Omeniti moram izdelan model, ki nakazuje odvisnost in podrejenost življenja kozmološki domeni. Med ljudmi vlada prepričanje, da ima v podzemlju vsak človek svoje drevo in hišo, katera postavljena eden nad drugega (hiša nad drevesom), odslikavata človeško telo kot celoto in sta tako predmet šamanove manipulacije v primeru posameznikove bolezni. Korenine drevesa predstavljajo posameznikove noge, krošnja pa njegove razmnoževalne funkcije. Cvetovi na ženskem drevesu predstavljajo že rojene otroke, medtem ko popki napovedujejo še nerojene otroke. Hiša predstavlja zgornji del telesa: vodnjak odraža stanje srca in jeter, tla urinarni sistem itd. (ibid.: 237-238). Odnos med svetom živih in podzemljem ne odraža zgolj simetrije med njima, temveč podrejenost sveta živih, saj stanje 'drevesa' in 'hiše' odraža zdravstveno stanje telesa, in ne obratno. Bolezen se odpravi s preverbo stanja ustreznega dela posameznikovega 'drevesa' ali 'hiše'. Ali drugače, v kontekstu bolezni podzemlje kot celota zaobsega nasprotno-dopolnjujoč odnos podzemlja in sveta živih.

Nebesa so predstavljena s tri-nivojsko strukturo in odražajo strukturo družbenega birokratičnega reda. Tako najvišja raven preštevilne hierarhije bogov ustreza ravni vladarja, druga raven, kjer domujejo duše prednikov, predstavlja družbeno skupino rodu in družine, tretja raven zločestih duhov pa ustreza skupini tujcev in beračev (Wolf A. 1974: 175). Bogovi kot kreatorji in lastniki življenja so predstavljeni s skupnim imenom *Sin*. Njihova moč kaznovanja,

zdravljenja, spremljanja mrtvih duš skozi podzemlje ter posredovanja tako v naravnih kot družbenih procesih (ibid.: 144) izraža nadrejen položaj kozmološke ravni v odnosu do družbene ravni. Ravno tako *Sin* se imenuje tudi posmrtna skupina prednikov, ki s svojo duhovno prisotnostjo izvajajo kontrolo in avtoriteto nad svojimi potomci. Kako bi jo ne, saj jim potomci dolgujejo nenehno čast in slavo za podarjeno lastnino, zemljo, družinsko (predniško) ime in ne nazadnje za dar življenja samega (ibid.: 198). Hudobni duhovi predstavljajo duše tistih, ki so umrli nenaravne smrti ter tistih, ki za seboj niso uspeli pustiti potomstva, kateri bi jim izkazoval posmrtno čast ter tako skrbel za odplačilo njihovih duš. Ti mrtvi so izstopili iz normalnega kroga življenja in smrti, v katerega se njihove duše ne morejo več vrniti. Tako blodijo naokoli, povzročajo nesreče, bolezni ter celo smrt. Pod skupnim imenom se imenujejo *Kuei* (Harrell v Wolf A. 1974: 193 - 194).

Družbena urejenost življenja rodu

Na Tajvanu pozornost tuzemeljskega življenja ni usmerjena na življenje in preživetje posameznika, temveč večje družbene skupine – to je rodu. Rod je izrazito patriarhalen, kar se izraža v štetju sorodstva zgolj po moški strani, v dedovanju nepremičnin, ki poteka zgolj po moški strani, torej od očeta na sinove, kot tudi odgovornosti in avtoritete, katero nasledi zgolj najstarejši sin. Hčere ne dedujejo, vsaj ne v omenjenem smislu. Patrilinijske rodove označuje tudi virilokalnost, oziroma vselitev novo-poročenega para na ozemlje moževega očeta. Posamezne rodove tako predstavljajo različne veje sinov in bratov, potomcev istega prednika, njihovih žena in neporočenih hčera in sester, katere se poročijo v nek drug rod in tako postanejo članice moževih rodov (Ahern 1975: 75-89).

Pripadnike istega rodu povezuje med seboj isti priimek in skupna zemlja prednikov. S tem si delijo skupno esenco ali že prej omenjeni *ch'i*, zato zemlja prednikov ni predmet prodaje. Njena prodaja bi pomenila prodajo prednikov, torej katastrofo. Rodovniško ime in skupna zemlja prednikov predstavljata prestiž, ugled in bogastvo rodu, kateri po eni strani povezujejo člane rodu, po drugi strani pa jih ločijo od ostalih rodov. V odnose postavljata tako živeče člane rodu kot tudi njihove prednike. Navzven predstavljata rod kot zaključeno gospodarsko, politično in ritualno celoto. Znotraj rodu poteka delitev posameznikov na generacije ter starostno razvrščanje posameznikov znotraj posamezne generacije. Na čelu omenjenega dvojnega principa razvrščanja posameznikov bedi še živeči najstarejši predstavnik najstarejše generacije, kateri nosi naziv 'Starosta' (Ahern 1973: 75-89; Granet 1975 [1922]: 39, 51, 58-59).

Poroke znotraj posameznega rodu niso dovoljenje. Zato vsaka patriarharna družina, kakor seveda tudi celotni rod, v odnosu do drugih rodov vedno nastopa ali v vlogi 'ženo-dajalca' ali tistega, ki žensko prispeva oziroma daje v možitev, in v vlogi 'ženo-jemalca' ali tistega, ki žensko potrebuje, oziroma omoži (Ahern 1974).

Na skupnem ozemlju lahko živi do štiri patrialnih vej enega rodu, katere si delijo en skupni prostor, ki ga imenujejo soba prednikov. Ta soba predstavlja izvor, ugled, bogastvo, čast, sedež in duha rodu, zato ne glede na številne generacijske delitve in teritorialno razpredanje posameznega rodu soba prednikov ostaja zgolj samo ena (Sung-Hsing in Wolf A. 1974: 185). Torej, sobi prednikov je pripisana vrednota jang, torej vrednota 'ugleda in časti'. V njej se vršijo čaščenja in vse potrebne daritve tako med živimi kot med živimi in mrtvimi. Slednji so predstavljeni s tako imenovanimi tablicami prednikov. Vsak prednik ima svojo leseno tablico, na kateri je izpisano prednikovo ime. Na njej je označena rdeča pika, ki označuje 'aktivirano' stanje tablice, saj ima duh prednika v njej svoj sedež (Schipper 1993 [1982]: 37). A predniške tablice ne dobi kdorkoli; zgolj tisti, ki so prispevali k povečanju bogastva, ugleda in časti rodu, torej rodovnemu imenu, v smislu številnih moških potomcev ali v materialnem doprinosu (Ahern 1973: 126). Moški je rojen v družino, katere član ostane skozi celo življenje in tudi po njem, kot čaščen prednik. Skozi celo življenje moški s svojimi dejanji skrbi za povečanje ugleda svojega imena in posledično imena svojega rodu. Največja sramota, ki lahko doleti moškega je, da ostane brez sinov, kateri bi nadaljevali in skrbeli za ugled in čast rodu, torej za njegovo ime (esenco), kot tudi za čaščenje prednikov, ki je izključno v rokah moških (Ahern 1973: 127). Mesto ženske v družini svojega očeta je začasne narave. Od njenega rojstva dalje je vzgajana v duhu in pričakovanju, da bo zapustila rojstno družino in se poročila v možev rod (Ahern 1973: 128; Wolf M. 1979: 32). Do poroke hčerka predstavlja tujca in breme za svojega očeta, na drugi strani, pa za družino, v katero se bo poročila, predstavlja dragocen zaklad (Watson 1989, [1982]: 176). Kako le ne, saj bo 'ženo-jemalčevemu' rodu omogočila nadaljevanje rodu ter čaščenja prednikov, očetu pa zgolj skrb in stroške njene vzgoje. Ženska si tako s poroko, s prevzemom moževega priimka ter rojstvom sinov zagotovi sprejetje v nov, a njej edini rod, kar se potrdi šele z izdelavo predniške tablice (Watson 1989 [1982]: 179), s katero deli mesto z ostalimi moževimi predniki v sobi 'ugleda in časti'.

Družbeno-komološki gradniki

Predno predstavim, kdo pravzaprav je tajvanski človek oziroma kako je razumljen in kaj

ga opredeljuje, moram izpostaviti osnovno naravnost tajvanske ideologije. Tajvanci ne doživljajo sveta kot enkratno kreacijo, torej kot sveta, ustvarjenega enkrat za vselej. Bolj kot cilj jim je pomembna pot, katero opredeljujejo številne transformacije tako snovnega kot nesnovnega sveta, katere so razumljene, da potekajo tako v družbeni kot v kozmološki sferi.

