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The Reinvention of Ethnicity and Culture: A Comparative Study on the Atayal and the Truku in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I have examined the ethnic classification based on the Japanese colonial background in the first part. Secondly, I have discussed the process of the Truku Name Rectification Campaign and the standards of definition of an ethnic group proposed by the leaders of the campaign. These standards reflect the objective classification in contemporary society; therefore, the “objective” standards led to many conflicts. In order to understand the name rectification campaign, understanding the Taiwanese political and economical background is necessary. On the one hand, the government in power supported the ethnic group campaign to highlight that Taiwan is a country with multiple ethnic groups or to gain votes. On the other hand, elite aboriginals could participate in politics and increase the numbers of members in Congress. Also, they could promote a self-governing movement to change the aboriginal disadvantages in politics, economics and culture.

When the name campaign succeeded, how to reconstruct “Truku culture” became an important issue. The ancestral ritual provides a field on which to congregate the “Truku” collective consciousness. Although ancestral rituals disappeared when the Presbyterian Church questioned their legitimacy, these processes created a chance for people to integrate modern beliefs into traditional culture. This cultural reinvention is continuing.

Finally, I have made a comparison between the Atayal and the Truku cultures, especially focusing on their two key cultural concepts ─ gaga (gaya) and lyutux (utux). This illustrates how cultures are redefined and practiced

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differently, according to their local contexts. The invention of culture is ongoing in the locals' everyday lives, rather than only taking place in the social movement, e.g., the Name Rectification movement.

Keywords: ethnicity, identity, reinvention of culture, Atayal, Truku

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族群與文化的再創造：泰雅族與太魯閣族的比較研究

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摘 要

本文首先檢視日本殖民統治以來的族群分類，接著討論太魯閣族正名運動的發展過程、以及運動領導者所提出來的「族群」界定標準，這些標準反映了當代社會「客觀的」分類方式，也因此造成內部許多爭議。但是整個運動必須放在臺灣整體政治經濟環境下才能進一步理解，一方面，執政當局透過族群獨立運動來突顯臺灣是個多族群的國家，或者藉機爭取選票；另一方面，當地菁英可以透過這個方式來增加國會議員人數，或者是進一步推動原住民自治，改變原住民在政治、經濟、教育和文化上的弱勢。

伴隨著「正名運動」的自然是「太魯閣文化」的重新建構，因此「祖靈祭」提供了凝聚「太魯閣族」集體意識的場域，但是「祖靈祭」卻也在推動正名運動不遺餘力的基督教長老會牧師的質疑聲中提前落幕。不過這些過程也營造出當地人轉化傳統以結合現代信仰的契機，文化的再創造是個不斷進行的過程。

本文最後比較泰雅族與太魯閣族兩個基本文化概念─gaga (gaya) and lyutux (utux)，探討在不同的歷史脈絡下這兩個文化概念如何被重新界定與實踐。Gaga 的字面意義是 「祖先流傳下來的話」，透過儀式及日常生活的實踐，它也成為泰雅人重要的文化觀念與社會範疇。Gaga 包含了戒律、儀式的規則及禁忌、個人內在能力或好運等多重意涵，每個人可以從不同來源交換、分享或學習到不同的 gaga，在這過程中建立了社會性（sociality）的人觀。相對於西部泰雅族，太魯閣部落受到日本人遷村影響甚大，原部落被打散分到各地，現今部落由許多不同來源組成，部落的整體性尚未建立，gaya 也未制度化，當地人以 gaya 指涉人和 utux、人和人互動過程中一種狀況、個人的內在狀態，更以 gaya 指稱人的行為處於不潔、罪責。在與西方宗教的相遇中，泰雅族與太魯閣族的 lyutux (utux)信仰也面臨了與「神」的觀念結合或衝突的過程，在

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文化再生產的同時也產生轉化和創新，變和不變繼續交織在歷史的過程中。

關鍵字：族群、認同、文化再創造、泰雅族、太魯閣族

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Concerning the issue of ethnicity, the debate between primordialism and circumstantialism was raised three decades ago. Much of debate has focused on the relative weight of "cultural givens" versus "situational factors" in the definition of ethnicity. The debate, however, does not take the cultural dimensions of identity into consideration (Linnekin and Poyer 1990:3-4). Aiming to reconsidering ethnicity theories, Linnekin and Poyer point out that the Oceania theories of cultural identity differ from theories based on the ethnicity paradigm. "At the root of the contrast are the epistemological differences about what constitutes a person, and a distinctive theory of ontogeny" (ibid:7). Lamarckian and Mendelian models are further proposed to analyze two types of personal identity. "In the Lamarckian model, parental experience, actions, and performed relations with people, plants, soil, and other parts of the environment affect the constitution of the individual at the level of ontogeny"(ibid:8). The Lamarckian paradigm helps to explain "the fluidity of social boundaries in many Pacific societies, where individuals are likely to possess multiple, nested affiliations in a conceptual hierarchy" (ibid:11). Contrasted to the Lamarckian model, the Mendelian model can be associated with the Western concept of ethnicity, in that individual identity is determined more or less by descent (ibid:8).

Following the discussions of cultural concepts of personal and social identity, the issues of flexibility of identity, and alternative identity are further discussed in many other works (Poyer 1993; Eriksen 1993; Handler 1994; Vermeulen & Govers 1994; Astuti 1995; Harrison 1999; Peuter 1999; Cohen 2000; Bauman 2001; Thompson 2003; Jamieson 2003). For example, for the Vezo of Madagascar, identity is not determined by birth, by descent, by an essence inherited from the past, but is created contextually in the present through what people do and through the place where they live (Astuti 1995:3). Furthermore, multiple fields of identity are articulated and transformed into a changing political economy. Take the Malay as an example: the contested terrain of Malay identity is experienced in relationship to other contested terrains of class, gender, religion and migration (Thompson 2003:431). It is, therefore, emphasized that identification is a never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity (Bauman 2001:129).

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In addition to being defined by culture or being contested among different forces, in some societies, identity has also been shaped, constrained, and pushed in the direction of the tighter boundaries of Western ethnic categories under the influence of colonialism and nationalism (Linnekin 1990; Poyer 1990, 1993; Gillis 1994). In this article, I will focus on analyzing how an aboriginal group (the Truku) gives several criteria to justify their independence from another aboriginal group (the Atayal) in Taiwan, and how this independence movement should be considered in the contexts of Japanese colonialism and Chinese nationalism. Moreover, in this movement, the past is used, selectively appropriated, remembered, forgotten, or invented in order to account for the present, to justify it, understand it, or criticize it（Tonkin, McDonald & Chapman 1989:5）. However, the criteria which the independence movement proposed reflect the objective criteria by which the outside world defines an ethnic group. Many conflicts are therefore caused among themselves, which shows that group identity is a communicative process that includes many voices and varying degrees of understanding and misunderstanding. Another aim in this article is to transcend these objective criteria, so I will further make a comparison between the Atayal and the Truku cultures, focusing on how their key cultural concepts are redefined and practiced differently, according to local contexts. Culture, therefore, has no unchanging "essence", but is conceptualized in terms of ongoing processes of construction and negotiation.

In regard to the classification of Taiwanese aborigines, the Japanese colonial government constructed a system of objective knowledge related to the aboriginal social characteristics and the classification of aboriginal groups in order to rule the Taiwanese indigenous people. Subsequently, scholars have adopted this objective knowledge and have faced some restrictions and problems (Ma 2003; Wang 2006b). For example, scholars' classification of aboriginals is different from the locals' concepts of defining ethnic groups. In 1996, the East Sədeq sub-ethnic group in Hualien, which was traditionally classified as the Atayal ethnic group, launched the Truku Name Rectification Campaign. The aim of the rectification campaign was to separate the East Sədeq people from the Atayal. On January 14, 2004, the Executive Yuan officially ratified them as the Truku ethnic group. According to demographic

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statistics recorded by the Council of Indigenous Peoples of the Executive Yuan in 2006, the Atayal population numbered 75,751, and the Truku population was 20,781.[1]

Firstly, in this article, I will review the process by which the Atayal interior classification has been formed. Secondly, the development of the Truku Name Rectification Campaign will be depicted. Also, I will discuss the definition of "ethnic groups" and the disputes over ethnic names from the Truku interior viewpoints, and the developing process of reinventing the Truku identity and culture.

