

Villains of Formosan Aboriginal Mythology

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ABSTRACT

In Western fairy tales, the role of the villain is often reserved for the elderly woman. The villains of *Snow White*, *The Little Mermaid*, *Rapunzel*, *Hansel and Gretel*, *Cinderella* and *Sleeping Beauty* are all witches; women who wield dark magic to maledict the innocent. In stark contrast, Formosan aboriginal mythology villains take on decidedly dissimilar roles. In the Paiwan story of *Pali*, for example, Pali is a young boy who, through no fault of his own, is cursed with a pair of red eyes that instantaneously kill all living things that they see. Pali's identity and the reasons for his evil acts are diametrically opposed to those found in "typical" Western tales.

This article investigates the identities and motives of villains in Formosan aboriginal stories. Despite the unfortunate lack of related material in English, *Taiwan Indigene: Meaning Through Stories* (臺灣原住民的神話與傳說套書) offers a unique look into the redirection of English literature to source from a wider geographic and ethnographic perspective and serves as the primary data source for this research. Works done in this vein indicate a greater openness toward the "other" ethnic groups that remain almost completely absent from English literature. The identities of the villains and the elements motivating their nefarious deeds are investigated in detail. Can the villains of such stories be grouped broadly according to identity? If so, what aspects can be used to describe that identity? What root causes can be identified with regard to the malevolent acts that they perpetrate? The ambitions behind this study include facilitating a lifting of the veil on the mysterious cultures native to Formosa and promoting a greater understanding of, and appreciation for, the rich and complex myths of the Formosan aboriginal peoples.

Keywords: Formosa, Aboriginal, Mythology, Identity, Villain

I. Introduction

“Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you.” These words spoken by Jesus Christ nearly two millennia ago “on a level place with a crowd of His disciples and a great multitude of people from all Judea and Jerusalem and from the seacoast of Tyre and Sidon” give us commandments for our encounters with our enemies (Luke 6:17 & 27, New King James Version). Since we all face “villains” or those who oppose us in the story of our lives, these instructions remain relevant both to our daily lives and also to the ways in which we introduce the topic of villains to our children, which is done, more often than not, via the telling of stories.

Scholars agree that myths and fairy tales are among the most important and impactful kinds of children’s literature (Nanda, 2014). Fairy tales and myths entertain, educate and pass on culture to upcoming generations of children. Fairy tales and myths take on special roles in the development of the creativity and imagination for most people who hear them. “Fairy tales serve both children and adults in much the same way as dreams and other fantasies. The messages conveyed are transmitted in the simplest way imaginable, yet are among the most complex man has ever articulated” (Thomas, 1982, p. 35). Depending on the amount of exposure and the kind of exposure that a child has received to fairy tales and myths, these can become the focus of play and even dreams. In so much as myths and legends are orally transmitted as history, Russel (2009) reminds us that oral traditions are preserved and taught to children for the purposes of recording events, teaching allegories about survival and historically for instilling a sense of belonging to a village or tribe. The purpose and motivations of the story tellers to preserve these vital aspects of culture through myths serve many masters. One means to accomplish this is to personify a lesson with a hero character.

The plots of most stories, myths included, focus on and follow the hero/heroine, a character or archetype with whom the reader can identify and who is often sent on a noble quest. In the case of fairy tales, this is manifested as in Little Red Riding Hood taking cookies to her sick grandmother, Cinderella and Snow White striving in vain to be good stepdaughters who work hard for their unappreciative adopted families and the lost siblings Hansel and Gretel trying to find their way home to safety. Little emphasis is placed on the villains in these familiar tales to the point that they often remain nameless. Consider that the villains in Hansel and Gretel, Snow White, Cinderella and many more are nameless. Nameless villains are often endowed with descriptive titles such as evil queen, witch or wicked stepmother, but these lack the status of proper names.

Carl Jung’s *Collective Unconscious* famously proposed the idea of archetypes for

the events, motifs and roles of characters in literature at large. Figures such as the trickster, father and hero are among those archetypes proposed by Jung which are found in Formosan aboriginal mythology. Abrams (1999, p. 251) points out that “Jung’s emphasis is not on the individual unconscious, but on what he calls the “collective unconscious,” shared by all individuals in all cultures, which he regards as the repository of “racial memories” and of primordial images and patterns of experience that he calls archetypes...Jung regards great literature as, like the myths whose patterns recur in diverse cultures, an expression of the archetypes of the collective unconscious.” The villains chronicled in Formosan aboriginal mythology serve the same purposes and may also be thought of as archetypes. Jung (1992, p. 791) himself asserts that the archetype, as it recurs throughout history “is a mythological figure” which he likens to “the psychic residua of innumerable experiences of the same type.”

However, the absence of proper names given to villains is often attributed to the fact that these stories originated as oral traditions rather than as written ones. The result of which inevitably means that every telling differs slightly from the last. Eventually, the replacing of villains’ names is likely to serve thematic purposes by adding mystery and excitement to the plots. Referring to a villain as an “evil queen” rather than with a proper name arguably adds to a plot rather than subtracting from it. In exploring the absence of villains holding names Lombari (2015) points out that in the original tale of *Snow White*, nothing was known about the evil queen. The origins of the queen’s witchcraft or magic mirror were unstated and “certain adaptations made her villainous nature apparent by entitling her the ‘Evil Queen’ or the ‘Wicked Queen’; yet in the original tale, she was merely known as ‘the Queen’” (Lombari, 2015, p. 2).

In his *Encyclopedia of Fairy Tales*, Haase points out that the device of introducing characters lacking proper names is by no means restricted to the role of villains. Often perceived as an antithesis to the villain, protagonist kings too are often intentionally left nameless for the purpose of symbolism. “More often these kings are nameless, standing only as a symbol of kingship” (Haase, 2008, p. 542). Whether for symbolic effect, enriching a plot or due to lapses in the traditional oral record, nameless characters both malevolent and benevolent do account for a significant portion of the total characters in such stories and myths.

When the Grimm fairy tales were collected in the 1600s, many said tales had already been an important part of oral tradition for thousands of years dating as far back as the Bronze Age (Tehrani, Nguyen, & Roos, 2016). These anthropologists, Tehrani, Nguyen and Roos, from Durham University assert that stories such as *Jack and the Beanstalk*, originally *The Boy Who Stole the Ogre’s Treasure*, can be traced back to a time linguistically when Eastern and Western Indo-European languages

diverged. This indicates that some fairy tales have origins from over five millennia ago (Tehrani et. al, 2016), back at a time when only the Sumerians and Akkadians had developed surviving orthographies. This discovery lends significant credence to the argument that so called fairy tales, specifically those which are based on oral tradition like those from the Brothers Grimm, in fact have a lot in common with mythology from anywhere in the world.