Osnovni gradniki ne samo človeka temveč tudi živali, rastlin, torej narave in samega kozmosa, so 'duh', 'telo' in 'predniško ime'. Poudarjam, to niso biološki, temveč družbeno-kozmološki gradniki. Šele s pridobitvijo vseh teh gradnikov človek postane del družbeno-kozmološkega reda, saj njihovo pridobivanje ni predmet biološke, temveč družbene potrebe.

Človeško bitje kot celoto tajvanci opredeljujejo najprej kot spiritualno bitje, ki se sestoji tako iz materialnih kot nematerialnih elementov, kateri so združeni med seboj pod okriljem družbeno-kozmološkega, jin-jang odnosa. Kot materialna celota je 'telo' v odnosu do nematerialnega gradnika opredeljeno z jin, z družbeno vrednoto 'rodovitnosti in življenja'. Glavna gradnika 'telesa' sta '*kosti*' (jang) ter '*meso*' (jin). S pripisanima družbenima vrednotama predstavljata predmet simbolnih menjav. 'Telo' kot produkt zemlje (jin) se po smrti tudi vrne vanjo. Otrok dobi '*kosti*' po očetovi strani, torej po strani svojih prednikov, in po smrti so tudi edini materialni element, ki se ohrani (Levi-Strauss 1969 [1949]: 393). Tako '*kosti*' opredeljuje družbena vrednota 'ugleda in časti'. Je tisti element, ki ga opredeljuje trajnost. Na drugi strani otrok dobi '*meso*' po materini strani, torej po strani priženjenih sorodnikov (ibid.). Ker je 'telo' minljivo in produkt zemlje, se po smrti tako 'telo' kot '*meso*' razkrojita nazaj v zemljo (Wong 1995: 34). '*Meso*' kot minljivemu elementu je pripisana družbena vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja'. 'Telo' služi kot mesto, kamor se lahko spusti 'duh', kateri ne umre s smrtjo posameznika. 'Duh' s transformacijo v čistega duha prednikov (*Sin*) preživi smrt 'telesa'. Vidimo torej, da sta tudi 'telo' in 'duh' povezana z vseobsegajočim družbeno-kozmičnim odnosom, v katerem 'duh' (človek kot duhovno bitje) kot celota jang zaobsega materialno-duhovno nasprotje.

Nematerialni, duhovni gradnik kot dar Nebeškega Očeta, Enosti ali vrhovnega Boga je ravno tako sestavljen iz jin-jang odnosa, torej iz dveh nasprotujoče si povezanih delov. Iz dela, ki se imenuje *hun*, ter iz dela, ki se imenuje *p'o*. Duh kot jang vseobsežna celota človeka tako zaobsega nasprotje med *hunom* (jang), ki je izražen v človeškem glasu, sapi in posameznikovi vitalnosti, in *p'ojem* (jin), ki se odraža v gibanju in bioloških funkcijah telesa (prim. Granet 1975 [1922]: 81-82; Shipper, 1993 [1982]: 36; Yu, 1987: 371). Ta delitev duha ni predmet razgovora v času človekovega življenja. Njena pomembnost se izpostavi po smrti, ko se *p'o* skupaj s telesom vrne v zemljo, *hun* pa se preko transformacij povzdigne v *Sin* – kategorijo prednikov in bogov.

Tretji gradnik posameznika je 'predniško ime', za katerega sem mnenja, da je v tesni povezavi s *hun*-om, ki se zrcali v dihu¹⁹. Tudi 'predniško ime' je vezano na številne transformacije, ki označujejo posameznikovo družbeno zorenje in rast, saj ob določenih družbenih dosežkih posameznik zamenja 'ime', doživi ponovno družbeno rojstvo, po drugi strani pa to vodi h krepitvi 'predniškega imena' in posameznikovega 'duha' ter s tem jang esence rodu. Posameznikovo celotno ime (ime in priimek) je tri-delno. Kot je bilo že omenjeno, so vsi krvni sorodniki med seboj povezani z delitvijo skupnega rodovnega priimka. Posameznikovo osebno ime pa je sestavljeno iz generacijskega imena, ki si ga delijo predstavniki posamezne generacije, ter iz imena, ki je zgolj last samega posameznika. Običajno je to lastno ime ime pokojnega prednika (prim. dalje Aijmer 1984: 16). V odnosu do drugih rodov nastopa rod kot zaokrožena celota, prežeta s skupinskim duhom ali esenco, katera jih preveva skozi prostor in čas od prvotnega prednika dalje. Lastniki imena kot jang esence so torej predniki.

Človek postane del družbeno-kozmolóškega reda preko simbolnih menjav, katere so predmet ritualnih praks znotraj obredov povezanih s poroko, rojstvom, iniciacijami, festivali in smrtjo. Znotraj ritualov se vzpostavljajo družbeno-kozmolóški odnosi med živimi, kot tudi med živimi in mrtvimi. Slednji nastopajo kot lastniki družbeno-kozmolóških gradnikov, in vzpostavitev odnosov z njimi omogoči posameznikom, družinam in rodovom njihovo družbeno celoto. Duh je dar nebes, telo je dar zemlje. Ob smrti se vsak povrne v svoj izvor. Duh kot čist in lahek se dvigne v nebo, od koder se bo zopet spustil v novo telo. Blatno in težko telo se razkroji v zemljo, iz katere bo zopet darovano novo telo. Smrt tako ne označuje konca, raje vrnitev k izvoru. Darovi nebes in zemlje so torej na uporabo, a ljudje vedo, da jih ne morejo imeti za svoje. Kdo bi to lepše povedal kot starodavni modrec Lieh-tzu, ko pravi:

»Tvoje telo ne pripada tebi; njegova oblika ti je bila sposojena od nebes in zemlje. Tvoje življenje ne pripada tebi; v bivanje je prišlo zaradi interakcije energij nebes in zemlje. Tvoj um in tvoj duh ne pripadata tvojemu nadzoru; sledita naravne poti nebes in zemlje. Tvoji otroci in vnuki niso tvoja lastnina; so tenka plast tvoje

¹⁹ Možno povezavo med osebnim imenom in duhom (s *hunom*) je možno zaznati tudi iz starodavnega rituala, ko so sorodniki v trenutku posameznikove smrti, mahajoč po zraku s kosem oblačila umrlega iz čim višjega mesta (strehe ali drevesne krošnje), klicali njegovo ime in tako poskušali privabiti pobeglega duha nazaj v še toplo telo (Yu, 1987).

kože, ker ti je ustvarjanje bilo dopuščeno zgolj s strani nebes in zemlje.« (Wong 1995, 24).

Potomci obdelujejo zemljo rodu, a je ne posedujejo. Za svoj obstoj potrebujejo 'duha', 'telo' in 'ime', a jih ne posedujejo. Največja mora Tajvanca je, da ne bi bil pokopan v domači zemlji, saj njegovo telo, njegovo '*meso*' in '*kosti*', pripadajo zemlji njegovih prednikov (Ahern 1973: 123; Granet 1975 [1922]: 152). Iz kateregakoli zornega kota pogledamo na tajvansko realnost, vsepovsod se nam potrdi dejstvo podrejenosti družbene kozmološki sferi. Premostljivo pot med njima predstavljajo prepleten sistem izmenjave darov, s pomočjo katerega se ustvarijo odnosi, katerim so pripisane družbeni vrednoti 'ugleda in časti' ter 'rodovitnosti in življenja'. Ti odnosi omogočajo družbeno življenje. Darove mrtvim prednikom in bogovom ne smemo gledati kot plačila ali celo kot podkupnine za potrebno posredovanje, temveč kot sprožilo vzpostavitve odnosa. Vloga menjave darov se močno razlikuje od 'daj – dam' sistema. Razlika leži tako v namenu, kot v učinku. Vsaka simbolna menjava tako rekoč izzove vitalno moč ali *ch'i* k njeni aktivaciji, ki se posledično izrazi tako v kalitvi riževega semena kot v močnih in zdravih potomcih. Lahko trdim, da je tajvansko družbeno bitje rezultat številnih odnosov, katere mora vzpostaviti skozi procese simbolnih menjav. Predmetom menjav (ali darovom) je predpisana posebna družbena vrednota, katero predstavljajo ravno zgoraj omenjeni gradniki. Osrednjo vlogo menjav tako predstavlja ravno neprekinjeno kroženje družbeno-kozmoloških gradnikov, ki so zastopani v točno določenih darovih, kar omogoči ne zgolj družbeno ustrojenost posameznika, temveč tudi zagotovilo družbi kot celoti njeno večno eksistenco.