THE PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTING THE ATAYAL INTERIOR CLASSIFICATION

The Japanese scholars Ino Kanori and Awano Dennojou wrote a book titled *Indigenous Taiwanese* (Taiwan Fan Ren Shi Qing) in 1900. In this book, they discussed the classification of Indigenous Taiwanese, and they presented "Atayal" as the name of an ethnic group of indigenous Taiwanese. In 1911, the Japanese colonial government officially named this group the Atayal. Because the Atayal were distributed widely and many groups had different accents and customs, Japanese scholars divided the Atayal into several sub-groups. Among them, the Utsurikawa Nenozo and Mabuchi Toichi proposed different classifications of the Atayal.

Utsurikawa Nenozo

In the book *Studies of the Systems of Taiwanese Mountain People* (Taiwan Gao Sha Zu Si Ton Suo Zhu Zhi Yan Jiu) in 1935, Utsurikawa Nenozo divided the Atayal into three systems: Səqoleq, Tsə?ole? and Sədeq, according to different legends about their places of origin. The names of the three systems were chosen by the terms Atayal people used for "human" in their dialogues. According to Utsurikawa's research, the Səqoleq people thought that Pinsebukan was their place of origin; for the Tsə?ole?, the place was Papakwaqa; while the Səqoleq thought their place of origin was Bunohon. This classification based on places of origin in legend was accepted subsequently by scholars and became the key approach to classify the Atayal, because the Səqoleq and Tsə?ole? called themselves Atayal, Tayal, Tayen or

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Tayan, which meant “human”, “true human” or “people in the same tribe”. Therefore, the Səqoleq and Tsə?ole? Systems were classified as Atayal sub-ethnic groups. The Sədeq System was further divided into the west group and east Sədeq group, because they called “human” as Sədeq or Sədeg.

Mabuchi Toichi

Mabuchi Toichi made different points from those of Utsurikawa Nenozo with regard to the analytic unit. He paid high attention to “political alliance above the level of tribes”, that is a constant political alliance in the Atayal society (Mabuchi n.d.[1941]: 375).

Mabuchi used “tribal alliance” as an analytical unit and identified several characteristics in the Atayal. Firstly, compared to the Bunun, the Atayal contained more than thirty “tribal alliances”. The large number of Atayal tribal alliances was an obvious feature (ibid: 381). Secondly, the terms which were referred to as “tribal alliances” were “*qotux ləliyug*” and “*qutux gaog*” in the Səqoleq and Tsə?ole? dialects. The former term meant “a big river” and the latter term meant “a small creek”. “Drawing the boundary of a tribe based on the area a river reaches is typical of the Atayal” (ibid: 381).

> *The upstream, midstream and downstream of a river are occupied by several tribal alliances, respectively. The main branch of a river is the territory of a tribal alliance. A tribal alliance may be composed of a group of people belonging to the same system. It, however, can also be seen that people from different systems occupy the same branch of a river. Or, a group of people from other systems can join a tribal alliance by following some procedures. Also, we often observe that a tribal alliance displays various cultural features of different systems. Or, people still have the ‘consciousness’ of foreign systems to a certain level. Vice-versa, people of the same system may not belong to the same tribal alliance. In some cases, a group of people might move to other*

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> *branches of rivers and organize a new tribal alliance. After around 5 or 6 generations, those informants who are 50 to 60 years old in different tribal alliances still remember that they were ever in the same system. However, the relationship between these tribal alliances is weaker. At the same time, the interaction between these tribal alliances is unstable and easily broken. Sometimes, they become enemies and fight for the hunting fields. Moreover, they kill each other and hunt for heads. Therefore, in regard to the Atayal characteristics, the territory of a tribal alliance where it is defined by a river basin is more important and obvious than the commonality of the origin* (Mabuchi n.d.[1941]: 381).

For Mabuchi, a "region" should replace a "system", or more specifically, the idea of "region" could replace that of the classification of systems based on genealogy as a key dimension to understand Atayal social characteristics.[2]

Masau Mona

Among the systems of Atayal interior classification which are used today, the most detailed one is that constructed by Masau Mona (See Figure1). He employed the structures of classification formed by Utsurikawa Nenozo (1935), Yih-Yuan Li (1963), Hui-Lin Wei (1972), and so forth. He divided the Atayal into two sub-ethnic groups: Atayal and Sədeq. He also divided the Atayal sub-ethnic group into the Səqoleq system and Tsə?ole? system. Each system was divided into several sub-systems. A sub-system was divided into several groups which were denoted as administration or regions; the Sədeq sub-ethnic group was divided into Tktaya Group, Teuda Group and Truku Group. The tree of classification showed the combination of two principles of classification; one was based on places of origin, and the other was based on region or political administration. However, these two principles of classification do not correspond to each other. For example, the Nanao Group includes the Makanaji Sub-system in the Səqoleq System, Mabaala Sub-System, Meenebo Sub-system in the Tsə?ole? System, and Teuda Group in the Sədeq sub-ethnic group.

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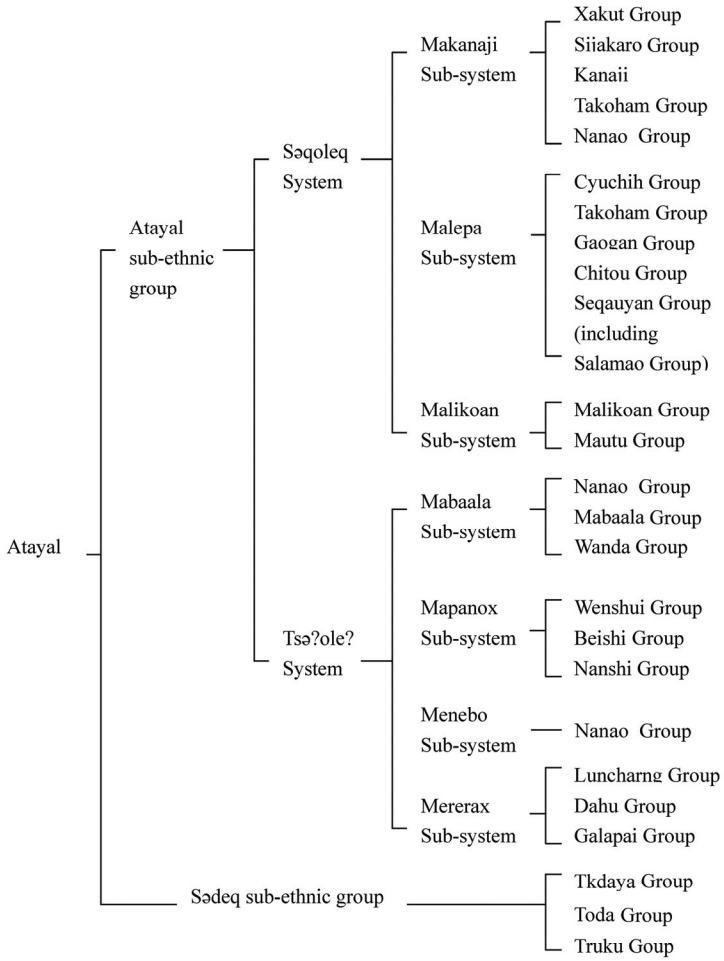


Figure 1: Atayal Classification (Mausa Mona 1984:8-9)

DEVELOPMENT OF THE "TRUKU" NAME RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN

The previous classifications which were constructed based on objective standards cannot penetrate the dynamic characteristics of Atayal societies (Wang 2006b). The objective classification is also different from that of the locals'. The "Truku" Name Rectification Campaign was therefore launched by the East Sədeq sub-ethnic group in Hualien in 1996. At the beginning, the Truku Presbyterian Church[3] held a Truku Name Rectification Conference in July, 1996. Then, the Truku Cultural Development Association in Hualien County held a Truku Name

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Rectification Conference in May, 1997. The Truku Economic Affairs Association held a Truku Name Rectification Conference in October, 1999. The Wanrung Work Station held a Conference of "Finding our Origin" and "Rectification of the Truku Name". The Truku Cultural Development Association in Hualien County later organized a group named the "Group for Truku Name Rectification" in September, 2002 (Teyra Yudaw 2003: 52-53). In November, 2002, the Association for Promotion of the Truku Name Rectification was organized and started a declaration about "Truku" name rectification:

> *We are aboriginals from western Truku Truwan (which means the origin). ... We would like to have inter-subjectively equal relations with the public. Concerning the Truku people's development in the future ...we ask the government to name us as "Truku" and give us the rights in dignity and power like other ethnic groups.* (ibid: 63-64).