While there remains scant original writing from circa 3000 BC, the role of a villain being filled by a giant in the *Jack and the Beanstalk* story is hardly surprising, considering the ubiquitous presence of giants in Bronze Age lore and literature. *The Cannibal Hymn* (2400 BC), *the Epic of Gilgamesh* (2500 BC) and notably the *Enuma Elis* (1800 BC) include examples of Akkadian and Sumerian accounts of giants. Such accounts of giants as an archetype are later reinforced in the biblical record and most notably the apocryphal text the *Book of Enoch* which was written much later, in 300 BC.

Formosan aboriginal mythology, also replete with giants, being the presumed product of millennia of oral tradition and cultural wisdom may make for a proper comparison to western fairy tales of similar backgrounds. Indeed, “Although the aborigines do not have any literature recorded in writing, they have a large amount of oral literature from every ethnic group. Generally speaking, the myths, legends, and folk stories can be compared to the sagas of the northern European legends” (Yeh, 2007, p. 5). Unfortunately, as Sun (2009, p. 10) points out: “Because they had no writing system, the historical existence of Taiwan’s indigenous people in times past is virtually lost from memory.” Sun further commented on the nature of the oral transmission in that “the people who recount these tales of antiquity are not professional historians, and their narration is strongly individualistic (though unfortunately, in the process of the rendering it into Chinese, most of this strong individualism is sacrificed).”

It is important to point out explicitly at this juncture that none of the indigenous aboriginal peoples of Formosa independently developed their own orthographies. “The aboriginal peoples in Taiwan have their own languages, but none has a writing system” (Tu, 1998, p. xiv). As such, there existed no first hand written records of any kind on Formosa before the end of the 1500s when Europeans from Portugal, Spain and The Netherlands began making records of their times on the island. It wasn’t until Koxinga brought the Ming and Qing Chinese to Formosa that extensive written records were made concurrently (McGovern, 1922). Previous to that, “the island of Formosa was for many centuries known to the Chinese as a part of the Loochoo group, and was variously designated both in historical writings and in maps as ‘Great Loochoo’... The Chinese historians, to whom we must look for these ancient annals,

give but brief mention of what was to them a foreign land, and this, combined with the fact that they confused Formosa with the Loochoo islands, renders even these scanty materials vague and unsatisfactory” (Davidson, 1903, P. 2-3). As such, the adopted orthographies of the indigenous aboriginals are linguistically modern and all records and mythologies predating the 1600s were preserved via oral tradition; the breadth, extent and sheer volume of which cannot go underestimated or unstated.

The genre of fairy tales is extremely diverse, and though its origins are steeped in Bronze Age mythology, it remains a living breathing genre. As such, it is not the assertion or contention of the author that modern fairy tales and Formosan aboriginal myths are parallel genres. However, on the subject of the estimated ages of said stories, it must be acknowledged that ages cannot definitively be assigned to Formosan aboriginal myths predating the 1800s, which places strong limitations of the drawing of parallels with any genre. There is little debate that the Greek *Iliad* for example was written in approximately 1200 BC, but the same cannot be said with regard to any Formosan aboriginal myths due to the fact that they were transmitted orally rather than via any written orthography before foreigners began recording the Formosan myths in the 1600s. The comparison being made here is that, in the same way that western children are raised hearing stories like *Jack and the Beanstalk* (which are considered fairy tales), Formosan aboriginal children are raised hearing stories like the *Alikakay the Giant Child Eater* (Amis Mythology).

II. Purpose

This article investigates the identities and motivations that propel the nefarious acts of, and the characteristics that can be said to define, a villain in Formosan aboriginal mythology. How does the archetypical villain in Formosan aboriginal mythology differ in terms of identity from those in western fairy tales?

Everyone knows of the Evil Queen who cursed Snow White with an apple, of the Sea Witch who offered an impossible bargain to a little mermaid, of Mother Gothel who locked Rapunzel in a secret tower, and the wolf who tried to eat a little girl in a red hood (Harrell et. al 2017). But how do these characters compare with the antiheroes found in Formosan aboriginal mythology?

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2018) says that a villain is a mean, evil or unprincipled person. Evildoer, scapegrace and rogue are other expressions that embody the essence of the villain. By extension, for the purposes of this study, villains may be thought of as those who harm, humiliate, curse and kill others regardless of deliberateness. This definition has been intentionally broadened to account for the cultural content found in the sourced literature and in order to avoid

the exclusion of any relevant data.

In Western fairy tales, the role of the villain has been extensively documented as being often reserved for the elderly woman or old hag. This isn't to say that the role of villain excludes wolves, bears, ogres, wizards and the like. However, anyone who reads fairy tales soon notices that the villains of *Snow White*, *The Little Mermaid*, *Rapunzel*, *Hansel and Gretel*, *Cinderella* and *Sleeping Beauty* are all witches; women who wield dark magic to maledict the innocent. That being said, the heroines in all of these stories are also female albeit their characters are easily juxtaposed to those of the evil wicked villains as being "innocent, beautiful and virtuous maidens who inevitably ride off with a handsome prince who rescues her from peril, takes her back to his castle and marries her with the happy approval of the King and Queen" (Nanda, 2014, p. 246).

Russel (2016) advocates that the nature of indigenous tribes themselves can be more fully understood through their mythology and oral literature. Furthermore, Russel points out that due to the adaptations and transpositions being made more readily available in modern times that contemporary researchers have been provided with a unique opportunity to delve further into understanding Formosan aboriginal culture through its mythology. Could such an examination provide fodder for a greater openness towards these "other" Austronesian cultures? Indeed, one can only hope so.

III. Literature Review

An English language search for literature on Formosan aboriginal mythology will yield sparse results in comparison with works on other aspects of the country now called Taiwan. This can be traced back to the fact that the aboriginal peoples of Formosa did not develop their own writing systems and record their mythologies organically; rather myths were passed down orally over the generations. It wasn't until the 1930s when Japanese linguists began to document at length such stories and later in the 1970s when aboriginal people began recording their myths and legends themselves (Tu, 1998). However, such printed materials are rarely available in English translations, are generally scattered, out of print and extremely challenging to locate. That is to say, there are references to the subject made in the English language corpus, but they are, more often than not, solo mentions that include a reference to a lone myth and lack context or relevant detail. Such being the case, any concerted effort to explore the topic of Formosan aboriginal mythology is highly inconvenient to say the least. However, when the researcher discovered the *Taiwan Indigene: Meaning Through Stories* (臺灣原住民的神話與傳說套書) series, the undertaking of the present study was facilitated significantly.