Prepletenost tajvanskega življenja z dvema družbenima vrednostama se odraža na vsakem koraku. 'Telesu' kot družbeno-kozmološkemu gradniku je pripisana družbena vrednost 'rodovitnosti in življenju', medtem ko je 'predniškemu imenu' in 'duhu' predpisana družbena vrednost 'ugleda in časti'. Ravno tako sta vsaki družini patriarhalnega rodu ter rodu kot celoti pripisani obe družbeni vrednoti. Od družbenega konteksta pa je odvisno, katera družbena vrednota družine bo igrala *aktivno* vlogo. V primeru poroke, bo za družino, ki hčerko daje, to družbena vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja', medtem ko bo njena družbena vrednota 'ugleda in časti' v *latentnem* stanju. Ravno nasprotno je za družino, ki nastopa v svoji vlogi 'ženo-jemalcev', *aktivna* vrednota 'ugleda in časti', medtem ko njihova vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja' ni izpostavljena v družbenem kontekstu poroke. Darovom so ravno tako predpisane iste družbene vrednote. Poglejmo sedaj, kakšne so te simbolne menjave, kaj je predmet menjav in kakšen družbeni pomen je pripisan tem ritualnim dejanjem.

Poročna združitev sorodnikov 'kosti' in 'mesa'

Za kakršen koli poskus zaročno-poročne združitve mladega dekleta in fanta morata obe družini, kot prvo, pridobiti nedvomno strinjanje ali nestrinjanje svojih skupin prednikov. V ta namen si družini izmenjata rdeči vizitki, na katerih so napisani ime in rojstni podatki dekleta ter, na drugi, fanta. Vsaka družina izpostavi vizitko na oltar v sobi prednikov (Wolf M. 1979: 117). Na strani skupine 'ženo-jemalcev' darovi denarja, nakita, hrane (meso in vino) ter živega prašiča predstavljajo osnovna darila simbolnih menjav znotraj ritualov, povezanih z zaroko in kasneje s poroko (Ahern 1974: 282). Skupini 'ženo-jemalcev' kot skupini tujcev je priznana vrednota 'ugleda in časti' (vemo da gre za nadrejeno družbeno vrednoto – jang vrednoto). Le-ta mora svoj 'ugled in čast' podrediti skupini 'ženo-dajalcev' in njihovi vrednoti 'rodovitnosti in življenja' ter njihovemu 'predniškemu imenu'. Torej v menjavo vstopata dve različni celoti, predstavljeni z 'ugledom' in 'rodovitnostjo'. Darovi 'ženo-jemalcev' so darovi tujega izvora. Tujina predstavlja bogastvo, ugled in čast. Njihov denar in zlato, v obliki nakita, so rezultat trgovanja s tujino, kot na primer prekomorski zaslužek s prodajo rib, zato so tudi darovi predstavljeni z vrednoto 'ugleda in časti'. Po drugi strani so darovi skupine 'ženo-dajalcev' domačega izvora, so produkt domače zemlje, zato so riž, svila ter kuhana hrana predstavljeni z vrednoto 'rodovitnosti in življenja', ali z jin vrednoto. Ti dve vrednoti predstavjata tisti presežek, skrit v daru, ki ga obdarovani nujno potrebuje. Za svoj 'ugled in čast' skupina 'ženo-jemalcev' potrebuje novo življenje, ki ga uteleša nevesta. Zaradi tega darovani dar v obliki denarja pravzaprav simbolizira uklonitev 'ženo-jemalčevega' 'predniškega imena' ter 'ugleda in časti' 'predniškemu imenu' skupine 'ženo-dajalcev'. Denarno vsoto daru določi skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' in ustreza njhovima vrednotama 'ugleda in časti' ter 'predniškemu imenu'. Sprejetje tega daru vzpostavi odnos med skupinama, ki sta tako dvignili nivo dosedanjega odnosa 'tujca' na nivo 'sorodstva'. Poleg potrebne podreditve z denarnim darom si skupina ženo-jemalcev prisvoji potrebno 'rodovitnost in življenje', katera uteleša nevesta, saj le-ta ne pripada rodu nevestinega očeta. Nevesta predstavlja tisti dolg, ki ga skupina 'ženo-jemalcev' ne more nikoli izplačati v celoti (Ahern 1974: 281). Nadalje ugotavljam, da zlati nakit simbolno uteleša predniško skupino 'ženo-jemalcev', katera pride po nevesto in jo z njenim dovoljenjem (z njenim sprejetjem daru) pravzaprav pripelje v svoj rod in se hkrati vrne nazaj v rod z nevestinim prihodom. Z nevestino privolitvijo v zaužitje 'ženo-jemalčevega daritvenega mesa (svinjine) in njeno upiranje

materinim poskusom hranjenja hčerke z mesom pri poslovilnem obedu z očetovo družino (Fried in Fried 1981: 127), nevesta izraža svojo novo pripadnost moževi družini, pravzaprav moževemu rodu, ter slovo od očetovega rodu, kateremu ni nikoli v resnici pripadala. Glede na Thompsonove navedbe, da je svinjina predstavljena kot meso, ki krepi (Thompson S. 1990: 98), domnevam, da 'ženo-jemalčev' dar svinjine skriva v sebi simbolno moč njihovih prednikov, katerih krepčilo nevesta z zaužitjem sprejme v sebe. 'Ženo-jemalčev' dar živega prašiča (tretiran kot jang) v družbenem kontekstu poroke stopi v medsebojni odnos z 'ženo-dajalčevim' darom riža (tretiran kot jin). Življenje, ki bo s poroko odvzeto skupini 'ženo-dajalcev', in s tem gradnika 'telesa', brez katerega ne samo posameznik, temveč tudi skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' in njen rod ne mora obstajati kot celota, je nadomeščeno s tem 'ženo-jemalčevim' darom. To si upam trditi ravno zaradi verujočega mikro-makro kozmičnega principa, s katerim se celoten kozmos odslikava tudi v posameznem telesu tako človeka, živali ter ostale narave, torej tudi skale. Tako kot bogovi živijo in domujejo v (makro) kozmosu, tako so tudi posamezni notranji organi telesa (kot mikro kozmosa) zatočišča točno določenim bogovom (Chan 1963). Torej, z nevestinim odhodom skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' utрпи odhod določenega števila bogov ter ji tako grozi nevarnost izgube svoje celostnosti. 'Ženo-jemalčev' dar prepreči to katastrofo ter ohrani njeno družbeno-kozmološko celostnost.

Na drugi strani darovi skupine 'ženo-dajalcev' predstavljajo nevestino doto, bogato s pohištvom, svilo, oblekami, ter novodobnimi tehničnimi aparati, dar kuhanega riža v obliki slaščic ter poseben dar pečene prašičje glave in prašičjega repa (Thompson S. 1990: 101; Watson 1989 [1982]: 177; Wolf M. 1979: 124). V tajvanskem vsakdanu se družina zbere okoli dnevnega obeda, ki ga kot glavno jed predstavlja riž. Riž je hrana, katero si delijo predstavniki družine, katere povezuje isto predniško ime. Z njo ne hranijo tujcev, temveč med seboj izražajo in krepijo krvno-sorodniško vez. Kot produkt predniške zemlje je riž predmet potomčevega darovanja svojim prednikom. (Wolf A. 1974: 176). Ob kuhanju riža se sprošča para ali ch'i, pravzaprav rižev *hun*²⁰, ki se kot dar vije in vrne k prednikom v kozmološko raven. Poroka pa predstavlja

²⁰ Tajvancem riž predstavlja živo entiteto, ki jo oživljata *hun* in *p'o*, skozi katera je moč vzpostaviti odnos med predniki in njihovimi potomci. Riž je pravzaprav dar prednikov in predstavlja 'rodovitnost in življenje' rodovne skupine. Predstavlja kroženje družbeno-kozmičnih elementov *hun-a* in *p'o-ja*, med predniki in njihovimi potomci ter tako omogoča vrtenje neprekinjenega kroga nesmrtnosti. Tako zemlja kot riž nista predmeta prodaje ravno zaradi esence vsebovanega duha. Le potomec ima pravico do konzumacije riža in s tem do duha. Ob žetvi se rižev *p'o* vrne

tisto izjemno situacijo, ko se mora skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' odreči svojemu rižu ravno zaradi daru življenja, saj v nasprotnem primeru otroci ne bodo mogli utelesiti duha. S tem darom se med poročnima skupinama in njunimi skupini prednikov tako ustvari tisti odnos, ki predstavlja življenjsko, a ne trajno, vez. Nevesta, ki uteleša novo potrebno življenje, ravno tako nastopa kot objekt simbolne menjave. Pravzaprav je nevesta tisti dar, ki preoblikuje (transformira) tujčevski odnos med skupinama. Skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' in njihovi predniki so darovalci 'telesa', pravzaprav 'mesa', in življenja, skritega v njem. Darilo nevestine dote me napeljuje k prepričanju, da ne nastopa zgolj kot dar, temveč kot simbol, skrit v ozadju, ki kljub nevestinem odhodu iz očetovega rodu, odraža nadaljnjo 'ženo-dajalčevo' skrb za novo poročeni par. Po eni strani gre za neposredno darilo očeta hčerki, po drugi strani pa z razkazovanjem 'dotine povorke' vaški skupnosti (Wolf M. 1979: 124) odraža in prispeva h krepitvi 'predniškega imena' ter 'ugleda in časti' skupine 'ženo-dajalcev'.