In regard to this practical approach, the leaders of the rectification campaign mobilized Truku aboriginals to cosign through the power of village leaders, delegates and village officers. Moreover, the Presbyterian Church established itself in tribes and expanded to other sects to cosign.

When the Truku Name Rectification Campaign became more and more organized, the origins of an "ethnic group", a name for an ethnic group and cultural connotations were also constructed. In "The Statement of Fighting for Becoming the Taiwanese Twelfth Ethnic Group- Truku" announced by the Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification in May 2003, Teyra Yudaw, who was a chief officer in the association, stressed the differences between the Truku and Atayal in languages and culture. He pointed out that there are 44 lingual differences related to hunting tools, animals, plants, and bodies. He also claimed that the Truku differed from the Atayal in regard to the sacred mountains, customs, division of hunting areas, garments, rituals, face-tattoos, prohibitive rules for marriage mates, food customs, etc. (Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification 2003: 21-24). In August, 2003, Teyra Yudaw further discussed the "Truku" place of origin and the meaning of

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“Truku” in the on-line program, “Tribal Face to Face”, broadcast on the Public Television Service in Sioulin Township.

In addition to stressing that the Truku languages and culture were different from the Atayal, “subjective identity” was another standard to distinguish east and west Sədeq in the constructing process of the discourse. This subjective identity was based on the fact that “an ethnic group chooses their collective memory and mutual life experience” (Teyra Yudaw 2003: 73). Therefore, the Campaign of “Giving my Ethnic Name Back” is not only an arousal of Truku “subjective identity”, but also an insistence on their “subjectivity” and “dignity” （ibid: 47）. However, from the viewpoint of the Sədeq, the subjective identity is bifurcated and doubtable.

The Truku Name Rectification Campaign successfully used its political opportunity. The Truku people actively made name rectification an issue during the election of the head of Hualien County in August, 2003. In order to gain votes, the government in power supported the name rectification campaign. This process presented that understanding the Taiwanese political background is necessary for understanding the name rectification campaign. The campaign leaders always quoted President Chen, Shui-Bian’s treaty − “New Partner Relationship” which he proposed in the presidential election in 2000, and Chen’s declaration that “the relationship between Aboriginals and the Republic of China is the relation between countries” after he won the election in order to gain support from outside. No matter whether the treaty or declaration were made because of election strategy or for showing that Taiwan is an independent country with multiple ethnic groups, they did help elite aboriginals to participate in politics. In the future, it is anticipated that the numbers of aboriginal members in Congress will increase and a self-governing movement will take place. As Liu, Shao-Wei, the vice officer in the Association for Promotion of the Truku Name Rectification, pointed out, “Whether aboriginals fought for the political budget or promoted regional self-governance, the Truku Name Rectification Campaign actively and positively participated in politics” (Liu, Shao-Wei 2004:73). The next section can be understood in regard to this context in that the standard of defining an ethnic group in the name rectification campaign reflects the standard of

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Taiwan mainstream society or of western societies.[4] Therefore, the definition of an ethnic group is a source of conflict for aboriginals.

THE DEFINITION AND DEBATES OF AN "ETHNIC GROUP"

Through the work of associations, churches and governments, the "Truku" were ratified as an independent ethnic group by the Executive Yuan. However, many people doubted the name and the definition of an "ethnic group". For example, the Truku Economic Affairs Association, composed of teachers, school presidents and officials in different kinds of governments, was keen to use "Seejiq"[5] as the name of their ethnic group. They also proposed that the west Sədeq in Nantuo should be included in the "Seejiq". Nevertheless, members of the Truku Presbyterian Church argued that "Truku" is the best name for them (Teyra Yudaw 2003: 61).[6] This argument involved different interpretations and definition of an "ethnic group", and the distribution of national economic resources. Next, I will discuss those different opinions in regard to the myth of creation, places of origin, name of ethnic group, language, culture, life experience and historical memory.

Myth of Creation

Based on the creation myth, Utsurikawa Nenozo divided two hundred and six Atayal tribes which lived in northern Taiwan into three systems in the 1930s: Səqoleq from Pinsebukan, Tsə?ole? from Papakwaqa, and Sədeq from Bunohon (Nenozo Utsushikawa n.d.[1935]:3–8). The Bunohon in the Sədeq creation myth means "the root of trees". According to aboriginals' research and inference, Bunohon was located on Rmdax tasing (the white stone mountain) or Busu btunox (the peony stone) on the border between Sioulin Township in Hualien County and Nantou County. It is said that there was a huge tree in a place named Bunohon in the Central Mountains in ancestral times. The tree was composed of wood on one side and stone on another side. This tree was unique. The spirits of the tree became gods. One day, a god and a goddess walked out from the trunk. They raised many children. Their children also had many offspring. After a few generations, people thought that Bunohon was too

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small to live in. In the gods' time, people could be fed by the wind. When the people wanted to enjoy the delicious food, they just chopped one grain and boiled one piece of a grain. Then, they could get plenty of rice. When people wanted to have meat, they just asked a boar to come here, plucked his one hair and cut the hair into several pieces. People could have plenty of meat when they cooked one piece of the hair. However, since the population increased and people migrated to other places, they had to farm hard but got little food in their entire life and worked hard but had no time to take rest (Sayama Ykichi 1985 [1917]:14).

Due to the agitation of the modern ethnic group campaign, aboriginal elites doubted Japanese scholars' objective classification of ethnic groups, but the place of origin as the key standard to distinguish the Truku from Atayal was also used by the leaders of the name rectification campaign. The chairman of the "Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification", Rowsi-Lakaw, (2000:28) stressed that Busu Btunox (the peony stone)[7] was the sacred mountain in the legend. People could not hunt in the area where people can see the huge stones near Busu Btunox. Busu btunox is also the boundary of east and west Sədeq. Teyra Yudaw also used "sacred mountain" as a standard to distinguish the Truku and Atayal's hunting fields. Truku's sacred mountain is Busu btunox, located on mountainous areas in Hualien County. Atayal's scared mountain is Papakwaqa in Miaoli County (Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification 2003: 22).[8] However, this discourse cannot exclude west Sədeq from east Sədeq, because the two groups have similar creation myths, languages and cultures. In addition, people should be careful when they pass by Busu btunox in the description of aboriginals, but none points out that Busu btunox is the Sədeq place of origin. The fieldworker, Kaji Cihong (2002:33-34) collected several oral records:

> *Pusu qhuni was our hunting field and a notch of the east and west path. My grandfather and his brother hunted in the mountain. They saw that seven Truku people from the west had entered into their hunting field. They lurked and killed six people. Both of them carried the heads on the way home. They were too happy to forget*

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> *the taboo about the huge stone. It thundered and lightninged when they approached the stone in 20 meters. They were afraid and came home quickly.*