While there exist many collections of related mythologies, such collections are not readily available in English. Published in 2002, *Taiwan Indigene: Meaning Through Stories* is a ten volume series chronicling myths from various Taiwanese tribes. Each volume includes multiple pages of endorsements from experts on Formosan aboriginal affairs and other public figures, an introduction to the volume, colorful illustrations, the myths presented in Mandarin and English followed by reading comprehension/discussion questions, and information about the specified tribal territory, culture and language. Finally, each volume includes QR codes to websites with further information on the tribes as well as phrase guides for basic conversation in that tribal language. That is to say that the series provides as much context as can be asked for and, with a total number of nearly fifty myth stories documented, is by far the largest available-in-print corpus of related works. A detailed examination of *Taiwan Indigene* revealed a robust quantity and quality of villains. Following is a short description of some of those villains to provide an overview of the literature. At least one villain from each tribe is included.

The villain in the Amis myth *Vay-Rovas and the Sea Spirit* is the Sea Spirit who controls the sea. While the Sea Spirit is depicted in other Amis myths as being benevolent, in this account, the Sea Spirit acts out of vengeance and intentionally causes a great flood. The trouble starts when the mother of a young girl refuses to appease the Spirit's sexual desire and give her daughter to the Spirit. Eventually, as the village was being flooded all of the villagers beg the mother to sacrifice her daughter to the sea in order to appease the Sea Spirit. Eventually, the flooding ceases after the young girl is set adrift to die on the ocean. Only the flesh of the young girl could appease the Sea Spirit's sexual desires. The Amis story of *Alikakay the Giant Child Eater* also features a villain with a powerful lust for female flesh. Alikakay uses dark magic to transform himself into village men in order to trick their wives into copulating with him and exhibits a penchant for dining on the internal organs of children.

While the Puyuma myth *Giving Thanks to the Fish* features a hungry thief who uses trickery to steal food, the Tao myth *The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man : The Creation Story* describes a race of strange-looking giants who eat babies and pregnant women and eventually cause environmental collapse mirroring closely the account of Enoch, the Biblical grandson of Adam. The *Book of Enoch* describes the sons of God known as the Watchers. The Watchers are angels who fell and wreaked havoc on Earth and all of its inhabitants which eventually resulted in the Creator causing an Earth-wide deluge to cleanse the planet of the sin of the Watchers and most importantly destroy their seed which the book of *Genesis* called the Nephilium or giants.

And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when the men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones. (Book of Enoch, Book of the Watchers, Ch. 7)

...And then the Most High, the great and Holy One, spoke and sent Arsyalalyur to the son of Lamech (Noah), and said to him: "Say to him in my name; hide yourself! And reveal to him the end, which is coming, because the whole earth will be destroyed. A deluge is about to come on all the earth; and all that is in it will be destroyed. (Book of Enoch, Book of the Watchers, 10:1-2)

The degree to which the Tao myth bears similarity to the aforementioned elements recorded in the *Book of Enoch* which was written in the second century BC is palatable and the two accounts support each other in great detail.

The Paiwan *Pali's Red Eyes* features a character eerily reminiscent of the character Cyclops, AKA Scott Summers, in the Marvel Comics X-Men series. Pali is born with red eyes that kill people, animals and even plants that he looks at. The only respite he can get from his affliction comes from covering his eyes with thin translucent bamboo strips, which is how Cyclops controls his eyes as well (using special translucent glasses). While Pali's villainous acts are unintentional, they result in the death of countless innocent people. Despite Pali's friendly fire death toll, the true villains of the myth are actually the foreigners that plot to murder Pali by tricking him into believing they are his friends before decapitating him. Even though their vengeance seems justified, especially since it guarantees that no more innocent blood will be mistakenly spilled, the outsiders are clearly demarked as the villains of the myth. Pali's memory was so revered by the Paiwan that, after his death, the tribe surrounded their villages with Betel Nut trees which bear red fruit reminiscent of Pali's eyes, as a way to protect their village from outsiders.

The Rukai myth of *Muakaikai* describes a cruel hearted old man named Taevele

who uses sorcery to witch the wind and render an unsuspecting young woman named Muakaikai unconscious. Taevele subsequently binds and blindfolds the innocent girl and drags her back to his village where she is forced to marry Taevele's grandson and bear his children.

The Bunun myth of the *Two Suns* describes a super-heated environment suffering from the fact that there are two, not one, suns in the sky. The suns are so hot that they kill a baby and turn it into a lizard. "Two suns were too much for the world.... A father and his son decided to shoot one of the suns for the sake of their survival" (Winkler, 2016, Vol. 6, p. 15).

The Thao myth of *The Long Haired Spirits of Sun Moon Lake* describes a race of mermaids called the Taqrahaz who fight with the Thao people because the Thao use the lake as the village garbage dump. The story tells how the Thao rely on the lake for fish and water but fail to recognize that throwing their refuse into the water will inevitably lead to an ecological collapse. In this myth, it is the Thao people themselves who are the villains which provides a unique example of an aboriginal myth which serves the purpose of teaching moral lessons about littering while reminding a tribe of its own past mistakes.

The Cou Tribe's *Revenge of the Mountain Boar* features a magical evil mountain boar king who uses sorcery to transform into a handsome young man in order to trick an innocent young village girl into copulating with him. Accounts of unions between animals and humans in ancient mythology are hardly unique in Formosan aboriginal stories. Other references to bestiality are found in the Rukai epic of *Baleng and the Snake King* which recounts beautiful Baleng's coupling with a snake. When the rest of the mountain swine realize that their king has been vanquished for his crimes they take vengeance, killing almost the entire tribe. In return, the remnants of the decimated Cou tribe avenge their fallen people by burning the mountain swine alive. This myth is unique in that it chronicles two separate bloodbaths, the use of fire as a means of warfare and the extermination of large groups of people and animals.