Poroka predstavlja tisti družbeni kontekst situacije, ki je ovrednoten z družbeno vrednoto 'rodovitnosti in življenja' kot nadvladujoče, v katerem torej pride do zasuka med vrednotama družbeno-kozmološkega razmerja²¹. Skupina 'ženo-dajalcev', ki nastopa ne le kot skupina dajalcev žena, temveč kot skupina dajalcev življenja, ki ga uteleša nevesta, nastopa v nadrejenem položaju do skupine 'ženo-jemalcev', kateri so s poroko prišli ravno po to življenje. Podrejeni položaj slednjih se kaže v podreditvi njihove družbene vrednote 'ugleda in časti' z darili, ki so pravzaprav darovi njihovega 'ugleda in časti' kot tudi njihove skupine prednikov – torej darovi, ki jih označuje nadrejena jang vrednota. Le tako se lahko med skupinama vzpostavijo družbeno-kozmološki odnosi, katerim je priznana družbena vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja'. Ta odnos omogoči združitev očetovih sorodnikov (imenovanih tudi sorodnikov 'kosti') in materinih sorodnikov (imenovanih tudi sorodniki 'mesa') (Lévi-Strauss 1969 [1949]: 393) ter omogoči, da skupina 'ženo-jemalcev' prednikov preko skupine 'ženo-dajalcev' svojim potomcem podari novo življenje. S tem se izpostavi 'ženo-dajalčevo' vloga sprožiteljv vitalne esence, ki bo dejansko omogočila formacijo kosti in mesa novega življenja, s pomočjo katerega bo skupina 'ženo-jemalcev' doživela svoj preporod. Z združitvijo skupine 'kosti' in skupine 'mesa' se bo

nazaj v (predniško) zemljo in tako ohranja njeno rodovitnost za prihodnjo setev. In ravno v tem se zrcali riž kot predniški dar (prim. dalje Aijmer 1964; Granet 1964 [1958]).

²¹ Z Dumontovo teorijo je že bilo omenjeno, da do zasuka pomembnosti družbenih vrednot lahko pride le na podrejeni ravni družbene strukture. Poroka je torej ena od tistih družbenih kontekstov, najdenih na inferirornih družbenih ravneh.

predniška esenca skupine 'ženo-jemalcev' lahko povrnila v tu zemeljski obstoj. Na tem mestu želim poudariti družbeno-kozmolško cikličnost, katera preveva tajvansko ideologijo. Brez sprejetja neveste to ne bi bilo možno. Nevesta ne gre sama; odda jo njen brat. Skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' je tako predstavljena kot posredovalni člen med potomci in predniki skupine 'ženo-jemalcev'. Zaradi pravila eksogamije je vsak patrilinejski rod zavarovan pred nepredstavljivo škodo, do katere bi prišlo, če bi bili dajalci 'mesa' in 'kosti' pripadniki istega 'predniškega imena'.

Sprejetje novega življenja v tajvansko družbeno-kozmolški realnosti – družbeno rojstvo

A poroka in z njo vzpostavljeni odnosi med 'ženo-dajalci' in 'ženo-jemalci' ne zadostijo oznake družbene popolnosti²² novo rojenega posameznika z vidika družbeno-kozmolških gradnikov in njegovega sprejetja s strani vaše skupnosti. To je funkcija ritualov, povezanih z rojstvom otroka. Samo rojstvo tega ne zagotavlja. Tako kot poroka tudi nosečnost in rojstvo otroka predstavljata tisti družbeni kontekst, kjer pride do zasuka družbenih vrednot, torej, kjer je jin kot vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja' prepoznana za nadrejeno vrednoto v odnosu do jang vrednote 'ugleda in časti'. To je razvidno iz cele verige prepovedi, ki veljajo v hiši 'ženo-jemalcev' tako v času nosečnosti kot samega rojstva. Prepovedi ne dovoljujejo vsemu, čemur je pripisana vrednota jang-a, da se približa ali pride v stik z vsem tistim, čemur je pripisana vrednota jin-a. Otrok se rodi v-(jin) hiši svojega očeta, v temnem-(jin) kotu ženske-(jin) sobe, v okolico katere nimajo dovoljenja vstopiti niti biti prisotni ne ostri-(jang) predmeti ne moški-(jang) (Fried in Fried 1981: 52; Wolf M. 1979: 53). Ob rojstvu otroka skupina 'ženo-jemalcev' pošlje dar v obliki kuhanega riža, piščančjega mesa in vina, skupini 'ženo-dajalcev', ki dar izpostavi pred oltarjem svojih prednikov (Wolf M. 1979: 55). S tem darom 'ženo-jemalci' (jang) izrazijo svojo vsiljeno ponižnost. Na drugi strani, s strani 'ženo-dajalcev' prispe dar, ki predstavlja prvi obrok hrane za novo mater (Fried in Fried 1981: 52). S tem dejanjem 'ženo-dajalci' izpostavijo svojo še vedno nadrejeno vlogo, ki jo dodatno okrepi dar materinega brata novemu otroku. Z darom otrok prejme svoje prve obleke, nakit in posebno naramnico, s katero ga bo mama nosila na svojem hrbtu (Ahern 1974: 289). Ta skrb materinih sorodnikov me

²² Natančneje, družbene popolnosti ni mogoče doseči za čas posameznikovega življenja. Poudariti moram, da popolnost tudi ni cilj, ki bi si ga posameznik prizadeval pridobiti. Pomembne so transformacije, katere pa v končni fazi pripeljejo do zadnje stopnje, ko je posameznik (sedaj mrtvec) povzdignjen v kategorijo 'nesmrtnih' prednikov.

napeljuje na trditev, da so 'ženo-dajalci' ne samo darovalci 'življenja', temveč da si lastijo tudi duhovno avtoriteto nad novorojenim otrokom, ki traja vse do dečkove iniciacije²³. Otrok in materin brat pravzaprav izvirata, da se tako izrazim, iz iste skupine 'mesa', kar se verjetno izraža tudi v kasnejši izpostavljeni vlogi materinega brata²⁴ v odnosu do sestrih otrok. Na darilo hrane (kuhan riž, svinjina in vino) otrokovega očeta ženinemu bratu lahko gledam kot otrokovo simbolno darilo materinemu bratu. Da gre za darilo materinemu bratu implicira darilo svinjine, za katero sem že omenila, da je sestavina, ki krepi, z razliko od daru piščanca (dar 'ženo-dajalcev'), ki implicira šibkejšo moč, saj je tudi duh novorojenega otroka še šibak. Otrok se namreč rodi zgolj s tistim delom, ki je vezan na telo – torej s *p'o*-jem.

Superironi del duha, *hun*, se razodene v prvem joku (v dihu) ter v imenu, ki mu ga kot dar podeli oče. Šele s podelitvijo imena (mesec dni po rojstvu) otrok vzpostavi odnos s svojim očetom in njegovimi predniki (Granet 1964 [1958]: 323-324). Z imenovanjem se tako otrok identificira z očetovo skupino živih in mrtvih sorodnikov. Ta stik ni neposreden, oče nastopa kot glavni mediator. Prvi odnos s predniki omogoči otroku vse nadaljnje odnose, katere bo moral navezovati z drugimi skupinami kot družbeno priznani član svojega rodu. Brez podelitve 'predniškega imena' in svojega mesta v matrici družbeno-kozmoloških odnosov bi otrok ostal neprepoznan, brez kakršnih koli pravic in dolžnosti do očetovega nasledstva. Še huje, pripadal ne bi nobeni družbeni skupini in ostal bi brez prednikov. Kot takšnemu bi mu lahko grozila usoda zlih duhov, le da bi se mu godilo še slabše – bil bi živ! Tako vzpostavljen odnos otroka preskrbi z 'ugledom in častjo'. Skozi svoje življenje posameznik krepi družbeno-kozmološki gradnik ne le svojega imena, temveč posledično tudi gradnik svojega rodu – 'predniško ime'. S tem skrbi tako za svoj 'ugled in čast' kot za 'ugled in čast' rodu kot celote. Otrok začne družbeno življenje s tako imenovanim 'mlečnim imenom', katerega nosi vse do svojega vstopa v svet odraslih, ko sprejme 'odraslo ime', ki ga spremlja do konca življenja (Denny v Eliade 1987 vol. 10: 306). Ta prehod

²³ V delu navajam zgolj iniciacijo dečkov, kot so mi to omogočili sekundarni viri. Sama nisem opravila terenskega dela, s katerim bi pridobila popolnejše podatke.