The West Sədeq have a similar taboo about Busu btunox （Iwan Pelin 2006:115）:

> *There is a cave in Bunhun[9] where hunters spend the night. People cannot make jokes or say something aggressive. ...If someone does not watch what they say, it will rain heavily and wind will blow strongly. The elders watch what we say very carefully (the elders always remind us of the taboo and people cannot point at the stone with a finger). In the past, the elders were very angry with people who said something impolite.*

Therefore, the "sacred mountain" is not an appropriate standard to differentiate the east and west Sədeq. Also, the positions of different sects made the name rectification campaign complicated. For example, in 1961, the French pastor, Huang, Cheng-Guang, in Sioulin Township, and the American pastor, Ming, in Wushe District, responded to the east and west Sədeqs' request that they did not want to be bothered by ghosts. They carried Bibles and crosses with the east and west Sədeq people to perform rituals in order to expel ghosts in Busu btunox. They also put the cross in the concave of the stone (Kaji Cihong 2002:33-35）. The members of the Truku Name Rectification Campaign in Truku Presbyterian Church thought that the expellent ritual which happened more than 40 years ago ruined the taboo and holiness of the sacred mountain and was the cause of calamity in 40 years (Rowsi-Lakaw 2000:69).

Place of Origin

One of the debates of the Truku Name Rectification Campaign is that Teuda and Tktaya opposed using "Truku" as the whole ethnic group's name. Different groups of east Sədeq, i.e. Truku, Teuda, Tktaya, have different interpretations about its places of origin and the ethnic group's name.

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People who supported "Truku" as the ethnic group's name emphasized that Truku Truwan (located at Hezuo village in Renai Township in Nantou County), is the place of origin of three groups of the east Sədeq. The traditional wording of Truku is Tru Ruku. Tru means "three". Ruku means "the living place". (Teyra Yudaw 2003:17). Truwan means the place of origin(ibid 2003: 68).[10] Because the population increased, some people migrated to Tktaya (which means "upper place"), located in the terrace around Chunyang Spring. Some people moved to Teuda (which means "pass by"), located in the Pingjing tribe, Jingying village. As a result, Tktaya and Teuda are from Truku Truwan（ibid 2003: 68）.

Nonetheless, parts of Truku and most of Teuda and Tktaya were opposed to the idea that Truku is their place of origin. Pastor Tian Xin-De in the Presbyterian Church is a Truku but he opposed the use of "Truku" as the ethnic group's name. He argued that the forefathers of "Sədeq" lived in Truwan (which means "inside") in the Nantou mountains; Tktaya migrated from the upper to lower area of Chunyang. People called them Tkdaya (which means "upper" or "from the upper"). Then, the Teuda moved out from Truwan. People called them Teuda (which means "pass by" or "passed by the Pingjing tribe"). The Truku migrated to a terrace. People called them Truku (ruku means "terrace"). Tian Xin-De sighed that he was very sad about the Truku name rectification. He thought that Truku, Teuda and Tktaya[11] are brothers, but that Truku is too proud. He suggested that the Truku should repent, or they would not get the blessing from God.

Name of the Ethnic Group

In Nenozo Utsushikawa's classification, Sədeq was named for the way they call "humans" as Sədeq or Sədeg. However, people who suggested the use of "Truku" as the ethnic group's name had a different opinion. They argued that "Truku" means the "interior" personality, which presents courage, righteousness, generosity, and obedience to social rule. Truku represents "my ethnic group", which differs from other groups. The original meaning of Sədeq is all "human beings" and focuses on humans' "exterior" form (Teyra Yudaw 2003:58).

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People who opposed using "Truku" as the ethnic group's name depicted that "Truku" is the name of a location. "Sədeq" refers to "human". The latter is better to be the ethnic group's name. Pastor Tian Xin-De proposed "Sədeq" or "Patasan" (face tattoo) as the ethnic group's name. The former one can contain the west Sədeq and the latter can include the Atayal. When the Sioulin Township Office made a circuit of lectures, "Naming us Truku", in village community centers from March 14 to 25, 2003, a country councillor, Lin, Rong-Hui who belongs to one branch of Truku, proposed that there are many ethnic groups in Hualien Country, and Truku is the name of a location but not the name of their ethnic group (Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification 2003:60).

Language, Culture and Life Experience

In addition to using a creation myth, the place of origin, and name of the ethnic group to differ the Truku from the Atayal, the name rectification campaigners tried to distinguish these two groups by means of culture and life experience. For example, they listed differences in the Atayal and Truku vocabularies in regard to hunting tools, animals, plants, body and so forth. Also, they highlighted the differences of exterior cultural characteristics, such as garments and face tattoos, etc. They argued that "most Trukus' garments are decorated with red and blue star rows on a white background (especially for female clothes); Atayal male and female garments are decorated with red and blue stripes on a red background". With regard to face tattoos, "Truku men are tattooed in one straight decorative design on forehead and chin, and Truku women's facial tattoo is U-shaped. Atayal men are tattooed in several straight decorative designs on the forehead and chin, and Atayal women's facial tattoo is V-shaped". Also, in regard to life experience, "Truku treats guests to fresh meat but Atayal treats guests to pickled meat" (Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification 2003:78).

In addition to the above differences, the discourse of the name rectification campaign also stressed their different customs. They described that "all Truku people call custom *gaya*; Atayal people call custom *gaga* and the way each family says *gaga* is slightly different". In regard to ceremony, "the key ceremony for the Truku is the

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sowing ceremony; the main ceremony for the Ayatal is the ancestral ritual". "In regard to the division of the hunting field, the Truku people's hunting field is inherited, and people cannot change the field. The Atayal people's hunting field is decided by the elders, so people can change the range of field in a timely manner". In regard to the prohibitive rule for marriage mates, "Truku people cannot get married with someone they are related to in eight generations; Atayal people have no such rule beyond three generations" (ibid:78). People still debated the above differences of cultural characteristics. For example, in the process of cultural reinvention, "ancestral ritual" is an important field for Truku people to congregate.

People debated that language and culture can be the standards to distinguish the Atayal and Truku. Masau Mona who had discussed the Atayal migration, based on his abundant interviews, opposed the Truku Name Rectification Campaign in regard to origin, culture and language. He said that we should not view the Atayal and Sədeq sub-ethnic groups as two ethnic groups because they have the same origin. Although the languages of the two groups are different because of the estrangement of the regions, people still can communicate with each other (Masau Mona 1984:380-381). Pusi Nowmaw, a school president, also discoursed on the similarity of the two sub-ethnic groups in regard to social structure, customs, utensils and languages, etc. (Kaji Cihong 2002:20-21). Pastor Tian Xin-De also stressed that the languages of the two sub-ethnic groups have same root, but the prefixes and suffixes change slightly. The leader of a face tattoo workshop, Tian Gui-Shi, also proposed that the Patasan (face tattoo) can be the ethnic group's name for the two sub-ethnic groups.

The leaders of the name rectification campaign not only described the lingual and cultural differences between the Atayal and Truku, but also emphasized the differences of life experience between the east and west Sədeq.

> *The aboriginals in Hualien Country contacted the Amis, Bunun and Han people. Under the cultural influences by multiple ethnic groups, the cultural 'prototypes' and subjective cognitions of the east Sədeq changed naturally, and therefore differs from the west Sədeq. Because of the contact with different ethnic groups, the life*

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experiences of the east and west Sədeq are different (Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification 2003:12).

"Every ethnic group who practices the face tattoo only inherited one part of the cultural prototype of the ethnic group. After long-term contact with interior and exterior ethnic groups, the discrepancy between each group is very great (Liu, Shao-Wei 2004: 43).