Sale points out that "The animals in question are creatures who talk or in other ways act like human beings. They are present in most children's literature, ancient and modern, and they are the major source of the power of the best children's literature, a source that other kinds of literature had abandoned and forgotten well before the nineteenth century" (1978, p. 77). He goes on to assert that "Fairy tale animals are usually enchanted and live in a world of human beings" (Sale, 1978, p. 77). This explanation, though originally intended to describe fairy tales, is appropriate both to the Cou myth about the magical evil mountain boar king as well as to the Rukai epic of *Baleng*. Both Baleng and the unnamed "young and beautiful unmarried Cou woman" whose relationship with the mountain boar resulted in the death of nearly the

Cuo woman's entire tribe were tricked by their suitor rapists. Sale writes that "Fairy tale heroes and heroines can be deceived when they see an enchanted animal (Sale, 1978, p. 77)" and that is exactly what transpires in these myths.

Both the Saisiat and the Bunun tribes have stories about storms which flooded entire villages. The Saisiat epic of *Oppehnaboon* mirrors closely the account of Noah in the *Book of Genesis* of the Bible which was first recorded in the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh* in 2100 BC and echoed in the oral histories of the Maya and many other Australian aboriginal tribes. Oppehnaboon, like Noah, is visited in a dream which foretells of an ensuing global deluge. Both Oppehnaboon and Noah are instructed to build boats in order to escape the deadly floods. Oppehnaboon and Noah obey and become the only remaining men on Earth in addition to Noah's three sons. Noah married his cousin Naamah and Oppehnaboon married his sister at the order of god in the interest of repopulating a lifeless planet.

The Atayal account of *The Magical Summons* also mirrors closely the Biblical account of the Garden of Eden. The Atayal describe a world in which no one had to labor or worry about anything because "all of their needs were met simply by calling out their wishes" (Winkler, 2016, Vol. 10, p. 42). However, as with Adam and Eve, the Atayal were eventually cast out of the garden and cursed to a life of hard work of farming and hunting thus leaving behind the carefree lives they had taken for granted in the garden.

This study of the narratives recorded in *Taiwan Indigene* revealed a great deal of content with regard to villains' identities and the factors that underlie their motivations to create chaos and torment innocent villagers.

IV. Methodology

Questions about the nature of villains in Formosan aboriginal mythology and the possibility of grouping them more broadly according to identity, the characteristics which may be used to describe those identities and about the root causes of such villainous acts are the topic of the present study. Who are the villains of Formosan aboriginal mythology and why do they do what they do?

Data Collection

In order to carry out data collection, the first step in the codification process was to implement a detailed examination of all of the myth stories in the ten volumes of the *Taiwan Indigene* series. All of the myths in the present study were collected from Taiwan Indigene as this was treated as the official data source.

The first reason for this decision is because different versions of the myths chronicle dissimilar story lines. For example, the Amis myth about *Alikakay the Giant Child Eater* as told by King Yun-hua (Haddon, 2009) describes the Alikakay as a race of giants rather than as an individual giant and states that stone weapons and fire couldn't hurt them. This account differs from that recorded in *Taiwan Indigene*. Moreover, the myth about *Maciwciw's Visit to the Land Without Men* as told by King Yun-hua omits several details such as how the women reproduce without men's help and more importantly fails to specify that the women were planning to eat Maciwciw before he escaped. These details are particularly relevant to the present study as they illustrate that the women were motivated to take Maciwciw prisoner, in part, by hunger.

The second reason for utilizing *Taiwan Indigene* as the sole data source is because it is the only collection of aboriginal myths that includes mythology from multiple Formosan peoples and is readily available in print. This is relevant because one of the goals of the current study is to explore how greater openness with regard to "other" ethnic groups is presented in modern collections. Findings on this are presented in the literature review.

Lastly, *Taiwan Indigene* served as the main data source for the sake of convenience. Not only the convenience of the author, but with respect to the convenience of the public at large. If any member of the public is so inclined to purchase books on this topic, *Taiwan Indigene* is the only collection of such myths readily available in print and in English translation. As such, it is an excellent candidate for the current study.

Of the 46 myth stories recorded in *Taiwan Indigene*, a total of 23, or exactly half, were found to contain entities that match the working definition of a villain; those who kill or harm others. The 23 myths that didn't contain villains were excluded from the results. Only those 23 myths that were found to contain villains were analyzed. However, it is interesting to note that every volume in the series contained myths exhibiting villains. That is, villains can be found in the mythology of every tribe in *Taiwan Indigene* and are not limited to specific tribal histories. See Table 1 for the table of contents and presence or absence of villains in each account.

Table 1. Contents and Presence of Villains in *Taiwan Indigene*: Meaning Through Stories

Volume	Tribe	Myths/Stories	Villains
1	Amis	Votong's Fantastic Top	No
		Vay-Rovas and the Sea Spirit	Yes

		Alikakay the Giant Child Eater	Yes
		Maciwciw's Visit to the Land Without Men	Yes
		Story of the Crabman	No
2	Puyuma	Stories from the Puyuma of Du Lan Mountain	No
		The Mysterious Crescent Stones	No
		Origins of the Rites of Giving Thanks to the Sea	No
		In Search of the Millet Seed	No
		Giving Thanks to the Fish	Yes
		New Rice to Feed Myaibar the Mountain Spirit	No
3	Tao	The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man: The Creation Story of the Tao	Yes
		The Flying Fish Spirit	No
		Origins of the Tao Canoe	No
		The Story of the Abandoned Child	Yes
4	Paiwan	Pali's Red Eyes	Yes
		The Chief and Other Stories	No
		The Great Flood	Yes
		The Black Bulbul Returns with the Fire	No
		The Hundred Pace Snake; the Ceramic Vessel; the Chief	No
		The Tests of Love	No
5	Rukai	The Story of Muakaikai	Yes
		The Cloud Leopard People	No
		Kabalhivane: Our Eternal Home	No
		Beleng and the Snake	Yes
6	Bunun	Rendezvous with the Moon	Yes
		The Story of Adal	Yes
		The Angry Hundred Pace Snake	Yes
		The Hunter's Faith	Yes
7	Thao	Legend of the White Deer	No
		Tales of the Long-tail Elves	No
		The Long Haired Spirit of Sun Moon Lake	Yes
		The Black and White Twins and the Origins of the Ancestral Spirits Basket	Yes
		The Story of the Pariquaz Tree	Yes
8	Cou	The Broken Arrow and the Two Tribes of the Cou	Yes
		Revenge of the Mountain Boar	Yes
		The Forgotten Rites	No

		The Large Settlement and the Small Settlement	No
		The Homeyaya Festival	No
		The Suiski Festival	No
9	Saisiat	The Prophecy of the Great Storm	Yes
		The Lightning Woman's Visit to the Saisiat	Yes
		Pas-Taai: Legend of the Little People	Yes
10	Atayal	The Legend of the Giant Stone	No
		The Magical Summons	Yes
		The Rainbow's Judgment	No

During the subsequent steps in the codification process, fourteen villain identity types were found in the chronicles including Pygmies, Monster Animals, Suns/Moons, Gods, Fathers, Mothers, Fathers-in-Law, Giants, Spirits, Storms, Villagers (entire village), Animals, Villagers (individuals) and of course Foreigners (nontribal members). Villains were identified by attributes. In *Alikakay the Giant Child Eater*, the title of the myth says it all. Alikakay was a Giant who ate the internal organs of children. Such a description fits the definition of a villain perfectly. In other cases, villains were identified with descriptors such as foreigners as in the case of the cannibal women in the story of *Maciwciw's Visit to the Land Without Men*. See Table 2.