²⁴ Sestra in brat ohranita aktiven odnos tudi po njeni možitvi, kar se izraža v izraziti vlogi njenega brata v odnosu do njenih otrok. Sestrin brat izvršuje nadzorno vlogo pri (1) delitvi zemlje, ko sestri sinovi želijo razdeliti zemljo svojega očeta, (2) delitvi kurišča, ko se mlajši brat odloči odseliti se od družine svojega starejšega brata, (3) darovanju gospodinjskih potrebščin, ko se mlajši brat vseli v svoj lastni dom ter (4) smrti sestre, da preveri vzrok njene smrti (Ahern 1974: 290 – 291).

označuje iniciacija, do katere je otrok pripadal materinemu svetu. Iz dela Ebrey-jeve (1991: 35-45) predvidevam, da z iniciacijo materini sorodniki izgubijo kakršnokoli avtoriteto nad hčerinih sinom, ker je le-ta sprejet v očetov predniški rod. Gost, ki zastopa skupino 'ženo-dajalcev', torej materinih sorodnikov, med katerimi bi lahko to vlogo igral celo materin brat, fanta dobesedno izroči skupini 'ženo-jemalčevih' prednikov.

Če povzamem, s simbolnimi menjavami znotraj ritualov rojstva in iniciacij se osnujeta dva odnosa: na eni strani gre za vzpostavitev odnosa med otrokom in skupino materinih sorodnikov, ki ga oskrbijo s 'telesom' in 'življenjem', po drugi strani pa se vzpostavi odnos med otrokom in očetom (in očetovimi predniki), ki ga oskrbijo z 'duhom' in 'predniškim imenom'. Izpostavi se tudi dejstvo, ki kaže na premik v vlogi darovalcev in obdarovanih. Če sta pri poroki ta mesta zasedala ženin in nevestin oče, se pri obrojstnih menjavah zgodi generacijski premik na otroka in materinega brata. Z novo generacijo se tako odpre nov krog izmenjavanja darov.

S pozornostjo, ki jo v delu posvečam tako poročnim ritualom kot ritualom, povezanim z rojstvom otroka, želim poudariti izpostavljeno vlogo družbe kot celote in ne posameznika kot neposrednega akterja ritualnih vlog. V svojem delu sem poskušala preseči tisto raven, na kateri se razodeva zgolj posameznikova dobrobit. Posamezniki so zgolj nosilci vlog in njihovi akterji. Kar šteje, tako pri poročnih ritualih kot pri ritualih, povezanih z rojstvom in imenovanjem, je družba kot družbeno-kozmoška celota. Zato v delu izpostavljam tisto raven opazovanja, kjer sledim gibanju skupin in rodov, ter gibanju vzpostavljenih odnosov med njimi in ne zgolj med posamezniki. S poročnimi rituali se vzpostavijo odnosi med dvema različnima rodovnima celotama in ne zgolj med dvema družbenima posameznikoma; ravno tako glavni cilj ritualov, ki označujejo rojstvo in imenovanje, ni v družbenem okrasku k biološkemu dejstvu posameznika, temveč v vzpostavitvi celotne mreže družbenih odnosov in vstopu vanjo. Odnosi so rezultat ritualov in nastopajočih družbenih vrednot.

Razdružitev družbeno-kozmoških gradnikov

S predstavitvijo in študijo obsmrtnih ritualov poskušam zaokrožiti družbeno-kozmoški vidik celote, na katerega vseskozi nakazujem. Na Tajvanu živijo družbeno realnost dvojnega pokopa. Z van Gennepovim pristopom ugotavljam tri-stopenjsko pojavnost obsmrtnih ritualov (van Gennep 1977 [1960]). Vsi rituali prvega pokopa, ki se vršijo od trenutka smrti do vključno dejanskega pogreba, prvič, izpolnjujejo funkcijo *ločitve* mrtveca tako od svojih sorodnikov ter od

svojih skupin 'ženo-jemalcev' in 'ženo-dajalcev', drugič, označujejo čas, znotraj katerega se vrši proces razgrajevanja tako družbeno-kozmoških gradnikov kot telesa v fizičnem smislu. Ta čas označuje obdobje *prehoda*, znotraj katerega duh mrtveca tava med dvema svetovoma. Zaradi razgrajevanja telesa je duhu onemogočena vrnitev v telo, hkrati pa mu, zaradi nečistosti elementov duha, še ni dovoljen vstop v kozmološki svet. To časovno obdobje blodenja duha sovpada z obdobjem odplačevanja dolgov, dolžnost, ki jo morajo živi opraviti za mrtve. To obdobje transformacije ali prehoda se zaključi s fizično razgraditvijo telesa, ko od njega ostanejo samo kosti (ki predstavljajo predniško esenco in vrednoto 'ugleda in časti') in preide v tretjo fazo *inkorporacije ali združitve* posameznikovega očiščenega duha (transformacija *hun-a* preko *kuei*) v nedeljivo predniško skupino *Sin*, kar v tajvanskem primeru označuje posvetitev trajne lesene tablice. Ta tretja faza predstavlja funkcijo drugega pokopa, ko se očiščeni duh umrlega ne samo združi z esencialno kozmološko skupino, temveč obenem (ali pa ravno zaradi tega) pridobi tudi novo, najvišjo družbeno vlogo nesmrtnega prednika.

Obdobja ločitve, prehoda in ponovne vključitve označujejo tudi življenje skupine žalujočih, kateri so, po transformaciji in sprejetju duha v predniško entiteto, razrešeni vseh prepovedi in zapovedi ter tako sprejeti v normalen tok družbenega življenja. Skupina žalujočih pomaga mrtvečevim družbeno-kozmoškim transformacijam, medtem ko je družbeno življenje rodovne skupine izpostavljeno stanju 'čudnosti' ali nereda. Za čas transformacij je skupina družbeno izolirana. Če transformacije ne bodo uspeli, ji grozi cela vrsta katastrof in nevšečnosti. Pri tem skupine žalujočih ne predstavljajo zgolj krvni sorodniki umrlega. Transformacije, ki so v procesu v obdobju prvega pokopa, zaustavijo celotno aktivnost družbenega življenja, vseh tistih družbenih skupin in predmetov, ki so bili v kakršni koli luči povezni z umrlim. In ravno ta stopnja družbenega odnosa je kriterij trajanja žalovanja in strogosti prepovedi. Najdaljšo družbeno osamitev in rigorozne prepovedi doletijo najstarejšega sina mrtvega očeta (Wolf A. 1970), saj ga narava družbenega odnosa med očetom in sinom vodi v nasledstvo ne samo očetovih materialnih nepremičnin, temveč tudi vsemogočne avtoritete kot dolžnosti in odgovornosti tako do živih kot do mrtvih predstavnikov rodu. Odgovornost žalujoče zavezuje k zažiganju ogromnih količin neresničnega papirnatega denarja, kateri predstavlja tisto pravo valuto, ki vlada v podzemlju. S tem si mrtvečev duh odpisuje svoje dolgove. Tajvansko prepričanje je, da se vse, kar se zažge v tem svetu, preko samega procesa gorenja prenese v kozmološko onostranstvo. Z darovanjem vina, katerega polivajo po zemlji, žalujoči pomagajo procesu razkrajanja telesa, s prižiganjem ogromnih količin kadil pa pripomorejo k razdružitvi

telesa in duha (Ahern 1973: 225-228). Ob koncu žalovanja se življenje rodu vrne na normalne tirnice – življenju je omogočen nadaljnji pretok, ki je bil s smrtjo zaustavljen. Rod je zopet odprt sistemu odnosov, ki se stkejo s porokami in ostalim družbenim aktivnostim.