Nevertheless, the above arguments do not discuss how "Truku culture" was reinvented in the unique historical experience. I have compared the differences between the Atayal and Truku healing rituals and presented the change in the Truku ritual elements and cultural characteristics due to the frequent contact with the Amis, Bunun and Han (Wang 2007b). However, if we want to highlight the uniqueness of "Truku culture", facing the process of reinvention of culture in the uniquely historical context is necessary. In the section IV, I will analyze the Truku cultural uniqueness from an historical viewpoint.

Historical Memory[12]

Another important discourse in the Truku Name Rectification Campaign is that the ancestors of the Truku people resided in Truku Truwan five hundred years ago. The Truku people had a collective historical memory and common life experience during the ancestral time (Teyra Yudaw 2003:58). However, Masau Mona, who disagreed with the Truku Name Rectification Campaign, emphasized east Sədeq's complexity, individualization and diversity. He argued that east Sədeq's forefathers crossed the Central Mountains to Hualien Country three hundred years ago because of increasing population and the limitation of cultivated lands and hunting fields. From that time, the types of tribes were changing. Because of the hunting life style and narrow lands in the mountains, traditional tribes kept migrating and differentiating. After 1896, Japanese colonial power intruded into the tribes. The Japanese colonial government executed a policy that scattered each tribe into several branches and then forced the branches from different tribes to live together. The government also prohibited the tribesmen practicing rituals, so the social structure of traditional tribes changed. When they migrated to the plains, they contacted with

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other cultures. Following the Japanese ruling, the Chinese government's policy − assimilating the aboriginal into the Han people − struck at the Truku traditional cultures. These processes made tribes more complex and individualized (Masau Mona 1977:205).

When the Truku Name Rectification Campaigners faced Masau Mona's discourse, they started focusing on how important "the Truku War" of 1914 was to constructing Truku identity. In order to "practice *gaya* and cross the rainbow bridge",[13] the Truku people fought against the Japanese in the Truku War. This war made Truku tribes to face the same enemy, so it integrated Truku tribes and created the Truku identity beyond tribal identity and blood cognition. After the war, the colonial government forced aboriginals to migrate to the plains, and further broke the tribal structure based on blood (Teyra Yudaw 2003:27-35). Based on these discourses, two conferences about the "Truku Event" held in 2001, 2002, emphasized the legitimacy of the Truku Name Rectification Campaign. During my fieldwork, most Truku people, however, did not remember the Truku War clearly.

Different from the discourse of the Name Reification Campaign, the locals recalled that the Truku, Tktaya and Teuda feuded with one another. The Truku people remembered that they hunted the Atayal in Lishan and Huanshan, the west Sədeq in Nantou. It is a legend that the Hualien Truku hunted the Tktaya (Truku called Tktaya living in Hualien as 'Plivo', which means male penis). The two groups cannot get married with each other. According to the legend,[14] there were two tribes: one was a Truku tribe named Mekeuway, another was Plivo. They had a good relationship but they were afraid to be killed by others. One day, the Mekeuway told the Plivo to hunt together. The Plivo men went to hunt but the Mekeuway set traps and killed all the Plivo men. Then the Mekeuway went to the Plivo tribe and killed all the women. Only an old woman lived. She begged to the Mekeuway that she was an old woman and she could not do anything. However, the Mekeuway man still killed the old woman and buried her under the bed, which means that the old woman was a slave after she died and the Mekeuway wanted to press on her body. The old woman said that if the Mekeuway get married with the Plivo, their offspring would be accursed.

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Therefore, the Mekeuway and Plivo's offspring never get married with each other.

One informant depicted the opposing relationship between the Truku and Teuda, according to his personal experience. His father is Truku. His mother is Teuda from Lishan village in Juoshi Township. The Japanese helped them to get married and the informant's parents lived happily. Nevertheless, because the Truku and Teuda feuded, his grandparents and relatives denied his parents' marriage. His uncles and aunts did not recognize his mother as family, even though his parents were old. Hence, he cannot forgive his paternal relatives and he does not want to enroll himself as 'Truku people'.

At this moment, the Truku Name Rectification Campaign has succeeded. The most important task is to reconstruct collective memory.

THE REINVENTION OF THE "THANKSGIVING CEREMONY" AND UTUX BELIEF

After the Truku Name Rectification Campaign succeeded, the effort to reinvent "Truku culture" is emergent. In 1999, the Klugi tribe, Fushi village in Sioulin Township, and Wanrung village held ancestral rituals separately. Those ceremonies were the first village rituals in east Sədeq in two hundred years. In 1999, after Wanrung village "reconstructed" its ancestral ritual, the churches objected. Therefore, in the Sioulin ceremony, the emcee introduced the term "thanksgiving ceremony". In 2000, Wanrung village used *Mgay Bari* (thanksgiving ceremony) as the name of the ceremony (Kaji Cihong 2003, 2004).[15] In October and November, 2006, I participated in *Mgay Bari* in Sioulin Township and in Wanrung Township. These "cultural activities" focused on performance in order to draw the attention of tourists, and therefore their contents were different from the structure of the ancestral ritual.

In the beginning of *Mgay Bari* in Sioulin Township, Pastor Tian Xin-De prayed to God. Then, the performances began: playing traditional instruments, a dancing performance from Wanrung Township; the next performances were the dance of the villages, husking rice, a relay race for carrying basketballs; then, dancing by people

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from Jian Township and Juoshi Township. In the afternoon, matches for grabbing roosters and sawing wood, etc. continued, followed by the pupils dancing. Then, awarding the prizes ended the activity. The contents of the one-day performance included the "Farming Dance", which focused on the sexual division of labor; the "Headhunting Joy Dance", which presented the warriors hunting heads and coming back to their tribes; the Weaving Dance which stressed that the "diamond pattern in cloth represented the protection of ancestral eyes"; a dance which meant that "only people who have hunted heads and are expert at weaving can cross the rainbow bridge to the ancestral world"; a dance revised from the myth that "millet turns into spotted dove", and a "Thanksgiving Dance" to represent the appreciation towards ancestors. Those performers tried to compose new songs and dance steps in order to interpret "Truku" cultural characteristics, although those cultural characteristics departed from daily life practice. As the Sioulin Township chief had told me, "Those activities are carnivals. In regard to the rituals, we have discussed them in a conference in September". In addition to performance and contest, to decorate the house around the meeting place was also a competition. Behind the house, the community art shop displayed and sold homemade or wholesale iron knives, weaving cloth, wooden carvings and so forth. A stall sold "face tattoo stickers". The stall of the township office displayed the pictures of the elders with face-tattoos. The stall also provided a face tattoo service. They drew the tattoo patterns on the guests' faces with eyebrow pencil. In this context, face tattoos are not marks to distinguish people, but a way to integrate outsiders.[16]

In the thanksgiving ceremony in Sioulin Township, the cultural elements of ancestor worship were removed from the ceremony. The situation is the same to the ceremony held in Wanrung Township (Office of Wanrung Township 2006). Firstly, the Wanrung village chief, Cheng, A-Yuan, officiated over a gathering of all village[17] chiefs.[18] Next, the archery team from Jianqing tribe "shot arrows to get blessings". At the same time, the emcee said, "There is another sun on the sky; the pastor chose the warriors to shoot the sun". Afterwards, fifteen people from a Mayuan tribe composed of mainly the Bunun "fired a gun to evoke spirits". The emcee said, "Ten times shooting represents our cultural heritage". After the xylophone team from Xilin

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Elementary School "reported a message" and the Bunun from the Mayaun tribe "worshiped ancestors" with an eight-part chorus, the Pastor Rocky Jiyou in Jianqing Church led prayers. After praying, the township chief, who was chairman of this activity, emphasized that they have to find traditional culture and awarded the prizes[19] to people who were dedicated to carrying forward the traditional culture and to winners in all kinds of matches. The township chief encouraged everyone by using the successful experience of the Maliba hunting festival held by the Paiwan Lion Township. After all guests delivered a speech, the convention dance, village performance and contests started. The contents of the performance included the "Dance for Happily Celebrating an Abundant Year" which combined the Truku, Amis and Bunun songs, dances which presented how males hunt and females weave, dances which expressed that only people who have hunted heads and are expert at weaving can be tattooed on their faces, and new dance steps revised from African songs. During the performance, the emcee sometimes explained that "tattooing faces is an initiation" and "the pattern of the face tattoo is like Rainbow Bridge" and so on. At the end of the performance, the judges stressed that the performances presented traditional styles. The locals always emphasized and searched for new meanings of "tradition" when they reconstructed their communities.

