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# Conference Schedule

## Day 1 October 26, 2017

### 14:00 Opening reception

#### 14:40-15:00 Welcoming Remarks

Catherine Y. M. Hsu, Director General, Taipei Economic Cultural Office, Toronto

Hana Kim, Director of Cheng Yu Tung East Asian Library

Chen Shen, Vice President, Senior Curator (Bishop White Chair of East Asian Archaeology), Royal Ontario Museum

Andre Schmid, Chair, Department of East Asian Studies

#### 15:00-17:00 Special Display and Talk on Atayal Culture in Taiwan

Chaired by Wen-Chien Cheng, Louise Hawley Stone Chair of Chinese Arts, Royal Ontario Museum

**Yuma Taru**, Atayal Artist, Taiwan

“A Moving Book: The Art of Atayal Clothing”

**Baunay Watan**, Photographer, Atayal Artist, Taiwan

“The Trace in Disappearing: The Beauty of Atayal Facial Tattoo”

Discussants:

Sarah Fee, Curator of Eastern Hemisphere Textiles & Fashion, Royal Ontario Museum

Vincent Shen, Lee Chair Professor in Chinese Thought and Culture, University of Toronto

Interpreters:

Jane Liu, Royal Ontario Museum

Yanfei Li, University of Toronto

## Day 2 October 27, 2017

### 12:10-13:00 Registration and Refreshments

#### 13:00-14:20 Session 1 Taiwan Indigenous Image and Object during the Japanese Colonization

Chaired by Yurou Zhong, Assistant Professor, University of Toronto

**Chih-Ching Yang**, Associate Professor, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

“Imagery of Taiwan’s Landscape and Indigenous People during the Early Japanese Governance----  
The Case Study of Taiyō, Huuzoku Gaho, and Hinodejima-Volume Niitaka”

**Yi-Shin Wu**, Assistant Professor, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

“The Politics of Translation in *Banzin Dowa Densetsu Senshū*”

Interpreters:

Yun Wang, University of Toronto

Yanfei Li, University of Toronto

### 14:20-14:30 Break

#### 14:30-16:20 Session 2 Multiculturalism and Indigenous Studies in Canada and Taiwan

Chaired by Tong Lam, Associate Professor, University of Toronto

**Pao-Chai Chiang**, Professor and Director, Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature and Creative Innovation, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

“The Ways for Taiwan Indigenous Peoples to Return Home”

**Terry Russell**, Professor and Acting Director, Asian Studies Centre, University of Manitoba, Canada

“Comparing Indigenous Autobiography in Canada and Taiwan”

**Lee Maracle**, Canadian First Nations Coast Salish Poet and Author, Centre for Indigenous Studies, University of Toronto

**16:20-16:30** Break

**16:30-17:30** Lecture on Taiwan Indigenous Literature and Translation

Chaired by Vincent Shen, Lee Chair Professor in Chinese Thought and Culture, University of Toronto

**Darryl Sterk**, Associate Professor, Department of Translation, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

“Translators Bale: The Seediq Translation of *Seediq Bale*”

**18:00-20:00** Dinner for Speakers

## Yuma Taru

Yuma Taru is a Taiwanese Atayal artist and researcher in textile culture. Her art works in textile have been exhibited locally in Taiwan galleries and internationally in Canada, Japan, and Nouvelle-Calédonie. Yuma founded the Center for Atayal Textile Studies and the Li Hang Workshop. She also initiated the Miaoli County Aboriginal Crafts Association. Through these platforms, she connects up the Atayal women and offers traditional weaving training. They have so far restored 500 pieces of traditional Atayal clothes and accessories. Deeply rooted in the indigenous culture, Yuma's works are well received in the public space in Taiwan. Her works have been installed at Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport, the Academia Sinica, and the local subway stations. She was the winner of the first Award of Public Arts in Taiwan, 2007.

Yuma holds a Master degree in Textile and Clothing from Fu Jen Catholic University, Taiwan. Her publications include "A Study of the Eight Schools of the Atayal Clothes and Accessories" and *Revitalizing Atayal*.



# Atayal Traditional Weaving and Its Contemporary Transformation

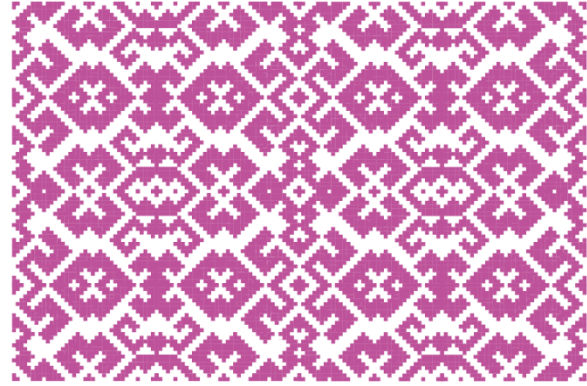
## 泰雅傳統服飾及織品系統

尤瑪·達陸 泰雅藝術家

### 一、大崙崙群 Takekan (Sitomot) Group



泰雅族大崙崙群男女盛裝服飾定裝照。



泰雅族大崙崙群織紋結構圖。

地域上，以桃園大漢河流域的大崙崙群、卡奧灣群為核心，並包括臺北新店河流域的屈尺群、宜蘭蘭陽河流域的溪頭群集移居該流域的卡奧灣群。

本支系之服飾已無袖長衣為上衣主要形式，正面胸前浮織一飾帶，背面自腋下至下擺浮織挑花菱形紋、幾何紋飾，披肩上方亦常見一菱形紋織帶，其菱形紋均以圖案形式細碎繁複而著稱，紋飾織線則以紅、桃紅為主要喜好。男子另以無袖短衣為儀式禮服，為有獵首功績的男子織特殊服裝，以紅色線織成，並飾以白色四孔鈕扣、貝珠等物，女子華麗的頭巾為本支系另一項服飾特色。

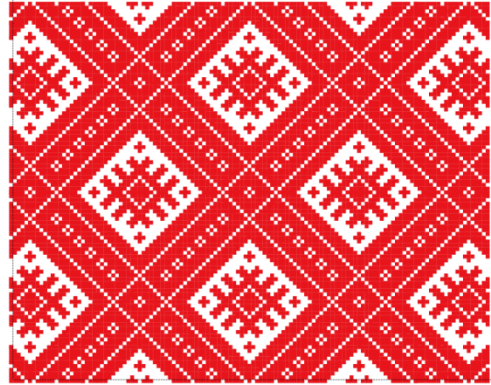
### 二、馬力闊丸群 Malikuowan (Mrqwang) Group

地域上，以新竹大漢河流域的馬力闊丸群、馬卡納基群為核心，並包括新竹上坪流域的加拉排群、石加祿群、苗栗中港流域的加拉排群。

本支系之服裝基本上與大崙崙群支系相近，以無袖長衣為上衣主要形式，男子無袖短衣為儀式禮服，但用色以紅、黑、藍為主，菱形紋紋樣組合較簡單，並以幅面較大的菱形紋為主，披肩上方亦較少見裝飾織帶，「有腳的太陽」菱形紋飾常出現於各類服裝中。



泰雅族馬力闊丸群男女盛裝服飾定裝照。



泰雅族馬力闊丸群織紋結構圖。

### 三、北勢群 Peishih (Mepenox) Group

地域上，以苗栗、台中大安溪流域北勢群為核心，並包括苗栗後龍溪流域的大湖群、汶水群、台中大甲溪流域外谷關地區的南勢群。

本支系之織品以多色、方格組合的菱形紋為特色，突顯細緻的紋樣和多色變化的美感。在一般禮服、日常服中，上衣以白色苧麻的長袖長衣為主，浮織、挑織圖紋分佈於下擺、袖口及袖籠口。男子服飾以白底為主，再織入多色紗線，女子禮服則以紅色系為特色，披肩、女裙、女子護腿布則以黑底的多色菱紋為主，形成帶狀紋飾與黑白強烈對比，織滿花紋的無袖、長袖禮服更屬本支系特有的服飾。除了紡織技術外，貼布飾亦經常出現，為本支系另一特色。



泰雅族北勢群織紋結構圖。



泰雅族北勢群男女盛裝服飾定裝照。

#### 四、馬利巴群 Malipa (Malepa) Group

地域上，分佈於南投濁水溪上游北港流域，包括馬利巴群、白狗群，口傳中為泰雅個亞群的發源地，其紋樣有時亦被視為各亞群的組型。

本支系之服裝以長袖長衣為上衣主要形式，正面下擺上方飾一織帶，背面自腋下至下擺佈滿紅底加飾黑、黃、綠色線的菱形紋、曲折紋（山形紋）紋飾。披肩、女裙以紅、黑、藍色系為主，其菱形紋飾長幅圖呈現立體效果，為本支系特殊的技法。



泰雅族馬利巴群男女盛裝服飾定裝照。



泰雅族馬利巴群織紋結構圖。



## 五、南澳群 Nanao (Kalaesan) Group



泰雅族南澳群織紋結構圖。



泰雅族南澳群男女盛裝服飾定裝照。

地域上，以宜蘭南澳溪、和平溪流域的南澳群、道澤群為核心，並包括臺中大甲溪流域內谷關地區的沙拉茅群、司加耶武群。

本支系之織品以紅、黑兩色為主要配色，再搭配藍、桃紅、綠、黃、紫等色，並常將紋飾佈滿織品，有別於其他支系，紋樣則以菱形紋、曲折紋（山形紋）、幾何紋橫向紋飾為主，形成繁複、飽滿、厚重的特殊風格。男子一般將無袖長衣、有袖短衣、無袖短衣混合穿著，女子則以長袖短衣為主，其上衣、護腿部的挑織、浮織技法頗為特殊，使背面更平順整齊，並經常在上衣、胸兜、帽飾上使用白色四孔鈕扣裝飾，亦常使用圓形貝板為裝飾。菱形紋、曲折紋（山形紋）據口傳，乃象徵祖先的遷徙路徑。



## 六、木瓜群 Mukua (Pulibao) Group



泰雅族木瓜群織紋結構圖。



泰雅族木瓜群男女盛裝服飾定裝照。

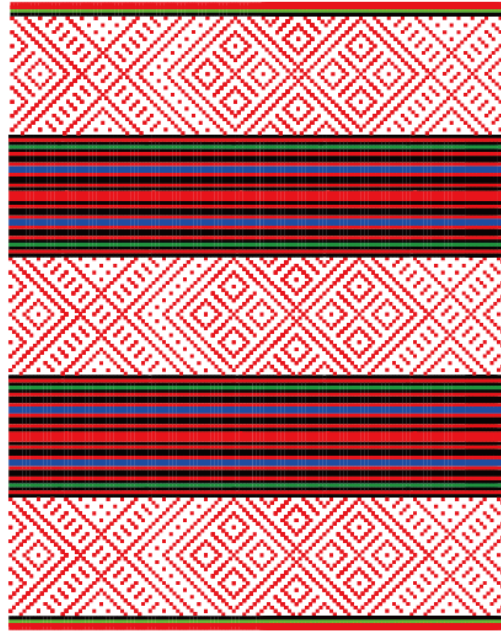
地域上，以花蓮木瓜溪流域為核心，並包括 19 世紀以後歷次遷徙的花蓮壽豐、萬榮、秀林佳珊等零星地點。

本支系之服裝主要以白色為底，紅、黑色線織成菱形紋、曲折紋（山形紋）紋飾，紅色尤為其喜好，紋飾多作方格帶狀分割，並因顏色的對比而使紋飾更為醒目。無袖長衣、披肩喜飾以紅色毛線流蘇，為本支系一大特色，鄰近北部阿美族人亦見此風尚，男子貝片頸飾、額帶的運用的亦顯現此類相似性。

## 七、賽德克 The Sediq



賽德克男女盛裝服飾定裝照。



泰雅族賽德克織紋結構圖。

地域上，其傳統領域分佈在南投濁水溪流域眉溪以上地區，並包括較下流清流、中原一帶於日本時代「霧社事件」之後的移居地。

本支系之織品以深淺不同的紅色系織線為主，構成細密的暗花，細看方呈現出層次。紋樣以大菱形紋為特色，其幅面、重複組合度冠於各支系。女裙先由左、右肩斜披各繫縛於肩，再垂至膝，以腰帶繫紮固定，亦頗特殊。

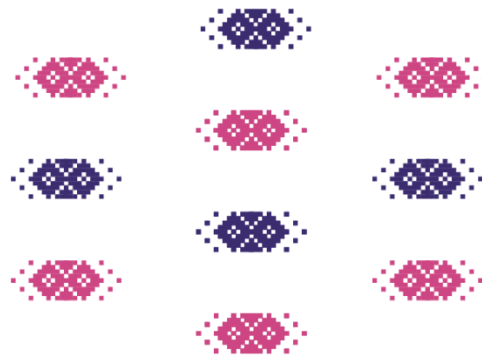
## 八、太魯閣 The Truku

地域上，以南投濁水溪流域上游、花蓮立霧溪流域為核心，並包括花蓮木瓜溪流域、卓溪、萬榮花蓮溪流域等地。

本支系之織品多以白苧麻為底，局部織以色線，紋樣以菱形紋為主，但頗為簡約，大菱形紋、組合式菱形紋較少見。披肩、女裙以紅、黑或桃紅、藍、綠色線挑織小菱形紋，呈現錯落有緻的紋樣。



太魯閣男女盛裝服飾定裝照。



太魯閣織紋結構圖。

## Baunay Watan

Baunay Watan is a Taiwanese Atayal artist. He uses photography and documentary to record, research, and pass on the Atayal culture, especially the traditional Atayal rituals and craftsmanship. His documentaries include *The Ancestral Worship in Tai'an Village* (2010), *The Trace of Glory* (2010), *The Ancestor's Millet* (2003), *Grandma's Ramie* (1999), and *The Traditional Clothes of Raisinay Village* (1997). *The Traditional Clothes of Raisinay Village* has won the title of Best Documentary at the 21th Golden Harvest Awards for Outstanding Short Films, Taiwan. *The Ancestor's Millet* also won awards at the 2005 Taiwan International Ethnographic Film Festival.

Along with filmmaking, Baunay is a prolific writer. He has authored and co-authored many research reports on the Atayal culture in Miaoli County. For example, *The Atayal Traditional Bamboo Houses* (2003), *The Atayal Culture of Facial Tattoo* (2007), and *The Oral History and Visual Records of the Atayal Elders with Facial Tattoos* (2009).

## The Culture of the Atayal Facial Tattoo 泰雅族的文面文化

弗耐·瓦旦 泰雅藝術家

有人說台灣原住民，數千年以來，一直長居高山地帶，因此用高山族、番…等稱呼；其實不然，原住民在沒有鐵器、刀槍的時候，原居住在平緩的平地。

在明、清時代起陸續的有流寇、有兵士、有中原人氏從大陸移民到台灣拓墾，加上之後的荷蘭人、西班牙人相繼入侵；再經日本統治，因不敵精良武器之生命威脅才不得不遷移、不斷往更高山移動。試想並非土壤肥沃的高山地區，並不適合人居，也不適合種植農作物，如何讓人長住久安？即使是目前科技發達，高山地區的生活尚無法得到保障，更何況是數千百年前。

數百年前台灣地區原漢之間的族群認知，天壤之別，各執己見；漢人認為原住民是『番』、『夷』，是未教化的野蠻民族，在原住民的認知上漢人是言而無信的土地侵略者，原漢之間的戰爭持續進行，原住民自然與外界隔離。

台灣原住民族中有文身或文面的族群，南有布農族、排灣族、魯凱族，東有卑南族，諸族的貴族間，有刺手背、手掌、臂部、背部的習慣，以示他們在社會上的特種地位，男子有的在胸部或下膊刺青，這被看做一種護身符。

排灣、魯凱族文手原是貴族階層才有的特權，平民階層是禁止的，除非是付出相當的珍貴寶物，向貴族交換手文的權利，同時必須宴請部落的人以取得大家的認可。這種以財務交換象徵特權的行為，是魯凱、排灣二族父母表達對子女的珍愛及重視的表現；因為文手有助於提昇個人的社會地位，可以嫁給階層地位較高的人。由於兩族重視長女，因此，長女往往也是家中唯一得到此一特權的孩子，文手是一種貴族的權勢象徵，應不能算是民族所共有的特徵。

阿美族沒有實際的刺墨，但北部的少年早期卻有「點灸」的習尚，就是所謂「疤痕」。七、八歲以至十歲少年在冬季圍爐時以杖插入爐中燃燒，使木杖變成炭條，置於腕或手臂上，燒成疤痕但無一定紋式，以灸痕愈大和最多者表示為最勇敢，泰雅族以及鄰近的賽夏族是文（紋）面的族群。

刺墨施術是婦女的專業，各社部族中都有二、三名或數名專業者；但賽夏族沒有文面師，他們常到泰雅族的部落裏僱請刺墨的人。施術是大多婦女的職業，因此，大多是母女相繼，若無繼承者，可以養育他人之子女，再傳授給她，它如同文明社會的專利，外人擅自執行就會被制裁。但在田野訪談中，亦有男性文面師之說法。

文獻紀錄中提到泰雅族溪頭群和「他沙」群最迷信，們認為部落中若有施術者，則會造成穀物不稔，因此最忌刺墨的婦人。

泰雅族在日本治台以前，一直沒有受到外界文化的影響和感染，才能夠保持數千年來樸實的生活和文化。由於文面特徵和獵頭習俗，除了讓外人對泰雅族心生恐懼之外，更加深它神祕和詭異的面紗，也引起人們的好奇。