The majority of the villains, such as Alikakay, exhibited multifaceted identities and therefore could not be coded singularly as “giants” for example. Alikakay's identity was found, however, to easily fit into two categories shown in Figure 1 Villain Identity Types by Frequency, namely that of Giant and Foreigner as it is clear Alikakay the Giant came from outside of the tribe. However, in some cases, there was considerable difficulty in identifying villains within myths. The Rukai story of *Baleng and the Snake* serves as a case in point. After a careful reading of the myth, multiple characters appear to be candidates for the role of the villain. The most obvious is the snake king, Kamamaniane, who uses magic music to induce Baleng into a trance, falsely appears as a handsome young man to Baleng and concurrently creates a strong wind that terrified the guests at Baleng's home to the point that they “scrambled out of Baleng's home” leaving “only Baleng, her parents and some female attendants” (Winkler, 2016, Vol. 5, p. 83). Later Kamamaniane uses magic to vanish into thin air and later he speaks to Baleng's father in a dream to convince her father into consenting to allow his daughter to engage in zoophilia with him. Nevertheless, Baleng's father isn't convinced until he sees all of the ceramic pots, amber beads, colorful clothes, flowery hats, necklaces, bracelets and

earrings in the bride price prepared by Kamamaniane. Such a treasure trove is irresistible to the king who finally consents to the union of his daughter to the snake.

Could Baleng's father be considered a villain for selling his daughter to a snake king? The judgment of the researcher would side with a "yes" vote, but personal opinions about the characters were not evidence that a character in a myth story could be classified as a villain. Despite this helter-skelter storyline, neither Baleng who engaged in zoophilia, nor her father who consented to zoophilia and sold his daughter to a magic snake, nor Kamamaniane who used magic to trick Baleng into accepting his courtship were classified as villains in this study as none of them overtly harmed, humiliated, cursed or killed anyone. It isn't until much later in the story that a young village woman, who didn't even know Baleng, accidentally tipped over the basket that Baleng's human-snake hybrid babies were in, causing the children to fall to the ground and disappear.

It must be recalled that Kamamaniane, the children's father, was able to vanish into thin air, so it remains unclear on first reading whether the unnamed woman had actually harmed or killed the children or if they had simply vanished like their father. However, a more extensive reading indicates that harm did come to the children as it states "When Baleng heard the news of this mistreatment of her children she was very sad" (Winkler, 2016, Vol. 5 p. 92). Regardless of the fact that this mistreatment had been completely unintentional, Baleng later appeared to the villagers through dreams telling them that she would no longer send her children to visit them. As a result of this in-depth review of *Baleng and the Snake*, it was found that the only character who could be truly classified as a villain was the unnamed careless village woman who accidentally harmed/killed Baleng's children.

An examination of the villains' motivations proved to be equally if not more complex. Villains were found to exhibit a total of 13 motivation types including Fear of Bad Omen, Unruliness, Insecurity/Group Identity, Xenomisia, Desire to be Worshiped, Desire for Grandchildren, Cruelty, Sexual Desire, Greed, Trickery, Vengeance, Hunger and Carelessness. These motivation types are self-explanatory with the possible exception of Xenomisia. Xenomisia is the outright hatred of foreigners and should not be confused with the more commonly and often incorrectly used term Xenophobia, which is the fear of foreigners. The Bunun story of Adal expressly states that even though Diang was a member of the tribe and the Chief's adopted son, he was hated purely because he was genetically a foreigner. "But since Diang was of another tribe the other Bandalang boys would often mistreat him or gang up on and bully him. Sometimes they would not give him food, or when they were hunting someone might purposefully injure him while insisting that 'it was a mistake', or 'it wasn't intentional'" (Winkler, 2016, Vol. 6 p. 45).

Clearly, no one feared Diang, rather they held him in contempt, mistreated, ganged up on, bullied, intentionally injured and hated him exclusively because he “was of another tribe.” This is why the terms Xenomisia and Cruelty are the two motivation types which were employed to describe the acts of Diang’s persecutors, the village youth.

Alikakay was found to possess three motivation types. Table 2 illustrates that Trickery (tricking villagers for the sake of trickery), Sexual Desire (raping villagers) and Hunger (fetal and child cannibalism) were all Alikakay’s motivation types. According to this coding process, a particular villain’s character could occupy multiple fields in each the identity and motivation categories. Coding was intentionally done in this manner to reflect the dynamic natures of the characters, as they were documented in *Taiwan Indigene*, as accurately as possible.

Table 2. Identities/Motivations of Villains in Taiwan Indigene: Meaning Through Stories

Tribe	Myths/Stories	Identity(s)	Motivation(s)
Amis	Vay-Rovas and the Sea Spirit	Sea Spirit	Vengeance & Sexual Desire (nearly kills entire village to get a beautiful girl)
	Alikakay the Giant Child Eater	Giant, Foreigner	Trickery, Hunger & Sexual Desire (transformed into men in order to rape village women)
	Maciwciw’s Visit to the Land Without Men	Foreigners, Villagers	Hunger (starving cannibal women)
Puyuma	Giving Thanks to the Fish	Individual Villager - Patakiu the Trickster	Greed, Trickery & Hunger
Tao	The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man: The Creation Story of the Tao	Giants, Foreigners	Unruliness, Hunger & Carelessness (The Giants did as they pleased and were killed by god in a global deluge)
	The Story of the Abandoned Child	1. Villagers 2. Individual Villager, Mother	1. Cruelty (Not empathetic to orphans) 2. Insecure / Group Identity (Mother abandoned her own infant)