The Sioulin Township chief was proud that a conference on Truku rituals was held two weeks before the thanksgiving ceremony described previously. The participants were pastors in the Presbyterian Church. They tried to combine "traditional belief" with Christianity and interpret it in a new way. However, the pastors have different interpretations of "traditional belief". Pastor Xu, Tong-Yi explained the meaning of the *Mgay Bari* (Thanksgiving Ritual), in which *Mgay* means "giving" or "offering" and *Bari* means "gods" (it not only refers to ancestors. *Bari* includes *utux tmninum,* literally, 'spirits of weaving'; means 'god of creation'), god of bestowment, and *utux* (spirits).[20] Before sowing, they had to worship god for three days. The timing of the ritual was after midnight. After harvesting, men hunted on the mountains. When they came back, the tribe held *Magy Bari* for three days.[21] Pastor Xu described the process of the ritual as follows. Before the officiant went to worship, he spoke to the boys, "Now, we are going to worship God. You cannot

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speak". The officiant put out the fire. He cleaned the ash and wood which means getting rid of bad behaviors and behaving well. Then, he put new wood in the stove and lighted it. He lighted the boy's torches. Both went to the jungle to worship God. He prayed, "*Bari*! You gave us all the food. You gave us the seeds. Those are millets and sweet potatoes we have to eat. Those are glutinous rice, corn, taros and beans we eat sometimes. Please bless these seeds to make them fruitful. Please bless us to be full. *Bari*! Thank you. *Sus Bari*！".

Pastor Gao, Shun-Yi, however, divided Truku *utux* (spirits) into several categories: *utux tminun* (weaving god), *bari*, *bgihur* (ghost) and *utux* (ghostly god). First, *utux tminun* (weaving god) refers to an "invisible creator". He created everything in the world as a girl weaves cloth. If people ask a woman why she does not have children, she will answer, *ali ku saw utux* (I am not god); When a baby is born disabled, his parents will say that *snliqan utux* (god made him handicapped). When one dies, they will say that *mnhdu tninun na da* (he finished weaving and died). Second, *bari* is a spirit to whom people sacrifice when people celebrate the harvest because people want to thank him. The spells are *Sus Bari*, or *Lpi gniik* (husking the bran), or *Sika Bari* (praying for the wind).[22] Third, *bgihur* can possess humans (*gisu qrapun bgihur* means one is possessed by a ghost). People possessed are in a trance and murmur. People request *empsdaran* (a kind of shaman) to seek divine advice to cure him. The last, *utux* (ghostly god)[23] rewards goodness and punishes badness. If people follow *gaya,* "the ancestral teaching", they will get the blessings; otherwise, they will be punished by *kibi utux* (god). When people die, their spirits will go to the ancestral world. Before the spirits enter the ancestral world, they have to pass the challenge of *hakaw utux* (god's bridge). Pastor Gao emphasized that the Truku constructs the relationship with God by means of obeying, practicing and thanking (*mgay bari*) ancestral teaching.

Nevertheless, Pastor Yeh, Bao-Jin explained the concept of spirits from a different viewpoint. He distinguished *Smnalu ana manu* (the creation god), *utux malu* (the god of goodness) and *utux naqih* (the god of evil). *Bari* is not included in Pastor Yeh's classification. The creation god existed a long time ago. He is invisible. He

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created everything and all sorts of emotions. "*Lnglungan utux*" means that "humans' fate is decided by god". "*Tnunan utux*" (god's will) means that "human life is woven by god". "*Wada ngalun utux*" (taken by god) means that "god takes created things back". Also, the god of goodness protects the communities and tribesmen, day in and day out. He makes people to dream for prediction and protects people from calamity. The god of evil possesses people. The victims should blame the god of evil and say, "*Utux* has no relation with me. Get away from me". Or, the victims have to ask a healer to offer a porkling or rooster to the god of evil.

Although the interpretations are different, all of them added the concept of a creation god into ancestral beliefs. Especially they emphasized that *gaya* is "god's teachings which were bequeathed in terms of ancestors". People should obey *gaya* to construct a good relationship with god. However, taking an example of the argument of "ancestral ritual", the process of the conflicts and legitimization between tradition and modernity keeps going.

GAGA (GAYA) AND LYUTUX (UTUX): A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ATAYAL AND THE TRUKU

The Truku Name Rectification Movement proposed several criteria, including: the myth of creation, places of origin, name of ethnic group, language, culture, life experience and historical memory, to legitimate their independence from the Atayal. These criteria, however, meet with conflict among the Truku themselves because the argument of the Name Rectification Campaign fails to concern itself with how the Truku culture has been reinvented in its unique historical context. *Gaga* (*Gaya*) and *Lyutux* (*Utux*)[24] are two key cultural concepts from both the Atayal and the Truku, but these concepts are defined and practiced differently according to local contexts. This section will make a comparison between the Atayl and the Truku, and point out the invention of culture in different contexts.

The Comparison between Atyayal gaga and Truke gaya

Previous researchers agreed that *gaga* is the most important form of social

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organization in Atayal society. However, they argue about whether *gaga* is a form of kinship or a religious grouping. Some aspects of *gaga* showing high flexibility have not been explained, including the following: (a) an individual can freely choose to join or withdraw from a *gaga*, (b) one *gaga* can split off from or combine with another *gaga*, and (c) several possible relationships can exist between a *gaga* and a given community. One community can include several or only one *gaga*, and several communities can together compose one *gaga*; moreover, it is possible for all of these conditions to appear in succession in one locality (Institute of Ethnology, Academic Sinica ed. 1996 [1915]; Mori 1917; Koizumi 1933; Lin 1950; Rui et al. 1955; Wei 1958, 1963, 1972; Li, et al. 1963,1964; Kim 1980; Yu 1979, 1980 1982; Chen 1986; Wang 1986). Based on my long-term fieldwork in the Ayayal communities, I questioned the idea of *gaga* being a social organization, and then revealed its complexity of identification.

I demonstrated that *gaga* is not really a term identifying a special social organization as previous researchers had believed; rather, it stands for "cultural norms" related to beliefs about the supernatural. In ritual practice, *gaga* may apply to several kinds of social categories, including the community, *wutux nəkis* (literally, 'one-ancestor'), household, person, and now the Christian Church. Through obeying norms and practicing rituals, the social grouping is therefore dynamically built. Apart from examining the complexity of social grouping, my research further explored the multiple meanings of *gaga*: it refers to norms, regulations and ritual proscriptions, a person's identity or good luck, the words spoken to *lyutux* ('spirits'), and technical knowledge. In all of these senses, *gaga* are shared among different groups or learned from different sources. An Atayal's attributes are therefore heterogeneous, and cannot be separated from his social relationships. It is different from the Western concept of individualism, in that the Atayal consider social relationships as internal to a person's identity, rather than external. Relationships between the sacred and the secular or between society and its individuals are not dichotomized, but are instead defined by each other. More importantly, a person's identity is changed and defined in the processes of learning and sharing *gaga*. Personal identity is redefined as someone grows up: a person is an epitome of social

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relationships that have been built up and changed over time (Wang 2001, 2003, 2006b).

By means of exploring deeply the meaning of *gaga* and *lyutux*, my research has showed that this flexibility in meanings had provided a way for the Atayal to keep some sense of continuity and order, despite experiencing serious shifts in the political, religious, and economic setting in which they live. For example, the Atayal have not grown alienated from each other and from their products because of change. In deciding whether to become involved in growing new crops, they are not solely influenced by market price and stability, but they also take into account how the new crops fit into their traditional understanding of work and the values they place on it (Wang 2001).