Ob rojstvu vrnitev popkovine in posteljice materi Zemlji (Fried in Fried 1981: 54), kot jo živijo Tajvanci, oziroma Bogu Zemlje, predstavlja mali pokop. Predmeta malega pokopa čakata na ponovno združitev s telesom, kar se zgodi ob pokopu mrtvečega telesa. Kar je zemlja dala, ji je sedaj povrnjeno - s tem je krog zaključen.

Medtem ko moškim grozi nevarnost okužbe ob dotiku mrtvega telesa, ženske niso izpostavljene prepovedi dotika in posledično njeni nevarnosti. V primeru dotika se onečasti jang esenca moških, medtem ko so ženske ter razpadajoče telo umrlega predstavljeni z isto jin esenco (Watson 1990: 113), esenco, ki je ovrednotena z družbeno vrednoto 'rodovitnosti in življenja', V času prvega pokopa razkroj in gnitje telesa izpostavi kontekst negativne rodovitnosti, v katerem se razkrije tisti aspekt smrti, ki v sebi nosi novo življenje. Tako kot gnitje rastline v sebi pravzaprav nosi seme življenja, ravno tako človeška smrt nosi pomen in prispeva k nadaljnji 'rodovitnosti'. S tem sta rodovitnosti pripisani dve vrednoti, in sicer, pozitivna vrednota rasti ter negativna vrednota razpadanja ali razkrajanja. Iz materialnega vidika tajvanske ženske ne podedujejo ničesar. Pač pa igrajo pomembno vlogo pri ohranitvi mrtvečeve vitalne esence, katere izguba bi upropastila življenje rodu kot celote. Tako kot se ob žetvi riža nekaj le-tega ohrani za naslednjo setev (Granet 1975 [1922]), ravno tako se mora vitalna esenca predhodne generacije ohraniti in prenesti na naslednjo. In to je izstopajoča vloga priženjenih žensk, katere z drgnjenjem svojih las ob krsto (Watson 1989 [1982]: 162) simbolno inkorporirajo vitalno esenco – 'rodovitnost' ene generacije je pripeljana h koncu in hkrati prenesena na mlajšo. Ta izpostavljena vloga žensk me v delu napeljuje k zaključku, da transformacijsko obdobje prvega pokopa predstavlja zopet tisti družbeni kontekst, v katerem pride do zasuka družbenih vrednot, torej kjer vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja' nastopa kot nadrejena vrednota v odnosu do vrednote 'ugleda in časti'. Vrednota 'rodovitnosti in življenja' zadrži nadrejeni položaj skozi celo razdobje transformacije duha ter razgrajevanja telesa vse do faze drugega pokopa, ko od telesa ostanejo zgolj 'kosti', duh pa se povzdigne v čisti *Sin*. Aktivacija prednikovih 'kosti' za omogočeno prenašanje ugodnih geomantičnih vplivov (Ahern 1973: 180-182; Thompson L. 1998: 18) ter aktivacija predniške tablice kot sedeža prednikovega duha (Schipper 1993 [1982]: 37) pa predstavlja tisti kontekst, v katerem jang vrednota 'ugleda in časti' ter 'predniškega imena' ponovno vzpostavi pravi, nadrejeni odnos do jin vrednote. V tem duhu se lahko začne čaščenje prednikov. Transfer daril, ki predstavljajo vrednote 'rodovitnosti in življenja', 'predniškega

imena' ter 'ugleda in časti', ki so predmet simbolne menjave med predniki in potomci znotraj obredov drugega pokopa opravljenih na grobu, kakor tudi znotraj ritualov čaščenja prednikov ob času pomembnih praznikov, opravljenih v sobi prednikov, omogoča neprekinjeno vez med svetom živih ter svetom mrtvih, torej med družbeno in kozmološko sfero, kar zagotavlja družbi njen obstoj.

Odnosi, ki jih je umrli vzpostavil s svojimi skupinami 'ženo-dajalcev' in 'ženo-jemalcev' skozi poročne rituale, torej odnose, ki jih označujejo odnosi 'rodovitnosti in življenja', se morajo sedaj, z njegovo smrtjo, končati. To je funkcija posebnih mortualnih praks, kot je ritual »getting out the roots«, s katerim skupina, ki je umrlemu darovala ženo, zaključi svojo vlogo darovalca 'mesa' s tem, da sedaj omogoči hiter telesni razkroj in onemogoči 'vrnitev' (Ahern 1974: 297-298). Že njihov naziv 'relatives of flesh' implicira na ne trajno naravo odnosa, ki se stke med skupinama. Predmet rituala predstavlja 'ženo-dajalčevo' dejanje zlivanja vina preko šopa koreninic mladih čebulic. Zaključujem, da mlade čebulice simbolno predstavljajo telo umrlega, pravzaprav njegove 'kosti', od katerih se z vinom izpira zemlja ali 'meso', ki se bo razkrojilo in povrnilo v zemljo, tako kot izprana zemlja nabrana na čebulnih koreninicah. Pronicanje vina skozi zemljo označuje tudi pot smrtnikovega *p'o*-ja, ki se mora vrniti v zemljine sfere. S tem simbolnim dejanjem skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' zaključuje tisto svojo vlogo, katera ob poroki pripelje do vzpostavitve odnosov, s katerimi se omogoči združitev kozmoloških gradnikov. Ob smrti je tako izpostavljena vloga 'ženo-dajalcev' kot vloga transformatorjev, saj so odgovorni za razpustitev tako materialnih kot nematerialnih gradnikov do stopnje, ko od umrlega ostanejo zgolj 'kosti' ter predniški čisti '*Sin*'.

Ob rojstvu otrok prejme svoje prvo oblačilo kot dar skupine materinih sorodnikov, torej skupine 'ženo-dajalcev', ali natančneje, to je dar materinega brata sestrinemu otroku. Ob smrti vidimo obratno situacijo, ko materin brat sprejme darilo, ki ga predstavlja lepo izvezena obleka, ki mu jo daruje najstarejši sin umrlega (Ahern 1974: 295). V tem daru vidim simbolno vrnitev 'telesa'. 'Telo', pravzaprav gradnik 'meso', je prišlo s strani skupine 'ženo-dajalcev', a ob smrti, ko ni več življenja, se telo vrne v simbolni obliki obleke. Ne sme nas zavesti resnica, da telo umrlega pravzaprav ne izhaja iz njegove skupine 'ženo-dajalcev'. To je res, zato moramo na ta dar pogledati iz drugega zornega kota. S poroko bi skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' z darom neveste lahko utrpela škodo necelovitosti, če v zameno ne bi dobila povratnega daru živega prašiča, torej daru, s katerim nadomesti izgubo bogov in boginj, ki odidejo z nevestinim telesom. Ob smrti pa se tej isti skupini sicer ne vrne dejansko telo, temveč 'prazno' telo, prazno življenja, duha in bogov, v simbolni obliki obleke. S tem končnim darom, je simbolno vrnjeno življenje, in s tem je

aspekt življenja, ki je povezoval dve različni si skupini, dve različni si celoti, zaključen.

Seveda pa mora mrtvečeva skupina zaključiti vzpostavljene odnose tudi do svojih skupin 'ženo-jemalcev', torej do vseh tistih skupin, katerim so podarili novo življenje, ki so ga utelešale njihove neveste. Pri poročnem ritualu zasledimo 'ženo-dajalcev' dar pečene prašičje glave in prašičjega repa skupini 'ženo-jemalcev'. Kaj naj bi predstavljal ta dar, lahko zaključim šele z darom, danim znotraj mortualnih ritualov, ko so mize polne, tokrat surovih, prašičjih glav in prašičjih repov, ki so jih darovale mrtvečeve oženjene hčere (Watson 1989 [1982]: 175), na katere moramo seveda gledati kot na predstavnice skupin 'ženo-jemalcev'. To je dar neposrednim linijskim prednikom skupine 'ženo-dajalcev' (skupine mrtveca). Surovo in pečeno stanje hrane nas spomni na tajvansko dejstvo, da vse entitete vsebujejo duha ali ch'i. Pri surovi hrani je le-ta še vsebovan v hrani, medtem ko vsaka nadaljnja obdelava in priprava hrane povzroča njegovo razpustitev. Opazimo lahko, da je pri poročnem daru skupina 'ženo-dajalcev' darovala dar brez esence, medtem ko je pri obsmrtnem daru 'ženo-jemalcev' ta esenca še prisotna. Zadnji dar tako nakazuje na vrnitev 'duha' kozmološki sferi, kar se zgodi ob pripravi daru kot hrane, kar pa ni namen poročnega daru, kjer se poudarja zbiranje gradnikov, ko se mora doseči 'telesno-dušna' združitev. S tem zadnjim darom se simbolno zaključi tudi krog vseh aktivnih odnosov med umrlim (kot 'ženo-dajalcem') in vsemi njegovimi skupinami 'ženo-jemalcev'. Ker so bile ravno hčere/neveste tiste, zaradi katerih so se odnosi pravzaprav vzpostavili, so sedaj tudi one tiste, ki jih bodo zaključile. To ritualno dejanje Watsonovi informatorji označujejo kot »dober začetek in dober konec« (1989, [1982]: 175).

Funkcija obsmrtnih ritualov, ki jih na Tajvanu predstavljajo rituali prvega in drugega pokopa, se tako izraža prvič, skozi ločitev umrlega od družbene skupine živih, drugič, v pomoči, nudeči duhu umrlega, ko blodi med dvema svetovoma, in tretjič, v končni transcendenci čistega duha v kozmološki svet prednikov. Skozi neprekinjen krog ritualnih praks pokojni doseže najvišji družbeni status. Ker rituali ne ustvarijo odnosov zgolj znotraj kategorije živih, temveč tudi (in sploh!) med kategorijo živih in kategorijo mrtvih, se funkcija obsmrtnih ritualov dejansko definira skozi ustvarjanje družbeno-kozmoloških odnosov, nujno potrebnih za nemoteno delovanje družbe.

V delu ugotavljam, da sta tako ideologija kot življenje tajvanske skupnosti prežeta s hierarhično ureditvijo dveh družbenih vrednot – z vrednoto 'ugleda in časti' ter vrednoto 'rodovitnosti in življenja' – kateri pravzaprav odsevata dva med seboj povezana kroga, ki potekata na različnih družbenih nivojih. *Jin krog* ali krog 'mesa' in 'p'o-ja' predstavlja življenjski

krog kategorije živih, kot tudi proces razkrajanja v primeru umiranja in smrti. Tako poroke, rojstva in rituali prvega pokopa predstavljajo družbene kontekste, v katerih izstopajo odnosi, cenjeni z vrednoto 'rodovitnosti in življenja'. To so odnosi med 'patrilinijami' posameznih rodov. Razkrajanje mrtvega telesa kot tudi organskih odpadkov rastlin in živali predstavlja negativni vidik rodovitnosti. Preko procesa razkrajanja se kozmološka gradnika 'meso' in 'p'o' vrneta k svojemu kozmološkemu izvoru. To omogoča kontinuiteto življenja. Pozitivni aspekt rodovitnosti pa seveda predstavlja življenje samo. *Jang krog* ali krog 'kosti' in 'hun-a' je krog, znotraj katerega se vzpostavijo odnosi med kategorijo živih in kategorijo njihovih prednikov, kakor tudi znotraj same kategorije živih. Ti odnosi obogatijo ali prispevajo k zorenju posameznikovih gradnikov 'predniškega imena' ter 'ugleda in časti', kateri so v isti sapi tudi gradniki rodu kot celote. Tako rituali drugega pokopa ter v delu zgolj omenjeni posebni festivali, v katerih igrajo glavno vlogo rodovi kot celote in ne njihove 'patrilinije' kot v primeru *jin kroga*, predstavljajo tisti družbeni kontekst, znotraj katerega so odnosi cenjeni z družbeno vrednoto 'ugleda in časti'. Skozi življenje posameznik, preko ritualnih praks in simbolnih menjav, vstopi v matrico družbeno-kozmoloških odnosov, s katerimi pridobi in povečuje jang esenco. S smrtjo jang zapusti 'telo' in se pridruži nedeljivi jang esenci mrtvih prednikov. Ti skrbijo za prosperiteto in ugled svojih rodov. Med omenjenima krogoma, zaradi transformacij v teku, jang krog predstavlja nadrejeni krog. V tem krogu je skupina pokojnih povzdignjena v kozmološko sfero čaščenih nesmrtnih prednikov. Brez nesmrtnih prednikov ni življenja. Brez življenja ni smrti. Brez smrti ni nesmrtnih prednikov. Kroga sta tako zaključena. Njuna krožnost jima omogoča večnost.

Videli smo, da v *jin krogu*, torej v družbenem kontekstu 'rodovitnosti in življenja', pride do empiričnega zasuka, kjer se odnosi, cenjeni za 'ugled in čast', podredijo odnosom, cenjenih za 'rodovitnost in življenje'. Do tega nikoli ne pride v tistih družbenih kontekstih, ki predstavljajo višjo družbeno raven, torej v kontekstih *jang kroga*, kjer so odnosi cenjeni za 'ugled in čast'. To nam razodeva nadrejeno vrednoto *jang kroga*. Iz povedanega sledi, da je *jang krog* tisti krog, ki se pojavlja na obeh ravneh; tako na nižji ravni, kjer nasprotuje *jin krogu* ter hkrati na višji ravni, kjer zaobsega nasprotje nižje ravni. Vrednota 'ugleda in časti' tako vedno predstavlja nadrejeni družbeni kontekst.

Zaključujem, da tajvanski obsmrtni rituali temeljijo na védenju, da vsako naravno povečanje v smislu rasti in produktivnosti izvira iz skupine mrtvih. Obsmrtnim ritualom je tako predpisana moč, s katero se sprva negativni prizvok smrti transformira v pozitivno trajajočo podobo nesmrtnosti. Skozi proces 'destilacije', ki ga predstavljata gnitje in razkroj telesa, se iz

smrti prerodi življenje. V primeru nenaravne smrti, ali če za umrlim ni osebe, ki bi posredovala pri transformaciji duha umrlega, ne more priti do oživitve življenja. V primeru izgubljene transformacije smrti v rodovitnost je preroditev življenja izgubljena za vedno. Iz tega zornega kota obsmrtni rituali služijo bolj družbi kot celoti, torej ohranjanju urejenega družbenega življenja, kot pa zgolj posamezniku in njegovi usodi. In kot takšni obsmrtni rituali ne smejo biti proučevani ločeno od drugih ritualov prehoda. Potrebno je zavzeti takšen pristop, ki razodene vpetost vseh družbenih ritualov prehoda v celoten družbeno-kozmolški koncept. Šele znotraj tega vseobsegajočega konteksta morajo biti razumljene predstave življenja in smrti določene ideologije družbe. S takšnim pristopom sem poskušala prikazati tajvansko doživljanje smrti, ki se ne zrcali v naravnem procesu, kateri označuje tisto zadnjo stopnjo posameznikovega življenja. Smrt sem poskušala prikazati kot tisti družbeni prehod, skozi katerega družba kot celota doživi svoj ponovni prepород skozi neprestano poudarjajoče odnose z vseobsegajočo kozmolško sfero. Z vsakim obsmrtnim ritualom družba kot celota slavi zmago nad smrtjo. Čaščenje mrtvih prednikov omogoča kontinuiteto družbe. Nesposobnost videti smrt kot prehod in transformacijo nas sili k videnju smrti kot absolutnega konca. Slednjo percepcijo smrti narekuje ideološka pozicija, ki pripisuje nadrejeno vlogo posamezniku in ne družbi kot celoti, ki jo označujejo 'živeči' odnosi med mrtvimi in živimi, med katerimi posameznik zaseda zgolj podrejeno mesto. V tajvanski ideologiji kot družbenem sistemu idej in vrednot mora biti smrt videna kot del neprestano vrtečega se kroga družbene preroditve. Z dojetjem družbe kot totalitete s pripadajočo družbeno vrednoto 'večnosti', se presežeta tako vidik 'posameznega' kot zahodno-družbena linearnost časa. Tajvansko ločevanje na 'meso', razkrajanje in jin, ter na 'kosti', prednike in jang, ponazarja tipično strukturo holistične družbe z izpostavljeno najvišjo družbeno vrednoto družbe kot celote, urejene po Dumontovem hierarhičnem redu obseganja nasprotij. V delu obravnavane družbene kategorije si ne smemo predstavljati kot okorne koncepte, ki se povzdigujejo nekam gor v nebo in spuščajo iz kozmolške sfere. Zavedati se moramo celotne matrice družbenih predstav, ki razodevajo in okvirjajo simbolni svet tajvanske realnosti. Te družbene predstave predstavljajo tako osnovo in polnilo tajvanske miselnosti kot sistem vrednot tajvanskega življenja.

XI. REFERENCES

1. Ahern, M. Emily (1973): *The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village*. Stanford University Press, California.
2. Ahern, M. Emily (1974): Affines and the Rituals of Kinship. **In:** Wolf, Arthur (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. 279-307. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
3. Aijmer, Göran (1964): *The Dragon Boat Festival on the Hupeh-Hunan Plain, Central China. A Study in the Ceremonialism of the Transplantation of Rice*. The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden. Monograph Series, Publication No. 9, Stockholm.
4. Aijmer, Goran (1984): Birth and Death in China: Musings on a Taiwan Corpus. **In:** *Ethnos*. Vol. 49: III-IV, 5-42. The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm.
5. Asano, Haruji (2002): Offerings in Daoist Ritual. **In:** Kohn, Livia and Roth, D. Harold. (eds.) *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*. 274–294. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
6. Barraud, Cecile and Platenkamp, Josephus M.D. (1990): Rituals and the Comparison of Societies. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146/1. 103-123.
7. Barraud, Cecile, de Coppet, Daniel, Iteanu, André and Jamous, Raymond (1994): *Of Relations and the Dead: Four Societies Viewed from the Angle of Their Exchanges*. Oxford: Berg.
8. Bell, Catherine (1992): *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford University Press, New York.
9. Birrell, Anne. (1993): *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.
10. Bloch, Maurice Parry, Jonathan (eds.) (1989, [1982]) *Death and the Regeneration of Life*.

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

11. Brook, Timothy (1989): Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China. **In:** *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol. 49, No. 2, 465-495.
12. Chan, Wing-Tsit (1963): *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
13. Coppet, Daniel de (1982): The Life-giving Death. **In:** Humphreys, S. C., and King, Helen (ed.) *Mortality and Immortality: the anthropology and archaeology of death*. 175-204. Academic Press, London.
14. Coppet, Daniel de (1991): The Society as an Ultimate Value and the Socio-Cosmic Configuration. **In:** *Ethos* 3-4. 140-150.
15. Denny, Frederick M., (1987): Names and Naming **In:** Eliade, Mircea. (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Vol 1-15. Macmillan Publishing Company, New York. Volume 10, 300-307.
16. Dumont, Louis (1977): *From Mandeville to Marx: The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology*. The University of Chicago Press, London/Chicago.
17. Dumont, Louis (1980, [1966]): *Homo Hierarchicus*. The University of Chicago Press, London/Chicago.
18. Dumont, Louis (1983): *Affinity as a Value: Marriage Alliance in South India, with Comparative Essays on Australia*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London.
19. Dumont, Louis (1986): *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective*. The University of Chicago Press, London/Chicago.
20. Durkheim, Emile. Mauss, Marcel (1969, [1903]): *Primitive Classification*. Cohen & West, London.
21. Durkheim, Émile (1964, [1895]): *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Paper back 8th edition. Collier-Macmillan Limited, London.

22. Durkheim, Émile (1995, [1912]): *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. The Free Press, New York.
23. Ebrey, Patricia Buckley (1991): *Chu His's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
24. Freedman, Maurice (1967): *Rites and Duties, or Chinese Marriage*. The London School of Economics and Political Science: G. Bell and Sons Ltd, London.
25. Freedman, Maurice (1970): Ritual Aspects of Chinese Kinship and Marriage. **In:** Freedman, Maurice. (ed.) *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. 163-187. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
26. Fried, Martha and Fried, Morton (1981): *Transitions: Four Rituals in Eight Cultures*. Penguin Books, New York.
27. Fung, Yu-Lan (1952): *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol 1. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
28. Gennep, Arnold van (1977, [1960]): *The Rites of Passage*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
29. Granet, Marcel (1964, [1958]): *Chinese Civilization*. Meridian Books, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York.
30. Granet, Marcel (1975, [1922]): *The Religion of the Chinese People*. Harper & Row Publishers, New York.
31. Gregory, A.C. (1982): *Gift and Commodities*. Academic Press Clare Hall, Cambridge.
32. Harrell, C. Stevan. (1974) When a Ghost Becomes a God. **In:** Wolf, Arthur (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. 193-206. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
33. Hertz, Robert (1960, [1907]): *Death and the Right Hand*. The University Press Aberdeen: Cohen & West.

34. Iteanu, Andre (1990): Sacred and Profane Revisited. Durkheim and Dumont Considered in the Orokaiva Context. **In:** *Ethnos. Folkens Museum-etnografiska Stockholm*, Vol. 55: III-IV, 169-183.
35. Kluckhohn, Clyde et al. (1962, [1951]): Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action. An Exploration in Definition and Classification. **In:** Parsons, Talcott and Shils, A. Edward. *Toward a General Theory of Action*. 388-433. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. Massachusetts
36. Lee, Lynn F. (2000): In the Eyes of the Dragon. **In:** Taipei Review Vol. 50 No. 6 <http://mtc.ntnu.edu.tw/dragonboat/tr.htm>
37. Lévi-Strauss, Claude. (1969, [1949]): Bones and Flesh. **In:** *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. 393-405. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
38. Lin, Meirong (1991): Traditional Customs of Childbearing and Childrearing among the Rukai People. **In:** Yamaji, Katsuhiko (ed.) *Kinship, Gender and the Cosmic World. Ethnographies of Birth Customs in Taiwan, the Philippines and Indonesia*. 29-48. SMC Publishing Inc, Taipei, Taiwan.
39. Martin, Emily (1990): Gender and Ideological Differences in Representations of Life and Death. **In:** Watson, James L. and Rawski, Evelyn S. (eds.) *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. 164-180. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.
40. Mauss, Marcel (1990, [1950]): *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. Routledge, London, New York.
41. McCreery, John (1990): Why Don't We See Some Real Money Here? Offerings in Chinese Religion. **In:** *Journal of Chinese Religions*, No. 18, 1-24.
42. Parry, J., Bloch, M. (1989): Introduction: Money and the Morality of Exchange. **In:** Parry, J., Bloch, M. (eds) *Money and the Morality of Exchange*. 1-32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

43. Parsons, Talcott, Shils, A. Edward (1962, [1951]): *Toward a General Theory of Action*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. Massachusetts.
44. Platenkamp, Josephus M.D. (1988): *Tobelo: Ideas and Values of a North Moluccan Society*. Leiden. The Netherlands.
45. Robertson, R., Turner, B. (1991): *Talcott Parsons. Theorist of Modernity*. Sage Publications, London.
46. Sangren, Steven P. (1987): Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and the Structure of Value in Chinese Rituals. **In:** *Modern China. An Interdisciplinary Journal*. Vol. 13, No. 1, 63-90.
47. Schipper, Kristofer (1993, [1982]): *The Taoist Body*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.
48. Schwartz, Benjamin (1985): *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. Belknap, Harvard.
49. Stein, Rolf A. (1990): *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
50. Sung-Hsing, Wang (1974): Taiwanese Architecture and the Supernatural. **In:** Wolf, P. Arthur. (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. 183-192. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
51. Thompson, E. Stuart (1990): Death, Food, and Fertility. **In:** Watson, James L., Rawski, Evelyn S. (eds.) *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. 71-108. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
52. Thompson, Laurence G., Paper, Jordan. (1998): *The Chinese Way in Religion*. 45-53. Balmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
53. Topley, Marjorie (1974): Cosmic Antagonisms: A Mother-Child Syndrome. **In:** Wolf, P. Arthur. (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. 233-249. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
54. Waley, Arthur (1968, [1934]): *The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Tao Te Ching and*

Its Place in Chinese Thought. 6th impression. George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London.

55. Watson, James L. (1989, [1982]): Of Flesh and Bones: The Management of Death Pollution in Cantonese Society. **In:** Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry. (eds.) *Death and the Regeneration of Life*. 155-186. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
56. Watson, James L. (1990): Funeral Specialists in Cantonese Society: Pollution, Performance, and Social Hierarchy. **In:** Watson, James L., Rawski, Evelyn S. (eds.) *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. 109-134. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.
57. Wolf, Arthur (1970): Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress. **In:** Freedman, Maurice (ed.) *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. 189-207. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
58. Wolf, Arthur (1974): Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors. **In:** Wolf, P. Arthur (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. 131-182. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California..
59. Wolf, Margery (1979): *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
60. Wong, Eva (1995): *Lieh-tzu: A Taoist Guide to Practical Living*. Shambhala Publications, Boston.
61. Yamaji, Katsuhiko (1991): Female Activity in the Amis of Taiwan. **In:** Yamaji, Katsuhiko (ed.) *Kinship, Gender and the Cosmic World: Ethnographies of Birth Customs in Taiwan, the Philippines and Indonesia*. 49-76. SMC Publishing Inc. Taipei, Taiwan.
62. Yu, Ying-shih (1987): "O Soul, Come Back!" A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China. **In:** *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol. 47, No. 2, 363-395.