			child)
Paiwan	Pali's Red Eyes	1. Individual Villager - Pali 2. Foreigners – Another Tribe	1. Carelessness (killed people with eyes) 2. Trickery & Vengeance (decapitated Pali)
	The Great Flood	1. Villagers - The Paiwan People 2. Gods of Paiwan	1. Greed & Hunger (Took more than they needed from nature) 2. Desire to be worshiped
Rukai	The Story of Muakaikai	Foreigner – Father-in-Law	Cruelty & Desire for grandchildren (Kidnapped a wife for his grandson)
	Beleng and the Snake	Individual Villager - Unnamed village woman	Carelessness (Accidentally killed two snake-human hybrid “children”)
Bunun	Rendezvous with the Moon	Two Suns / The Moon	Desire to be worshiped
	The Story of Adal	Villagers - Tribal Boys	Xenomisia & Cruelty: (Hated Adal's son because of his bloodline)
	The Angry Hundred Pace Snake	Animal - Snake	Vengeance: (Attacked village because snake babies were killed)
	The Hunter's Faith	Storm	*No motivation* - Storms are inherently dangerous.
Thao	The Long Haired Spirit of Sun Moon Lake	1. Spirits (Mermaids) 2. Villagers - Thao People	1. Vengeance (Fought the Thao who threw garbage in their lake) 2. Carelessness (polluted river)
	The Black and White Twins and the Origins of the Ancestral Spirits Basket	Individual Villager, Father	Fear of a bad omen (Twins are taboo so the father killed the “black” one)
	The Story of the Pariquaz Tree	Foreigners	Greed & Hunger (Chinese settlers took land to grow crops)
Cou	The Broken Arrow and the Two Tribes of the	Monster Animal - Eel	Carelessness (caused a massive flood by sleeping at the river mouth)

Cou			
	Revenge of the Mountain Boar	1.Foreigner, Animal 2.Mountain Boar Sounder	1.Sexual Desire & Trickery: (Transformed into a man in order to seduce village girl) 2.Vengeance: (Attacked villagers after the king was killed for bestiality)
Saisiat	The Prophecy of the Great Storm	Storm	*No motivation* - Storms are inherently dangerous.
	The Lightning Woman's Visit to the Saisiat	Individual Villager, Father-in-Law	Desire for Grandchildren, Carelessness & Hungry (He sent his daughter into the kitchen ... so she'd get pregnant)
	Pas-Taai: Legend of the Little People	Pygmies, Foreigners	Sexual Desire & Greed (The Saisiat people couldn't repay the pygmies so the pygmies raped the tribe's women)
Atayal	The Magical Summons	1.Villagers - Atayal People 2.Individual Villager 3.Animals	1.Greedy & Cruel, Carelessness (Took more than they needed and weren't thankful) 2.Trickery & Carelessness (Played tricks on firewood) 3.Vengeance (Cursed the Atayal and all future generations to work for sustenance)

Note. Since two myths chronicled examples of storms which caused the deaths of people, storms were categorized as acting as villains. However, storms are inherently dangerous weather events that cannot have motivations. As such, no motivations are listed as being attributed to the storms.

V. Analysis and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the possibility of grouping the villains of Formosan mythology from the selected works broadly according to identity. Could it be said that most of the villains were mostly dragons, witches and trolls for example? The secondary purpose was to catalogue and describe the motivations for the malevolent acts that the villains perpetrated. In executing the aforementioned aims a

comparison was made with those generalities as they exist in corresponding western literature and most importantly, quantitative data was generated to support a generalization which could be used as a basis to understand more globally the myths of Formosan aboriginal people.

All fourteen villain identity types are presented in Figure 1 and organized by frequency. Only one myth was found with corresponding villainous Pygmies, Monster Animals, Sun/Moon, Gods, Mothers and Fathers. That is to say, villains fitting such identities were the least common. Fathers-in-Law, Giants, Spirits, Storms and Wild Animals were slightly more common having been part of between two and three different myths. However, the most common villain types in Taiwan Indigene were Individual Villagers, Entire Villages and Foreigners (anyone from outside of the tribe). There were a total of eight myths with villainous Foreigners and six myths with Entire Villages and five myths with Individual Villagers which accounted for more than half of all the villain identity types by frequency. When Father, Mother and Father-in-Law villain types are included, a total of 23 human villains are found among the 36 villains across all 23 myths.

Two major implications are associated with these identity-type findings. The first is that the frequency differences in the selected works between Foreigners and Villagers, both Individual and Entire, is low. In fact, Foreigners are represented as villains less of the time (8 times) than the combination of Individual Villagers and Entire Villages (11 times). In the search for the quintessential villain type in Formosan aboriginal mythology, these findings indicated that the role is overwhelmingly filled by people, regardless of tribal affiliation. While xenomisia was found in the literature, it was isolated to one myth which illustrates that hearers of the myths are taught that people, regardless of insider outsider status, have the capacity to be dangerous and exhibit the potential to cause harm. This leads to the second point. Rather than vilify any one group, the lessons of Formosan aboriginal mythology teach the listener to regard all animate entities with caution. While people are clearly the most dangerous, animals and storms are dangerous as well. All of the Spirits, Gods, talking Suns and Moons and Monsters combined equaled less than all of the villains portrayed as being foreigners.

Regarding similarities between the identities of Formosan aboriginal mythological villains and the villains found in western literature, it could be said that none of the villains identified in the present study are limited to Formosan mythology. People, animals, giants, spirits etc. are found across all literature filling the roles of villains. However, current findings illustrate that the prototypical Formosan aboriginal villains of mythology are markedly dissimilar from the prototypical witch, evil queen or wicked step mother found in many western fairy tales. Even though a total of 36

villains were found, none of them were step mothers (though there were two step fathers), none of them were female witches (though there are many sorcerers – mostly male) and there was only one evil queen which is classified as a Mother. However, even the possibly evil queen of the Thao myth *The Black and White Twins and the Origins of the Ancestral Spirits Basket* wasn't tallied as a villain because instead of being responsible for killing her "black child," the myth specifies that the baby was in fact killed by her husband, the king. The Mother didn't harm, humiliate, curse or kill the child. This evil queen's only crime is that she seemed to condone the killing of her newborn out of fear of what others would think about her and her family. Further, as MacGovern (1922) writes on Formosan aboriginal culture, "Twins are considered "unlucky" and the weaker of the pair is usually killed at birth." As such it is arguable that in carrying out this act of infanticide both the Mother and the Father were simply carrying out their moral obligation to their tribe. This finding not only validates the study's methodology and findings but also illustrates the creativity and culturally specific originality of the characters of Formosan prototypical villains of mythology.