文面是泰雅族最具代表性的特徵，也是台灣各族之中獨樹一格的標誌。因此，吸引了許多人士和學者們的好奇，成為爭相研究的題材。

至於泰雅文面的意義是什麼？又代表什麼？這些問題一直是外界人士共同的疑問。根據文獻的記載與部落實際田野相互應證，除了認定為成年意義以及區別族群的符號之外，似乎還需要更深一層的認識。

### 一、文面的傳說



記載泰雅族傳統的文獻有很多，其中紀錄賽德克亞族的說法是：『最早的人類是從石中出來的一對兄妹，兄妹長大後，妹妹深恐其兄顧忌血親關係而不與相婚配，人類將無以為繼，乃自行塗其面，偽裝為另一女子，與其兄婚合，人類乃得以繁衍。從此之相沿成習，男女婚配之前均要完成面部的刺青。』類似的文面由來流傳在泰雅族各群間普遍都有，唯男、女主角之關係因地域不同而有姐弟或母子之異。

日本藤崎濟之助著書敘述台灣泰雅族神話故事略述如下：「有一個大石頭裂開，從中走出一男一女，彼此兄妹以待。長大後妹妹問哥哥：「為什麼不找妻子？」哥哥回答說：「天上只有我們兩個人，我哪裡去找！於是妹妹想到，改一改容貌可以騙哥哥，於是對哥哥：「我已經為你找到一個女孩，明天中午你大樹下等她吧！」翌日哥哥準時到達，發現有一位黑臉的女子，於是很高興的跟她結婚。第二天早晨發現是妹妹，想後悔但是為時太晚了。」爾後泰雅人開始逐漸繁衍，於是女子一到成年就必須文面才能成婚，成為傳習。

另外，多年前北勢群泰雅族麻必浩（永安）部落的已故頭目馬賴·達袞在身前口述歷史時提到有關文面傳統的由來，他說：『在太古時代，有一次雨水不停的下，不停的下…，海水也一直不停的漲起來，部落一個一個被淹沒，不論是人或動物大家拼命逃到 Papag Wa-a（大霸尖山）的山頂，在逃避洪水災難過程中，大多數人也相繼死亡，洪水消退後，最後僅存的人只有一對兄妹。』

『兄妹二人生活了很多年，二人相互依靠，感情非常好任誰也不能離開對方，漸漸長大成年的妹妹深思必須想法繁衍後代，但是，沒有外人的情況下，如何讓兄長與她成親呢？最後，年輕的妹妹終於想出一個方法：於是，有一天妹妹就對哥哥說：『我認識隔壁很遠部落的一個女孩子，她很會工作常曬太陽，所以有點黑；我已說服她，她也同意與你成親，但是，因為她是很害羞的女子，不敢直接住到家裏來，她希望你明天晚上天黑後能夠到山上的山洞與她成親，她一定會等你！』

第二天，哥哥好不容易的等到天黑後，就迫不及待連跑帶爬的到山上的山洞去，果然與妹妹說的一模一樣，有個年輕但臉部較黑的女子，羞答答的坐著，不論這個哥哥往哪裡移動，她總是以側邊相對；畢竟年輕氣盛的哥哥也不疑有她，還是與年輕女子就此完成人生大事。但是，離開山洞後，沒多久哥哥就發現原來新娘，卻是自己的親妹妹塗黑臉部喬裝，雖然後悔也已無法挽回大勢，自此而後，泰雅人開始有了繁衍的後代，也因此有了婚前文面的習俗流傳下來。』

文面的傳說故事大致如上所述，只是其中過程差異而已，故事內容不論是什麼，重要的長久以來，文面的意義對泰雅人生命意義的肯定，對一個成年男女在族群中的社會地位的肯定，更重要的是文面的 gaga 對整個泰雅族社會發展的規範與制約，一直扮演著社會運作的精神核心與無形認同及約束力量。

## 二、文面的意義

文面的泰雅族的獨特風俗，自清朝、歷經日本、國民政府時代的人類學者們在對台灣原住民族分類時將居住台灣中北部山區的泰雅族稱為「北番」，又因臉上的文面稱之為「黥面番」或「王字頭番」。

說文解字「爻」就是「文」花紋之意，泰雅先人對臉上的 Patas（花紋），也是同樣的解釋；因此文或紋同音同意，均可通用。

文面的意義，簡單的說法可以是成年、生命的表徵。因為，在過去傳統生活中的泰雅族對於男孩女孩是否已為成年的界定，最直接的就是看臉上有無文面，文面與否就是成年人的標誌關鍵；泰雅傳統社會對文面的條件限制極為嚴苛，認定男性必須有成功馘首經驗，男子經過 m' gaga（出草）之後，Kinbakun 的長輩會說 l' huyan la ngarux na Atayal（意指擁有熊的力量與氣魄的男人），所以是 Atayal balay（真正的人），女性則是織布技術純熟，並已有經期，可以繁衍子孫，達到上述標準者才能在臉上施以刺紋。

泰雅族人馘首的對象，最早主要以外圍之族群為主，後期則以日本警察、軍隊為主；但是，如果與有 paris（敵對）關係的其他部落，也有可能成為獵頭對象，但須經過部落頭目同意，通常同是泰雅族的部落會謹慎以免擴大兩部族之間的對立與仇恨。因此，為了保護自身和家人的生命，也為表彰個人的英勇，



泰雅族男性格外勇猛善戰，不易屈服。長輩在述說相關文面及傳統出草的 gaga 時都不約而同的說：『取女性、小孩的首級，不是真英雄，同時會為族人所不齒』。

泰雅族有個「彩虹橋」的傳說，族人結束了現世的生活之後，可以通過一條由彩虹編織的——祖靈橋。早期族人辛勤打獵工作只是希望獲得一家溫飽，當完成了在人間的任務到達祖靈的福地，就可以不用再擔心這些事情。這塊福地是泰雅族人最嚮往的地方，也給了我們一個追尋的目標和方向。但不是每個族人都能通過彩虹橋，如果是男孩子必須文面並曾經擔負保衛家園的工作或熟練狩獵技能，女孩子要能勤勞持家、擁有精練的編織技術，才能獲得文面的資格，也只有文過面的族人才能通過祖靈的同意跨過這座橋，到達祖靈的土地，一塊衣食無虞的樂土。

綜合來說文面的意義對泰雅族人來說可以是：

#### 1、族群 gaga 規範之遵守

只要是泰雅族族人，不論男女均應遵守 gaga 之規範，男女都必須文面，表示認同族群，增強族群的向心力，維繫族群社會運作。

#### 2、通過成年儀式是能力表徵

泰雅男子必須有強壯體力及保衛家園能力，女子精於織布技術、具有持家之能力，接受文面就是通過成年的儀式，也是能力的表徵，同時是社會地位的建立與認同。

#### 3、祖先約定族群標識

紋面是泰雅族前人留給後代，同族群的表徵、標識，可以從文面紋飾辨別其群屬並可避免錯殺，且具有相互保護意義。

#### 4、檢驗女子貞節亦是婚姻的許可

文面前男子、女子必守貞節，在傳統泰雅族群社中，未文面的男性、女性視為小孩無法論及婚嫁，若有女孩因害怕疼痛而逃避未文面，將被視為是破壞族群的 gaga（規矩），亦有可能因身體不潔、不會織布、未曾出草…，均無法接受文面，同時可能遭受驅離或嫁給 saihu（漢人）。

#### 5、死後通往祖先福地的識別

泰雅族人相信人過世後，將返回祖先福地，如有「文面」驗證才能安返，否則到達祖先福地的路程異常坎坷。

### 三、文面的時機與 gaga 限制

傳統泰雅人的文面必須分為二次完成，第一次時機大約是在七、八歲後即可文刺，刺紋是在男子與女子額頭處紋刺「I」字型短縱紋；第二次紋面的時機大致是在十五、六歲以後，身體發育較為穩定時，女子刺在臉頰上，起於左、右兩邊耳際環繞臉頰經雙唇交會於人中與頤部位止（上下嘴唇）處，刺上類似平緩「V」字型的文飾；男子則在頤（下巴）處刺「I」字型短縱紋。

北勢群的長者一致地說法是文面紋飾男子稱 rian，女子稱 patas；南庄地區 kinhakun 的說法稱 Lihuy p' l' huyan，男子必須參與過狩獵出草（mkayan 或 musa m' gaga）、參與戰爭之後才能文面，女子沒有文面就不能結婚要送給漢人。

傳統泰雅人的文面 gaga（規範）是二次文面，第一次文面的時機是在男子與女子額頭處紋刺縱紋是沒有限制的，一般第一次的刺紋表示男女孩子已過兒童階段，開始邁入人生學習的階段，刺縱紋也由文面師完成，但是田野過程有些耆老說是自己的母親施刺，對於為何有如此轉變不可考據，但第二次文面的 gaga 限制，則是男子須獵得人頭後方有刺頤（下巴）紋的資格，女子則須在初經來潮後及學會較高級的挑織技法、學會家庭生活料理等事務的能力之後才得刺頤紋。

從實際田野訪問中，親訪文面耆老的提出其文面時機，有多數是第一次與第二次的刺紋一次完成的，違背原先分兩階段完成的紋面 gaga；追究原因之後方才明瞭，原來日據時期 1913 年之後，日本強力禁絕文面文化的實施，而他（她）們都有一個共同點，就是冒著生命危險及被日本人處罰的後果，以最快速的方式文面。而他（她）們也是泰雅族中最後一批文面的族人，由於苗栗縣境內所包括的北勢群地區、雪見地區是較晚被日人征服的地區，2005 年時尚有 11 位保存完整文面的耆老，但最年輕的也已 82 歲了，至今

2017 年只剩 2 位。

傳統泰雅人不論男、女均必須在完成文面後方可論及婚嫁，未曾文面或僅有額紋者有難找到理想配偶，以苗栗縣泰安鄉文面耆老的說法：『文面後是真正的泰雅人，未曾文面之男子、女子，還只是小孩，當然無法論及婚嫁！』，『未曾文面女子會被送給漢人……』，在田野過程中耆老即以泰安鄉天狗部落為例，舉出確實例子，例證中的女主角送給大南勢的漢人。

以上所述只是必要條件，gaga 最大的限制（規範）是在第二次文面時，文面師一定會要求按照 gaga 規範做好事前準備，那就是詢問即將被文面的男子、女子有無要好異姓朋友？是否曾經逾越男女關係？等等涉及個人隱私的道德問題，不論男、女答案必須是正面的、肯定的，才能夠進行第二次的文面；否則，如果欺騙了文面師，在文面之後的紋飾不但會崩潰，同時整個臉就像是一個大花臉，變得醜怪無法見人，而在傳統的部落社會中，由此族人很快就能從此明白她的行為。

傳統泰雅人對文面的定位就是，紋飾越深黑、越明顯，就越漂亮。也因此，文面的意義不只是成年的象徵，更重要的是彰顯個人貞節的程度。在和平鄉田野中陳阿景耆老舉實例說：『數十年前自由村其中部落有位被文面者欺瞞了文面師，文面師在文完前者後，並未察覺有異，繼續用同一套文面工具為另外的女子施刺，結果，不幸的事發生了，前一位文面者沒多久就遽逝，後一位連續生病同時也影響其文面紋飾的完整性……。』因此，可以說傳統泰雅人終其一生，對於 gaga 的態度，往往就是生活的準則與圭臬，不敢逾越。

#### 四、文面的材料與工具

文面中使用的材料與工具，早於 1913 年後陸續的就遭受沒收、毀損、博物館收藏、被丟棄自然腐壞的命運離開原屬的泰雅部落，對現代泰雅人而言，除了尚存的文面耆老之外，似乎，文面的工具與文化，目前幾乎沒有留在部落，而一切早已隨著時間走入歷史記憶中。

##### 四-一 文面的材料

Iloux（煙末）的製作

文面中使用的材料——塗料，主要是刺紋之後塗抹的 iloux（煙末）。司馬限部落退休牧師 Tasi. Naiban 是大安溪流域有名的文面師 Yayut. Civas 的么兒，他回意母親的說法：『iloux（煙末）是由文面師自行製作的，一般人是不能隨意製作，文面師製作 iloux（煙末）時，製作的地點不會在部落內，同時必須是在沒有外人情況下進行，這是因為傳統 gaga 上的規定。』

Iloux（煙末）是文面師用 hayung（二葉松）製造出來的，製造煙末時先用三個長栓型的石頭搭出的 Lupum（石灶），將鍋口向下鍋底朝天置放在 Lupum（石灶）上，灶下燃燒松枝，燃燒時的松枝會冒出黑煙灰，因鍋口向下，於是黑煙灰漸漸附著在鍋內；製造 iloux（煙末）時需要很久的時間，為了達到防風、防雨，大多在山岩的凹洞中進行。燒完後便將附著在鍋內的 iloux（煙末）刮下，收集放在葫蘆或其他容器內備用；每隔一段時間就會重複上述動作，以備文面時所需。製作的時間，在較早的時期是在晚上，這也是為了保密起見。

Iloux（煙末）的收藏

一般都是把刮下的煙末數藏在小的葫蘆內，將蓋子蓋好。施術時攜帶方便，平時掛在家屋內也會特別收藏好。

##### 四-二 文面的工具

文面中使用的工具，一般而言，必須有 atug（刺針）、kahuni tucing（打棒）、guayux（刮血器）等三項，文面師的紋面的工具是專屬的，同時會有二至三套，針對不同對象（無貞節虞慮的少女、有逾越貞節的少女、已婚未文面）使用不同工具，如果文面師察覺到施刺者未誠實以對時，則會在術後丟棄所用工具，並要求額外的賠償，求祖靈原諒，以免文面師與受術者遭到懲罰。

### 1、atug / raum (刺針)

因形狀像牙刷，也有人稱為刺刷。刷柄是以質輕的 Labing (桐木) 做成，型呈棒狀，長短不一，通常是適合文面師手握為準；長短與刺針數目不一。刺針數目依照圖騰的式樣多寡不一，因此一位文面師可能有好幾支的 atug (刺針)。文獻記載刺針共有八枚，由頭至尾呈一字排列。刷可分兩種，一是刺額部的較小，共有六針；一是針頰部的較大，共有十針，針的排列已無可考。針是釘在木棒上的，為了固定起見，再用膠狀體物質將針黏住。在沒有金屬以前，是用籐類的刺針或柑橘類植物的莖刺或薔薇科的針作為刺針，到了開始有以物易物交易之後，針的材質逐漸才有銅製的針及縫衣的鋼針所取代。

### 2、kahuni tuchin (打棒)

Kahuni tucing (打棒) 是用一種輕質的木材製作，一端較細便於手握，一端較粗，用於拍打；棒的直徑大約 3cm，棒長約 9cm。

### 3、guajiux (刮血器)

guajiux (刮血器) 是用藤條削成扁狀的籐箴，再將兩端結合用細麻繩纏繩，形狀上圓下尖，文面使用時手握纏繩部分當把，圓弧型部分用來刮除血液。Guajiux (刮血器) 除了用籐箴外，也有用桂竹蔑做成的工具。

## 五、文面的過程

司馬限部落耆老 Tasi. Naiban 小時候就常常跟著文面師母親——Yayut. Civas 到各部落文面，印象最深刻的就是：當時年紀小小的他常常是母親在進行文面工作，而他卻必須由受術者家中的阿姨或嬸嬸們餵食母乳；對於耳濡目染的他就說：「刺紋大都選在秋冬施行，因為天氣寒冷時較可以避免傷口發炎。刺紋通常是到受術者家進行，也有人是我家的，但非常少！」至於文面的過程，Tasi. Naiban 又說：

(一) 施術前一晚文面師會到受術者家進行夢占，得吉兆即可進行施術，也有說法是文面師會與受術的女子同床夢占，梅園部落的 Hakin. Payan 即是最好之見證。

(二) 文面師會詢問待受術的男子、女子是否曾經踰越男女關係？如果沒有，才可以進行後續正式的文面過程。

(三) 施術刺紋：

刺紋施術會在家屋內一隅躺臥在床上或是穀倉下圈圍的地面舖上草蓆或 pala (地毯) 上，不能有閒雜人等靠近，以免影響文面師及受術者。

施術刺紋時的過程大致如下：

1、以麻線沾上製作好的黑煙末於被文者皮膚上進行繪製圖案（每個人因臉型、大小有異必須做最好的配置）作為刺紋時的參考，此動作稱為 'nl' sai。

2、將牙刷形狀的 atug (刺針) 以手握好按於面部，再用長約 4、5 寸長的 kahuni tucing (打棒) 輕輕敲打，將針尖打入皮膚肌肉中，血液滲出，再以長橢圓弓型籐 (竹) 箴刮除。

3、接著用手指沾從鍋底刮下的松木煙灰塗在刺痕上，使其入肉內；一針一針的拍刺、刮除、塗抹煙末……，如此反覆進行，等到臉上刺紋完成，松木煙灰深入刺紋傷口內，施術才告完成。

4、完成刺紋工作後就要開始休養，一般而言，休養時間男性約 2-3 星期，女性則超過 1 個月時間，女性在休養期間是嚴禁足出戶外，需等痊癒後始可漸漸加入一般生活作息。