Different from the Atayal, the Truku were profoundly influenced by the Japanese policy which forced the Truku people to move to other villages. Original villagers scattered everywhere. The tribe is composed of people from different backgrounds. The wholeness of a tribe does not construct. *Gaya* does not systematize. Compared to the Atayal *gaga*, the Truku *gaya* refers to a state between human and *utux*, and between human and human. *Gaya* also refers to personal interior condition. For example, the locals described the state of *gaya* as follows: "If someone does something immoral or says something which angers people, people's hatred will affect the offender and his family. That state is *gaya*". Therefore, *gaya* not only refers to the rule of conduct, but also refers to impurity and guilt over one's behavior. The locals particularly emphasize the latter (Thau 1998; Chang 2001; Chiu 2004). If someone disobeys *gaya*, an impure state (also named *gaya*) accumulates between human and *utux*, human and human, and the human's mind. When something bad happens to one's family, people will hold a *puda* (literally, make offering to *utux*) ritual to clean the impurity. Hence, the locals said when they see that people kill a pig or distribute the meat, we know that they have *gaya*". Or, they said that "*gaya* is inside of the mind".

Now, the most serious *gaya* is adultery. Something bad may happen to the offender's family. They then hold a *puda* ritual[25] to clean the impurity when

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misfortune happens. The pig is sacrificed to *utux*. The pork is shared by relatives and friends. The hunters usually do not eat the pork because "a pig substitutes for human to take away our sins. If you eat the pork, we cannot hunt the game". When I did fieldwork, I have witnessed people sharing pork after a *puda* ritual. The reason is that a woman had relations with a man living in Sioulin. They did not get married with each other. One day, the woman's mother almost had a car accident. The woman's family felt terrified. They thought that it could not wait. They held a *puda* ceremony to solve the problem. Nonetheless, the man's family did not participate in the ritual. The locals said, "They did not respect *gaya*. It is their business".

An informant who hunts often said that if children make mistakes, the parents will feel strange. If misfortunes happen to the family, the parents will ask the children: "Did you do something wrong? Papa and mama are hunters. The punishment to us is too heavy". The hunters know the consequences of sin. If a hunter's family disobeys *gaya*, he will stumble to death because of unknown reasons. Or, he will be attacked by poisonous snakes. The poisonous snakes do not bite people casually. For example: "One day, I peed on the mountain. I saw a hundred-pace snake. He could have bitten me. Or, I could have fallen into the valley. In the end, I was fine". It proves that *gaya* exists.

If someone makes such mistakes, the misfortunes will not happen to the family right away. They prolong for a while to see whether the offender will repent or not. The punishment may prolong for one year or two to three years. There are many examples in a tribe. For example, a government officer working in Taiwan Power Company broke other's family. Then, his wife died. Last year, he had sexual relations with a female pastor. Then, his son died in a car accident. The locals emphasized that "his *gaya* was very heavy". Anther example is that a young man always condemned people during the election period. One day, he went to hunt when it was a good day. He saw the landslide and flood. When he lit up his partner's hairs with a flashlight, it was dry. He knew something wrong. Nevertheless, he did not believe the mystery. Afterward, it happened twice. He heard the noise and the words that he did not understand, but his partners did not hear anything. He came home quickly. He is very

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thin now. He does not condemn people during the election of the village chief this time.

It therefore shows that the construction of the Truku *gaya* connotation differs from that of the Atayl *gaga*. An historical viewpoint can help us to understand the Truku interior tension and exterior conflicts.[26] Moreover, the Truku people focus on the individual ability. This point helps us to understand the competition among the Truku (Wang 2006a). Next, I will discuss the conflicts and adjustment between the church and *utux* beliefs in the process of evangelization in Truku society.

Lyutux (utux) Beliefs and Christianity: Transformation or Conflict

For the Atayal, *lyutux* connotes multiple meanings, including gods, ancestors, ghosts and a person's souls in various contexts. In the process of evangelization, the church interpreted the Ten Commandments and God by means of the concept of *gaga* and *lyutux*. I have analyzed how the Atayal understand the Church discipline and the God of Church in the light of their ideas of *gaga* and *lyutux*, but at the same time some meanings of *gaga* and *lyutux* have also changed. Furthermore, people have different opinions about the new *gaga* and *lyutux*. The images of *gaga* and *lyutux* therefore synthesize several meanings and embody history itself in Atayal society (Wang 2001).

Different from the transformation between the Atayal *gaga/lyutux* beliefs and Christianity, the Truku *gaya* and *utux* beliefs shows conflict with Christianity. The reason that Truku *gaya* refers to an impure state may be influenced by the church. In the process of evangelization, the preachers revealed conflicts between Christianity and traditional *gaya*. They allegorized this conflict as a war between holy spirits and evil spirits. The locals became Christians gradually, perhaps because their sickness had been cured or because they thought that "they were under the heavy burden of *gaya*, and they felt relieved when they became the Christians". In spite of the conflict between churches and *gaya*, preachers sometimes quoted from Truku myths as metaphors. The locals understand *puda* ritual by means of the concept of atonement.[27] They thought that "a pig is like lamb as a sin offering, it releases our sins". Therefore,

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many Christians still practice the *puda* ritual.

One Christian recalled why her grandfather became a Christian. Her grandfather knew how to use *gaya* magic. Someone preached to him about God. He said, "I am tough. If you ask me to pray to God, I will die here". Nonetheless, he was sick seriously. A female preacher told him that she would like to pray for him. He thought, "Anyway, I will die soon. Just let the woman pray for me". After praying, he dreamed that many black ghosts grabbed him. Actually, he awakened, but something pressed him down. When he almost died, the light suddenly showed. The light looked like a cross. When the light shone on him, those ghosts ran away. He got up and realized that he was cured. Next day, he threw away every magical instrument of *gaya*. He lived until he was more than 80 years old.

Pastor Tian Xin-De recalled that he has fought with evil spirits. When people do not believe in Jesus, it is a time of evil spirits. Satan has a great power. He can make people sick, but can also cure illness. One day, three pastors, including pastor Tian, preached in Chunyang tribe in Nantou County. Three *mahuni* (black sorceresses,[28] usually women) had controlled the church. They had great power in praying. They shook when they prayed. They could do curative prayer. An evil spirit pretended to be a holy spirit inside them. Everyone believed in the evil spirit. When Pastor Tian came to the tribe, even he was cheated by the evil spirit. On Sunday, Pastor Tian was going to preach. One of the women asked Pastor Tian, "What topic will you preach?" Pastor Tain told her the topic. She said, "Jesus said, no, Sunday is Easter. You are going to preach something related to revival". Pastor Tian believed. He changed the topic immediately. When he preached, the three women waved in front of the stage. When they finished the worship, those women did not want the pastors to leave. One woman asked one of the pastors, "When you were a representative of the township, did you drink? Did you beat your wife?" Then she asked the pastor to kneel down and pray. He cried. Then, she questioned another pastor, "Do you have tobacco in your pocket?", and asked him to repent. At the end of the prayer, the pastors will pray in the name of Jesus Christ. But the woman said, "No, you have to pray in my name, Luvo". Three pastors knew that this was not from the Holy Spirit but from the evil

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spirit. At night, three pastors wanted to pray in Luvu's house. They prayed in turn. Then, it was her turn to pray. Pastor Tian heard that she said, "I am sick. I did not go to church. I am sorry. I beg for God's forgiveness". At the end of the prayer, she did not say that the prayer was in Jesus Christ's name. Pastor Tian told her to do that three times. She did not want to do that. At that time, Pastor Tian knew that evil spirit was inside the woman. The evil spirit had great power.

Pastor Tian took the post of officiant of ancestral rituals in Sioulin Township in 2007. He insisted to change the ritual name to "thanksgiving ritual". He said, "Everyone, no matter who lives in this world or in spiritual world, is ruled by Jesus. We cannot worship ancestors anymore".

Although the church conflicted with traditional *utux* beliefs, the church always quoted from aboriginal myths to explain the Bible. For example, they cited a myth to discuss original sin. It is said that an old man walked through a pig's feces. He begged others to wash his body and said, "Wash me and you will be immortal". However, none wanted to wash him. Therefore, a human has to experience birth, old age, illness and death and live hard. A human has to work hard for food. In addition, pastors also quoted a story about female headhunting to emphasize the importance of the virgin (Wang 2006a).

During the Japanese colonial period, the government prohibited preaching. Christian preached secretly in solitary caves. After 1945, due to religious deregulation, believers increased. The Christians described that they felt relieved at that time because Truku *gaya* was heavy. If one did something wrong, others may curse him. They thought that was terrible! Everyone makes mistakes. One may say something which angers people. If others keep this mistake in mind, it will affect the offender and his family. When they became Christians, they felt relieved.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have examined the ethnic classification based on the Japanese colonial background in the first part. Secondly, I have discussed the process of the

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Truku Name Rectification Campaign and the standards of definition of an ethnic group proposed by the leaders of the campaign. These standards reflect the objective classification in contemporary society; therefore, the "objective" standards led to many conflicts. In order to understand the name rectification campaign, understanding the Taiwanese political and economical background is necessary. On the one hand, the government in power supported the ethnic group campaign to highlight that Taiwan is a country with multiple ethnic groups or to gain votes. On the other hand, elite aboriginals could participate in politics and increase the numbers of members in Congress. Also, they could promote a self-governing movement to change the aboriginal disadvantages in politics, economics and culture.

When the name campaign succeeded, how to reconstruct "Truku culture" became an important issue. The ancestral ritual provides a field on which to congregate the "Truku" collective consciousness. Although ancestral rituals disappeared when the Presbyterian Church questioned their legitimacy, these processes created a chance for people to integrate modern beliefs into traditional culture. This cultural reinvention is continuing.

Finally, I have made a comparison between the Atayal and the Truku cultures, especially focusing on their two key cultural concepts ─ *gaga* (*gaya*) and *lyutux* (*utux*). This illustrates how cultures are redefined and practiced differently, according to their local contexts. The invention of culture is ongoing in the locals' everyday lives, rather than only taking place in the social movement, e.g., the Name Rectification movement.

NOTES

1. Resource: the website of Council of Indigenous Peoples of the Executive Yuan, "Statistics of Indigenous Population in Taiwan".

2. Mabuchi's point which combines the concept of region and social, cultural analysis is forward-looking. However, he faced several criticisms. For example, the concept of 'tribal alliance' that Mabuchi pointed out often consists of bounded 'traditional territory',

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but it cannot contain the range of interaction between individuals, such as trade or exchange. The concept of tribal alliance can also not be applied in the region with no clear group boundaries or across different ethnic groups, where the interaction is based on individual activities. Therefore, Mabuchi's concept of tribal alliance which is simple and homogenous cannot present multiple characteristics of living perimete.

3. The locals recalled that the Pastor Iyuq Ciyang proposed the term "Truku". However, Tktaya from Mingli Village in Wanrung Country, Teuda from Lishan Village in Juoshi Township, and many Truku people opposed this idea. Pastor Iyuq used the power of church and his daughter influenced the government officers' opinions by means of the internet. Then, more and more people agreed to the term "Truku" as a name of an ethnic group.

4. Liu, Shao-Wei（2004: 31-41）quoted from Anthony D. Smith's six characteristics of an ethnic group to discuss that "Truku" is an independent ethnic group. The characteristics include a name suitable for the whole group, a way of thinking based on mutual blood, historical memory shared by members, a common culture composed of one or multiple elements, a group with a specific homeland, and that most members would like to congregate together.

5. Nenozo Utsushikawa called it Sədeq or Sədeg.

6. The distinguishability is not absolute. For example, "Truku Economic Affairs Association" established the Ceremony and Text Research Group in 1997. The members included Masau Mona, School President Pusi Nowmaw , Pastor Tian Xin-De, Rowsi-Lakaw, Tian Gui-Shi, Chen Kung-Er, Chen Xin-Chuan（Kaji Cihong 2002: 1）. Pastor Tian Xin-De proposed that Seejiq or Patasan (face tattoo) as an ethnic group's name can contain west Sədeq or Atayal. However, Rowsi-Lakaw became the chief man of the "Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification".

7. Sayama Ykichi spelled as Bunohon.

8. Aboriginals have different opinions that Papakwaqa was a sacred mountain.

9. Bunhun is spelled by Tktaya living in Meixi.

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10. In regard to the meaning of Truku, Liu, Shao-Wei, the vice-officer of "Association of Promotion for Truku Name Rectification", had a different interpretation but he still agreed that Truku Truwan was the place of origin of three groups of east Sədeq. He explained that "Tru" is a simplified term of Truwan, which means residence. Adding the suffix adjective "ku" means that aboriginals refer to their own group. Hence, Truku means "the location where we reside" and expresses the subjectivity of the ethnic group.

11. "Truku" in Hualien Country includes 20,000 people in Truku Group and about 2,000 people in Teuda Group and 2,000 Tktaya Group.

12. I only discussed the discourse about the historical memory from people's viewpoints, who agreed or disagreed with the Truku Name Rectification Campaign. In regard to the locals' historical memory, it is another question. I do not discuss that in this article.

13. In the myth, a person must fulfill his/her obligation on headhunting/weaving, and then is qualified to cross the rainbow bridge and reach the ancestral spirits' world.

14. The informant emphasized what he said is true, not a story!

15. About the details of these ceremonies, please see Wang (2007a).

16. The woman who drew the face tattoos has never heard that the meaning of face tattoos was the indications to present adults or to distinguish groups. She misunderstood that the Japanese asked them to tattoo faces because Japanese wanted to rule them. Another man who guided the stall said that in past, tattooed faces were the marks of status. One in high status tattooed many strips. This explanation reflected his anxiety of the gap between the rich and the poor in modern society.

17. The name of every village continued using Japanese names. For example, Xhiyagan tribe (Xilin village), Xinbaiyang (Jianqing), Rubas (Wanrung), Dakahan (Mingli), Yuefunan (Hogye) and Mahuan (Mayuan). These names originated from old names of tribal places. For example, Jianqing village is from Baiyuan village. Some names are originated from natural characteristics. For example, "Yuefunan" is Japanese pronunciation of Hogye (literally means, red leaves). When the emcee introduced the villages, he stressed on tourism in the villages, including innocuous agriculture, natural springs and canes and paragliding and so forth.

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18. The emcee emphasized that there was no “tribal chief ” in the past. Only the elders were the leaders in tribes. In order to rule aboriginals, Japanese created a post-“tribal chief ”.
19. They also asked me to award the prizes.
20. Pastor Xu also mentioned that Bari is also called utux tmninum which means creation god or weaving god. It does not include ancestors.
21. During the Mgay Bari, people are prohibited from interacting with neighbors.
22. The elders also explain that the spell means “cast dark wind away”.
23. It could refer to “ancestors”.
24. These two concepts are pronounced a bit differently in Atayal and Truku society. Most Atayal pronounced it gaga (literally, norms) and lyutux (literally, spirits), but the Truku pronounced it gaya and utux.
25. The Christians also hold a puda ritual. They understand the ceremony by means of the concept that pigs are taking away the sins. This concept is similar to the concept of sacrifice in Christianity.
26. Most informants told me how strong the conflicts are in Truku tribes. I also watched direct conflicts several times.
27. For the Atayl, the offering ritual is called meti yurak (translated as “giving to lyutux”. The locals reconstruct the harmony state between human and lyutux by means of the ritual.
28. The pastor called them sorceresses but they probably are traditional witch doctors.

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