As is stated above, the role of villain in prototypical western tales is often filled by the elderly woman or old hag. The findings of the present study clearly indicate that, in addition to individual villagers and entire villages, Foreigners play an important role in Taiwan aboriginal mythology. So, in order to further develop an understanding of the identities of the Foreigners described in the literature, and compare them with those found in western tales, it is important to consider their identities within the context of age and sex.

It is critical to note that many of these Foreigners were present as groups rather than individuals within the myths. The Paiwan story of *Pali's Red Eyes* documents a posse of foreign headhunters acting as villains. Since it is well documented that all Formosan headhunting was done exclusively by virile-warrior adult males and that it is taboo for a female to engage in headhunting, (Cauquelin, 2004) this headhunting posse clearly fits into the adult male category.

The Amis myth *Maciwciw's Visit to the Land Without Men* includes exclusively female cannibal villains and the Tao myth *The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man: The Creation Story* includes both male and female giants. However, the remaining six instances of foreign villains were found to be adult males. This finding, that the majority of foreign villains were adult males is juxtaposed to the archetypal elderly hag that is so commonly associated with western tales. Since these Foreigners include shape-shifting Giants, Magic Pygmies and Magic Wild Boar, it may be difficult to postulate that the shared identity of being male and adult is based purely on the virile-warrior reality that these tribes understand. Nonetheless, it is clear that adult males often fill the role of the villain and are motivated chiefly by Sexual Desire.

Three foreigner groups found in Amis, Cao and Saisiat myths provided profiles of villains motivated, at least in part, by Sexual Desire. See Table 3.

Table 3. Foreign Villain Identity Profiles

Tribe	Myths/Stories	Foreigner Profile	Age	Sex
Amis	Alikakay the Giant Child Eater	Giant rapist	Adult	Male
	Maciwciw's Visit to the Land Without Men	Cannibals	Adult	Female
Tao	The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man: The Creation Story of the Tao	Carless Giants	Adult	Both
Paiwan	Pali's Red Eyes	Headhunters	Adult	Male
Rukai	The Story of Muakaikai	Father-in-Law	Senior	Male
Thao	The Story of the Pariquaz Tree	Chinese Settlers	Adult	Both
Cou	Revenge of the Mountain Boar	Magic Wild Boar	Adult	Male
Saisiat	Pas-Taai: Legend of the Little People	Magic Pygmies	Adult	Male

A total of thirteen motivation types out of 36 total villains were identified from the aforementioned corpus and are presented in Figure 1 by frequency. Motivations such as Fearing Bad Omens, Unruliness, Xenomisia and Insecurity / Group Identity only appeared once throughout the series. The Desire for Grandchildren and a Desire to be Worshiped are found only twice each in the selected corpus. Four myths chronicled villains whose ambitions were fueled by Sexual Desire and Cruelty. However, the most common motivations types in Taiwan Indigene were Greed, Trickery, Vengeance and most of all carelessness and hunger. Carelessness, Hunger, Trickery and Vengeance accounted for more than half of all the motivation types discovered throughout *Taiwan Indigene*.

Trickery may often be thought of as a means rather than as a motivation. However, trickery in the selected corpus was often described as a motivation. Trickery for the sake of trickery is illustrated in the Puyuma myth *Giving Thanks to the Fish* which states that “One of Patakiu’s favorite tricks was to steal rice dough patties. When the people of his village were preparing the patties, Patakiu would loudly shout “fire” and ask for the people to come and help. When everyone rushed off to find the fire, Patakiu went into the kitchen and took all of the patties” (Winkler, 2016, Vol. 2, p. 77). Likewise, the Atayal myth of *The Magical Summons* also chronicles a “young man (who) simply didn’t like to work and just wanted to play tricks on people all day”

(Winkler, 2016, Vol. 10, p. 65). These examples and more show that, in the selected corpus, trickery and the amusement gained from it was a motivation in itself rather than a merely as a means to fulfill another motivation type.

The implications of these findings clearly imply that the groups who created these myths were gripped so tremendously with hunger that the villains of their mythologies often resorted to acts of theft and vengeance when their appetites couldn't be satisfied. The Amis stories of Alikakay and Maciwciw describe cannibalistic foreigners preying on helpless Amis tribesmen. The Puyuma story of Patakiu describes a villager who chronically steals rice dough patties from his clansmen to the point that he was abandoned on Green Island and left to fend for himself. The Tao myth of *The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man* chronicles strange-looking giants, like those described in *Jack and the Beanstalk*, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and biblical accounts of Nephilim eating babies and pregnant women. The Paiwan epic of *The Great Flood* provides an account of a lazy people with an unreasonable and insatiable appetite for food which incurred the wrath of the gods which brings to mind the flood story of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. The Thao story of *The Pariquaz Tree* describes how land-crazed foreigners, from China, attacked and destroyed their sacred pariquaz tree which in turn brought infirmity and plagues to the defenseless Thao. The motivation of the foreigners was hunger as they fought to gain land for crop cultivation. Lastly, the Saisiat myth of the *Lightning Woman* describes a father-in-law so obsessed with having grandchildren that he essentially forces his daughter-in-law into the kitchen to cook for him so that she would somehow become impregnated. Knowing that entering the kitchen would essentially kill her, the lightning woman did so nonetheless because she could no longer resist her father-in-law's careless hazing. The father-in-law's hazing in this case is classified as Careless because he did not know that going into the kitchen could hurt her.

Carelessness was the most common motivation by frequency. Despite the fact that carelessness in and of itself isn't technically a motivation, it remains salient as an explanation for the deeds of many villains. When inadvertent carelessness causes harm and death to come to others, the myth's character becomes responsible and liable. The giants in the *The Bamboo Man and the Stone Man: The Creation Story of the Tao* incur the wrath of god who causes a global deluge which kills all life on Earth. Since their actions were done with apparent negligence rather than harmful intent, and since their carelessness resulted in the loss of life in a mass extinction event, this carelessness falls under the definition of what it means to be a villain.

For a similar example of unintended villainy in ancient literature, consider the story of the Amalekite in 2 Samuel Chapter 1 in the Bible. In this account, the character is labeled the villain for acts he did at the explicit request of the person that

the acts were done to. The story goes that an Amalekite soldier came out of the slaughtered camp of King Saul with earth upon his head and rent clothes to show his state of mourning. The Amalekite, of his own free volition, walks into the camp of David and tells the story of how he had mercy killed King Saul at Saul's behest and subsequently brought Saul's crown and bracelet to David expecting to be rewarded. However, rather than reward the Amalekite for bringing the news of his enemy Saul's death and his valuable possessions, David orders his honor guard to execute the unsuspecting Amalekite on the spot saying to the Amalekite "Thy blood be upon thy head; for thy mouth hath testified against thee, saying, I have slain the LORD's anointed." This story of the seemingly innocent Amalekite shows that David saw him as guilty of a grave sin and therefore for our purposes, a villain. See Appendix 1 for source account and verses 9 and 10 specifically.