## 六、文面後的答謝

一般文面刺紋施術，待被文面者痊癒後其家屬就會擇期並攜帶非常豐盛的食物 (野味、傳統釀酒等等) 及布疋等作為酬謝禮，僅存之文面耆老的敘述豐富之景況猶如訂婚一般，可見其規模與族人的盛重程度。

## 七、文面的 gaga (禁忌、規範)

田野中與文面耆老的訪問過程中，長者對於文面提到許多的 gaga (禁忌、規範) 的口述，比對文獻資料簡單整理如下：

文面的 gaga (禁忌、規範)

1. 文身前，男女必守貞節的，否則花文會潰爛。

2. 文身時，孕婦不能進入文身棚，違反受術者會發高燒。
3. 文身時，不可以談到死亡的事，否則受術者會遭到意外的事件。
4. 夜裡曾做惡夢的人，第二天不能去安慰受術者，否則惡夢會應到受術者身上。
5. 受術者不可以踏灰、烤火，否則花紋會消失。
6. 受術者不可以照鏡子，否則花紋會消失。
7. 受術前後，不可以看到紅色物品或食用紅色食物，否則花紋會消失。
8. 受術者不可以於受術後吃殤長在未經開墾的山坡上的野菜，否則花紋會不整齊。
9. 文面後，住家屋內四面用布帳圈圍不透光，亦不能與男以同床，否則花紋會消失。

## 八、文面消失的原因

1. 日本在 1913 年行政命令禁止文面，違背者處罰。
2. 日據時期，從軍者、年少者男女幾乎均割除額頭文飾。
3. 台灣光復後接受漢文教育後，對文化的需求漸弱。
4. 文面技術者已逝，無人會刺紋技術。

## 九、文面的現況

1. 傳統文化下文面者，至今（2017）年僅存 5 位。
2. 台灣光復後自 1998 年起接受現代刺青技術文面者，約有男 7 人、女 1 人。



Photo by Baunay Watan

## Chih-Ching Yang

Chih-Ching Yang is Associate Professor at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature and Creative Innovation, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan. She received her PhD in Humanities from Ochanomizu University. Her research focuses on Taiwanese literature during the colonial era, modern Japanese literature, comparative literature between Taiwan and Japan, Japanese film and social cultural theories, and Hakka literature in Taiwan. She has published several articles on these topics, for example, “The Transmission and Acceptance of the Journalistic Novel *Golden Yasha* (Konji Yasha) in Taiwan under the Japanese Rule,” “Taiwan Image under the Imperial Gaze: The Representation of Taiwanese Landscape in *An Illustrated Magazine of Japanese Life* (Fuzoku gaho),” “The Politics of Self-Portraits: The Writing of the Elite Indigenous People in *A Friend of Governing the Indigenous People* (Riban no Tomo),” “Taiwan Experience as Consumer Goods in Reading: A Case Study of Murai Kennsai’s *The Island of the Rising Sun: Chapter Niitaka* (Hinode-jima: Niitaka no Maki),” and “The Representation of Taiwan during the era of Japanese Rule: Modern Japan in the Colonial Representation.”

## Imagery of Taiwan's Landscape and Indigenous People during the Early Japanese Governance

### The Case Study of *Taiyō*, *Huuzoku Gaho*, and *Hinodejima-Volume Niitaka*

Chih-Ching Yang, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

#### Abstract

The representation of natural and human landscape in texts and images appears to be objective. Actually, such representation is a result of selection and reconstruction from a subjective perspective. Based on this argument, this paper investigates the cultural politics in the representation of Taiwanese natural and human landscape depicted in the elite pictorials and fiction serials in Japan in the third decade of the Meiji era. Focusing on *An Illustrated Magazine of Japanese Life* (*Huuzoku Gaho*), *The Sun Magazine* (*Taiyo*), and *The Island of the Rising Sun: Chapter Niitaka* (*Hinode-jima: Niitaka no maki*), this paper situates the representation of Taiwan in the contemporary national imagination and landscape theories in Japan. A typical example of the landscape theories at that time is Shiga Shigetaka's *Japanese Landscape Theory* (*Nihon Fuukei Ron*). The book contends that the Japanese landscape is of absolute beauty. Comparing the landscape of Japan with that of Euro-America, China, and Korea, the book shows a strong territorial awareness and homeland attachment. In light of such theories, this paper discusses the images of Taiwan under the Japanese imperial gaze. It illustrates how the Empire of Japan imagines its national others, Taiwan, and further outlines how the empire dominates the production of knowledge about its colonies.

**Keywords:** *An Illustrated Magazine of Japanese Life* (*Huuzoku Gaho*), *The Sun Magazine* (*Taiyo*), *The Island of the Rising Sun: Volume Niitaka* (*Hinode-jima: Niitaka no Maki*), Landscape, Indigenous people

#### Preface

This paper aims to examine how the Empire of Japan built up the colonial knowledge during the early period of occupation in Taiwan. The purpose of this paper is to scrutinize this question through a critical reading of three textual-pictorial documents: *Taiyō* 太陽/*The Sun*, *Fuzoku gaho* 風俗画報/*Customs Pictorial*, and Murai Gensai's novel (村井弦齋 1864-1927), *Hinodejima—Niitaka no maki* 日の出島新高の巻/*The Island of the Rising Sun—Volume Niitaka*. The target is to see how the imagery of Taiwan has been represented in image and text, focusing, in particular, on descriptions of the indigenous people and landscape in Taiwan. This paper investigates how an alienated and politics-oriented aesthetics has been established and spread, via the documentary narratives, illustrated pictures and novels in the form of enquiry surveys, and was involved in the formation and publicity of the early Japanese governance in Taiwan.

#### *Taiyō* 太陽/*The Sun* — An informative magazine

*The Sun*, founded in 1895, was the largest-scaled contemporary magazine of general knowledge. When Taiwan was ceded to Japan after the Sino-Japan War, the island became the most desirable explorable destination as unknown territories, for both officials and folk people. Such desire has been crucially described in the essays published in the geography columns in *The Sun*.

In a short time, many essays on Taiwanese aboriginal people and landscape came to be issued in 1896-1897. For instance, “Exploration to the Eastern Taiwan 東部台湾の探検” and “Encountering with Aboriginal People 生蕃会见記” written by Sibayama Kakuzou 柴山覺藏; “Adventures into Indigenous Lands 生蕃探検記” by Nakajima 中島竹窩 in 1896; “Experiences of Adventurers 探検旅行者の経験” by Dr. Jimbo Kotori 神保小虎; “Taiwan Dairy 臺灣日記” by Isiguro Tadanori 石黒忠愿, an Army Medical Executive Supervisor; “New Travel Record to High Mount モリソン紀行” by Saitou Onosaku 齊藤音作;



“Seeings in Taiwan 台湾所見” by Oukura Kihatirou 大倉喜八郎; “Necessary Knowledge for Adventurers to Taiwanese Indigenous Lands 台湾生蕃探検者の最も要す可き知識” by Torii Ryuuzou 鳥居龍藏, an anthropologist, etc. These various essays are the records about indigenous people and geographic characteristics, seemingly objective, accurate, and scientific, particularly, the essays written by Jimbo Kitora, Saitou Onaku and Torii Ryuuzou. These popular essays not only served as literary molds for geographic columns, but also provided Japanese audiences the knowledge of the new territories, both lands and people.

In his essay, Torii Ryuuzou exposed his unique interest in indigenous population and described Taiwan as a ‘lovely and beautiful’ place, deserving to study and to investigate. Meanwhile, in “Adventures into Indigenous Lands” and “New Travel Record to High Mount”, the two authors focus much more on the discriminations of racial species in describing their appearance, racial characters, local customs, and their acting behaviors. Constantly, Chinese and Japanese were compared to weigh their values. Therefore, through the textual analyses, we would discuss the problematic of dominant elements in the rhetorics for constructing the Taiwan aboriginal knowledge.

First of all, the terms, often used to describe the Taiwanese aboriginal figures, include “fierce-tempered”, “aggressive,” “clumsy,” “brutal,” “unsentimental,” “unaware of righteousness,” “fickle in mood,” “indulged and difficult to control,” “emotionally impetuous,” “heavily superstitious,” “timid and retaliative,” “victors’ eating the flesh of losers,” and “undisciplined.” Such kind of wording usually refers to the local males and evidently relates to gender issues. For example, in “New Travel Record to High Mount,” the author used the terms of “heavily superstitious,” “timid” and “retaliative” to define the males, and by contrast, “pretty,” “shy” and “smiling” to the aboriginal females. The rhetoric of writing female’s figures is apparently much more positive. In reading those traveling notes, the audience might find that the majority of aboriginal women, whom the Japanese travelers encountered in their journeys, were kind and not aggressive, completely different from the aboriginal men’s vigilant reaction. The aboriginal women treated these foreigners with warm hospitality and shared food with them generously. Thus, aboriginal women’s generosity and hospitality made these Japanese, traveling in high mountains and forests, feel warm and safe. The utmost important was to prevent them from attacking and enabled them to keep the sense of authority. Such kind of relation between aboriginal women and Japanese adventurers continued existing and was transformed into the governmental policy of ruling aboriginal people, and integrated into the fiction as well, where the figures of aboriginal women were rendered as the aids of colonization and the objective of Japanese males’ lust projection.

Besides, the rhetoric of describing aboriginal people’s physical capacities is loaded with a sense of racial superiority. For instance, the moment that Japanese adventurers met the local aboriginal people, they always exclaimed at these alienated race’s excelling abilities of climbing and load-bearing. Ironically, in contrast with their amazement of seeing such strongly-built indigenes, the rhetoric that they were using contained “kids,” “animals like cats, dogs and pigs,” “monkeys,” “insects like spiders” and “beasts,” or simply addressed them as “non-humans.” Hence, it can be asserted that such animalized rhetoric wording is embodied with a polar structure of “human/non-human = Japanese/Taiwanese indigenes”. Meanwhile, such dual polarity bestowed the Japanese audience a sense of racial superiority. In addition to these animalized rhetoric, the terms of “unkempt appearance,” “filthy,” and “stinking odor” repeatedly occurred in these records and almost became a specified category to narrate the local indigenes.

### ***Fuzoku gaho* 風俗画報/*Customs Pictorial*— An illustrated magazine**

*Customs Pictorial*, initiated in the 22nd year of Meiji Reign (1889), mainly recorded various folk customs in Japan and introduced them in the form of image and text. The contents of this pictorial ranged widely from scenery of the nature to the objects related with local people, their life and society. The themes of paintings in the pictorial were based on political issues rather than personal tastes of the painters, emphasizing practical uses for report and education-. We will discuss the problematic colonial imaginations and political issues embedded within the pictures of Taiwan landscape and indigenous portraits, illustrated in this pictorial.

First of all, [in concerning of the colonial imaginations and political issues,] the natural landscape in Taiwan, as shown in Illustrations 1-1, 1-2 and 1-3, mainly rendered about the mountains, seas and ports; however, the mountainous views were actually the edges of islands. Siga Sigetaka 志賀重昂 iterated in his *Essays on Japanese Landscape* that the beauty of Japan landscape anchored in oceanic currents and volcanoes. In particular, of essence were volcanoes, among which the most representative is Mount. Fuji, demonstrating the perfect form of beauty. ‘The nature work perfects here’. It is the most beautiful mountain in the world-. Accordingly, mountains are regarded as the typical geological feature in Japan. Therefore, the comparison of mountains in Taiwan, with the famous mountains in Japan but portrayed as remote ones on the boundaries of Empire, is not only to reconfirm the supreme beauty of Mount. Fuji, but also to recruit into the colonized landscape metaphorically.

As Mary-Louise Pratt has shown in her book, *Imperial Eye: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, all explorers probe into the world as if “all territory under the sky is mine”. As a result, the method of presenting the landscape is to take a bird-view as if looking at a painting. Take the Illustrations 1-1.2.3 as an example. The painter elevated himself to render the views from a certain height. A sense of authority was, thus, presented. Not only does the sight of the painter hover above or out of the landscape and figures that are intentionally portrayed, but also the viewers take for granted such an observing angle and power relationship represented through the paintings. Channeled by the messages in these pictures, viewers will certainly adopt an imperial eye and, in accordance, will duplicate and interpret Taiwan landscape in the same way.

Illustration 2-1 portrays an image of Japanese-Taiwanese indigenes, civilized indigenes and uncivilized indigenes, indicating the situation of multi-ethnic groups in this new territories. Yet, the deliberate portraying of their costumes and their walking, sitting, crouching poses highlights the telling differences of these barbarian indigenes. Moreover, indigenous folks, civilized indigenes and Han Chinese are usually portrayed in the contradictory layouts, with disheveled hair and dirty clothing. In particular, civilized indigenes are often labeled with captions of ‘the inferior untouchable’. Painted in Illustration 2-2 is the scene of a ritual sacrifice. In the middle of the painting erects the head of a Han Chinese, who has just been executed and be headed off, and right in front of the altar is the showcase of the skulls. Such juxtaposition spurs a sense of horror among the viewers, since those indigenes in the painting look rather happy and calm, conducting their ritual ceremony backgrounded within a scene of bleeding skulls, wine vessels and musical performances. The captions in the Illustration 2-3 indicate such crowd of indigenes, coming from mountainous areas, as ‘the lovely residents seemingly emerging from remote ancient eras’.

In *Customs Pictorial*, Taiwan is portrayed with a vivid realistic style through a dedicated painting

technique with fine brushwork, so creates the objectivity to make the readers convinced. Such landscape and figure paintings often stress the backwardness of the colony of Taiwan, which justifies the Japan's imperial colonialization at Taiwan among the Japanese audience. In other words, these aforementioned illustrations visualize Taiwan as the newly occupied territories adhered to the Empire, in order to reinforce the realness of this new land; moreover, they strengthen the Empire's self-confidence and a sense of superiority, consequently, extend its imagination to the imperial territories and borders as well.

***Hinodejima—Niitaka no maki 日の出島新高の巻 / The Island of the Rising Sun— Volume Niitaka — A Novel***

*The Island of the Rising Sun*, compiled and published by Shun'yōdō春陽堂 from 1896 to 1902, is the longest novel during the Meiji Period. “The Island of Rising Sun” refers to the Empire of Japan and “Niitaka” indicates both Niitaka Mountain (aka. Jade Mountain of Taiwan) and Taiwan itself as well. The following interpretations are about *Volume Niitaka*, published in a row from March 15<sup>th</sup> to June 12<sup>th</sup> in 1898. This series narrated the story that Ms Ungaku雲岳, as a leader, headed to deep mountainous area in Taiwan with a group of another five explorers, getting in touch and conflicting with local residents and indigenes on the island-. Given the ignorance and indifference of the contemporary Japanese toward the new territories of Taiwan, Murai Gensai村井弦齋 wrote this exploration story in the form of fictional adventure, a fashionable style. Under Ms Ungaku's eyes, Murai Gensai guided the readers to see Taiwan. However, Ms Ungaku's speech is fully loaded with a sense of superiority, arrogant manners, Sonnō jōi/absolute loyalty toward Japanese emperor, and a strong imperial esteem.

“Indigenes in Taiwan are just like evil ghosts, showing no mercy for killing people. In order to enter into their community and make them subdued, it is necessary to utilize the power of medicine.” “It is showing unbelievable power of electricity to indigenous people that would shock them and make them surrender.” Her remarks reflect the brutalities of Taiwan indigenes and, meantime, their ignorance toward civilizations. In order to civilize Taiwan indigenes, narrators attempted to conquer them with medicine and electricity that were unknown to them by the means of imitating what Europeans had done and subdued the Africans. Also, the scientific scholars utilized the Sun Lamp (aka Exposing-Evil Lamp) to illuminate the indigene lands at night. With the new experience of seeing the land scenery flashed out just as the daytime, Taiwan indigenes were shocked and admired what this exploration team had achieved. What the Sun Lamp has enlightened is not only a beam of light into the dark world of these indigenes, but also a tool for protesting and expelling evils, which is definitely a metaphor to conquer the darkness with civilization brightness. Here and there, the stories in *Volume Niitaka* demonstrate the binary opposition between the powerful civilized Japanese and cruel barbarian indigenes. By creating such opposition, the author manages to reveal to the readers the legitimacy and necessity of colonial governance in Taiwan and, thus, to inspire the national superiority among Japanese audience.

Before reaching Taiwan, Ms Ungaku often claimed that “inner-landers ought to treat Taiwanese with benevolence and love, and teach them just as our siblings”. Yet, along with closer communications with such alien people, this group gradually became irrationally biased. For instance, they felt awkward toward the Han Chinese hostels and mixed Taiwanese ones and generated a strong sense of disgusting for Han Chinese with braids. They concluded that the entire Taiwan was in disorder due to the delay of trains, and assumed Taiwan indigenes to be barbarian and ignorant from their customs and appearances.

Besides these exaggerations and over-criticisms, Ms Ungaku exclaimed from time to time that she praised the grandness of the residence of the ultrarich man, Lin Weiyuan, “as if seeing Sunlight Temple of inner-land in Japan”. Also, she was amazed at the breathtaking scene while she was standing by Papaya Lake

for its resemblance of Ashino Lake. However, the beauty within things and scenery in Taiwan is not resulted from their own uniqueness, but from the resemblance of the inland views in Japan. In other words, no matter civilian or natural landscape, such beauty has to be measured by Japanese standards, which is apparently a presentation of self-centralism and Japanese-nationalism.

The literal narrations in *Volume Niitaka* were matched up with the illustrations, painted with a great assemblage of prevailing images in media, portraying indigene Taiwanese as naked and strongly-built like apes, with bare feet and ferocious faces and wearing coarse clothing. In another word, these images of indigenes are not necessarily realistic but a kind of imaginations or first impressions in general. Ms Ungaku and her delegations were always portrayed wearing elegant Western-designed garments and top hats, with complicated hairstyles or neat short hair; in a sharp contrast, Taiwan indigenes were portrayed in a radically degraded way. Such comparison indicates the binary opposition metaphorically: disorder/tidiness, vulgarity/elegance, coarse/delicate, violent/fragile, casual/exquisite, plain/gorgeous, and barbarian/rational.

The outcome of these interactions between text and image in *Volume Niitaka* greatly stimulates the visualized imaginations of Japanese audience for the new territories of Taiwan. Not only do the expeditionary stories get the audience to know Taiwan, but also spur endlessly the comparisons between the Self and the Other via the descriptions of colonized spaces. In praising the prosperity and civilization of the Empire of Japan and stimulating a strong feeling of national identity, Murai Gensai has realized his intention to educate and illuminate the Japanese audience through his novel.

## **Conclusion**

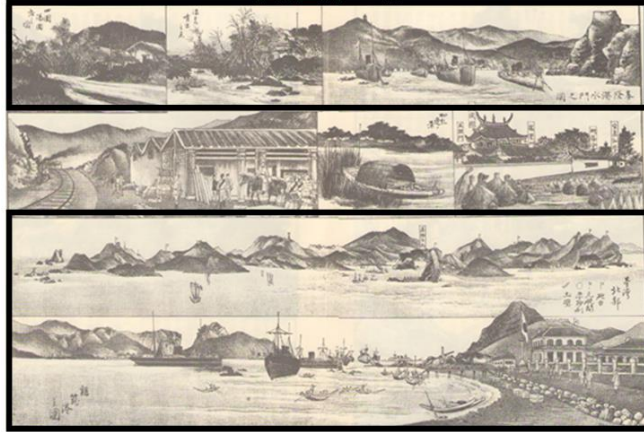
The above discussions on narrations and illustrations in *The Sun*, *Customs Pictorial*, and *The Island of the Rising Sun— Volume Niitaka*, shed light on the great production of imagery and knowledge during the early Japan's occupation in Taiwan. In order to know the new territories, various experts in different fields carried out a series of investigations and generated a great amount of literal and pictorial records; thus, providing scientific foundations for colonial governance. Even more, these knowledges were transformed through fictions or museology, and, then sequentially, entered into the ordinary Japanese readings.

Text and image of Taiwan indigenes and landscapes illustrated in *The Sun* and *Customs Pictorial* piled up a set of pseudo-knowledge. On the one hand, Japanese audience used their own knowledge and aesthetic values to tell the differences between the newly acquired territories and the Empire; on the other hand, they internalized these visual and literary messages. Consequently, Taiwan's ethnic impressions and cultural landscape were constantly represented, duplicated and re-read. Therefore, Taiwan became an integral hierarchical part inside the imperial order, an indispensable section of Japanese common-sense knowledge, and a coordinated relation with indigenes' imaginations and recognitions on these colonized lands. Furthermore, the differences between the Empire and newly occupied territories, such as the impressions of barbarian Taiwan indigenes, would be scolded and denied rhetorically in the first place. After that, the backwardness was subdued and transformed into the symbol through the comfort and console of civilizations. Through the literary descriptions within these three different documents, what can be figured out is the process of knowledge constructions during the early period of Japan's occupations and governance in Taiwan.

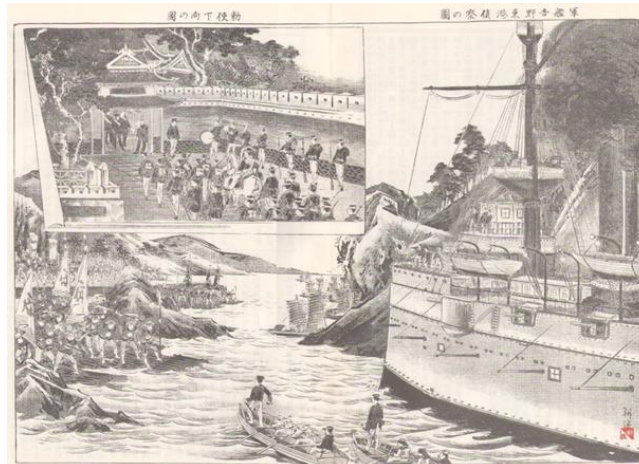
Translated by Yun Wang

**Illustrations:**

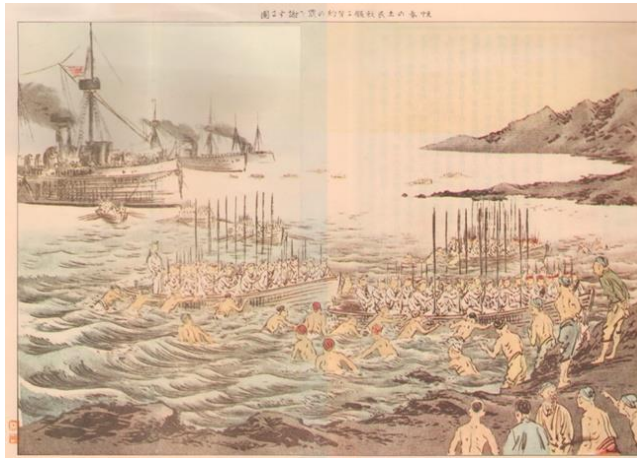
1-1. "Painting of different ports in Taiwan". *Fuzoku gaho 風俗画報 Customs Pictorial*.  
Vol.101.1896.03.25



1-2. "Painting of Warship Yoshino's detecting". *Fuzoku gaho 風俗画報 Customs Pictorial*.  
Vol.101.1896.03.25



1-3. "Painting of Indigenes in Hengchun apologizing towards our warship". *Fuzoku gaho* 風俗画報  
*Customs Pictorial*. Vol.109.1896.02.25

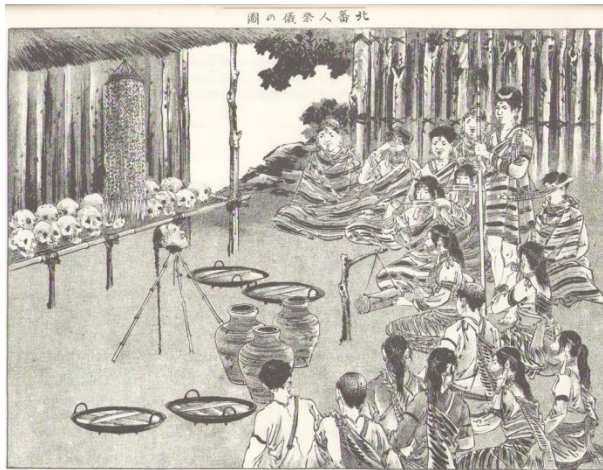


2-1. "Painting of Indigenous customs in Taiwan". *Fuzoku gaho* 風俗画報 *Customs Pictorial*.  
Vol.129.1896.12.01

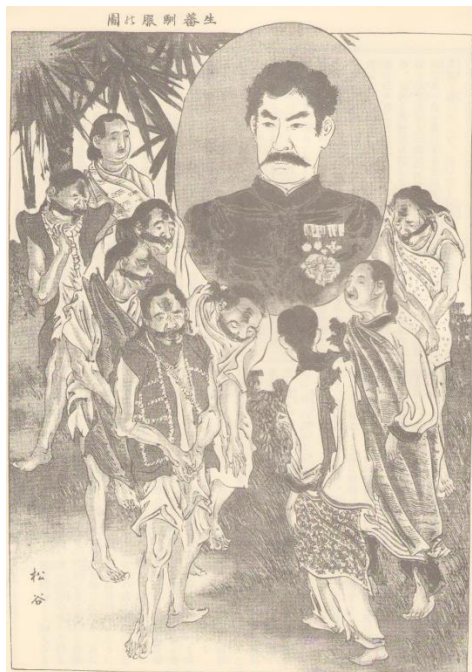




2-2. "Painting of Northern indigenes' ritual sacrifice". *Fuzoku gaho* 風俗画報 *Customs Pictorial*. Vol.129.1896.12.01



2-3. "Painting of indigenes' surrender". *Fuzoku gaho* 風俗画報 *Customs Pictorial*. Vol. 103.1895.12.28



## Yi-Shin Wu

Yi-Shin Wu is Assistant Professor at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature and Creative Innovation, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan. She received her PhD in Literature, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba, Japan. Her research fields include comparative literature, Pre-WWII Taiwan and Japanese literature, East Asian Studies, and post-colonial literature. Her recent publications include “The Significance of Taiwan Local Literature in Japanese during the Era of Japanese Rule: A Case Study of the Strategic Use of Japanese Language in Xisheng Wu’s *Pig*” and “Love and Colonial Modernity in Tianshang Wu’s *Bud*.”

## The Politics of Translation in *Banzin Dowa Densetsu Senshū*

Yi-Shin Wu, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

### Abstract

Several Japanese anthropologists, with support from the Japanese government, came to Taiwan to conduct field studies of its indigenous peoples during the Japanese rule. One of the most notable works from this period is a project organized by the Seiban Department of the Special Taiwanese Custom and Practice Research Board: the eight-volumed *Investigation of the Banzin* edited by Sayama Yuukichi. The work inspired several more collections of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' lore, written in Japanese, such as *Collection of Seiban Lore* and *Collection of Banzin Lore for Children*. They all based their content on Yuukichi's *Investigation of the Banzin* but further edited the stories to make them more accessible and aesthetically appealing in the Japanese language and culture. This study looks into the interrelation between *Investigation of the Banzin*, *Collection of Seiban Lore*, and *Collections of Banzin Lore for Children*, as well as the backgrounds of their respective publication. The study also explores how the indigenous peoples' folklore was re-interpreted and represented in these Japanese works and how this system of knowledge reflects the power relation between the Japanese and the indigenous peoples.

**Keywords:** Japanese collections of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' lore, folklore, fairy tales, cultural translation

### I. Introduction

During early Japanese rule, Taiwanese indigenous peoples with their self-contained societies and less understood cultures were a major concern of the Japanese government. At the same time, the mission of civilizing them also became the Japanese government's perfect justification of its colonial rule. Although the Taiwan *Soutokufu* (Office of the Governor-General) suppressed the indigenous peoples' uprisings with heavy armed forces, closed in on their territories, and implemented large-scale assimilation policies, many anthropologists, influenced by the development of social sciences in Europe and America, came to Taiwan to investigate the indigenous peoples with support from the government. Other than field studies of the natural surroundings, these anthropologists also investigated the indigenous peoples' physiognomy, languages, history, material culture, customs, religions, and social structures. Their studies were large in scope and systematic in their approach and documentation, laying the foundation for the ethnographic study of the Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

The primary source for these studies is indigenous elders' oral accounts of their tribes' origin, history of migration, interaction with other tribes, customs, social structure, etc. Among all the studies, the eight-volumed *Investigation of the Banzin* (1913-1921), edited by Sayama Yuukichi from the Seiban Department of the Special Taiwanese Custom and Practice Research Board, compiled a particularly extensive amount of indigenous peoples' lore. Although the primary motive of the study was to better understand their philosophy and culture through history, in order to pacify and control the indigenous peoples, Yuukichi's work also raised the Japanese's awareness of and interest in Taiwanese indigenous peoples' folklore. It inspired the subsequent publication of several other indigenous peoples' folklore collections in Japanese, including the *Collection of Seiban Lore* (1923) and *Collection of Banzin Lore for Children* (1930). Both works based their content on Yuukichi's work but modified it to better suit the Japanese language and culture. The 1920s and the 30s were also a time when Japanese ethnographers, headed by Yanagita Kunio, endeavored to establish the field as part of the imperial enterprise by classifying, reinterpreting and cross-studying the folklore and folk tunes collected throughout the Japanese Empire, including both the colonies and Japan itself. These ethnographic studies became a wealth of wonderful resources for the development of fairy tales and nursery rhymes later. With the surge of Japanese lore and fairy tales collections as part of the Enpon after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923,

these ethnographic studies became the cradle for the new genre of Japanese children's stories. With this background in mind, this paper will analyze the interrelation between and publication backgrounds of *An Investigation of the Indigenous Peoples*, *Collection of Seiban lore*, and *Collection of Banzin lore for Children*. The paper will also explore how the Japanese collections reinterpret and represent the indigenous peoples' folklore and how this system of knowledge reflects the power relation between the Japanese and the indigenous peoples.

## II. From *An Investigation of the Banzin* to *Collection of Seiban Lore*

As already stated in the introduction, the Japanese collections of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' lore were based on Japanese anthropologists' field studies in Taiwan. Regardless of these anthropologists' views on colony policies, their works had provided the Empire with knowledge and information that helped consolidate its rule. Through the results of their field studies, the government was able to gain a better understanding of the colonized peoples' lands, languages, and cultures, as well as assume the power of documenting and interpreting them in letters. With these results turned into authoritative scientific knowledge about the imperial territory, they also define the power relation between the dominator and the dominated. Even though these anthropologists left behind a large amount of documents and records about their collection of the indigenous peoples' lore, the indigenous peoples' history and customs, rather than the oral literature itself, were the real objective of their studies. As a result, the records were never organized systematically. For instance, when Mori Ushinosuke, who was hailed as "the expert" in the studies of Taiwanese indigenous peoples, wrote about his field study of the Atayal people in the first volume of *Taiwanese Banzin* (the Special Taiwanese Custom and Practice Research Board, 1914), he divided his account in six chapters—"Ethnicity," "Physical Traits," "State of Society," "Indigenous Customs," "Religions and Spiritual Practices," and "Economy." Under the chapter on "Religion and Spiritual Practices," there is a section on "Legends" that documents the legends he had heard and verified in various Atayal tribes. Mori also included in it his own opinions on these legends:

*Undocumented thus far, the Atayal people's legends are artworks worthy of their pride and their only history. A glimpse into their unique ethnic mentality, these myths are valuable sources for a better understanding of their ethnic origins as well as their religions. The sophisticated and poetic creation myths became their religion while the fantastical, nearly absurd fairy tales with profound moral messages about karma turned into their moral principles. Some of their myths can be traced back to as far as prehistoric times; some originated from the middle ages while others clearly came from other neighboring tribes that eventually evolved into their own after hybridization and assimilation. The banzin are all prone to egocentrism when narrating their stories, exaggerating the nobility of their ancestors' lineage as the origin of all human beings. They consider Taiwan as the cradle of all human civilizations and its magnificent mountains as the sacred land of their ancestors.<sup>1</sup>*

This passage is quite telling of the Japanese anthropologists' attitude toward "Banzin Folklore" at the time. They considered it a useful tool for understanding the indigenous peoples' ethnic origin, the history of their religion, and their ethnic mentality. However, Mori did not really classify the lore systematically. He only divided the legends into two groups, the "sophisticated and poetic" ones as the "creation myths" and the "fantastical, nearly absurd" ones as fairy tales (otogibanashi). This simple classification is worth further analysis. As stated in the quoted passage, Mori was aware of the hybridization and assimilation between the Atayal tribes in regard to their legends. He also mentioned the legends that already existed before their ancestors' migration to Taiwan and their subsequent localization. However, in his description, he did not differentiate between the ur-myth and its subsequent offshoots. Neither did he address the nuanced differences between the various means of narration. A master of several "banzin languages,"

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<sup>1</sup> 森丑之助，《台灣蕃族誌》第一卷（台北：臨時台灣舊慣調查會，1914年），頁249。

Mori emphasized in his Japanese transcription of the Atayal lore that he “faithfully retained the banzin’ simple style of narration in his transcription without any addition or alteration for literary purposes.” He used hiraganas to mark the pronunciation of the Atayal names for people, places, and species, and explained their meanings in parentheses, such as “シイレク（漢名蕃筆と云ひ目白に似たる小鳥也）” (Siliiek, known as “fān bì” in Chinese, is a kind of bird that looks like Japanese white-eyes). However, the entire narration was still transcribed in Japanese, and no information was provided regarding the time and place of transcription, the narrator, or the translator. Every entry was simply considered “a myth or fairy tale that is widely circulated among all tribes.” Each narrative also adopted the tone of “Once upon a time, the banzin used to...” Mori also regularly inserted his own comments or judgment into the narration and tried to explain the Atayal religion in Buddhist terms, such as comparing the passage through Hongu Utux after death to the concept of hellish and heavenly realms in Buddhism. Mori adopted a narrative approach that projected his own values and cultural perspective onto the indigenous peoples’ lore. It translates its foreign culture in a way that further mixes and assimilates its folklore.

Under Mori Ushinosuke’s influence, the Atayal legend “Conquest of the Sun” was published in the Japanese youth magazine *Youth* (Tokyo: Jiji Shimpo “Current Events”) in April 1911. Uno Shuuko, the appointed poet of the Document Department of the Taiwan Governor-General Office, adapted the legend “heard directly from Mr. 通森丙午, a scholar in the field of banzin studies” into a story for youths. It is considered the first time that an adaptation of an aboriginal legend as a fairy tale was published in news media. At the time, Japan was entering its Taisho’s Southern Expansion period. The year of publication of the *Taiwanese Banzin*, 1914, marked Japan’s occupation of the South Pacific islands. After World War I, upon its receipt of the South Pacific Mandate, Japan officially claimed the islands as part of its territory. These events reignited the Southern Expansion Doctrine, with emphasis on peaceful import and export trades. The Atayal legend “Conquest of the Sun” aptly resonated with sentiments of the time. Like the Japanese’s own folklore legend “Momotaro,” bravery and justice were the central themes of the story, but it didn’t have the former’s aggressiveness and emphasized in addition the significance of heritage. It thus became very popular in Japan, and after several adaptations by various Japanese writers, it became the most well-known Taiwanese aboriginal legend in Japan. Author of *The History of Colonial Development in Taiwan* (Taipei: Kobunkan, 1916) and engineer at the Taiwan Governor-General Office from 1906-24, Togo Minoru even merged the Japanese and Atayal legends into one, “Seiban Momotaro’s Conquest of the Sun,” a new legend intended to inspire the Japanese to go out and realize their ambitions overseas<sup>2</sup>

Among all the Japanese anthropologists who collected aboriginal folklore, the investigation committee of the Taiwan Governor-General Office had the most significant results. Established under the direction of the Governor-General Office in 1901, the Special Taiwanese Custom and Practice Research Board first investigated the Han Chinese population and the Pepoohan population. After this first stage of investigation was more or less completed, a Seiban Section was added in February 1909 (reorganized as the Seiban Investigation Committee of the Taiwan Governor-General Office in May 1919) and took over the Research Board’s unfinished investigations. The Seiban Section investigated various aspects of each seiban tribe, including their customs, languages, means of production, social structure, and religions. In *Report of the Special Taiwanese Custom and Practice Research Board*, the methods and approaches of the Seiban Section were given as follows:

*(I) There are several seiban tribes, and each has its own language, customs, and culture. Thus the approach of each investigation should be adjusted accordingly. After every investigation is completed, a report should be filed. (II) An outline should be devised and implemented as reference for the investigation. However, should actual circumstances in the field differ from expectations and pose challenges to the*

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<sup>2</sup> 東郷實，〈生蕃桃太郎の太陽征伐〉《植民問題を語る》（東京：玉川学園出版部，1932年）。

*execution of the plan, adjustment can be made accordingly. (III) Most of the seibans are tough warriors. No investigation should be undertaken without the assistance of armed forces. Investigators should maintain frequent contact with the Seiban Department of the Governor-General Office and local police, in order to request assistance when needs arise. (IV) The seibans have never developed a written system for their languages. Everything is communicated orally. Investigators should thus pay particular attention to the real meaning of the words used in describing their customs and traditions. Every tribe has their own language, and there might even be differences between subtribes in different locations. Other than the Atayal tribe, interpreters are usually hired temporarily near the tribe. Investigators should also turn to the local police for help, as they usually have mastered the seibans' languages. (V) Use pictures to better illustrate seibans' customs, especially their costumes, houses, and crafts. Investigators can choose to sketch or take photos and include the pictures in their investigation report. (The underlined part is added by the author.)*

As stated above, interpretation and other linguistic issues were much emphasized by the Seiban Section in its investigation work. Local police's assistance was requested to help facilitate communication and understanding of the local language. Led by Kojima Yoshimichi, who had a professional background in the laws, the first investigation of the Seiban Section was directed toward the Atayal tribe in Dakekan. Since the primary purpose of the Special Taiwanese Custom and Practice Research Board was to provide information for the Governor-General Office's legislation, most of the Seiban Section's investigations focused on the social and kinship structures in a traditional Taiwanese aborigine society. However, these structures could be comprehended only after a general knowledge and understanding of the entire society had been attained. Thus Sayama Yuukichi, who had training in historical studies and anthropology in the University of Tokyo, also joined in this anthropology project. Between 1913 and 1921, Sayama published a volume of report per year, which ultimately led to his eight-volumed *Investigation of the Indigenous Peoples*: Amis (1914, 1915), Tsuo (1916), Seediq (1917), Atayal (1918, 1920), Bunun (1919), Paiwan and Saisiyat (1921).<sup>3</sup>

In his *Investigation of the Indigenous Peoples*, Sayama followed his predecessor Ino Kanori's approach and phonetically translated the tribes' names into Konji. He divided the indigenous peoples into the Amis, Tsuo, Seediq, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, and Saisiyat. Report about each tribe was further divided into sections on "General History," "Social State," "Calendar," "Religion," "Warfare (Headhunting)," "Living," "Daily Life," "Government," "Costume," "Games and Toys," "Dance, Songs, and Instruments," "Education, Arithmetics, and Pictography" and "Folklore and Fairy Tales." At the end of every volume, Sayama also provided an appendix with a list of words from the tribal language marked in katakanas. Under "General History," an account of the tribe's origin and migration history based on oral sources was given. "Folklore and Fairy Tales," on the other hand, includes the various legends heard during the field study. The legends were transcribed into Japanese, and the name and tribe of the narrator were recorded in katakanas. According to Sayama's preface, all the narrators were elders of their respective tribes, and any repetition was to be left to the discretion of authorities. Although collecting the indigenous peoples' oral literature was also not Sayama's primary goal, the results of his collection had a considerable impact on subsequent folklore collectors. Sayama himself seemed to have shown a particular interest in folklore, as he already published a paper on "Indians' superstition about tigers" in the *Anthropology Journal* (Vol. 27 No. 4) in 1911, the year before he came to Taiwan. During his preparation of *Investigation of the Banzin*

<sup>3</sup> 前 6 卷由「臨時台灣舊慣調查會」，後 2 卷由「台灣總督府蕃族調查會」發行。蕃族科及蕃族調查會出版的重要成果除了《蕃族調查報告書》之外，還有 1915 年至 1922 年期間，小島由道、河野喜六、安原信三、小林保祥等人陸續完成的《番族慣習調查報告書》共五卷八冊，以及岡松參太郎《台灣蕃族慣習研究》（全 8 卷，1921 年）等著。

from 1914 to 1918, Sayama also published several articles about Taiwanese indigenous peoples' folklore in the *Tokyo Anthropology Journal*, such as “the Amis legend that resembles Dakusatsu ni son” (February 1914), “the Legend from Taiwan’s Orchid Island” (September 1915), and “the Legend about the One who Entered the Mountain and Never Returned” (January 1918).

The investigation of the Seiban Section happened to coincide with the fifth Governor-General Sakuma Samata’s Five-Year Civilization Plan for Seiban (1906-1915). According to Sekigichi Hiroshi’s observation, due to the differences between Director of Seiban Department Ōtsu Rinpei and Sakuma Samata regarding seiban policies, the Seiban Section under Ōtsu ignored the Governor-General’s political concerns and conducted field studies that were purely academic in nature. However, it was also thanks to Sakuma’s suppression and assimilation policies that the Seiban Section was able to obtain assistance from local officials, policemen, and primary indigenous education institution staff that helped ensure the thoroughness of their fieldwork. That is to say, when members of the Seiban Section were conducting their studies, the Japanese government, after several military actions, had disregarded their own defense lines, and they were now stepping into the households of the few remaining survivors. However, Sayama did not mention this political background in his report at all. Liu Bi-Zhen pointed out that this apolitical approach reflected the power relation between the colonizer and the colonized, making the former the active observer and the latter the passive observed. It also demonstrated the colonizer’s special way of monitoring their subjects. These reports allowed the Empire to survey its conquered lands and their people’s daily life, marking the transition from elimination to assimilation.<sup>4</sup>

In addition, even though Sayama did write down the name and tribe of his narrators in *Investigation of the Banzin*, no information was given regarding their age, their social status, the setting, or the interpreter. We can only infer that the narrators are male elders from various tribes. In other words, Sayama treated a folklore tradition that was still ongoing and evolving every moment as pieces of dead specimen and carved them into his ethnography study.

It was worth noting, however, that the large amount of legends recorded in *Investigation of the Banzin* prompted a widespread interest in Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ folklore among the Japanese in Taiwan. There was clearly a trend of increasing number of articles about seiban legends penned by writers who weren’t anthropologists. Most of them were either law practitioners or school teachers, and the writings were usually published in *Taiwan Education*, *Taiwan Law Monthly*, *Taiwan Policemen Association*, and so on. The style of these publications differed noticeably from the anthropologists’ academic reports. They retold the stories in a more colloquial tone and tended to introduce them as strange, fantastical tales or fairy tales for children. They were invariably called “otogibanashi,” exactly as Mori Ushinosuke did in the passage cited above. At the same time, Nishioka Hideo, who arrived in Taiwan in 1910 to develop the otogibanashi of Taiwan, published a series of eight “Seiban Children Stories” from March 1915 to February 1917 on *Patriotic Women of Taiwan*. He rewrote the legends in an elegant but accessible style and replaced narration with a large amount of dialogues. Much influenced by the Taishō period’s children education reform and the children literature movement, Nishioka actively promoted the writing and narration (kouen) of children’s stories. He asserted that since there still weren’t enough of high-quality original stories for children, people could turn to local folklore to make up for the deficiency, such as “Momotaro,” “Tongue-Cut Sparrow,” “Monkey-Crab Battle,” and “Urashima Tarō.” These were all tales rediscovered during the Meiji period, under the pretext of glorifying the culture of the Japanese people. One of Nishioka’s mentors Sazanami Konami was the one who successfully rewrote these tales and turned them into popular tales known by every household. They also soon became a mandatory part of the Japanese curriculum in both Japan and its colonies. As liberal education was the central theme of Taishō period’s children education reform, children-oriented and locally-based materials became a key in school lessons. In accordance with this trend, Nishioka found the local Taiwanese tales “too shina (Chinese)”

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<sup>4</sup> 劉璧榛，〈編序〉，《蕃族調查報告書前篇：賽德克族》（台北：中研院民族所，2015年），iv頁。



and thus turned to the indigenous peoples' folklore as the main source for his development of Taiwan's local children's stories. Starting from 1915, he actively published commentaries on the customs and legends of Taiwanese indigenous peoples as well as adaptations of the legends. The timing of his works suggests that they were influenced or even prompted by the publication of *Investigation of the Banzin*.

In addition, in 1910, the same year that Nishioka Hideo came to Taiwan, Kunio Yanagita published his pioneering folkloristic work *Tōno Monogatari*, a collection of legends that he heard from folklore collector Sasaki Kizen. Kunio compiled them together "without adding or eliminating one single word." Unlike the anonymity and vague history of classic tales like "Momotaro," names of people and places are specified in *Tōno Monogatari*, including the transcription of several Ainu names in katakanas, a similar approach to Sayama Yuukichi's. The unique, poetic style and simple, primitive content of *Tōno Monogatari* received much acclaim. Thereafter, Kunio Yanagita went to collect folklore throughout Japan and adopted the Mukashibanashi approach, which emphasizes the faithful preservation of the original, in contrast to the heavily edited and beautified folklore that was in vogue among contemporary writers. It was said that Kunio Yanagita studied *Investigation of the Banzin* in detail, as well as the *Collection of Seiban Lore* adapted from it. He was also on very close terms with Inō Kanori from Tono and helped bring his posthumous work *Taiwanese Culture Chronicle* to publication. In short, Kunio Yanagita's study of folkloristics was closely related to the Japanese anthropologists' study of the Taiwanese indigenous peoples.

Due to the similarity between legends recorded in the *Investigation of the Banzin* and several classic Japanese myths, a theory of "shared ancestry between the Yamato people and the Taiwanese indigenous peoples" began to circulate among Japanese people. Akizawa Usen, editor of *Taiwan Law Monthly*, was invited to publish "Seiban's Legends and Fairy Tales" in 22 serial installments on *Taiwan Daily News*. In the first installment he immediately mentioned that "legend is true history, and fairy tales reflect ethnicity" and that the folklore that sprung out of "their ethnicity and ours" indeed share a lot in common. However, Akizawa did not aim to compare the two. Rather, he wanted to base his work off the *Investigation of the Banzin*, and with a bent for the fantastic, "rewrote the stories in a conversational style to maximize its appeal." In the humorous tone of a bard, he turned a large portion of the *Investigation of the Banzin*, which was intended as a faithful record of the tribal folklore, into dialogues and thus made his work one that was accessible to the public. Akizawa's definition of "fairy tales" was more aligned with Mori Ushinosuke and Sayama Yuukichi's. To them, fairy tales are stories that simultaneously carry with them fantasy and clear moral messages, different from the modern definition of it as stories specifically designed for children.

In Karatani Kojin's words, the above-mentioned events illustrate the Japanese's attitude toward knowledge about Taiwanese indigenous peoples as "scenery discovered" along the process of constructing their Empire's knowledge system. With the publication of *Investigation of the Banzin* and the increasing importance of oral literature collection in Japanese anthropology, children's literature and folkloristics, the study of Taiwanese indigenous peoples' folklore gradually became a major academic field. With the publication of several adaptations, the indigenous folklore also gained popularity among laymen. In November 1923, *Collection of Seiban Lore* was published. According to Karatani Kojin, Sayama Yuukichi, who co-authored the book with his coworker in Taihoku First Middle School Ōnishi Yoshihisa, used his *Investigation of the Banzin* from ten years ago as the foundation of this work. Karatani also considered this the first monograph solely dedicated to Taiwanese indigenous peoples' oral literature during the Japanese rule, an opinion shared by most. As such, the book received much attention. Besides being selected as part of the Governor-General Office's library reading list, it set off a trend among publishers in Taiwan to publish collections of indigenous folklore and became a model in form and content for subsequent works of the same genre published in Japanese

### III. From *Collection of Seiban Lore* to *Collection of Banzin Lore for Children*

*Collection of Seiban Lore* and *Collection of Taiwanese Takasago-zoku's Folklore in the Original Language*, edited by Ogawa Naoyoshi and Asai Erin of the Taihoku Imperial University and published in 1935, were considered the two pillars of Taiwanese indigenous folklore collection during Japanese rule. Compared to the latter's academic style, which preserved the original language of the folklore through phonetic transcription, *Collection of Seiban Lore* aimed to "faithfully introduce [the indigenous tales] in large quantity" in Japanese. Style and comprehensibility for the larger public were prioritized in its editing. Onishi Yoshihisa, who was responsible for compiling and editing the text, described the *Collection of Seiban Lore* in its preface thus: "in terms of its form, [this work] is neither a literary work nor an academic study, but something in between."<sup>5</sup>

In terms of time, the material of *Collection of Taiwanese Takasago-zoku's Folklore* was collected in the early 1930s while *Collection of Seiban Lore* was a compilation of tales collected by anthropologists from the 1910s to the 20s. *Collection of Seiban Lore* also followed Sayama Yuukichi's ethnographic approach in *Investigation of the Banzin*, removing the contemporaneity of its subject. According to the editorial notes, the collection was largely based on Sayama Yuukichi's *Investigation of the Banzin*, supplemented by a couple of similar books, albeit unspecified. Since Sayama didn't study the Pepohoan peoples, most of the Pepohoan tales in the book were based on Inō Kanori's report. As for the section on "Oceanic Tales," most of the material was based on Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic Mythology" (*The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. IX. Marshall Jones Company, 1916), and W. Max Muller and James George Scott's "Indo-Chinese Mythology" (*The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. XII. Marshall Jones Company, 1918). That is to say, all the tales had to go through several "translations" before their final form in the book. They were first narrated, interpreted, transcribed (by Sayama, Inō, Scott, etc.), and finally edited (by Onishi). The book compiled about 400 tales in total.

The table of contents shows that the book does not have a consistent or meticulous classification system. The indigenous peoples' folklore was divided into seven main themes—"Creation Myths," "Tribal Folklore," "Origins of Culture," "Nature," "Extraordinary Deeds," "Miracles," and "Romance"—and then further subdivided into smaller sections. For the "Creation Myths" and "Tribal Folklore" chapters, the ethnic group, the name of tribe, and the name of the narrator are listed for each tale. For several tales, the narrators are marked as the chieftains of their tribes. For other themed chapters, the tales were arranged in an order "according to the convenience of the authors," and only the name of the tribe or the ethnic group was given. The narrators' names weren't provided, and oftentimes, several variants existed and were listed in the notes. The final chapter is "Oceanic Tales," divided based on their region of origin into Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, Australia, and Indonesia. Each region was then further subdivided into different themes.

Interestingly, in the same year that saw *Collection of Seiban Lore* published, Prince Hirohito, who was also Regent of the Empire then, came to inspect Taiwan and declared that "there should be no savages in my empire" and thus the racist terms "seiban" or "banzin" should be replaced by "Takasago-zoku." Despite the Prince's wish and the wide attention it received, Sayama and Ōnishi still chose to include the word "seiban" in their title. To this, Ōnishi gave the following explanation:

*In using the word "Seiban," the authors do not intend to imply any contempt or disdain in their attitude. Because this word has long been associated with these simple, innocent, and carefree people, it evokes in us a sense of nostalgia. Besides, I also hold on to this word because I want to pay homage to these so-called seiban or banzin for owning such magnificent myths and legends. I lack the courage to*

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<sup>5</sup> 大西吉壽，〈自序〉，《生蕃傳說集》（台北：杉田重藏書店，1923年），頁4。

*immediately rename the “seiban” as “Takasago-zoku.”*<sup>6</sup>

Ōnishi’s explanation reminds us of nineteenth-century Europe’s weariness with the decadent modern civilization, which gave rise to fascination with nature and primitivism. Indigenous peoples who lived in a “primitive,” illiterate society were dubbed the “noble savages.” The craze for primitivism that followed, however, only further deepened the gulf between barbarity and civilization in people’s perception of the two. Ōnishi’s description of the indigenous peoples as “simple, innocent, and carefree” suggests a similar attitude toward them. Yamaji Katsuhiko observed that Japanese people often used “innocent” and “cute” to describe “an uncivilized people.” These expressions could be linked to the movement of children education in the wake of Taishō Democracy. Children were considered “an uncivilized people” untainted by civilization. During the Shōwa period, “cute children” was used to describe the phenomenon of “uncivilized people.” When explaining his motivation for writing the *Collection of Seiban Lore*, Ōnishi Yoshihisa indeed referred to the indigenous peoples as “cute brothers”:

*The seiban are not a ferocious people by any means. Rather, they are our cute brothers. Legends even say that they and the Japanese once shared the same ancestor and only got separated under a bow as a token a long time ago. Because they lived on a remote island, they fell behind in their culture and became fierce seiban. However, with proper guidance, they will remain our faithful younger brothers-- and that is the goal of our Seiban Civilization Plan. We only need to correct their misguided veneration of bravery and brotherhood bonds. Indeed, there was not much difference between our ancestors and brave soldiers in the Genpei War and the seiban headhunters.*<sup>7</sup>

In this passage, other than emphasizing that the indigenous peoples are “cute,” Ōnishi also emphasized their shared ancestry with the Japanese by referring to them as “our faithful younger brothers.” He also equated the indigenous peoples *now* with “our ancestors [...] in the Genpei War.” All these words imply the superiority of “us” in the evolution of culture and civilization. He further compared the indigenous peoples’ folklore with the Japanese folklore collections thus:

*Overall, seiban’s folklore is innocent, primitive, and filled with the charm of wilderness. The tales can stir up in people infinite nostalgia. But among the seiban, there is also a difference between the northern seiban and the southern seiban. The characteristics of each also vary with the extent to which they have been exposed to civilization. For instance, the Atayal’s and the Seediq’s folklore resemble the directness and masculinity of Man’yōshū; the Paiwan’s and the Amis’s have the splendor and exquisiteness of Shin Kokin Wakashū; the Tsuo’s and the Bunun’s are set in a more elegant, somber tone like Kokinshū. Hearing the tales that blossomed out of these eight tribes, I felt as if I were in a garden of seiban culture. (Preface, 3)*

This approach—comparing the Taiwanese indigenous peoples to “us Japanese people”—is a very common one in the *Collection of Seiban Lore*. Ōnishi approved of the teaching that the indigenous peoples received as a result of the Seiban Civilization Policy. The publication, in turn, also won the approval of Tomojirō Takeuchi, head of the National Police Agency of the Governor-General Office at the time, in the preface he wrote for the publication.

*It has been thirty years since we started to civilize the seiban, from the initial conquest to the pacification and education now. The key is to gain an in-depth knowledge of every tribe’s history and customs.*

<sup>6</sup> 大西吉壽，〈凡例〉，《生蕃傳說集》（台北：杉田重藏書店，1923年），頁4-5。

<sup>7</sup> 大西吉壽，〈自序〉，《生蕃傳說集》（台北：杉田重藏書店，1923年），頁2。

*Reading the recently published Collection of Seiban Lore can help us achieve this goal. The fantasy-like narration throughout is particularly conducive to discovering and understanding their ethnic mentality.*

*Ultimately, is it possible to transfer our culture and civilization to this other ethnic group? Are there similarities between us? These are all questions that need to be answered and researched when we enter the stage of pacification and education. (Preface, 1-2)*

Tomojirō opined that the objective of reading the lore collection is to understand the history and customs of these “cute seiban” as well as their ethnic mentality, in order to guide them toward “civilization.” This explains at least partially what prompted the sudden surge in the publication of folklore collections (in Japanese) in Japan. It also suggests that the assumed readership for *Collection of Seiban Lore* is the colonizers.

In terms of the tone of narration, Ōnishi changed the Early Modern Japanese adopted in *Investigation of the Banzin* to Modern Japanese in *Collection of Seiban Lore*, specifically the “～は……た。” and “～は……である。” form of narration. In terms of the content, he also made further editing cuts or additions as a comparison of excerpts from the two respective works demonstrates below:

Narrator Paiciana アビヤ

今ハ昔父母ヲ失ヒテ祖母ノ手ニ育テ上ゲラレタル四人ノ兄弟アリキ一日彼等ハ蜻蛉ヲ捕ヒ其首ヲ斬リテ石ノ上ニ載セ互ニ手ヲ連ネテ其周囲ヲ歌ヒナガラ喜ビ廻レリ其後〈タリパ〉ノ頭ヲ斬リ取りテマタ石ノ上ニ載セテ歌ヒ廻リシニ一度ヨリハ二度目二度目ヨリハ三度目ノ愉快サモ増シテ仲々ニ面白シ斯克テ虫ノ頭ノ数々ヲ平ゲテ見レバ他ノ動物ノ頭ヲ欲スルニ至リ遂ニ進ミテ人ノ首ヲト思ヒツクニ至レリ然ニ人ノ首ハ容易ニ取り得ルモノニアラザレバ四人ハ鳩首シテ謀レドモ別ニ策モナシ戯興ズレバ他ヲ思ハザルニ至ルハ東西古今変ラザルモノト見エ彼等四人ハ第一ニ祖母ノ首ヲ斬ルコソヨケレト決シ其ヨリ臥シ居タル祖母ノ側ニ寄り無残ニモ首ヲ刎ネマタ石ノ上ニ載セ之ヲ見ナガラ手ヲ連ネテ謡ヒツ舞ヒツ戯レシテ無上ノ愉快ヲ感ジケレバ四人ハ人ノ首ヲ取レバ斯克ノ如ク快感ヲ覺ユルモノカナト打チ喜ビ今ヨリ人ヲ殺シテ其首ヲ取ラント決心シヌ然ドモ興醒メテ見レバ現在己ガ祖母ノ体ハ血ニマミレ首ハ遙カ離レタル石ノ上ニ転ガリ見ルモウタテキ有様ニ四人ノ者ハ今更ナガラ驚キアキレ如何ニモシテ元ノ体ニ直サント神ヲ降シテ祈願シケルニ神モ憐ミ給ヒシカ祖母ノ体ハ元ノ如ク斯克テ四人ハ末永ク孝道ヲ尽シタレドソレヨリ戯首ノ趣味ヲ解シ土人ト見レバー人モ残サズ其首ヲトリシモ其後ハ首ヨリモ金錢ヲ欲スルニ至リタリトナン(“The Four-Tribe Banzin of Tsuo, Chapter 12 Legends and Fairytales,” *Investigation of the Banzin*, 163.)<sup>8</sup>

今は昔早く両親に死なれ祖母の手一つで育て上げられた四人の兄弟があつた。或る日彼等はどこからか蜻蛉を捕へて来てその首を斬り石の上に載せ、互に手を連ね其の周囲を歌ひ廻つて興があつた。此の事が面白かつたから其後また〈タリパ〉の頭を斬り取つて同じやうにして喜んだ。かくて一度より二度、二度より三度と次第に優者の誇りを感じ、愉快はいよいよ増して行つた。そして大抵の虫を平げてしまふと更に他の動物の頭が欲しくなり、遂に悪戯が進んで人の首さへ望む事となつた。

ところが人の首はさう容易くは手に入らないから、四人は鳩首して相談した。併し別に良策もないので遂に無残にも祖母の首をとるがよいと決した。そこで何気なく臥してゐた祖母の首を刎ね、また石の上に載せこれを見ながら手を連ねて謡ひつ舞ひつ戯

<sup>8</sup> 被佐山歸為「曹（鄒）族」の四社蕃，現已正名為「拉阿魯哇族」(Hla'alua)。

れたが、嘗てない一種の快感さへ覚えた。四人は人の首だとかうまで面白いものかしらとうち興じ、今後は人を殺して首を取らうと決心した。

併し興が醒めて見ると、現在の祖母は身首処を異にして血にまみれ、虚空を掴んで死んでゐる有様に、さすがの兄弟も驚き惘れ今更ながら迷夢が覚めたので、どうかして元の身体にしようとして、頻りに祈願をこめたから、神も憐み給ひ祖母の身体はもともやうになつた。かくて四人は末永く孝道を尽くしたが、馘首の趣味を覚えてからは、その風は容易に改まらず、土人とさへ見れば一人も残さず馘首するのであつた。

ツォ族 The Four-Tribe Banzin (“Chapter III Origin of Customs-- Headhunting,” *Collection of Seiban Lore*, 269)

From the above excerpts, we can see that to reinvoke the feeling of “oral narration,” Ōnishi has preserved the first-person perspectives of “our tribe,” “we,” etc. He also added phrases like “どこからか,” “何気なく,” and “虚空を掴んで” to further embellish the sentences. He also eliminated sentences from *Investigation of the Banzin* like “from then on, [they] liked money more than they liked heads (其後ハ首ヨリモ金銭ヲ欲スルニ至リタリトナン)” that better reflected the reality but contradicted Ōnishi’s portrayal of the banzin as “innocent, simple.” He also removed sentences written in a more archaic style, such as “Once the desire to play is awakened, nothing else can divide one’s attention-- a universal truth throughout history (戯興ズレバ他ヲ思ハザルニ至ルハ東西古今変ラザルモノト見エ).” Regardless of the question of whether *Collection of Seiban Lore* was faithful to the original oral narration or not, its narration is without a doubt lively and animated, so much so that many of its legends were circulated as fairy tales afterward.

After *Collection of Seiban Lore* was published, its influence on several of the folklore collections published in the wake of the Enpon movement after the Great Kantō Earthquake was evident, including Nishioka Hideo’s “Collection of Taiwanese Fairy Tales” in the *Compendium of Fairy Tales* published by Kankokai (1924-28) and Nakamura Ryohei’s “Collection of Taiwanese Myths and Legends” in the *Compendium of Myths and Legends* published by the Kindaisha (1927-29). Both clearly based much of their content on *Collection of Seiban Lore*, especially stories suitable for children. Sayama Yuukichi himself also selected several tales from *Collection of Seiban Lore* to include in the “Taiwan” Chapter in *Japanese Folklore (II)* (Tokyo: アルス, 1929). This book also includes chapters on “Ainu,” “Okinawa,” and “Korea.” Their authors—Kyōsuke Kindaichi, Iha Fuyū, and Tanaka Umekichi—were all major collectors of foreign folklore for Japanese folklore collection at the time. Its sequel, *Japanese Folklore (I)*, which was published later (Tokyo: アルス, 1930), was authored by Yanagita Kunio. Although the title was “folklore,” the content suggests that children were their main target audience. In his introduction to the chapter on Taiwan, “About the Taiwan Chapter,” Sayama Yuukichi described Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ legends as “capable of making one feel as if transported back to the times of Emperor Jimmu and Yamato Takeru.” He also considered these legends as tales told in families: “their parents would tell these stories to their children, exactly like how we tell stories in our families.” This view of the folklore perhaps oversimplified the Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ oral tradition. *Collection of Seiban Lore* also inspired novelist Nakamura Chihei to write a series of novels based on Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ folklore, all compiled in *Collection of Taiwanese Novels* (Tokyo: Ink Bookstore, 1941).

In September 1930, under the Governor-General Office’s order, the Taipei Branch of the Police Agency assigned two officers with years of experience in banzin affairs, Senoo Yasushi and Suzuki Tadasu, the task of “collecting all banzin legends that might help with civilization project” and “supplying revision and edits where it is needed, in order to warm the banzin children’s hearts with maximum nurture.” Nishioka Hideo was invited to proofread their work and Katasei Hiroshi to supply the illustrations. In the end, their work was published as *Collection of Banzin Fairy Tales and Legends*, a key component of the Seiban Area Development Plan for the Taipei region. It is the first collection of children’s literature based on the indigenous peoples’ legends to be published in Taiwan during the Japanese rule. Influence from

*Collection of Seiban Lore* is quite evident in its content, arrangement, classification, as well as literary style. Even the lines and shapes of Katasei Hiroshi's illustration displays clear resemblance to Shiotsuki Tōho's work in the *Collection of Seiban Lore*.

#### **IV. The Break of Reality from Fairy Tales**

*Collection of Banzin Fairy Tales and Legends* contains 71 tales, divided into six categories: "Myths about the Gods," "The Elders' Tales," "Legends about Nature," "Stories of Brave Fighters," "Tales of the Fantastic and Miracles," and "Creation Myths." Unlike the hitherto Japanese collections of the indigenous peoples' folklore, the book was not written for the colonizers' knowledge or enjoyment but for "the civilization and education of the banzin children." These tales purported to be the banzin's spiritual food that would "foster in them our national spirit," just like "the Momotarō tale that cultivates the samurai spirit, the Monkey-Crab Battle tale that upholds virtues and denounces vices, and the Tortoise and the Hare tale that fosters the spirit of diligence and perseverance—these are the stories that nurtured the Japanese's morals, the Yamato soul." In addition, "this book can acquaint us, who live in the cities, with the innocence and simplicity of those who live in the mountains." The book claimed that "the two editors Senoo Yasushi and Suzuki Tadasu have both dealt with banzin affairs in their work for years" and that "they knew the banzin's folklore through and through, thus able to compile the best of them as a collection of fairy tales and put in a lot of thoughts on how to narrate and arrange them." It went on to say that "it must have taken much determination and hard work on their part to collect legends and fairy tales of such a considerable amount from these people of the mountains" and that "they must have been on really close, even intimate terms with people of the mountains, or it would have been impossible." However, after close analysis of Senoo and Suzuki's book, I discovered that they based much of it on *Collection of Seiban Lore* and Akizawa Usen's serial instalment of "Seiban's Legends and Fairy Tales" on *Taiwan Daily News*, which also borrowed much of its content from *Investigation of the Banzin*. In other words, even though *Collection of Banzin Fairy Tales and Legends* was intended as a key component of the Seiban Area Development Plan for the Taipei region, the fairy tales compiled in this collection were actually not specifically designed for the indigenous peoples in the Taipei region, nor were they based on actual field work conducted in Taipei. They were merely an elaboration and revision of their predecessors' works. On their own work, the editors commented, "There were no such thing as 'fairy tales' among banzin, only folklore, which often feels insufficient; it also only circulates among the locals. Thus we want to popularize it as well as brighten and add more elegance to these unaffected legends." Take the creation myth for instance (see Chart 1); in contrast to the *Collection of Seiban Lore*, which underlined the differences between versions by preserving the original oral narration as much as possible and listing them side by side, *Collection of Banzin Fairy Tales and Legends* combines versions from various tribes into one. The various tribes' names were thus merged into one. They also left out the story of how the god and the goddess learned to procreate from the golden fly and the intermarriages of their descendants, perhaps out of concern for the inappropriateness of its content for "children." A lot of dialogues were employed to further animate the content and add a child-like touch to it. The narrative approach of *Collection of Banzin Fairy Tales and Legends* aims to popularize. Tribal memories that were originally passed on from generation to generation in tribal languages (spoken languages) were now translated into Japanese, "the language of the nation," filtered and packaged to become textbook materials to be taught at school. From this point of view, much can be read into the preface given to the book by Director of the Education Bureau Sugimoto Ryo. Sugimoto Ryo mentioned that when he asked an indigenous boy about his impression of Prince Yasuhito's recent visit during his trip to Jiaobanshan, the boy answered that he was most grateful to the Prince's declaration, "I do not want to call you banzin." Sugimoto Ryo was extremely touched by this answer and wrote:

*In this century, Taiwan has seen major revolutions and progresses in every aspect of its development. One of them is the "Stride toward Civilization" implemented among the 150,000 residents of the mountains, which cover half of the island. [...] From now on they will surely take even larger "strides toward civilization." After these great*

strides, when they look back on these legends in the book again, they will have become interesting old tales, and the book itself will have become a noble memory, a milestone of Taiwan mountain residents' progress toward civilization!

For Sugimoto Ryo, in the process of civilization, fairy tales are part of a nostalgia that is bound to fade away. They are sights to be sealed in a book, and the break of reality from fairy tales is an inevitable mark of the indigenous peoples' stride toward civilization.

Besides *Collection of Seiban Lore* and *Collection of Banzin Fairy Tales and Legends*, the 1920s and 30s also saw the publication of many other folklore collections in Japan. There were collections of folklore, folktales, and fairy tales from Japan itself, as well as many collections of folklore from Ainu, China, Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Southeast Asia that were translated into Japanese. Due to the sudden rise and growth of capitalism in Japan at the time, the Empire was faced with unease in the countryside as well as controversies around labor dispute at home. The devastation caused by the Great Kantō Earthquake and the Imperial Capital Reconstruction Project that ensued also seemed to symbolize the end and rebirth of an era. All of these circumstances make the historical background of this period a rather complex one. At the same time, Japanese intellectuals started to feel the limits of the Westernization that had begun since Meiji Restoration. Within Japan, there was a growing desire to rediscover the beauty of local culture, commoner's culture, and Japanese culture, paving the way for its Pan-Asianism in foreign policy. Japanese collections of folklore from the rest of East Asia and Southeast Asia provided imperial Japan an important point of reference for the establishment of a civilization's identity, from the origin of its people and the genesis of traditions to the cohesion of a shared identity and recognition of one's own culture. Unlike the European scholars' cross-continental research, Japanese children's literature, folkloristics, and anthropology all revolved around Asians as their main subjects of study. These fields of study also became keys in how the Japanese defined the national language, national spirit, and national literature of their modern nation state. In contrast, after Japanese anthropologists subjected colonized peoples' folklore to multilingual translation, cultural translation, documentation, and codification, their folklore became part of the "local knowledge" or "primitive arts" under the "modern nation state." While the imperial knowledge was enriched, the orality of the folklore was replaced by codes of the superior written system. The Taiwanese indigenous peoples' originally complex oral tradition that was usually interwoven with its own rules, rituals, folk songs, and dances, was now simplified and flattened by the imperial system. Their means of self-expression now also fell into the hands of their ruler and the system of his language. Collections of Taiwanese indigenous folklore written in Japanese like the *Collection of Seiban Lore* represented the "innocent, simple" banzin and their legends as specimen frozen in the past. As such, they became the "others" in modern times that was recreated again and again to evoke the readers' nostalgia.

After World War II, these folklore collections were translated into Chinese and continued to circulate in Taiwan. After the indigenous peoples' movement that began in the 1980s, they became even more widely read and a key reference for the revival of the indigenous peoples' mother tongues. How the folklore evolved, in terms of its narrators, form and structure of its text, and its means of interpretation and transmission, against this constantly changing historical background is a topic worth further exploration.



Chart 1

<p>蕃族調査報告書(1918年)</p>	<p>生蕃傳説集(1923年)</p>	<p>蕃人童話傳説選集(1930年)</p>
<p>紗績族調査報告書前篇總説 霧社蕃ノ口碑</p> <p>話者 イヨン、バワン バワン、ボホク ワリス、ラバイ</p> <p>古昔中央山脈ノブノホント稱スル所に頗ル大ナル一樹アリ其名今ニ伝ハラザレド半面ハ木質ニシテ半面ハ岩石ヨリナリテイト珍ラシキモノナリキ木ノ精化シテ神トナリシカ中ヨリ男女ノ二神ミトノマダハヒシテ出現セリ此二神数多ノ子ヲ産メリ其子又子ヲ産ミテ数世ノ後ニハ所モ狭クナリス其頃ハ神代トテ今日ノ如ク種々ノ手数モナク風ヲ吞ミテ腹ヲ滿タセリ偶珍味ヲトテ栗ヲ取りテ一粒ヲ数箇ニ截リテ其一ヲ鍋ニ入レテ煮レバ大凡径三尺ノ大鍋ニ一杯ノ飯ヲ得タルモノナリスカレバ栗ヲ得ントテ大ナル畑ヲ作ルニ及ベズ僅ニ二三寸四方ノ地ヲ耕シテ一束ノ粟ヲ得レバ尚ホ全社ノ人ヲ養フニ足レリ又肉ヲ欲スル時ニハ野猪ヲ呼ヒテ其毛ヲ抜キ一本ヲ数箇ニ截リ同ジク鍋ニテ煮レバ美味ナル肉ト化セシナリ(後略)</p> <p>トロック蕃ノ口碑</p> <p>話者 ワジバワン</p>	<p>創世神話 サゼク族</p> <p>古昔中央山脈の「ブノホン」といふ所に、亭々とした一大樹があつた。其名は今に伝つてゐないが根は底津岩根を穿ち、梢は青雲の中に入つてゐた。そして不思議な事には、其の半面は木質であるのに、半面は岩石になつてゐた。木の精化して神となり、中から男女の二神が出現した。二神婚せられて数多の御子神生れ、子神更に相婚せられて、数世の後には神の子孫で所も狭い位繁栄した。其頃は未だ神通の世であつたから、不思議な事が多く行はれた。神々は皆々沆瀣を飲み雲霧を吸つて居られたが、稍々降つてからはやはり口腹の慾を満すものが必要となつた。それから栗の耕作などが行はれたが、此の頃でも一粒の粟を数箇に截り、その小粒を煮れば三尺の大鍋に溢れる位の飯になつたものである。だから栗畑でも二寸四方の地で沢山であつたし、一束の粟が出来れば一年の食糧に足りた。肉が欲しい時には野猪を呼び、その毛を抜き、一本を数箇に切り鍋で煮れば美味しい肉となつたのである。</p> <p>イヨン、バワン 霧社蕃 バワン、ボホク ワリス、ラバイ</p>	<p>遠き神代の話</p> <p>今から遠い遠い、あの山にある木の葉の数程の多い年の数を重ねた大昔のことである。中央山脈ブノホンといふ所に、高く高く真直ぐに空を覆ふまでに青葉が一杯繁つた、何んと云ふ樹かその名は判らないが一本の大木があつた。その大きな樹の半面は、木であつたが不思議にも、その半面は石であつた。そしてこの老木木の爲めに天日を仰ぐことも出来ないで世の中は何時とも真暗闇であつた。</p> <p>或る夏の夕暮のこと、ざあと降る激しい夕立があつたのでこの大木は一層すがすがしさを増して、神々しく何だか神様のやうに見えたが、やがてほととの神様となつて色々の生物を産んで呉れた。先づ樹の幹の下の方から生れ出たのは、一つは身体に毛皮を纏つた四脚の妙なもの、他の一つは頭の方に丸い大きな瘤があり、その形が恰然で朝鮮人参のやうに、幹の上の方に自由に動く二本の枝があり、下の方には地面を歩く二本の太根のやうなものを具へて居た。次は樹の幹の上の方から生れ出たもので、その一つは形が細長く縄のやうで、歩くこともなく、何時も匍つてばかり居た。また他の一つは大きな翼を持つて自由自在に飛び廻つてゐたのである。これがあとに、獸類、人類、蛇類、鳥類といふものになる、その祖先であつた。</p> <p>世の中は何時とも真暗闇なので、同じ樹から生れながらお互に語ることも出来なかつた。ところが或日偶然にも一同が一の巖窟に落ち合ふことが出来、そこで後世人間と云ふものになるものの祖先が、先づ口を開いて云つた。</p> <p>「皆さん、我々は今まで風ばかり飲んで生きて来たが、近頃同類が殖えたので、如何もお腹が減つて仕方がない。皆さん如何です其</p>
<p>古昔ハリギヤカボツポト云フ所ニ巨樹アリテ鬱々蒼々タル枝葉ハ天地ヲ蔽ヒ日光ヲ遮ギラレテ晝尚ホ暗ク常闇ノ世ナリキ或時樹幹ノ下部ヨリ蠱々トシテ生レ出デタル者アル四脚ニシテ身体ニハ毛皮ヲ纏ヘリ次ギニ同ジク下部ヨリ生レタルモノアリ頂上ニ一ノ瘤アレド其形宛モ樹木ノ如ク幹アリテ二本ノ根ト二本ノ枝トヲ具フ次ギニ上部ヨリ生レタルモノニツアリ一ハ其形長クシテ細ク歩行スルコトナク常に匍匐ス他ハ地上ヲ匍匐スルコトモナク空中ヲ飛翔ス後世此等ヲ獸類、人類、蛇類、鳥類ト稱ス而シテ上部ヨリ生レタル者ハ樹木ニ登ルコトヲ得レドモ下部ヨリ産レタル者ハ上ニ登ルコト能ハズ現</p> <p>上古一リギヤカボツポトといふ所に巨樹があつて、鬱々蒼々とした枝葉が、天地を蔽ひかくしたから、日光が遮られて晝尚ほ暗い常闇の世であつた。</p> <p>或る時、此の木の幹の下から蠱々として生れ出でた者があつた。四脚で全身に毛皮を纏つてゐる。次に同じやうに下部から生れたものがあつた。頂上には一つの瘤を有つてゐて、其状貌は樹木のやうに幹があつて二本の根と二本の枝を具へてゐる。そして二本の根で幹を支へ枝をふりながら動く</p>	<p>上古一リギヤカボツポトといふ所に巨樹があつて、鬱々蒼々とした枝葉が、天地を蔽ひかくしたから、日光が遮られて晝尚ほ暗い常闇の世であつた。</p> <p>或る時、此の木の幹の下から蠱々として生れ出でた者があつた。四脚で全身に毛皮を纏つてゐる。次に同じやうに下部から生れたものがあつた。頂上には一つの瘤を有つてゐて、其状貌は樹木のやうに幹があつて二本の根と二本の枝を具へてゐる。そして二本の根で幹を支へ枝をふりながら動く</p>	<p>「皆さん、我々は今まで風ばかり飲んで生きて来たが、近頃同類が殖えたので、如何もお腹が減つて仕方がない。皆さん如何です其</p>

今 獸類及人類ノ樹上ニ棲息スル能  
ハザルハ之ガ為ナリ  
世ハ常闇ノコトトテ同シ樹木ヨリ  
出テタレド相共ニ会合スル折モナ  
ク数月ヲ経タリシガ或日偶然ニモ  
皆一所ニ会合シタレバ折コソヨケ  
レド人間ノ云ヘルヤウ各々万物ヲ  
嘗メ試ミテ若シ己ノ口ニ適スル物  
アラバ其ヲ食トスベシト各々同意  
賛成シテ地上アルトアラユル物ヲ  
嘗メ試ミスクテ各々口ニ適スル物  
ヲ食トスルニ至レリ (後略)

大 公 族 調 査 報 告 書 前 篇 總 説  
北 勢 蕃 ノ 口 碑  
話 者 ロ ー プ ゴ ー 社

太古祖先等ハツバクワア(大 覇 尖  
山)ト云フ所ニ住マベリ然ルニ次  
第々々ニ人口増殖シテ狭隘ヲ感シ  
タレバ各々好ム所ニ散シヌ中北港  
溪ニ出デタル者ハ其上流ニ二隊ニ  
分レ一ハ東勢角ニ出デソレヨリ大  
安溪ヲ廻リテ此所ニ来リ即チ我等  
ノ祖先ナリ一ハ平地ニ赴キタリ其  
時頭目ハ後日ヲ慮リテ人数ヲ半分  
セントテ喊声ヲ掲ゲテ其大小ニ依  
リ人員ノ多少ヲ判セントセシニ平  
地ニ赴カントスル者ハ人数ノ半バ  
ヲ木蔭ニ隠シ置キ半バヲ以テ関テ  
掲ゲシメタルバ数ヲシテ喊声ヲ揚  
ゲシメタルバ其声弱ク他ノ半数ニ  
モ満タザル有様ナレバ一方ヨリ人  
数ヲ送チタルニ後ニテ欺カレタル  
ヲ知リシカバ我等ノ祖先ハ誠首シ  
テ其数ヲ減ジヤラントテ出草ヲ始  
メタリ今ニ至ルマデ誠首ノ止マザ  
ルハ之ガ為ナリ

同上 話者 フヨン社

昔ハツバクワアト稱スル所ニ巨  
石アリ其石ニツニ割レテ中ヨリニ  
人ノ男女出デタリ二人ハミトノマ  
クハヒシテ四人ノ子ヲ産ム 其子等  
成感シテ始メノ関ハ口ニ交シタ  
リシガ血族ノ交ハ宜シカラズトテ  
各々好ム所ニ移住シヌ (後略)

同上 話者 ロープゴ社

事が出来た。次ぎに上部から生れ  
たものが二つある。一はその形が  
長細く、歩く事は出来ぬが巧みに  
匍匐ふのである。今一つは体軽く  
手が長いので、地上の匍つたり歩  
いたりせないうで、空中を自在に飛  
翔した。此れ等が獣や、人間や、  
蛇や、鳥などの先祖であつた。そ  
して上部から生れたものは樹木に  
登る事が出来るが、下から現れた  
ものは攀ちのぼる事が出来ない。  
人や獣が樹上に棲息せないのはこ  
の為めである。

四種の動物は創造されたが、世  
は常闇だから同じ霊樹から生れな  
がら。相会ふ折はなかつた。ここ  
ろが或る偶然一所に出逢つから、  
先づ人間が声を出して、「我々は  
万物を嘗め試みて、若しその口に  
適する物があつたなら、それを  
各々の食物としよう」といつた。  
すると皆賛成したので、それぞれ  
適当な食物を探し求める事となつ  
た。(後略)

トロック蕃 ワジワン

蕃社口碑 タイヤル族

北勢蕃

太古「ハツバクワア」(大 覇 尖  
山)の巨石が自然と割れて中から  
現はれた二人の男女があつた。こ  
れ即ち我社の始祖である。(中  
略) 子等も成長の後相繼して子  
を生んだので子孫次第に増殖し  
た(中略)

其後人口増殖の結果、「ハツバク  
ワア」が狭くなつたので各々好む  
処に移住しようとして、今の北港溪  
の上流地に出た時、山地に止まる  
のと、更に進んで平地に向ふもの  
との二隊に分れた。其頃はまだ数  
の觀念がなかつたので、喊声の強  
弱によつて多寡を判じ、人数を平  
分して後日の紛擾のないやうにし  
た。所が平地に向はうとする頭目  
は頗る機智に富み、半数を岩陰に  
隠して関をつくつたので、其声が  
甚だ弱かつた。山の頭目は欺かれ  
るとは知らず、更にその半数を送

麼感じはしないでせうか」  
すると、獸類の祖先は待つてゐま  
したと云はんばかりに頭を撫でて  
相槌を打つた。

「やあその通りその通り、勿論、  
私どもだつて何か食はなければ所  
詮生きていかれん、御覧なさい、  
コレこの通りお腹がぺこぺこで  
す」

すると三番目に一膝乗り出したの  
は薄気味の悪い蛇類の祖先で、  
「然う然う、俺は何でもよいか  
ら、早く呑んで腹を膨らさないこ  
とにはどうもならん。なあ君、君  
も俺と同じだらう」

と声をかけられたのは可愛い鳥類  
の祖先であつた。

「うむ、さうだともさうだとも、  
私も皆さんの云う通り……」

と、其処で皆の意見が同じと見た  
人類の祖先は、

「それでは皆さん！これから何で  
も可い、嘗めてみて、その中で一  
番自分の口に適つたものをこれか  
ら何時までも何時までも食物と決  
めやうぢやないか。」

と云ふと、皆その言葉の終るや終  
らない間に、一同は競争して地に  
あるものは何でも彼でも嘗め始め  
た。

今日我々人間や獸類や蛇類や鳥  
類の食物はこの時の約束事であつ  
たのである。

さて人間の祖先は粟と肉を選ん

だ 粟は細い竹筒に入れて耳朶に  
挟んで置き、吹かうと思ふ時はそ  
の一粒を鍋に入れて煮ると、幾人  
分にでも思ふ通りの食料になるの  
であつた。又肉が欲しい時は、鹿  
なり猪なり、欲しいものを呼んで  
その毛を抜き、一本だけ鍋で煮に  
れば、おいしい肉が大皿一杯盛  
られるのであつた。

愚つして木と石とだきあつた老  
樹から生れた人類の祖先は 決し  
て木でもなく石でもなかつた 親  
が子を生みしてだんだん増え 何

昔ハツバクワアニ巨石アリ其石割  
 レテ二人ノ男女出デタリ(中略)  
 其後人口繁殖シテハツバクワアニ  
 テハ狭隘ナリトテ山ニ止マルモノ  
 ト平地ニ出デントスルモノト二隊  
 ニ分レタリ其頃ハ未ダ数字算スル  
 コトヲ知ラザリシカバ喊声ノ強弱  
 ニヨリテ人数ノ多少ヲ判ゼントセ  
 リ然ルニ平地ニ赴カントスル隊ノ  
 声弱カリシカバ一方ヨリ人数ヲ送  
 リテ再ビ喊声ヲ発セシニ今度ハ山  
 地ニ止マルモノヨリ強ク殆ンド其  
 倍ナリシカバ山地ニ止マリシ者大  
 ニ怒リテ之レ我等ヲ欺ケルナリ報  
 復セズニ置クベキカトソレヨリ讖  
 首ノ風ヲ発明シタリ一方ハサツサ  
 ト山ヲ降りテ平地ヲ指シテ赴キシ  
 ガ今ノ台湾人ト日本人ノ祖トナリ  
 ス

同上 話者 マビルハオ社

バイシヨオーサオ  
 ターケンカイン  
 ユーラオ、ターケン  
 ヤンガハボーヘル

昔ハツバクワアト称スル所ニ巨石  
 アリ其石ニツニ割レテ中ヨリ二人  
 ノ男女出デタリ(中略)兩人ハ蠅  
 ニ模倣テ重ナリ合ヘリソレヨリ幾  
 年経タリシカ次第々々ニ子孫モ繁  
 殖シテ所狭クナリシカバ美地ヲ求  
 メテ移ランモノト二隊ニ分レテ出  
 発セリ其時一方ノ頭目ハ我等今ニ  
 ツニ分レテ好ム所ニ赴クモ人数ニ  
 多寡アリテハ後日ノ為ナラズ人員  
 ヲ平分セントテ鬨ヲツクツテ其強  
 弱ヲ比較シヌ然ルニ一方ノ頭目ハ  
 機智ニ富ミ半数ヲ岩陰ニ隠シ他ノ  
 半数ヲシテ喊声ヲ揚ゲシメタレバ  
 其声甚ダ弱シサレバ一方ノ頭目ハ  
 欺カルルトハ知ラズシテ更ニ隊ヲ  
 両分シテ其半数ヲ送リテ再ビトモ  
 ニ鬨ヲツクリシニ弱シト思ヒシ隊  
 ノ喊声ハ今度ハ樹木ノ枝モ折レン  
 バカリニ響キタリソヲ見タル一方  
 ノ頭目ハヨクモ我等ヲ欺キシ汝  
 等コソ所謂不倶戴天之仇ヲレトテ  
 目ヲ怒ラシテ呪ヒタリソレヨリ其  
 隊ノ者ト見レバ必ズ讖首スルニ至  
 レリ

り、再び喊声を合わせたが、平地  
 方の喊声の意外にも強く山谷に響  
 き渡り、樹木の枝も折れんばかり  
 であつた。山の頭目は讖も裂けよ  
 と怒つたが最早致し方もなかつ  
 た。それ以来平地に降つた大衆を  
 不倶戴天の仇とし、其隊の者とさ  
 へ見れば讖首して報復する事とな  
 った。平地に降つたものは今の台  
 湾人(又一部のもの日本人と  
 も)の祖となつた。(後略)

ローブゴー社 シユツチモー  
 ボーナエターパス  
 ブヨン社 ワタンモット  
 マビルハオ社 バイシヨオーサオ  
 ターケンカイン  
 ユーラオ、ターケン  
 ヤンガハボーヘル

年にもならないのに この狭い世  
 の中に一杯になつた。すると 或  
 る日人類の中の主なるものが集ま  
 つ手相談の末 半分は山を下つ手  
 平地に暮し 半分は山に残つ手祖  
 先の地を耕すこととなつた。そし  
 て各自山を下りたいものと山に残  
 りたいものとのを半分に分けること  
 にしたが 河原の小石の教程もあ  
 る人の数は数へきれないので 互  
 に鬨の声を挙げてその大ききによ  
 つて分けることにした。そして半  
 分づつに分れやうとしたが 山を  
 下りたいものが多かつたし その  
 中にはなかなかずるい者があつ  
 て 山を下りやうとする者の半分  
 を 山蔭に伏せておいていよいよ  
 別れやうと互に鬨の声を挙げた。  
 両方共同じ大ききであつたから山  
 に残る者も安心して山を下る者を  
 送つた。ところが途中で山蔭に伏  
 せてあつた人数と合せ其処で再び  
 一緒に山に向かつて鬨の声を挙げ  
 た。その声は恐しく響いて山を震  
 はせるばかりであつた。そこで山  
 の者はまんまと計略にかかつた事  
 を知つたが、今は如何ともするこ  
 と出来ず、地段駈を踏んで口惜し  
 がり 皆と相談の上自分どもと同  
 じ数になるまで山を下りた者の首  
 を切つて返報することになつた。  
 この山を下つた者は 今日台湾  
 人の祖先で 山に止つたのが今の  
 生蕃の祖先であると蕃人は云つて  
 居る。

## Pao-Chai Chiang

Pao-Chai Chiang is Professor in Chinese Literature and Director at the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature and Creative Innovation, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan. She received her PhD in Chinese Literature from the National Taiwan Normal University. Her research fields include literary theories and criticism, Taiwan literature, modern and contemporary literature, folklore literature, and novels. She has published many research articles and presented at various regional and international conferences. Her major academic achievements, among many others, include publishing the journal article, "Folklore Literature in the Contemporary Taiwanese Fictions (2004)," hosting the "Taiwanese Indigenous Culture Workshop" at the Center for Taiwan Studies, San Diego (2002), and writing and editing the first vernacular language and literature textbook for universities and colleges, *Taiwanese Language and Literature*.

## The Ways for Taiwan Indigenous Peoples to Return Home

Pao-Chai Chiang, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

### Abstract

The governance of settler colonialism along with material culture and consumer culture of capitalism, in different periods have destroyed the traditional values and the autonomy of Taiwan indigenous culture. The “Movement of Returning to the Tribes” (or, tribalism) greatly highlights the value of local culture and knowledge. This kind of tribe-based Indigenism not only resisted against global capitalism, it also revitalized the cultural activities of traditional tribes. These achievements could be discussed within the scope of postcolonialism, yet not much attention has been paid to them. This phenomenon requires our special consideration.

This paper uses three cases to exemplify the ways through which Taiwan indigenous peoples could return to their homeland. The first case study shows how the Kakita’an pillars at the ancestral house, which had been dislocated away from the Amis tribe, took the first step to return home. The second case illustrates the return of the body through the dancer Bulareyaung’s efforts after his return to his tribe. Finally, Bukun’s local devotion to his tribal language demonstrates the return of language.

### Preface

The governance of settler colonialism along with material culture and consumer culture of capitalism, in different periods have destroyed the traditional values and the autonomy of Taiwan indigenous culture. The “Movement of Returning to the Tribes” (or, tribalism) greatly highlights the value of local culture and knowledge. This kind of tribe-based Indigenism not only resisted against global capitalism, it also revitalized the cultural activities of traditional tribes. These achievements could be discussed within the scope of postcolonialism, yet not much attention has been paid to them. This phenomenon requires our special consideration.

In the subsequent sessions, with the help of three case studies and through their different routes of returning home, I will exemplify that through what ways that Taiwan indigenous peoples could return to their homeland. The first case study shows how the Kakita’an pillars at the ancestral house, which had been dislocated away from the Amis tribe, took the first step to return home. Next, I account for the return of the body through the dancer Bulareyaung’s efforts after his return to his tribe. Finally, Bukun’s local devotion to his tribal language demonstrates the return of language.

### 1. “Let Souls Return Home”

The documentary “Returning Souls” filmed by Hu Tai-Li has been considered a classic work in Taiwan indigenous study. That is, the audience is certainly to be deeply affected by the story narrated in this documentary. At the same time, it also metaphorically provides a route that the indigenes could follow to return home.

At the Kakita’an ancestral house where the ancestral souls dwell—the most distinctive historical object in Amis history—the pillars carved with patterns tell legends of the tribe, the descendants of the Mother Sun. These legends cover from the great flood, the marriage between the brother and the sister, the glowing girl, the shaman that descends to the world, and the origins of father-killing and head-hunting, etc.

In 1958, after a typhoon knocked over the ancestral house, the pillars were moved to the Museum of Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, and were then stored there. The Amis youngsters actively spent years on the return of the pillars and the reconstruction of the ancestral house.

In terms of tribalism and ethno-symbolism, the return of the pillars of the Kakita'an ancestral house was imperative. Nevertheless, the cultural ecology in tribal settlements was very complicated, which made the return of the ancestral souls and the hope of cultural revitalization in the tribe encounter various struggles. This home-returning project thus involved difficulties such as the influence of foreign religions, the debate on land ownership, and the management of the profits from trade within the capitalist structure.

Finally, some female shamans served as intermediaries between the Kakita'an family, the village representatives, and the souls in the pillars. They made contact and had conversation. Eventually, the ancestral souls were invited to go back to the tribe, and the ancestral house was reconstructed.

In fact, the home-returning of the pillars of the Kakita'an ancestral house summoned the ancient tribal ceremony, representing the interaction between the tribespeople. Through which, various pitfalls of modernity were to some extent conquered, and this could be seen as an exhibition of showing a part of the alternative epic of the Taiwan indigenes.

## **2. “Let Bodies Return Home”<sup>1</sup>**

Bulareyaung Pagarlava (previously Guo Junming in Chinese, 1972-) was born in Taidong. As a Paiwan indigene, his Paiwan name refers to “a happy fighter”. Being a pioneer of modern dance, he was trained and enlightened in Cloud Gate Dance Company, and his works started to emerge in the 1990s. The above clearly registers the “belatedness” of the indigenous choreographers in modern dance creation, as well as the “post”-colonial positions of the indigenous peoples.

He had been teased by his classmates about his heavy indigenous accent in his senior high school, while when he turned mature, he regretted not being able to speak his mother language, and not having a suit of Paiwan clothes. He returned to the Jialan tribe in 2014, where he established the Bulareyaung Dance Company (BDC), vowing to start his creation with indigenous culture so as to memorize and recognize his own culture—using the Paiwan totem, lily, as the core of his creation. What does that mean in terms of the society? Bulareyaung says, “After I was renamed Bulareyaung, I found my outer shell was indigenous, but the inside was empty. I had no idea about who I was.” Thus, the confusion of “Who I am”, and the search for mother culture drove him to go back to the tribe to fill in the blank. On the soils of his mother culture, he relearned the everyday life of the indigenes. As a result, he identified himself and narrated himself through dance, in which the peculiar indigenous body expression and language were developed. He devoted himself to modern dance creation, which initiated the history of representation of the images of his tribe.

Given Bulareyaung's own history that follows, a hybridity of position-taking could be observed from the perspective of postcolonialism, and which inevitably became his (body) strategy to move between the ethnic margins. From the previous “I” who used a Chinese name, to the latter “I” who used the original name; from a dancer who hid my (indigenous body and identity) so as to interpret the works of Han and modern choreographers,

to a choreographer to celebrate and narrate “my” unknown identity. The routes to return home not only lies in the consolidation of Cultural Revitalization Movement to restore the dignity of the indigenous peoples' life. In addition, it serves as a warning to the global capitalism.

## **3. “Let Languages Return Home”**

Bukun was born in present day Namasia district in Kaohsiung city (Minquan village, Sanmin township, Kaohsiung city) in 1956. His name shown in his CV is listed as Bukun.Ismahasan.Islituan, in the order of the personal name (Bukun) and followed by the name of the clan, which is the standard format for a

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<sup>1</sup> I especially thank Dr Xu Jianqiao's study and opinions on the related dancers and choreographers.

Bunun's self-introduction. Bukun and his brothers were sent to Qishan Elementary School to study in 1965, where he communicated with the Han people at an earlier age in order to adapt to the Han circumstances.

Bukun insists on creating his works in his mother language, arguing "the reason that I use my mother tongue to write poetry is it enables me to dance among the beautiful vocabulary and rhymes of my tribal language. In addition, I could peep into the life philosophy and life wisdom of my ancestors." The Chenxing Publishing Company published his Bunun poetry collection, *Formosan Sugerpalm and Moon Shadows* in August, 1999. In ten years, *Where the Sun Whirls: Bukun's Bilingual Poetry Collection* was published. His poetry uses a sprightly language, and its rhythmic change is clear.

He spares no effort on the promotion of indigenous language education and cultural habitus. He had edited the journal *Formosan Sugerpalm and the Moon's Murmur*, and *Kanakanafu Community Post*. He once co-wrote "The Moon that Travels through Time and Space" (1999) with Lin Tai and Li Wensu, which earned him the award of Indigenous Cultural Teaching Material that year. He also co-wrote *A Study of Bunun Morphology* (2000, Du-ce) with Lin Tai, Li Wensu, and Zeng Siqu. He also edited *Website Teaching Materials in Bunun Language of Kaohsiung County*. He gathered his tribesmen to edit a Bunun dictionary. When he taught the Bunun language at a community college, children were arranged to sit around the elders, listening to and taking notes on the ancient legends narrated by the elders in Bunun. To make the Bunun language return to everyday life, Bukun expects his tribesmen to speak Bunun and to study the written forms seriously. After all, the language and its written form are the core system of the life and culture of the Bunun community.

### **Conclusion**

Professor Terry Russell and I together study different approaches to the "Movement of Returning to the Tribes". Through the three case studies, the home-returning of the ancestral souls in the pillars at the ancestral house, that of the dancer Bulareyaung's body, and that of Bukun's mother language, this essay has reached two achievements. First, the current situation of Taiwan indigenous peoples could be used to investigate the impact of the colonial regimes and global capitalism on modern indigenous society. Second, this essay helps to explore whether postcolonialism could contribute to the discussion of the activities of indigenous resistance and cultural revitalization.



## Terence Russell

Terence Russell is Associate Professor of Chinese in the Asian Studies Centre at the University of Manitoba. He received his PhD in classical Chinese from Australian National University. After engaging with religious literature in traditional China for several years he has more recently turned his attention to modern literature in Chinese, especially the literature of Taiwan's Indigenous peoples. His primary research concerns identity formation in Taiwan, the development of Indigenous literature and Indigenous consciousness, as well as relations between Indigenous peoples and the ethnic Chinese mainstream. In this regard, he has taken part in several research projects in collaboration with the Graduate Institute of Taiwan Literature and Innovation at National Chung Cheng University. Prof. Russell also has an abiding commitment to the task of literary translation and has produced renderings of numerous Indigenous and ethnic Chinese writers, as well as two full-length novels by the Shandong writer Zhang Wei: *Jiuyue yuyan* [September Fable] and *Mogu qizhong* [Seven Kinds of Mushrooms]. He is currently co-editor of Taiwan Literature: English Translation Series.

## Writing “I” and “We” as Self Discovery and Resistance Indigenous Autobiography in Taiwan and Canada

Terence Russell, University of Manitoba, Canada

### Abstract

Autobiography has become a popular and well-studied form of Indigenous writing in North America. In Taiwan, it is at least less-studied, if not less popular. For Indigenous peoples in general, for whom “one’s identity is foremost a matter of the larger whole or collectivity to which one belongs” (Krupat 527), autobiography, whether written or oral, has few antecedents in traditional cultural practice. Nonetheless, as they seek to understand their experience of modern society, many Indigenous writers have found the form extremely useful. The telling and sharing of their life stories often leads not only towards a better understanding of self, the “I” in autobiography, it facilitates a rediscovery of the “we,” the community, of which they are a part.

In this paper, I will discuss two examples of Indigenous autobiography; one from Canada, one from Taiwan. Lee Maracle’s, *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel* (1975, 1990), is an account of Maracle’s experience of growing up in the colonized, racist social spaces of Canada’s West Coast. Monaneng’s *Yige Taiwan yuanzhumin de jingli* (The experiences of a Taiwanese Indigenous man) (2010), recounts the struggles of the poet to survive and to maintain connections with his family during the latter years of martial law in Taiwan (1970-1990). Both are important exercises in seeking self-identity in the context of systemic colonial oppression. Both narrate the process by which the authors gain self-awareness and simultaneously come to recognize the importance of their identity as members of an Indigenous community. This latter realization led, in both cases, to the authors becoming involved in political and cultural activism as members of Indigenous resistance movements. At the same time, there are important differences to be found between these two works at a number of levels. It is the intention of this paper to assess the differences and similarities of the two autobiographies as a means of casting greater light upon the situation of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan and Canada.

## Lee Maracle

Lee Maracle is a Sto:Loh nation, born in North Vancouver, BC. She is a grandmother of four and mother of four. Her works include: the novels, *Ravensong*, *Bobbi Lee*, and *Sundogs*, short story collection, *Sojourner's Truth*, poetry collection, *Bentbox*, and non-fiction work *I Am Woman*. She is Co-editor of *My Home as I Remember and Telling It: Women and Language Across Cultures*, editor of a number of poetry works and *Gatherings* journals. She has published in dozens of anthologies in Canada and America. Ms. Maracle is both an award-winning author and teacher. She currently is the Mentor for Aboriginal Students at the University of Toronto, where she is also a teacher. At the Indigenous Theatre School, she is the Traditional Cultural Director and a part-time cultural instructor.



## Darryl Sterk

Darryl Sterk was 9 years old, a clueless little white boy in an upper-middle class suburb in Edmonton, when Canada's constitution was promulgated and indigenous leaders formed a council of First Nations. In 1996, when he was cluelessly teaching English in Taiwan, Taiwan's government decided to recognize its indigenous peoples by constitutional amendment, with a mechanism for groups to apply for recognition under their preferred names. (16 peoples are now recognized.) In 2006, he finally clued into indigenous issues and chose indigenous representation as a topic for his Ph.D. dissertation at University of Toronto under Professor Johanna Liu's guidance.

Meanwhile, he became a literary translator, working mainly from Taiwanese literature in Mandarin Chinese to English. He has translated many stories for Taipen, two novels by Wu Ming-Yi, *The Man with the Compound Eyes* (Harvill-Secker, 2013) and *The Stolen Bicycle* (Text, 2017), two novels by Xue Yiwei, *Shenzheners* and *Dr. Bethune's Children* (Linda Leith), and Horace Ho's *The Tree Fort on Carnation Lane* (Ballestier). In an effort to bring together his literary translation experience and indigenous interest, he now studies translation to and from Taiwan's indigenous languages in the context of what he calls Moribund Language Translation Studies. He teaches translation at Lingnan University. He has a Taiwanese wife and a Taiwanese-Canadian daughter.

## Translators Bale: The Seediq Translation of Seediq Bale

Darryl Sterk, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

### Abstract

*Seediq Bale* (Wei Te-sheng, 2011), the latest version of the Wushe Incident in 1930, is the biggest film in Taiwan film history. The screenplay was written in Mandarin Chinese in 1998 and 1999, and translated into Japanese and Seediq in 2009. I have been studying the Seediq translation. I have found no influence of Mandarin grammar on Seediq grammar in the Seediq translation, which contradicts the prediction in translation studies that strong languages influence weak languages. I also learned from the translators that the screenwriter, Wei Te-sheng, misunderstood many aspect of Seediq culture. The translators tried to get him to change the Chinese screenplay, but he refused. So what did the translators do? Sometimes they corrected the misunderstanding, but sometimes they translated it literally. Why? I discovered the translators often disagreed about cultural misunderstanding, and usually found that Wei Te-sheng had not misunderstood. More importantly, I think that despite their disagreements, the translators proposed a cultural interpretation of the Wushe Incident to match the cultural interpretation in Wei Te-sheng's screenplay. To Wei Te-sheng, the incident was a blood sacrifice to the ancestors, to the translators it was DMAHUN. DMAHUN remains a central cultural value, and has evolved in meaning since 1930, so the translation of "blood sacrifice" into "DMAHUN" is a case of "thicker backtranslation." And the translation of the screenplay of Seediq Bale into Seediq is a case of moribund language translation, which should be distinguished from minority language translation and studied in the context of language revitalization.

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