In the pursuit to identify the prototypical villain and describe his motivations, the results of this study are clear. The villains of Formosan aboriginal mythology from the selected works are more often than not regular people, either individual members of a tribe or foreigners from outside the tribe. Motivated chiefly by carelessness, hunger, vengeance, greed and trickery, stereotypical villains can be thought of as being very hungry people who will stop at nothing to get what they want.

The caveat to this finding is the prominent place that carelessness takes on the list. Carelessness resulting in death or other misfortune is common in the selected corpus. The Saisiat, Rukai, Paiwan and Tao myths all consist of villains whose carelessness results in death, sometimes on a mass scale. Thao, Cou and Atayal myths show how carelessness can have terrible results for the tribe at large when the land is disrespected. This abundance of apathetic carelessness serves as a moral teaching tool to educate new generations and pass on cultural wisdom intended to foster overall prosperity of the tribe.

Further, it has been found that the majority of the villains were adult males. Chiefly Table 2 and also Table 3 illustrate that out of the 36 villain archetypes found, 14 were identified as all male while only three myths contained accounts of exclusively female villains. The remaining groups were either non-gendered celestial bodies and weather events or other mixed gendered groups.

VI. Implications and Limitations

This study sheds tremendous light on the identities and motivations of the villains in the selected corpus. In this pioneering study of villain identification in Formosan aboriginal mythology, villains were identified, described, and their motivations were catalogued. Further, these findings include important implications

for understanding deeper cultural sentiments regarding Formosan aboriginal gender roles and a proclivity towards association with acts of villainy. The tendency for Formosan myths with accounts of violence or other acts which result in death to be perpetuated by villains with adult male identities cannot be overlooked. When approached in the context of seeking to describe prototypical villain archetypes, those found in the associated literature are clearly dissimilar from the old hag of the western tradition.

The traditional beliefs of the Truku band of the Eastern Sejiq people, for example, establish that the gods, ghosts and other supernatural ancestral beings such as the Utux had established rules or laws which the Truku refer to as Gaya. Gaya dictates that the only way for men and women to successfully traverse the rainbow bridge to join the Utux in the afterlife is to become a “real man” or a “real woman” respectively. Women achieve this glory through adherence to the lifelong sacred mission to weaving textiles; men achieved it (formerly) through headhunting. There are accounts of old women weaving on their deathbeds to ensure passage over the rainbow bridge. For a man, only the taking of heads could endow him with the spiritual force needed to prove his status as a real man. Additionally, it was considered a bonus for a man to behead a woman because, not only did he assume ownership of her spiritual force, but also that of any children she may bear in the future (Pu, 2007).

With this rudimentary understanding of Formosan aboriginal gender roles based on Gaya, it is perhaps predictable that men should assume the role of the archetypal villain in the mythology. It is notable however that none of the motivations discovered in the corpus appear to have roots in headhunting or Gaya. That notwithstanding, this compilation of villains and examination of their identities and the mythical causes as well as the underlying cultural roots for their acts of villainy provides contributions new to the field of the study of Formosan aboriginal mythology.

Finally, as is the case with all studies some limitations were found and must be stated as a matter of record. The first most obvious limitation is due to the fact that English translations of the target material are extremely limited. Future work could include adding to the corpus of available translations and creating a new compilation of previously never-before-translated works. Another limitation came with deciding which characters could be considered villains. This process is described above, but it must be admitted that flaws in the coding may persist.

Future studies may examine the prevalence of zoophilia in Formosan aboriginal mythology as myths such as the Amis story about *The Young Girl and the Dog* (King, 2009), *Baleng and the Snake* of the Rukai, *The Virgin and the Deer* (Naoyoshi & Erin, 1935), the Bunun stories of the *Girl and the Earthworms* and the *Husband and the Monkey* and finally the Cou myth of the *Revenge of the Mountain Boar* all of which

depict sexual relationships between aboriginal women and animals. Lastly, giants and the presence of global great flood accounts across Formosan aboriginal mythology would be interesting to investigate further, especially as they compare with those found in other cultural traditions around the world.

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Appendix

2 Samuel Chapter 1. King James Version:

1. Now it came to pass after the death of Saul, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Amalekites, and David had abode two days in Ziklag;
2. It came even to pass on the third day, that, behold, a man came out of the camp from Saul with his clothes rent, and earth upon his head: and so it was, when he came to David, that he fell to the earth, and did obeisance.
3. And David said unto him, From whence comest thou? And he said unto him, Out of the camp of Israel am I escaped.
4. And David said unto him, How went the matter? I pray thee, tell me. And he answered, That the people are fled from the battle, and many of the people also are fallen and dead; and Saul and Jonathan his son are dead also.
5. And David said unto the young man that told him, How knowest thou that Saul and Jonathan his son be dead?
6. And the young man that told him said, As I happened by chance upon mount Gilboa, behold, Saul leaned upon his spear; and, lo, the chariots and horsemen followed hard after him.
7. And when he looked behind him, he saw me, and called unto me. And I answered, Here am I.
8. And he said unto me, Who art thou? And I answered him, I am an Amalekite.
9. He said unto me again, Stand, I pray thee, upon me, and slay me: for anguish is come upon me, because my life is yet whole in me.
10. So I stood upon him, and slew him, because I was sure that he could not live after that he was fallen: and I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was on his arm, and have brought them hither unto my lord.
11. Then David took hold on his clothes, and rent them; and likewise all the men that were with him:
12. And they mourned, and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul, and for Jonathan his son, and for the people of the LORD, and for the house of Israel; because they were fallen by the sword. And David said unto the young man that told him, Whence art thou? And he answered, I am the son of a stranger, an Amalekite.

13. And David said unto the young man that told him, Whence art thou? And he answered, I am the son of a stranger, an Amalekite.
14. And David said unto him, How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the LORD's anointed?
15. And David called one of the young men, and said, Go near, and fall upon him. And he smote him that he died.
16. And David said unto him, Thy blood be upon thy head; for thy mouth hath testified against thee, saying, I have slain the LORD's anointed.
17. And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son: