

**A Convocation House (*Prrngawan*)  
Biblical Interpretation and TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns  
Reading Genesis 2:4b~25 with TYCM Ordinary Tribal Readers**

By

**Walis C. Chang**

A Dissertation

Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of  
**Doctor of Philosophy**  
(Biblical Studies)

**School of Religion, Philosophy, and Classics**  
University of KwaZulu-Natal

Supervisor  
**Prof Gerald West**

Pietermaritzburg  
2012

## **Abstract**

The thesis is concerned about the postcolonial context of the minority tribal people, the Taiwan Yuen-Chu-Min (台灣原住民, TYCM), in Taiwan. The argument of this thesis includes two parts: Part one provides the background to develop the foundation for the contextualization of the TYCM tribal people's colonized experience and postcolonial discourse in light of their contextual concerns—tribal mother tongue, tribal texts, and ordinary tribal people; Part two draws connections between these TYCM tribal people's postcolonial concerns and biblical interpretation, which is called "TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation", and practices reading Gen 2:4b-25 with the subaltern people, TYCM ordinary tribal people, through the Five Step Reading Process in a group collaborative effort with 14 tribal reading groups.

The project of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, as practiced through the Five Step Reading Process, is committed to create decolonization strategies to connect with the colonized experience of tribal people to help them play their traditional role of the *Prrngawan* to facilitate ordinary tribal people to become the "real" and "flesh-and-blood" readers of their tribal texts and biblical texts through their mother-tongue to freely participate in constructing and in continuing to restore their tribal spirituality, worldviews, and appropriation readings to highlight de-colonized biblical readings in their struggles of their postcolonial context in present day Taiwan.

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this whole Doctoral dissertation is my own work and it has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. I have not plagiarized from any source that I have not quoted or referenced. I have fully referenced my research using the Harvard system.



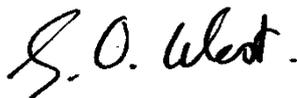
\_\_\_\_ Walis C. Chang \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ 8 November 2012 \_\_\_\_

**Name of Student**

**Date**

As supervisor, I agree to the submission of the dissertation.



\_\_\_\_ Prof Gerald West \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ 7 November 2012 \_\_\_\_

**Name of Supervisor**

**Date**

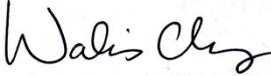
# COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

## DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, .....**Walis Chiou-hsioung Chang** ....., declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
  - a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
  - b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.
5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed

.....  .....**8 November 2012**.....

## **Acknowledgement**

I would like to express my debt of gratitude to several communities and individuals who have assisted me in accomplishing this work. First, I would like to thank Dr. Gerald O. West, who supervised me and provided such stimulating criticism and encouraging enthusiasm for my draft upon which this dissertation is based as well as for the aid, advice and friendship he gave me at every stage. Second, to the faculty and staff of the school of Religion and Theology of the University of Kwazulu-Natal, who deserve my appreciation for the valuable sharing of their research and their helpful criticism of various aspects of my thesis. A special thanks to Dr. Kwame Bediako, the late rector of the Akrofi-Christaller Institute for Theology, Mission, and Culture, who supported me to understand the rich heritage of the African indigenous cultures and religions and that these similar understandings should be pursued in my own indigenous context of Christian worship, discipleship, and mission. I would also like to express my gratitude to all my colleagues at Yu-Shan Theological College & Seminary for their constant support and encouragement. It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I thank to Rev. Lo Chun-gi, Rev. Chen Nan-jou, Rev. Aki Loking (Tai Chio-kue), Rev. Chung-che Wu, Rev. Chien Chen-shoung, Rev. Ichi Teykung, Miss. Chang Cye, Mr. Tai Phong-yi, Mr. & Mrs. Tang Chin-li, Mr. & Mrs. Wang Phu-sen, and WCC (the World Council of Churches) which have provided me with constant help and financial support over the past eight years. Without their help, I could not have successfully finished it.

I am really thankful to my brothers and sisters in the fourteen tribal reading groups for their loves and prayers, for accepting me to be their partner and friend in the Lord, and for helping me do the readings with them, even I needed translation by them.

My sincere gratitude goes to Dr. Kah-Jin Jeffrey Kuan for his advice, friendship, and encouragement. Thanks are also for Mrs. Marijke Fakasiieiki, Rev. Stephen Paciti, and Dr. Lee Hong-tao read and edited the final draft, so these stories could be told.

I remember with gratitude my parents, Ukan Pawan and Away Basaw, and I dedicate this work to their perpetual memory. My thanks also to my sisters, Lubi Ukan, Obing Ukan, Ribix Ukan, Tapas Ukan, and Mehua Ukan, who have been very supportive and helpful to me during my studies. Finally, I want to thank my wife, Kucang Tonday, and my son, Risaw Walis and my daughter, Away Walis, for their continuous support, love, and encouragement while I was writing.

## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of  
my parents, Ukan Pawan and Away Basaw,  
my wife, Kucang Tongday,  
my children, Risaw Walis, and Away Walis,  
my Sediq/Sedeq/Sejiq tribe,  
the Sediq Presbyterian Church of the Prebyterian Church in Taiwan,  
and the fourteen tribal reading groups

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .....	i
Declaration .....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
---------------------------	----------

### Part I

#### Chapter One

##### A Survey of TYCM Tribal People's Experiences in the Context of Taiwan

<b>1.0. Introduction .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.1. The Colonial History of Taiwan .....</b>	<b>15</b>
1.1.1. The Dutch and the Spanish Colonial Periods .....	16
1.1.2. The Cheng Rule and the Ching Colonial Periods .....	18
1.1.3. The Japanese Colonial Period .....	21
1.1.4. The Nationalist (KMT) Colonial Period .....	23
1.1.5. Democratic Rights Movement .....	25
<b>1.2. TYCM Tribal People's Identity Movement .....</b>	<b>28</b>
1.2.1. Inspiration for the Ethnic Rights and Consciousness .....	30
1.2.2. Initial Stage of the Movement .....	32
1.2.3. Supreme Period of Conflict .....	34
1.2.4. Parliament and Congress Routes .....	35
<b>1.3. TYCM Tribal People and Christianity .....</b>	<b>37</b>
1.3.1. A Colonial Religion .....	38
1.3.2. A Foreign Religion .....	42
1.3.3. The Tribal Religion .....	44
1.3.4. A Religion of Coordination in the Face of Colonialism .....	46
1.3.5. A Self-alienating Religion .....	50
<b>1.4. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>53</b>

#### Chapter Two

##### Modes of Reading the Bible by TYCM Tribal People in the Context of Taiwan

<b>2.0. Introduction .....</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>2.1. Drawing on the Sources of Reading the Bible .....</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>2.2. The Biblical Text Centered Approach .....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>2.3. The Biblical Text-TYCM Tribal People's Context Approach .....</b>	<b>61</b>

<b>2.4. The Cross-textual Approach</b> .....	64
2.4.1. Using the Biblical Text to Interpret the TYCM Tribal Text .....	67
2.4.2. Using the TYCM Tribal Text to Interpret the Biblical Text .....	67
2.4.3. Comparative Studies .....	68
<b>2.5. The Multi-tribal Hermeneutic Reading Mode</b> .....	70
<b>2.6. Conclusion</b> .....	72

**Chapter Three**  
**Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan**

<b>3.0. Introduction</b> .....	74
<b>3.1. The Location of Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan</b> .....	74
<b>3.2. Opening the Period of “Postcolonial” Discourse</b> .....	77
<b>3.3. The Themes of Taiwanese Postcolonial Discourse</b> .....	83
3.3.1. Historical Amnesia and Memory .....	84
3.3.2. Taiwanese-ness – Constructing Subjectivity .....	88
3.3.3. The Collapse of the Cultural Canon – Cultural and Language Hybridity .....	91
3.3.4. Identity of Nation, People, and Culture .....	94
<b>3.4. Conclusion</b> .....	98

**Chapter Four**  
**The TYCM Tribal People in Postcolonial Discourse**

<b>4.0. Introduction</b> .....	100
<b>4.1. The TYCM Tribal People in Postcolonial Discourse</b> .....	101
<b>4.2. The Postcolonial Period for the TYCM Tribal People</b> .....	105
<b>4.3. Taiwanese TYCM Tribal de-Colonization Discourse Strategy</b> .....	115
4.3.1. Re-tracing Tribal Traditions: TYCM Tribal Cultural-religious and Historical Traditional Texts .....	116
4.3.1.1. Sayon no Kane .....	120
4.3.1.2. Wu Feng Event .....	121
4.3.2. Revealing Tribal Experiences- TYCM Tribal People’s Memory/Speech/ Writing and De-colonial Strategy .....	123
4.3.2.1. Recalling the Aggregation Memory .....	124
4.3.2.2. The First Person Way of Expression .....	126
4.3.3. Re-placing the Language: TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues .....	127
<b>4.4. Conclusion</b> .....	129

**Part II**

**Chapter Five**  
**TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns and Biblical Interpretation:**  
**TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation**

<b>5.0. Introduction</b> .....	131
<b>5.1. “TYCM” Tribal People</b> .....	133
<b>5.2. TYCM “Tribal Experiences”</b> .....	139
5.2.1. TYCM Tribal Texts .....	140

5.2.2. TYCM Ordinary Tribal Readers .....	142
5.2.3. TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues .....	145
<b>5.3. TYCM Tribal “Biblical” Interpretation .....</b>	<b>148</b>
5.3.1 The Identity of TYCM Tribal Christian: TYCM Tribal People’s Christian Faith .....	148
5.3.2 Reading the Bible to Research TYCM Tribal Texts .....	150
<b>5.4. TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in the Five Steps Reading Process with TYCM Ordinary Tribal People .....</b>	<b>153</b>
5.4.1. TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns .....	158
5.4.2. TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in the Five Steps Reading Process .....	164
5.4.2.1. First Step Reading Guide .....	168
5.4.2.2. Second Step Reading Guide .....	170
5.4.2.3. Third Step Reading Guide .....	171
5.4.2.4. Fourth Step Reading Guide .....	171
5.4.2.5. Fifth Step Reading Guide .....	173
<b>5.5. A Sample Reading of Genesis 2:4b~25 .....</b>	<b>174</b>
<b>5.6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>179</b>

**Chapter Six**  
**TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation (1):**  
**Re-locating the TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues**

<b>6.0. Introduction .....</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>6.1. TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues and the Tribal Mother Tongue Bible .....</b>	<b>182</b>
6.1.1. Alien Languages and the TYCM Tribal Mother Tongue Bible .....	184
6.1.2. Uncovering the World of the TYCM “Tribal Mother Tongues” .....	188
<b>6.2. Re-locating the TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues: Reading Biblical Text in the Post-mother Tongue Age .....</b>	<b>194</b>
6.2.1. The Colonial History Period Passes Away, and the Postcolonial History Period Starts .....	196
6.2.2. An Era for Writing in TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues .....	195
6.2.3. A Way to “Discover” the World Behind the Tribal Mother Tongue ..	199
6.2.4. The Tribal Mother Tongues Relate to the “Polycentric” & the Multicultural across the Reading World .....	201
<b>6.3. The Example for Re-reading Genesis 2:4b-25 With the TYCM Tribal Mother Tongues.....</b>	<b>203</b>
6.3.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	205
6.3.1.1. Amis Mother Tongue Bible Text .....	205
6.3.1.2. Reading the Biblical Text with the Amis Mother Tongue Understanding .....	207
6.3.1.2.1. Gen 2:4b .....	207
6.3.1.2.2. Gen 2:7 .....	207
6.3.1.2.3. Gen 2:18 .....	208
6.3.1.2.4. Gen 2:23 .....	209
6.3.1.2.5. Gen 2:24 .....	210
6.3.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	211
6.3.2.1. Bunun Mother Tongue Biblical Text .....	211
6.3.2.2. Reading the Biblical Text with Bunun Understanding .....	213

6.3.2.2.1. Gen 2:7 .....	213
6.3.2.2.2. Gen 2:18 .....	214
6.3.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	215
6.3.3.1. Sediq Mother Tongue Biblical Text .....	215
6.3.3.2. Reading the Biblical Text with Sediq Understanding .....	216
6.3.3.2.1. Gen 2:7 .....	216
6.3.3.2.2. Gen 2:8 .....	217
6.3.3.2.3. Gen 2:18.....	217
6.3.3.2.4. Gen 2:23 .....	218
6.3.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	219
6.3.4.1. Tayal Mother Tongue Biblical Text .....	219
6.3.4.2. Reading the Biblical Text with Tayal Understanding .....	220
6.3.4.2.1. Gen 2:7 .....	220
6.3.4.2.2. Gen 2:15 .....	220
6.3.4.2.3. Gen 2:17 .....	221
6.3.4.2.4. Gen 2:18 .....	221
6.3.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	222
6.3.5.1. Biblical Text in Truku Mother Tongue .....	222
6.3.5.2. Reading Biblical Text with Truku Understanding .....	223
6.3.5.2.1. Gen 2:7 .....	223
6.3.5.2.2. Gen 2:17 .....	223
6.3.5.2.3. Gen 2:18, 20b .....	224
6.3.5.2.4. Gen 2:23 .....	225
6.4. <b>Conclusion</b> .....	226

**Chapter Seven**  
**TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation (2) :**  
**Re-locating the TYCM Tribal Texts**

7.0. <b>Introduction</b> .....	228
7.1. <b>TYCM Tribal Texts and TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns</b> .....	229
7.2. <b>Re-researching TYCM Tribal Texts as Biblical Reading Strategy</b> .....	231
7.2.1. Cross-textual Biblical Hermeneutics .....	233
7.2.2. Indigenous (Native) Biblical Scholars .....	233
7.2.3. TYCM Tribal Biblical Scholars .....	238
7.3. <b>Re-reading Gen 2:4a -25 as an Example of Re-locating the Text</b> ....	240
7.3.1. Origin of Human Beings .....	242
7.3.1.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	243
7.3.1.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	244
7.3.1.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	245
7.3.1.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	246
7.3.1.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	247
7.3.2. Naming .....	249
7.3.2.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	249
7.3.2.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	250
7.3.2.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	251
7.3.2.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	252
7.3.2.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	253
7.3.3. View of Death .....	254
7.3.3.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	254

7.3.3.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	254
7.3.3.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	256
7.3.3.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	256
7.3.3.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	257
7.3.4. The Wife and the Husband and the Role of Woman .....	257
7.3.4.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	258
7.3.4.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	258
7.3.4.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	260
7.3.4.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	261
7.3.4.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	261
7.3.5. The Prohibition about Nakedness and Sex .....	262
7.3.5.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	263
7.3.5.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	263
7.3.5.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	264
7.3.5.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	265
7.3.5.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	265
7.4. <b>Conclusion</b> .....	267

**Chapter Eight**  
**TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation (3):**  
**Re-locating the TYCM Ordinary Tribal Reader**

8.0. <b>Introduction</b> .....	269
8.1. <b>Re-locating the Real Reader: the Ordinary Reader</b> .....	270
8.2. <b>The General TYCM Tribal People's Postcolonial Context</b> <b>as Seen in the Reading Process</b> .....	276
8.3. <b>Re-reading Gen 2:4a-25 with TYCM Ordinary Tribal Reader</b> <b>as an Example</b> .....	284
8.3.1. The Origin of Human Beings .....	285
8.3.1.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	285
8.3.1.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	286
8.3.1.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	287
8.3.1.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	288
8.3.1.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	290
8.3.2. Naming .....	291
8.3.2.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	291
8.3.2.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	292
8.3.2.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	293
8.3.2.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	294
8.3.2.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	295
8.3.3. View of Death.....	296
8.3.3.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	296
8.3.3.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	297
8.3.3.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	298
8.3.3.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	298
8.3.3.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	299
8.3.4. The Role of Husband and the Wife and the Role of Women and Men	300
8.3.4.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	300
8.3.4.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	301
8.3.4.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	303

8.3.4.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	304
8.3.4.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	305
8.3.5. The Taboos about the Naked Body and Sex .....	306
8.3.5.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups .....	306
8.3.5.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups .....	307
8.3.5.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups .....	308
8.3.5.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups .....	309
8.3.5.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups .....	310
<b>8.4. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>311</b>

### **Conclusion**

<b>A Convocation House (<i>Prrngawan</i>) .....</b>	<b>313</b>
<b>TYCM Tribal Reading Groups .....</b>	<b>320</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>321</b>

## Introduction

Asian countries have their own realities of plurality and diversity in race, peoples, traditional cultures, religions and ideology systems. Asian biblical scholars are unable to evade this fact. As Philip Wickeri argues, Asian theologians must focus their attention on issues ranging from inter-religious dialogue to theological hermeneutics, and their approaches must broach subjects from a variety of perspectives and religious traditions (Wickeri 1985). The World Missionary Conference in 1938 raised the issue of the “Christian message in a Non-Christian World” but did not engage deeply in dialogue with different cultures and religions (Kwok 1991). In 1976, Emerito Nacpil called for an “Asian critical principle” for doing biblical hermeneutics in Asia (Nacpil 1980). Stanley Samartha, the first Indian theologian appointed as director of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in the 1970s, argued for an interfaith dialogue between the western and the Asian cultures.

In the Asian context, biblical scholar Kim Yong Bock uses real experiences drawn from the socio-political biography of the minjung (people) to interpret biblical texts (Kim 1981). As far back as the 1960s, Cyris Hee Suk Moon began to construct a biblical interpretation from the social and cultural experiences of the minjung (Moon 1986). Also, in presenting another nuance of Asian spirituality, the Japanese theologian, Kosuke Koyama, uses Mount Fuji to dialogue with Mount Sinai (Koyama 1984). In addition, D. Preman Niles uses traditional religious stories from India and Sri Lanka to express the relationship between the Word of God and the People of Asia (Niles 1977; 1980; 1985). In China, Archie Lee proposes Cross-textual Hermeneutics to create multiple crossings between Asian texts and the Bible (Lee 1993; 1996; 2002; 2003; 2005). Kwok Pui-Lan, an Asian American scholar, sets out to discover the meaning of the Bible in the non-biblical world (Kwok 1989; 2004).

Shoki Coe, a Taiwanese theologian, introduced “contextualization” to the Theological Education Fund (TEF) of the World Council of Churches (Coe 1980). This term became more commonly used to designate ways of expressing theology in a non-western context (Fabella 2000). C.S. Song’s books, such as *Third-Eye Theology* (Song 1979), *The Compassionate God* (Song 1982), and *Tell Us Our Names* (Song 1984), used Asian folktales and stories from different parts of Asia to illuminate new ways of doing theology. Wang Hsien Chi’s “homeland theology” examined the relationship between the ethnic, cultural, and political identities of the Taiwanese

people (Wang 1994). Huang Po-ho's *Chut Thau Thin* deals with the historical experiences of the Taiwanese people in their struggle for self-determination (Huang 1996) in order to reflect on the socio-political context of Taiwan.

Locating itself within along this trajectory of work, my thesis is concerned with the context of the minority tribal people of Taiwan. Today, the tribal people of Taiwan (called Taiwan Yuan-Chu-Min <台灣原住民>, TYCM) hold traditional ceremonies, which revive the traditional cults. All villages are required to respond to the call and to participate in these village ceremonies. In the social and political context of Taiwan, TYCM biblical scholar, Pusin Tali, of the Tayal tribe, proposes the possibility of doing theology in the context of TYCM (Tali 1999) and rereading traditional TYCM resources to engage in TYCM contextual theology (Tali 2000; 2002). Tsiro Sinsi, of the Amis tribe, attempts to use traditional stories to format a TYCM tribal perspective for reading the biblical stories (Sinsi 1996), and Kapi Kisursur, of the Paiwan tribe, utilizes a TYCM cultural exegesis to reread the biblical texts (Kisursur 1998). I, Sediq tribe, introduce TYCM tribal people to a new way of understanding our Christian faith within the ancestral tradition, and explore our dual identity in the tribes (Ukan 2001, 2002, 2003).

Asian countries have been exploited by imperialism and colonialism in their different contexts. After colonialism ceased, Asian countries broke away from their colonizing countries and became independent, sovereign states. As the title of this thesis indicates, the focus of this thesis falls within the area of biblical interpretation. I endeavour, by examining the colonial history of Taiwan, to engage with the strategies of the postcolonial concerns of TYCM tribal people,<sup>1</sup> to understand the tools they employ to read biblical texts, to encourage them in their struggles and to create a postcolonial discourse for Taiwan's context.<sup>2</sup> Thus, my concern goes far beyond that of simply doing biblical interpretation within the framework of postcolonial theory. It is my intention to focus on the specific postcolonial location and situation of the TYCM in their context of Taiwan. Just as Gerald West claims, postcolonial discourse cannot be separated from "home-ness," from "the reality of the actual lived experience of

---

<sup>1</sup> The terminology of the basic distinction in this thesis is "postcolonial" signifies a political and "ideological reflection on the discourse and practice of imperialism and colonialism from the vantage point of a situation where imperialism and colonialism have come" (Segovia 1998:43 n.3). And also it is "cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (Aschcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989:2). But "de-colonial" focus on manifold colonial and postcolonial contexts in an attempt to "an epistemic diversity of world decolonial interventions" (Grosfoguel 2006:142) or a decolonization achieved.

<sup>2</sup> We recognize that "the Bible is an ideologically loaded text and never a neutral container, reading the Bible from a postcolonial perspective implies removing the colonial assumptions and ideologies on which much of the text rest" (Sugirtharajah 1998b: 20).

particular forms of colonialism,” nor from the specific situations that gave rise to postcolonialism in our area of postcolonial biblical interpretation (West 2008: 154-155). Therefore, postcolonial studies stands on the reality of the actual lived experiences of particular forms of colonialism, which in this case are the forms of colonialism that the TYCM survived in Taiwan, as well as of the ongoing struggles of the TYCM living and working in their own specific space and time. These constitute the body of evidence of this “home” of postcolonial biblical interpretation.

The argument of this thesis consists of two parts. Part One provides the contextualization of the TYCM colonized experience and postcolonial discourse. Part Two draws connections between TYCM postcolonial concerns and biblical interpretation, which I call “TYCM Biblical Interpretation”, and practises reading Genesis 2:4b-25 with the subaltern people (TYCM ordinary tribal people) in a Five Step Reading Process through a collaborative project involving 14 tribal reading groups.

What is the TYCM’s experience of colonialism in the context of Taiwan? In Chapter One I will survey this question with a view to understanding more clearly the experience of the TYCM within Taiwan’s history, especially their experience of colonialism and their relationship with Christianity, which has been the predominant faith in their tribal villages. Historically, before the 1987 democratic rights movement, Taiwan was colonized, starting from the 16th century, by the Dutch, the Spanish, the Chen, the Ching, the Japanese, and the KMT (Kuo-min-tang). For four hundred years they were colonized, suppressed, and exploited by these different rulers. Taiwanese people, especially the TYCM, were unable really to confront the issues of their own individual ethnicities until the TYCM started their identity movement in the 1990s. Christianity, as a religious tradition, has brought the TYCM together, enabling them to face the colonial powers, and so has become an indispensable strength for social development and tribal identity in the tribal villages. As a result, Christianity, to the TYCM, does not connote the superiority complex of the western colonial regime nor does it relate to western colonialism, except in the distant past, during the time of Dutch and Spanish rule. While providing a unifying faith across tribal identities for the TYCM, Christianity has also created processes of self-alienation from their traditional cultural and religious heritages. Today TYCM Christians still struggle against this prejudice and seek a more tolerant cultural theology which corresponds to their tradition.

The TYCM have experienced being colonized by diverse colonial powers. For the

purpose of Chapter Two I will investigate the modes of biblical interpretation of a range of TYCM biblical scholars and ministers, and will explore whether or not they respond to the colonized experience of their people. We will analyze the modes of reading the Bible of the TYCM using the 421 theses by tribal biblical scholars and ministers written from 1946 to 2008 at Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary, which was founded in 1946. This is the first and only theological college with the primary purpose of training tribal people to be ministers. As we will see, in the past four decades the colonial experience of the TYCM has not been considered a primary resource for TYCM scholars to use to create a new mode to read biblical texts.

This can be explained by the fact that postcolonial studies as a research field did not emerge as part of the normative academic discourse within Taiwanese literary history until late in 1992. This forms the main concern of Chapter Three. As Liao Ping-hui claims in his initial discussion, the generality of postcolonial discourse, which came from the experience of structural and organisational changes in Africa, India, North and South Asia, is not enough to explain the specific situation of Taiwan (Liao 2006). But how do we define the beginning of the “postcolonial period” in Taiwan? Two historical events which are most prominent in this discussion include Japan’s retreat from Taiwan at the end of its colonial rule in 1945 and the KMT government’s announcement in 1987 that it would lift martial law in Taiwan. If we accept the concepts of “de-colonization” and “anti-colonization”, which Taiwanese postcolonial scholars have emphasized, and the facts concerning colonialism and its strong influence on different classes in Taiwan, then we should follow the rule set by Chen Fang-ming, which defines the postcolonial period as beginning when martial law was lifted in 1987, and the “re-colonization period” as lasting from 1945 to 1987, during the period of Taiwanese control under the KMT government’s state of martial law (Chen 2002).

Taiwan postcolonial discourse contains four main themes: historical amnesia, Taiwanese-ness, cultural and language hybridity, and identity. Regarding the first element, Lin Ling-ling reveals that historical amnesia and memory are the main colonized experiences that exist everywhere in Taiwanese literature and in the people’s desire to express the concept of “no history” or of “historical elimination” or “historical amnesia of Taiwanese society” in the colonial history of Taiwan (Lin 2007:41-50). The Taiwanese people were not released from colonialism until martial law was lifted. This was the period when the anti-colonial writings of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse emerged, focusing on the problems of the nature of “Taiwanese-ness” and constructing the subjectivity of what it means to be Taiwanese

(Chiu 2003:45-46). In addition, they included expressions of cultural and language hybridity as a means to fight the collapse of cultural canonization under the sovereignty of the official language. Over a forty-year period during the time of martial law, the KMT government promulgated Chinese consciousness and Chinese nationalism. This is why there is a problem of self-recognition in terms of nation, race and culture in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. Unfortunately, their experiences, both of the Japanese and the KMT martial law colonial systems, have deeply impacted the hearts of modern day Taiwanese, and the contradictions between what we might call Chinese-consciousness and Taiwanese-consciousness continue to be struggles for the Taiwanese people.

Within Taiwan postcolonial discourse, Chen Chao-ying says, “The real Taiwan colonial history is the colonial experience of the TYCM”. (Chen 1995:77-93), and Liao Ping-hui asserts that the TYCM manifested “ambiguous judgment up to the beginning of the postcolonial era” (Liao 1994). So we need to allocate space to express the postcolonial discourse of TYCM and to discover their postcolonial concerns and their decolonization strategies in the context of Taiwan, which is my main purpose in Chapter Four.

The first priority is to focus on redefining the “postcolonial period” of the TYCM. “The Postcolonial Period” is defined as having started in 1994 when the TYCM were legally recognized in Taiwan’s constitution as “Yuan-Chu-Min” (原住民), (literally: “original dwelling people”) consisting of fourteen different tribes. This is very different from the standpoint of the Han people (mainland Chinese), who initiated the rise of Chinese consciousness with their arrival in 1945, while the native Taiwanese (i.e. descendants of the original Chinese immigrants) did not start their process of consciousness until 1987, with the lifting of martial law. The TYCM are also “Taiwanese”, but their postcolonial time did not begin until 1994 when they appealed for recognition in the official Taiwan constitution.

What, then, are considered to be the decolonization strategies of postcolonial discourse of the TYCM? We discovered three postcolonial strategies from the perspective of TYCM postcolonial discourse: (1) to re-read the “other” in the colonial texts *Sayon no Kane* and *Wu Feng Incident*, in order to illustrate the lives of tribal people as expressed in their traditional culture and to define the “other” in the colonial texts and to place the focus on tribal texts; (2) to re-write a decolonial historical record to recall the aggregation of historical memory and to use first-hand personal accounts as a means of connecting with the wisdom sprung from their ancestors and

transmitted through their tribal elders; and (3) to address issues of concern regarding their tribal mother-tongues (which have almost been lost for the young tribal people in the colonial public education system, which forced the canonization of the colonizers' language), to add the Roman spelling system to their tribal resources, and to question the colonists' justification of the use of the colonial language. We will follow-up on these issues in the discussion in Part One, by analysing the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM evidenced in their decolonization strategies. First, we will "relocate" TYCM texts within the oral tradition, to demonstrate tribal people's vocalizing of their traditional culture, wherein they recall their real tribal experiences. Second, we will endeavour to recall their historical memory to reconnect with the wisdom sources passed down from their ancestors through their tribal elders and through ordinary tribal people. Third, we will use the tribal mother-tongue as a strategic tool to read the biblical text. These three decolonization strategies will be used to address the TYCM's postcolonial concerns.

If these are the decolonization strategies used to address the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM, then this brings us to Part Two, in which we will concentrate on how to use these decolonization strategies to create a method of postcolonial biblical interpretation. I call this method "TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation" (台灣原住民族部落經驗詮釋法), which is based on respecting TYCM's postcolonial concerns. But before we explore this hermeneutical practice in reading a specific biblical text, Genesis 2:4b-25, we should clarify what kind of postcolonial biblical interpretation will be illustrated.

The definition of "TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation" in Chapter Five contains three components. The first term that appears in this new method, "TYCM", indicates "the voice", and originates from the postcolonial context of the minority tribal people in Taiwan. Here I locate the context of my postcolonial work. It is similar to the process of taking seriously the different contexts of postcolonial biblical scholars, such as India for Sugirtharajah (Sugirtharajah 1999; 2001), Hispanic America for Segovia (Segovia 1995; 1996), women in Botswana for Dube (Dube 1996; 1999; 2002), and Asian and Chinese women in Hong Kong for Kwok Pui-lan (Kwok 1991; 1992; 1996). The term "TYCM" is not only adopted for the purpose of making biblical hermeneutics contextual, but also for the purpose of helping the minority tribal people who have lived on the land that is now Taiwan for thousands of years to re-appear from their silence, and to step out from their previously marginalized location in the colonial system.

The second term, “Tribal”, refers to the postcolonial “experience” of the TYCM. This term has become a central part of the de-colonization strategy, emphasizing TYCM tribal texts, TYCM ordinary tribal readers, and TYCM tribal mother-tongues. We should, then, clearly describe and highlight their marginalization in biblical interpretation and make sure to provide them with space to identify their tribal postcolonial concerns in their biblical readings. The most important issue for TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is to offer the opportunity through reading biblical texts to re-research or to re-construct TYCM tribal texts, and to share “the real voices” of TYCM ordinary people so that they can become real readers using their mother-tongues to read both the biblical text and the TYCM texts.

So the third term, “Biblical Interpretation”, seeks to define this perspective as a “biblical” reading which addresses the state of being “in-between”, namely the dual identity of the TYCM both as tribal people and as *Christianised* tribal people in their postcolonial struggles in their tribal villages. So we will ask, “Should biblical scholars help them to bring out their postcolonial concerns through biblical readings?” And, “How do we practice reading the Bible with tribal people through their tribal mother-tongue in their process of creating decolonization strategies?” The main purpose of chapters six to eight is to construct and demonstrate a form of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, and then to apply this methodology to Genesis 2:4b-25 as their sample practice.

In Chapter Six, we will focus on re-locating TYCM mother-tongues, by asking the question, “Would you like to use your tribal mother-tongue to read the biblical text?” To read the Bible with ordinary tribal readers in their mother-tongue begins to address their postcolonial struggles about keeping their tribal mother-tongues, which were previously suppressed, and to uncover the abundance and richness in the original meaning of the language and the world behind their mother-tongue. Kwame Bediako claims that by “dealing with scriptures translated into the mother-tongues, a newness of language and the potential of new idioms become concentrated, and are important in inspiring fresh insights into our common understanding of Christology”. He continues to remind TYCM biblical scholars who want to create a “TYCM tribal theology” that we cannot give up the cultural and religious heritage behind our indigenous languages (Bediako 1989; 2000:81). But in the midst of the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM, they would agree that they not only cannot “give up”, but that they also need to “proceed to memorize, to repeat, and to re-appropriate” the elements of tribal culture and religious heritage which are hidden behind the words when they read the Bible in their tribal mother-tongue. Ironically, given that Christianity is part

of the historical colonial project, their tribal mother-tongue becomes a medium through which to express their own appropriation of the Christian faith, and the Bible in their tribal mother-tongue has the potential to provide them with additional opportunities to rediscover and to open up their language world. This is the main postcolonial concern of TYCM tribal people who strive to re-locate their mother-tongue within their tribal roots. The first step is to allow them to read the biblical text in their mother-tongue, a procedure which we will discuss in detail in Chapter Six.

The focus of TYCM postcolonial concerns strongly suggests that scholars should return to their tribes to re-call and to re-locate their traditional tribal texts; therefore, we will adopt this as a key method for our biblical text reading. Could biblical scholars help the people to express their postcolonial concerns through their biblical readings? Cross-textual Hermeneutics, as claimed by Asian biblical scholar Archie Lee, who has been successful in drawing attention to the multi-religious texts and to the multi-cultural traditions of Asia, can be revealed in the biblical reading process. He says, “No one text should hold absolute sway over another” (Lee 2003:61; 1996; 2002). Asian Christians should, therefore, venture to read their own traditional texts and the biblical text together, and let both texts shed light on or challenge the other, so that creative dialogue and integration can take place. Cross-textual Hermeneutics revitalizes the Asian religious and cultural heritage, notwithstanding its marginalization within so-called traditional biblical reading methods.

There is no doubt, after our experience, about the ability of TYCM Christians to re-call and to re-locate their traditional texts through biblical readings, both in general and within the specific themes arising from their reading of Genesis 2:4b-25. The specific themes that are the focus of Chapter Seven include: the origin of human beings, naming, views of death, the wife and the husband and the role of women, and taboos about nakedness and sex. The practice of cross-textual reading, using these themes and the Genesis text, is not only the preserve of scholars in the university and in the theological seminary but also embraces the de-colonization spirit, experiences, and expressions of TYCM tribal people who have returned “home” by participating in indigenous oral expression. So in Chapter Seven, the focus becomes one of re-locating the real reader— who is the ordinary tribal reader.

How, then, does the ordinary tribal reader become the real reader in the process of biblical reading? A good example comes from Gerald West who claims that the purpose of Contextual Bible Study is to transform ordinary people into becoming the

real readers in the biblical reading. He argues that ordinary readers are “not silent, and will not be silenced” (West 2003:39). How is it possible, then, for them to express their real voices? West lists five steps for doing Contextual Bible Study through “group collaboration”. These steps help develop the ordinary readers, who were previously located on the margins and in a voiceless place, to become the real readers, and re-locates them in a subjective position with a major role and function in the process of biblical interpretation. With this in mind, I have created a Five Step Reading Process, which reflects West’s Contextual Bible Study process (West 2007), and which connects with the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM, to help them become real readers. I will work with this reading process within five tribes and 14 tribal reading groups.

The second and third steps of the Five Step Reading Process, which we will discuss in Chapter Seven, will raise questions, such as, “What does the biblical text say?”, “Do the themes you have identified in the biblical text exist in the tribes?”, and “How do the tribal people understand these themes/themes traditionally?” We will have already established that the TYCM ordinary tribal readers can re-call and can re-locate their traditional texts through biblical readings, and we will have established the importance and relevance of the thematic areas identified.

In Chapter Eight, the final chapter, we will concentrate on the fourth and the fifth steps which elevate the role of ordinary tribal people to that of real readers in the process of biblical reading. The focus here is on the two-way movement and constitution of the ordinary tribal readers between text and context. We will reflect on the process TYCM ordinary tribal readers go through as they express freely and openly their appropriated readings from their tribal worldviews when they read Genesis 2:4b-25, using the themes they have identified in the text to understand their tribal traditions. In addition, we reflect on how the identified themes within the tribal tradition, which they recovered via their mother-tongue biblical interpretation, are addressed by the biblical text. Thus, this is a process not only of re-reading the biblical text from the worldview of ordinary tribal people in the fourth step, but also of re-reading TYCM tribal texts using the valuable points of view of the biblical texts in the fifth step. This sequence is necessary in order to enrich each respective text more fully and to show the reactions and the de-colonization concerns of the TYCM as they re-read and re-interpret the traditional texts and the biblical texts to give more meaning to each of them, and more especially, to TYCM ordinary tribal people.

*Prrngawan* the traditional tribal convocation house (other four tribes also have a

“place” alike). The function of the *Prrngawan* is the place where tribal people come to face the socio-political affairs, as well as the place for sharing, learning, and contributing to their own cultural tradition in different tribes. The thesis concludes with a summary and further reflection on the Five Step Reading Process to demonstrate the functions of the traditional *Prrngawan*, a convocation house, within TYCM tribal people sharing with their own mother-tongue, learning their traditions, and talking to have their real voices. However, it is very important that TYCM tribal people express the postcolonial concern in their context now.

# **PART ONE**

## Chapter One

### A Survey of the TYCM's Experiences in the Context of Taiwan

#### 1.0 Introduction

Taiwan's total area is 35,981 square kilometers. It is 394 km in length and 144 km in width, and it is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean. Its neighbours include: China to the west, the Philippines to the south, and Japan to the north. Before the Han Chinese migration began in the mid-1600s, Taiwan was inhabited by people belonging to the Austronesian race of the indigenous people, now called "*Yuan-chu-min*" (YCM, 原住民), which designation was a response to the TYCM tribal peoples demands in 1994. At that time, the Taiwan government scrapped the use of the term "mountain compatriot" in favor of *Yuan-chu-min* as the official name, which literally means "Original Inhabitants".

Archaeological, glottochronological, and anthropological research reveal that Taiwan has preserved many ancient characteristics and about twenty different kinds of old Austronesian language. Taiwan can provide some essential evidence for reconstructing the pre-historic Austronesian culture. The results of race chromosome studies suggest that South East Asia might be the origin of two emigrant routes. One came to Taiwan and the other went to Polynesia. Furthermore, Richard Shutler Jr. and Jeffrey C. Marck conclude that Taiwan, in all likelihood, might be the most possible origin of Austronesians based on language and archaeological data (Shutler and Marck 1975; see also Dyen 1956; 1971a; 1971b).<sup>3</sup> Li Jen-kuei argues that since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Polynesian language was discovered through linguistic analysis as quite possibly the earliest and most ancient Austronesian language. Moreover, she asserts that Taiwan occupies a crucial geographical location as the northern-most

---

<sup>3</sup> We also could explore the Proto-Austronesian theory from John Wolff, who states, "The monosyllabic roots of Proto-Austronesian", in Zeitoun, Elizabeth and Li Jen-kuei, eds. *Selected papers from the eighth international conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics Academia Sinica, 1999). Shigeru Tsuchida, *Reconstruction of Proto-Tsouic phonology* (Tokyo: Study of Language & Cultures of Asia & Africa, 1976). The Austronesian Homeland theory, Robert Blust, "The Austronesian homeland: A linguistic perspective", *Asian Perspectives* 26/1 (1985), 45-67. Peter Bellwood, "The Austronesian dispersal and the origin of languages", *Scientific American* (July 1991), 88-93. And the Li Jen-kuei, *The Distributed and Movement of The Taiwanese Austronesian Languages: The Papers of The First International Symposium of Languages in Taiwan*, (Chinese) (Taipei: WenHe, 1995), 1-16.

reach of the ancient Austronesian people's origin before their migration from the south-east coast of mainland Asia to other oceanic islands (Li 1997).

Taiwan is a beautiful island located in the Asia-Pacific region and has many ethnic groups. Historical records reveal that since the seventeenth century, the TYCM tribal peoples have been in contact with the outside world. Based on the degree of their acceptance of the Han's customs they were divided into two groups: "civilized" tribal peoples and "wild" tribal peoples. During the time that Taiwan was occupied by Japan, they called the TYCM tribal peoples "Takasago" ("mountain people"). There were at least nineteen tribes at that time. After World War II the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949. The classification of the TYCM followed the Japanese system, but changed the term "Takasago" to "Aborigines". Later, the government divided the Aborigines into "Mountain" Aborigines and "Plain" Aborigines; in 1994 "Aborigines" was changed to "Yuan-Chu-Min" (YCM). Up to 2009, the government has only recognized 14 tribes, which include: the Amis, the Atayal, the Paiwan, the Bunun, the Puyuma, the Rukai, the Tsou, the Saisiyat, the Yami, the Thao, the Kavalan, the Truku, the Sakizaya, and the Sediq, each with their own distinct language, cultural features, traditional customs and social structures.<sup>4</sup> To Taiwan, the TYCM are an important source of history and culture as well as a treasure to be cherished. TYCM tribal people number more than 490,000, or about 2% of the total population of Taiwan.<sup>5</sup>

Before we can begin to examine the relevance of biblical interpretation for the TYCM, we need to engage with their colonized experience in the context of Taiwanese colonial history. This history starts with the Dutch and the Spanish colonial period in the seventeenth century and continues to the time of the lifting of martial law under the KMT government in 1987. The basic experience of TYCM tribal people who are emerging from Taiwanese colonial history is that they have just begun to build an indigenous identity movement of different tribal ethnicities and of a pan-TYCM tribal grouping, in spite of the fact that a minority and a few ethnicities have had power over all the people of Taiwan during different times in the past. In 1984, the *Association for the Promotion of Aboriginal Rights* was founded. This was the first political organisation which included the different tribes of the TYCM, coming together for the purpose of promoting TYCM political affairs and human rights. From the point of view of the Han people, Hsieh Shih-chung comments, this political shift belongs to "ethno-nationalism" of this "small group" (Hsieh 1994: 417-418); but from the point

---

<sup>4</sup> Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan, [www.apc.gov.tw](http://www.apc.gov.tw).

<sup>5</sup> Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan, <http://others.apc.gov.tw/popu/9506/aprp5402.htm>

of view of the TYCM, as Hsieh Shih-chung also asserts, that more than nine TYCM tribes participated in this unifying social movement argues a greater significance (Hsieh 1987). As Tibusungu Vayayana (Peongsi), a Tsou tribal scholar points out:

Motivated by the mass movement of Taiwan's social and cultural indigenous people, the last two decades saw an upwelling of ethno-nationalism of the real tribal peoples or aborigines of Taiwan (台灣原住民). For the first decade, this social movement was oriented mainly towards socio-economic problems, and some scholars would probably see it as a resistance movement from the subaltern of the society. It was not until the 1990s that its ethnic nature became much clearer, and it changed from a form of resistance to resurgence. And the space that this movement occupied also shifted - from urban streets to the space of marginality, which is the home place of these tribal activists.<sup>6</sup>

Up to the present time the TYCM tribal identity movement has concerned itself with engagement in extensive political activity at different levels to bring up the needs of the TYCM in their villages. Today, the policies of the government of Taiwan concerning the TYCM's human rights have moved from assimilation to democratization. Consequently, in 1991, the government proposed to revise the constitutional articles. In 1993, around 500 TYCM demonstrated in Taipei to demand greater autonomy and the return of land that was appropriated for national parks. In 1996, the Executive Yuan established the Council of TYCM Tribal Peoples. In 1998, the TYCM Education Law and the TYCM Development Plan were passed; in 2001, the TYCM Identification Law and the TYCM Labour Rights Protection Law were passed; and in 2002, the Articles for TYCM Tribal People's Old Age Pension and the New Tribal Movement Plan were established.<sup>7</sup>

The TYCM tribal identity movement has derived impetus from elements within its own background, yet Christianity has also been a significant religious force in inspiring the tribal people in TYCM villages to know and claim their rights. TYCM in villages have been so inspired by Christianity that more than 80% have converted, and several Churches of different denominations were constructed in the villages before

---

<sup>6</sup> Tibusungu Vayayana (Peongsi) (Wang Min-hue), "The Spatiality of the Taiwan Ethnonationalism: Social Movement to Ethnical Development", (Chinese) from <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/movement.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Executive Yuan, *Statistical Yearbook of Taiwan Indigenous People, 2002*, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2003.

1984. The same faith unites different tribes from different areas, languages, and cultures, and enables them to sit together and contribute to the identity of a “pan-TYCM tribal people” in Taiwan.

Nevertheless, the TYCM conversion to Christianity is a fairly recent experience in the tribal villages, taking place primarily during the colonial period of the KMT government. While on the one hand Christianity did not have “colonial” connections with the colonial powers which had invaded TYCM lands, on the other hand Christianity did play a role in the disappearance of the traditional systems in the villages. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is also to explore the relationship between Christianity and TYCM tribal people.

Recently, the TYCM have emerged from struggles between Christianity and their tribal traditions, striving to create their identity within the TYCM tribal movement. Within this struggle the tension between TYCM tribal peoples’ traditional religions and the Christian Bible concerning the issues of survival of traditional cultures in the tribal villages is central. A crisis we as tribal people face is the tension between the call to “return to the Bible” and/or to “return to our tribal traditional heritage” in developing our decolonial strategies. This chapter will attempt to show the reader that the primary focus in the experience of the TYCM (which also includes the different new identity of the Pinpu tribe) has come to the fore only in the last couple of years.

### **1.1. The Colonial History of Taiwan**

Before 1620, Taiwan was occupied and controlled by the TYCM. Li Jen-kuei states that the majority of Chinese people who immigrated in large numbers arrived in Taiwan in the 16th or the 17th centuries (Li 1995:15-16). During this time the languages of the TYCM had no written characters, therefore their history has been reconstructed by tribal elders who passed down the stories of their traditional heritage through the tribe from generation to generation.

However, as we see from Pan Ji-dao’s review of the early history of Taiwan, known to foreigners as Formosa, this story is obscure. The western forces which first entered Taiwan began with the Dutch, who came onto the southern part in 1624, and were followed by the Spanish in 1626, who set up the northern stronghold of Taiwan. It was during that colonial period that the history of Taiwan and the wider world was recorded in written characters (Pan 2004).

Taiwan's history is a history dotted by the colonization of outside political regimes. The Spanish (1626-1642), the Dutch (1624-1662), the Cheng (1662-1683), the Ching Dynasty (1663-1895), the Japanese (1895-1945), and the KMT Government (1945 to 1987) colonized Taiwan successively. Four hundred years of colonial history of Taiwan terminated when the Legislative Yuan passed a resolution lifting martial law on July 7, 1987, and the *Emergency Decree* was officially lifted on July 15, when the *National Security Law* was passed. The seeds of democracy in the land of Taiwan were sown then, and the growth continues to the present time.

### **1.1.1. The Dutch and the Spanish Colonial Periods (1624-1662)**

The Dutch East India Company (or Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC) was established in Holland in 1602, with the Taiwan Strait serving as a key route for them to travel to their trade offices in Java and Japan. In 1604, they arrived at Penghu and established a base for trade with China, and then they further withdrew to Zeelandia (now Old Anping Fort) in 1642, where they eventually built a fort, which was called Fort Provintia, now known as Sakkam Tower, at Tainan in southern Taiwan. They also persuaded the tribal elders of twenty-eight aboriginal settlements in southern Taiwan to pledge their allegiance to the VOC in 1636 and to convene an annual Landdag (conference) from 1641 until 1662. However, they were not particularly interested in the land itself, but wanted to use the island as a transshipment point for their East Asian trade.

Shi Ming states that in order for the Dutch to develop tropical agriculture they needed to import Chinese labour on a large scale to clear and plant the land. According to 1648 records, 100,000 Han people came in a massive wave of immigration to Taiwan from Mainland China, mostly from the province of Fukien (Shi 1980:71). All lands were seized and owned by the Dutch, and designated "Wang Tien" ("Fields of the King"), and unemployment, mistreatment by the colonial rulers, and collection of a new head tax increased tensions. On September 7, 1652, the "Guo Huai-yi Event" occurred, in which frustrated Chinese farmers revolted against the Dutch. The rebellions were violently suppressed by the Dutch, who slaughtered about 3,000 peasants (Shi 1980:98).<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of "Guo Huaiyi Event", see Shi Ming, *The History of Taiwanese in 400 Years* (Chinese) (Taipei: Pen-Dao Culture, 1980).

The Dutch missionaries, an integral component of Dutch trade, supposedly “enlightened” the aborigines with the Christian religion, and used force to suppress the TYCM. Yang Bi-chuan shows that they introduced the Roman alphabet to transcribe the native languages, and educated the aborigines with Christian stories and beliefs. More than ten years passed before the Dutch finally had full control of the aborigines. After 30 years many TYCM tribal peoples had converted to Christianity. 5900 in the Pinpu tribe were baptized and 50 local people became ministers (Yang, 1987a). The TYCM had to use Roman characters to record their tribal languages in contract documents. These contracts were referred to as “Sinnkan Manuscripts” in the tribal language, and were written both in Chinese characters and in the Roman alphabet until the middle of the Ching Dynasty. However, the Dutch did not remain long enough to translate the Bible into all the native dialects. Hollington K. Tong comments:

A translation of the Bible was made in several dialects and copies of the gospel were actually being printed in Holland when Koxinga (*Cheng Rule*) drove the Dutch from Taiwan. If these translations had been distributed among the people, there is little question that Christianity would have survived in Taiwan even after the departure of the missionaries. Unfortunately, the effort was too late. The expulsion of the Dutch was followed by a period of 200 years when Christianity lay dormant in Taiwan. No missionary venture was made by western Christians during these years (Tong 1961:21).

The same observation applies to the Spanish who occupied northern Taiwan for only 16 years from 1626 to 1642. On May 6, 1626, Spanish forces seized the port of Keelung and established Tamsui, Cabran, and Turoboan in northern Taiwan until the summer of 1642 when their forces withdrew (Shi 98). A Spanish missionary reported in 1630 that only about 300 local people had been converted to Christianity by the Spanish Catholic missionaries. This number had risen to a mere 320 by 1634. Father Jacinto Esquivel also created a writing system for the local language based on the Latin alphabet and compiled books such as the *Glossary of the Tamsui Language Used on Taiwan Island* and *Christian Doctrines in the Tamsui Language of Taiwan Island* as aids for his preaching. As was the case with the Dutch, the Catholic missionary’s work was not very successful. He did not achieve the success for which he had hoped.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the time, see Government Information Office ed., chapter 3, “Great Progress

More noteworthy was the fact that both the Dutch and the Spanish had a common colonial policy, which integrated the development of colonial trade and the use of military force by sending the missionaries to the TYCM. Yang Bi-chuan accepts that they competed politically, economically, and religiously with Protestantism in the south and Catholicism in the north. Some translation work was done, including translation of the Bible, doctrinal books, tribal language teaching materials and dictionaries, using Roman characters. Both Protestant and Catholic missions established schools where preaching their religion and the Dutch and Spanish language were taught, persecuted the traditional religions, destroyed villages, and devoted that the local indigenous populations would believe in Christianity as a colonial enforced policy. However, their main intention was to exploit and prey on the resources of the oppressed to build their empire, but with the result after they were leave that Christianity soon began to disappear in TYCM villages (Yang 1987b:20).

However, during this time, while some of the Pinpu tribes in the plain lost their autonomy, the vast majority of other TYCM tribal communities remained unaffected because of their geographical proximity to the colonial trade station and most of TYCM tribal communities living in the mountain and forest of the centre of Taiwan.

### **1.1.2. The Cheng Rule and the Ching Colonial Periods (1662-1895)**

From 1644, Mainland China was ruled by the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911). Cheng Chen-kong waged war against the Dutch in a struggle to acquire Taiwan. At the end of January 1662, the Dutch were forced to negotiate, and surrendered. He established the first Han Chinese political rule in Taiwan's history and ended 38 years of Dutch colonial rule in Taiwan.<sup>10</sup> His forces occupied the western plains of Taiwan and a small part of the mountainous areas.

Cheng Chen-kung seized "Zeelandia" and forced the Dutch to surrender and to flee Taiwan in February 1662. He changed the name from "Zeelandia" to "Tongdu Mingjing", or literally "the east capital of the Ming Dynasty". His son, Cheng Ching, changed the name to "Tungnin" after his death, establishing the "Lord of the Tungnin

---

Under the Colonial Rule by Holland and Spain; Complementary Roles Played by the Dutch and Han Chinese Give Rise to a New Taiwan", in *A Brief History of Taiwan: A Sparrow Transformed into a Phoenix*, <http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/history/tw04.html> Ming, Shi, *The History of Taiwanese in 400 Years* (Chinese) (Taipei: Pen-Dao Culture, 1980), 64-86.

<sup>10</sup> Tai Pao-tsun, "Koxinga: History and the Legends", The Taiwan Historical Association, <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010430.htm>.

Kingdom” and calling the first of “Taiwan’s Kings” into the international arena (Pan 2004: 30). Taiwan became, thus, the province of the Ching Dynasty when Cheng Keh-soan surrendered to the Ching Dynasty on Sept 27, 1683. This ended over three generations of Cheng rule and more than twenty years of their rule in Taiwan. Taiwan was officially annexed to the Ching Dynasty as result of the “On the Territorialization of Taiwan” written by Shih Lang in 1683. Yet another new colonial dynasty had come.<sup>11</sup>

Ching divided the TYCM into two types of tribes: the “ripe savages”, “熟番” (“Shu Fan”), who paid taxes and provided labour and service for the Ching Dynasty, and the “raw savages”, “生番” (Shengfan), who refused to do so. The Han people gave them Chinese names, forcing them to change their traditional tribal names. They took advantage of every opportunity to abuse and to oppress the TYCM, who were compelled to accept a lifestyle completely incompatible with the “cooked” tribal cultures. Because Han people from China had immigrated with so few women, many of them married tribal women. The descendents were called the “You Tang-shan-gong, Wu Tang-shan-ma”, “Those who have Tang Mountain fathers but non-Tang Mountain mothers”, that is, “Chinese men and tribal women” (Pan 1996:498).<sup>12</sup>

Wu Mi-cha comments that Ching officials lacked the power to bring order to society, so Taiwan was rocked by successive armed conflicts during a time when there was "one major rebellion every 5 years and one minor rebellion every 3 years" (Yang, 1987a:103). Among the armed uprisings and peace-disturbing incidents, the rebellions of Chu Yit-gui (1721), Lin Song-bun (1786) and Dai Tiao-chun (1862) were regarded as the three major rebellions in Taiwanese history during the Ching rule (Wu 2005a, 2005b, and 2005c).<sup>13</sup>

The Ching enacted many laws which prohibited immigration to Taiwan, but Taiwan’s excellent living environment could not hold back the Han people from Guangtong

---

<sup>11</sup> Kiyoshi Ito, trans. by Walter Chen, *Taiwan History*, <http://members.shaw.ca/leksu/mainp4e.htm>.

<sup>12</sup> Because of the limited number of Chinese surnames, the use of a surname alone is not sufficient to indicate who an author is. Therefore in this thesis I give the full name, placing the surname first according to Chinese usage. Pang Ying, *The History of the Pin-pu Indigenous people in Taiwan* (Taipei: Nantein, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Wu, Mi-cha, *The Ching Dynasty (I): Leaving the Mainland for Taiwan*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 4 (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2005); *The Ching Dynasty (II): The World of the “Wandering Bachelors”*, A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol.5 (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2005); 2005, *The Ching Dynasty (III): Construction Under the Shadow of War*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 6. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.

(Canton) and Fuchen (Fukien), though the trip was arduous and they risked the perils of the sea and the penalties of the authorities in Taiwan. From 1683 to 1722 the population grew rapidly and there was much land appropriation and development, which meant that the Han people soon had more land than TYCM tribal people, and no law could deter their hunger for land or stop them at the borders. So the TYCM had to retreat back to the mountains of central and eastern Taiwan to look for land for their survival as their homeland was lost.<sup>14</sup>

From the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Yang Bi-chuan argues that a large number of the plains TYCM, the Pinpu tribes, migrated to the south or east to occupy lands of other TYCM tribal people because the Han people had encroached on their lands, as also had the Hakka people who arrived in Taiwan from China too. The original residents, the TYCM, were forced to move to other areas (Yang1987a:57).

The second wave of western colonial powers arrived in the late part of the Ching Dynasty. In 1858, the Ching Dynasty signed the Treaty of Tianjin with Britain, France, the United States of America and Russia. Taiwan's ports, including Anping, Takao (Kaohsiung), Huwei (Tamsui) and Keelung, were thereafter listed as "treaty" ports. After the ports were opened, western missionaries became more active in Taiwan. The Pope sent Fernando Sainz to Taiwan to establish a mission, founding the Qianjin Catholic Church in Takao, southern Taiwan. The Protestant Church sent Dr. James L. Maxwell from England to Takao in 1865. He practised medicine and established the clinical centre in Tainan. In the same year, Dr. William Campbell edited "A Dictionary of the Amoy Language",<sup>15</sup> and Thomas Barclay founded "Taiwan Fucheng Jiaohui Gong Bao" ("Tâi-oân-hú-siâ<sup>n</sup> Kàu-hōe-pò" (台灣府城教會公報), as the first published newspaper in Taiwan. In northern Taiwan, George L. Mackay, sent by the Canada mission society in 1872, founded "Huweixie Yiguan Hospital", the school of "Nanjin Xuetang" for men, and "Tamsui Niu Xuetang" for women. He also edited the "Xitai Dictionary" (Hsu 1995:135-136).

---

<sup>14</sup> "The number of Chinese settlers was so great that during the 200 years of the Ching Dynasty in their quest for land, they waged a life-and-death battle with the indigenous peoples. Land was the natural resource that could provide the Chinese with the necessities; hence they did anything and everything to get it. The indigenous peoples were no match for the aggressiveness and technical prowess of the Chinese, and were sacrificed for the sake of Chinese land development". (Wu, 2005b:124) In 1814, Guo Bai-nian took the Pinpu tribe's land of Puli Village with an armed group with Huang Linwang, Chen Tayong and Huang Liren. The Pinpu tribe resisted Guo for more than one month. See Pan Ying *The History of the Pin-pu Indigenous People in Taiwan*, (Chinese) (Taipei: Nantein, 1996). Pan Da-he *The Troubled History of the Pazih Plains Tribes*, (Chinese) (Taipei: Nantein, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> The Amoy language is the Holo language, William Campbell, *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken* (Tainan: Sinlaw, 1913).

The Ching Dynasty charged Shen Bao-chen with defending Taiwan, and started more aggressive development of Taiwan in 1874.<sup>16</sup> Shen initiated six measures: exploiting the mountain areas, pacifying the tribal populations, lifting the ban on travel between Taiwan and mainland China, increasing the number of administrative areas, appointing central government officials, and reorganizing the armed forces. Liu Ming-chuan was appointed as governor of Taiwan province in 1885-1891. Liu's new political policy focused on the north in which Taipei town was the political and economic centre of Taiwan at the time. He also set up a school for TYCM tribal people so that they could be taught written and spoken Chinese and Holo languages to assimilate them into Chinese culture (Yang 1987a:97ff).

### 1.1.3. The Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)

In 1894, at the end of the Sino-Japanese War, the Ching Dynasty signed "the Treaty of Shimonoseki". Taiwan and Penghu Island were ceded to Japan in perpetuity. Japanese colonial rule began in Taiwan, and the people of Taiwan entered another colonial period.

From 1895, Xiang Yang argues, the Japanese Dynasty laid the foundations of modern capitalism in Taiwan (Xiang 2004:69-74). April C. J. Lin also argues for this development:

An undeniable help to Taiwan's economy at the beginning of its occupation of Taiwan, the imperial government provided the governor general with subsidies of 7 million yen a year, and originally calculated that after 30 years, Taiwan's public finances would be able to be independent.... which would serve as a record of the achievements of Taiwan's modernization process under Japanese rule.<sup>17</sup>

Japanese used the principle of "assimilation" with "Act 63" Law<sup>18</sup> to colonize Taiwan,

---

<sup>16</sup> The cause of the Mudan incident of 1874, the King court attempted to strengthen their hold on Taiwan, Shen Chen-bao made some improvements to the Taiwan Island's coastal defences which included these six measures.

<sup>17</sup> April C. J. Lin, "The Modernization of Taiwan", *The Historical Association in Taiwan*, <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010312.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Wu Mi-cha argues that the Provision of Act 63: "Article one: The Taiwan Governor-General may, within his jurisdictional region. Promulgate orders having legal effect. Article two: Article 1 was resolved by the council of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office and reported to His Majesty the

and the Taiwan Governor-General was the “Emperor of Taiwan”. The armed resistance of Taiwanese people was quashed by the killing of more than 30,000 people in 1902.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, the Taiwanese people were disarmed, while allowed to possess arms, which solved two major problems, creating local warlords and inciting religiously inspired uprisings until 1915 (Wu 2005d:47ff.).

After 1906, when the armed resistance on the plains was brought under control, Japanese policy shifted from conciliation to conquest of the TYCM by implementing the “Five-Year-Project to Manage the Savages”, to control all TYCM tribal people within five years.<sup>20</sup> Japanese forces used their superior firepower to punish tribal resistance fighters mercilessly, and forced them to hand over their ammunition for the purpose of fully subjugating the TYCM. To separate the plains people from the mountain people, anyone entering or leaving the mountains needed a police permit, which the Japanese claimed was a means of protecting the TYCM, but also prevented them from smuggling guns into the mountains (Wu 2005d:158).

In each village there were Japanese police stations to control everything. They taught the people farming, medical care, and child rearing, and forced the TYCM to help them clear mountain areas, to produce camphor oil, and to log the forests. In the 1930 “Wushe Incident”, the Sediq tribe rebelled against the Japanese violently venting their long pent-up rage. A new policy of assimilation after that, the “Ten Years of Moving the Whole TYCM Tribal People” was implemented in 1934, in which the TYCM were moved to the foothills near the plains and were forced to dwell in a cluster around the local police station so that the police could easily watch their movements. From 1930 to 1941, 43,000 people were forced to leave their ancestral lands in the mountains and move to the lower-lying areas (Wu 2005d:169; 2005e).

TYCM tribal people were thus forced to abandon their traditional methods of hunting,

---

Emperor by the Minister of Colonization. The Council of the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office is organized by order of His Imperial Majesty. Article Three: In an emergency, the Taiwan Governor-General may directly promulgate orders specified in Article 1 in accordance with the procedures provided in Article 1”. Namely, the law gave the Taiwan Governor-General both executive and legislative authority as well as the position of a military officer and so authorized him to command Japanese troops on behalf of the emperor (Wu 2005d:47). See Wu Mi-cha, *The Japanese Era (I): The Backyard of Japan’s Capitalists*, A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol.7 (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> In response to the resistance, the Japanese promulgated the harsh “Criminal Punishment of Banditry Decree” and offered favorable terms for their surrender. The content of the Decree as listed: “Article one: Leaders and instigators are punishable by death. Article two: Participation in planning or commanding is punishable by death. Article three: Those who aid or abet, etc., are punishable by imprisonment or hard labour” (Wu 2005d:62).

<sup>20</sup> This project had three main objectives: (1) Advancing the front lines. (2) Conquering the indigenous peoples. (3) Disarming the indigenous peoples (Wu 2005d:150).

and grew accustomed to lifestyles where they had to learn agricultural methods of growing rice. To assimilate them more swiftly and to break down the solidarity among the TYCM, the “Japanese Kohminka Policy” – a Japanization policy – was introduced. This involved in each village the establishing of “youth brigades” to “revere the Shinto gods”, to honor the Japanese Emperor and to show loyalty to Japan, and even to send them to war after they were “educated” by the Japanese. It was a great tragedy for the traditional cultures of the TYCM. This was the most thorough policy of national assimilation, abolishing Chinese newspapers, instructing families and schools to speak and to use the Japanese language, forbidding public religious cults and the worship of “idols”, forcing people to use Japanese surnames instead of traditional names, and promoting the use of Japanese literature, drama, and music to advocate the spirit of the emperor (Wu 2005d:174ff).

On July 7, 1937, with the Lugouciao Incident, the Japanese engaged in war with China; on December 7, 1941, with its attack on “Pearl Harbor”, Hawaii, Japan declared war on the U.S.A. From 1944 on, there was a military draft system in place for TYCM tribal people, which organized the “Takasago Volunteers”, (the “Gaoshan Yiyong Dui”), and which sent youth brigades to the Philippines, Guam, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and the Indonesia theatres of war. In Wu Mi-cha’s words “until the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1945, when Japan surrendered ending the war, there were approximately 200,000 Taiwanese youths who had been sent to the war” (Wu 2005d:176). It was during this colonial period that the traditional customs, economy, culture, and social systems of the TYCM collapsed rapidly.

#### **1.1.4. The Nationalist (KMT) Colonial Period (1945-1987)**

Japan accepted the San Francisco Treaty after its defeat in World War II, which stipulated that Japan renounce its rights to Formosa and the Pescadores on September 8, 1951, thus ending 50 years of colonial occupation of Taiwan. In 1949 the Chinese Nationalist (KMT) militarist regime, after it was defeated by the Communist government, fled to Taiwan. The KMT (“國民黨”, “Guomin Dang”) set up a “Taiwan Provincial Governor’s Office”<sup>21</sup> which gathered together the major authorities – administrative, legislative, judicial and military – in one body. A total monopoly was rigorously enforced to manage the economy which was accompanied by a culture of corruption in the new colonial system. It brought Taiwan to the very brink of disaster. Taiwanese society was in upheaval and feelings exploded on February 28, 1947, in

---

<sup>21</sup> 『台灣行政長官公署』, “Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office”.

the “228 (Er er ba) Incident”, in which violence spread from northern to central and southern Taiwan (Wu 2005f:50ff).<sup>22</sup>

The KMT Government, which had relocated to Taiwan, had fallen under the corruption and the incompetence of its officials after the communist takeover of China in 1949. On May 20, 1949, the KMT declared martial law, and Chiang Kai-shek became president in 1950. Taiwan remained under martial law until 1987. Under martial law, the KMT controlled all political thought and propaganda within the military, and conscripted students into the “Anti-Communist Youth Corps”, the “Jiuguo Tuan”, to instil military discipline into the youth. The “National Security Agency” jailed and shot countless people from 1950-1960 on the pretext that they were communist spies. This was the peak of the so-called “White Terror” period.<sup>23</sup> “Temporary Provisions Effective during the Period of Communist Rebellion” supported Chiang Kai-shek continuously as president until his death in 1975.<sup>24</sup> However, the “228 Incident” was a key injury in the eyes of the Taiwanese people:

The 228 Incident not only destroyed Taiwanese families by death and tragedy, but also had a huge influence on the future politics and society of Taiwan. On the one hand, the character of the Taiwanese people was severely distorted: in the past they had been colonized by foreign rule, but now they were even more abased and humiliated than before, and began to exhibit slave-like tendencies, seeking only their own safety and protection, and not daring to defy the rulers. On the other hand, the people of Taiwan were terrified of, disheartened by, and disappointed in, politics. This fear and lethargy towards politics helped the KMT's one-party dictatorship, but not the development of democratic, constitutional government. Furthermore, Taiwanese society was now devoid of people of leadership calibre, which was convenient for KMT politics. Many of the surviving members of the social elite were unwilling to get involved in politics again, the constitution of local politics changed, the bad chased out the good, and corrupt local gentry and criminal elements along with local politicians

---

<sup>22</sup> See Wu Mi-cha, *The Post-World War II Era (I): In the Realm of the Strongmen*, A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol.9 (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> TYCM tribal people Gao Yi-sheng, Tang Shou-ren, and Lin Rui-chang were shot for organizing the movement for “the autonomy of the indigenous people”, in 1954. “Countless people were jailed and shot during the 1950s and 1960s for allegedly spying for the communists (KMT). This was the peak of the so-called “White Terror” period” (Wu 2005f:93).

<sup>24</sup> That is the “動員戡亂時期臨時條款”, “the Period of Mobilization for Suppressing Communist Rebellion”, see Wu, 2005f:86-123.

gradually began to dominate the local political world. The seeds of Taiwan's "black gold" politics were sown in the aftermath of the 228 Incident.<sup>25</sup>

Under KMT control, the TYCM had their schools converted into Chinese national schools, and their Japanese names changed to Chinese names. There were 162 TYCM villages and thirty districts" (xiang), defined in the "Taiwan Province: Mountain Region: Local Autonomy Organization Rules" in order to effect the "Taiwan Province: Martial Law Governing Access to Mountain Areas". This process continued the terror experienced under Japan colonization in that it simply developed the means of separating the TYCM tribal people and the plains people in 1951. The Legislative Yuan passed the Protection and Assimilation of Aboriginal Peoples Edict in 1962, which reinforced the education and assimilation of the TYCM, mandating the use of Mandarin, and strictly forbidding Christian Churches from preaching and utilizing the mother language and the Japanese language (Isqaqavut 2002).

#### **1.1.5. Democratic Rights Movement (1987-)**

Democratization began in 1986 with the creation of the first opposition party. Josiane Cauquelin states that it was the Democratic Progressive Party. This process continued in 1987 with the lifting of martial law, followed by constitutional reforms in 1990, 1991, and 1994 with the restitution of state institutions within the borders of the island, the ensuring of the electoral representation of the population in national assemblies, and the election of the president by universal suffrage (Cauquelin 2004).

The P.R.O.C. (People's Republic of China) occupied the United Nations' seat vacated by Taiwan. On October 25, 1971, Taiwan withdrew its representative delegation from the United Nations. At that time, the KMT Government could have manoeuvred to retain Taiwan's membership under a different name similar to that of the "Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan)". Then U.S.A. President, Jimmy Carter, announced that formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan had been terminated and that formal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China would be established. One country after another then severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan (ROC). Virtually overnight, Taiwan became a diplomatic pariah. The "Taipei Economic and Cultural Office" and "American Institute in Taiwan" were set up to maintain a link between Taiwan and the

---

<sup>25</sup> Lee Hsiao-feng, "The 228 Incident", 2001. <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010228.htm> .

U.S.A, which also passed the “Taiwan Relations Act”<sup>26</sup> to continue selling weapons to Taiwan after ties were severed (Wu 2005g:44).<sup>27</sup> The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded on September 28, 1986. On July 15, 1987, the KMT government lifted Martial Law and passed the “Law on Assembly and Parades” to end the ban on forming political parties. The next year, newspapers were permitted to publish. In Taiwanese society declarations, demonstrations, protests, rallies, sit-ins and hunger strikes unfolded everywhere. The Taiwanese people elected directly the first president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui on March 23, 1996. It was the first time that a Taiwanese person had won that seat. The first peaceful change brought about by the ruling party, the DPP, occurred when Chen Shui-bian was elected president on March 20, 2000 (Wu 2005g:130ff).

Tai Pao-tsun summarizes the developments during this new time as follows:

In 1949, the government of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan and proceeded to govern it, bringing over 1.5 million people from every province in China, mainly from the professional population (i.e. military, civil service or teaching professions). This later wave of immigrants, known as "Waisheng Ren," literally, "people from out of province,"<sup>28</sup> have had a very deep influence on politics and society in modern-day Taiwan. The "Waisheng Ren" and the "Bensheng Ren" (literally, "people from this province"<sup>29</sup>) had very different languages, lifestyles, customs and political and social activities. Bensheng Ren often call themselves "yams," and use the name "taro" for the Waisheng Ren. Now, after several decades of social interaction, it's no exaggeration to say that Taiwan has countless numbers of "yam-taros" born to Bensheng Ren and Waisheng Ren parents. As a result, Taiwan society has developed the special characteristics of an immigrant society, with its multiculturalism and constant interaction between ethnic groups.<sup>30</sup>

While according to Tai's view the positive characteristics of an immigrant society

---

<sup>26</sup> “台灣關係法”，“Taiwan Relations Act”.

<sup>27</sup> See Wu Mi-cha, *The Post World War II Era (II): Reform and Openness*, A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol.10 (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> They are also known as the “people from out of Taiwan”, and they speak different dialects too.

<sup>29</sup> Sometimes the term “Bensheng Ren” does not include the TYCM.. TYCM tribal people were called “Shandi Ren” (“mountain people”).

<sup>30</sup> Tai Pao-tsun, “*The Mirror and the Window of Taiwan History*”, in <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010305.htm>

include multiculturalism and relationships between various ethnic groups, this is not a view originating from TYCM tribal people. This understanding is from the Han people's chauvinistic outlook. Waisheng Ren and Bensheng Ren (including Hakka Ren) are Han people who have seemingly taken over the social and cultural horizons from TYCM tribal people. At that time, TYCM tribal people were called "mountain people" ("Shandi Ren" or "Phang na"). Li Yung-chi, expresses the experience of TYCM tribal people thus:

The position of the TYCM is that of a people sharing a common suffering, expressing their solidarity through it, and still struggling hopefully in pursuit of democratic freedom for future generations. (Li 2004;66)

We can see from the above survey that, throughout the four hundred years of history of colonial Taiwan, we were colonized and culturally suppressed, that our land was appropriated and our way of life distorted by different rulers. We, the native Taiwanese, were unable to truly face our own history and learn what it means to be Taiwanese. The name "Taiwanese" has been given to the Dutch, the Spaniards, the people of Ming, the Ching, the people of Japan, and the Chinese, all of whom never really acted as true Taiwanese. Our emerging identity, which takes root in a strong national consciousness, has become stronger and stronger, following the transformation of the political party in 1996 and the election of Taiwan's first president in 2000, in order for the future destiny of Taiwan to be determined by the will of all Taiwanese (Wu 2005g:159). Chen Shui-bian, puts this succinctly:

Although we came from different places, and although there were once differences between the Hoklos, the Hakkas, the indigenous peoples and more recently arrived residents, we are now all merged in the Taiwan Spirit, sharing both our fortunes and mishaps (Chen 2000:25).

Such is the "Taiwan spirit" from the perspective of Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian, or as seen by former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui who talked of the "new Taiwanese" and saw this spirit as a bond that welds TYCM tribal people into a unified whole (Lee 1999:193). However, the social condition of the TYCM is generally far worse than that of the outside settlers. TYCM tribal people began to understand what is behind the ideology of "ethnicity" ("Tue", 族群) during the period of this identity movement in Taiwan. The "TYCM Tribal People's Movement" originated in order to draw one "people" together from the different tribes of the TYCM. The next step was

the “Pan-ethnicity Movement” for all TYCM tribal people in Taiwan.

## 1.2. TYCM Tribal People’s Identity Movement

The TYCM tribal people have become a part of the many ethnicities represented today that account for less than 2% of the total population in Taiwan, as a result of the past 400 years under foreign regimes such as Holland, Spain, Cheng, Ching, Japan, and the Chinese KMT from the mainland. While they survived each of these various historical colonial phases, their different lands were taken from them, yet they continued to pass on the values which contributed to their way of life. However, TYCM tribal people not only lost huge tracts of their ancestral lands but have also now become used to various types of racist names which seem to identify them negatively with the soil or the land, “Fan” (“番”, uncivilized), “Yefan” (“野番”, uncultured savages), “Shengfan” (“生番”, disobedient savages), “Shufan” (“熟番”, obedient savages), “Huafan” (“化番”, transformed savages), “Kousazoku” (“高砂族”, mountain tribes),<sup>31</sup> and “Shandi Ren” (“山地人”, mountain people), or “Shanbaw” (“山胞”, mountain compatriot). Through the use of these derogatory terms, different groups have initiated all kinds of discrimination against TYCM tribal people (Baser 1999a).<sup>32</sup> Those who have come from different cultures, have held out civilization as a generous offer. The stigmatization by the colonial regimes was used to injure TYCM tribal people’s hearts. But by drawing from oral traditional (unwritten) history handed down from generation to generation, TYCM tribal people believe firmly that their own ancestors lived in Taiwan from the beginning. So we say, “We are Yuanchumin, We are *Taiwan* Yuanchumin!” (我們是原住民! 我們是台灣原住民!), replacing all the government terms with “Yuanchumin”. This was the name given to the tribal people in Taiwan after they established the “Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA)” (台灣原住民權利促進會) in 1984 and brought the issue into the open through the “TYCM Tribal Identity Movement” (Baser 1999b).

The former president of the ATA, Icyang Parod, in “the Handbook of the Name

---

<sup>31</sup> Watan Baser suggests that it declared the “half civilized” to have new lives as TYCM tribal people under the Japan colonial system, and that it was a successful model for the tribes and for the process of assimilating TYCM tribal people, making them Japanese subjects, as their means of controlling the colonized Taiwan. Watan Baser (Sediq Tribe), “Aboriginal Images Lost”, Xu Jie-lin, ed., *International Symposium on Aboriginal Rights of Indigenous People: Where are the Rights of Taiwan Indigeneous People (Chinese)* (Taipei : College of Law, National Taiwan University, 1999), 224-241.

<sup>32</sup> Watan Baser (Sediq Tribe), “Myth of the Images of Aborigines”. This paper was presented at the June 1999, *International Aboriginal Rights Conference in Taipei*. From: <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/watan.html>.

Rectification Movement” (台灣原住民正名運動手冊), insisted on the discontinuation of the use of the term “Shanbaw” for TYCM tribal people, because “Shanbaw” (1) adopted a totally Japan’s colonial model, denying their ethnicity, cultural symbols and national position, (2) was a policy of national assimilation stemming from Han chauvinism, (3) polarized TYCM tribal people, and (4) became a discriminatory title against their struggle. To rectify this, the appellation of “Yuanchumin” became the title for the TYCM tribal people, because (1) all our oral traditions point to our ancestors living in Taiwan originally, (2) historically, before outside people and regimes entered Taiwan, the TYCM tribal people existed here, and (3) it was an act of self-determination by tribal vote to choose the term “Yuanchumin” (Parod 1993:187-189). Moreover, Watan Baser expresses most clearly the meaning of “Yuanchumin”, claiming that it was not only a term used as a means to repossess the indigenous identity, but also to reconstruct the tribal position, and to declare the ethnic autonomy and the sovereignty of TYCM tribal people (Baser 2000:2). In identifying the roots of the initiation of this movement, Hsieh Shih-chung distinguishes between the internal and external factors, stating that:

The external factors include (1) the conventional synthetic terms: “Fan” (番), “Huan” (蕃), “Gaoshazu” (高砂族), or “Gaoshanzu” (高山族), and (2) the ideology of aboriginal administration. The internal factors include:

- a) the common historical experiences,
- b) the similar cultural background,
- c) crises of the ethnic groups, and
- d) a new prevailing of thought within aboriginal intellectuals

(Hsieh 1987:139).

The “TYCM Tribal Identity Movement” is a “Pan-Taiwan Aboriginal Movement” and involves the participation of the different TYCM tribes in Taiwan. So it is an “aboriginal” movement, and through this a new common ethnicity consciousness was formed for the TYCM (Hsieh 1987:61-63).

Cai Zhong-han (Amis tribe) suggests that the progress of the movement was, in three steps, a period of inspiration, resistance in the streets, and then a moving along the parliamentary route (Cai 1998). But Wang Ming-hui (Tso tribe) knows only of the period from 1983-1995 for the ATA movement, and the period after the 1990 transition from tribalism to nationalism (Wang 2001). I agree with Iwan Nawi (Sediq

tribe) who argues for four phases, firstly, from 1983-1986, considered to be the period of the inspiration of human consciousness; secondly, from 1987-1990, the beginning of the true TYCM tribal people's movement; thirdly, from 1991-1996, the heightened conflict of the movement; and finally, from 1987-2001, when the movement becomes weaker (Iwan 2004:50-87). The views of Nawi have much in common with those of Cai and Wang, but her classification expresses the whole of the movement of TYCM tribal people so far, as follows.

### **1.2.1 Inspiration for Ethnic Rights and Consciousness (1983-1986)**

The inspiration for this movement towards raising ethnic rights and TYCM tribal ethnicity consciousness developed from 1983-1986. In 1983, “高山青”(Gaoshanqing) was the first publication by TYCM tribal people, which stimulated a rise in ethnicity consciousness and the call to be a united body. The next year, in 1984, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA, 台灣原住民權利促進會) was founded by a group of different tribes, of missionaries, and of the Han people, to face the danger of racial extermination and the suffering of TYCM tribal people due to social discrimination, economic exploitation, political oppression and cultural negligence, which had inflicted unequal treatment on TYCM tribal people for a long time. The TYCM tribal identity movement strove for an equal position for TYCM tribal people's rights in economical, politic, social, educational, and other positions in Taiwanese society (Baser 1999a).

The “village incident” and various social issues were the main characteristics of the movement during this period. For example, the Name Rectification Movement (December 1984) demonstrated the need for the public to decide who the TYCM tribal people in Taiwan were, and insisted they be called “Yuanchumin” in official documents and in general usage instead of “mountain people”. The “Anti-Wu Feng Myth” (August 1985) called on the Department of Education to delete the Wu Feng myth, a mythical hero invented by the Han people to distort the stigmatized identity of the TYCM.

The story promulgated by the Chinese was that a certain prosperous merchant Wu Feng, who dealt with the Tsou and Bunun tribes, had a deep concern for the welfare of these people. He became a benefactor to them, teaching them agricultural methods, instructing them in weaving and other crafts, introducing them to the use of herbal medicines, sometimes even acting as an arbitrator in tribal disputes, etc. But he was

grieved by their persistence in headhunting, and managed at last to extract a promise from them that they should take one more head, and thereafter abandon the barbaric practice forever. When the Tsou tribesmen went out on the day appointed the man who walked into their trap was the disguised Wu Feng, whom they killed and beheaded. He had sacrificed himself in order to get them to adopt civilised ways. Filled with remorse that they had killed their benefactor, the Tsou thereupon resolved to give up headhunting. (There may actually have been an Wu Feng sometime in the eighteenth century, but grave doubts have been cast on the tale in modern times.)

The “village incident” was a key catalyst, sparked off when the ancestral graves of the Bunun tribe, the Tonpu, were excavated by government officials for the purpose of expanding economic development. This event brought all the Bunun tribes out of their villages together to protect their ancestral graves (Baser 2000).

In this period, new social issues begin to emerge within the context of the experience of TYCM tribal people. For example, TYCM women were prostituted by the sex trafficking industry, and the forced change of surnames to Chinese resulted in the tragedy of incest, which TYCM tribal people sought to avoid by using their tribal names. In the “Tang Yin-shen Event”, a youth from the Tso tribe, who was maltreated and exploited by his employer under prolonged hard labour in the city, killed the employer. This highlighted the more general need to alleviate the sufferings of the lower stratum, experienced by the TYCM in this society since the time of the colonial regime.<sup>33</sup>

The awareness created by the struggle for human rights of the TYCM caused incidents of violence against them during this time. This social violence within the tribal villages of the TYCM was not only individual cases of anti-ethnic physical violence, but also the violence of political marginalization of the TYCM who had lived under the control of the mainstream society and assimilation policies of the KMT government. However, from the time of 1987, after the DPP party was established, the TYCM tribal movement entered into a period of resistance.

---

<sup>33</sup> The “Tang Ying-shen Case” was unable to circumvent the law, but rather exposed the injustice within society to the mercy of the law. He had been a victim of the conflict between “legal justice and social injustice”...it seems we are intentionally silent to social injustice, and conceive of the existence of a backward legal system and a morbid social situation. It will cause still more cases like that of Tang Ying-shen, when people become victims of the social system, and it provides an example of the high price that might in future be paid for being “indigenous” in Taiwanese society. Watan Baser, “See the Case of ‘Tang Ying-shen’ under Thinking ‘Social Problem’”, in *Indigenous People*, vol. 7, (2000). Quote from <http://web.my8d.net/m5a07/volem007/nowadays2.htm>.

### **1.2.2. Initial Stage of the Movement (1987-1990)**

During this period martial law ended, and following this there was a period in which control of the newspapers and publications was relaxed. 1987 began a stage of change in dealing with the KMT government to help advance the cause of human rights in the realm of the political, social, cultural, and educational affairs of the TYCM. This was the first time that there was a successful mobilization of the TYCM, who emerged from their different tribal villages to participate on three occasions in the “Return our Land” rallies, on August 25, 1988, September 27, 1989, and January 23, 1993. This movement continued to raise TYCM tribal social issues in the “Save the Young TYCM Women from Prostitution” march in January 1988, pushing the KMT government to deal with the issues of the unequal economic status experienced by TYCM society and to address the violation of the human rights of many young TYCM tribal women who were sold to the city as prostitutes (Palalavi 2008).

In the “Restoration of Tribal Names Movement”, the TYCM objected to their assimilation to the cultural values of the Chinese, who had attempted to destroy the traditional nomenclature of TYCM tribal peoples. TYCM tribal names do not use a last name, in that their name system is very different from that of the Chinese (Parod 2005). For example, in my Sediq tribal name, Walis Ukan, “Walis” is my first name, but “Ukan” is my father’s name. It is not a family name. In the same way, my father’s name is Ukan Pawan. “Ukan” is my father’s name, and “Pawan” is my grandfather’s name. The KMT government had to apologize to the TYCM for forcing them to change their tribal names into Chinese names, thereby causing the TYCM tribal people to intermarry and to commit incest unwittingly. The TYCM began to demand that their tribal names be used in public affairs, a practice which was initiated in 1986 in the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) (Parod 2005:9).

The Tao (or Yami) tribe argued that they had suffered racial discrimination and had benefitted little from Taiwan's rapid economic growth in the past. One major tribal grievance was the government's storage of nuclear waste on their homeland at Orchid Island (蘭嶼 (“Lanyu”), just off southeastern Taiwan. They developed several local campaigns in February and April 1988, and May 1993 to protest for their land rights, which had been destroyed by the dumping of the wastes from the nuclear power plants for several years. Exposed to the life threatening chemicals of this nuclear waste for a long time, the natural beauty of the island was destroyed and this became a painful reminder of the people’s suffering in the hearts of the Tao tribe. This

problem has not yet been resolved. The government ignored the living rights of the TYCM in Lan-yu, and began to dump nuclear waste on their land 10 years ago. This is still an ongoing battle. We have developed several local campaigns in protest, and have also sought to address the concerns of the TYCM at the international level (Cahpmumu 1993).<sup>34</sup>

The ancestral lands of the TYCM have been occupied by the Japanese and have been exploited by KMT colonial political policy for at least 50 years. In the “Return our Land Movement”, 「還我土地運動」 (“Huanwo Tuti Yundong”),<sup>35</sup> the TYCM fought to protect their rights to their ancestral lands through campaigns against work, and in marches and before parliament in August 1988 and in September 1989, seeking protection for TYCM tribal traditional customs and government laws. As Duoao Yucihay states:

On August 25 1988, more than two thousand TYCM tribal people from different tribes broke down the ethnic and social barriers between each tribe to contribute to the Return our Land Movement. It is a milestone in the land loss experience of the TYCM, for with a common background they now combined into one united group. The two thousand TYCM tribal people (i.e. one in every 175 of the whole 360,000 population) participated in the movement. Such a high percentage shows the strength of the protest. The movement not only reveals the serious problem of the land, but has provided an opportunity for the tribes to merge in a common cause (Yucihay 1997:165-166).

As indicated, the Churches, too, played a role. The TYCM tribal Churches of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) issued a pronouncement from the General Assembly calling upon all Christians to be concerned about and to participate in the movement. The PCT TYCM tribal Church’s support for the creation of the TYCM tribal land rights movement was the most important basis for many of these campaigns.

---

<sup>34</sup> Panu Cahpmumu (Sao tribe), “Report of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations”, report of *the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines in the World Conference on Human Rights*, Vienna, 14-25 June, 1993. <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/ata.htm>.

<sup>35</sup> Most land in the mountainous areas of Taiwan is controlled by the Forestry Department or other state legal agencies. Less than 250,000 hectares are considered to be "Mountain Reserve Land" (“山地保留地”, “Shandi Baoliudi”). This was instigated during the period of Japanese colonialism and continued by the KMT government; it was an arrangement by which aboriginal people have usufruct but not freehold rights.

### **1.2.3. Supreme Period of Conflict (1991-1996)**

The subject of the rights movement during this period promoted a concrete discussion of “the civil rights of TYCM tribal people” through legalization. In 1987, Hong Zhen-hui states that the TYCM tribal Presbyterian Churches declared that the basic responsibility of the Church was to restore the autonomy and the dignity of TYCM tribal people, and to uphold their legal guarantees for legitimate rights (Hong 1991). During this period the TYCM tribal Presbyterian Church was one organized group which participated in the fight to right the wrongs suffered by the tribal people.

This time is a period of intense struggle for the movement, and the focus of resistance tended to be on a range of different issues of public concern regarding the TYCM. In several areas of conflict it was strongly urged that the government should establish a “Committee of Indigenous People” (“Taiwan Yuanchumin Weiyuanhui”). For example, it would serve to strengthen the capacity to protest against the policy known as “Enlisting and Training of TYCM Police Volunteers”, which required TYCM young men to work for the “voluntary” police service in the mountain area, even under compulsion. The TYCM tribal people took action to resist this enlistment, which sprang up in different areas, extending all over the country. Also the movement against the establishment of state parks on the TYCM’s lands claimed their right to develop their own lands and further their own cultures without the intervention of the state (Cahpmumu 1993).

As part of their insistence on self-determination and autonomy, the TYCM proposed their own participation in December 1992 in the drafting of a new constitution, “Taiwan Xinxian Yuan-chu-ming Zizhi Tiaoli Xuanyan”, within which TYCM tribal people demanded equal rights. The next year, they proceeded to urge “anti-discrimination”, and to present President Lee Deng-hui with a “Republic of China Declaration”, to exhibit the value of the Tribal Movement at the United Nations, and to draw the world’s attention to the TYCM’s claim for equal rights in the Constitution. In 1994 there was still more work to do to establish the “Yuan-chu-ming Constitution Movement Association”, (“Yuen-chu-ming Xianfa Yundong Lianmeng”). This would address the issues of name rectification, land, autonomy, and the abolition of the compartmentalisation of TYCM tribal people into the two groups “Mountain Compatriots” and “Plains Compatriots”; and it would announce the creation of the Association for the National Community Rights of TYCM tribal people (Parod 2005).

In 1995 the KMT government was not above arresting and sentencing some leaders in the TYCM tribal movement to intimidate those who continued the resistance across the country. But they could not stop the movement from gaining strength. Instead, state suppression encouraged the TYCM to continue their struggle until the government decided to grant them their human rights. A conflict about different issues operated continuously in every region. In 1991, the TYCM tribal Presbyterian Church put forward a proposal that the government should allow those with tribal names to use Roman letters in their writing to record information in the official census register and on identification cards in order to safeguard the TYCM dignity in the future. On December 12, the ATA, the Indigenous People's Mission Committee, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT), along with Ye Ju-lan, of the Legislative Yuan, demanded that the government ensure human rights for and the autonomy of the TYCM in a public hearing on the new Taiwanese constitution and TYCM tribal people. The next year, the Taiwan Association for Human Rights, the ATA, and the PCT performed a song which called for restoring the TYCM tribal people's "Honorable Name" ("Let us Sing of Our Indigenous People's Name"). More than three thousand TYCM tribal people paraded for "The Right to Rectification of Names, Land, and Autonomy in the Constitution" called for by the PCT TYCM tribal Church. The PCT encouraged TYCM Christians to participate in the movement to act for human rights. It was a great contribution of the Christian Church in inspiring the human rights movement of the TYCM tribal people, and showed the Church's identification with the deep suffering of the TYCM in their time of struggle.<sup>36</sup>

#### **1.2.4. Parliament and the Congress Routes (1997-)**

Gradually, the TYCM tribal identity movement weakened, largely through the fact that their form of resistance had already shifted to the route of going through Parliament or the Congress. After Taiwan's democracy movement, and the first-ever popular election of a president with Lee Teng-hui's inauguration as president on May 1996, and on May 20, 2000, four years later, with Chen Shuei-bian's inauguration as Taiwan's first-ever non-KMT president by popular election, the debates around issues raised by the resistance movement of the TYCM entered the legislation and were discussed in Congress.

---

<sup>36</sup> The Presbyterian Church was the first indigenous group to promote the movement of the Rectification of the Names of TYCM tribal people. Mayaw Kumu, "The Process, Result, and Current Problems of the Rectification of Name", <http://www.realpangcah.net/movement/think/mayaw.html>. [http://welearning.taipei.gov.tw/modules/newbb/viewtopic.php?topic\\_id=12135](http://welearning.taipei.gov.tw/modules/newbb/viewtopic.php?topic_id=12135).

After ten years, the demands of the TYCM tribal movement through the ATA made since 1984 were responded to by the government by modifying the political system policies and by legalization. “Yuanchumin” was used in official documents and government institutions to designate the TYCM. There are currently fourteen TYCM persons who are members of government serving as legislators, who approve of diverse cultures and who maintain enthusiasm for, and develop, tribal languages and traditional cultures, protect national political positions and support the participation of TYCM tribal people in government.

The DPP were supportive of the democratic social movements in Taiwan, and also of the TYCM during this time. The first institution set up by the Indigenous Affairs Council was established by Chen Shui-bian who was mayor of Taipei. He also honoured the TYCM’s original settlement in the land that is now Taipei, using the name of the Ketagalan tribe to rename a major boulevard in front of the Presidential Building.<sup>37</sup> Chen Shui-bian signed a “New Partnership between Tribal Peoples and the Taiwan Government” on September 10, 1999, to recognize the TYCM’s natural rights, declaring that they were the original owners of Taiwan and that they have the right to a high level of autonomy. In 2000 the *DPP White Paper on Tribal People Rights* reiterated tribal people’s identity and protected their sovereignty, including rights to participation in policy-making, administration and politics, rights to subsistence and development, land rights, social welfare rights, education and cultural rights, and women’s rights (Simon 2005).<sup>38</sup> Legislators passed, unexpectedly, the *Indigenous Fundamental Law* in 2005, but its passage meant that the rights of TYCM tribal people would have to be discussed in the future. Shih Cheng-feng explains:

While some, for fear of discrimination, question the wisdom of resisting further assimilation, others, judging from the fact that non-indigenous peoples have only exploitation on their minds, believe that economic development and social welfare assured by the government are the only guarantee for progress. In their view, therefore, the abstract principle of self-determination and the remote goal of self-rule are nothing but futile illusions. On the extreme of the spectrum, few indigenous elites have claimed that only political

---

<sup>37</sup> Shih Cheng-feng “Indigenous People’s Rights” (Taipei: Tamkang University, 2005). <http://mail.tku.edu.tw/cfshih/politics%20observation/%E5%85%B6%E4%BB%96%E6%96%87%E7%A8%BF/20050115.htm>, last accessed March 12, 2005.

<sup>38</sup> Scott Simon, “Taiwan’s Indigenized Constitution: What Place for Aboriginal Formosa?”, 2005, [www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudiesfiles/EATS2005/panel6Simonabstract.pdf](http://www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudiesfiles/EATS2005/panel6Simonabstract.pdf), or we can see another document in <http://www.abianfamily.com/whitepaper/natives.htm>.

independence can lead to authentic salvation, even though no serious effort has been made to promote its materialization. As a result, self-government turns out to be a pragmatic compromise: while reserving their right for claiming independence, indigenous leaders would see how the government is willing to prevent indigenous governments from being empty shells (Shih 2006).<sup>39</sup>

It follows from what has been said that after 2005 the TYCM tribal movement shifted from colonization to liberation, from tribal village loyalty to nationalism, and from individual tribe to pan-TYCM tribal affairs of the TYCM. Although, judging by the relationship between the majority and the minority groups of the TYCM tribal people, Hsieh Shi-zhong supposes that the history of the TYCM has four stages: from that of being the only master (the term “master” indicates that the group identifies itself as superior), to being one of the masters, and from being conquered to being ready-to-disappear because of their ethnic position (Hsieh 1987a:14-25).<sup>40</sup>

So in conclusion we may say that from the time of their taking the parliamentary and congress routes, the TYCM tribal people, supported by their Christian faith which encouraged their pan-TYCM tribal movement, continue to identify and to demand their human rights in politics, culture, economics, education, and religion, at the national level.

### **1.3. TYCM Tribal People and Christianity**

Before the 1980s, tribal people were forced into a position of continued stigmatization and discrimination. There is fairly general agreement that the Christian Church and the DPP played key roles in inspiring the TYCM identity process mentioned above. Christianity was strongly supportive of the ideology which protected TYCM traditional culture, promoted self-autonomy and self-determination, and supported the return to the ancestral lands during the movement.

Michael Stainton makes a similar point about the role of the Christianity in the TYCM

---

<sup>39</sup> Shih Cheng-feng “Pursuing Indigenous Self-Government in Taiwan”, this Paper for the International Peace Research Association Biannual Conference “*Patterns of Conflict Paths to Peace*,” University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, June 29-July 3, 2006, <http://mail.tku.edu.tw/cfshih/default2.htm>.

<sup>40</sup> We also can read his paper from Xie Shi-zhong, “From Shanbao to Yuanzhumin: Taiwan Aborigines in Transition”. Murray A. Rubinstein ed., *In the Other Taiwan : 1945 to the Present* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), 404-419.

tribal movement when he argues that:

When the new Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) administration in Taiwan appointed Yohani Isqaqavut, a Presbyterian minister, to Chair of the Council on Aboriginal Affairs in May 2000, many wondered why the first non-KMT president of the Republic of China/Taiwan made such a choice. The relationship between Presbyterians and Aboriginal people in Taiwan is rarely examined beyond noting that most Aboriginal people are Christian, and that Presbyterians have been active in Taiwan's Aboriginal movements. The importance of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) in shaping Aboriginal politics in Taiwan has been much underestimated.<sup>41</sup>

In "*Historical Perspective of the Aboriginal Church: The Presbyterian Church and Its Impact on the Aboriginal Tribes*", Masegesegé Jingror states this viewpoint very plainly:

They (PCT) trained aboriginal clergy within the context of aboriginal culture who then go out to the communities, continuing to provide foundations for aboriginal education. These clergy, being of aboriginal descent, perpetuate important features of aboriginal culture in that they preach the gospel in the aboriginal language within the aboriginal social and cultural milieu (Jingror 2001:24).

Clearly we need to discuss the relationship which existed between the TYCM and the Christian faith more fully. We need to explore the experiences of TYCM tribal people with Christianity within each of the periods of the TYCM's struggle discussed above. Specifically, I will examine how Christianity became the mainstream religion in the TYCM villages. We will confine our attention to five layers of Christianity, which include colonial religion, alien religion, TYCM tribal religion, compassionate religion in the face of colonialism, and self-alienating religion.

### **1.3.1. A Colonial Religion**

---

<sup>41</sup> .Michael Stainton, "Presbyterians and the Aboriginal Revitalization Movement in Taiwan", *Issue* 26.2 (2002). In [http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/csq/csq\\_article.cfm?id](http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/csq/csq_article.cfm?id).

Christian missionaries from Europe first came to Taiwan with the Dutch Protestants who maintained a colony in southwestern Taiwan from 1624, and the Spanish Catholics who maintained a colony in northern Taiwan from 1626. The earliest European record of TYCM life details the encounter with tribes in Taiwan. However, while the Dutch and Spanish made converts of the Pinpu tribes in the plains, and also TYCM tribal people, including the Babuza, Popora, Hoanya, Siraya, Taokas and Pazeh tribes, etc., they had little influence or long lasting effect on the mountain tribes.<sup>42</sup>

The Rev. Georgius Candiduis and Robertus Junius constructed schools and Churches, both learning the local language, and teaching the Dutch language to the Pinpu tribes with the Roman alphabet being used for reading, writing, and translating the Bible into the tribal language. Sinkang Manuscripts (Xingang Wenshu) is the only documentary evidence we have of their methods of language instruction at that time.

In this connection, Blusse reveals that the missionaries were not only engaged in mission, but also served as colonial government officials or as employees of the Companies (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Dutch East India Company) serving as administrators, judges, tax bureau officers, and instructors (Blusse 1984:156;<sup>43</sup> Lin 1995). The missionaries made use of the structures put in place to organize the economy and the strength of the company to help them “expand” the Church. Meanwhile, the company utilized missionaries, who now knew TYCM tribal languages and customs, to implement Dutch government decrees and territorial expansion. Lin Chang-hua quotes Blusee’s observation that the missionaries often went further, inducing the colonial government to help them extend their missions’ territorial control in different tribal villages in the rural areas. To enlarge these mission areas they needed the support of the process by which the colonial power sought to expand its political influence. Through the Church mission, Lin Chang-hua argues, missionaries were key players in stimulating the Company to further appropriate the territory of TYCM tribal people for the colonial powers (Lin 1995).<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Even now the Pinpu tribes have not been recognised by the government as TYCM.

<sup>43</sup> Leonard Blusse, “Dutch Protestant Missionaries as protagonists of the territorial Expansion of VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie) on Formosa”, in Dick Kooiman, Otto van den Muizenberg and Peter van der Veer eds., *Conversion, Competition and Conflict, essays on the Role of Religion in Asia* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1984), 155-184.

<sup>44</sup> Lin Chang-hua, “Mission in the Colonial Context”(Chinese)”, in Pan Ying-hai and Zhan Su-juan eds., *Pingpu Research Papers* (1995). We can see the full paper in <http://www.sinica.edu.tw:8900/~pingpu/education/Essay/essay1995b/nLTW/nLTW.htm>. We also can see Wu Mi-cha 2005h.

Opinions diverge on this point and the actual experience of the TYCM tribal people remains to be proven. From the perspective of Yang Bi-chuan, we capture a glimpse of their historical colonial reality:

... with a gun in one hand they subjugated the people; with the Holy Bible in the other they instructed them – a familiar technique of modern imperialism. The purpose of educating them was to keep them peaceable and make them, like sheep, ever more docile. The Dutch missionaries had denounced the TYCM traditional religion; in 1637 they burned all the idols in the four largest TYCM villages, and compelled four other villages to send representatives to take vows embracing the Christian faith. They banished 298 women witches from their villages, of whom 250 starved to death in the wilderness; the remaining 48 were allowed back home on renouncing their traditional beliefs and undergoing baptism (Yang 1987a:19-20).

Similarly, when the Catholic missionaries colonized the northern part of Taiwan, Shi Shi-ming tells us, the Spaniards dispatched troops, burned the villages of seven Pinpu tribes and sent Dominican missionaries to other villages, where they began by curing the local tribes' malaria and smallpox with western medical science. They then worked to spread Catholicism. They compiled dictionaries and doctrinal books in the local languages, and then set up a shrine to the Blessed Virgin Mary in order that the tribal people could perform Catholic ceremonies. However, because the Catholic faith conflicted with the tribal customs and taboos, the mission eventually came to naught (Shi 1980:83-84).

Even though both the Dutch and the Spanish brought Protestant and Catholic missionaries who established schools, introduced western medicine, and learned and taught tribal languages, Yang Bi-chuan argues that Christianity as a colonial religion effectively destroyed the villages, with the tribes only “accepting” Christianity because it was a component of colonial enforced policy. The missionary-colonial policy was “to civilize” “the savage”, and in so doing they eliminated the culture and the religious identities of the TYCM. They exploited and preyed upon the resources of the oppressed to gain capital for their empire, and as a result the practice of Christianity began to disappear in TYCM villages (Yang 1987a).

Although the colonial religions brought by Dutch and Spanish missionaries attempted in some ways to bring their culture and politics closer to TYCM tribal people, through

use of and the study of the tribal language and culture, their aim was not at all to restore TYCM tribal traditional religion and culture, but to destroy them. Though the imperial power consolidated its colonial religions, promoting the colonial policy of expansion through military strength, and succeeding with the Pinpu tribes, it was not able to control the tribes of TYCM in the mountains. Thus, in Taiwan, unlike in most other colonies established by European powers, the colonial religions did not consolidate the dominance of the colonizer. The establishment of the Cheng state led directly to the end of the Dutch colony and the western christianization of Taiwan, and it was to be two hundred years before a new Christianity came to Taiwan.

From 1662 to 1865, after the Cheng, the Dutch, the Spanish and the Cheng had left, Christianity disappeared in the TYCM villages, especially among the tribal peoples in the Pinpu tribes in the plains region.<sup>45</sup> Yohani Isqaqavut (Punun tribe) claims that there are a number of reasons why Christianity disappeared at this time: (1) The colonizers were seen as great powers with a “shotgun” mission. “The right-hand holds a firearm, the left-hand holds a Bible” this was the TYCM’s early experience of the empire-building machine” (Isqaqavut 1998:54). Though this methodology was successful in establishing a mission, the bloody and cruel suppression by the colonial ruler only forced the TYCM tribal people to obey externally, as they continued to hold on to a deep-rooted resentment in their hearts. Thus, Christianity was abandoned and disappeared when the colonist left. (2) Both Church missionaries and political officials inserted their personal agendas along with colonial politics. (3) Missionaries and Churches conflicted with the social culture, the customs, and the taboos of TYCM tribal people, who were offended by the missionary-colonial antipathy and hostility towards their tribal life. (4) Church missionaries replaced the role of the chieftain, the witch-doctor or shaman, and the tribal elders, in the traditional organization of TYCM tribal societies. (5) They did not teach TYCM tribal Christians the importance of self-rule and self-support; therefore, there were no locally trained ministers who could succeed the missionaries. (6) The Cheng and the Ching empires introduced the TYCM tribal people to the Han Chinese people’s folk religion in order to exclude and to put an end to Christian practices (Isqaqavut 1998:53-57). During this period, then, the version of Christianity imported from the Netherlands and Spain was considered to be a colonial religion, which died out in TYCM villages in the plains region among the Pinpu tribes. Furthermore, when the European colonialists left, Dutch and Spanish forms of Christianity had not had any real influence on the vast majority TYCM tribal

---

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the history of the Presbyterian Church, especially within the Pinpu tribe, see Xu, Qian-xin, “The History of Taiwan Island and Christianity-Prior to this 100 Year History of the Prebyterian Church in Taiwan” (Chinese), *The Century History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan* (Tainan: Taiwan Church News, 1965).

people who inhabited the mountains.

### **1.3.2. A Foreign Religion**

Christianity as a foreign religion played a second role in TYCM tribal villages in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, with the arrival of Catholic missionaries in 1859, followed by the arrival of the Presbyterian missionary, Dr. James L. Maxwell, from England in 1865, and Rev. Dr. Thomas Barclay from Canada in 1872 (Kennedy 2001). Christianity was, then, “a foreign religion” to TYCM tribal people in their tribal villages (Isqaqavut 1998:548-550). This was a time when the TYCM, in general (see above), had not accepted Christianity, which had until that period been refused the right to enter the tribal villages during Japanese colonial rule. The TYCM had not yet accepted Christianity, though some missionaries and priests had had some previous contact with TYCM tribal people. However, because they were not accustomed to the ways of the tribal people, and could not preach in their mother-tongue, this was yet another experience for the TYCM of Christianity as a foreign religion.

This second wave of Church mission had little success, as missionaries had been forbidden to enter the mountain regions and TYCM villages during the time of Japanese colonial rule. The PCT, for example, planned to develop a mission to minister to TYCM tribal people in 1911, but was not allowed to do so by the ruling power. One missionary, Rev. Inosuke Inoue, from Japan, went to the Xinzhu mountain region for six years, providing medical treatment for TYCM villages in Taichung. However, he was not allowed to preach publicly, and was eventually repatriated to Japan. In the Amis tribe, Aintiw, an Amis woman, was the first TYCM tribal member to convert to Christianity in 1916. In 1928, Lamien Talakon, another Amis tribe member, was converted to Christianity by Rev. Luo Xian-chun, but she had not been successful in inducing others from her village to follow her example. Wu Ming-yi sums up the general situation when he says that N. P. Yates went to the Amis, the Rukay, and the Pinuyumani tribes for thirty years, but the result was the same, there were no new conversions (Wu 1998:95).

There are many other examples which follow a similar pattern. In 1942 Yamada and Okuyama, who were helping the Taroko and Bunun tribal people to prevent malaria in Taitung, secretly shared the gospel with the Bunun tribe in the evenings, but Suna Takistaulan states that it did not succeed because of the language differences. Abus, a Bunun woman who was their witch-doctor, shaman, medium was converted by

Okuyama, a Japanese health worker who preached the gospel, but she could not pass her faith on to her tribe because of the prohibition by the Japanese colonialists (Takistaulan 1998:327). Reverend Xu You-cai established a relationship with the Paiwan tribe in 1946. He was the principal of the local elementary school, and preached to the Paiwan tribe in his leisure time. Qui Ka-er states that while some people converted, the momentum was lost when Xu left to work at another school (Qui 1998:194). Luo Xian-chun was the first minister to visit the Tao tribe, first in 1948, then in 1951, and then again in 1952. Together with Rev. Harold Anderson, they preached through an interpreter, which was the first time the Jesus story was heard by the tribe (Chang & Wang 1998:403-405). Inosuke Inoue, James Dickson, Zhuang Chen-mao, and Chen Lan-ji successively entered the Taiyal villages and spread the good news, with a number of Taiyal people converting, but this did not cause the whole Taiyal tribe to convert (Tali 1998:263-315). From 1948 to 1951, Wen Chu-guang tells us, Chen Guang-hui and Hung Wu-dong went to the Tso tribe to preach (Wen 1998:393). The Episcopal minister, Rev. Yates, had gone to the Pinuyumani tribe in 1934. Yates sent Dalisen to Japan for biblical education for one year, with the plan that he would then return to help him. However, from all the above attempts to establish a strong mission in the tribal communities, there was little result (Zheng 1998: 426-427).

This second wave of contact with Christianity has been characterized by TYCM tribal Christians as “the Seeding period”. Zheng provides a number of arguments as to why there was little impact, in addressing the question: “Why did the Church mission with the Pinuyumani tribe fail?” (1) It was unable to uproot the ancestor worship which was already deep-rooted in the consciousness of the tribe; (2) the clanspeople were honoured by the Peynan King during the Ching Dynasty, which gave them a sense of ethnic superiority; and (3) the abolition of idols was held to be the worst form of rebellion and was considered disrespectful behaviour by the tribe (Zheng 1998: 427).

Reflecting on the above observations, I would claim that the root cause of the “failure” of this second wave of mission was linked to two additional important elements: Firstly, the colonizing policy of the Japanese was imposed rigorously and by force, whereby they pursued the assimilation of TYCM tribal people, requiring them to accept Japanese’ culture and religion. For this reason, the altar, symbolizing the Japanese Mikado religion, was set up at a checkpoint along every road leading to the tribal villages. At that time the local police station in the village kept strict control of the people’s activities, including the performance of traditional religious ceremonies. Secondly, in this colonial context, the ministers, about whom we have

talked above, came mostly from the outside, for instance, from the Han and other foreign people who did not belong to the tribes and who did not communicate in their mother-tongue. Therefore it was difficult for TYCM tribal people to accept these forms of Christianity, which were couched in other ethnic and colonial terms. We will discuss this further in the following sections, especially the cases of the conversions of the tribal peoples to Reformed, Catholic, and True Jesus Churches in the tribal villages.

### **1.3.3. The Tribal Religion**

In the year 1945, after the end of Japanese colonialism, the KMT Government opened up opportunities for the Christian missions in Taiwan, which marked the beginning of a new era for the TYCM. From 1945-1965 the Presbyterian Churches grew in TYCM villages. At the same time other denominations, for example, the Assembly of God, the Roman Catholics, the Free Methodists, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the True Jesus Church opened up mission work among different tribes. But Catholics and Presbyterians in all the tribal villages, and the True Jesus Church in the Amis and Sediq/Troko tribes, remain the three largest religious groups working with the TYCM. They made impressive headway in converting the mass of the TYCM and founding local Churches in the mountain areas. Christianity brought renewal and radical change to the aboriginal communities during this time.

Before 1945, Ciwang Iwal, a woman from the Taroko tribe, went to Bible School for one year at the Presbyterian Women's Bible School in Tamsui. Although she was persecuted, and some tribal people died under the brutal treatment of Japanese colonial suppression, her courageous conversion, her vision, and her faith, by which she taught the gospel secretly throughout her own tribe and among different surrounding tribes had a great impact on her people. Seeing her great sacrifice, her people, as well as men like Daway, Yodaw Watan, and Wilang Takux were converted. They succeeded in bringing many of their own people to the Christian faith. This made them unafraid to be threatened, to be beaten savagely by the Japanese police, or even to meet death. Rev. James Dickson reported that during the time of the Japanese persecution four thousand members of the Taroko tribe converted to Christianity (Dickson 1948). Two Taroko women, Kumu Lawsing and Tumun Awi, followed Ciwang Iwal's vision and went to Nantou, to the Sediq and the Tayal tribes to do missionary work and to establish the Presbyterian Church after the Japanese colonizers left. So the second wave discussed above did have some impact, but this

was only manifest in a significant way after the end of Japanese colonialism.

Olivier Lardinoir reveals some of the reasons why the Presbyterian Church mission developed speedily among TYCM tribal people:

The Presbyterian Church had a further two trump cards. Ciwang-Iwal, a strong indigenous woman of the Taroko tribe and the widow of a Chinese merchant, had trained at the Presbyterian Bible School in Danshui and had been engaged in secret missionary work in the villages of her tribe since 1930. Ciwang's missionary work was successful and, from 1945, several young people from her district, already trained, were available to work as volunteer missionaries among the indigenous people in other areas of the island. The second trump card was the brilliant idea of the Canadian Pastor, James Dickson, who in 1946 founded a school near Hualien solely for the training of tribal religious leaders. This theological college, Yu-shan Bible College,<sup>46</sup> even today is one of the main reasons for the success of the Presbyterian Church among the tribal people of Taiwan (Lardinoirs 2004:77).

John Shepherd, after studying the conversion experience of the Kemaran tribe, asserts that Christianity became the champion for the ideology of resistance against the Han people who had oppressed the TYCM (Shepherd 1995).<sup>47</sup> It was imperative that the identity of the TYCM was respected in the process of their acceptance of Christianity for it to become their own new tribal religion, especially when their people were now sending missionaries to share the gospel in their mother language, and they were building Churches to witness to their faith in their villages. In helping the tribal groups find a common expression of faith among and across the different tribes, Christianity prompted different tribes to develop an identity of a unifying ideology and ethnicity, which called TYCM tribal people to work among themselves in developing this newfound connection, through intermarriage and mutual intercommunion. In addition, this same faith identity stimulated the different tribes of the TYCM to unite and to establish a decolonial movement to face their common struggles.

---

<sup>46</sup> The name of the school was changed to "Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary". See [www.yushanth.tw](http://www.yushanth.tw).

<sup>47</sup> Chen Zhi-rong declares that Shepherd's reasons are unfounded. Chen Zhi-rong, "Kavalan Tribal People's Religious Change" (Chinese), 1995. <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/education/Essay/essay1995b/nCCJ/nCCJ.doc>. Chen himself has different views but Shepherd's point is supported more by tribal scholars (Baser 1999a; Isqaqavut 1998a; Tali 1998; Parod 2005).

In response to this development, Yu-Shan Bible School (now Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary) was founded on September 15, 1946, with the purpose to train ministers for the newly started aboriginal Churches. The Rev. Wen Yung-chun was the first Principal. In April 1957, the name of the school was changed to Yu-Shan Bible School, and in September of that year, the Rev. C. M. Kao was commissioned to be its Principal. Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary become a foundation for activating the pan-ethnic identity of the TYCM tribal people, and as an institutional resource to train local tribal Church leaders. This had an explosive influence on the TYCM in the tribal villages throughout Taiwan. It was called the “20th Century Mission Miracle” one result of which was an intake of 70% of Taiwan’s tribal peoples into Churches following the Second World War (Alexander 2005). This percentage varies in different TYCM tribes, from the Puyuma (26 %) and the Saisiat (25%) at the low end, to the Tao (91%), the Rukai (88%), the Bunun (86%), and Tayal/Taroko (84 %) at the high end. While the total populations across all population groups which have accepted Christianity, including Protestants and Catholics, and other small denominations, made up only 3% of the entire population, one-quarter of Taiwan’s Christians are TYCM tribal people.<sup>48</sup> The overall proportion of Christians did not change greatly among the populace at large, but the faith gained momentum when it became accepted by the TYCM and began to be practised in their own villages.

#### **1.3.4. A Religion of Coordination in the Face of Colonialism**

The Catholics and the Presbyterians were the largest religious communities which served the TYCM, followed by the True Jesus Church. Each of these three Churches had a different mission priority. The Catholics and the True Jesus Church had good relationships with the government, which distinguished between the religious and political sectors, and they did not interfere in political affairs. The Catholics, generally, emphasized respect for local tribal cultures and combined Catholic dogmas and ceremonies with the traditional cultures and symbols of the TYCM. This is one reason why many believers were attracted and converted to Catholicism in TYCM villages. The architectural design, for example, of the Catholic Churches could provide insight into the motives and the characteristics of the Catholic mission in its engagement with the traditional TYCM tribal cultures (Lardinois 2004). The True Jesus Church

---

<sup>48</sup> Michael Stainton, “Presbyterians and the Aboriginal Revitalization Movement in Taiwan”, *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 26/2 (2002). <http://209.200.101.189/publications/csq/csq-article.cfm?id=1556&highlight=Taiwan>.

emphasized their faith by communicating their dogma and performing its role as a conservative religious group ministering to TYCM tribal people, but it did not participate in or pay close attention to the interaction between politics, traditional culture and the Gospel itself, which set it apart as a different type of religious group within the TYCM tribal people.

The Presbyterian Church has had a leading role in the independence movement in Taiwan, including its support for the identity movement of TYCM tribal people; and it remains an important social force in Taiwan. The Presbyterians paid close attention to the relationship between the culture and the gospel. On December 29, 1971, the Presbyterian Church openly demanded the rights of self-determination of the Taiwanese people in the "Statement on Our National Fate" ("Guo Shi Shengming") which provided a basis for the Christian faith to confront the international setbacks of the KMT government, including the question of Taiwanese withdrawal from the United Nations, and to face the crisis in Taiwanese society generally. As The Declaration by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan stated,<sup>49</sup> "It opposes any powerful nation disregarding the rights and wishes of fifteen million people and making unilateral decisions to their own advantage, because God ordained, and the United Nations Charter has affirmed, that every people has the right to determine its own destiny".

On November 1975, "Our Appeal – Concerning the Bible, the Church, and the Nation"<sup>50</sup> ("Womende Huyu") reasserted the importance of re-admitting the mother-tongue translations of the Bible that were confiscated by the government. This was an appeal to mutual trust between the government and the Church, and a call to unity and harmony among the people. The Churches stood firm on its stance: to seek self-sustainability, to strengthen ecumenical relationships, and to concern itself with social justice movements in Taiwan.

There was a political crisis over the question of Taiwan's withdrawal from the United Nations. The Presbyterian Church declared that the issuing of the "Statement on Our National Fate" was based on the Church's faith in the Lordship of Jesus Christ over the world, and was concerned for human rights for all people in Taiwan, and indeed for the destiny of our nation. Although some, both within the Church and outside it,

---

<sup>49</sup> Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, "29 December 1971: Statement on Our National Fate by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan", *Public Statements*, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. [http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments\\_1.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments_1.htm)

<sup>50</sup> Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, "18 November 1975: Our Appeal: By the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan: Concerning the Bible, the Church and the Nation", *Public Statements*, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. [http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments\\_3.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments_3.htm).

misunderstood or opposed the Statement, our Church, as its conscience dictates, has continued to stand firm by this expression of its faith. In the few years since then our Church, in accordance with the principles and faith of the Statement, has repeatedly advocated that no external world power should interfere with our nation's destiny. Only our own people have the right to determine our own destiny... Only by speaking the truth in love can we show positive concern for our nation's future; only thus can we help in the developing of a democratic, just and honest government... In order to save the nation in this time of crisis the whole membership of the Church must be really united so that we can fulfil our responsibility to promote justice, liberty and peace. Then the Church may be worthy to be called a servant of Christ for these times.<sup>51</sup>

Regarding the relationship of the Bible, the Church and the nation, the Presbyterian Church's declaration, urged that the government should accept the Churches' proposals: (1) To preserve the freedom of Religious faith, which was guaranteed for the people in the constitution; (2) to help overcome tribal people's isolation in regard to foreign relations; (3) to establish a relationship of mutual trust and confidence between the government and the Church; (4) to help toward the reconciliation and co-operation of all people living in Taiwan; and (5) to preserve human rights and the welfare of all the people.<sup>52</sup>

For the Churches, who could not keep silent, the PCT gave expression to the following: to give honest expression to its concern for justice; to promote unity within the Church and to call the Church to a better understanding of its own faith; to strive for the independence of the Church; to establish a close relationship with the Church in the whole world; and to be more concerned for social justice and world problems.<sup>53</sup> On August 16, 1977, in "A Declaration on Human Rights", ("Renquen Xuanyan"), the PCT declared:

Our Church confesses that Jesus Christ is Lord of all human being and believes that human rights and a land in which each one of us has a stake are gifts bestowed by God. Therefore, we make the declaration, set in the context of the present crisis threatening the 17 million people of Taiwan... We therefore request President Carter to continue to uphold the principles of human rights while pursuing the

---

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

"normalization of relationships with Communist China" and to insist on guaranteeing the security, independence and freedom of the people of Taiwan... we hold firmly to our faith and to the principles underlying the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. We insist that the future of Taiwan shall be determined by the 17 million people who live there. We appeal to the countries concerned – especially to the people and the government of the United States of America – and to Christian Churches throughout the world to take effective steps to support our cause. In order to achieve our goal of independence and freedom for the people of Taiwan in this critical international situation, we urge our government to face reality and to take effective measures whereby Taiwan may become a new and independent country.<sup>54</sup>

There were three public proclamations that called for social and political reforms, raising the issues of the human rights of the Taiwanese people for self-determination, declaring the democratization struggle of Taiwan, and expressing the hope for a new and independent Taiwan. It was further insisted that China had never had sovereignty over Taiwan (Huang Po-ho 1996; Song 1988). Cheng Yang-en argues that the Presbyterian Church supported the DPP to oppose compromise with the KMT (Cheng 2000:1-22). This is why Lee Teng-Hui, the previous-president, as a Christian attending a Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, insisted that China and Taiwan should relate on a “state to state” basis (Hsu and Cheng 1995).

In 1987 the “Aboriginal Mission Conference Declaration” led to the formation of one consolidated committee (the Aboriginal Ministry Committee) as part of the General Assembly of the PCT, to address concerns about human rights, politics, culture, economics, and the sociology of the tribal people. Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary was established to train the TYCM tribal Church ministers in liberation and contextual theologies and to raise the social issues of the TYCM. In this way the Presbyterian Church and TYCM Church members played leading roles in the TYCM tribal people’s movement from 1987 onwards.

In order to protect their human rights and the human dignity of the TYCM tribal people, the Presbyterian Church supported the right of the TYCM to the return of their traditional lands between 1981 and 2001. The Aboriginal Ministry Committee of

---

<sup>54</sup> Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, “16 August 1977: A Declaration on Human Rights by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan”, *Public Statements*, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. In [http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments\\_4.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments_4.htm).

the PCT General Assembly strengthened the petition campaign among the TYCM Churches to regain ownership of their ancestral lands. The “Return our Land Movement” (“Huan wo Tudi”) campaigned for the renewal of the life and dignity of the tribal people. And on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 1988, the “Return Our Land: Taiwan Aboriginal People’s Common Statement” called for the return of, or compensation for, all land taken by the government, and also launched a campaign to “Return Our Names”, i.e. for the right to use traditional tribal names as legal names. This amendment guaranteed the TYCM political and cultural rights, and the right to establish a national cabinet-level position particularly to address TYCM issues. This was achieved in 1996 (Isqaqavut 1998:547-562). In that same year, in order to restore autonomy and dignity, social justice and the legitimate right to survival for the TYCM, the PCT declared that it was time to create a new future with their own land, culture, and self-governance to help create a new TYCM tribal people’s identity.<sup>55</sup>

Christianity as a coordinating religion, bringing TYCM tribal people together, faced the colonial powers and became an indispensable source of strength for the social development of the TYCM (Isqaqavut 2002:20-21). Identifying itself strongly with the Taiwanese people and the TYCM tribal people, Christianity helped prevent the TYCM from falling into a state of helplessness or isolation in the midst of their struggles.

### **1.3.5. A Self-alienating Religion**

If you were to visit most TYCM communities, you would see all three denominations present there: Catholic, Presbyterian, and the True Jesus Church. Christianity has already “replaced” the traditional religion of TYCM tribal people, becoming the main religion in TYCM society. But since the 1990s, as Qu Hai-yuan, and Zhang Mei-hua point out, Christianity has gradually been slowing in its growth in Taiwan, and from the period of stagnation after 1965, only the True Jesus Church and other local small denominations experienced any growth (Qu and Zhang 1986). The Presbyterians entered a state of no growth, even negative growth in places.<sup>56</sup>

Another, perhaps related, phenomenon occurring within TYCM society has been that

---

<sup>55</sup> Christine L. Lin, “The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy”, *Sino-Platonic Papers* 92 (1999), quote from “[http://www.sino-platonic.org/abstracts/spp092\\_taiwan\\_presbyterian.html](http://www.sino-platonic.org/abstracts/spp092_taiwan_presbyterian.html)”.

<sup>56</sup> Li Xiao, “The Insistence of True Jesus Church in the Rise and Fall of Taiwan Christian Church” (Chinese), *Holy Spirit Monthly*, 350 (2006). <http://goodnews.joy.org.tw/holyspirit.asp?num=851>.

TYCM intelligentsia have been returning to their homelands to rebuild their villages and to rejoin the traditional culture and take part in the traditional religious ceremonies there. The “Return to Tribal Village Movement” (“Huikue Bulu Yundong”), which arose in the 1990s, meant that many of the tribal peoples went back to their homelands to renew their traditional heritage in their own villages. Taibang (Rukay tribe) and Aovoni (Rukay tribe), both indigenous writers, left their good jobs in the city and went back to their “old” Rukay villages, from which they had been moved by the Japanese and the KMT colonial powers in order to cut the people off from their original tribal lands. In spite of their actions, Wang Ying-tang suggests, the people who remained were richly equipped to maintain the traditional heritage of TYCM tribal people, and during that period, many young Rukay people went back to rebuild their homeland (Wang 1995).

This journey to search for the roots of the tribe was echoed in the movement of different tribes to reconstruct their tribal histories and traditional cultures in their original “old” villages. Wang Ming-hui states that the Bunun tribe returned to Nantou, their old village in the high mountains. The Taroko tribe returned to their old village, Taruwan, and the Sao tribe also re-entered their ancestral land. The Sao tribe chose to return to their homeland to rehabilitate the Sao traditional culture after November 21, 1999, when a terrible earthquake damaged their villages (Wang 2001). Since the 1990s this movement has revealed the other characteristic of Christianity, as a self-alienating religion for the TYCM in the villages.

Various powerful groups gradually resulted from the establishment of the different denominations of Christianity, causing disunity and enmity between TYCM tribal people. At present, the conflict between the western religions and traditional religion has become even more obvious in the villages. While Wang Song-shan shows that Catholics have embraced TYCM tribal traditional cults, and encouraged the traditional religious rites to take place, there is increasing tension between Christianity and traditional culture and religion. The Presbyterians, who have provided an impetus for the communities to revive their traditional economy, ecology and the mother-tongue, have not always supported the practice of traditional rites by tribal people. For instance, Presbyterian ministers cut down and sprinkled salt to wither up the *yano* holy tree, which is held to have a sacred power and is a religious symbol in the *mayasvi* traditional cult of the Tso tribe. They burned down the *emoo no peosiia*, the central sanctuary house, for the traditional harvest festival, *homeyaya*, in the Tso village (Wang 1995). Another tribe was influenced by the Prayer Mountain (“Daogao Shan”) charismatic movement, in which some ministers from the Tayal Presbyterian

Church criticized traditional religion or ancestor worship as being of the devil, as sin, and as destroying the Christian faith. Therefore, they banned traditional rites, dress, and dances from the Church. A leader of this charismatic movement, Masakou, an Amis woman, is quoted by Xu A-seng:

She (Masakou) announced that the sacrifices of the Harvest Festival, the traditional garments, and the dragon signs must all be destroyed. They were tools of Satan, an abomination to God, and must not be allowed to remain the traditional garments worn in bowing down to idols, were evil; the dances are the dance steps of evil spirits; song is their lewd voice. Because of these views we found tribal people in opposition to Christians, and the Church was in danger of imminent division...Unfortunately, many members left the Presbyterian Church to join another denomination.<sup>57</sup>

One minister of the Amis Presbyterian Church in Hualien strictly prohibited participation in the communal celebration of the harvest festival, even going to the extreme of burning the traditional garments. Some Tayal tribal villages wanted to resume the memorial ceremony for their ancestors, which had been discontinued more than a century before, but the local Presbyterian Church and The True Jesus Church rejected this proposal and prevented it from taking place.<sup>58</sup> Siyat Nabu (Sedeq tribe) states his viewpoint bluntly:

Our tribe was a united society before. Who has destroyed our previous cohesiveness? It is Christianity, different denominations disrupting personal relationships in the village. We need to pay careful attention to the traditional culture which we shared before, and be generous in providing food for the poor people in the village. We live together, and willingly give children food, even if they are not related to us. We share willingly with our people, even if our supply of food is meagre.<sup>59</sup>

Another movement started in the 2000s with the renewal of traditional cults and worship, presenting a new challenge for TYCM tribal Christians to engage in

---

<sup>57</sup> Xu, A-sheng, "Access to traditional clothes burning incident", *Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary News*, 142 (2001), [http://www.yushanth.org.tw/publication/voice\\_of\\_yushan/142/142hp.htm](http://www.yushanth.org.tw/publication/voice_of_yushan/142/142hp.htm)

<sup>58</sup> Liyijing Youma, "The Reconstruction and the Collapse of Aboriginal culture in the Church-state Relationship", *Aboriginal Home*, (Chinese) see <http://www.abohome.org.tw/modules/news/article.php?storyid=521>

<sup>59</sup> Respondents: Siyat Nabu, Translator: Kumu Tapas. Collected and Recorded by Kumu Tapas. Place: in Snuying tribe, 10,13,2010.

traditional religion and culture in the villages. This “movement” began, Pisuyi Wulo tells us, when the traditional Hunting Festival Rite, *Maripa*, which includes ancestor worship, was reintroduced in some south-eastern Paiwan tribal villages on October 5, 2006 (Wulo 2006). The purpose was to pass the culture on and not to have their traditions forgotten by the young Amis people. Chen Hui-fang reports that the traditional cults of the shamans and ancestors reappeared in a ceremony in an Amis tribal village on October 7, 2006 (Chen 2006). On August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2006 the descendants of the Pinpu tribe in Qianshan, as Chen Shi-zhong records, reintroduced the practice of their traditional rituals to their homeland, holding the annual memorial ceremony for their ancestors and when drinking water thinking of its source (Chen 2006). The *Pasuntamul*, as Galahey Yishuer notes, the traditional thanksgiving festival ceremony of the Bunun tribe, which had not taken place in over sixty years, reappeared on August 25, 2006 in Nantou (Galahey 2006). Lin Kun-cheng states that the “Five Years Festival” ceremony of the Paiwan tribe in Tuban village, Taitung, was in abeyance for over ninety years under “colonial” rule, until August 18-20, 2006, when it was reintroduced by the new chief, Wu Jui-xing, who had a dream in which an ancestor called him to restore the ceremony and continue the traditional culture (Lin 2006).

Through the influence of the Churches, in certain instances, and the movement of the re-institution of the traditional religions through the cults and ceremonies of the tribal people, TYCM Christians have begun to consider Christianity in a new light, recognizing that it has played a part in the self-alienation of TYCM tribal people. The growing movement in the mid-2000s has seen a recovery of indigenous culture and religion.

#### **1.4. Conclusion**

In this chapter I have given weight to three main experiences of the TYCM tribal people: their colonial history, the identity movement, and the Christianity practised by TYCM tribal people. In addition it has been my intention to show that when we talk about the experience of TYCM tribal people in Taiwan, the cultural, historical, social, political, and religious transformation they have experienced has always drawn on the perspectives of TYCM tribal Christians, which have emerged gradually from the process of colonialism.

I have shown that it was only the Pinpu tribe, who lived on the plains and so were not included as part of the TYCM tribal people, who lived in the mountains, who had any

extensive contact with Christianity in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Dutch and Spanish colonized the southern and northern parts of Taiwan. The Cheng Dynasty interrupted the influence of this form of Christianity for more than two hundred years, until Protestant missionaries arrived in Taiwan during the Ching Dynasty in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. But it was only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the bulk of the TYCM living in the mountains began to convert to Christianity, when Japanese colonial rule ended and the KMT Government came to power.

The colonial history of Taiwan has passed through different periods of control, by the Dutch, the Spanish, the Cheng, the Ching, the Japanese, and the KMT government. According to Li Qiao these experiences of colonization in Taiwan by different colonizers are difficult for Taiwanese to root out of the consciousness of TYCM tribal people (Li 1989). Following these experiences, Yang Bi-chuan observes:

The history of Taiwan is a history of conquering rulers from overseas. And it is also a history of the resistance and suffering of the Han, Pinpu, and Kausa (TYCM tribes) people. Resistance failed again and again, bringing more and more humiliation and disaster. Taiwan's skies are shrouded in sadness, the sadness of an insulted and injured people, wounded in fighting and rebellion, who have too long suffered the wrongs and misfortunes of history in silence (Yang 1987a:20).

As a result of these experiences, Christianity for TYCM tribal people is not experienced as a part of western colonial superiority, except for those few tribal groups who experienced Dutch and Spanish rule. The Church missionaries of these colonial powers stimulated the expansion of the political colonial powers and destroyed TYCM tribal traditional cultures and religions in order to baptize tribal people and to convert them to be Christians within a colonial form of Christianity. But, later, Christianity also inspired the ideology of human rights, and supported the Taiwanese and TYCM tribal people in constructing political systems of democracy and national identification, and enabled the TYCM identity movement to struggle for a range of political issues in the 1980s. For example, the declaration of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan to support members of the Churches in the tribal villages represented Christianity's support for decolonial activities in their socio-political life, even though Christianity has been a minority religion and has never been a mainstream faith in Taiwan, except for tribal people. Many scholars agree, in general, that Christianity has become a symbol of the quest for freedom, justice, and peace for the TYCM tribal people in their continued resistance against the

colonialism of the KMT government at cultural, social, political, educational, and religious levels in the 1990s.

But, unfortunately, it is also true that Christianity has led to the development of a Church with different denominations, which in turn has divided the loyalty and unity of the TYCM, especially concerning the revival of religious and cultural traditions. So, Christianity has also played a role in the self-alienation of TYCM tribal people from their traditional heritage. It is important to understand this background of TYCM Christians in order to address, in the following chapters, the issues of biblical interpretation in the context of the TYCM tribal people's experience.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The TYCM's Modes of Reading the Bible in the Taiwan Context**

#### **2.0. Introduction**

From what has been said in Chapter One, we see that the TYCM have experienced colonization by diverse colonial powers. By exploring this colonial history further, the identity movement and the process of Christianization as the main experiences of the TYCM in Taiwan, we intend the focus of this chapter to be on the methods TYCM scholars and ministers have used to reach TYCM tribal people in their theological reflection and in their biblical reading. In the past four decades, the TYCM have experienced the realities of pluralism and diversity within their tribes, cultures, traditional religions and cults, and in their experience of colonial policy in the political, sociological, economical, and educational realms. These have as a whole affected their lives and the very nature of the TYCM. For the purpose of this chapter I will seek to further investigate the TYCM's modes of reading the Bible, and to engage with the mechanics of what and how TYCM scholars and ministers have helped TYCM tribal people to focus on reading the Bible with the oral and literary texts in a Taiwanese context in order to face their past colonial experience. These will provide the strategies of the TYCM scholars and people in their Modes of reading the Bible.

#### **2.1. Drawing on the Source of Reading the Bible**

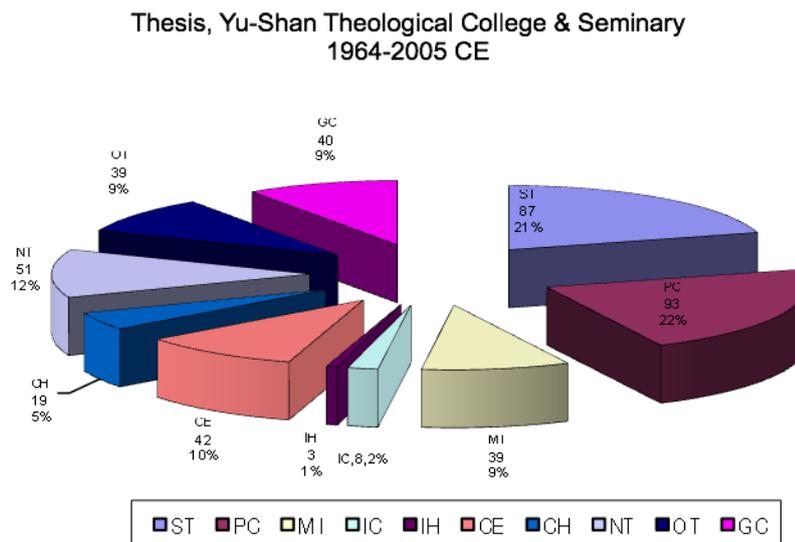
The history of TYCM tribal Christianity is only about 70 years old, and the history of their theological education is about 60 years old. The main documentation for this chapter is a selection of articles and theses by TYCM biblical scholars and ministers, comprising 421 graduate theses submitted from 1964 to 2005 at Yu-shan Theological College and Seminary (YSTCS), which was founded in 1946. This was the first theological seminary founded for the TYCM, with most of the students coming from different TYCM tribes,<sup>60</sup> and with the current President and over half of the faculty

---

<sup>60</sup>In the year 2000 Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary began to allow non-indigenous students to attend, up to a maximum of 20% of the student body. See <http://www.yushanth.org.tw/yushanth.html>.

members coming from the TYCM. These theses and articles can help us to identify the modes theologically educated TYCM tribal people use to read the Bible.

The 421 theses, which are from graduate students of YSTCS, almost all of whom are/were ministers in a TYCM tribal Church, are very significant for analyzing the TYCM's modes of reading the Bible. To do this we may classify them into ten categories according to their subject: (1) Pastoral Care (PC) 93 theses or 21 percent; (2) Systematic Theology (ST) 87 theses or 21 percent; (3) New Testament (NT) 50 theses or 12 percent; (4) Christian Education (CE) 42 theses or 10 percent; (5) Gospel and Culture (GC) 40 theses or 10 percent; (6) Missiology (MI) 39 theses or 9 percent; (7) Old Testament (OT) 38 theses or 9 percent; (8) Christian History (CH) 19 theses or 5 percent; (9) Tribal Culture (IC) 8 theses or 2 percent; and (10) Tribal History (IH) 3 theses or 1 percent.



This analysis shows the relative importance of the issues that are discussed in their papers. Topping the list is Pastoral Care, which has 93 theses, followed by Systematic Theology, which has 87 theses, totalling 42 percent of all the theses presented. In the area of Pastoral Care, these theses focused on social community, male and female labourers, alcoholism, prostitution, tourism, Christian ethics, abortion, family violence, marriage relationships, divorce, ecology, political and economic ethics, disabilities, children, youth, adult care, the tribal elderly, interpersonal relationships, suicide, liturgics, funerals, baptisms, Holy communion, etc., which relate closely to the ministries of the minister in the Church and concern the struggles of TYCM Christians which arise out of the TYCM tribal ethos. The TYCM Church (across denominations) is directly located in the tribal ethos, which dictates the

direction of faith of TYCM tribal Christians. These figures reflect clearly what issues the TYCM tribal Church finds to be most important.

The area of Systematic Theology, for instance, includes the themes of the theology of God, Christology, sin, grace, salvation, faith and righteousness, revelation, redemption, miracles, obedience, human beings, incarnation, resurrection, trinity, prayer, repentance, the Church, the Holy Spirit, sacrifice, stewardship, Christian life, Christian freedom, suffering, worship, baptism, eschatology, creation, nature, predestination, election and homosexuality, Christian ethics, euthanasia, etc. Many of these theses relate to the themes of dogmatic theology, and spell out the “relation of practice and belief in the community of faith” (Macquarrie 2003:19); others relate to philosophical theology, which undertakes the logical, existential, ontological, and phenomenological analyses of theological themes (Macquarrie 2003:22-25). Clearly, Pastoral Care and Systematic Theology are the main objects of their scholarly concern, and both of these seek an understanding of the faith of TYCM tribal Christians.

For the purpose of continuing this chapter's theme, we will study theses on New Testament, Old Testament, and the Gospel and Culture, alongside cross-readings of the Bible and culture, which will greatly help us to analyze the modes of Bible reading used by TYCM scholars, ministers and people.

## **2.2. The Biblical Text-centred Approach**

The first TYCM mode of Bible reading is the Biblical Text-centred Approach. This method, Archie Lee argues, reads the biblical text as the “timeless, universal, self-sufficient and unchanging record of God” (Lee 1993:35), and “works with the Bible and acknowledges the Bible as authoritative, is not primarily *about* the Bible”, but “is primarily about God and its horizon is God. Its task is to elucidate, explain, and make intelligible and consistent the regulative principles which influence or control the action and the speech of the religious community” (Barr 1999:74). The ultimate reason for this reading is that the “source of doctrinal theology is not the Bible” but is “the tradition of regulative decisions which had a part in the formation of the biblical texts. Or, in other words, the prime and ancient paradigms for doctrinal theology is not the Bible but the Creed” (Barr 1999:74). Lee’s and Barr's views can help us to know the characteristics of the first perspective.

We can use this first TYCM Bible reading mode, the Biblical Text-centred

Perspective, to analyze the reading of the Old and New Testaments. For instance, TYCM scholars who focused on New Testament submitted the following theses: Lee Cun-hai, *Salvation in the Book of Romans* (1979), Chen Tian-cai, *Resurrection in 1 Cor 15* (1979), Mai Cun-lian, *The work of the Holy Spirit in Gal 5:16-26* (1980), Chen Zhen-chang, *God Becomes Flesh in John 1:1-5, 9-14* (1983), Chang Chiou-hsiung, *The Message of Resurrection in Mark 16:1-8* (1986), Zeng Jong-hian, *Life in the Book of John* (1986), *Exegesis in Matthew 21:33-46* (Mai Tian-cai 1992), Quan Ci-you, *Exegesis of Matthew 5: 31-32* (1998). Those who focused on the Old Testament were Chang Chiou-lan, *The Message of Salvation in Isaiah 40-55* (1978), Lu Tian-wu, *Human Nature in Genesis 1-11* (1979), Su Jin-rong, *The meaning of Love in the Book of Hosea* (1979), Quan Jian-sheng *Job's Suffering in the Book of Job* (1981), Zhuang Jin-xiu, *The Land in the Pentateuch* (1982), Wang Qi-sheng, *Theodicy in the Book of Jonah* (1982);<sup>61</sup> and ten texts which discuss *Exegesis*.<sup>62</sup> The perspectives of the above scholars share a common element in that in their interpretations they tend to reflect upon dogmatic or Church-related theologies, which analyze the relationship between the biblical text and daily life in the Christian faith. The literal and the theological meanings of the translations of the biblical texts are emphasized. Also, the “final form” of the biblical text, it is assumed, has preserved much from the earlier stages of Israel's theologies (Child 1986:11), and it is therefore significant to observe that a concern “is always expressed to retain at least some understanding of biblical authority for the modern Church” (Child 1986:14).

The Biblical Text-centred perspective, having regard for the historical, sociological, political, and cultural background of the biblical text, is not concerned with the role of the reader. For example, TYCM tribal biblical scholar Si Xiong, writing from the perspective of Dogmatic Theology<sup>63</sup> and Kapi Kisursur with his series of biblical studies on the book of Luke, such as Luke 17:11-19, 17:14-19, and 10: 25-37,<sup>64</sup> and two English articles, *Recovering God's Reign for the Marginalized* (2004), *A Reading*

<sup>61</sup> All these theses are written in the Chinese language and belong to the theses of YSTCS, which are not-published.

<sup>62</sup> These are *Psalm 8* (Chinese) (Zhuang Chun-rong, 1984), *Psalm 22* (Chinese) (Qui Shu-hua, 1993), *Psalm 119:105-112* (Chinese) (Lin Shan-yuan, 1995), *Psalm 80* (Chinese) (Tian Shi-hua, 1996), *Psalm 13* (Chinese) (Chang Li-juan, 1996), *Psalm 113* (Chinese) (Quo Zhi-ling, 1996), *Psalm 6* (Chinese) (Zhou Jin-Mei, 1996), *Psalm 8* (Chinese) (Li Wen-dian, 1997), *Psalm 70* (Chinese) (Ye Zhong-hui, 2004) and *Genesis 11:1-9* (Chinese) (Qao Wen-xiong, 1995).

<sup>63</sup> Si Xiong, "A Study of Predestination in John Calvin" (Chinese), 2002; "A Biblical and Theological Evaluation of the Gift of Speaking in Tongues", 2006.

<sup>64</sup> Kapi Kisursur, "The Theological meaning of the narrative of Jesus Healing Ten Men (Luke 17:11-19)" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 9 (2002), 1-20; his "An Explanation of the Samaritan's Return in the Context of the Disadvantaged Minority (Luke 17:14-19)" (Chinese)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 9 (2003), 1-16; and "The Role and Function of the Marginalized Person in the "Love Your Neighbour" Teaching in the Narrative of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 13 (2006), 79-96.

of the *Story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42)* (Kisursur 1998),<sup>65</sup> and Rom 2:1-29, from 2002 to 2007, are good examples of the Text-centred Bible reading mode. It should be noted that this reading mode is also considered to be the proper method of interpretation in the eyes of western missionaries. In his analysis of this perspective Lee argues that the task of doing theology in Asia is “primarily one of the performing of theological exorcisms”. It is strongly believed that the biblical “Text” is the only Word of God. With respect to this view of the biblical text as claimed by western missionaries and some of the conservative biblical scholars cited in these papers, Archie Lee asserts that “their interpretation is of absolute validity and primary authority for all people”, and that they have taught Asian people about the “uniqueness, exclusiveness, normativeness and finality of the Christian Bible” (Lee 1993:35). However, Lee continues, “It is a fact that the rich cultural-religious traditions of Asia and the socio-political experiences of injustice, suffering, exploitation and poverty in Asia did not enter the thinking of the historical Judeo-Christian communities of faith which shaped the Christian canon in its successive stages of development and formation” (Lee 1993:35). Kim Yong Bock argues that this resulted in “a gap between the formal doctrine and theology of the “missionary” Churches and the actual religious life of Christians in Asia, the formal theological thinking and doctrines remained western, by and large” (Kim 1980:316).

Ultimately, the Biblical Text-centred approach engages the biblical material from the standpoint of the doctrinal interests of systematic theology. This first Bible-reading mode, as Longchar argues, “Detached people from their real life situation and encouraged them to ignore the tribal/indigenous tradition. It spread a notion among Asian theologians that the tribal/indigenous tradition was not philosophically deep enough to be a resource for doing theologies” (Longchar 2002: 11; 2005; 2007). This kind of view is still very common among TYCM Christian Churches in Taiwan and continues to haunt the minds of TYCM biblical scholars and of TYCM Christians.

---

<sup>65</sup> He does not discuss the context of TYCM tribal people in that his mode of reading Bible belongs to the first mode. We would also refer to the articles of Kapi Kisursur, including "The Crisis of the Three Servants in the Luke 19:20-24" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 5 (1998), 59-71; his "Recovering God's Reign for the Marginalized: Interpretation of the Parable of the Mustard Seed (Luke 13:18-19) in the Light of Jesus' Ministry (Luke 13:1-17)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 11 (2004), 59-71; and "A Reading of the Story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 12 (2005), 1-16. Except in his article "The Meaning of the 'Merevavulung' in the Cultural Context (John 2:6-10)" *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 6 (2006), 140-201.

### 2.3. The Biblical Text –TYCM Tribal People’s Contextual Approach

The second mode of reading the Bible for the TYCM is the Biblical Text-TYCM Tribal Context Approach,<sup>66</sup> which utilises contextual hermeneutics and locates itself between “what a text meant” in its original context and “what it means” in the context of contemporary biblical scholars and readers. An interpreter or reader reads biblical texts in their present context and searches for theological meaning in their local and different contexts.

This second mode is observed in the following theses: Wu Cheng-gong’s, *The Significance of the Message of the Book of Jonah for Today* (1976), Sen Jian-li’s *The Book of Jonah and the Church’s Mission Today* (1977), Shi Ming-hsiung’s *The Theological Foundation of Human Rights in the Theology of the Deuteronomistic History* (1982), Chen Yong-ming’s *The Contemporary Society of Indigenous People from the Viewpoint of Christian Ethics* (1983), Fu Mei-hua’s *The Development of Women’s Social Status in Luke 7:36-50* (1984), Lin Tian-sheng’s *The Christian Faith and the Political Way of Life of the TYCM* (1996), Zheng Ming-de’s, *The TYCM’s Right to Existence in the Light of the Bible* (1989), Chen Jun-ming’s *Theological Reflection on the Participation of YSTCS Students’ in Social Movements* (2002), Chang Ming-xing’s *Engaging the Church’s Mission in the Protest Against the Development of the Thermal Spring of Hong-Ye* (2003), Xu Jun-xiong’s *Theological Reflections on the Ecological Crisis in the Taw-San Puro, Tayal Tribe* (2005), Huang Pei-qi’s *Theological reflection on The Traditional Patriarchy Structure in John 8:1-11* (2005).<sup>67</sup> These theses assume and/or argue that the experience of the TYCM in their present realities of suffering oppression, whether under political, sociological, cultural, economic, ecological or gender social structures, must be seriously reviewed in balanced theological reflection, and reconsideration of the Church’s mission and its presentation of the Christian faith. In this regard, these theses have shifted deliberately from TYCM tribal theology into TYCM tribal people's contexts and away from doctrinal and systematic theological modes.

All these theses are identifiable attempts at conjuring contextual meaning from the biblical text and at reflecting upon the experience of the new context of TYCM tribal people. I agree with Preman Niles and Dyvasirvadham, that “faith reinterprets the context”, and that it “requires a radical reinterpretation of the faith” in the new situation (Niles 1980; 1985). Dyvasirvadham tells us that the Dalit Christians

---

<sup>66</sup> Archie Lee calls it a “text-context” interpretative mode (Archie Lee 1993:35).

<sup>67</sup> All these theses were submitted as part of the requirements of YSTCS, and are unpublished.

reinterpret scripture in the context of the present reality of the Dalit struggle in the history and culture of India and relate it to their lives in the light of biblical events which point to future justice and reconciliation (Dyvasiradam 1990). K.C. Abraham suggests that Asian theologians should begin to relate their faith to the question of their religions and cultures, which are truly rooted in Asian realities. Asian theology, Abraham argues, includes contextual theologies and also the people's theologies which are designated by different names such as, "Theology of Struggle", "Minjung Theology" (also in Kim Yong Bock 1981, Na 1988, Suh 1991, 1995),<sup>68</sup> "Dalit" Theology, "Women's (Feminist)" Theologies, which all present a new challenge on the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Abraham 1997a; 1997b).<sup>69</sup>

Shoki Coe of Taiwan introduced "contextualization" to the Theological Education Fund (TEF) of the World Council of Churches. This term became commonly used to designate ways of expressing theology in a non-western context (Fabella 2000). For example, C. S. Song's *Third-Eye Theology* (Song 1979), *The Compassionate God* (Song 1982), and *Tell Us Our Names* (Song 1984), use Asian folktales and stories from different parts of Asia to show that it is appropriate to speak of context in doing theology. Wang Hsien-chi's "homeland theology" examines the relationship between the ethnic, cultural, and political identities of the Taiwanese people (Wang 1994). Huang Po-ho's *Chut Thau Thin* ("self-determination") deals with the historical experiences of the struggle of the Taiwanese people for self-determination (Huang 1996).

The TYCM tribal biblical scholar, Pusin Talis, develops this theme in *Doing TYCM Tribal Theology in the Context of TYCM Tribal People*, where he argues that TYCM tribal theology must link with the living contextual experiences of TYCM tribal people (Tali 1999) and that they (TYCM tribal biblical scholars) must concentrate on that which is meaningful for the TYCM tribal people in their Taiwan context. For example, Chang Ming-you in "*Shoot the Sun' People – A Survey of the Face of Indigenous Theology*" argues that the context of the cultural traditions of tribal people also influences the perspectives of TYCM tribal people in their Bible reading and

---

<sup>68</sup> Shu, David Kwan-sun, *The Korean Minjung in Christ* (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 1991), and his "A Theology by Minjung", in Samuel Amirtham and John S. Pobee ed., *In Theology by the People: Reflections on Doing Theology in Community* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986), 65-77. Suh, David Kwang-sun, "Minjung Theology: The Politics and Spirituality of Korean Christianity", in Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young eds., *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia* (Lewiston/ NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995).

<sup>69</sup> For the arguments for Dalit theology we can look to K. C. Abraham, "Asian Theology Looking to the 21st Century", *Voices* (1997), 81-98. And his "Dalit Theology--Some Tasks Ahead", *Bangalore Theological Forum* 29:1/2 (March & June 1997): 36-47. We also see A. P. Nirmal, "Towards a Christian Dalit Theology". *Asia Journal of Theology* 6/2 (1992): 297-310.

what meaning they find in the biblical texts. He says:

The important myth of *How the Sun was Shot* expresses how the ancestors of the TYCM tribal people rejected depersonalization and dehumanization by a superior power... With the loss of our human rights, freedom, justice, and dignity, we began to feel totally deprived of our authority and power. We will shoot down the power that exploits us and inflicts oppression and injustice upon us; depersonalizing and dehumanizing us. The *How the Sun was Shot* myth portrays resistance to both external and internal disrespect for human life. We should be able to enjoy freedom, peace, and dignity to live in the land that God gave us. This is the main subject of debate of TYCM tribal theology (Chang 1996).<sup>70</sup>

Chang Ming-you states that the TYCM must recall their tribal traditions in order to do theology in a meaningful way for TYCM tribal people, such as in further exploring the themes of oppression, injustice, exploitation, and dehumanization as well as human rights, freedom and justice through texts, such as *How the Sun was Shot* and the Bible. There are several myths concerning the sun of suns. One tells how there used to be two suns, which made life intolerable for humans, and so some men went out to shoot one of the suns out of the sky. Another tells of a sun which was much larger than our present sun and which also made life unbearable. Men went out with bows and arrows and shot this sun in two, the smaller part becoming the moon. Thus day and night were created.

From the above theses, we can discern the experience of people who are victimized by political and social injustice, by suffering and the common task of liberating people from all forms of exploitation, oppression, and alienation in their different contextual areas of Asia; or more specifically, that of TYCM tribal people. This is the most significant fact concerning the second biblical reading mode.

Biblical interpretation has a strong consciousness of, and commitment to, the contextual hermeneutics that has appeared in the second biblical reading mode above.

---

<sup>70</sup> Chang was the first TYCM tribal scholar to survey indigenous theology in Taiwan. Chang Ming-you, "'Shoot the Sun' People – The Survey of the Face of Indigenous Theology" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 11 (1996), 59-70. To find his arguments concerning tribal traditional religion in its struggle against traditional theology, see his "The Future of 'the Jealous Evil God'", ed. Chen Nan-jou Bible, *Hermeneutics, and Context: Festschrift in Honour of Dr. Lo We-jen* (Chinese) (Taipei: Yong Wang, 2001), 109-142.

Asian theology has its own identity and speaks meaningfully to and within the context of Asian suffering and hope. It is only when we begin to perceive and to articulate the relevant word in our situations, then, that Asian theology will emerge (Niles 1977).

Grasping the meaning of the original context of the biblical text and the pursuit of its contemporary theological significance for the experience of the realities of TYCM tribal people is the characteristic of the second Bible-reading mode. But this mode ignores, in Archie Lee's view, "the existence of other sacred scriptures" (Lee 1993:37) or TYCM tribal traditional heritages by which Asian people and TYCM tribal people have been continuously nourished and nurtured. The history and the experience of TYCM tribal people would have traditionally been excluded from God's salvation in the Bible.

#### **2.4. The Cross-textual Approach**

In addressing the realities of plurality and diversity of their cultural and religious traditions, the TYCM's third mode of Bible reading is cross-textual reading,<sup>71</sup> which obviously contributes to the multi-cultural and multi-religious perspectives in the context of TYCM tribal people. The existence of the heritages of different tribes of the TYCM, and the value of TYCM spiritual and religious traditions which have nurtured the TYCM for generations, are also shaped and reinterpreted by biblical readings and cross-textual reading reactions. What is this "cross-textual" reading? Lee proposes that it serves,

as a proper approach to solving the dilemma of Asian biblical interpretation. There are two sides to such a hermeneutical task. On the one hand, it affirms the cultural-historically conditioned nature of the biblical text. A text is studied from a critical-historical point of view in order to understand its form and setting-in-life. The text is then applied to and interpreted in a contemporary context. It is assumed that the text can inspire our context. On the other hand, our Asian perspectives must also be brought in to shed light in the interpretation of biblical texts... Cross-textual Hermeneutics gives due attention to the two texts

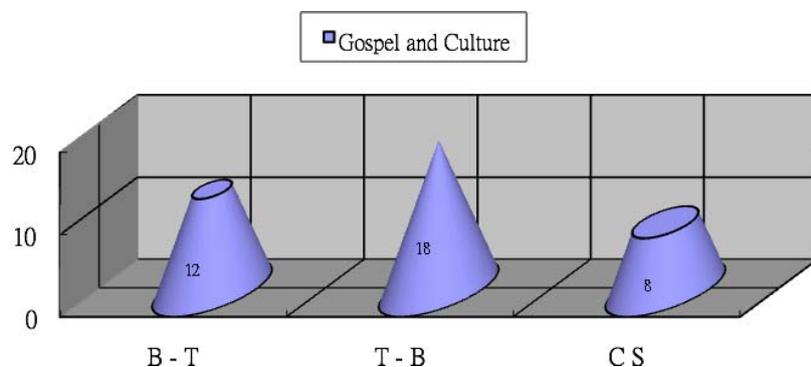
---

<sup>71</sup> For the definition of the term "cross-textual perspective" see Archie Lee, "Biblical Interpretation in Asian Perspective", *Asia Journal of Theology* 1 (1993), 35-39; his "Cross-Textual Interpretation and Its Implications for Biblical Studies", eds. by Fernando F Segovia and Mary A Tolbert, *Teaching the Bible: The Discourses and Politics of Biblical Pedagogy* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 247-254; "Cross-textual Hermeneutics", eds. by Virginia Fabella & R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Dictionary of Third World Theologies* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000), 60-62.

at our disposal for doing theology. It is imperative that the biblical text (text A) has to be interpreted in our own context in constant interpretation and interaction with our cultural-religious texts (text B). The tensions between text A and text B become more apparent when the religious nature of text B is taken into serious consideration (Lee 1993:38).

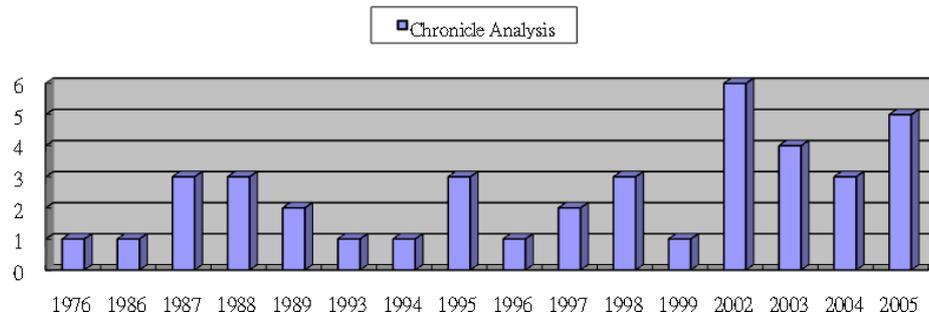
In this approach the biblical text must engage the Asian texts, for example, the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita, the Buddhist Scriptures and the Taoist canon, or interact with TYCM tribal texts from the TYCM heritages in different tribal settings. There must be interaction and dialogue between these texts and the biblical text. “Both texts have to inter-penetrate, each one with the other, before they can be mutually enriched” in Asian theology, argues Lee (Lee 1993:38). For example, theological reflections about folk tales or the stories of working people, poor women farmers, the urban poor (Kim 1987), teenage women factory workers (Suh 1985), or story-telling and rumour-mongering (Suh 1986), are displayed in Minjung theology. To bring about cross-textual reading and linking between TYCM tribal texts and the biblical texts, and to develop a dialogue between the different texts, Archie Lee proposes the method of cross-textual interpretation, which has been used to form a bridge between Asian traditional and biblical texts (Lee 1993; 1996; 1998; 2000).

However, this explanation of the cross-textual reading mode is more fully developed using examples from the 38 theses examined below, whose thematic analysis can be divided into three areas of focus: first, using the biblical text to interpret a TYCM tribal text (B-T); second, using a TYCM tribal text to interpret the biblical text (T-B); and third, using comparative studies to explore the relation between the biblical text and the TYCM tribal text (CS), as the table *Gospel and Culture* shows below.<sup>72</sup>



<sup>72</sup> For this analysis, see Knut Holter, *Old Testament Research for Africa: A Critical Analysis and Annotated Bibliography of African Old Testament Dissertations, 1967-2000* (New York.../Oxford: Peter Lang, 2002), 87-98.

However, the cross-textual reading mode is not a general feature of TYCM tribal readings. Therefore it will be useful to show a chronicle analysis of the TYCM tribal readings (see the table below).



It is clear that the cross-textual reading mode was not employed in fourteen of the years between 1976 and 2005, i.e. between 1977 and 1985 (nine years), 1990 and 1992 (three years), and 2000 and 2001 (two years). The themes included in the four areas of my analysis are: traditional cults (which has 8 theses,) tribal cultural/religious philosophy (16 theses), tribal culture (10 theses), and tribal history (1 thesis), and a discussion of the concept of Gospel and Culture between biblical texts and TYCM tribal texts (2 theses). The following table analyses the themes more specifically:

**Themes of Gospel and Culture<sup>73</sup>**

Tribal traditional cults (9)	Manhood Rites 1	Emerging Crops Festival 1
	Headhunting 1	Harvest festival 3
	Facial Tattooing 1	Funeral 2
Tribal cultural/religious Philosophy (16)	Land 2	Resistance 1
	Crime/sin 1	Love 1
	Snake/serpent 1	Marriage 6
	Rainbow bridge 2	Gender/ men and women 2
Tribal culture (10)	Traditional dance 1	Witchcraft 1
	Rules/taboo 2	Tribal arts 1
	Mother-tongue/translation 4	Genealogy 1
Tribal History (1)	Movement and settlement 1	
Gospel and Culture (2)	Gospel and religion/culture 2	

<sup>73</sup> These dissertations deal with the relationship of the gospel and culture in the context of TYCM tribal people.

#### 2.4.1. Using the Biblical Text to Interpret the TYCM Tribal Text (B-T)

The cross-textual reading which uses the biblical text to interpret TYCM tribal texts is not a new perspective for reading the Bible among the TYCM. For example, in 1976 Wang Yu-feng's *Analysis of Traditional Marriages among the Paiwan Tribe from the Viewpoint of Christianity* (1976) used biblical texts to reinterpret traditional marriage in the Paiwan tribe. 12 theses, which include Wang Yu-feng's belong to this mode because they use biblical texts to reinterpret TYCM tribal texts. Another, for example, Shr Wen-hui's, interprets 1 Corinthians 7 to reread traditional marriage in the Taroko tribe (Shi 1986: 32-35). You Xiu-lan reinterprets the experience of the Howcha after she interprets Naboth's Vineyard (You 1994). Qiu Zheng-yi analysed marriage in the biblical texts, and then reread the traditional marriages of the Bunun tribe (Qiu 1987). In this reading mode there are others such as the following: Lin Yu-xin's *Miracle in John 9 and a Consideration of the Effectiveness of Spiritual Healing in the Amis Church* (1994), Yan Xue-ling's *To Analyse the Moving of the Settlements at Tao-yuan and Kaohsiung from the Viewpoint of Ancient Israelite's Settlement in Canaan* (1995), Ke Xiu-ling's *Comparative Readings: Sin in Christianity and in the Thinking of the Paiwan Tribe* (1995), Wu Xiao-feng's *Jesus' Genealogy in Mt 1:1-17 and an Examination of the Toruluka (Mau-Lin) Clan System* (1995), Chen Xin-quan's *The Theological Meaning of the Traditional Harvest Festival of the Paiwan Tribe* (2005).<sup>74</sup> They all similarly reread TYCM tribal texts, considering such areas as the traditional understanding of marriage, healing, sin, genealogies, harvest festivals, and the tribal experience of moving and settlement in the light of the above biblical texts. The religion and culture of ancient Israel are used here as a key to more deeply explore the meaning of related themes in TYCM tribal texts.

#### 2.4.2. Using the TYCM Tribal Text to Interpret the Biblical Texts (T-B)

Second, in reading the Bible by using the TYCM's tribal heritage to interpret the biblical texts (T-B) and to allow for a cross-textual reading of each other, the traditional heritage and experiences of the TYCM becomes the key to rereading the biblical texts. For example Li Min-xuan takes the traditional concept of the Bunun's *Makavas* to help the Bunun people reread the themes of anti-oppression, oppressive living, identity, hope, suffering and salvation in the biblical texts (Li 2002:43-50). Sangas Yumin analyses the role of the traditional Deity in the Myth of Hongu Utux to

---

<sup>74</sup> All these theses are in YSTCS (unpublished).

reread the meaning of the biblical concept of God as the King of kings, as Spirit, and as the Lord of Creation (Yumin 2003). Additional examples include: Wei Mei-hui's *The Role of the Rukai Tribe Traditional Dances in Worship* (1989), Yahu Iyung's *The Theological Meaning of Four Gaga (= ritual customs) of the Tayal Tribe* (2000), Chen Wen-long's *Reconstructing TYCM Ecological Theology from the Traditional Concept of the Land* (2003), Song Ming-jin's *The Conflict of the Bunun Tribe's Samu (Taboo) and the Bible* (2005), Chen Xin-guang's *Cultural Theology in the Paiwan Tribe's Traditional Harvest Festival* (2005).<sup>75</sup>

TYCM biblical scholar Pusin Tali, in his *The Two Suns of the TYCM Tribal People*, analyses and argues for the importance of the myth of the Two Suns, asserting that it is important to do TYCM tribal theology from TYCM tribal stories for TYCM tribal people (1993). In addition, he portrays the attributes of the traditional tribal wisdom in his *The Tattoo on the Mother's Face* (2002).<sup>76</sup> I use traditional tribal dances to reinterpret the Book of Jonah for the Sediq tribal people (Ukan 2004); in the conclusion I argue that:

It is possible to replicate the structure of the Book of Jonah in the traditional dance *Mbenowah* of the Sediq tribe. The dance can be divided into seven sets of dance steps and fourteen songs. The TYCM tribal readers respond to the development of the plot in the biblical text by changing the dance steps... It is rewarding to transform the meaning of the traditional dance to help interpret the biblical text for TYCM tribal people (Ukan 2004:101).

The cross-textual mode of reading opens up a quite unprecedented theological horizon by illuminating the experiences and traditions of TYCM tribal people. The cross-textual reading mode, making use of TYCM tribal texts to reinterpret the biblical text, not only reshapes the meaning of the biblical text for TYCM tribal people, but also helps them to understand more clearly the meaning of their own tribal texts.

### **2.4.3. Comparative Studies (CS)**

---

<sup>75</sup> All are unpublished theses of YSTCS.

<sup>76</sup> Pusin Tali, "The Theological Meaning of the Living Cult of the Facial Tattoo in the study of 'The Tattoo on the Mother's Face'" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal*, 9 (2002), 21-64.

Third, comparative study (CS) is another cross-textual reading mode, which engages intercultural interaction and analyses the similarities and differences of the themes and concepts between the biblical text and TYCM tribal text. Archie Lee proposes using the method of cross-textual interpretation for Bible study in his own pluralist cultural and religious context, and emphasizes the process of cross-textual reading between Asian traditional texts and biblical texts (Lee 1993b, 1993c, 1996b, 1998b). For example, he makes good use of traditional texts such as “A Chinese Creation Myth” (Lee 1993b), “Chinese Creation Stories” (1993c), “Chinese Odes” (1996b), and “The Chinese Shijing” (1998b), using cross-textual reading in the process of biblical study. For this comparison Lee argues that,

The encounter between the biblical text and the religiosity and spirituality expressed in the sacred texts of the living faiths of Asia will re-address the whole question of scriptural authority and absolute truth claims of the Christian faith. Asia then can no longer be treated as mainly a mission field of western Christianity nor the people of Asia as missiological objects.... In such a hermeneutics the critical spirit of the prophets and the open-endedness of the radical wisdom in the Bible will provide a model for being critical of our cultural-religious tradition and the socio-political structures of our society. Nor do we reject them out of hand. They have to be examined and judged by the God of history and Lord of creation who confronts us in our context through the word of the Bible (Lee 1993:38).

The comparative reading mode is necessary not only to enable us to “discover the Bible in the non-biblical world” (Kowk, 1989), using the TYCM tribal text to reread the biblical text, but also to reconstruct the non-biblical TYCM tribal people's world, revealing the TYCM tribal text through the process of reading the Bible. It is clear that thus the interaction between the two texts and the two stories enables a comparison to be made between the original textual context and the new context of the readers (Niles 1985).

There are some theses which demonstrate the different themes in this reading mode; for instance, Wang Ping-an compares the love of Paul and the concept of love in the Tayal tribe (Wang 1988), An Shu-mei compares the social status of women in the Yahwist account and the place of women in the Tso tribe (An 1998), Wen Sheng-xiong compares the funeral rites of Christianity and those of the Taroko tribe (1998), Quan Cai-yun compares the relationship between men and women in the

traditional culture of the Bible and the Bunun tribe (2002), Jiang A-yong compares Israelite circumcision and the Bunun tribe's ritual of *Makavas* (2004), Lin Ya-ling compares the snake of the Paiwan tribe and the serpent in the Bible (2005).

A similar assessment by TYCM tribal scholar Pusin Tali compares the experience of the marginal Samaritan woman (Mt 15:21-28) with the experience of TYCM tribal people in the context of Taiwan. He expresses it thus:

Although an indigenous Samaritan woman, she has been rejected by the disciples of Jesus. This was hard for her; it was a humiliation for her, a discrimination against her. Yet despite her lowly status as a Samaritan woman she does not despair. Is it not true that the TYCM tribal people have also had the experience of being assimilated, and exterminated by their rulers? Have not the TYCM tribal people been humiliated and discriminated against by the Han people? (Tali 2006:54).

I use comparative studies to cross-read between a TYCM tribal text and the biblical text to show the experiences of TYCM tribal people in their existential context, with examples, such as: *The Aniconic God of the Hebrew Bible and Utux Tmninun of the Sediq Tribe* (2002), *Milisin and Pesah* (2003), *Aboriginal Mapping of TYCM Tribal People and the Promised Land of the Israelite People* (2005).<sup>77</sup>

The shadow of the world of traditional TYCM tribal philosophy can be re-discovered and re-constructed through the TYCM's process of reading the Bible by a cross-textual reading mode. It is meaningful to use cross-textual reading between TYCM texts and the biblical texts the better to understand the plural cultural and religious contexts which are present when reading the Bible with TYCM tribal people. In the cross-textual reading mode TYCM tribal people tell their own stories, in a similar manner to that in which the ancient Israelite people shared their stories in the Bible. It is the same world that God created!

## 2.5. Multi-tribal Hermeneutic Reading Mode

Another related area of scholarly debate among the modes of TYCM Bible reading, in addition to the three modes discussed above, is that of the Multi-tribal Hermeneutic

---

<sup>77</sup> See *The Yu-shan Theological Journal*.

Reading Mode, which has often been employed by the TYCM. Archie Lee claims that three reading modes – the text-centred approach, the text-context interpretative mode, and Cross-textual Hermeneutics make up the biblical hermeneutic of Asia (Lee 1993). I would argue that the multi-tribal hermeneutic Bible reading mode is just as useful and a much used mode in many tribes, where it is practised in public workshops or symposia as well as in TYCM tribal Church groups.

The marriage studies mentioned above include six theses which study different tribal angles on the same biblical text: Wang Yu-feng's description of the worldview of the Paiwan tribe (1976); Shi Wen-hui's description of the Taroko tribe (1986); Qiu Zheng-yi's description of the Bunun tribes (1987); Lin Mei-ying's description of the Amis tribe (1989); Ke Yu-ling's description of the Rukai tribe (1998), and the different tribal worldviews portrayed in Wey Le-yu's text (2002). In their approach to the same biblical subject matter, different tribes have their own tribal understandings of the texts. For example, in Zhong Jia-can's reading of the funeral rites from the viewpoint of the Tao tribe (2003), in Wen Sheng-xiong's reading from the perspective of the Taroko tribe (1998), in Yahu Yi-yung's discussion of the laws or rules/taboos from the worldview of the Tayal tribe (2000), and in Song Ming-jin's description of the Bunun tribe (2005), all develop common multi-tribal hermeneutics from the perspective of their own tribal worldviews in their workshops or plenary discussions with the TYCM tribal Church groups.

Similar concerns can be found in my focused reading of the Garden of Eden (גֶּן-בְּעֵדֶן, Gen 3-4) in TYCM mother-tongues. These Hebrew words are translated thus in some of the tribal Bible translations: *Quma I Idin* in Paiwan, *Iding Qbliqan* in Taroko, *Eden Alinaskalan* in Bunun, *Itin A Palasayan* in Amis. There are some qualitatively different meanings from the meaning of the Hebrew. Take *Quma I Idin* in the Paiwan Bible, *Quma* is similar to the meaning of “garden”, “field” or “forest”, and *Palasayan* could be translated as a “garden” where many kinds of flowers and trees grow, but which does not include animals. At the same time, *Iding Qbliqa* in the Taroko language, and the Bunun tribe's *Alinaskalan* have different meanings. *Qbliqan* implies “garden” or “the place where there is happiness, pleasure, and riches,” or this could be translated as “a heavenly place” or “paradise”. Therefore, *Iding Qbliqan* can be translated as “The Heavenly Happy Eden” or “The Pleasure Eden Garden”. The word *Alinaskalan* in Bunun is a compound of three parts: *ali-*, which means “in, at, on”, *-lan*, which means “one place”, and *naskal*, which means “happy, pleasure”. Both *Iding Qbliqan* and *Eden Alinaskalan* carry an eschatological meaning, depicting the place where all people will live together with all the ancestors after death. Neither of

these matches the meaning of “Eden,” which is where God created the first place from which people and all of life emerges (Ukan 2006:110-111).

In another example, I analyse the tribal concepts of the sky as viewed by the Amis, the Paiwan, the Tso, the Rukai, the Pinuyuman, the Sediq, the Tayal, and also its meaning in the Hebrew Bible. He emphasizes:

The vastness of the “heavens” (שָׁמַיִם) which were created by God is not fully portrayed in the limited example given by the ancient Israelite people. It is something which is grasped within the boundary of space and time by all people. And “the heavens” (shamayim) include the sky which different people experience in different ways, as the worldview of different people is different (Ukan 2007:151).

This multi-tribal hermeneutic reading, seen through the eyes of different tribal people, poses questions for contemporary TYCM society and its tribal cultural-religious contexts, as it seeks “to wrestle with” that which can “be multiplied” (Ukpong 1995) by different tribal eyes rereading the biblical text. A multi-tribal hermeneutic can indeed help, not only to re-read, reinterpret, and reshape the religious traditions and heritage of the different TYCM tribes, but can also enhance their understanding of the injustice, oppression and poverty which they have suffered.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

We are unable to deny the fact that the first and the second reading modes are still the most common biblical reading modes in the contemporary TYCM tribal Christian Church. However, the most important way for TYCM tribal people to engage in a new way of doing biblical hermeneutics is by relating the biblical text with the culture-religious traditions of TYCM tribal people, thus enabling them to discover their experiences of identity, rights and dignity in the Christian faith. The cross-textual reading mode and the multi-tribal hermeneutic reading mode will play important roles in developing a critical bond of consciousness with TYCM tribal texts which have been nourished within TYCM tribal communities for a few thousand years before the contemporary context. This can surely help TYCM tribal Christians as they deal with the multiple identities of their own tribal worldviews, enabling them to make room for an appropriate Bible reading mode. We will continue to discuss this in the following chapter.

However, what this chapter makes clear at once is that, in spite of the lengthy description of more than four hundred years of colonial history outlined in chapter one, colonial resources would never have been accepted as the primary resources for TYCM biblical scholars and ministers with which to create a new decolonial reading mode for the reading of biblical and tribal texts during the postcolonial period of the last four decades. This recognition is necessary in order that we may proceed to consider the postcolonial discourse of Taiwan in the next chapter, so linking the colonial experience of the Taiwanese and TYCM tribal people with the socio-political context of Taiwan.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan**

#### **3.0. Introduction**

According to the arguments previously adduced, colonial conquest and invasion were the main experiences of the TYCM over the past four hundred years. However, these have not been viewed as the main resource for TYCM biblical scholars to construct a mode of re-reading the biblical texts along with their traditional texts in the context of the past forty years. The colonial experience of the TYCM can no longer be isolated from the historical context of Taiwan, but it is also necessary to engage with the postcolonial discourse of the Taiwanese people. The purpose of this chapter is to identify that postcolonial discourse and to engage with it.

We will therefore discuss the postcolonial discourse of Taiwan in this chapter. Is the outcome of colonialism enough to explain the present situation in Taiwan? What is the outcome a generation after postcolonial theory has been clarified? These are the key points to be discussed in this chapter.

#### **3.1. The Location of Postcolonial Discourse in Taiwan**

The field of postcolonial discourse has been coming into greater prominence in the last twenty years. The theme of “postcolonialism” provided the stimulus for this present discussion concerning “cultural positioning”. As a starting point we can refer to the discussion between Liao Chao-yang and Chiu Kuei-fen, at a National Conference on Comparative Literature in 1992 (Chiu 2003a:265). Then, in 1995, Huang listed a series of criticisms relating to the article “The Discourse of the Localization Movement: an Observation on Taiwan Culture History” by Professor Chen Chao-ying. Many scholars joined in the debate on this theme in 1996, and they talked about the influence of postcolonialism on culture, literature and the political problems of Taiwan. In the magazine *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, the opening paragraphs talk about the argument between Liao Chao-yang and Chiu Kuei-fen, and this is followed by several scholarly papers on the discourses of postcolonialism.

Even though the postcolonial period gave rise to many discussions in Taiwanese academic circles, the focus of these has been discourses regarding the positioning and recognition of Taiwan's sovereignty through the use of postcolonial theory. Those discourses have been developed and have appeared in multiple and complex guises. As Liao Ping-hui states, commenting on Taiwanese postcolonial history from the theoretical angle and viewing Taiwan as a boundary according to that discourse structure, the sovereignty of Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 when the Ching Dynasty of China (The People's Republic of China, PRC, now known as China) was defeated in the war with Japan. In 1945 Japan lost the Second World War and, not long after, the Chinese communist party defeated the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1949. The KMT army then retreated from China and occupied Taiwan. Currently, Taiwan is menaced by the fear of military aggression from the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, Taiwan has become a wrestling-place for, and a gambling chip to be used by, western countries, such as Portugal, Holland, Britain and France, who seek to use it as a means to negotiate with China. Taiwan was also marked as an experimental place for modernization by both China and Japan. Liao Ping-hui, says that the KMT thought Taiwan was "the prototype province of China under Sun Yat-sen's *The Three Principles of the People* (San Min Ju Yi). These circumstances make Taiwan a place seemingly full of contradictions, with layers of overt and covert multiple roles that constitute the postcolonial context in Taiwan (Liao 2006:46, 42-49).

The cultural context of Taiwan can be discerned as we research the layers of the different periods of colonization (by the Netherlands, Spain, China, Japan, and the KMT as well as various ethnic groups) and other periods of immigration, which are more complicated in comparison to those of other Asian-Pacific areas. Taiwanese people have been transformed by different colonizers and immigration groups many times, due to their reactions to them, and the impact of them on their inheritance, by periods of resistance, and by the effect that the absorption of immigrants has had on their language and culture (Liao 1994:22-23). Liao Ping-hui also thinks that the generality of postcolonial discourses, which stem from the physical development and independence experiences in Africa, India, Central and South America, are not enough to explain the situation of Taiwan. In the areas colonized by Britain, France, and Germany, their colonial experience has been different from those of Asian-Pacific countries; so their development discourses are not comprehensive enough to explain the particular experiences of Taiwan.

Research has shown that deviations in history and culture between the TYCM and Taiwanese immigrants are due to their belonging to different ethnic groups, and thus

that their political identities should be tied to that particularity. In order to prevent people from falling blindly into “generalised” forms of postcolonial discourse, Liao reminds the disciples of postcolonial discourse that postcolonialism developed within the framework of western history, so it is not entirely suitable to be adopted as the best means of describing the experience of eastern societies. At present the societies in the Asia-Pacific region have developed a multi-lingual style of information production and consumption, which goes far beyond the coverage of that particular theory. How is it possible then, to find a road from the gap between postcolonialism and postmodernism to the cultural and political experience of the Asian-Pacific people? This will offer a challenge for bilingual intellectuals (Liao 1995:228-229).

Li Qiao highlights three points from postcolonial discourse (from a western perspective), which he declares are not sufficient to explain the situation in Taiwan, specifically regarding Taiwanese history since 1945. First, Japan evacuated from Taiwan in 1945 and Taiwan was put under the trusteeship of the Allies after World War II. However, the KMT government took over Taiwan and controlled it thereafter. The KMT government was like the Japanese ex-rulers, not only exploiting the economic resources of Taiwan, but also continuing the colonial system. It could not be said that it was not “a new colonialism”. And cultural aggression was as strong as that of Japan, so Taiwan could not be defined as clearly having a “post” colonial period. Second, the KMT government promoted the slogan, “Taiwan comes back to the bosom of the motherland”, and they asserted that on both sides the people were the same Han people as were living on mainland China. But this theory does not explain the “incident of 2-28” (“er er ba” – i.e. 28<sup>th</sup> February) in which many Taiwanese people were killed in 1947. Further, the decades-long White Terror rule imposed a colonial control of the Taiwanese people up to the time of the Presidential election of 2004. Third, the KMT colonial government, having lost their motherland (China) and then occupied Taiwan, did not recognize a modern democratic system that included popular civil rights; they insisted that they always had a superior right and denied equality. Consequently their attitude was like that of a colonial power. Therefore, Li Qiao argues, the western postcolonial theory does not adequately explain the KMT government’s role as a new colonialism, or fully comprehend the postcolonial period in the historical movement of Taiwan (Li 2008).<sup>78</sup>

By arguing that the KMT government was another form of colonialism, Liao Ping-hui and Li Qiao point out the unique location of Taiwan in postcolonial discourse. Chang

---

<sup>78</sup> Li Qiao, “Special Postcolonial Features in Taiwan”, *Office of the President, Republic of China (Taiwan)*, 2008/05/12, [http://www.president.gov.tw/1\\_structure/famous/column/10\\_3.html](http://www.president.gov.tw/1_structure/famous/column/10_3.html)

Lung-chih makes a similar point, stating that any postcolonial theory should always be built on the context of a particular situation. Therefore, for the purpose of any discussion, the postcolonial discourse of Taiwan should stand on the social and cultural phenomena that exist in Taiwan, in particular, and in the Asian-Pacific arenas, in general (Chang 2006:363). There are a number of scholars specializing in Taiwanese postcolonial theory who have taken as their focus such particularities. For example, Chiu Kuei-fen, has used Taiwanese nationalism and gender discourse to serve as the context for an analysis of the history of local Taiwanese postcolonial experience, and has gone on to discuss the possibility of postcolonial theory in Taiwan (Chiu 1995:41-47). Also Chen Fang-ming, the pre-eminent historian of the Taiwanese postcolonial experience, engages directly with the theory of rebuilding Taiwanese cultural independence and with Taiwanese postcolonial discourse theory (Chen 2002; 2003:980).

From the above scholarly views we can clearly understand that Taiwan has its own special historical situation and colonial experiences, so it should develop a postcolonial theory which meets its specific contextual demands (Jiang, 1998; Liao, 1997). Though what has become western postcolonial theory (though its origins lie in the subaltern studies of India (Guha and Spivak 1988)) offers many ideas, it is not suitable to describe Taiwan's situation completely.

### **3.2. Opening the Period of "Postcolonial" Discourse**

When we study Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, we must first decide how to define the beginning of the postcolonial period in Taiwan. If we are to mark the postcolonial period as a historical stage, it will be necessary to assess the changes in the Taiwanese political structure. There are two other historical events which should be prominent in these discussions. The first one is the Japanese retreat from Taiwan in 1945, which ended its colonial rule, and the second one is the lifting of martial law in 1987 by the KMT government of Taiwan. These major events are two milestones in Taiwanese history.

When scholars study Taiwanese postcolonial theory, their research is conditioned by their political tendencies and their cultural standpoint. The Taiwanese who recognize Taiwan's intrinsic bond with China see the postcolonial period as starting when the Japanese retreated from Taiwan in 1945; another viewpoint is presented by those Taiwanese who deny this bond with China. They see the period of postcolonial rule as

beginning when President Lee Deng-hui took office and the political structure was reshuffled. But Liao Ping-hui argues that the TYCM's viewpoint on these issues is ambiguous and unclear (Liao 1994; 1997). He claims that neither the view of the Taiwanese who recognize China, nor the view of the Taiwanese who do not, is appropriate. Actually, Liao argues, the Taiwanese people have not yet entered into the postcolonial period because, externally, China resists the attempts of Taiwan to develop its own formal relationships in international society, and, internally, issues of cultural entrapment continue to exist. This forces the Taiwanese to fall prey to another type of possession by colonial thought (Liao 2006:47-48).

Chui Kuei-fen quotes the view of Edward Said (Said 1989:207) to illustrate her stance on the Taiwanese postcolonial situation. She says that the Taiwanese people were forced into isolation and marginalization, being treated as a second-class group throughout the various periods of colonialism. In her analysis, Chiu believes that the colonization period of Taiwan not only includes the era when the people were under Japanese rule, but also extends back more than one hundred years into the past from the time of the KMT sovereign government when the country was under martial law (Chiu 1995:172-173).

Chang Ching-yuan argues that postcolonialism should include two elements: the first one is the time of termination, which defines the time when the previous colonial rule was over; the second one is the time of replacement, which means the time when colonialism was replaced and therefore not in existence anymore. The second element may be said to contain a certain ambiguity. If the definition of the period when colonialism exists is that the political and economic powers are unequal, then the era in which we are currently living has not yet moved beyond a time of colonialism (Chang 1999:1). This is the reason why Liao Ping-hui claims that the beginning of Taiwanese postcolonialism was neither 1945 nor 1987. He highlights the fact that Taiwan falls more into a pattern of a country still deeply steeped in colonial thought (under Chinese nationalism) and one which has not yet entered into the postcolonial period, given its refusal to risk recognition of Taiwanese existence (i.e. independence) and the continued political, economic and cultural influence of China.

Chiu Kuei-fen agrees with the view of Liao Ping-hui who states that the thinking of the Taiwanese has for a long time been dominated by thoughts of dependency on, and boundary with, China, and that this stems from its experience of continually living in a colonial era in its political, economic and cultural environment (Liao 1994a:107). The situation in which Taiwan finds itself goes completely against the sense of

“postcolonialism”, which denotes that when colonized countries become independent they “own” their own sovereignty and are considered to be independent nations in international society. Thus, according to this sense of the term, Taiwan has still not emerged into a postcolonial era.<sup>79</sup>

As far as the starting time of Taiwan’s postcolonial period is concerned, I am in agreement with Chen Fang-ming, who distinguishes the three colonial phases as the colonized period (rule by Japan), the re-colonized period (rule by KMT) and the postcolonial period (starting from the presidency of Lee Deng-hui).<sup>80</sup> While this view is met with considerable reserve by many people on every side, I personally think that this is the most influential analysis within Taiwanese postcolonial theory since 1992. Following on from this, Chen Fang-ming divides Taiwanese history into three phases from a postcolonial literary-historical view: the colonial period, the re-colonial period and the postcolonial period. The biggest difference is that he has defined the KMT ruling period as the re-colonial period but not the postcolonial period. He claims that the colonial system did not end with the Japanese retreat from Taiwan in 1945. He had earlier given his reason for defining the “re-colony” period as that of the KMT rule, by pointing out that the KMT government promotes a fictional Chinese nationalism and a one party political system, and is in effect a big faction with “arms” to occupy the political resources of Taiwan (Chen 2003).

Specifically, the KMT government promoted a policy of Chinese and cultural activities that discriminated against the Taiwanese and inhibited Taiwanese freedom of speech, creating a class of sub-citizens, an idea which had been promoted by Japan. The 2-28 incidents in 1947 are the notorious example that proves this theory. Chen states that Taiwanese literary writers who wrote between 1937 and 1945 faced the threat of Japanese nationalism and made compromises so that their works flattered the ruling government. However, their internal pain and struggles did not stop there. When the war ended and Chinese nationalism replaced Japanese nationalism, the Taiwanese writers’ minds were full of confusion and contradictions. Chen says that they faced not only a postwar period but also a period of “recolonization” (Chen 2007:27-28). Moreover, he points out, the ruling KMT imposed martial law, using the struggle against communism as justification, in order to bolster its authority. The government of the KMT built up a Chinese Art and Literature Association (not a

---

<sup>79</sup> We could see this in Tao’s comments about the definition of the “Post-colony”, in Tao Tung-fang, *Postcolonialism* (Taipei: Yang-Chi, 2000), 4.

<sup>80</sup> The “three Taiwan colony phases” are very important to underscore the argument of postcolonial discourse in Taiwan, as seen in Chen Fang-ming, “Defining the structure and extent of Taiwan’s recent literary history”, *Unitas, A Literary Monthly* 16/9 (2000).

Taiwanese association), which by its regulations reflected the spirit of continuing to create a sub-citizenry as another type of colonial system, and which promoted anti-communist activity. Consequently, Chen asserts, the Taiwanese colonial literary period did not end in 1945, rather its existence should date from the 1920s, through 1945 to 1987, after which the KMT ruling government lifted martial law; it was only then that Taiwanese literature gained its full liberty (Chen 2007:23-46).

On the other hand Chen Ying-chen, who identifies himself more with a Chinese nationalist consciousness, criticizes Chen Fang-ming's many articles published in the *Unitas, A Literary Monthly* (Chen 2000:138-160). He rejects the labelling of Taiwan under the KMT, following the Japanese colonial period, as a colonial society. He disagrees with the term "re-colonial period" (i.e. the period after 1945) or the "postcolonial period" (i.e. that which began after martial law was lifted in 1987.) He divides recent Taiwanese history into four phases: (1) the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society (1945-1950); (2) the new colonial, semi-capitalist society (1950-1966); (3) the new colonial, dependent capitalist society (1965-1985); and (4) the new colonial, dependent Taiwanese capitalist society (1985-). Chen believes that the cultural policies enacted by the KMT after 1945 belonged to the centralized type, but not to that of colonial rule. After the KMT lifted martial law in 1987, the Taiwanese societal structures at both economic and social levels were continually chaotic but did not break down, so he does not offer a revolutionary alteration in redefining that "re-colonial" period as "postcolonial". He claims that the contemporary Taiwanese colonization period started in 1950, not in 1987, and that Taiwan's dependency on the U.S.A. in economic, political, and diplomatic matters showed evidence of this.<sup>81</sup> He published several articles in the *Unitas, A Literary Monthly* rejecting the discourse offered by Chen Fang-ming, the key points of which focused on the analysis of Taiwanese society's four-phases-separation after 1945 (Chen 2000b: 161). It is a pity that he did not explain the connection between the Taiwanese colonization experience and his four divisions. Chen Ying-chen says that his intention was to analyze Taiwanese socio-economic history from the perspective of Marxism; it was obviously different from the perspective of Chen Fang-ming, which was an analysis of Taiwanese literary history.

The other criticism regarding the position of Chen Fang-ming comes from Chao Hsi-fang, who asserts that the KMT autocratic rule should be understood in terms of a nationalist postcolonial theory. Chen Fang-ming argues that the brutal political

---

<sup>81</sup> Chen Ying-chen, "The theme of Three Phase History and the Theme of Taiwan's New Literary History could be ended", *Chinatide Association*, [http://www.xiachao.org.tw/i\\_f\\_page.asp?repro=126](http://www.xiachao.org.tw/i_f_page.asp?repro=126)".

domination of the KMT, which was similar to Japanese rule, was only a symptom of the logical problems of nationalism. He quotes from Frantz Fanon's theory which defines this political situation not as colonialism, but as nationalism. He sides with Chen Ying-chen in criticizing further the view of Chen Fang-ming, which ignored the U.S.A.'s role and position in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse (Chao 2007).<sup>82</sup> Though both these scholars point out that Chen Fang-ming ignores American capitalism's role and influence in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, the question which we must consider is that Chen Ying-chen seems not to want to accentuate the fact that the KMT ruling party's "sovereignty" was an extension of the Japanese colonial system, thereby harming the Taiwanese identity. It remains an unsettled question.

Yu Sheng-kuang agrees with the view of Chen Fang-ming regarding the lifting of martial law in 1987 as a point in the postcolonial timeline, but he poses the same question as Chen Fang-ming about the historical divisions of "re-colonial" and "postcolonial" periods. For example, Yu states that Chen claimed literary writers were unable to cope with the level of stress and threat of exile during the postcolonial period after martial law was lifted in 1987. Thus, Chen argues, Taiwanese literature in the postcolonial period could be identified by its characteristics of multiplicity and toleration. All literature produced in Taiwan should be considered an inseparable part of the subjectivity of Taiwanese literature (Yu 2001). However, Yu Sheng-kuang criticizes this theory of multiplicity and toleration. He maintains that this would cause Chen's postcolonial historical view to fall into an area of multiplicity and toleration but ignore the main characteristics of the colonial history and de-colonization in the postcolonial phase. Yu said that this would not be considered a postcolonial historical view. And for that reason he must reject it. Postcolonial discourse emphasized liberty from the postcolonial rulers, but actually the colonialism of the KMT influence continued to dominate the development of politics, society and culture in Taiwan. The pursuit of independence and sovereignty from colonial rule would be a long process, so Chen needed to develop a postcolonial theory which had its axis centered on the process of de-colonization to wipe away the negative influences of the colonial period (Yu 2001; 2005).

Accordingly Yu Sheng-kuang argues that the focus is not only on multiplicity and toleration, which are essentials of postcolonial literature, but also that there should be

---

<sup>82</sup> Chao Hsi-fang, "The Novels of Yang Kuei and Taiwan Localization Discourse", at *Ren-Jian* website [www.Ren-Jian.com](http://www.Ren-Jian.com), 2007/07/06, also from <http://www.ren-jian.com/Index.asp?act=ViewEachArticle&ArticleID=1737>.

a spirit of de-colonization to cleanse the negative influences from colonialism (Yu 2001; 2002; 2005). Though most scholars (from a postcolonial perspective) argued that Taiwan entered the postcolonial era after martial law was lifted in 1987, the old sovereign (the KMT) still possessed the political resources of Taiwan, and it used factional party bodies to dominate the political, social, and cultural affairs in the future of Taiwan.<sup>83</sup>

Chen Fang-ming republished *Postcolonial Taiwan: Literary-History Themes and Their Context* in 2007, which explored Taiwanese society when martial law was lifted, in which he argues that it could be seen as belonging both to a postcolonial and also to a postmodern era. This work presented the key ideas which Taiwanese literary history had to deal with. Chen uses the example of literary history engineering by Yeh Shih-tao to trace his views on left-wing history and the meaning of culture. He concentrates especially on writing about the experiences of women after martial law was lifted. In addition, Chen lists the controversial literature written by Eileen Chang, which attempted to clarify some key questions from history. Chen was trying to find a proper position for Eileen Chang in Taiwanese literary history. He collected the controversial articles written by himself and Chen Ying. In his book, Chen highlighted the salient breakthrough points in the written strategy and the historical explanation of Taiwanese literary history. Chen Fang-ming lists his position on the subject of postcolonialism in the preface of his book:

The beginning of postcolonial research in Taiwan was quite late; it could be separated into two layers for analysis. Taiwanese literary research began after martial law was lifted; the martial law ruling system was one type of the colonial system. It stressed and distorted Taiwan's history, literature, language and culture, causing the postcolonial research to be neglected. The martial law system prohibited Taiwan literary research. It denounced the strategy which was depicted ("Orientalism"), the western white people's colonialism which was built as a historical structure of the colonial imagination, both in discourse and execution. The government ruling by martial law thought there was no difference between Taiwanese history and Chinese history in their colonial way of thinking; they also thought the scope of the Taiwan historical experience was too narrow, so they used

---

<sup>83</sup> Yu Sheng-kuang, "Postcolonial or Post-Modern? Chen Fang-ming: A Difficulty for Taiwan Literary-historical Discourse", *Taiwanese literary research workshop 2001*, <http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/i/iu-seng-koan/tanhongbeng-bunhaksu.htm>.

the Chinese historical experiences to replace the chaotic educational approach of Taiwan, it made the history of Taiwan to be hugely overshadowed in the huge discourses of China (Chen 2007:12).

Clearly, Chen Fang-ming wanted to remind us that Taiwanese postcolonial discourse should consider the influential role the Chinese played in it.

Chen Kuan-hsing agrees with the categories developed by Chen Fang-ming, but in his writings maintains that colonialism still exists for the TYCM tribal people, labourers, gays, lesbians, and women. It will not cease to exist until ethnocentrism, classism, heterosexism, and patriarchy disappear from human society (Chen 1996:101).

Chiu Kuei-fen contributes to the debate along similar lines, arguing that what defines the colonial relationship is the most important structure to be identified. Chiu uses Ahmad's concept to define the meanings of colony and postcolony (Ahmad 1992:204), and argues that the "colony" means all areas of power which stress "chains", and "decolonial" means resistance to the different types of "stress" in the historical context of Taiwan. She claims that those engaged in postcolonial discourse have to use "decolonial" to replace the postcolonial position of "anti-colonial struggle", indeed it could help us to avoid confusion in the colonial discourse about Taiwan (Chiu 2003:278). It should be noted that she highlights the importance of using the adjective "anti-colonial" in postcolonial discourse.

Summing up all these various viewpoints we may conclude that, if we accept the concepts of "de-colony" and "anti-colony" which were emphasized by the Taiwanese postcolonial scholars, and the facts concerning colonialism and its intrinsic influence on the different social classes in Taiwan, then we should follow the rule set by Chen Fang-ming and define the "postcolonial" period as starting when martial law was lifted in 1987, and the "re-colonial period" as lasting from 1945 to 1987. This will help us to further investigate the themes of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse in the next section.

### **3.3. The Themes of Taiwanese Postcolonial Discourse**

At the beginning of 2000, Chen Fang-ming identified Taiwan's postcolonial structure in order to develop Taiwanese literary history and to announce the coming of the postcolonial era. The reappearance and re-reading of his articles has generated several

important discourse themes in Taiwan, including the recovery of historical memory, the main subjective structures, the hybridity of colonialism, the complications of language and multiple cultures, and the illusion of the myth of identity, etc.<sup>84</sup>

### **3.3.1. Historical Amnesia and Memory**

The most common experiences for colonized societies and races include the attempt to obliterate histories, traditions and memories apart from those of the colonizer. For example, historical amnesia, which is produced within colonized societies is, therefore, a necessary theme for discussion. The situation of Taiwanese writers and intellectuals who lived within this cultural hegemony of the colonizer made it impossible for them to write and reminisce about their past history. The reason why the colonial government endeavoured to create historical amnesia in the minds of the citizens was so that they could separate and isolate the inhabitants as well as legitimize the colonial ruling party and rationalize their claims.

For example, the purpose of Japanese colonialism was to consolidate its ruling advantage, which they did by declaring that all Taiwanese were the offspring of Yamato Minzoku. Step-by-step they eliminated the historical memory of the Taiwanese linking them to Taiwan. Another example, from the KMT martial law period, was when the Nationalist government used similar methods, declaring that all Taiwanese were the offspring of the Chinese emperor; this was yet another way for them to exert control, setting aside historical memory, and to stress the legitimacy of their power, which actually belonged to the Taiwanese people. As Chen Fang-ming shows:

A historical amnesia has existed in Taiwanese society for more than 400 years. The phenomenon arose in Taiwan because the ruling government controlled the rights of body, thought and writing of the inhabitants. Even today, academic researchers have not been able to produce substantial material concerning the harmful influence on Taiwan society under the martial law ruling system....The historical amnesia in literature was due not only to a dearth of archival documentation (missing records and historical accounts, etc.), but was also caused by the experience of writers themselves and by their

---

<sup>84</sup> We also could see Lin Ling-ling, "The Reconstruction of Law-Taiwanese Literature and Postcolonial Discourse", *WHAMPOA - An Interdisciplinary Journal* 53 (2007), 41-64.

organic response to the martial law system, in their activities, language expression and modes of thinking. This could also on a wider basis influence political thinking and imagination at both a local and a national level. (Chen 2007:109).

Chen Fang-ming states that the self-exile of those Taiwanese writers was a prime example of the common reaction concerning historical amnesia from the perspective of the Taiwanese postcolonial mood. The strategy of the colonial ruling government was to isolate people from their land so that the people would forget their roots. The ruling government could then secure the advantage by exploiting the land and the resources once the inhabitants were separated from their land and culture (Chen 2007:34). Whenever writers resisted the foreign sovereignty of the government under the colonial ruling system, they did not assert themselves by engaging in debate with the colonizer; rather they had to express their spirit of resistance in the midst of self-exile and through the ways of rootless exiles. During this period Taiwanese writers suffered imprisonment, execution by shooting, or simply disappeared, eg. Yang Lai-ho, Wang Shih-lang, Chu Tien-jen, Lu He-jou, Chang Wei-hsien, and Yeh Shih-tao.

When the ruling government increased their efforts to create historical amnesia, their political reach went so far as to censor intellectual expression and literary discussion at different times, and thus the people lost their freedom of speech, their freedom of thought, their freedom of movement and their freedom of association. Such interference silenced intellectuals and writers, and they had no other means of protest. Consequently, they endured periods of both internal and external exile (Chen 2007:33; 1995:111). As Homi K. Bhabha states, memory was the bridge between colonialism and cultural status, so memory was not a static internal review and traceable action, it was a way to absorb pain and to discern the colonial process. It composed the past from fragments in order to understand the trauma of today (quoted in Tao 2000: 9). So, we could say that when the people lost their own Taiwanese historical memory they chose the path of self-exile to express the recognition of their own status. This was a general phenomenon in Taiwanese colonial society. Under circumstances such as these, “Taiwan” was not allowed to be an “entity” in colonial society. To take an example, “Taiwan” was a prohibited name during the Japanese rule and during the KMT martial law period; the history of Taiwan was forgotten and was not stressed in the new educational structure; it became a distorted group historical memory. Actually, Chiu Kuei-fen asserts, Taiwan had its own history, but the last one hundred years of colonial enterprise forced the Taiwanese into a position of historical amnesia and into

exile from their own land, people, and history (Chiu 1995:170).

Thus, Taiwanese postcolonial discourse emphasizes the need to recall and to rewrite their cultural/religious traditions as a form of protest against the colonial system. But with what, and how, were the Taiwanese able to face the possibility of censure in the era of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse?

That Taiwanese writers and intellectuals could face their own history a bit more fearlessly after 1987 was a minor miracle. The colonized Taiwanese had suffered from historical amnesia for more than one hundred years because of the colonial and the martial law systems, which controlled the freedom of thought of the Taiwanese people. Therefore in the midst of Taiwanese historical amnesia a special way of writing had to be created in which it was possible to criticize and to struggle against the colonial system, as an important essential to illuminate Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. As the descriptions in the book *The Empire Writes Back* point out, there are three important major movements of postcolonial writings: the silencing and marginalizing of postcolonial voices by the imperial centre; the abrogation of this imperial centre within the text; and the active appropriation of the language and culture of that centre – “the notions of power inherent in the model of centre and margin are appropriated and so dismantled” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989:83).

The movements of Taiwanese postcolonial writing became a type of strategy to recover the local historical memory of the Taiwanese people. First, Taiwanese writers used the term “Taiwanese literature” to replace “Chinese literature”. A notable example is found in the 1980s in the Taiwanese literary argument between Yeh Shi-tao and Chen Ying-chen.<sup>85</sup> The term “Taiwanese literature” won its position in academic circles, and their arguments, which related coincidentally to power and allocation, began to address the traditional spirit of “anti-emperor and anti-colony” more prevalent in Taiwanese literature (Chen 1984:7-27). In addition, the special writing strategy used to speak to power in postcolonial literature was, and is, a means of adducing substantial facts to enable people to face their colonial experience; it thus awakened the Taiwanese memory and caused us to be concerned about our country’s land, to generate strong feelings and recognition about our living place. This has been called the “anti-colonial writing strategy” (Chen 2007:34). Taiwanese must rebuild their own written history, and should create their own literary patterns. Then the

---

<sup>85</sup> For similar arguments about the literary history of Taiwan, see Yeh Shi-tao “An Introduction to the Fundamentals of Taiwanese Local Literary History” *The Taiwanese Local Literature Discussion Series* (1980a), 69-92. Chen Ying-chen, “The Blind Spot of Taiwanese Local Literature”, *The Taiwanese Local Literature Discussion Series* (1980b), 93-99.

Taiwanese will recognize their own local literature, will discover this special writing method, and will begin to ask serious questions about its anti-colonial characteristics.<sup>86</sup>

Second, Chen tells us that, after martial law was lifted in 1987, scholars began collecting voluminous oral history records from the people at the grassroots level of society. These historical records not only proved that the common people felt that their rights had been inhibited, but were also instrumental in pushing matters forward after the lifting of the law. The scholars summarized this data to represent how people described their colonial experiences and feelings, and the varieties of recognitions and concerns identified by the interviewers and interviewees. Chen feels that this reveals the problems which arise when academics attempt to define and to communicate the popular viewpoint. And scholars should endeavour to close this gap to show the local people's feelings and to prevent the elite from controlling the people's discourse (Chen 2007:35f).

For example, Chiu Kuei-fen notes that scholars, in endeavouring to transmit the real voices of the people at the grassroots, may in effect be stifling those voices; that is, by representing the people they may give the impression that there is no need to educate the people and to help them find their own voice.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, Chiu Kuei-fen reminds us that the "pure" consciousness of people at the grassroots does not actually exist, and that scholars should consider the various means by which these memories emerge and are communicated by those people at the bottom of society (Chiu 2003:284-285). Thus, Chiu thought such an exercise was not enough to reveal the historical recollection of the people at the bottom, but that scholars should have considered the "historical view from the people at the bottom of society", which relates to the questions of the resources collected and the channels through which they have been communicated (Chiu 2003: 283). When memory is mentioned, Chiu continues, we should ask, "Who recalls memory? Where? In what situation? Fight with what?" (Chiu 1996:7)

How is it possible to view the historical individual or national memory? How can we

---

<sup>86</sup> The special anti-colonial characteristics of the decolonial perspective of Taiwanese literary is seen in Lin Ling-ling's argument in, "Reconstruction of Law-Taiwanese Literature and Postcolonial Discourse", *WHAMPOA - An Interdisciplinary Journal* 53 (2007), 49-50.

<sup>87</sup> A good example of the argument for recording the voice of people at the bottom of society in the colonial period can be found in Landry, Gerald MacLean, eds., *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 287-292. Liao, Ping-hui, "Postcolonial Research: Problem and Prospect-An Inspiration from Some Areas of the Asian-Pacific", ed. by Chien Ying-ying, *Identity, Difference and Subjectivity: from Feminism to Postcolonial Cultural Imagination* (Hsintien: Li-Hsu, 1997), 111-152, 127-128.

define the recognition of personal identity as having a binding relationship with the local land? Chen Fang-ming states that the position of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse must begin with the problem of the invisible class, in that it is vitally important to explore the historical experience of people at the bottom of society to prevent the elites from assuming the leading role in the mainstream of discourse. “No history” or “historical elimination” is the common experience of colonized societies, with the “historical amnesia of Taiwanese society” existing everywhere in Taiwanese literature (Chen 1995:110). There is good evidence to show that the resources of Taiwanese literature in the postcolonial discourse were the means of revealing the historical memory, reconstructing the local discourse, and requiring a Taiwanese historical description to support the strategy called the “anti-colonial written strategy”.

### 3.3.2. Taiwaneseeness – Constructing Subjectivity

Having discussed historical memory above, we can then go on to consider the problem of the nature of “Taiwaneseeness” in the “anti-colony strategy” in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. This kind of discourse can be traced to a discussion between Chiu Kuei-feng and Liao Chao-yang. On the one hand, Chiu speaks about a language-formation process which includes traditionally complicated mutual relationships to prove that the Taiwanese used a language called “Taiwanese Chinese”. This reflects the cross-culture feature noted by Bhabha, referred to as “hybrid”.<sup>88</sup> But Liao Chao-yang rejects this type of culture-melding which does not carry the flavour of “anti-colonial” in colonial discourse. On the other hand, Liao Chao-yang thinks that such a process of culture-melding holds no true Taiwanese nature, so he claims that we should recognize the local culture and then meld with non-native cultures to form a kind of organic social organization. Such an organization is at the root of discussion around “Taiwaneseeness” of those Taiwanese postcolonial scholars (Liao 1992:57).

For example, in 2003 Chiu Kuei-fen published a book named *Rethinking Post colonial Literary Criticism in Taiwan*, which further developed thoughts on the

---

<sup>88</sup> For the characteristics of “hybrid” in the argument of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse see Chiu Kuei-feng, “Discovery of Taiwan: Construction of Taiwan Postcolonial Discourse”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, 21/2 (1992a), page 151-168. And see her “We are all Taiwanese—Answering the Questions from Liao Chao-yang, on the Theme of Taiwanese Postcolonial Discourse”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, 21/3 (1992b), 29-47. Liao Chao-yang “Neither Fish nor Fowl, or Alike Tiger, Leopard, Lion, and Elephant?—also Chiu Kuei-feng’s “Taiwanese Culture”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, 21/3 (1992), 48-58.

Taiwan “nature”. She refers to a definition of “Taiwaneseness”, stating:

We also laid emphasis on the importance of geographical location, language, and the individual’s experience. We think that it is the Taiwanese inhabitants who alone are qualified to define “Taiwan”. We should see the cultures of Taiwan and China as distinct and separate. Should we not assert that it is our geography and our national experience that constitute the fundament of “Taiwan”? We would like to see “Taiwan” as an open, inclusive concept, not an exclusive one denoting an inward-looking attitude. It is a fact that only Taiwanese can define “Taiwaneseness”. Are we selfish in trying to reject the contribution of outsiders to the discussion, and their attempts to assist us in broadcasting Taiwanese culture to the world? (Chiu 2003:133).

Chiu Kuei-fen seeks to explore the possible features of “Taiwaneseness” from the standpoint of “Taiwanese literature”. She believes not only that “Taiwaneseness” lacks a fixed content, but also that it carries a proportional concept that would display its different features depending on where its concepts were placed strategically. However, the features of “Taiwaneseness” are not limitless, but are constricted by Taiwanese geographical history, which includes the colonial methods emerging from its different historical phases (Chiu 2003:135-136). For example, there are three main branches that form Taiwanese history. The first is TYCM tribal people’s history; the second is the immigration history of the native “Han” Chinese; and the third is the colony’s history as it was subject to the rule of foreign countries. Chen Fang-ming claims that those three main branches are “essences”, which form the construction and accumulation of Taiwanese culture. However, the colonists acquired the political resources to stress their own history and to neglect the history of Taiwanese people, including TYCM tribal people. Currently some researchers continue to maintain an attitude of resistance and rejection when colonists regard foreign immigrants as superior cultures. This is easier for them to understand because the former ruling elites during colonial history caused lasting harm to the inhabitants’ memory, the effects of which did not disappear when the colonial system collapsed. The mental terror left by the Japanese colonial period through to the KMT martial law period still “lives on” in Taiwanese society (Chen 2002:16-17).

It could be said that “Taiwaneseness” should be built on its own cultural and historical foundation. The human history, which transpired in this space and on this land, presents more complicated and less stable faces of “Taiwaneseness”, which have been

connected to the inhabitants, the country, the land and historical concerns for a long time (Chiu 2003). Chiu continues, “Who is qualified to promote “Taiwaneseness?” or “Who is most representative of the Taiwanese nature?” Chiu Kuei-fen challenges us to ask these questions in a new way, such as: “What locus has “Taiwaneseness” in the proper dialogue platforms?”, “What is the goal we would like to reach?”, “What kind of influences will effect change for the next generation?”, “What essentially is the people’s problem?” We should obtain the answers from the historical experience of the Taiwanese themselves and should learn its nature from their cultural heritage (Chiu 2003:139-141).

Frantz Fanon reminds us that “a national culture”, like the Taiwanese postcolonial discourse of “Taiwaneseness” and Taiwanese literature, united with the Taiwanese historical experience, has helped the people resist a strictly colonial discourse:

A national culture is not a folklore, nor an abstract populism that believes it can discover the people’s true nature... A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence (Fanon, 1963:233).

“Taiwaneseness” relates to the problem of locality and its characteristics. Basically, scholars are inclined to think about this as the way to identify locality. For example, Chui Kuei-feng, lists the important features of “Taiwaneseness” as composed of locality, inhabitants, country and land. Others, for example, Yu Sheng-kuang, use the features of Taiwanese local literature to express “Taiwaneseness” as follows. (1) The special situation which resulted from the separation of Taiwan and China was one of the main reasons for the generation of Taiwanese literature. Under the Japanese colonial rule, Taiwanese culture was influenced in particular by politics and culture communicated to them by the Japanese. (2) Taiwanese literature is an autonomous body that developed from local literature structures to form its own particular genre. Also, irritatingly, Taiwan adopted the foreign cultures from Japan and western countries forming a new cultural Taiwanese identity, which naturally developed a new local culture with Taiwanese particularity. (3) Taiwanese literature includes countryside (grassroots) concerns, which express particularity in society and culture and this gives it a unique Taiwanese consciousness. (4) Taiwanese literature belongs to a factual expression genre, which reacts to the situation of society and practices the literary criticism of colonialism in the context of Taiwan. For instance, there were two types of criticism, one was to resist the Japanese colonial culture, and the second one

was to react to the pain and injustice of the martial law in the KMT ruling period. Using literary analytical categories, therefore, we are presented with a complex understanding of “Taiwaneseness”.<sup>89</sup>

Central to any notion of “Taiwaneseness”, argues Chen Fang-ming, must be a process “to pursue where the subjectivity is” (Chen 2002:12). For example, and again drawing on literary examples, Taiwanese literature should not be classified as Japanese literature because of the issue of sovereignty that belongs to the colonial period. Moreover, it should not be classified as Chinese literature because it does not fit cultural and race stereotypes. However, Chen’s view is that Taiwanese literature absorbed strengths from Japanese and western cultures to form new literary characteristics. Chen quotes Frantz Fanon as a way forward, who provides an example; he says that the colonists brought modern medical science and the local doctors adopted its advantages and transferred it to local medicine. These were not abandoned after the colonists left. In addition, such situations impacted Taiwanese literature to form new characteristics, like an organic sponge absorbing the advantages from the outside world to undergo a metamorphosis and to reappear as a paradoxical problem when the people want to recognize its real cultural subjectivity (Chen 1998:131-132).

### **3.3.3. The Collapse of the Cultural Canon – Cultural and Language Hybridity**

The colonizers took political and military steps to assume control of the literary medium and the process of literature generation with a view to de-emphasizing the inhabitants’ language and cultural traditions, in order to consolidate their sovereignty and ethnocentrism. The Japanese government prohibited local writers from using their own language, named “Han”, so that local writers had to learn Japanese to have their works published. Then, in the re-colonial ruling period under the KMT, Mandarin Chinese assumed the same role. This experience influenced the research themes of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse; scholarly research was limited by the predominance of colonial language.

For these reason, there are two points to be made concerning colonial language in the light of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. First, when the ruling government held sovereignty, it used its own language and culture to replace the mother-tongues of Taiwan to demonstrate their ethnocentrism. The inhabitants had to censor their

---

<sup>89</sup> Yu Sheng-kuang, “The Characteristics of the Local Literature Theory”, Ch. 2. <http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/i/iu-seng-koan/sek-su/ch-1.htm>.

language and culture or use the new colonizer's language to replace the original one. This was a popular strategy executed in postcolonial societies, and the situation in Taiwan is almost the same. For example, Chiu Kuei-fen quotes the perspective on hybridization and mimicry from Homi Bhabha to describe the colonists' cultural tendency towards hybridization (Chiu 2003: 259-299, 261-263).

... if the effect of colonial power is seen to be the *production* of hybridization rather than the noise of colonialist authority or the silent representation of native traditions, then an important change of perspective occurs. It reveals the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority and enables a form of subversion, founded on that uncertainty, which turns the discourse conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention (Bhabha 1994:160).

What Bhabha's passage makes clear at once is that language and cultural hybridity are central to postcolonial experience and discourse in Taiwan. Chiu Kuei-fen uses different language, arguing that colonial subjects created a "buffer" zone of struggle. For example, Chiu analyzes the anti-colonial approach of Taiwanese writings and describes how Taiwanese scholars usually see "Beijing speech" (Mandarin) as the colonist's language, but accept the "Hoklo speech" (Taiwanese language) as the representative language that suffered under the pressure and inhibitions imposed by the colonists. The colonists strongly promoted their mother language through their political operations; for example Japanese was the official language during the Japanese ruling period; and "Beijing speech" was the official language that the Chinese nationalists compelled the inhabitants of Taiwan to learn. Under both colonial systems the inhabitants were forced to feel inferior if they spoke their own mother language and they wanted to reject it and to forget it (Chiu 2003). However, Chiu states that anti-colonial writing which neglected the importance of "Taiwanese Beijing speech", and its heterogeneous nature, could not solve the problem of the disappearance of TYCM tribal people's languages. She claims that "Taiwanese Beijing speech" became the particular heterogeneous language in Taiwan. It combined Taiwanese historical experience with local language particularity to form a new language form, named "Taiwanese Chinese". Activists used this melding way to extend the scope of "Taiwanese Chinese" and thus to eliminate the sovereignty of the mother language of the colonists (Chiu 1992: 34-36). The work *Storm Wave* by Chung Chao-chen is a good example, in which he used a multiplicity of languages, such as Japanese, Chinese, Hakka, and Hoklo to compose what appears to be some kind of hybridized linguistic phenomenon (Chung 1997).

We agree with her statement that the Taiwanese language is heterogeneous, and, as she has said, that a pure Taiwanese local culture and language have never existed. But we also note that such discourse is likely to accept the aggression of the colonizers who built the structures which house colonial violence to strengthen their cultural sovereignty and to rationalize the issues of the colonists. This path does not strengthen the local anti-colonial energy, but has a tendency to weaken local cultural power.

Second, within the Taiwanese postcolonial genre, the mass of rural/local literature production is one of the anti-colonial strategies used to break down the foundation of colonial canonical literature. The use of thought control during the KMT martial law period limited the development of Taiwanese cultural subjectivity, and the same policy was no less hurtful under the Japanese colonial system. Taiwanese language, history, politics and culture suffered from the systematic violence established by the colonial government to consolidate and develop its position.

Cultural subjectivity emphasized de-colonization and historical memory as the challenges of Taiwanese literary discourse as seen from the anti-colonial perspective (Chen 2007:111). It emphasized the special colonized experience of Taiwan and the independence of Taiwanese literature and history. Taiwanese local discourse questioned the central value system of imperialism just as did postcolonial discourse (Chiu 2003: 259, 261-263). For example, after martial law was lifted in 1987, the children of the victims of the 2-28 Incident, who suffered wrongful treatment, launched rehabilitation movements to ask for compensation (Chen 2002:105-106). Then much material was collected to discuss the incident and to make a written record of all that was recalled in that painful historical memory (Li 1996). Yeh Shih-tao states that after martial law was lifted *Taiwanese Literary History* emphasized anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism (Yeh 1979:73), and that the works of literature stood on the side of the people and challenged the colonial ruling consciousness. The book entitled *40 Years of Taiwan's New Literary Movement*, by Peng Jui-chin, was a representative work, which promoted local consciousness that challenged Taiwanese literature to separate itself from Chinese literature (Peng 1991). These works critiqued colonial literature and were meant to build the main structure of an independent Taiwanese literature.

Thus, the recovery of Taiwanese memory was one of the strategies of the discourse of Taiwanese literary subjectivity. The mixture of Taiwanese history and culture was also a necessary evolution of the discourse of Taiwanese subjectivity resulting from the

Taiwanese historical experience. Taiwan is an immigrant society, which experienced the ruling sovereignty of Holland, Spain, the Ming Dynasty, the Ching Dynasty, Japan, and the present ruling government of the KMT. On many levels, this formed a multiple-colonial-cultured society. Taiwanese history is a colonial history and Taiwan culture has an organic heterogeneity and is multi-cultural. Even the main feature of the Taiwanese language is its “cross-language” essence.

Chui Kuei-feng reminds us, as we have mentioned, that when we shatter the illusion of colonial departmentalism, we also need to abandon the illusion to recall a more pure Taiwanese culture. Actually, a pure Taiwanese departmentalist culture and language does not exist in Taiwan today. She claims that Taiwan is a mixture of multiple cultures and languages and that the Taiwanese language cannot be simply regarded as “Hoklo speech”. Taiwanese vocabulary is mixed with Chinese, Hoklo, Japanese, English, Hakka, TYCM tribal words, and other languages popular in Taiwan society (Chiu 1995:169-191). This type of heterogeneous mixture of foreign and local cultural languages was an important anti-colonial written strategy for Taiwanese colonial discourse. For example, in *Ruin Taiwan* by Soong Tse-lai, the writer attempts to use “Beijing speech” and “Hoklo speech” to express his concern for Taiwan’s environmental problems. Yet another book, *Picture of Beauty* by Wang Chen-ho, weaves a fabric of a complicated language environment, in which readers read in Mandarin, Hoklo and Cantonese. The characters in the story are from different places and different classes and they all live together with different cultural backgrounds, yet they must communicate with each other by using their own languages to share their experiences (Cheng 1995:292-307), so deconstructing any sense of a dominant language or literature.

### **3.3.4. Identity of Nation, People, and Culture**

We can discover the foundation of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse(s) by checking various resources. It does not simply appear from the cycle of recognizing differences between the views of pro-China or of pro-Taiwan independence. Cheng Hen-hsiung states that Taiwanese literature is either one cycle of Chinese literature or that it occupies a separate place, in that it presents many stories with a background of Taiwanese society and history, reflecting on the Taiwanese imagination concerning the nation and its political recognition (Cheng 1995). Chuang Chun-kuo asks if it is a matter of whether there will be recognition as a nation of the races and cultures which exist in Taiwanese discourse. The biggest gap is between the recognition of Chinese

nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism, and “the Virtual Republic of China” versus “the Physical Body of Taiwan”. Taiwan has experienced so many colonial ruling periods from the Dutch, the Spanish, the Chen-Dynasty, the Ching-Dynasty, the Japanese, and now, the KMT government, which gives it something in common with many other Asian countries. But after World War II, those other colonial Asian countries became independent and had their own sovereignty rights recognized. But Taiwan has fallen into a difficult situation in which no one has recognised its sovereignty (Chuang 2004).

“Chinese nationalism” was the unique framework of consciousness in Taiwanese literary history in the colonial period under the KMT government, so much so that Taiwanese nationalism was not even allowed to be discussed by people in their daily lives. Such discussion was prohibited until 1991 when it became a popular discussion theme in academic circles. Although the KMT government lifted martial law in 1987, Taiwan did not yet become a democratic society. The “Law of The Republic of China on Assemblies, Processions and Demonstrations” limited the citizens’ rights of assembly and freedom of speech, on the grounds that this was a “Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion”. Scholars began to take up their positions on issues of nationhood, race and culture without considering the “Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion Law” which was terminated in May of 1991 (Chuang 2004). Different debates have arisen from each period, such as the one between Yeh Shi-Tao and Chen Ying-chen, and continued by Liao Hsien-hao and Liao Chao-yang, or even the exciting exchanges between Chen Fang-ming and Chen Ying-chen, about Taiwanese literary history, with many other scholars joining in the discussion. None of them would deny the fact that the interference of political consciousness and the recognition of national centralism are ongoing problems in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse.

Some people who live in Taiwan are in agreement with Chinese nationalism. They think that the process of Taiwanese consciousness is part of Chinese consciousness. For example, the book *Essay on Locality Perspectives in Taiwan: A Survey of Culture History* by Chen Chao-ying, deals with the integration of Taiwanese consciousness with Chinese consciousness, which was neither a problem of concept, nor of determination or choice, but was a matter of natural aptitude. Therefore, the separation between Taiwanese consciousness and Chinese consciousness has been gradual and has had strategic characteristics. These two consciousnesses, the author claims, are not in conflict (Chen 1995:12-13). The author claims further that locality here means that traditional Chinese culture is a heritage for Taiwan to reflect upon,

and upon its relation to its local nationality. Whether these forms of consciousness emerged from the left wing or right wing of the intellectuals belonging to the Japanese ruling period, the terms “Taiwan” and “locality”, both of which were common signs of “anti-Japanese” feeling did not sever China’s paternal bonds with Taiwan (Chen 1995:13-14). Another example may be found in Ma Sen, who rejects the localism of Taiwan because of his ideas of Chinese nationalism, while at the same time collecting local works and putting them into his essays. He defined local authors, such as Chung Li-ho, Yang Kuei and Chung Chao-chen, as Chinese novelists; his reason is that those authors used the Chinese language to write their works and that their nationality is that of the People’s Republic of China (Ma 1992).

However, Chen Fang-ming, in reconstructing Taiwanese literary history, stands by his viewpoint that it is necessary to recover the sovereignty of Taiwan and the memory of historical experience to form an anti-colonial literary genre. Naturally, his research methods faced many serious criticisms from those scholars who belonged to the Chinese nationalists. For example, Chen Ying-chen and other scholars strongly criticized his research works.<sup>90</sup> The research method used by Chen Fang-ming stands on the foundation of locality and did not adapt to the framework of Chinese nationalism to build Taiwanese local literary structures, which reflected the native affection in his works.

Clearly, postcolonial theory provides much information for readers to understand the local literary movement. But we cannot ignore the different views of scholars regarding the emphasis of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. For example, Chiu Kuei-fen points out that the main thrust of the discourse by Chen Fang-ming, who talked about the new phase of Taiwanese literary development, was that Taiwan fell into a new colonial system of subordination, which was designed by the global companies of the U.S.A. She goes on to assert that when we see the cross-flow between local and foreign cultures only from the postcolonial perspective, we focus then on the negative aspects of the local culture, which suffered pressure from foreign cultures. So researchers could easily ignore the cultural cross-flow process or see it as a consolidation. That is to say, it was postcolonial theory which attempted to challenge the authority of the colonial culture, yet, at the same time, it is difficult to clarify the positive effect of the foreign cultures on local society, and we can scarcely detect it in the process through which Chinese nationalism continually drives Taiwanese society (Chiu 2003:119-120). The fact remains that the sovereignty of China is recognized by international society as the *People’s Republic of China* (PRC)

---

<sup>90</sup> See the articles in *United Literature*.

and not the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan) today. Consequently, Chiu argues, cultural and political recognition are obviously seen as being different (Chiu 1995:126).

Actually, all Taiwanese intellectuals face the problem of culture and status. Yu Sheng-kuang distinguishes between “Chinese literature” and “China”, and poses the question whether these concepts belong to the political field of consciousness or whether they are only cultural concepts (Yu 2006). For example, Yeh Shi-tao claims the freedom to use the term “Taiwanese literature” but Chen Ying-chen makes use of the term “Chinese literature in Taiwan”. Chen Kuan-hsin uses the concept of “postcountry” to solve the argument about national identity. He reasons that the anti-colonial perspective concentrates on race but ignores the significance of class, gender and sexual orientation. So he calls on cross-national socially vulnerable groups to unite together to explore themes replacing the past methodologies about national identity. Chen Kuang-hsing shows that the national identity of the anti-colonial perspective is a kind of permanent conflictual activity among intellectuals (Chen 1996b:272-273). He minimises the colonial aggression problem, choosing to view homogenization in the national perspective as being in conflict with the discourse of Taiwanese identity recognition.

But Liao Ping-hui doubts that Chen Kuang-hsing could cross the national boundaries of race, gender, etc. to form a postcountry idea. Liao questions whether this notion of the “postcountry” could make a substantial contribution, both nationally and internationally, at the level of the people’s rights movement of self-determination (Liao 1994:113). Similarly, Chui Kuei-feng thinks that this discourse by Chen Kuang-hsing would hurt the consolidation process of the Taiwanese anti-colonial movement (Chiu 2003:273-274; also see Liao 1995).

But there are others who argue for a class-based analysis, but who locate this in a specifically localized sense. According to Chang Ching-yuan the elements of social class formation include: race, class, gender and geographical positions. The physical history process, the specific society, culture, and politics are decisive issues regarding social class recognition (Chang 1999). She claims that whenever the Taiwanese face dramatic social transformation, the intellectual consciousness tends to create anxiety and a new process of cultural-repositioning. Some critics, she suggests, use postcolonial discourse to think about their common national destiny, but at the same time view their social class realms as fixed and as pre-constructed. Similarly, Kobena Mercer insists that “The social class is not encountered but it is constructed from

events: it is not like a talent to be waited for until it emerges naturally; it is fabricated through political and cultural contradiction” (Quote from Chiu 1995:143). The construction of social class is like an organic mechanism that includes history, society, knowledge and politics, etc. It is a recycling process, reflecting the individual and organizational competences in all society. Tao Tung-Fang argues that social class and recognition are, therefore, not fixed, but are compound and fluid (Tao 2000).

In the field of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse scholars underscore that communication between Chinese literature and Taiwanese literature is both natural and positive, but they ignore the influence of Japanese and western culture communication on Taiwanese culture, or see such as negative. Such a review, in my view, causes contradictions and omits the locality of Taiwan from postcolonial discourse.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

Taiwanese postcolonial discourse should, therefore, stand on the foundation of Taiwanese locality in order for it to develop. Yet it continues to be influenced by Chinese nationalism. Anti-hegemony activities will keep on occurring in Taiwan, for they are rooted in Taiwanese historical memory and the struggle to prevent historical amnesia. Yu Sheng-kuang states, and I agree, that Taiwanese postcolonial discourse should avoid forms of theory that conceive of itself as transcending the physical experience of history; instead it should keep facing the current hegemony head-on (Yu 2005). Moreover, he professes that in a case where Taiwanese postcolonial discourse does not link well with the history of Taiwan, it will not promote resolution, and that it will become an obstacle for the purpose of processing decolonization activities. As he writes below:

The Chinese Nationalist hegemony deprives the people in Taiwan of their political resources. The postcolonial meaning for Taiwan is not only the logically abstract question concerning problems of right and wrong but relates the activity of anti-hegemony to an existing relevancy about Taiwan sovereignty. Thus, the Taiwan postcolonial discourse would be a release mechanism or it would be a hegemony discourse. Its discourse stands on the relationship of the power which named the hegemony structure and the struggle of anti-hegemony (Yu 2006:422).

To summarize, Taiwanese postcolonial discourse and anti-colonial writings offer a release mechanism which will include an explanation of the nature of current Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, which concentrates on theoretical arguments among scholars, rather than addressing the real problems Taiwan faces – the national menace and the problem of Taiwanese sovereignty. Though Taiwanese postcolonial discourse is still not equal to that of the local discourse (Chiu 2003:271), we can clearly understand from the above discussion that it criticizes the emphasis of both Chinese nationalism and illusory Chinese consciousness.

When, or if, postcolonial discourse connects more fully with Taiwanese local discourse, it will strengthen the connection with recognition of locality; the current connection with Chinese nationalism is not necessary. Taiwanese postcolonial discourse must reflect upon the colonial experiences which were experienced under the Japanese colonial system and the martial law system of the KMT. Indeed the shadow of the experience of martial law continues to lie deep in the heart of contemporary Taiwanese people. The proscribing of the mother-tongue, I suggest, could be an index for charting emerging forms of postcolonialism or anti-colonialism. And it is with this focus that we enter the next chapter, focusing on the postcolonial discourse of TYCM tribal people in the context of Taiwan. The TYCM tribal colonial experience should not be omitted from the discussion in the field of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. The minorities or the TYCM tribal peoples need a place to express their thoughts and their colonial history memories to complete the circle of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. Postcolonial discourse belongs also to them.

## Chapter Four

### The TYCM Tribal People in Postcolonial Discourse

*The real Taiwanese colonial history is the colonial experience from the perspective of the TYCM tribal people (Chen Chao-ying 1995c: 89-90).*

*The TYCM tribal people's ambiguous attitude to the Taiwanese postcolonial period has a starting point (Liao Ping-hui 1994;1997).*

#### 4.0. Introduction

We have already noted the perspectives of TYCM tribal people from the above discussion of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. But we need to deepen this discussion in this chapter to see what the postcolonial situation is when we consider the TYCM's cultural contexts. What kind of themes will appear from the above discussion? Does postcolonial discourse exist for TYCM tribal people? If the answer to that question is "yes", then when was the start of their postcolonial period?

What were TYCM tribal people's colonial experiences when they lived through the Japanese colonial period and the KMT martial law period? What kind of experiences did the TYCM have during the colonial period, and how can we identify them so that these could also be considered to be authentic themes for Taiwanese postcolonial discourse and concern? How does the TYCM's postcolonial discourse focus on those related writings and novels that talk about the TYCM's intentions to recover their culture and tribal consciousness after martial law was lifted in 1987?

This is the main point of discussion for this chapter. Personally, I think that the Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, which was in large part developed by the Han Chinese, cannot replace the element originating from the TYCM tribal people themselves. Chen Fang-ming observes:

There is no one historical memory that could be representing the whole group of memories in Taiwan. The historical memory belongs to different groups which have individual, special and distinctive

characteristics. The researcher should collect as much source material as possible to construct the whole Taiwan history memory. The Taiwanese consciousness literary works do not replace the women's history memory; nor do those literary works by the Hans replace the history memory of the tribal people. The different groups and genders had different experiences so they possess their own history memories individually. The portrayals of postcolonial literatures could be said to be distinctive but relevant to each other (Chen 2007:125).

“The TYCM colonial experience cannot be left out of our consideration of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse”, said Chen Fang-ming. He infers that researchers should integrate this understanding into the mainstream of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse because they are concerned with individual, specialized and distinctive characteristics. The minority-Taiwanese TYCM colonial experience should, therefore, not be excluded from Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, since the TYCM need a locus to express their thoughts and their colonial history memories, in order to complete the circle of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, which belongs to them as well.

#### **4.1. The TYCM Tribal People in the Postcolonial Discourse**

In the previous chapter we saw how Chen Chao-ying claims that the TYCM's colonial experience was a valid part of the real history of Taiwanese colonial experience (Chen 1995c: 89-90). She makes such a claim because she wants to answer the point made by Chen Fang-ming about the colonial problem, which was raised by Chinese nationalism. Chen Fang-ming could accept that postcolonial discourse was a buttress to “Chinese nationalism” or “Taiwanese nationalism”. Yet as the TYCM struggled to understand the different political viewpoints and claims made by mainlanders and islanders, or arguments about reunion or independence (which are simply seen from the perspective of the Han people's struggles for identity), they were subjected to brutal torture at the hands of the colonizers, and to boundary disputes, due to a complete deprivation of political resources throughout Taiwanese colonial history.

Chen Chao-ying quotes Kuang Mei's description of the TYCM's situation in postcolonial history: “Where Taiwan's economy provided insufficient resources the TYCM tribal people would not get fair treatment even though they lived in the same environment as other ethnic groups” (Chen 1995b:91). Chen Chao-ying claims that the TYCM suffered unfair treatment from different ruling governments during the

colonial period. She asserts that scholars were not free to express clearly the harm caused to the TYCM tribal people during the martial law period under the Kuomintang (KMT). And the TYCM were treated no less harshly under the Japanese. Liao Ping-hui raises an additional point about Chinese nationalism versus Taiwanese nationalism: “When exactly did Taiwan enter the postcolonial period?” The TYCM tribal people have ambiguous views about such questions (Liao 1994; 1997). These two scholars were in agreement in raising the question of the TYCM’s colonial history, even though they stated it differently. However, this raises a further issue: Is it possible to answer the question, when did the TYCM emerge into a postcolonial period? Are they still living in the colonial period? The scholars have not adequately explored these two questions.

From a study of the works of the TYCM tribal people, Chen Fang-ming asserts that their literature was previously quite extensively excluded from Taiwanese literary consciousness. Published texts on the subject did not appear until a TYCM tribal people’s work entitled, “A Different Historical Memory of the Race of Han”, was published after the 1980s. Up until that time, the Taiwanese TYCM tribal cultures were seen as part of a primitive, barbaric, and laggard civilization whose developmental progress was much slower than that of the Han people. They did not have real freedom of speech; and their historical writing was dictated by the government authorities and marginalized.

TYCM tribal people were marginalized in a range of related forms of colonization. Chen considered the TYCM to be victims who suffered pain from both internal and external colonization. They were not only suffering the painful experience of colonization by the Han people, but they also suffered contemptuous treatment and the inequitable allocation of political (and other) resources because of the Han people’s philosophy of mistreatment of “others”. They were forced to be in a marginal position and they did not have scope to participate in the allocation of resources due to fact that the Han people ran the political system in Taiwan (Chen 2007:121). From his analysis of the pressures exerted in a colonizer-colonized relationship, Chen Kuan-hsing firmly asserts that the TYCM tribal people were clearly in a colonized situation (Chen 1996a:54).

For Liao Hsien-hao, the TYCM tribal colonial experience is also double, but in a different sense, including domination under the Han people (internal) and the Japanese (external), which he “the double governance of colonization”; he thinks of it as the official policy of tribal people management executed by “governance”, in the

sense put forward by Michel Foucault. The TYCM made their first contact with modernization, named the “national country system”, during the Japanese colonial period. But such a policy showed contempt for the traditional tribal culture, which received unfair treatment from the government. Meanwhile, the Han immigrants became the leaders holding political power and made the TYCM tribal people suffer under the impact of double governance because their social class was lower than that of the Han race, and their plight became even worse. The TYCM tribal people suffered more than hardship, tragedy and pain under the new ruling races; this has been mentioned in the chapter in which I discussed Taiwanese local discourse and emphasized the fact that the KMT government used a system of high pressure political management as a way to control Taiwanese society. Liao Hsien-hao points out that such local discourse was also a matter of discussion. However, it ignored the fact that the Hoklo people were also considered to be colonizers by the TYCM tribal people, so Liao thinks that the new immigrants (the Han people) were a big threat for the TYCM tribal people (Liao 2003:251). Of course, the KMT government promoted a policy of assimilating the TYCM tribal people and forced them to suffer discrimination and occupy a lower social class in the system of double governance. Liao earlier explains this point—that the TYCM tribal people were seen as a sign of the double-colonized under the system of Han chauvinism, and the local discourse did not help the TYCM tribal people to appropriate their true life. This meant that they had no political influence and no basis from which to proclaim and to protect the rights which belonged to them (Liao 2003:253-255).

The liberation of the TYCM tribal people was not a reality in the localization movement. Chen Chao-ying points out that the colonial situation for the TYCM under Japanese rule was not given its proper place in the liberation of the local people movement. Even the postliberation plan created by the Han immigrants included Japanese, Taiwanese, and the government administration of TYCM tribal people, but excluded the tribal peoples themselves. The TYCM tribal people represent the real Taiwanese but they were not included in the liberation plan by any of the ruling governments (Chen 1995a:36). Because the TYCM tribal population was only 2% of the total number of people in Taiwan, says Chen Chao-ying, such a small population number put the TYCM tribal people in a worse situation from the standpoint of the mindset of those who controlled the political resource allocation activities (Chen 1995:90). Chen Chao-ying claims that the TYCM tribal people suffered pain and harm over the long-term colonial period with the double disadvantage that they could not explain their culture very well. The TYCM tribal living areas were virtually internal colonies under the governance of the Han (the majority of the administrators

are Han people); making the TYCM tribal people feel that they were like colonial slaves under such a political structure (Chen 1985:17).

Thus, the minority of the TYCM tribal people could not stand under the spotlight of Taiwanese society as they occupied the worst place in comparison to the Han social class. Peng Hsiao-yen states that they became a marginalized group that was easily overlooked in Taiwanese historical and cultural writings (Peng 2003:287). Though Chen Kuan-hsing, in supporting the cause of the labour groups and the gays and lesbians who are traditionally beyond the social scope of the TYCM tribal people, sees them also as victims of the colonial mood; his view is that the colonized mindset continues to exist for them and it will only disappear when racism, classism, and heterosexism and patriarchalism also disappear.

Wei Yi-chun advances the opinion that the Taiwanese TYCM tribal people's literature could not be written on the same model as Taiwanese literature. It is about creating a "special zone" within which a people read from their own writing about the colonial experience. (Wei 1993). Peng Jui-chin, Peng emphasized this point, as he says below:

The TYCM tribal colonial history has lasted more than 400 years, under Holland, Spain, Cheng Chen-kung, the Ching Dynasty of China, Japan, and the Han people. Those invaders came from outside, destroying tribal people's folk customs, traditional skills, distribution systems, tribal dress, dwelling places, marriage rituals, traditional diet, etc., by their superior military and economic power. There are still some scars left from the wounds inflicted by the totalitarian regimes, but the TYCM tribal culture, influenced by the Christian religion (both Protestant and Catholic) enabled TYCM tribal people to co-exist happily with those of other tribes living in the same area. In their home locations the TYCM were threatened with social collapse because work opportunities were lacking. With the passage of time their languages and cultures were lost, and their political and economic endeavours were seen as inferior by Taiwanese society. Their inhabited area seemed unproductive so they were told to move to the cities to work for their living. They lived in secluded corners of the cities to satisfy the government. These things are attributed to the ruling system which controlled TYCM society for a long time (Peng 1999).

While some Taiwanese postcolonial discourse has represented TYCM tribal colonial

history, recognizing that this is the real Taiwan colonial history, that they are a real colonized group in Taiwan, that they are in a marginalized position in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, and that they are a part of the Taiwan cultural and historical structure which is easily ignored, the perspective is still not that of TYCM tribal scholars. Indeed, such representation is another form of tribal people being forced into a marginal role, a limited role within the framework of Han-centrism. This is the reason why we should allocate a separate section for the discussion of this theme. We should know when the TYCM tribal people entered the colonial period and when they emerged from it, entering the postcolonial period, and how TYCM tribal scholars present their postcolonial discourse of the TYCM tribal people.

#### **4.2. The Postcolonial Period for the TYCM Tribal People**

In the discussion in Chapter 1, I mentioned how there was scholarly disagreement about whether the start of the Taiwanese postcolonial period was 1945 or 1987. What would be the answer to that same question from a TYCM tribal viewpoint? Liao Ping-Hui drew attention to this matter of a starting point in order to explore the postcolonial period from a TYCM angle. The answer is not altogether simple (Liao 1994; 1997).

Did TYCM tribal scholars determine the starting point for postcolonial discourse to be in the 1980s simply because they were undertaking their work then? We would argue that the postcolonial starting point could not be in 1945, if we were to view it from the perspective of the TYCM tribal people. Though TYCM tribal discourse was tied to the anti-colonization spirit of postcolonization, it did not appear in the postcolonial discourse of the TYCM tribal people. What then about the starting point being 1987? Was this the beginning of Taiwanese TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse – i.e. after martial law was lifted - which is when most scholars insist it started?

The TYCM tribal people are unfortunately considered to be a race without their own attributes. They learned how to write, expressing their experiences and their thoughts, generating a written literature only after they had made contact with modernization, which was introduced by the colonizers. When TYCM tribal people generated their writing, they wrote down their colonial experience to reveal their feelings of oppression and group consciousness through the process of writing and re-reading, and they would make efforts to establish a relationship between their TYCM tribal literature and colonial literature, doing anything to avoid the possibility of losing their

voices through the processes of assimilation, naturalization, and nationalization. Therefore, the Taiwanese TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourse should be based on their own authentic colonial experience. In addition, researchers should re-examine the traces of de-colonization in their own works to define the beginning of the postcolonial period. This is a necessary investigation that needs to be undertaken.

The Taiwanese TYCM scholars began to use the concept of postcolonial time as a tool for expressing and redefining their literature's role and position in society. The first TYCM tribal scholar, Walis Nokan, who belonged to the Tayal tribe, used just such a method of de-colonization reading in his research, a de-colonization discourse which criticized colonialism through the TYCM postcolonial lens. He provided insights into the three phases into which he divided Taiwanese TYCM literary history from the angle of postcolonial discourse. First, was the portrayal of the TYCM during the period of the Japanese colonial empire (1930-1945). Walis Nokan cites a sick colonial image from the book named *Black Skin, White Masks* by Fanon in which the black men search for themselves (to find their own identity) within the parameters set by the white men, e.g.: "Black men are not human beings". The black men all made efforts to prove that they had as much intellectual capacity, wisdom and knowledge as the white men. But the black men only had one destiny—to wait for the white men to use their own criteria to evaluate the black men's existence in terms of the whites' colonial image. Walis Nokan, considering the colonial image, thought that the TYCM's written repository of tribal knowledge presented a kind of mental image called "quasi-Japanese" (white mask). The peak of the trend towards becoming "quasi-Japanese" was in 1943 when many TYCM tribal youths sacrificed themselves by joining the Japanese empire's war. There were many casualties and there are survivors who, even today, suffer pain and live with horrific emotional memories. The TYCM tribal people were educated to regard themselves as loyal citizens of Japan; thus they sacrificed themselves in the war. Walis Nokan explains that the "quasi-Japanese" image dissolved after the TYCM youth sacrificed their lives, disappeared, were disabled, and suffered mental harm from the war (Nokan 1999:178-180).<sup>91</sup>

Second, he defines the period from 1946 to 1983 as a time of sterility and ignorance in the history of the TYCM. They were forced this time to abandon their identity as loyal citizens of Japan and to become instead loyal citizens of the Republic of China (ROC) —i.e. to enter the "quasi-Chinese" (white mask) period. It was just a change-over from one authoritarian government under Japanese colonial control to

---

<sup>91</sup> We can also see the arguments in *TYCM Tribal Friend Magazine*.

that of KMT sovereignty. Walis Nokan names two TYCM tribal authors from this period: Chen Ying-hsiung of the Paiwan tribe and Tseng Yueh-o of the Amis tribe. He highlights the features they have in common, namely, the use of Chinese names to publish their works, and the fact that their writing conceals their TYCM tribal origin which would diminish the credibility of their works. These TYCM literary productions were obviously from this period of “emptiness and ignorance” (Nokan 1999:138-139). Walis Nokan uses the “Third World” theoretical scheme of Fanon, including colonization, de-colonization, and new colonization/re-colonization/inside colonization, to claim that the TYCM tribal people did not experience the de-colonization period after the Japanese ruling authority left Taiwan, but that they directly experienced re-colonization under KMT sovereignty and internal colonization from the Han (Nokan 1999:139). He also points out that the TYCM tribal postcolonial authors were often penalized severely, including execution by shooting, imprisonment, expatriation, being put under constant surveillance and being subjected to threats during the White Terror period from 1950 to 1973. The fact that people were not only tortured and violently abused, but also terrorized mentally, were among the main reasons limiting the TYCM scholars interest in developing further their de-colonization writings. It was impossible for the TYCM tribal intellectuals to disclose these patterns of colonial violence or to develop further their postcolonial discourse under such circumstances. So the TYCM tribal works were ignored and lost to the literary world under the strategy of KMT re-colonization, which was a feature of this period in the TYCM’s history (Nokan 1999: 140).

Third, Walis Nokan identifies a period of subjectivity construction and de-colonization (1984-). The most representative TYCM literary author from this period is Monanen, who is a blind poet from the Paiwan tribe. Some of his poetic works were published in the first *Poem Magazine of Spring Wind* in 1984, and represent his de-colonization writing style (Monanen 1989). In a period of martial law, as was the case under KMT sovereignty, his poetic works were the most representative in exhibiting the de-colonization writing style. Walis Nokan thinks that Monanen presented a firm statement that showed the de-colonization spirit under the high-pressure political environment controlled by the KMT. Monanen announced his de-colonization stance against the authority of the government, denying their right to governance, protesting against their arrangements for the tribal peoples, criticizing the educational system devised by the authorities, and proclaiming that the TYCM had a right not to be enslaved. He presented this de-colonization stance and confronted the authorities bravely (Nokan 1999:141-142). Though such de-colonization thoughts stemming from the TYCM tribal people would never appear in colonial discourse

presented by the authorities, they did represent the real and painful voices of the TYCM who had suffered having their voices “muted”, “distorted” and been subjected to “slavish” treatment. As Monanen says:

What is the essence which has made me what I am today?

.....

Is it pure?

Is it from my characteristic of time?

Is it historical error?

Is it discrimination?

Is it provincial apartheid?

Is it politics?

Is it economics?

Is it education?

.....

Oh, China.

Are you the name of a people or of a power?

Are you the name of an oppressed people or the name of colonists?...

I am the people.

I am also like the brook.

I am the quintessence of China.

Politics, be gone!

The land is as a mother to me.

Politics, be silent!

Do not assume the name of Mother in order to oppress me (Monanen 1989:55-57).

This poem from Monanen expresses the de-colonization writing style of the TYCM tribal people, which was popular at the time, and he pronounces the feelings of the de-colonization position with words such as those of Walis Nokan. And now, if we use this method of de-colonization discourse which was used by Walis Nokan, we ask: When was the colonial period over so that the TYCM tribal people could emerge into the postcolonial period? Walis Nokan dates the colonial period of Taiwan from the time of being under Japan, since 1895, a view which is shared by most Taiwanese. And he argued that because the KMT government promoted a democratic system in generating a multi-cultural/economical development during its occupation of Taiwan, it's system was not like that of the other colonial empires. In quoting Chen Kuan-Hsin, he says that the KMT should not be considered an empire in its ruling methods,

though they were those of a sub-empire. He further explained that the control methods of the KMT were not like those of bloody-minded empire/colonizer, its control hands extend to the systems in education, culture and all aspects of tribal living from a KMT hierarchical viewpoint. Therefore the Han were on the top layer of society and the TYCM tribal people were mired in a colonial system in which they were looked down upon by a superior Han people; they even lost their culture, education, economy, and social structure under this form of colonial system. Walis Nokan claims that the TYCM were under colonial control by Japan and the Republic of China over the last 100 years (Nokan 1999:40, n.5). TYCM tribal literature was forced to hide its elements of de-colonization critique from the colonizers. Walis Nokan attempts to find the relationship between the colonizers and the indigenous inhabitants through their colonial experience (colonialism and internal colonization) to ensure the best de-colonization stance for the Taiwan TYCM framework of postcolonial discourse (Nokan 1999).

Another TYCM tribal scholar, Sun Ta-chuan pointed out that the political and historical modality of colonization, except during Japan's rule, belonged to Han governance, whether they were Hoklo or KMT; when they came to Taiwan they played the role of colonial rulers and they should be considered to be the same Han race. The TYCM tribal people have been under colonial control for the last 400 years following the Han people's immigration and their appropriating of the land, which originally belonged to TYCM tribal people. This is the main reason why the colonizers controlled the TYCM tribal people during the colonial period. The TYCM survived, but their culture and history were mostly invisible and they became a minority in the society. Sun Ta-chuan says, "No one knows the TYCM tribal people well; no one is sincerely concerned about them. They live on this Island of Taiwan as in air" (Sun 2003a:7-51). He maintained that the colonized situation of TYCM tribal people through the period of cultural governance points to the substance of postcolonial discourse. His view is that the nature of anti-colonization discourse in the Third World belongs to anti-governance discourse, and he uses the TYCM tribal people's anti-governance movement, against the authority of the KMT, as an example, which was not only for political and economic reasons, but which also stood against the strong subjective culture of Han (Sun 2003d:69).

To sum up the arguments of Walis Nokan and Sun Ta-chuan, there is this important point to note, namely that the TYCM were in a colonial environment under the KMT government's control. Clearly, Walis Nokan defines the TYCM tribal colonial period as continuing under the KMT authoritarian control after 1945, which he named the

“internal colonial period”,<sup>92</sup> Sun Ta-chuan expands the scope to include not only the KMT authoritarian control, but also the race of the Han who immigrated to Taiwan, as having all played the colonizer role for the TYCM tribal people. Sun Ta-chuan emphasizes that the Han people played the colonizer role and also did harm to the TYCM tribal people for 400 years.

The next important question we need for our discussion, then, is: “When did the TYCM tribal people step into the postcolonial period?” We may refer to the discourse from Walis Nokan, in which he ponders the fact that the TYCM tribal people have been in a “subjectivity construction and de-colonization period” from 1984 until the present. Sun Ta-Chuan continues to focus on the aspect of colonial governance to emphasize the fact that the TYCM tribal people live under political, economic and cultural governance situations under the KMT authority. Although these two scholars illustrate the colonized situations of the TYCM tribal people, they do not explain the exact time when TYCM tribal people stepped into the postcolonial period.

Another common point may emerge from these two scholars. They are from different tribes; Walis Nokan belongs to the Tayal tribe and Sun Ta-chuan to the Puyuma tribe. Although they come from different tribes and their starting points for a postcolonial discourse period are thus also different, the common background to their discourses is that they both base their discourse on using the term “TYCM ” (Taiwan Yuen Chu Min, Taiwan Original Dwelling People) to identify and to unify their tribes. In using this phrase to represent them, it elevated their tribal heritage, and the other minorities in Taiwan. In using such a term as “the TYCM”, it establishes a common basis for acknowledging TYCM tribal scholars, to which we can then pose the question: “Is TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse constructed from the period when there was common acknowledgement and acceptance of their designation as “TYCM tribal people” in Taiwanese society? Is such identification of the starting point of vital importance to reveal the period when TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse really began? This would be my first claim. The term “TYCM” serves, I would argue, as a sign, coming from the outside as a term for the colonizers to name those minority communities, but accepted and viewed as a collective “noun” by tribal peoples themselves to represent their identification in the society of Taiwan.

When the government defined “TYCM tribal people” in the constitution of the Republic of China to represent the self-designation of TYCM tribal people, this

---

<sup>92</sup> A similar analysis was made of Afrikaner apartheid in South Africa; it was characterised as “colonialism of a special kind”, a form of “internal” colonisation.

timing could be seen as the starting point of the Taiwanese TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourse period. It means that, when the TYCM tribal people were finally defined in the constitution of the Republic of China, it was an announcement that the Taiwan TYCM tribal postcolonial period had officially arrived. It also provided a discourse platform for the TYCM tribal people themselves to proclaim their postcolonial views in the political, economic, social, educational and cultural realms.

Under these circumstances, it meant that the government improved somewhat their managerial attitude to show their respect to those different tribes who had lived in Taiwan before them. The collective noun "TYCM tribal people", which is defined in law, means that the minorities received fundamental legal recognition, and acknowledgment in the public media. This term did not represent one tribe alone, but represented multiple linguistic cultures, traditional religions, and symbols of many tribes. It also brought about greater tolerance, as it denoted the commonality of all those who came from the different tribes who had borne the historical pain of colonization for hundreds years. In the colonial time, the tribal people's discourses and issues were prohibited for discussion. Their viewpoint could only be proclaimed after the government had changed their bureaucratic attitude and the fundamental law been set. These minority tribal people with varieties of origins thus became able to unite together and accept the term "TYCM"(Taiwanese tribal people). Deep inside of the term, the meaning of "cross-tribes"<sup>93</sup> is implied; these varieties of TYCM minority people began to learn to unite with each other and to proclaim their voices for common perspectives of the destiny for Taiwan.

TYCM tribal people should have used their colonization experiences to win their freedom and equal rights; it would have been a great episode during the Taiwan TYCM tribal postcolonial period. Watan Basaw (Sediq tribe) claims that:

Regarding the name "TYCM tribal people", the Gaoshan tribe, Taiwan's earliest inhabitants, who were a Taiwan mountain tribe, and a group of 9 tribes not yet grouped with the TYCM, complain that they have not been asked whether they want to accept this colonizer nomenclature or not (Basaw 1998a:15).<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Although "TYCM" is regarded as a collective identity by tribal people in Taiwan, they are a minority of varieties of tribes and cultures. The term implies that they should respect each other and voice together in a "cross-tribe" strategy, even if they are of different voices individually.

<sup>94</sup> There were only 9 tribes recognised as belonging to the TYCM before 1998.

The name of the TYCM tribal people's group, the Gaoshan tribe, Taiwan's earliest inhabitants, the Taiwan mountain tribe group, and 14 tribes' countrypeople,<sup>95</sup> were named by the colonists or government. To them, the bestowing of the name "TYCM" ("Yuen Chu Min") was the first time for cross-tribes to be acknowledged by the Taiwanese authorities, and it became a common sign to ensure their identification and their position with respect to the colonial government. I would like to make two points about the previous explanation: First, the collective noun "TYCM tribal people" became the common identification symbol as a mechanism in 1984, through which the minority inhabitants broke with a narrow territorial and individual tribal consciousness to accept the united "TYCM tribal people" label to enter into the cross-tribal and cross-cultural period. Those individual tribes consolidated their strength from their many struggles and they then accepted the noun "TYCM tribal people" to be the aggregate sign to represent all their concerns in this period. Under such circumstances, the TYCM's postcolonial discourse starting point could not be dated earlier than 1984, because those minorities had yet to accept a collective noun, i.e. "TYCM", to represent them, as a means of expressing their story of colonization.

For example, "The TYCM Tribal Rights Improvement Association" was the first means of uniting the minorities in making their voices heard in 1984, embracing the following "operational purpose":<sup>96</sup>

- (1) In order to consolidate the resources of mountain areas it urges the government to form an Ethnic Minority Department to enact regulations to protect TYCM tribal rights and social structures in law.
- (2) It urges that the government should investigate the incidents which relate to child labour, child prostitution, mine workers and other workers who have suffered slavery, and deprivation. Also, the government should publicize in the media crimes committed against ethnic minorities.
- (3) It urges recognizing the great value of the Taiwan high mountain tribal culture to strengthen its inherent sense of nationality, and help this collaborative alliance to oppose discriminatory policies of the government.

---

<sup>95</sup> Now TYCM's group has grown to include 14 tribal identities.

<sup>96</sup> The original name of "The Taiwan TYCM Tribal Right Improvement Association" is now "*Taiwan High Mountain Tribes Right Improvement Association*". See Icyang Parod, ed., *The Taiwan TYCM Tribal Movement History Data Collection* (Taipei: Council of TYCM tribal People of Executive Yuan, 2008), 93-95.

(4) It advocates the autonomy of minorities and awakens a political consciousness to support Taiwan's high mountain tribes in their fight against economic, political and cultural pressures by peaceful protest action.

(5) The association should use all possible means to uphold and advance the dignity and rights of Taiwan's high mountain tribes (Parod 2008:93-94).

However, we clearly understand that the term "TYCM tribal people" (Yuen Chu Min) does not appear in official documents before 1994; the phrase "Taiwan high mountain tribes" came from the late colonial period and it existed in formal public documentation. The term "Taiwan high mountain tribes" became a colonial symbol of TYCM tribal people's identity in which they suffered oppression in several aspects of the political, economic, cultural, and educational fields under colonial sovereignty.

It is especially noteworthy in the case of the term "TYCM" tribal people that Shih Hsiang-heng published an article, "We Re-Launch", in the periodical publication of the "TYCM Tribal People's Rights Association", to urge that this government should use the term "TYCM tribal people" for minorities in Taiwan. He mentioned in his article that there are more than 400,000 people in Taiwan belonging to minority communities, whose culture, language, civil customs, social economic organization, face and also skin are different from the Han race. For this reason their social status was lower, and for a long time they have formed a kind of special minority group in Taiwan. He showed that such minorities had been named "barbarians", "Takasago People", "High mountain tribes", "Flat land tribes", "mountain tribes" or "minorities" by the colonists so that there existed a subjective and objective gap between academic meaning and administration. He highlights that the best name for these minorities should be "TYCM", which shows that they are the earliest inhabitants in Taiwan, who have a right to strive for their existence, having struggled with those who came later in the historical story, including, for example, their struggle with the Han for their original land, and their struggle with assimilation during the period of Japanese imperialism (Shih 2008:97).

We should notice that the TYCM tribal people gradually identify with the term "TYCM". For example, The Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA) was formed in 1984 to affirm the fact that the KMT had colonized the TYCM tribal people. Most importantly, the TYCM tribal people began to accept the term "TYCM tribal people" to unite their representatives, the better to address their colonized situation and take up their de-colonization activities. However, this de-colonization movement was only

popular among the minority intellectuals and the elites of tribes, and was not generally open to the common people's participation. This is the main reason why 1984 could not be the starting point of the TYCM's postcolonial period.

I personally think that the starting for the TYCM's postcolonial period should be dated in 1994. It is only after March 1994 that the Democratic Progressive Party pushed for the following TYCM tribal constitution clauses: it proclaimed that the KMT should use "TYCM tribal people" ("Yuen Chu Min") to be the collective term to replace the original designation of "Mountain countrypeople", to show the necessary respect for the minorities. At the same time, the ruling government formally used the designation "TYCM" to replace the designation "Mountain countrypeople" when the constitution's second modification came about in April of the same year. This should be said with some emphasis, namely that the "TYCM" tribal people entered the postcolonial period when they achieved a legal position in the constitution of the Republic of China. It is the year 1994 that is the true starting point for the Taiwanese postcolonial period, from the perspective of the TYCM tribal people.

We should acknowledge that the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines published the fact that while the TYCM tribal people used the colonists' language and characters, it was to describe their colonized experience. The ATA also promoted some TYCM tribal movements over the next few years. Among these movements were: The Presbyterian Church of Taiwan's instigation of the "Return My Land Movement", issued three times from 1988 to 1994, to ask Church members to be in solidarity with TYCM tribal people, to participate in their struggle, and to help build a physical and mature de-colonization movement of minority tribal people in Taiwan.

Significantly, Walis Nokan presented an article on January 14, 1998 at the Aboriginal Literary Seminar dealing with the postcolonial issues of TYCM tribal people, and stated that the starting point for the TYCM postcolonial period should be 1994. This was because after 1994 the TYCM tribal de-colonization movement, human rights movement and other related matters such as land, rights, education, economics, language, traditional cultures, rites, law and autonomy generated many serious works which were widely read and influential in obtaining the ordinary public's participation, not just that of the minority intellectuals and elites.

To summarize the above discussions, we may say that the starting point for the TYCM tribal postcolonial period should be 1994. The Taiwanese who were pro-Chinese recognized the starting point of the Taiwanese postcolonial period as 1945, when

Japanese colonial sovereignty was over. The Taiwanese who were pro-Taiwanese and emphasized Taiwan consciousness identified the starting point of the Taiwan postcolonial period as 1987. After the KMT lifted martial law and President Li Teng-Hui took office, the perspective changed as the political structure began to be reshuffled. I, myself, think that the starting point for the TYCM postcolonial period should be dated in 1994 when the TYCM tribal people were legally recognized in the constitution.

This was a formal first step for the TYCM postcolonial period, when it developed a de-colonization discourse and structured postcolonial writing strategies by people from different tribes, beginning from the year 1994. It was a critical time for the development of the postcolonial discourse of the TYCM. The reason why the TYCM tribal people did not enter into the postcolonial period in 1987 was that they did not receive legal representation in the constitution of the Republic of China (ROC). This did not become a reality until 1994 when the second constitutional modification by the KMT used the term “Taiwan Yuen-Chu-Min” (TYCM) to replace other previously used (and marginalizing) terms. It was now that the TYCM tribal people entered into their postcolonial period. Thus it is in 1994 that the TYCM clearly win their place in their “postcolonial” discourse. It is an independent result, derived from the colonial experience of TYCM tribal people, and was not generated from the arguments of the Taiwan Independent Party and the Union Party, or from Taiwanese Nationalism and Chinese Nationalism in 1987 and 1945.

### **4.3. TYCM Tribal De-Colonization Discourse Strategy**

What, then, is meant by the TYCM’s de-colonization discourse strategy? We will proceed with this discussion below. Due to the fact that the TYCM were not given respectful recognition as a separate ethnic group, they were in a weak position in the world of history writing. The TYCM were, and are, like other indigenous peoples in the world. They used oral transmission of their history to pass on their distinctive culture heritage, but this made them appear to be a silent group taking no part in a process of historiography. This set them apart in a marginalized position as a minority. As time went by, they began to learn the colonial languages and were then in a better position to participate in thematic discussions and to express their experiences and feelings.

I would like now to summarize the content of the TYCM’s postcolonial discourse. I

choose to focus on the discourses of those I have already mentioned, i.e. Walis Nokan, Sun Ta-chuan, and Pu Chung-cheng. These three TYCM tribal scholars, engaged in the academic research field, are representative of TYCM writing and give us valid insights into the re-formation of tribal identity and structures.

#### **4.3.1. Retracing Tribal Traditions: TYCM Tribal Cultural-religious and Historical Traditional Texts**

The de-colonization strategy for Taiwan TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse is that it used the colonizers' language to recall, to write their own traditional culture and to decode the text of the TYCM tribal people from the Orientalized (Said) texts of the colonizer. Said underscores colonial literature as dominion, as reconstruction, and as colonially-controlled hegemonic representation. Following Said, most TYCM researchers start the de-colonization period by "re-placing" texts through re-reading them via the experiences of the TYCM tribal people who suffered under the pressure of colonization and the lack of racial consciousness.

For example, Walis Nokan believes that even though there was a TYCM tribal literature which was defined by scholars who were not the TYCM tribal people in the locality, their race consciousness and literature alliances were dissimilar to that of the tribal spirit. Moreover, these works did not rely on the TYCM tribal people for dictation but merely simplified the results which followed the lines of Taiwanese political change. As Walis Nokan points out, that was the reason why the TYCM tribal people were previously absent from the written history world (Nokan 1999:38). He claims that the Taiwan TYCM tribal people's postcolonial situation should be viewed from their experience of colonial pressure, anew racial consciousness and should also reflect on the colonial power hierarchy (39).

The TYCM tribal people were integrated into the dominant education system which was driven by the colonial powers. Their "education", like South African apartheid education, was designed to subjugate their identity, to maintain them on the social margins, ensuring that they lost to struggle to keep their own culture features from falling into a situation of assimilation. Walis Nokan mentions continually the example of the paper titled "Sunset at Tayal", by Matsuyama Kui Wu, who belonged to the Tayal tribe but had a Japanese name given during the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan. He shows how the TYCM tribal people gave themselves up in order to adapt to the threat from Japan during that period. His article shows how his people felt that

they could not be themselves, that they were not able to deserve their own culture. His argument is that they had no option but to follow the colonizer's path for their own development, as they were themselves full of paradoxes and were helpless under the coercion of their colonial context.

Walis Nokan also offers another example of assimilation, which was considered to be successful under the Japanese royal citizen educational system, namely that of 中山クリアランス who belonged to the Sediq tribe, but yet received a Japanese name during the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan. Under his Japanese name he describes the TYCM tribal people's colonization situation at that time, using his new Japanese name to publish his works. He was a witness of the massacre of Wushe, when the Japanese killed many of the TYCM tribal people using modern weapons and gas (chemical weapons). He received the assignment from his Japanese supervisors to count those victims who were from his own tribe. In his writings, he mentioned that all surviving Sediq tribe people were forced to move to a specific location to be monitored by the Japanese and then they were forced to be educated under the Japanese royal citizen system. 中山クリアランス was a local guard after his graduation from a Japanese school. He wrote the following words to express his appreciation and respect for his supervisor, words which also reflect how he had lost his sense of tribal identity:

We, the TYCM tribal people, receive a basic education from the government as well as instruction in how to behave in society. Having complied with the government's orders to move to new places three years ago, we have improved our bad habits and upgraded ourselves to be civilized people; we have received a rebirth from such education and our anxieties have been dispelled; the people agree that they are really happy in their new locations, and are sincerely appreciative of the education provided by the authorities which has helped us to become an excellent tribe. This we will continue to be in gratitude for the kindness shown us by the authorities (Nokan 1999b:41).

It can be easily seen that, although 中山クリアランス was a witness of the massacre of Wushe, when the Japanese killed many TYCM tribal people, he stifled his conscience in writing the above article to flatter the authorities in order to survive in that politically-controlled environment. He recognizes his traditional culture, but he must suppress his ethnic and cultural identity by glorifying the Japanese "civilizing process" which has "upgraded" the tribal people during the colonial period. He hid his

sense of identity and chose to forget the massacre of Wushe, even though his own people were annihilated, and went on to flatter the authorities, mentioning how happy the tribal people were to get an education, and applauding the Japanese for the happiness they had bestowed. He even wrote that the people should follow up on their colonial education to build an excellent tribe in order to reward the kindness of the authorities. For Walis Nokan this example demonstrates both identity and political ignorance, and adopts an empty writing strategy that ignores the writer's own people's painful suffering in the midst of the horror of colonial power play (Nokan 1999b:43).

Similarly, Sun Ta-chuan calls the "historical" records made by non-TYCM tribal scholars of/about TYCM tribal people "third person records". He believes that they do not and could not accurately portray the physical experience of the TYCM tribal people. The records were written without much feeling, addressing as they did largely academic concerns, in an attempt to define the images of TYCM tribal people. Though those records were made from interviews with TYCM tribal people, their real feelings and experiences could not be conveyed on the printed page by others. The TYCM tribal people were a voiceless group. They did not have their own resources to write down detailed records to express their historical experiences. The most relevant works we can see today were made by "the third-person" ("outsiders") and not by the TYCM tribal people themselves. Even the names of tribes and the personal names of the TYCM tribal people were determined by the colonists. Under such circumstances it was almost impossible to understand the inner thoughts of the TYCM tribal people, and the TYCM tribal people lost their own locus (Sun 2003a:58). The works which we read today are research reports made for and about the TYCM from "the outside"; the research scholars used analysis, segmentation, distortion, and redaction methods to reframe the TYCM tribal people as objects. Therefore the reader cannot find a subjective portrayal of the TYCM tribal people from those works (63). Moreover, he explains that those works were presented by "the outsider" portraying tribal people as not being "at the centre" but rather as seen *from* the centre and so marginalized. When the TYCM tribal people read those works, which they were told related to them, they could not find themselves, but saw a representation of tribal people as seen through politicized colonial eyes, blinkered by "Orientalism" discourses which were structured by the non-TYCM tribal scholars (Sun 2003:57-81).

The colonists removed the Taiwan TYCM tribal people's de-colonization voice from the writing text. Those works which were made by "the otherness" showed their intentions to debase and discriminate against the TYCM tribal people. In *The TYCM Tribal Literature and History Record* Pu Chung-cheng lists the example about the

works by Wu Tzu-kuang. When Wu visited the leaders of the Ching-Dynasty to describe the TYCM tribal people, he used mechanical images as shown below (Pu 1999:231-241):

The barbarians were like animals; they had inflexible personalities; they lived in caves. They lay in wait for passers by and then took their heads; they liked to eat dog meat and loved wine drinking. They would be happy carousing with those who flattered them; if they were not flattered they would be like an evil force and kill the passers by (Pu 1999: 233).

Wu Tzu-kuang describes the TYCM tribal people as “barbarians”, as animal-like in appearance, as having stubborn personalities, as living in caves. In addition, he portrays their low quality of life, compared to that of the Han race, illustrating that the TYCM tribal people used primitive apparatuses with bait to catch animals. He even said that the TYCM tribal people had “wolf hearts”, that they were not tame and that they had no civilized law. The barbarians’ favourite food was deer; they ripped off the abdomen of the deer and then took out the partially digested grass and ate it, even having a name for it, “Hundreds Grass Ointment”. The barbarians ate dogs but did not eat chickens; they captured chickens in the wild but only drew out their tail feathers to adorn their flags. They also shot pheasant and drew out its tail feathers for adornment only. The TYCM tribal people felt disgusted when they saw the Han people eat chicken (Pu 1999:233). The above text ridicules and denigrates the habits, customs, and values of TYCM tribal people, failing to understand their “order of things” (Foucault).

Later immigrants too brought their ethnocentrism and despised the different cultures and customs of the indigenous tribal people. Pu Chung-cheng lists more examples of similar works by other writer. Pu describes them as a “flawed historiography” (Pu 1999:241).

We can clearly understand the Taiwanese TYCM tribal people’s de-colonization discourse strategy from the above works by the three scholars: Walis Noka, Sun Ta-chuan and Pu Chung-cheng. Their purpose is to deconstruct these colonial texts to reveal the truth about their TYCM tribal culture. I will briefly do the same, reflecting on two examples, *Sayon no Kane* and the *Wu Feng Incident*.

#### 4.3.1.1. *Sayon no Kane* (サヨンの鐘, 莎韻之鐘)

*Sayon no Kane*, サヨンの鐘, 莎韻之鐘, *Sayon's Bell* is an event which happened originally to a TYCM tribal woman who followed her teacher to war, according to the news of “Everyday News of Taiwan” (“台灣日日新報”), on September 27, 1938. Her name was Sayon Hayong and she was a 17 year old Tayal tribal young girl. She joined in the journey of her Japanese teacher, who left I-Lan to go to the army, like the other youth, to fight with Mainland China in World War II. Sayon lost her footing and drowned in a raging stream and they did not find her body, but just the luggage she had carried, while she was passing across a narrow and wet wooden bridge, protecting the teacher’s luggage. This incident was reported in a way that regarded her as a “patriotic model”, and the story was broadcast later as historical/nationalist myth, and was commemorated in an alarm bell, engraved with the words *Patriotic Girl, Sayon's Bell*, which was hung in the lookout tower of the local tribal village as a gift from the Japanese troops who it to remember her action. The novelist Wu Man-sha wrote about this event in 1941, and it was made into a film in 1943. *Sayon no Kane* became the symbol in the Japanese movie, with other dramatic details and stereotypes to promote it. Chen Qi-peng notes that this film and its mythology distorted the identity of the TYCM tribal people and seemed to advocate their pledging their loyalty to the current regime. This movie portrayed the actions of this one girl as a model for the TYCM tribal people’s patriotic devotion to the Japan colonizers (Chen 2003). From 1942, *Sayon no Kane* was re-told and re-circulated in the interests of promoting assimilation to the Japanese empire, which forced the TYCM tribal people to be organized into “Takasago Volunteers” (高砂義勇隊) to be “sacrificed” as the means to build the Japanese empire during the World War II.<sup>97</sup>

*Sayon's Bell* is a mythical propagandistic portrayal used in the service of the empire and its military; such scenes, Hiroshi Shimizu suggests, “show the ways in which (by strategically assuming a hybrid character itself) Japanese national cultural practices worked to inscribe into its very reproduction the daily activities and places of its empire” (Shimizu 2004:23-31, 30). By re-placing the story with the colonial text, *Sayon no Kane* became colonial literature used for the purpose of representing of assimilation of the Takasago people (uncivilized barbarian outsiders) for Japanese colonial interests. Therefore, *Sayon no Kane* created the “other/orient” image in the hegemony of the colonial empire’s attempts to control the TYCM tribal people to obey their empire’s interests. The TYCM ordinary tribal people were the silent voices

---

<sup>97</sup> “高砂義勇隊”, in *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, <http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/%E9%AB%98%E7%A0%82%E7%BE%A9%E5%8B%87%E9%9A%8A>

in the postcolonial literature of *Sayon na Kane*.

#### 4.3.1.2. *The Wu Feng Incident*

During the Japanese and KMT colonial periods, the *Wu Feng Incident* was used in educational material to colonize the TYCM tribal people. The TYCM tribal people were thus continually confronted by the same issues and tensions – both by the colonialism of the Japanese and by the KMT. The question here is, how does the narrative of the *Wu Feng Incident* help promote and maintain the colonizer’s hegemony over the TYCM?

The Han people originated the story in 1855 in Liu Jia-mou’s *Hai Yin Poem*. Wu Feng became a ghost after he died, resulting in the TYCM fearing and revering him as a god, and consequently not daring to kill any Han people again. In 1894 Ni Zan-yuan’s *Yun Lin Xian Caifang Ce*, and in 1920 Lian Heng’s *A General History of Taiwan (Taiwan Tong Shi)* presented roughly the same narrative, in which Wu Feng was willing to be killed by the TYCM tribal people, thus sacrificing himself and actually being murdered by them. Then they revered Wu Feng as a god and no longer killed Han people.

Many TYCM tribal people refused to bow to Japanese sovereignty. In order to solve this problem the Japanese tried either to pacify or to exert pressure on them in all sorts of ways, one of which was to adapt the story of Wu Feng, transforming it into a legend. Shinden Giitsu edited *The Life of Wu Feng* in 1909, and Chiyuuden Chiyokiyo wrote *The Virtuous Death of Wu Feng* in 1913. The Japanese colonizers built a Wu Feng temple, included the story in primary school textbooks students and created a song and dance drama as a type of colonial “discourse” for the TYCM.<sup>98</sup>

The *Wu Feng Incident* was a successful propaganda tool for colonial discourse, further promoting the view of the TYCM as “barbarian and uncivilized”, and was used as a form of colonial indoctrination. Wu Feng was depicted as a tolerant, benevolent, and righteous hero who brought an end to tribal violence by his

---

<sup>98</sup> For his discussion we can also see, Weng Jia-yin, “Research into the legend of Wu-Feng”, *The Taiwan Folkways* 36/1 (1986), 36-57. Li Yi-yuan, “Legend and Book: The Wu Feng Legend and Related Research from an anthropology Angle”, *Journal of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation* 18/1 (1989), 1-22. Wang Soong-shan, *Society and Culture of TYCM tribal people* (Chinese) (Taipei: Lian Jing, 2001). Chen Qi-nan, *Culture, Construction and Myth – The Trajectory of Culture*, vol.1 (Chinese) (Taipei: Yun Chen, 1986).

self-sacrifice. The KMT colonizers continued to use the *Wu Feng Incident* in the textbooks of primary school students and also in textbooks on life and ethics. The indoctrination of the *Wu Feng Incident* emphasized the stereotypes of the tribal people's fierce and cruel ways (Liao 2005:150). The colonial "Orient" was constructed in "a representation that was then transmitted from text to text", and it reproduced its own unchanging stereotypes of the Orient. Its colonial discourse constituted a linguistic repetitious structure of representations that drew their reality from the authority of textual repetition. Said rejects this representation, "on the grounds of its misrepresentation of the real, in a hegemonic power/knowledge structure" (Young 2003:388). This is clearly the case of the *Wu Feng Incident*, which was invented by the Japanese and by the KMT colonizers to give a distorted view of the tribal people's humanity and to discriminate against them.

The people of the Tsou tribe organized a protest to destroy the myth of Wu Feng on September 9, 1987, an event which television and the press reported. The protestors held up a banner bearing the words: "We killed Wu Feng, but Wu Feng was an unethical merchant so we were justified in killing him". In this and other ways, the Tsou tribe deconstructed the mythology of Wu Feng.<sup>99</sup> The TYCM called for the government to delete the Wu Feng story in primary school textbooks, and the movement was able to have the Wu Feng Temple and Wu Feng County renamed. The most aggressive protest of the "Anti-Wu Feng" movement was the destruction of the Wu Feng statue which stood in front of the Chia-Yi train station. This helped them express their discontent, and the feelings they harboured during the discriminatory colonial times. This had continued in both the Japanese colonial period and the KMT martial law period. The Wu Feng story was just one example of how most Taiwanese and tribal people were educated to believe that the traditional culture of the TYCM was barbaric, a view that was inculcated by the colonial education system. By resisting and deconstructing the Wu Feng Incident the TYCM disclosed the cultural governance attitude which the colonists had shown towards the TYCM tribal people; it showed also that the colonists' education of the TYCM was designed to advance the colonizers' assimilation of the colonized, thereby limiting their sense of identity and denying them social recognition. The colonizers' purpose was, thus, to create a text to rationalize their sovereignty and to hide the facts surrounding their invasion and appropriation of the native tribal lands.

---

<sup>99</sup> For a detailed discussion see Li Chao-Wan, 1989. "Discarding the Beautiful Lie, and Restoring the Dignity of the Tsou Tribe: The Victims of the Wu Feng Mythology", *Taiwan Church News* 1925, 7. See also Zuling Zhibang, 2002, "Taking Action to Liberate the Ancestor's Soul" (Chinese). *Taiwan Japan Research*. <http://www.japanresearch.org.tw/ohfrontnews-51.asp>

In conclusion, the TYCM tribal peoples' engagement with texts like *Sayon no Kane* and the *Wu Feng Incident* have become a widely accepted practice "as an aspect of postcolonial reality" (Ashcroft 1989:190). According to Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, "the text" is replaced when subjects previously considered "marginal" are celebrated as subjects worthy of primary focus. The TYCM tribal people have wrestled with this concept of the "authentic" since the days of empire (102). However, replacing colonial texts and presenting TYCM texts in the context of TYCM tribal cultural, religious and historical traditions is but one strategy to promote the postcolonial discourse of the tribal people in Taiwan.

#### **4.3.2. Reveal Tribal Experiences- TYCM's Memory/Speech/Writing and Decolonial Strategy**

From the above two examples, we have seen how TYCM tribal scholars and authors have used de-colonization strategies to deconstruct/reconstruct the TYCM tribal texts which were created by colonial authorities. Said states that we may need to read between the lines to get to the origin of the real stories which have been commandeered by colonists at different times. The key point in these decolonial strategies is that tribal people contributed their ideas and experiences as a means of recovering their speech and discourse in order to rebuild their own.

We now need to discuss the above mentioned discourses to explore how TYCM tribal scholars recovered the oral and literary processes of the TYCM tribal peoples themselves. In the 1980s, TYCM authors Monanen, Qabas, Walis Nokan, Sun Ta-chuan, Syaman Rapongan and Hushluma published works containing de-colonization features, and employed such writing strategies to reveal and to record the experiences of the tribes. This provided a platform on which tribal people could express their feelings.<sup>100</sup> There was a famous saying in the writing of Hushluma Vava, in the preface to his book *We Worshipped our Ancestor Spirits*, which stated that the main point of his book was "to find a way home".

The TYCM tribal people is getting lost their sense of identity along with their history, culture, language and intellectual concepts under the Han cultural invasion which,

---

<sup>100</sup> Refer to the articles edited and published by *Morning Star Corporation* from 1987 to the present, the books names are in the *TYCM tribal Series*. Also see Wen Hao-bang, *Changing the Course of History: New Perspectives on Saint Wu-Feng*, an archaeological thesis from the National University of Taiwan (1995), un-published.

following the assimilation policy of Chinese nationalism, dominated all aspects of their life including politics, governance, economics and education. They faced the difficulty of trying to accustom themselves to live in the cultural mainstream of Taiwan without cultural recognition, and were thus prone to lose themselves in the darkest mist and become a marginalized group occupying the bottom stratum of society (Vava 1997a:5).

The tribal experiences that repeatedly appear in the literary works of Hushluma Vava include: tribal history, culture, language and logical thinking, all of which they were losing day by day. After he completed his literary works, including describing an account of his own life as a tribal person, he returned back to his tribal village and home to consult with the tribal elders about what the real tribal way of life. In addition, he participated in the rites and in the ceremonies and went hunting with his father in the forest in order to understand the tribe's traditions and its spirit world. These were the essential ingredients he needed to establish a new locus for TYCM discourse. Generally, the TYCM tribal scholars in this period returned to their home tribes in order to understand their cultural traditions better, and to help recover the cultural direction and the tribal recognition which they had lost before. I would like to use the points listed by Walis Nokan and Sun Ta-chuan to explain this experience of "returning home" and how it was instrumental in bringing about the reconstruction of the TYCM tribal people's de-colonization discourse.

#### **4.3.2.1 Recalling the Aggregation Memory**

Walis Nokan defines this de-colonization strategy as a "recollection of the collective historical memory" which arose out of discussions among the tribal people and the devising of a new approach to their tribal experiences. He listed three examples: the novel *Prey* (1998) by Hushluma Vava, the essay *Atayal* (1998) by Walis Nokan, and the book *The Worship of Ancestor Spirits in the Sediq Tribe* (1998) to explain how they used the colonizers' language to recover their people's collective historical memory and to complete their project of de-colonization.

The book *Prey*, by Hushluma Vava, describes the mental confusion of a hunter, Pisazu, who was baffled when he could not find any prey, due to the inroads of civilization. *Atayal: War, 1895~1930*, by Walis Nokan, takes the form of an essay, using the colonists' language to describe a Tayal warrior participating in tribal wars and the suffering of his people arising from that. It included material on tribal religion,

legends, and tribal history to pave the way for the tribal readers' new understanding. He said that he wanted to present his work in a straightforward way, providing a stage for tribal people to give voice to their experiences. In addition, he made explicit use of tribal expressions and terms to help non-TYCM ordinary tribal readers understand; with the hope that these methods would stimulate the interest of non-TYCM ordinary tribal readers and encourage them to explore further the uniqueness of the tribal people. For example, Walis Nokan proposes,

A Japanese saved a tribal child, whom he then trained to count - one head, ten heads, a hundred heads, and so on. As the child counted he recited his tribal people's names — Walis, Mona, Pihu, Yupas, Suyan -- till darkness fell (Nokan 1999a:50).

This work “innocently” presented a story about a Japanese saving a TYCM child and then training the child to learn his numbers by counting heads, one head, ten heads, a hundred heads, and so on. As he counted, the tribal child recited his tribal people's names quietly until the “sky grew cloudy and the land grew dark”. If the reader did not know this story's background history, which was the massacre of the Sediq at Wushe, this essay would not move him in the slightest, although it was in fact telling him how the Japanese brutally massacred a group of tribal people. The author Walis Nokan created his story on the model of the colonizers' “loyal citizen” stereotype. Ostensibly it is simply a story about a Japanese saving a tribal child and instructing him in the “civilised” discipline of mathematics. However, the writer then subversively portrays this Sediq child using his new knowledge to count heads, i.e. to count the tribal people who had been killed by the Japanese. When tribal people read the above painful account, they were deeply moved, as Walis Nokan tells us in “Cloudy Sky and Dark Land”. But when non-TYCM ordinary tribal readers read the same work, they, not understanding the background, could not comprehend the point made by Walis Nokan. There is both a public and a hidden meaning here (Scott 1990).

Pawan Tanah wrote a poem in which he used a phonetic alphabet to represent the sounds of the tribal language. By this means he forced his readers into utilising a written form of their oral traditions, mythology and the tribal laws made by their ancestors. Though part of the poem was written in Chinese, for clarity, this de-colonization and anti-colonial writing method presented the tribal traditions, internal culture and spiritual values. Pawan Tanah devised this phonetic system (representing the tribal pronunciation) in order to reveal the texts which are related to the Massacre of Wushe. This helped to define the subjective position of the Sediq

people as the basis of such discourse. This writing system proved successful, and, just like the writings of Walis Nokan, it belongs to the category of anti-colonial writing.

TYCM tribal scholars quote the works of Walis Nokan to recover their tribal collective historical memory. These anti-colonial writings disclosed the truth that was hidden in the tribal people's memory, including their traditions, their values and their spiritual worlds. Now they and other intellectuals like them, as TYCM tribal people, returned to their own home tribes to learn, to understand and to appreciate the values to which they belonged. This enabled them to reveal the TYCM's postcolonial discourse through such anti-colonial ways of writing.

#### **4.3.2.2 The "First Person" Mode of Expression**

Sun Ta-chuan defines this type of "returning home experience", as an experience that helps to "recover tribal people's collective historical memory" and "the indigenous language historiography model". It was named "the reclamation of the TYCM's cultural history and mental world" or, as he put it, the TYCM tribal people using "the first person mode" to speak about their de-colonization imitation strategies. Sun Ta-chuan informs us that in this process of reclamation the first person should be used to express the TYCM culture, history and mental world. He did his best to describe the TYCM tribal past, present and the future in relation to the group experience, their mental world and their common dreams about the future. The TYCM tribal people engaged in this essential process of reclamation carried a heavy responsibility to their group. He claims that the writers did not themselves have experience of hunting, fishing and participating in adult rites, etc., so they could not really penetrate to the soul of the tribes. He wanted to call on the powers of nature, such as the mountains and the sea, and on the life wisdom of the ancestors so that he could immerse himself in the depths of their life. This would provide some kind of mechanism for him to empathise with tribal thought and action. For example, he thought that the tribal traditional rites called us to participation, and such participation would lead tribal people to immerse themselves in the spiritual world with which they are familiar and also from which they are estranged (Sun 2003a).

Out of the internal characteristics that were formed by these experiences of "returning", Sun Ta-chuan claims that the TYCM reclamation texts raise four relevant issues: (1) that the TYCM tribal people had suffered greatly during colonization and that their reputation was blackened to form an unpleasant memory; (2) that the TYCM

were concerned that their group's ability to explain the everyday phenomena of their world was not being recognised; (3) that the TYCM cultural soul was the world of the mountain, the sea, the universe and mutual harmony among the people; (4) and that other writings had explored the traditional tribal mythology and legends that touched human beings and the spiritual world (Sun 2003e:82-92). The de-colonization strategies to recover the collective historical memory listed by Walis Nokan, and the "first person" writing mentioned by Sun Ta-chuan, were both devised to help the TYCM read their own "true" history. But, while they recorded the material correctly, it did not always match exactly tribal attitudes and ways of thinking. However, they were able to move much closer to the tribal "truths" than previous writers had done. (Sun 2003a:17-20).

Let me quote from Pu Chong-cheng, who said a long historical cultural stream existed. He set out the TYCM's tribal experience, their perspective on the world, their modes of thinking, their principles of conduct, and their objectives. Because other racial groups persisted in describing the tribal people in very negative terms, such as "lazy" and "alcoholic", the authorities despised and therefore ignored the tribal people's viewpoint when they claimed their political rights (Pu 2002:2-4). Thus, tribal culture did not win the respect it deserved from the authorities and the people suffered a lack of development while they were subjected to the colonial education strategy of the Japanese and the Han governments. This was the reason why so many TYCM tribal scholars and authors advocated a "return home" policy, quitting their high salary positions and higher social class lifestyle to return to their home tribes to learn from the tribal elders about the experiences of the tribe, its traditional culture, religion and wisdom. Only then, after they had immersed themselves in the tribal stream, did they feel they might be able to proceed with de-colonization strategies.

#### **4.3.3. Re-placing the Language: TYCM Tribal Mother-tongues**

Currently the TYCM's postcolonial discourse is mainly written in Chinese, i.e. the colonial language. Chui Kuei-feng states that in the de-colonization movement writers had little option but to use the Beijing speech (i.e. Mandarin Chinese) as the national language imposed by the Mainland Chinese colonists. Hoklo (i.e. Taiwanese), though the language of the indigenous Chinese, met with official disapproval and came under pressure from the colonists (Chiu 2003c:259-299, 261-263). TYCM tribal languages, of course, were not included in the language of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse. From the TYCM's point of view both Japanese and Chinese were the

colonizers' languages. We cannot deny that the TYCM tribal scholars and authors continued to use Chinese for their de-colonization writing and discourse, in spite of the fact that it was the colonizers' language; though Chiu Kuei-fen insists that they did not import the colonizers' worldviews, but added their own cultural features to diminish the impact of the colonizers' language (Chiu 1992c:34-36). The scholars added tribal religion, legends and historical material to help the TYCM ordinary tribal reader identify with the author's mood and intention. The most important strategies of de-colonization writings in the period of postcolonial discourse, then, were the employment of both Chinese and Hoklo languages and a combining of different worldviews. This involved a relocation of the cultural language and a reevaluation of it, both obviously being needed for new research.

Walis Nokan states, however, that the basis for TYCM tribal literature was the mother language, which was indispensable (Nokan 2003:127-151). At first, the TYCM tribal scholars set out to counteract the departmentalism of colonial discourse; by proceeding to write in the local language to set out fully the basic facts of their colonization experience. The TYCM tribal de-colonization movement stimulated TYCM intellectuals to write about their feelings, to pose the questions "Who am I?" "What do I feel?" and to answer these questions from a "first person" perspective. It was a straightforward way of explaining the TYCM tribal people's situation under the colonial structure. TYCM tribal scholars attempted to use their mother language to write their discourse although the Chinese government did not see it as being important. It became one of the features in the TYCM tribal people's de-colonization writing process. Some works published by Morning Star Publishing Inc. illustrate this process of de-colonization, such as the book *Pin-h-hnyal na Tayal (A Footnote on the Tayal)* (1991), by Walis Naqang; the book *The Bay of Ba-Dai: A Collection of Tribal Myths from Flying Fish County* (1992), by Syman Rapongan; the book *The Moon Across the Sky and Time* (1998), the Bunun poem *Walking Across the Mountain in the Shadow of the Moon* (1999), by Ismahatan Bukun; the book *A Mythological View of the Bunun Rites* (2002), *A Collection the Mythological Rites and Bunun Customs* (2002), by Dahu Ispalidav and Ibu; the book *Savak na Raxayal Matkayay la Kayal (Tayal Stories)*, (2003) by Yubas Naogih. All of these attempt to record ancestral wisdom and tribal legend.

When they returned home, they consulted with their tribal elders to gather material about their histories, legends, mythologies and prohibited images. Monanen tells us that when he came back home "in search of his roots" he wanted to reveal the tribal stories and the tribal history. As he says in this poem:

If one day,  
    We refuse to wander in history,  
        Please write down our mythology and legends,  
If one day  
    We want to stop wandering in our land,  
        Please retain our name and dignity (Monanen 1989).

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

From the above analysis, it is clear that, whatever process of text or language reconstruction was used in the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourse, the basic resource was that garnered by the authors when they returned to their home tribes. With this they sought to recapture the original experiences and restore authenticity to the distorted texts which the colonizers had made. They recorded the stories from personal interviews with their own tribal people. They endeavoured to use their mother-tongue in writing about their traditional culture, and this helped recover their historical memories. Their efforts created a de-colonization position for the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourse. These are three of the features of the de-colonization writing strategies in the TYCM's postcolonial discourse.

In Part One I have provided sufficient evidence to show the context of the TYCM's colonized experience and their postcolonial concerns in the area of postcolonial discourse. We discovered that there were clearly three postcolonial concerns of the TYCM: to produce the TYCM tribal people's texts, to relate them to the traditional oral sources as revealed by their tribal elders, and to use their mother-tongue. Each of these was a form of their decolonization strategies. I will expand this argument in Part Two, to develop a new theory connecting the above postcolonial concerns with another sphere of postcolonial interpretation, namely, biblical interpretation.

# **PART TWO**

## Chapter Five

### **TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns and Biblical Interpretation: TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation**

*“The aboriginal inhabitants of Taiwan have suffered a historical amnesia for more than 40 years, the result of a government policy which controlled every aspect of their lives and denied them freedom of speech..... inevitably such an experience would seriously affect their political attitudes, and their view of themselves and of nationhood”. (Fang-Ming, Chen 2007:109)*

*“The indigenous people lapse into an embarrassing condition called “dual-culture blindness” or “national culture blindness” because they have been rendered impotent by an educational system designed by the Han (Chinese) to assimilate them into the mainstream of culture, thus depriving them of their own distinctive cultural characteristics”. (Walis Nokan 1999:42)*

#### **5.0. Introduction**

From the above discussion we concluded that there are three postcolonial concerns which clearly emerge in the TYCM’s postcolonial discourse. The first was to relocate the TYCM tribal texts so that the people could recall their tribal experience and give verbal expression to it; the second was to connect their historical memory with the ancestral wisdom passed down orally by the tribal elders;<sup>101</sup> and the third was to use the tribal mother-tongue, which had almost been lost, for communicating their postcolonial and de-colonization concerns. All of these were an effort to respond to the colonial experience from the tribal perspective and from the context of a new, hitherto hidden, “internal” colonialism, which included politics, economics, society, culture, education and religion. What kind of postcolonial biblical interpretation could be devised, then, if the TYCM biblical scholars were to accept the aforementioned TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns as part of their de-colonization strategy,

---

<sup>101</sup> The term “elders” comes from the Sediq tribal language “*rrudan*”, and is applied not only to men, but also to women. Almost all tribal women share equal status with men and speak out forcefully for their tribal traditions.

and how could it be used to give voice to those concerns? I will discuss these themes in this chapter and in the next three chapters. I intend to use Genesis 2:4b-25 as the case text to develop three aspects of biblical interpretation which demonstrate the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial concerns.

Why I choose Genesis 2:4b-25 as my case-study text? "Genesis 2:4b-25" implies the text is not chosen by the ordinary people, but from the researcher who knows Genesis 2:4b-25 is the second creation story in Genesis and who interested in Old Testament like me. The main reason goes back to the first time I successfully practiced the Five Step reading process with this case-study text within our Sediq tribal reading groups on January, 2007. There was in that instance plenty of evidence to show an understanding of the method. So in order to determine whether or not my method was valid and practicable, it is necessary to go further with this same text, reading with other tribal reading groups. So, in sum, I chose this text because it had been the inaugural moment of what has become this research project, and so provided a convenient comparison for my theory.

I would like to call this biblical hermeneutical method "TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation" (台灣原住民部落經驗聖經詮釋法). It is not difficult to see that the focus of these three postcolonial concerns by the TYCM tribal people would be on the text (TYCM tribal text), the reader (TYCM ordinary tribal reader), and the language (TYCM tribal mother-tongue). In the past, these three areas have been used to conceal the TYCM tribal people's experiences during more than four hundred years of colonization. I have described this situation in the previous chapters in order to develop the basis for this biblical interpretation which finds its social location and setting in the communities of the TYCM tribal people. For this reason, TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation must be undertaken from a Bible-reading perspective stemming from the contextual postcolonial concerns of the TYCM tribal people.

I begin by posing the question, "Why should the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial biblical hermeneutics be located in the context of the TYCM's postcolonial concerns?" Postcolonial biblical interpretation is one of biblical interpretation's methods, which focus on contextualization; thus postcolonial biblical interpretation cannot separate the past experiences of the TYCM tribal people from that of the current colonial experiences within their own special historical and cultural situations. The colonial and decolonial experiences would appear to be different according to their different contexts, so the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourses were analyzed in order to generate the understanding of different postcolonial concerns by

the scholars who come from different historical and cultural backgrounds. This brought new challenges to the complex experiences of the different cultures and the social groups within the communities of the TYCM tribal people. In my discussion in the previous-chapter, which described the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourses, I summarized the special colonial and decolonial experiences of TYCM tribal people.

Before we explore further the application of this hermeneutic, we should clarify what the implications are for the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, since we have determined that the TYCM's postcolonial biblical interpretation could not simply emerge from their postcolonial concerns and context. We need to investigate further the basis of the relationship between these three postcolonial concerns in the TYCM's postcolonial discourse as discussed in the previous-chapter concerning the biblical interpretation method which shares its basic foundation with the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial experiences. Why should the discussion of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in this chapter be linked with those three postcolonial concerns for the TYCM tribal people? And can we clearly list these three concerns as themes for a de-colonization reading out of the TYCM tribal postcolonial experience?

In order to answer the aforementioned questions I would like to single out the three themes: TYCM tribal people, TYCM tribal experiences and TYCM tribal "biblical interpretation", presented from the perspective of the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial experiences, to evaluate their significance for the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns. By exploring the postcolonial biblical interpretation problems formulated by scholars such as R.S. Surgiratharajah, Fernando Segovia, Musa Dube and Kwok Pui-Lan, we may find the different stances they adopted through their colonial/ decolonial exposure generated a range of biblical interpretation techniques.

### **5.1. "TYCM" Tribal People**

The first element that appears in the term "TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation" is "TYCM", which stands for the tribal people in Taiwan (called Taiwan Yuen-Chu-Min), a minority ethnic group comprising only 2% of the total population of Taiwan. They are therefore always a minority in the congress which rules by majority decision today. When the colonial rulers arrived in their territory, the TYCM found themselves powerless, and it was only through headhunting that they could try to protect their lands and traditional heritages, which were gradually lost or destroyed. The "TYCM"

tribal people have 14 different languages with multiple cultural and religious traditions, as compared to other ethnic groups in Taiwan, such as the Han immigrants, the Hoklo, and the Hakka.

So the term “TYCM” represents not only the identity of a single race of TYCM tribal people, but also is a collective term representing the pan-minority unity of different local indigenous tribes in Taiwan. Throughout history such minority tribes had always been described as barbarians who had no histories, whose concepts of culture and religion were low, whose behaviour was shameful, and who were in need of education and assimilation by the colonial rulers. They were given several names, invented by the colonial rulers, for example: *fan*, 番, “savages” during the Qing Dynasty, “tame barbarians” which meant the TYCM tribal people who accepted Japanese assimilation; the “barbarians” meant the stubborn TYCM tribal people who rejected Japanese assimilation; and during the Japanese colonial period they were also known as the *Takasago zoku*, “the people who had an inheritance in the mountains”. They were designated “the mountain country people” and “the mountain plains people” by the Chinese Nationalist Party during the period of Kuomintang control. These were all used as labels of racial discrimination, attached to them by the colonial rulers in each era of occupation.

The TYCM tribal people rejected and protested against those labels, which were applied to them by colonial rulers even as late as the 1990s. They began to accept and recognize the name of YCM (Yuen Chu Min) as indicating their common identity, and used this new name in mobilizing their decolonial protest and in fighting for survival in the colonial system. They also re-defined themselves as YCM to express their common ground while at the same time preserving their diversity. This was so that they could engage in exchanges and cooperation with other tribes on the basis of equality, mutual respect, and harmonious coexistence, to seek deeper mutual understanding, to broaden their consensus, to learn from each other, and to make common progress towards abolishing colonialism in all its forms in the political, economic, cultural, and educational systems imposed on them.

The term “YCM” did not appear in the constitution until 1994, which, as I have argued, was the key starting point for the tribal postcolonial period as they sought status for their race in the political and public affairs of Taiwan. Regarding the constitution, it differentiated the TYCM tribal people from those who were not, finally recognizing and respecting their ethnic and cultural differences, and the names by which they had traditionally called themselves. As they were the original

inhabitants of Taiwan, I would like to refer to them by the term “TYCM” (“Taiwan Yuen Chu Min” = “Taiwan Original Dwelling People”).

The voice of the TYCM almost disappeared from mainstream discourse in colonial society. Scholars endeavoured, as we have seen, to make it heard again in postcolonial discourse, a voice calling for recognition of the fact that they had existed continuously on Taiwan for more than a thousand years, even though they had been ignored, marginalized and silenced under colonial sovereignty. They gave their blood and their bodies, fighting that they might survive and not be silently extinguished under colonial oppression. “TYCM”, therefore, takes on a new meaning and emphasis when it forms part of the term “TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation”, underlining the fact that the tribal people have become aware of their real existence in a postcolonial Taiwan. It was just as was reflected in articles in *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World* and *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, edited by Sugirtharajah, which attempted to provide a platform for the voices of Third World scholars who were writing from a marginal position in response to the main Eurocentric forms of discourse.

I quote from a preface by Sugirtharajah in which he asks the question: “What is marginal?” He asserts that some minority groups were ignored in areas where the main religions were apparently dominant, such as Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism, etc. The marginalized depicted their suffering and oppression to highlight that the new colonialism continually inflicted painful experiences leading them to seek liberty. And their resistance to colonialism led to new efforts to de-colonize biblical discourse (Sugirtharajah 2006:3-9). Thus, we may hear their voices speaking through biblical interpretation to show the perspectives of tribal theologies in different marginal positions and situations from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The TYCM tribal people, the minority races, are like any other tribal groups at the marginal position within local communities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their histories have never appeared to be accepted in mainstream writing, and their voices have not risen in formal public discourses. They do not even have a clear legal standing to pull them out of their colonially marginalized position to move into the centre and express their voices. Unfortunately, biblical interpretation too has ignored the TYCM tribal people’s voices and also marginalized their position as viable authorities to authentically read the Bible in the context of Taiwan. But other postcolonial contexts have followed similar paths to those I have discussed above,

which I will now briefly examine before discussing in more depth TYCM tribal peoples' voices.

Indian postcolonial biblical scholar R.S. Sugirtharajah lists a number of sources of importance for biblical postcolonial hermeneutics. He describes Indian life situations during the period before colonization, during colonization and the period after independence or postcolonization (Sugirtharajah 2001; 2002; 2003; 2005b). For example, he tries to distinguish the layers of hermeneutics during the colonial period of Asia "From Orientalism to Postcolonialism", and in his work entitled *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism*, he uses his own tribal experience of the "Indian Textual Mutiny of 1820" to illustrate the imperial trans-culture mode, utilised in the nineteenth century, which portrayed the Bible as a colonial book to force the people in low social classes and marginal groups to receive the dominant or metropolitan culture from the imperial government. In the two chapters on "Imperial Critical Commentaries" and "Textual Cleansing", he shows how the ruling government used imperial biblical interpretation and translation as a subtle means of reinforcing the local authority of the empire. But he also draws attention to the presence and role of both the postcolonial scholar and the ordinary postcolonial reader in his examination of Asian responses.

I would like to narrate briefly the positions we have taken, our hermeneutical journey as Asian readers, the theories we employ to understand our cultures, our texts, our marginality, and also how as interpreters our role has evolved over the years... I would like to make it clear that though I use the plural "we," I don't pretend to speak for all Asian interpreters. The concerns I am going to share with you are mine—though some Asian biblical scholars may wish to identify with them (Sugirtharajah 1998a:124; 1998b).

Part of Sugirtharajah's purpose, it would seem, is to help Bible-readers to know the background to the text, the situation that obtained during the period in which the ancient Israelites were living under the control of empires, so that the readers could explore those "postcolonial" contexts and their themes of concern, which were hidden behind the biblical text, and thus disclose the "voices" which had been ignored or not been heard. These "voices" were not only ignored or hidden in the biblical text, but also in the biblical reading of the present postcolonial and neocolonial situations in which the voices had been silenced. Then Sugirtharajah describes the sufferings of the Indians when they were in a marginal position under colonialism, and in the

postcolonial diaspora, providing an opportunity for Indians to be the real readers, to protest, and to pave the way for a biblical discourse for de-colonization.

Fernando Segovia is a Cuban American, author of a book entitled *Decolonizing Biblical Studies: A View from the Margin*. In the preface, written from a decolonial position; he states that he writes from the perspective of “a Hispanic American hermeneutics of diaspora” to focus on the postcolonial concerns experienced in his own context. His study is a type of hermeneutic constructed to listen to the voices from marginal areas where the minority communities, such as feminists, Africans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, etc., are challenging the hermeneutical model belonging to the centre, the western European tradition. His works focus on the field of cultural research, emphasizing the perspective of Hispanic Americans. He argues that this type of de-colonization reading contributes to a movement away from the longstanding control over theological creativity by European and Euro-American voices, toward the retrieval and revalorization of the full multiplicity of voices and perspectives of peoples who have lived on the margins (Segovia 2000b:123). In another of his writings, *Notes Toward Refining the Postcolonial Optic*, he emphasizes how the hermeneutical machine was used, both in biblical past and today, by the powers fuelling colonization as the engine to push its movement, claiming that any criticism of the Bible coming from outside the empire (or, today, from the Third World) needed to be subverted in order to secure the empire, through colonization of the biblical text and the creating of a canonical reading which prioritizes an “authorized” interpretation (Segovia 2006:43, n3). Central to Segovia’s postcolonial optic is the priority of the contextualization process of “real readers”, real, flesh-and-blood readers. He wants to enable, it could be argued, real Hispanic American readers, from the margins, to re-read the Bible through their cultural and socio-political reality (Segovia 1995:1-17; 1996a; 1996b).

Feminist postcolonial biblical scholars Musa Dube and Kwok Pui-lan present the perspectives of women, who in many contexts are defined by both imperialism and patriarchy. Musa Dube is an African biblical scholar from Botswana, known through her work *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* in which she uses colonial texts, such as *The Aeneid* and Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, to illustrate the classical models for imperialism, which, based on the assumptions of European imperialism, sought to explain the history of the relationship between the Bible and African Christianity. She shows how the colonizers and the priests had for a very long time used the Bible as a text legitimizing imperialism, using the Bible as an excuse to justify robbing local inhabitants of their land, and as a means of supporting

imperial and colonial strategies. For example, Dube points out that the story of Exodus not only describes the ancient Israelite people's liberation, but also the colonization of Canaan. Similarly, to take another example, she shows how Abraham invokes divine authority to travel, enter and possess foreign nations and land—a literary trait that is characteristic of imperializing texts. In the same way, in the New Testament, God is portrayed as instructing the disciples to “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations”, thereby sanctioning travel to and the conversion of foreign nations (Dube 1998:137).

The double colonization of women is at the centre of her analysis, and it is from this location that she constructs her decolonizing feminist biblical hermeneutic practices. She realizes that the purpose of this practice is to encourage women to resist patriarchal and imperial oppression and to build a space of liberating interdependence among nations, genders, races, ethnicities, in harmony with the environment and in the midst of development (Dube 1997; 1999). As she says:

Women in biblical religion also stand in other religions. The challenge, therefore, is to become decolonizing readers, who seek to build true conversations of equal subjects in our postcolonial and multi-cultural world. Without overlooking the differences of race, sexuality, religion, and class, I am proposing that our critical practices should be multi-cultural in a postcolonial open-space of women of the world as equal subjects (Dube 1997: 23).

For Dube this explicitly includes ordinary non-scholarly African women, become important resources for Bible reading since they are able to localize the biblical stories in their special context (Dube 1996; 1999; 2002).

Kwok Pui-lan, who grew up in Hong Kong, has experience of the dual colonial position, like that of other Chinese women in different situations. Her experience as a Chinese woman became for her one of the hermeneutical keys to engage with what she constructed in postcolonial feminist hermeneutics. In her work, *Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World*, she presented the fact that the Bible in the non-biblical world of Asia is one of the texts which is open for multiple-religious study. She claims that the people precede the hermeneutics, which needs to be seen as a subject of importance in creating a multi-faith hermeneutic (Kwok 1995:23). She seeks to use “dialogical imagination” in making use of her experience as a woman in Asia to develop the mythologies and legends, which are included in multi-religious

texts and stories, as a dialogical resource in Bible reading. For example, when she reads the Bible story of the Canaanite woman (Mark 7:24-30; Matt 15:21-28), she relates it to the multi-cultural reality within her society. She reads the story with Asian women, involving them in dialogue to inspire a new hermeneutical path for Chinese women (Kwok 1989; 1992; 2000). Moreover, Kwok points out that the Asian culture of oral transmission plays an important role, and asks biblical scholars to listen to the voices of suffering women, and to deal with the community of women and men who are in silent situations in the non-biblical world, to learn how they might read the Bible and to work out a hermeneutic to proceed with imaginative forms of dialogue.

As a result of the aforementioned postcolonial hermeneutical positions pioneered by Sugirtharajah, Segovia, Dube and Kwok, we can each claim our own hermeneutical context, and we need to understand that the basis of all hermeneutics is contextual, since it is clear from this brief and selective overview that they each present their reading strategy for biblical hermeneutics from their different postcolonial contexts. Even though they are each located in different contexts of postcolonial environments, the suffering and feelings they experienced under colonial and imperial control are similar. They do not seem to be deterred by the possibility of criticism of their local-context narration.

TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, then, insists on its location firmly within the TYCM tribal people. They are the subjects of this biblical hermeneutic. The purpose of the term “TYCM” is to enable the local tribal people who have lived on Taiwanese land for thousands years to re-appear from their silent, marginal location in the colonial system. This component of my reading strategy demonstrates that the TYCM tribal people, though they are the minority race in Taiwan, and though they are under a system of colonial control, can participate in and construct a viable hermeneutical method.

## **5.2. TYCM “Tribal Experiences”**

What, then, is the postcolonial view found in the term “TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation”? To answer this question we need first to establish a definition of “tribal” in that term. The primary focus for “tribal” brings together three of the TYCM’s postcolonial concerns, as I pointed out in a previous chapter, and this will lead us into the postcolonial context in the area of hermeneutics. The themes of relevance for those three TYCM postcolonial concerns include: the TYCM tribal text,

the TYCM tribal people and the TYCM tribal mother-tongue. I simply call them TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns.

### **5.2.1. TYCM Tribal Texts**

Of primary importance in defining the TYCM tribal people's experience is the extracting of the TYCM tribal "text" from their tribal experience. From the perspective of scholars of culture or religion it is important to acknowledge that this type of "text" is not limited to the written or to the oral tradition. For example, the tribal experience of "texts", i.e. experiences which have touched tribal lives, include: traditional religion, mythology, legends, rituals, tribal laws, taboos, traditional dances, magic incantations, tribal history and oral expressions. But there are also the "texts" which were absorbed by the indigenous people during the colonial period, the imprint of the foreign influence upon them, which were the cause of the displacement, transformation or even loss of their own cultural "texts".

This point is similar to the one I made in an earlier chapter, namely that the tribal texts became the "Third Person" or "Imperializing Texts" as a result of the colonial strategies put in place after the colonialist cultural invasion. Here I am following Dube, who would designate the TYCM oriental "stereotype texts" as "imperializing texts" (Dube 2000:53). While the tribal texts record the tribal life experiences when the people enjoyed unrestricted possession of the land, they also include the experience of the TYCM in the political, economic, cultural, religious, societal, and educational arenas when they lived under colonial control. So these texts will touch on different concerns in the postcolonial context.

Sugirtharajah points out that multiple religious traditions and texts have existed for a long time in the Third World. So postcolonial hermeneutics should examine those religious traditions and texts have been ignored, or even destroyed, as well as the recognized cultures which have had an inseparable relationship with the local inhabitants throughout the history of Christian expansion. Part of the task is to relocate those precious religious heritages through the hermeneutical process, highlighting the fact that those marginalized races and groups had experienced colonial suffering in different contexts in their struggle for freedom.

From a TYCM perspective, Basuya Boyijenu (Tzou tribe) identifies the following elements to the suffering of indigenous peoples: "The common concerns for

worldwide indigenous peoples include: the extinction/revival of languages, cultures and customs; assimilation/de-assimilation; colonization/de-colonization; marginalization/ de-marginalization; de-centralization; health services and prevention of disease; misappropriation of land resource by private financial groups; the return of tribal lands; the restoration of tribal names; revival of traditional culture; political participation; racial autonomy, etc”. “Though”, he goes on to argue, “some problems, such as political participation and education rights, have been solved, the survival of the indigenous peoples is still seriously threatened by the unresolved questions of land ownership, sovereignty, etc. These are the issues which will be raised by the indigenous people through their writings in their fight against assimilation into main stream society and culture”. (Boyijenu 1999:239)

The hermeneutics of the TYCM tribal experience presents the above tribal texts and contexts through a hermeneutical process, comparing them with the texts and contexts of other races, such as, for example, taking the experience of the ancient Israelites in the Bible and reading it simultaneously from the stance of a particular Jewish experience. As indicated in the work of Kwok, postcolonial readers would read biblical texts in the contexts of multiple religions, multiple beliefs and multiple cultures. As the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns suggest, this would refresh the TYCM tribal texts through a re-verbalising, re-presentation, re-explanation and re-location by means of Bible reading and expose them again to the world. In addition, this process would help the TYCM tribal texts to participate in discourses of hermeneutics and establish a locus in the context of multiple religions, multiple beliefs and multiple cultures.

I like the approach of C. S. Song, a Taiwanese theologian, who expresses the story of Third World theologies in easily understood language, particularly when he is describing the Asian traditional heritages with their multiple cultures, multiple religions and multiple beliefs. He holds that the concept of story is comprehensive, including not only mythology, popular legend or actual experiences, but also representing the essence of history comprising person, family, society, country and world (Song 1979; 1984; 1988; 1999). He claims that story could start from the concept embodied in the Chinese myth of Pan Gu in which “Pan Gu created heaven and earth” continuing until the present (Song 1994). The “TYCM” tribal people, then, in this worldview, represent not only one race, but also all races with multiple religions, multiple beliefs and multiple cultures, so the story offers a multiple and abundant meaning. But these stories have disappeared under the “brain-washing” of imperialism, colonialism and Christianization. So Song retells these popular stories in

a simplified form in order that the public may easily understand. These stories could touch readers' minds by constant re-telling and they could provide a public voice for those in a marginal place in society. How can we achieve the aim of the TYCM's postcolonial biblical criticism, to present the multiple cultural and historical texts among the different tribes of TYCM tribal people, and thus furnish them with a process of de-colonization, a component of our TYCM tribal postcolonial hermeneutic?

Sugirtharajah points out that the purpose of postcolonial biblical criticism is first and foremost to detect how colonialism was central to biblical interpretation, because the Bible was generated within the colonial contexts of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman Empires. He takes the postcolonial critical perspective and re-reads the biblical words to explore the hidden meanings of colonial assumption, of imperial impulses, of power relations, of hegemonic intentions, of the treatment of subalterns, of stigmatization of women and the marginalized, of land appropriation and the of violation of minority cultures. He attempts to use the biblical reading along with postcolonial criticism to recover those silenced voices, subordinated issues and lost causes to discover the best method to heal the hermeneutical process, then to expose the consciousness which was hidden in the place of seeming neutrality. In re-reading the Bible in this manner, it is then possible to reveal the postcolonial themes of concern, such as multiplicity, hybridity, multiple cultures, racism, diaspora, exile and seeking shelter (Sugirtharajah 2006:67).

Under the above circumstances, when they re-read the biblical texts with their postcolonial concerns, scholars are able to present the people's story, through the illustrations of C. S. Song, or the words of Sugirtharajah, for example, that challenge readers to expose the multiple postcolonial contexts and issues in the Bible, highlighting the silenced voices, the subordinated issues, and the lost causes which were experienced by the marginal groups and races in the different postcolonial contexts. In using this model of biblical hermeneutics in the context of the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial experience, the first step is to re-read the tribal texts, which suffered marginalization in the postcolonial context.

### **5.2.2. TYCM Ordinary Tribal Readers**

If scholars want to present the TYCM tribal people's experience, the first thing they need to do is to share the TYCM tribal texts. If we continue the discussion begun in

the last chapter, we must understand that we should prioritize visiting the tribes so that we can involve ordinary tribal people in the study to uncover the tribal text resources, thus making them the “real”, the “flesh-and-blood”, readers. To develop Segovia’s point, tribal texts are generated after the oral data has been collected. This requires the scholarly reader to be involved in the discourse, hence the importance of returning home to become the de-colonized readers of the tribal texts, taking up a central position for their interpretation. As indicated, TYCM tribal scholars and writers have left the city, which represented the colonial culture, to return to their own tribes, where they have delved into their ancestors’ culture and spirituality by means of the oral traditions passed down by the tribal elders.

The TYCM scholars and writers who returned to their own tribes helped their people to express their experiences. At that time, the researchers did not consult the texts which had been written by non-tribal people and were preserved in the museums, libraries, offices or places of learning. This does not mean that TYCM scholars rejected the documents preserved at the aforementioned places on the grounds that those papers were made by non-tribal people, whom they considered to be late-comers. The important thing was how to lead the TYCM tribal people to understand our own tribal texts that were not made by non-tribal people and to define who we are in non-oral form. Too close an adherence to the material provided by non-tribal scholars might cause TYCM tribal people once again to lose their own voice and become a marginalized group in postcolonial discourse. Furthermore, the TYCM might consider themselves to be simply the objects of research of those scholars and experts. Robert Young explains this point very well, stating:

Do you feel that your own people and country are somehow always positioned outside the mainstream? Have you ever felt that the moment you said the word “I”, that “I” was someone else, not you? That in some obscured way, you were not the subject of your own sentence? Do you ever feel that whenever you speak, you have already in some sense been spoken for? Or that when you hear others speaking, that you are only ever going to be the object of their speech? Do you sense that those speaking would never think of trying to find out how things seem to you, from where you are? That you live in a world of others, a world that exists *for* others? (Young 2003:1)

So there are two components to this de-colonization discourse. One component is to lead the tribal people to re-read the literature created by the “late-comer” non-tribal

scholars and researchers; and the second component is to inspire the participation of tribal people in the reading of their own tribal texts. Such practices of de-colonized reading would, it is hoped, lead to their re-appropriating the main body of their literature and expressing their rights. Though most TYCM tribal people cannot express their thoughts and views through writing, as a result of these postcolonial practises they may ask scholars and researchers to record their views and their tribal experience, including their ancestors' cultural traditions and tribal wisdom, which has been their heritage for thousands of years.

As I have indicated, such processes are of particular importance to tribal women, who have been voiceless under imperialism, colonialism and patriarchal systems. Through these processes they will have room for expression, lifting the burden from those women who have been oppressed by cultural, traditional, religious and tribal values and views. Kwok Pui-lan, the Asian feminist theologian, who well understands the postcolonial context for women who have lived under multiple cultural and religious traditions, posits:

Asian women theologians have found that white, male, and middle class theologies have often been used to legitimize cultural imperialism and exploitation of the earth... When Asian women theologians begin to use their tribal symbols, legends, and rituals in their theologies, they are criticized as “syncretistic” and “pagan”... Asian women theologians, struggling for the survival of poor and oppressed Asian women, often transgress religious boundaries and assimilate many elements from different traditions. Living in a multi-religious world, Asian women theologians have argued that they embody the diverse traditions of shamanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Christianity simultaneously with multiple identities and heritages... Asian Christian women emphasize that women in the Bible are divided by race, class, and religion, just as Asian women are today... [and that] the biblical narrative helps us understand how the Bible functions cross-culturally (Kwok 1996:100-102).

The first thing we should do to help tribal women when we proceed with this cross-cultural reading of the Bible, is to inspire the TYCM tribal people, especially the tribal women, to express their feelings, and to highlight our affirmation and encouragement for their roles when they read the biblical and tribal texts (Moore 1986; 2005). In other words, listening to what they say and paying heed to the expression of

their feelings is how we approach these marginalized tribal texts with the TYCM tribal people. It is only when we respect the tribal people, and invites their close participation, that the tribal texts and biblical readings can be re-read and adopted in the place of the tribal ancestors' cultural heritage and spiritual world.

Thus, the expression of the TYCM tribal people's experience is brought about by the tribal people's participation, and by the readers of the biblical and tribal texts sharing their own views of the tribal tradition text and inherent tribal experiences.

### **5.2.3. TYCM Tribal Mother-tongues**

In addition to the necessary dialogue between the TYCM tribal texts and the TYCM ordinary tribal readers stemming from the TYCM tribal people's experiences, the other essential requirement, which should be part of the presentation of the TYCM tribal people's experience, is the use of the mother-tongue by the tribal people. This means that the TYCM ordinary tribal readers should recover the voiceless TYCM tribal texts through their own mother-tongues. The most important thing which could aid the process of de-colonization is to allow the tribal people to communicate in their mother-tongue.

In the nineteenth century, the missionaries brought the Bible to Taiwan. The first missionary, Dr. James L. Maxwell, began to translate and printed in romanized vernacular the Taiwanese Hokkien Bible. His successor was the English Presbyterian Thomas Barclay, who created the "Jiu-Jen-Tang", the "Shin-Lou Book House", the first western printing company in Taiwan, in 1884. In 1885 this published the first newspaper, called "Fu-Cheng Church News"-- today's *Taiwan Church News*, and re-translated the New Testament in 1916 and the Old Testament in 1933.<sup>102</sup> The Roman alphabet was used for Church communication, education in schools, reading the Bible, and publishing the Psalms, which were widely broadcast, influencing hundreds of thousands of Taiwanese readers in the 1880s. But this trend suffered a setback under the oppression of colonial control. During the Japanese colonial period, the government abolished Church activities, such as weekly Church services, Bible classes, and Church schools, and ordered the inhabitants not to use their mother-tongues. They forced inhabitants to learn Japanese, to speak in Japanese, and to use Japanese names. The government prohibited the Bible in Roman script from

---

<sup>102</sup> See Wu Jen-she, "Forbiddance of Romanized Edition Taiwanese Bible", *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*, (2011). <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3974>.

being distributed among the public, and in 1942 prevented the Taiwanese Church from publishing its communiqués. In 1946, during the KMT martial law period, the government set up the “Mandarin Promotion Commission”, which eventually prohibited students from speaking in their mother-tongues in school from 1956 to 1987. In 1955 it even forbade the Church from using Roman characters, when it ordered the county government offices to suppress the romanised Bible to prevent its becoming popular among the people, and it prohibited preaching in the people’s mother-tongues.

In 1969 it prohibited the *Taiwan Church News* from publishing in Roman characters. In the meantime, the Bible and the Psalms in local Churches were confiscated. In 1973, the Taiwanese-English dictionary by B.L.M. Embree was forbidden, was confiscated, and Church news bulletins disappeared or were confiscated. In 1974, in the county of Hoping where the Tayal people lived, as the tribal people were holding their weekly Church meetings, police officers entered to confiscate the romanised Tayal Bible and the Tayal hymnals of Tayal Boai Church. The officers of the military courts of the Taiwanese Garrison Command as well as the police broke into the Bible Society to confiscate 2,200 copies of the Taiwanese romanised Bible. The chief administrative officer of the World Bible Society was so disturbed by this that he visited Taiwan and then sent a complaint through the international Church to report this serious incident to the President. Shen Chang-huan, the then ambassador to the United States, was handed the complaint and under pressure returned to Taiwan. As a result the Kuomintang government returned 600 copies of some works, but the romanised Bible and the dictionary published by the Church news association were all confiscated. The education ministry notified the ministry of the interior to forbid preaching in the mother-tongue in the tribal Churches, and prohibited the publication of works using Roman script, or the Bible in tribal language characters. More especially, the translations of the Bible into tribal tongues were not allowed to be circulated. This was simply a repetition of the colonial history which the TYCM had experienced before. (Wu 2011)

The Christian scriptures were among the first works to be translated into the TYCM’s tribal languages. The translators should have used a Mandarin phonetic system to comply with the Kuomintang government’s regulations during the period of martial law, which forbade the translating of the Bible into TYCM tribal languages. Such prohibition was overturned after martial law was lifted, so the Roman character and tribal language versions of the Bible could be published again. The translation of the Christian scriptures was an achievement that assured the continuance of a written

form for the tribal languages. The TYCM tribal people generally passed on their ancestral culture orally, in the mother-tongue. This had been their practice from generation to generation for thousands of years.

The tribal people were increasingly forced to learn the colonizer's language through the colonial education system, which was controlled by the "late-comers": first under the Dutch, then the Spanish; then they had to learn Japanese, Mandarin and even a few English expressions. The tribal people were forced to learn these, before they were able to create phonetic symbols for their own mother-tongues. But with the devising of this phonetic system the TYCM tribal people were now able to rejoin the mainstream by expressing themselves in a "First Person" mode (Sun 2000:166). Though the TYCM scholars and writers used Chinese in their writings, they supplemented it with the basic grammar of tribal languages to enable the TYCM tribal people to engage in a de-colonization writing process within Chinese language colonialism. They used Chinese as a tool to express the TYCM tribal people's cultural traditions and spiritual heritage, with such written methods being the most popular in the TYCM tribal people's de-colonization discourse.

The tribal mother-tongues are necessary for the TYCM tribal people to express orally their ancestor's heritage, especially to describe the tribal "texts" which have survived through being passed on by tribal elders. Though the Bible played a role in keeping and extending the use of the mother-tongues, we must still consider it from the perspective of postcolonial concerns, because to Bible translations also played a role in separating the tribal people from their own cultural heritage. Since the coming of this foreign religion, Christianity used the TYCM tribal tongues to translate Christian texts. It enabled the tribal people to have the Bible in their mother-tongues and thus at the same time prevent these languages from becoming extinct. However, the Bible in the mother-tongues, by establishing a relationship between tribal people and the Bible, also brought about the isolation of tribal people from their own culture. Under such circumstances, the TYCM tribal mother-tongues could not adequately express or explain the inherited ancestral wisdom, or the tribal texts in the TYCM tribal contexts. Thus, the tribal tongues become a new feature of postcolonialism. As Sugirtharajah argues, the translation strategy of the missionaries transmitted the values and thoughts of Christianity to the TYCM tribal people through their mother-tongues to instruct them in Christian principles, but it did nothing to stimulate the traditional "philosophy" of the original thought world of which these mother-tongues were a vehicle (Sugirtharajah 1999).

Regarding the three aforementioned aspects of tribal experience which show how to develop the available hermeneutical strategies for the TYCM tribal Christians, we will go on to explain in the next chapter how we practice and strengthen Bible-reading using these three postcolonial concerns from the area of TYCM's biblical interpretation.

### **5.3. TYCM Tribal “Biblical” Interpretation**

We have demonstrated the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation's stance on the three TYCM tribal people's postcolonial concerns. We continue by contextualizing the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse through the above process. I plan to explain how the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation originates from the development of *biblical* interpretation in the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial context. Such an approach is not only justified by the tribal people's reconstruction and resurrection of their culture heritage, but also reveals a postcolonial hermeneutic for TYCM Christians. This means that TYCM Christians would have the opportunity to practice TYCM tribal “biblical interpretation” using a method of Bible reading which will enable them to identify the “concealed” meanings of scripture and recognise how they interact with their daily lives and their collective history. In this way the TYCM tribal Christians will not lose their culture or their faith. This dual identification as TYCM tribal people and Christians calls for a re-investigation and relocation of the TYCM tribal texts, which have become almost marginalized through the Bible reading.

#### **5.3.1 The Identity of TYCM Tribal Christians: The TYCM Tribal People and the Christian Faith**

In carrying out the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, it is important that the TYCM tribal Christians should not lose their dual identities as both Christians and Indigenous People. We would say that He/She or I/We are TYCM tribal Christians, meaning those two identities are not separable. Pusin Tali, a Tayal tribal theologian, states:

A theological revision is required, on the basis of which the TYCM tribal Christian groups can be shown how to express the truth of their beliefs in practice. We should review a theology which can not be understood and we should criticize any code which calls for the

disobeying or disregarding of respected tribal beliefs. We should also argue against any preaching which seeks to eliminate the tribal culture values. The TYCM tribal people should engage in a thoroughgoing theological review to restore the dignity of tribal life and ensure its continuance while at the same time proclaiming their Christian certainties (Tali 2007:61).

Pusin Tali points out that, in becoming a Christian, a tribal person might face certain difficulties. It would be easy for such a person to lose his identification with the tribe if he shares his Christian theological viewpoints as if he is despising or disobeying the traditional tribal beliefs. Tali is concerned about any theological activity that might threaten their tribal cultural values, and undermine their ability to survive, thus cutting off their mission to help the tribes return to a realistic life-centred rule. The whole life experience in the tribe is presented through activities such as history, story, mythology, culture, customs, religion, art, sculpture, music, psalms, thought modes, life values and a world view. Therefore, Pusin Tali believes, those things which create the tribal mentality or which form the basis of tribal characteristics are the tribal gifts and their cultural property (Tali 2007:75).

Pusin Tali quotes Malcolm Margolin, a Native American tribal scholar, who says, “We survive when we walk on our own road, we live our own way, we tell our own story, we sing our own psalms, we speak our own language, we do our own thing”. So he points out that the TYCM tribal people, especially within the Christian Church, should cherish those parts of their cultural heritage, that they should respect their cultural dignity, and that they should look back at their history to understand the essential truths and ethical principles which are to be found in the life experience of the tribe. In this way they will become joyful ambassadors of the kingdom of God in their society (Tali 2007:75).

TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial discourse focuses on the fact that the TYCM tribal history is colonial history which emerged under the influence of colonists and their religions, including Christianity. It is concerned with the consciousness of the people as conquered, expelled, assimilated and colonized, which were pressures brought by imperialism, colonialism and Christianity, when colonists forced the local indigenous people to forget their identity, so that they would eventually lose their language, religion, cultural heritage and land. In these circumstances, the TYCM tribal Christians have always lived with contradictions in their minds stemming from their experience in their own traditional religion and cultural heritage and their dual

identification as both Christians and TYCM tribal people. So the first identification for the TYCM tribal Christian has become this: that the “TYCM tribal people” is a powerful ethnic and cultural “sign” which was given from God in their Christian faith. It would help TYCM tribal people (Christian and non-Christian) continually to contest and negotiate the national construction in the postcolonial context of Taiwan.

The second identification for the TYCM tribal Christians is that they are Christian, which came from their contextual experience of identifying with aspects of the ancient Israelite people in the Bible (Brett 2003; Lemche 1998; Miller 1987; Schmidt 1994). Such identifications have helped TYCM tribal Christians to recognize their own struggles and suffering. The Old and New Testaments, which the Christians accepted, came from the mother land of the ancient people of Israel. There the historical experiences of ancient Israel existed in texts which described the multiple beliefs shared within the religious and cultural communities in the Ancient Middle East (Albright 1968; Wyatt 1998). Among these diverse traditions of the ancient world the Israelite people found their self-understanding and self-recognition and the construction of their particular identity (Thompson 1999:82-99). Such is similarly the case in the New Testament text, where we encounter the initial Christian experience. Those texts from the ancient Israelite people and the early Christians, as well as Church history, give an account of the experiences of Church development and community, and provide important texts for TYCM tribal Christians (Ukan 2003:17-36). These texts then become, within the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation process an essential basis for the TYCM tribal Christians who are the readers of the TYCM tribal experience in biblical interpretation.

This is the reason why the TYCM tribal Christians have two identifications -- as TYCM tribal people and as Christians, both of which should be affirmed by the TYCM tribal Church. If they ignore either of these identities they will not be competent to complete the biblical interpretation which comes from the TYCM Christian experience lying within the TYCM tribal consciousness.

### **5.3.2 Reading the Bible to Research TYCM Tribal Texts**

The way in which the TYCM Christian scholars and the tribal cultural scholars locate their unique readings is by tracing them in their biblical reading or by researching our TYCM tribal texts. TYCM Christians trace those tribal texts, which exist in the tribal people’s memory, either wholly or partly in the reading of the biblical texts. They

endeavour to re-locate the tribal texts *through* the TYCM Christian participation in the biblical reading process. This is my contention.

The TYCM tribal people's postcolonial concern focuses on the tribal intellectuals who left the cities to return to their birth place in order to consult the tribal elders and people who could remember the tribal texts. It emphasizes that they should recall their tribal experience of mission to rebuild their collapsing cultural heritage and to re-locate the tribal texts through the process of "returning home". In this way, when Pusin Tali reads the Bible, for him the Canaanite woman's story resonates with the context of the TYCM's painful experience of cultural relocation (Mat 15:21-28). For example, Tali, considering the role of woman in the story, points out that even though she was an inhabitant of the land (Canaan) she had to suffer the insults and discrimination stemming from the nationalism of the Israelite people, and was even at first apparently rejected by Jesus and his disciples. But she was strong and did not give up, despite being doubly disadvantaged both as a woman and as a Canaanite. She bravely persevered and asked Jesus to save her daughter's life. Pusin Tali sees the experience of the TYCM tribal people in similar terms, asking:

Did not also the TYCM tribal people suffer oppressive treatment from the ruling government – in assimilation and even extinction? Did we not suffer robbery, insult and discrimination at the hands of the Han people? We should with confidence go on developing our life, which was created by God, even if we are like the Canaanite woman in her suffering. Through our faith we should diligently display our tribal energy in this land of Taiwan (Tali 2006:54).

Through this kind of contextual Bible reading the biblical text has become more popular and more widely read among the people. Kapi Kisursur, a New Testament scholar from the Paiwan tribe, uses the Paiwan "myth of *Agkistrodon acutus*" (*bai bu she* – the deadly "hundred pacer" snake<sup>103</sup>) in which he takes the section with the theme, "love of one's neighbour" and connects it with the biblical story (Mt 25:25; Lk 19:22; 10:33-37) to reveal the precious traditional spiritual heritage of the Paiwan people. He thought that such a love story from the tribal people would be a good parallel to the parable of the Good Samaritan, to expand its meaning and lead people

---

<sup>103</sup> "The Hundred Pacer Snake" is an ancient legend of Paiwan. The Hundred Pacer snake is a divine species, king of snakes and possesses the ability to shapeshift into human form. The Hundred Pacer turned into humans and married Paiwanese women in ancient time. Paiwan tribe consider themselves to be descendants of the Hundred Pacer snake, but only the tribal chief's family have allowed making use of snake designs in their door lintels, walls of homes, as well as stone slabs.

to a deeper understanding of the kingdom of God. He points out that the philosophy of life exhibited in the story, from the perspective of indigenous people, is worthy of the attention of mainstream Taiwan, both as an example of how to help victims escape their difficulties, and as a warning to oppressors to beware (Kisursur 2009:78-79). To quote Kisursur's words:

The earlier evangelists from Europe and U.S. adopted a colonialist and paternalistic attitude, denying the value of tribal culture. And tribal cultural values were distorted and negated by the evangelists, causing tribal Christians to see a contradiction between the gospel and their own culture. If the interpreters do not have a sufficient understanding of their own culture as well as biblical culture, then their interpretation of the message of Jesus will be inadequate in the eyes of God (Kisursur 2009:87-88).

The Bible reading method as practised by Pusin Tali and Kapi Kisursur, who are both TYCM tribal biblical scholars, did not ignore the tribal experience, presenting the tribal text as seen through Christian eyes, something which becomes an essential feature of TYCM interpretation in the Taiwanese postcolonial context.

Though such processes of postcolonial re-readings of the Bible, the tribal texts have become popular reading among the TYCM tribal people, and at the same time the biblical text has become widely read among them. This type of de-colonization biblical interpretation is different from the colonial strategy, which sought to expel, destroy or rob the tribal culture of its voice through imperialism, colonialism and Christian preaching. We, however, want to represent the tribal text, recognizing that it is traceable, so that we need to inquire about the tribal culture heritage, which existed and exists in the tribal people's memory. This is an important role for cultural workers or social reformers to fulfil. The biblical interpretation method of the local tribal people should deepen their understanding of the postcolonial situation of tribal people and should relocate the concerns of the tribal texts. However, these concerns direct attention to the important question, which is: "*How* can we put into practice the theory connecting the two communities to show the TYCM "tribal experiences"—TYCM tribal texts, ordinary tribal reader, and tribal mother-tongue—as well as voicing their postcolonial concerns from the Bible reading of the TYCM Biblical Interpretation?" We need to be clearer on the method for doing this kind of postcolonial tribal re-reading, of both the Bible and our local tribal texts.

#### **5.4. TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in the Five Steps Reading Process with TYCM Ordinary Tribal People**

The task of answering the question: “How can we practice the theory of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation through Bible reading?” is the main purpose of this chapter, in which we will focus on the TYCM tribal people’s experiences of the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial context in a similar manner to what was mentioned above, concentrating on the TYCM tribal texts, on the ordinary tribal reader, and on the tribal mother-tongue in the biblical reading.

Firstly, it is of vital importance to stimulate tribal people to emerge from the silence and find their voice, enabling them to reflect on Contextual Bible Study (West 1993; 2007c). This helps us to invite the subaltern people—TYCM ordinary tribal people—to become real readers of the texts. Secondly, TYCM tribal people must be encouraged to add their voices to Bible reading, sharing in the Cross-textual Hermeneutic (Lee 1998; 2000), which encourages Asian Christians to cross-read their own traditional texts, thus, linking the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM tribal people with the TYCM tribal texts. Finally, they must be allowed to use their mother-tongues to read the biblical texts and the TYCM tribal texts. We all know that TYCM tribal people not only read the biblical text in their mother-tongues—for at last they have been permitted to use their tribal language Bible translations in the Church—but we also know that for them, using their own language is easier than using the other language(s) of the colonizers (Bediako 1989). We must discuss these three important elements of the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concern, which are emphasized here in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation.

In order to emphasize these three particular postcolonial concerns in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, and particularly to answer satisfactorily the question of how to invite the TYCM ordinary tribal people to participate in this reading process, the leadership role and the attitude of the trained reader, such as myself, a biblical scholar and minister, is a key factor. First of all, I have to note that a trained reader, such as myself, must be “humble” and must be willing to “step into the shoes” of the ordinary tribal people, finding a silent space in which to read the biblical text. Then the trained reader needs to engage in the process of listening to the ordinary tribal people as they read the Bible.

In this way the theory involves the trained reader in actively researching the needs of the community. As a researcher, I first send a letter to the Church and the pastor to ask them to invite me to their Church to study the Bible with their members, and I also point out that the purpose of this Bible study is research. Then, I design five major questions for each step of the Five Steps reading process (please refer to the questions in the following section).

In January 2007, for example, I was invited to the Pngawan and Pulan tribal villages which belong to my own tribe, the Sediq, to read Genesis 2:4b-25 with them. I was motivated to do this by my wish to make a preliminary study within the ethnic group and in the language which I knew well. Furthermore, I wanted to know whether or not the local minister would have any influence on the ordinary tribal people as they participate in the reading group. For this research, I used two tribal reading groups, and the two tribal reading groups were deliberately arranged to meet at different sites: one, in the Church, and one, in the tribal village or in a house away from the Church. After the two Churches had gone through the whole reading process, I discovered that the Five Steps reading process can really respond to the three postcolonial concerns of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. Indeed, I learned first-hand that the TYCM ordinary tribal people can be *the "real" reader in their mother-tongue* to read biblical texts and re-search and re-read *their tribal texts with their authentic voices* present in the reading process. In addition, I had an opportunity to observe how the minister's presence could influence the willingness of the ordinary tribal people to express their voices freely when he participated with them in the reading process. In order to confirm the results of this preliminary study, I undertook a second pilot opportunity. On January 27, 2007, I was invited to go to the Ququaz Presbyterian Church to read the same biblical text (Genesis 2:4b-25) with the ordinary tribal people, and I can claim with confidence that the conclusions drawn about the reading results and the influence of the minister are correct.

Therefore, in May of the same year (2007) I boldly accepted invitations from three Amis tribal Churches (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, and Molisaka). I also availed myself of the opportunity to join Bunun tribal reading groups in Kuphong and Sinapalan, and arranged visits to meet with Truku tribal reading groups in the Pratan and the Tpuqu tribal villages from April to June of 2008. Then finally, in 2009, I went to meet the Tayal tribes in the Pyanan and the Kngayan tribal villages. I hoped to prove the feasibility and the function of these theories among different tribal people, and also to participate with both Singwu and Nansan tribal groups, which belong to the Bunun tribe. After sharing this process with 14 tribal reading groups and 5 tribes, reading the

same biblical text, Genesis 2:4b-25, I can say for certain that the reading procedure of the Five Steps reading process really helps to put in practice the theory of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, respecting the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM tribal people in their specific context in Taiwan.

Most of the ordinary tribal people are peasants. A few are teachers in public schools and Church elders in the Church and in the villages. They almost always speak with their mother-tongue in discussions, even though they understand a little Chinese. All of them live in their tribal villages. In the writing process, because of the different tribal languages spoken in the different groups, I needed their help to translate their mother-tongue and had to be constantly in contact with them to make sure that I had accurately reported what they were sharing, for the purpose of my research. This is because the TYCM ordinary tribal people use their mother-tongue to communicate—to read and speak—which I will explain in chapter 6.

The TYCM ordinary tribal people were in each case invited to participate, to be a “real” reader reading the biblical text in their mother-tongue, adopting the procedure designed by the questions (see below). This is the First Step of the Five Steps reading process of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, and for this to be authentic I have designed a special “facilitator” feature (a leadership style) (West 1993:24) to help ordinary TYCM tribal people be “real” Bible readers in their mother-tongues, in their local community, during the whole process. “Reading the Bible with ordinary readers” is a methodological feature in Contextual Bible Study to facilitate the ordinary readers being active in Bible reading with their own voice, and to empower them in the group “to discover, to acknowledge, and to recognize their own identity, as well as the value and significance of their own contributions and experience” (West 1993:15-17). So in the First Step, we invite the participators to read the biblical text in their own mother-tongue and share their voices out loud. The facilitator encourages the ordinary TYCM tribal readers to read the biblical text (from their own language Bible) in their mother-tongue.

After reading the text in the mother-tongue (the First Step), the facilitator then asks: “*What does the biblical text say?*” This is the Second Step. Through the First Step the ordinary TYCM tribal people read the biblical text in their familiar mother language, and in so doing make an initial or “primitive” understanding of the scripture. The question of the Second Step, “*What does the biblical text say?*”, stimulates their active thinking in the context, including key words, themes, and symbolic meanings of the text in line with their interests. During this Second Step, the facilitator would integrate

and rearrange their themes and further promote their discussion, deciding what themes to focus on and when the next step is to follow.

Another method is used in the Third Step. It reflects on the biblical methodology of Crossed-textual Hermeneutics in which the facilitator challenges the ordinary tribal people to search in their traditional context where a particular indentified theme (indentified in the Second Step) sits or fits within the tribal people's mind. He/She would ask "*Are these themes current in the thinking of the tribes?*" or "*How do tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*" Usually the ordinary tribal people are very fond of the discussion in this stage, because they can freely trace a theme back into their tradition and culture, and can begin to offer a set of different viewpoints on the same theme or topic, working with particular keywords and symbols. In as far as they feel free and safe in the atmosphere, so their responses flourish. They would often discuss in the heat of their feelings, willingly offering what their tribal people would do, would say, and would think in their tribal tradition. Even more, they would often share some relevant tribal myths, traditional stories, history, as well as wisdom acquired from lived experiences.

In each case I, as the facilitator, would seek their consent to record their discussion, which would help me to write down their views and to express their ideas accurately. But for most of the tribes, except the Sediq, I needed a translator to make me sure what their ideas really were (I will discuss this in more detail in chapter 7). The facilitator plays an important role, which is to ensure the ordinary tribal people full freedom for their speech in order for a full sharing of their views. This is a key point in expressing the TYCM's tribal biblical interpretation. Unless there is a free and full discussion by these ordinary tribal people, the recognition and understanding of the theme is affected. Of course, the facilitator ought not to force them to speak either, but to guide and promote their speech in a free manner. Usually these ordinary tribal people are happy to share their knowledge, their experience, as well as what they have heard of from their parents or tribal elders concerning a range of issues related to the same theme.

After the Bible has been read in the mother-tongue (First Step), and themes have been identified from the biblical text and discussed (Second Step), and after there has been sharing among the ordinary tribal people about these themes based on their understanding of their own culture and tradition (Third Step), as well as the recognition on this theme, we are ready to get into the Fourth Step. The facilitator is then posing the question: "*How do the tribal people read the biblical text through*

*these themes based on an understanding of the tribal tradition?"* The discussion on the Third Step provides the basis of this Fourth Step discussion. In the discussion, since the ordinary tribal people have brought in their recognition of their understanding of those aspects of tribal tradition and culture that are relevant to this theme, these emerging tribal resources are now brought into direct engagement with thinking the biblical text and its context, which in turn further clarifies and deepens their own tribal concepts and viewpoints. Even more, this cyclical process also has the potential to bring out some brand new thoughts on aspects of the scriptural text. The Fourth Step discussion is thus focused on the biblical text, but from a deepening perspective of their tribal culture tradition. The biblical text reading in this step helps promote the confidence and self-affirmation of ordinary tribal people.

Throughout the process, particularly in the Fourth Step, the facilitator should try to encourage and not to judge what they say as right or wrong, so avoiding silencing participants and having them withdraw from the process. From my past experience, once the ordinary tribal people have the background understanding of their tribal culture and tradition, they usually would naturally express their ideas and their interpretation of the biblical text read. It is the facilitator who determines whether there is a free space for speaking.

After the Fourth Step discussion, the Fifth Step brings the ordinary tribal Christians back to the Bible itself, asking now how the biblical text speaks to us. This enables us as Christians to be aware that throughout the process, from the First Step till the final Fifth Step, that Bible reading begins with God's word, and ends with God's word. This is thus the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method. Therefore, in the Fifth Step the facilitator asks: "*How do we see the theme of the tribal tradition through the biblical text?*" This question pulls them back to the center of the teaching or message of the biblical text. Through this process God's word can help us renew and refresh ourselves in dealing with various problems and challenges in the new era, even reinterpreting our own culture and tradition in a new way.

We will consider now in more detail what biblical methodologies—mother-tongue reading, Contextual Bible Study, and the Cross-textual Hermeneutics—are reflected in this research process. The research process provides a starting-point to describe how the Five Steps reading process uses questions to practise the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation according to their tribal postcolonial concerns, enabling the tribal people to be real readers in all reading processes. In the following section I will give an example to demonstrate what constitutes the TYCM reading of the biblical text in

their mother-tongue (Step 1), how they research their tribal texts (Steps 2 and 3), and how the TYCM ordinary tribal people become “real readers”, making their voices heard as being the most qualified people to read their tribal text and the biblical text (Step 4 and 5) and relate them to their three areas of tribal postcolonial concerns.

Through this example I will explain more fully what the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is in the area of TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns, and how it relates to and uses components of other contextual methodologies.

#### **5.4.1. TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns**

Gerald West prioritizes five steps to guide a Contextual Bible Study, in his *Contextual Bible Study: A Resource Manual*, to describe to the ordinary readers how to express their voices through these reading processes. The five steps of Contextual Bible Study are as listed:

Step 1: Choosing a Theme

Step 2: Finding a Biblical Text

Step 3: Questioning and Reading

Step 4: Articulating and Owning

Step 5: Developing a Plan of Action (West 2005)

In the First Step, the process of choosing a theme is important to the context of the study group: listing the themes and deciding for themselves which themes are the most relevant to their community. Then, in the Second Step, it is vital to find a biblical text relevant to their context. After these two steps are completed, the Third Step is to fuse “community consciousness with contextual consciousness”, to construct the contextual questions (the lived experience and the embodied theologies of the participants) and the textual questions (three modes of reading the Bible: “behind the text”, “the text itself”, and “in front of the text”) and to open up the biblical text to speak again to their realities. In the Fourth Step, the Contextual Bible Study allows participants to articulate their own theological understandings of their context, so that they are able to begin to articulate their lived theologies. The final Fifth Step ends with action, which requires developing an action plan (West 2005:7-11).

As West said, “Contextual Bible study is not my invention; it is the product of people

doing Bible study in our South African context” (West 1993:11). The TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is similar, for it was and is developed through the five step biblical reading process among the tribal people as they have walked through various colonial histories, and varieties of cultures, and colonized experiences.

While there are some important connections between these methods, they are different. In a comparison of the two, the First Step in the Contextual Bible Study begins with the contextual concerns and community issues, from which a theme is chosen. A contextual theme is the starting point. In the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, the First Step is to read the mother-tongue Bible directly. This simple but profound act draws the tribal people into a “real” reader situation by reading the Bible in their familiar mother-tongue. It provides the most direct and easiest access for them to participate in reading and discussion, facilitating participation before they tackle their difficulties in their living context.

In the Contextual Bible Study method, the biblical text is both of the community’s choice and is brought into the community by the socially engaged scholar, recognizing both the importance of familiar texts and unfamiliar texts. In the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, the biblical text is brought to the community by a facilitator as he/she would often be a leader in the tribal society, be respected, and be eligible to select the text. Of course, the method does not prevent any participant from suggesting a text to read. However, in this case, for the research purpose for this thesis, a particular text was chosen to be read in each participating group. This was the selected text of Genesis 2:4b-25, which was repeatedly used in different tribal reading groups, in order to test consistently the Five Step procedure method in TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, to verify whether the ordinary tribal people really do become “real” readers or not, and also to examine the connection between theory and practice.

The fact is that from the First Step, as the ordinary tribal people start reading the biblical text in their mother-tongue, it can clearly be shown that they can ask their own questions by using their mother-tongue vocabularies. Moreover, the very use of their mother-tongue begins to generate developing themes related to their mother-tongue. As the question “*What does the biblical text say?*” is raised in the Second Step, the ordinary tribal people are once again invited to engage with the text and to generate some themes or thoughts for discussion. At this time, the facilitator needs to integrate and arrange all the emerging themes, viewpoints, symbols/signs, and thoughts. At the end of the step, he/she would announce the list of the themes raised, and have the participants to decide on one (or prioritize among the themes) for

discussion. As the theme is determined, the Third Step follows. Only after the first theme is fully discussed all the way through the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Step, is the second theme then considered for discussion. Again, as in Contextual Bible Study, the process requires that all stages need be included, and in both methods the role of the facilitator is crucial.

The Contextual Bible Study only begins its question design in the Third Step. It emphasizes “the combination of contextual and textual question”, in order to focus on community consciousness with critical consciousness, so that the biblical text speaks anew to ordinary readers and that they can hear the voice of the text in its own world and in their context (West 2005:6). While Contextual Bible Study uses these two types of questions, community consciousness and critical consciousness questions, the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method assigns questions to each of its five steps. In each one of the five steps, five individual questions are raised by the facilitator to ordinary tribal readers, and discussion is entailed in each step. The two methods have similarities in that they both have a facilitator to raise questions to the ordinary readers to share their thoughts freely, and to have their voices expressed in similar ways.

So, in the Third Step of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation the question is asking: “*Are these themes current in the thoughts of the tribes?*” And, “*How the tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*” The tribal people are allowed to trace back freely into their traditional culture, searching for related thoughts, symbols, traditional myths, tribal history stories, even the forbidden stories, as well as the living wisdom. The emphasis on establishing the tribal’s own TYCM tribal text, and then on Cross-Textual Hermeneutics, where biblical text and tribal text connect, is the focus in this Third Step within the complexity of the multiple cultural contexts in Asia. Therefore, the Third Step of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation emphasizes the establishment of its own TYCM tribal text through its mother-tongue Bible reading. Similarly, the Fourth Step of Contextual Bible Study is to “allow participants to articulate and own theological understandings of their context”. The combination of the contextual and textual questions in the Third Step establishes the connection “between the biblical text and the embodied local/contextual theologies of the participants, and also could lead them to articulate these embodied local theologies (West 2005:6). Therefore, the Fourth Step of Contextual Bible Study provides the opportunity to try out their own local contextual theologies.

The Fourth Step of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is similar to this too, in some

respects, allowing for an unsettling of traditional outcomes of biblical reading responses by ordinary tribal people. This is because the base of their interpretation is built on the Third Step. The discussion results from the back tracing, rebuilding, and reinterpreting of their tradition by the ordinary tribal readers. Thus, in the Fourth Step, to develop further dialogue and discussion, the question is asked: *How do the tribal people read the biblical text through these themes, based on an understanding of tribal tradition?* In this stage, the emphasis is to allow TYCM ordinary tribal people a chance to express their own viewpoints on biblical interpretation. It also provides the opportunity to try out their own local contextual theologies and voices through the tribal eyes of TYCM tribal people.

The Fifth Step of Contextual Bible Study develops into a plan of action: “It allows the Bible to equip us to change our world, so the Kindom [sic] of God may come on earth, as it is in Heaven” (West 2005:7). Contextual Bible Study always ends with an action, asking the reading group to develop certain actions in response to their biblical interpretation and local theologies. In contrast, in the Fifth Step of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, the focus is placed on the role of biblical inspiration on modern TYCM tribal people. Mother-tongue reading begins the process and an affirmation of the Bible’s relevance to tribal life completes the process. Therefore, in this step, the facilitator begins with question: *“How do we see the theme from the tribal tradition through the Bible text reading?”* The question enables the TYCM ordinary tribal Christians to refocus their minds on the teachings and messages of the biblical text, but from the perspective of a recovery of their tribal identity, recognizing that the Bible addresses the challenges and difficulties they are confronting in their modern life.

As stated above, both Contextual Bible Study and TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation are composed of “Five Step” methods to practice their respective process of contextual biblical reading. Yet due to the difference of the postcolonial contexts, the focus of the reading process is different between the two.

Although the developing processes of these methods may differ, shaped as they are by their respective postcolonial contexts, we in Taiwan have lots to learn from and reflect on with respect to the Contextual Bible Study method. For example, we can now see that Contextual Bible Study prioritizes the expression of the viewpoint of the ordinary person, which has usually been ignored in Bible readings in the past. Contextual Bible Study establishes the ordinary reader, who was previously located in a marginal and voiceless position, as the real reader, and re-locates him/her to a subjective or major

role and function in the process of biblical hermeneutics. This is a drastic method which transforms biblical hermeneutics. It gives biblical scholars (if they are humble enough) a chance to learn with (and from) the ordinary people, who for the most part do not have theological training. Previously, biblical scholars thought that interpretation must result only from a reading of the biblical text in terms of their own experiences and their specific niche in the academic field. But Contextual Bible Study emphasizes the importance of biblical scholars learning from and collaborating with the poor and the marginalized readers in Bible reading. Such a process of hermeneutics would offer a platform for the ordinary reader who engages in the exercise of biblical interpretation, and would ensure that he/she plays a more prominent role in that reading. Thus, Contextual Bible Study prioritizes the role of the ordinary reader who was previously located in a marginal and voiceless place, as a “real” reader, and re-locates them with a subjective, major role and function in the process of biblical hermeneutics.

In reflecting on the role of Contextual Bible Study in the TYCM tribal communities in the context of Taiwan, we should ask who are the subaltern people in the midst of the TYCM tribes people in the biblical reading and in the biblical interpretation process, and how can we offer a chance for these subaltern people to be the principle subjects to proclaim their voices in the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns. The TYCM ordinary tribal people have to be re-located as the real readers, from their marginalized and voiceless place.

Another point of postcolonial concern of the TYCM tribal people, which we discussed as one of the above TYCM tribal experiences, is that of the TYCM tribal texts. In the eyes of the TYCM tribal people, their tribal texts include the main cultural and religious traditions of their ancestral heritage that have been passed on from generation to generation by their tribal elders through the oral tradition. The TYCM tribal Christians, like others in Africa, Asia, and other indigenous communities, have two identities: traditional and Christian. They cannot ignore the fact that their culture and religion have still persisted in their communities and tribal villages. Asian biblical scholar, Archie Lee, proposes a “Cross-textual Hermeneutics” to engage the area of study in a dialogue with the area occupied by other scriptures, such as Asian texts in Asia. Asian people should not ignore this reality regardless of their cultural and religious backgrounds, which they integrate into their self-identity, and should engage in a mutual dialogical relationship with the biblical text (Archie 1993; 1996b; 1996; 2002).

Through this reflection about Cross-textual Hermeneutics, we should also ask what the tribal texts are for the TYCM tribal people in the biblical reading and biblical interpretation process, and how do we highlight or uncover them so as to do cross-textual reading between the tribal texts and biblical text of the TYCM's postcolonial concern. Obviously, in the past, the use of TYCM tribal texts was disregarded by the TYCM in their Bible reading, but we can no longer do this in addressing the present TYCM postcolonial concern. Cross-textual Hermeneutics engages the TYCM tribal Christian in tracing the tribal texts which belonged to their own traditions, and recognizes that neglected TYCM ordinary tribal people should be relocated in a position to play a role in Bible reading. Generally speaking, Contextual Bible Study reminds us of the role and position of the TYCM ordinary tribal people who are normally ignored in cross-textual biblical reading, and also recognizes that the ignored TYCM tribal texts should be relocated in the Bible reading process. When we reflect on the rationale underlying this new methodology, we may confidently affirm that this perspective has the potential to transform the role of the TYCM ordinary tribal person into being the "real" reader, and, in fact, to be the most important reader in the TYCM tribal people's biblical interpretation process. It would challenge the entrenched view, long held, that true interpretation can only result from the work of biblical scholars or trained readers, and that the ordinary person must accept these interpretations without question.

When the TYCM tribal people started using their mother-tongue to read the Bible, they gradually came to appreciate another matter, which they had discussed in their postcolonial concerns, namely, the importance of having the Bible in their mother-tongue. Kwame Bediako was committed to mother-tongue hermeneutics, subscribing to the "infinite translatability of the Gospel", to show that cultural compatibility between our traditions and the Christian faith in the perception of the word of God is best achieved in our own mother-tongues (cf. Acts 2:11) (Bediako 1993:21). Bediako argues that "the relatively early possession of mother-tongue Scriptures meant that many Africans gained access to the original sources of Christian revelation as mediated through African traditional religious terminology and ideas from their oral phase" (22).<sup>104</sup>

"We ought to speak positively of oral, spontaneous, implicit or grassroots theology, as theology which comes from where the faith lives, in the life-situation of the community of faith" (23), Bediako says. And it is essential for academic theology "to

---

<sup>104</sup> Kwame Bediako, "Cry Jesus! Christian Theology and Presence in Modern Africa", *Vox Evangelica* 23 (1993), 7-26. In [www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol23/cry-jesus\\_bediako.pdf](http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol23/cry-jesus_bediako.pdf)

be in touch with, to listen to, to share in, and to learn from” this oral theology (23-24). Assuming this stance, TYCM tribal people, in their postcolonial concern, should read both the biblical text and the tribal text in their mother-tongue, so as to reflect meaningfully and productively about their traditional religious terminology and ideas.

All these viewpoints make it clear that the purpose of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is to promote the TYCM ordinary tribal person to be the “real” reader in the process of reading the biblical texts and their own traditional texts in their mother-tongue. We re-affirm the importance of the ordinary person’s position as interpreter, and highlight the activity of “returning home” as a means of guiding tribal people to be the principle subjects who will express orally and repeatedly the de-colonization discourse of TYCM tribal postcolonial concern’s issues.

At this point I will reiterate and present in summary form the five steps in the reading processes which describe how to include the TYCM ordinary tribal people as the “real” readers in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. These five steps, as already indicated, draw on a range of related methodologies and contextual insights, particularly those expressed in West’s Contextual Bible Study, Lee’s Cross-textual Hermeneutics, and Bediako’s Mother-tongue Bible Reading. Tribal Biblical Interpretation is composed of five questions asked by the facilitator. These five questions are:

- (1) Would you like to use your tribal mother-tongue to read the biblical text?  
(the First Step)
- (2) What does the biblical text say? (the Second Step)
- (3) Are these themes current in the thinking of the tribes? How do tribal people understand these themes traditionally? (the Third Step)
- (4) How do the tribal people read the biblical text through these themes, based on an understanding of tribal tradition? (the Fourth Step)
- (5) How do we see the theme of the tribal tradition through the biblical Text?  
(the Fifth Step)

The five questions asked by the facilitator to the ordinary tribal readers represent the Five Steps of the methodology. Each step has an initial question asked by the facilitator to begin the process; the discussion that follows is the beginning of the readers, the ordinary tribal people, becoming real readers.

#### 5.4.2. TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in the Five Steps Reading Process

Given the different historical contexts of postcolonial concerns, the context of the TYCM tribal people and that of South African people might differ, leading to differences in the application of the “Five Steps” reading process which we have named the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation above. The starting point is tribal readers becoming the real readers of the biblical text and their tribal contexts. So it is important to recognize that this reading process is a direct response to the TYCM ordinary tribal people’s postcolonial concerns in their specific context.

In other words, the five questions in Five Step TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation are all related to a larger question, namely, what is the connection between the TYCM people in Taiwan, their postcolonial context, and the discourse strategies they have adopted to work for de-colonization? In chapter four we emphasized several issues as we were dealing with a de-colonization discourse strategy for the TYCM people. They are: (1) to retrace tribal cultural-religious texts as well as traditional and cultural texts; (2) to promote their real voice to reveal TYCM's experiences in de-constructing or re-constructing the TYCM’s tribal texts; (3) to empower TYCM tribal people with memory, speech, and writing skills for the postcolonial discourse; and (4) to replace their tribal mother-tongue in their TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse.

Having discussed these matters in chapter 4, we can now examine whether the Five Step reading process in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation has reflected their needs and the issues they have stressed. The links between the structure of the five step reading process and the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns is as follows:

(1) The first of the Five Step reading process focuses on the TYCM tribal mother-tongue. The question by the facilitator “*Would you like to use your tribal mother-tongue to read the Bible text*” engages directly with a strategy that seeks to explore the connection between the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns and their mother-tongue. (This will be further discussed in Chapter 6.)

Since the availability of their mother-tongue Bible (see below), it is becoming a strong trend that the TYCM ordinary tribal Christians read the Bible in their own language. The selection of a Bible text for reading is offered by either the facilitator or the participants. But more often it is done by the facilitator due to his/her leadership status, a status that is respected within their customs. Based on the study needs for this

thesis of having a single text read across different tribal communities, I brought with me the text of Genesis 2:4b-25. It can be expected that as the method is practised, that no matter what text is chosen by facilitator or participants, that the processes of the biblical text methodology would be followed.

People of five different tribes participated in this study: Amis, Bunnun, Sediq, Tayal, and Truku. Four of them have their own mother-tongue Bible, except the Sediq whose Bible translation is still underway (and not published yet). I myself understand Sediq and Truku only, for the other ones, Amis, Bunun, and Tayal, I used a translator to help me understand their discussion and reconfirm from the facilitator their discussion summary.

Inviting the use of the mother-tongue for biblical text reading usually is quite easily embraced by the ordinary tribal people, who become attentive and involved, even though some of them have visual difficulties or may not be able to read. However, the use of the mother-tongue for discussion throughout meeting time draws them in even more, as their thoughts are more and more fluently communicated back and forth after the text reading in their mother-tongue. Sad to say, the young TYCM people in the postcolonial context in Taiwan have been losing the ability to speak their mother-tongue. But through this method of biblical reading, in the First Step, everybody is invited to use the moth tongue to read, so they get the chance to hear from the tribal elders the mother-tongue, to learn it, and further more, to have the opportunity to participate in the discussion. Therefore, at the very outset, in the First Step of the Five Step process, the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation has responded to the postcolonial concerns of TYCM tribal people with a direct action that seeks to return to them their tribal mother-tongue.

(2) The core of the Second and Third Steps of the reading process is the TYCM tribal text itself. By seeking and reconstructing the tribal text through biblical reading we redirect and link the tribal readers to the issues of tribal cultures, religions, and traditions. These were largely ignored, and placed in silence in the past. It is necessary, as we have argued, to reemphasize these tribal texts in order to address their postcolonial concerns, especially for the TYCM tribal Christians and Churches.

In the Second Step the question asked is “*What does the biblical text say?*” by the facilitator. And in the Third Step, the question asked is “*Are these themes current in the thinking of the tribes? And how do tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*” for they have already found and chosen their themes through their

responses to the First Step. Through the Second Step question, the ordinary tribal people begin to speak their thoughts, ideas, symbols, beliefs, etc. From these emerging themes, summarized, integrated and arranged by the facilitator, the participants decide and select one for the next (third) step discussion. In this thesis, I only address five of most often selected themes selected by the reader groups in this Third Step of the reading process. These themes offer ways of profoundly researching, reinterpreting, representing, reconstructing, and reorganizing their tribal texts. Such a response to Bible reading is seldom seen in the Church, as lots of TYCM tribal heritages have been muffled in the colonial era. In this Second Step and Third Step we see that TYCM Christians are able to retrace their ancestors' traditions through biblical text reading, so that this tribal text can be inherited and learned by their offsprings, passing this heritage on in generations to come.

(3) The purpose of the Fourth and Fifth Steps in the reading process is to examine the TYCM ordinary tribal people as they become “real” readers of both the biblical text and the TYCM tribal text. Our concern here is to promote the TYCM ordinary tribal people’s confidence to speak, as they now able to see themselves as a “real” reader in the reading process. This process offers a key to link the ordinary tribal readers’ postcolonial concerns to their voices. For in order for them to address their postcolonial concerns, the ordinary tribal people’s voices should not be prohibited or forbidden. Therefore, in the Fourth Step, the question asked by the facilitator “*How do the tribal people read the biblical text through these themes based on the understanding of the tribal tradition?*” begins and develops the dialogue and discussion. In this step of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method, the emphasis is placed on the ordinary tribal people to become “real” reader, so that they interpret the biblical text as tribal people with their own viewpoint. Also in this Fourth Step, opportunities are provided to the ordinary tribal readers to deliver their own local contextual theologies and voices through the eyes of TYCM people. In the same way in the Fifth Step, the question of the facilitator “*How do we see the theme of the tribal tradition through the biblical text?*” leads the readers to focus their Christian recognition, and rethink the teachings and inspirations of the biblical text in a process of reinterpreting their own tradition and culture through the discussion of the theme. Therefore, through the focused emphases in both the Fourth and Fifth Steps, TYCM people are enabled, intentionally, to express their recognition of their indigenous identity status, to express their own viewpoint and interpretation as Taiwanese tribal people. This agency is central to their role in deconstructing and reconstructing the texts that constitute their postcolonial concerns.

However, we have to acknowledge that the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method is unusual and so initially strange to the ordinary tribal readers, particularly in the Third Step where they are asked to retrace back their tribal tradition and reconstruct their TYCM tribal resources and in the in the Fourth Step where they use these retraced tribal texts for biblical interpretation. This process of these two steps is rarely seen in regular Church biblical study or group discussion. Therefore in this research there was a need for explanation and instruction at the start of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method.

Each of the respective language group facilitators I worked with required training in this regard, and in each group all the participants were briefed before the group reading process began. The focus of each step needed be concentrated on and explained. This upfront explanation was important to the participation of the ordinary tribal people, as were the ongoing explanations given during the reading process. My role was to be the general facilitator and trainer during the first group meeting. For the later subsequent reading meetings, once they became more familiar with the procedure, the facilitator of their choice led the process.

The time of explanation helps us to “break the ice”, and to find a creative way to build a sense of common community. This moment is preliminary and yet very important, as it enables ordinary tribal people to realize that they will become a “real” reader from the beginning, that they are subjects of the bible reading, and will not simply sit and listen to the leader throughout the meeting as usually happens in their experience

In each case the facilitation process used the following facilitation guidelines, and all the facilitators were trained in how to use and implement these guidelines:

#### ***5.4.2.1. First Step Reading Guide***

In order to facilitate the participant’s attention on the reading process more fully, in the first step we should ask participants to use their mother-tongue for the biblical text reading, and to pay attention to the vocabulary, sentences and proprietary words in the Bible which are the same as, or which approach the meaning of their tribal mother-tongues, and also to note those that do not. They should think how they would translate the original words and sentences in the Bible into their mother-tongues, in order to express it accurately.

The first step is for the facilitator to ask the participants, “*Would you like to use your tribal mother-tongue for the Bible reading?*” We would ask the participants to read it one by one from the segments of the biblical text. The participants would then respond by discussing what they had learned from their listening to the biblical texts in their tribal mother-tongue. The facilitator should be mindful to note the vocabulary which is listed by the participants, to assess whether it occurs in the existing translation, or whether they produced a different version of a particular verse, because each tribe has its own vocabulary, and a word which means one thing in one tribal language may mean something completely different in another. The participants would then discuss such differences, especially when the Bible reading process was not in their own tribal mother-tongue, to induce them to join fully in the discussions.

The reading process for the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation adopts the mother-tongue as the beginning of the discussion. There are two significant factors underlying this process method. First, the starting point for the TYCM tribal people’s reading is the Bible itself, which defines the readers clearly as being TYCM tribal Christians, and thus distinguishes this approach from the method usually adopted by the researcher into the history, culture and traditions of tribal communities. Because those traditional cultural researchers concentrated on recovering and maintaining the customs, rites and laws pertaining to tribal people, they devoted their efforts to identifying the chief traditional rites which might strengthen the desire of tribal people to acknowledge their own culture. They then encouraged the tribal people to know more about their own traditional cultural heritage and to learn about their cultural traditions through their mother-tongue.

The TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation engages the people in understanding and learning about their own tribal cultural and religious traditions, but it does this from a starting point within biblical interpretation. The process focuses not only on acknowledging the identity of the people as *tribal*, but also on their identity as *Christians*. So this method endeavours to facilitate the reading strategy of biblical hermeneutics concerning the identity and the role played in the TYCM tribes by the TYCM tribal Christians. Currently, it is the most generally accepted approach to Bible reading, and is recommended by most Churches in the TYCM tribes. The TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation should begin from the biblical text to guide and to encourage the TYCM tribal Christians to read the mother-tongue Bible first, and then they may understand their own tribal cultural and religious traditions through biblical text reading with their mother-tongue (see below).

That is to say, in the First step, the TYCM tribal people not only read the biblical text in the colonists' language (Chinese language), but also cross from the biblical text to re-read and re-locate the written and spoken mother-tongues, and also the tribal language world which lay hidden behind their tribal mother-tongues. We will continue to discuss these themes in the next chapter.

#### ***5.4.2.2. Second Step Reading Guide***

Following their mother-tongue Bible reading, in this second step the facilitator asks the participants the question “*What does the biblical text say?*” to focus on the themes that arise from the biblical text. The facilitator also recommends the participants write down their themes for discussion on the board, or the facilitator records them down him/herself. The local ministers and trained readers should remain silent during the discussion, allowing the ordinary tribal people to express their views freely.

The purpose of this step is to guide the participants in a review of the themes which they have gathered from listening to the biblical texts. Generally, some themes already begin to emerge in the discussion within in the first step. When we interviewed the groups, the ordinary readers usually said they felt uncomfortable when the discussion was held in the Church, so much so that they would not express their thoughts freely. I asked some of the tribal elders why this was, and they said they felt pressurised into expressing their opinions when the ministers and other staff were present. The ordinary readers sometimes felt that they were laughed at or judged by the ministers and trained readers when they offered their opinions, as if their comments were not as learned or lacked wisdom, even if they were in their home Church when they were participating in the activity during the second phase.

So the facilitator should encourage the ordinary reader to express his/her opinions freely and not to care what the non-tribal people or trained readers say, or be influenced by their views when expressing their own opinions. After conducting sessions with the fourteen tribal reading groups we realised the need of stressing to the facilitators that they must allow the participants complete freedom of expression in the discussions. We affirm that the ordinary readers should feel comfortable in expressing their thoughts freely when they are in such a familiar place as their own Church or a tribal person's house, even when the ministers are present.

The purpose of the Second Step is to help gather the ordinary tribal reader's ideas in

their reviewing the biblical text which was just read, and they have heard, in their mother-tongue in the first step. Generally, some of the themes would begin to emerge for discussion within the First Step. The facilitator would write them down on the board or in paper.

#### ***5.4.2.3. Third Step Reading Guide***

When we have completed discussing the different themes listed by the ordinary tribal readers in the Second Step, we proceed to the Third Step, in which we ask the ordinary tribal readers questions regarding those different themes, such as: *Are these themes current in the thinking of the tribes?* “*How do the tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*” The reading guide emphasizes in this step that ordinary tribal readers should think about these different themes from the perspective of their tribal culture, religious tradition, or traditional heritage.

In the Third Step, all themes to be discussed are determined, and then the first theme is chosen for discussion and is followed through to the Fifth Step before the second theme is discussed. Each theme is therefore discussed through the process from the Third Step till the Fifth Step, so that the process for each theme is completed. Here, we invite ordinary tribal people to think about different themes related to their tribal cultures and religious traditions, or traditional cultural heritages. They should attempt to recollect and explain anything of relevance, such as tribal oral legends, stories, taboos, rites and the traditional values within the framework of their discussion themes. The facilitator encourages tribal people to affect a positive recall of their cultural heritage and religious traditions through this biblical reading strategy in order to relocate their tribal texts. For it is beyond doubt that the TYCM ordinary tribal people have in essence lost the memory of their tribal culture and history through living in a postcolonial context under the control of foreign colonizers for such a long time. (We will continue to discuss the Third Step in the chapter 7.)

#### ***5.4.2.4. Fourth Step Reading Guide***

In the Fourth Step we focus on biblical interpretation from the TYCM’s worldview, so that the facilitator will assist ordinary tribal people to understand those biblical themes from their own viewpoints of their own traditional culture and religion. We also encourage the ordinary tribal people to stand firm on their worldview based on the

knowledge of their tribal text as the source for their interpretation.

In the Fourth Step, the facilitator asks ordinary tribal readers questions, such as: *“How do you read the biblical text through these themes, while bearing in mind the tribal tradition?”* We must be reminded of the spirit of the TYCM tribal scholars who returned home to learn modestly from their tribal people and to read with their tribal people, becoming like them a “real” reader, re-reading their traditional texts and re-reading the biblical text (together).

After the TYCM ordinary tribal people participated in the discussions of the Third Step, we found that they attempted to recall and to repeat their tribal traditions in response to the different themes, making reference to traditional stories, prohibitions, life wisdom, traditional religion, rite and festivals, etc. They would use what they remembered to update the content of their responses to the themes in the discussions. Therefore, the facilitator and trained reader should make every effort to listen carefully to their views and to their opinions. We found that these opinions, which are based on the tribal traditional worldviews, are freely expressed. But sometimes when questioned by the facilitator and trained readers who were present during the Fourth Step of the discussion, they often fell silent and did not feel free to speak.

The ministers present in groups sometimes forgot their duties and sometimes the facilitator had to remind them not to censor the opinions of the ordinary tribal readers; they must influence neither the speech theme nor the content of the discussion. For example, there were three ministers who, in the middle of the discussion, subjected the readers to a strict questioning. The first one commented that the views of the ordinary readers might distort the beliefs in Church; the second one said, “How can you possibly explain this theme without theological training, since the Church won’t explain this section of biblical text like that traditionally”. The third one argued directly with the ordinary readers that their interpretation held the Word of God in contempt, and he warned them not to destroy fundamental Christian belief. However, after the explanation by the facilitator concerning the research process, most ministers and trained readers accepted the discussion in this phase. Even the four more open ministers who gave their support initially because they thought this was a brand new approach, saw now that it challenged the western perspective on Bible study, in which the reader seems to be more passive, especially when they saw that the other believers in Church had different interpretations from those of biblical scholars.

In any case, the Fourth Step is the step most needed in order for the biblical scholars

and the trained readers to listen, and to observe and to analyze how TYCM ordinary tribal readers “read” and view the Bible. In this way they can convincingly show how the ordinary readers can find a locus in which they are “substantially in control of the context in which biblical interpretation takes place” (West 2007b:46), thus shifting the leadership role from the biblical scholars and trained readers to the ordinary tribal people who, in nature, are quite capable of doing the interpretations of biblical text and their tribal tradition text. In re-locating and retracing their tribal tradition text and to illustrating their tribal traditional world views, these ordinary readers often give a fresh interpretation for the biblical text. We will have more discussion on this in chapter 8.

#### ***5.4.2.5. Fifth Step Reading Guide***

In the Fifth Step the facilitator asks “*How do we see the theme of the tribal tradition through the biblical text?*” This reading method is most often used in traditional forms of Bible study in the Church, where the direction of discourse is from the biblical text to the tribal context. Here, however, this step is part of a larger process, so that when the tribal readers, who are now “real” readers, return to the biblical text, they do so as different readers, having been empowered by their tribal re-readings. From this new perspective this Fifth Step provides a direct opportunity to judge the tribal traditional text, and drawing on its ethics and spiritual values, but now from the perspective of the tribal Christians (with an emphasis on both “tribal” and “Christian”).

There are two purposes in designing this step, both based on the Christian identity of the tribal Christians. One, it is claimed that the TYCM tribal Christians would never give up their Christian identity, so the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method uses the procedure of biblical text reading at the beginning and at the end of the process. And two, we insist that the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation does not end at the Third Step but the Fifth Step. The Third Step concentrates a lot on tribal tradition reconstruction and representation, especially on the postcolonial concerns of this context. However, as TYCM tribal Christians, our tribal postcolonial context concerns have to include the biblical viewpoint in order to review our tribal culture and tradition. What the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method offers is a two way dialogue between biblical text and tribal text, avoiding both the position of the tribal text as an object of biblical scrutiny and the position of the biblical text as merely an agent for our culture study. As tribal TYCM Christians, we deem the Bible as a light and an inspiration from God, which plays an important role in criticizing our

culture and tradition. Therefore, the Fourth Step emphasizes their tribal identity, and the Fifth Step emphasizes their Christian identity. We will discuss these steps more fully in chapter 8.

### **5.5. A Sample Reading of Genesis 2:4b-25**

Now, in order to begin the process of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, we needed to create a sample example from the reading of Genesis 2:4b-25. So, using the Five Steps reading process, we selected as one of our fourteen tribal reading groups a group from the Pngawan tribal village, which belong to the Sediq tribe.<sup>105</sup> Using the main features of the Five Steps reading process in the Bible reading, the facilitator was required to put questions to ordinary tribal readers following the step by step process below:

*The First Step:*

*Question: Would you like to use your tribal mother-tongue to read the biblical text?*

*Genesis 2:4b-25*

*“4b. Smmalu karat ma dxeran ka Utux Baro Bukung ciida, 5. dxeran we uka qhuni ma uka spereq. Ado ini na pqiexi niya na ma uka ka seedeq mpqeepah uri. 6. Kiya ka kiya ma msqbqeboq mnkala dxeran klaali ka qsiya ma gmhureq kana dxeran. 7. Bobo na nii, Utux Baro Bukung we mangan dxeran ma smmalu seedeq. Yupan na hengak knuudus ka muhing na ma muudus ka seedeq da. 8. Utux Baro Bukung we smmalu Edeng Qbliqan quri nklaan hido ma pgblequn na peeneq cceka heya ka seedeq smnalua na. 9. Utux Baro Bukung we phrean na kngkingan klegan malu ba qhuni ka dxeran nii ma pgheyan na malu uqun ka pneghalang. Cceka dxeran qmbleqan nii we phrean na kingan pusu qhuni knuudus ma kingan pusu qhuni pgkela knmalu, qnnaqeh seedeq uri. 10. Edeng nii we niqan kingan yayung gmhuriq dxeran qbliqan nii. Yayung nii we qluli betaq bukuy Edeng ma peyah heya mswey sepat pnswayan. 11. Tgkingan waye we Yayung Pisun kesun ma muda mtqiri Hubila. 12. Dixeran nii we pyahan malu ba xiluy king ma malu ba sknexan ma btunux rako. 13. Tgdaha yayung swaye we Yayung Gihung sun ma muda mtqiri Kusyu. 14. Tgteru yayung swaye we Yayung Ciguris sun ma mooda quri nklaan hido Asiriya. Tgsepat swaye we Yayung Yuhurates kesun. 15. Utux Baro Bukung we pgblequn na peeneq Edeng qbleqan ka*

---

<sup>105</sup> The following material is based on the discussions with the Sediq tribe in the Pngawan tribal village on January 25, 2007.

*seedeq nii ma pqpahun na heya ma pklwaun na dxeran nii. 16. Rmengo heyaan ka Utux Baro, Ana manu heyi pnegalang dxeran qbleqan nii we nduwa nanak mekan. 17. weno heyi qhuni pkgela knmalu ma qnnaqeh ka iya ba uqi. Uqun su ciida de, ida su emphuqin, kesun na. 18. Bobo na nii Utux Baro Bukung we rmengo, murux ba kndesan na ka seedeq nii we uxe malu, empsmalu ku kingan somaha mneglengu theyaq ma mdayo heya, mesa. 19. Kiya de Utux Baro Bukung we mangan dxeran smmalu kngkingan klegan camac ma qhbeni. Desun na berah seedeq ma pptngayan na. Seedeq we tyanan na kana ka mlgelug muudus. 20. Seedeq we wada na tyanan ka tnbegan ma qbheni ma camac. Kiya ka kiya ma cceka deha heya we uka ana kingan ka so mneglengu thiqaan na ma mdayo heya. 21. Kiya de Utux Baro Bukung we pchnngiyun na ptaqi ka seedeq nii. Mtaqi ka heya ciida, Utux Baro we ngalan na heya ka kingan teerang na. Bobo na nii pstrengun na haya dungan ka heyi na. 22. Utux Baro Bukung we ngalun na ka teerang ma smluun na kingan mqedin. Mqedin nii we desun na berah seedeq. 23. Rmengo ka seedeq nii, Nii hini saya sa keka buut pnayah buut mu ma heyi pnayah heyi mu. Heya nii we, mqedin, kesun mu tmngayan. Ado heya we pnayah ruseno han, mesa. 24. Manu so kiya de mswaye peyah tama, bubu niya ka ruseno ma msuupu qedin na. Daha heyi we maa kingan heyi da. 25. Seedeq nii ka dha qedin niya we embuberas, uka lnglungan dha ka kesun mqqseqa". (Sediq mother-tongue Bible)<sup>106</sup>*

It is very important in the first step to try to understand the vocabulary, sentence structure, and specialised words and their meaning for the tribal cultural and religious traditions when the TYCM ordinary tribal people read the biblical text in their mother-tongue. The mother-tongue has a great impact on the real life and experience of ordinary tribal people. The ordinary tribal people read the biblical text in their mother-tongue, already knowing their cultural and religious background and using it to understand the vocabulary, sentence, and structure, and the specific symbolism in the biblical text. In the Plngawan tribal reading group, they discussed some themes from their Sediq Bible after the facilitator asked: “*Would you like to use your mother-tongue to read the biblical text?*” But I offer just one example to describe the reading process.

After they read the biblical text in their mother-tongue, “*Smmalu karat ma dxeran ka Utux Baro Bukung ciida*” (God made the earth and the heavens) (v. 4b), the Plngawan

---

<sup>106</sup> The text quoted is from Siyat Nabu, *Sediq Bible: Genesis* (2010), unpublished.

people said that the meaning of the term of “*Smmalu*” is “make, do, fashion, create”. The root of the word “*smmalu*” is “*malu*” (good, right, fine, fitting, kind), so they say that all people, including the gods have to do some good for people, nature, animals, and plants, which are part of “creation”, or “*smmalu*”. Here, we could see already that they had created new themes for their discussion simply by reading the biblical text in their mother-tongue.

From reading, “*dxeran we uka qhuni ma uka spereq. Ado ini na pqiexi niya na ma uka ka seedeq mpqeepah uri*” (“no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up, nor had rain been caused to fall upon the earth, and there was no man to till the ground”)(v. 5), some ordinary tribal people said that this situation is like the wilderness, “*dxeran nraw*”, where there is no sign of “living” or “life”, “*knudus*” before the time of God’s creation. Some ordinary tribal people say that “*p-qiexi*” “raining” contains an element suggesting that God wants to create and cause the whole world to have life, because only God, the creator, can do that. However, as a result of their reading the biblical text in their mother-tongue in the First Step, some themes in Steps 2, 3, or 4 emerged already, even though they had not yet moved on to those steps. The first thing they noticed was the term “*Smilax*” or “creation”. We will discuss further results of the mother-tongue reading in the process of Step 1 found in Chapter 6.

#### *The Second Step:*

*Question: What does the biblical text say?*

After the Plngawan lay people read Genesis 2:4b-25 in their mother-tongue during the First Step, they then moved to the Second Step. The facilitator asked, “*What does the biblical text say?*” to the ordinary tribal readers.

The ordinary tribal people attempted to respond and to list their opinions about what the biblical text says. We found that they listed some important themes as a result, such as the origin of people, the creator God, taboos, naming, views of death, roles for spouses and women, prohibition of the naked body and sex, family, the relationship between people and nature, with some of them very interested in continuing to work on the theme of the “*Smmalu*” (creation) arising from their reading in the First Step.

#### *The Third Step:*

*Question: Are these themes current in the thinking of the tribes? How do tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*

In the Third Step, the facilitator asked the ordinary tribal people, “*Are these themes current in the thinking of the tribes? How do tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*”, because the purpose of the Third Step is to present the oral cultural and religious traditions of their tribal village. We discovered that they had already discussed some of these themes when they emerged in the First Step, even though they were not yet at the Third Step.

Let me take, for example, the concept of “*Smmalu*” (creation) from the Second Step to explain the reading process of the Third Step in the Plangawan tribal reading group. The Plngawan lay people researched the familiar theme of the “*Smmalu*” in their tribes, and explain what the similar themes in their cultural and religious traditions were. They revealed that there was no creation myth in their traditions, but they still remember a legend which is similar to that of Adam and Eve, about the first people in the world. One tribal elder<sup>107</sup> shared the tribal legend as follows:

“A long time ago, there were no people on the earth. One day, suddenly, “Bang!!!”, a terrific sound came from the stone called *Pusu Ohuni*, and the cliff split in half. One man and one woman came forth from the crack in the stone cliff. These were the ancestors of the Sediq tribe”.

(“*Sbiyaw balay, uka ana kingan ka sediq mneq alang baraw. Niqan kingan diyax, asi, “Bang!!!”, paru balay henaang paah Pusu Qhuni. Wada asi mtdaha. Niqan kingan senaw ni kingan qridin ka kndadax ceka Pusu Qhuni hiya. Kiya ka pusu balay ruudan ta Sediq cbiyaw balay*”). (Sediq mother-tongue<sup>108</sup>).

The myth still remains in the memory of the tribal elders in the tribal villages. After the facilitator has asked, “*Do these themes occur in the tribal traditions? How do the tribal people understand these themes traditionally?*”, the people are encouraged by him to remember and to reconstruct similar themes from their oral traditions. Moreover, in the process, we could discover more easily some of the postcolonial context of the younger TYCM ordinary tribal readers who were already disconnected from the myth (unless they had taken the time to listen to their tribal elders’ voices in

---

<sup>107</sup> He asked me not to reveal his tribal name. In answer to my question “Why?” he said, “It is the wisdom of our Sediq ancestors, passed down from generation to generation, it is not from me”.

<sup>108</sup> Written and translated by Walis Ukan (2009).

the process of reading the biblical texts). The purpose of the Second and Third steps is to research the themes and to re-construct the TYCM tribal texts. We will say more about the discussion ensuing from the reading process of the Second and Third Steps in Chapter 7.

*The Fourth Step:*

*Question: How do the tribal people read the biblical text through these themes, based on an understanding of tribal tradition?*

The ordinary people re-constructed the TYCM tribal texts in the Third Step, then, following on to the Fourth Step, we should concentrate on the views of the TYCM ordinary tribal people who have regained their voices as the “real” readers in reading the biblical texts and the tribal texts from their tribal worldviews. In the Third Step, the goal was to help the ordinary tribal people concentrate on recalling their tribal texts, and in the Fourth Step the goal was for the ordinary tribal people to go further and re-interpret their tribal cultural and religious traditions from the tribal texts in their tribal villages.

For example, we might say that the Plngawan ordinary readers regained their voices in the process of the Four Steps after they learned their legends from the tribal elders in the Third Step. They now, in step four, probed and discussed their tribal legends about the first man and woman at the beginning of the world. They asked why their tribal elder used “*Bang!!!*” to explain the first people coming to being in the world. The tribal elders responded:

The term, “*Bang!!!*”, is the Sediq people’s explanation of the mystery of life in their cultural and religious tradition. “*Bang!!!*” implies that human beings cannot describe what the meaning of life is. Life is a mystical power from “non-people”. Only *Utux* (God) can do that. This is why, in the biblical text, the God of heaven, and only He, created people.

Some Sediq readers discussed the idea that “only *Utux Tmninun*” (The Weaving God), the supreme god of the Sediq tribe, could weave the lives of people, determining for them how long they were to live in the world. So that is why, whenever someone died in the tribal village, the tribal elders would say that *Utux Tmninun* had stopped weaving his/her life.

*The Fifth Step:*

*Question: How do we see the theme of the tribal tradition through the biblical Text?*

In the last step, the Fifth Step, we focus on the light shed by the biblical text. For example, when the PIngawan lay people became “real” readers, they went on to say that Genesis 2 could help us to know the details of how people first became living beings in the world, just like Adam and Eve, and to state clearly that it was the God of heaven who creates every living thing in the heavens and on the earth. They said that the power of creation is a mysterious power from God, similar to that mentioned by the Sediq tribal elders—the mystical power originating from *Utux Tmninun*, the supreme God. Such a cross-textual reading between the tribal text in the Fourth Step, and the biblical text in the Fifth Step, could help ordinary people to become “real” readers, regaining their own voices and identifying with their cultural and religious traditions in the process of the biblical reading.

From the above description of the Five Steps reading process, we learn that the people were capable of producing some important tribal themes themselves. This is emphasized in the Second Step, after the reading of the biblical text in their mother-tongue in the First Step; they then proceed to re-examine their tribal texts in the Third Step, to regain their own voice and re-interpret their tribal texts in the Fourth Step, and to shed light from the biblical text in the Fifth Step. Reading in this way potentially transforms the ordinary tribal reader into a “real” reader, and the process begins with allowing him/her to use their mother-tongue from the First Step.

## **5.6. Conclusion**

From the above description, the main purpose of the Five Steps reading process, as described in the practice of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, is to unite the three general postcolonial concerns with the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns: (1) the TYCM tribal texts (Step 3), (2) the TYCM ordinary tribal reader (Steps 4 and 5) and (3) the TYCM tribal mother-tongues (Step 1). So the foundation of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is the specific time and place where the TYCM tribal people are in their postcolonial experience in the historical context of Taiwan. The Five Steps reading process is dedicated to achieving what ought to have happened in the past, i.e. to raise their tribal postcolonial concerns in the process of the biblical reading.

To sum up, we have highlighted the three TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns and carried forward the discussion on the principles we have outlined, showing how to link this to the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, and we demonstrated the important role that language has in impacting the interpretation methods, which orient the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns in their tribal experiences. We claim that it is essential in the TYCM tribal experience of interpretation in the postcolonial context (in which TYCM tribal people have lived under the control of foreign colonizers), to re-locate the TYCM tribal texts gathered from their home-coming tribal experiences, and to invite the tribal people to join in the activity of re-locating the traditional cultural heritage and regaining their voice in doing postcolonial biblical readings. The realm of text interpretation should be inspired by and re-located in the tribal mother-tongues by allowing oral expressions from the ordinary tribal people at the beginning of the Five Steps reading process. This conclusion can help us now to discuss the practical outcome of the readings in the Five Steps reading process from the fourteen tribal reading groups, in Chapter 6 (the First Step), Chapter 7 (the Second and Third Steps), and Chapter 8 (the Fourth and Fifth Steps).

## Chapter Six:

### **TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation (1): Re-locating the TYCM Tribal Mother-tongues**

*The best strategy in the current grass-root work is for the indigenous people to adopt the colonizer's language, which is popular in public, to promote the de-colonization demands. They may imitate the languages belonging to the colonists or oppressors but they may not copy their pronunciation and worldview, as this, like an organism, would begin to absorb features from outside groups, thus forcing the original languages to lose their classical canon (Chiu Kuie-fen 1992:34-36).*

#### **6.0. Introduction**

We can see from the initial examples of the reading results from the ordinary tribal readers that they can indeed “speak” when they became the “real” readers in the reading of the biblical texts and their TYCM tribal texts. So if we have proved that the ordinary tribal readers can express their true voices freely as they become the “real” readers, we may find that not only do they read the biblical texts and their TYCM tribal texts from their own firmly established viewpoint but also guide the tribal people to express their opinions in Bible-related terms by means of the Fourth and Fifth steps. Such a method also provides an opportunity for the ordinary tribal readers to engage in the Second and Third Steps, recalling and reproducing their own tribal texts, which were censored and marginalized during the colonial period.

They are willing to reproduce the tribal texts for their tribal people in the biblical reading process through oral speeches, a process which guided the postcolonial scholars of the TYCM to the leave cities and return to their own tribes to learn their ancestors' traditions from the tribal elders themselves. The tribal people would share the stories of their oral tradition, and then the tribal scholars would write down the traditional tribal text afresh. Such a reading and sharing process with their own mother-tongue is the spirit and the function of the traditional *Prrrngawan* (a convocation house) in the tribal village. It is very important that the tribal people learning their ancestral traditions with the oral sharing and teaching of the elders with their mother-tongue.

In this chapter, we will discuss the First Step in the Five Steps Reading Process, in which we find a special reading phenomenon emerges when ordinary tribal readers read the biblical text in their own mother-tongues. I call this phenomenon the “perspective in the post-mother-tongue age”, which becomes one of the most important aspects of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method. I will explain this type of reading method in the following part that originates from the TYCM ordinary tribal readers.

This truly is an interesting phenomenon in which I find more and more distinctive significance in mother-tongue reading. Since this new reading method is rather different from that of other biblical research methods I learned in my theological training, it is quite important to note this phenomenon, especially since the TYCM tribal Christians have been using the Bible in their mother-tongue in the Church. The primary justification for this the reading, describing, and explaining reading method is that it produces a remarkable result, simply through the reading, description and explanations given by ordinary tribal people when they are allowed to be the “real” readers in the process of biblical reading. The new reading mode is unique in comparison to other research methods we learned during my theological training, because we were trained to think, to write, and to express views of the Bible based on the colonizer’s philosophy and value system. Even though what we were commenting are those about our tribal traditional text or of the colonial written skills in our mother-tongue. We discover this astounding result as we were close to these ordinary tribal readers and listened to their talks and the thoughts in their mind. We then realize that it is resulted from the initial reading of the Biblical text as they read in their familiar mother-tongue in the first step of the process.

As I have stated, this kind of powerful reading result is not easily found in the majority of biblical commentaries written, in the main, by western biblical scholars. So I define it as the “post-mother-tongue age” biblical perspective to explain the legitimacy of such a reading method in the tribal mother-tongues by the ordinary people as “real” readers expressing their views of the biblical texts. In addition, I use the example from Genesis 2:4b-25 repeatedly to illustrate this reading practice result, which was generated during the first of the five steps in the reading process of the TYCM ordinary tribal readers.

## 6.1. TYCM Tribal Mother-tongues and the Tribal Mother-tongue Bible

The first discovery of this impressive postcolonial phenomenon from the biblical reading process among the fourteen tribal reading groups was that some tribal people, especially the intellectuals who were educated in public government schools, were not very familiar with their own mother-tongues and so they began to lose the roots of their own culture. So the tribal elders would use the Chinese tongues to communicate with the tribal children and the younger generations.

During our activities with the fourteen groups we could readily understand that many tribal people should say, “I can understand my mother-tongue when I hear it, but I don’t know how to speak it”, or “We seldom speak in our mother-tongue!” or “We have no chance to express opinions in our mother-tongue in school so we have not become well acquainted with our mother-tongue!” This kind of language phenomenon is a difficulty encountered by the TYCM tribal people every day in the postcolonial situation, that is, the feeling that they are alienated from their own mother-tongues. But we realized that the tribal elders began to exude self-confidence and self-affirmation after we began inviting the tribal participants to use their mother-tongues to read and reflect on the biblical text. The tribal elder played a key role, most obviously in the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process. Those tribal people who had difficulties in that they could not understand or could not speak their mother-tongue (which is a more common postcolonial language situation) were helped by the tribal elders to reconnect with their mother-tongue and to build their own tribal confidence.

The language those tribal scholars used in their TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial discourse was that of the Chinese colonizers. The tribal scholars began to use their own tribal languages to process the de-colonization written strategy after they became more familiar with the Roman phonetic system. Whether Chinese or Hoklo, Chen Kuie-fen argues, both these languages originated with the colonizer or the oppressor in the eyes of the TYCM tribal people (Chiu 2003c). After the TYCM tribal scholars and writers adopted the Roman phonetic system to record the stories of their ancestors as told by their parents, grandparents, and tribal elders, this bilingual writing began to find a place in the decolonization writings of the TYCM tribal people.

In the 1990s, the TYCM tribal scholars and writers began to use their mother-tongues for their writings, for example, Walis Nokan in 1991, Syan Raponan in 1992, Lin Tay in 1998, Ismahatan Bukun in 1999, Dahu Ispaliday and Ibu in 2002, Yubas

Naogih in 2003 all developed a decolonization written strategy from the root of their mother-tongues. The TYCM tribal scholars had begun by using their oppressor's language, but now they began to use their mother-tongue. Chiu says that once they realized the importance of the mother-tongue as a means of expressing their own tribal cultures and worldviews they used it to challenge the canon of classical language, which had come from the colonizers (Chiu 1992:34-36).

The TYCM tribal scholars returned to their own tribes to record the tribal people's voice through their oral speeches, and they led their tribal people to join in the tribal reading to recall, reconstruct and share their tribal history, legends, mythologies, taboos, and treasured cultural heritage by means of their mother-tongue.

### **6.1.1. Alien Language and the TYCM Tribal Mother-tongue Bible**

Christianity played an important role in replacing the traditional religion of TYCM tribal people. Using the mother-tongue as a means of access to the tribes, the evangelists saw their labours rewarded by a widespread acceptance of the Christian religion by the indigenous people. The cause of this success was that the ministers used the tribal mother-tongue for proclamation of the Gospel, and as the communication tool of choice. They also translated the Bible into the tribal mother-tongues. The Christian ministers conveyed Christian doctrine to the TYCM tribal people through their mother-tongues, creating the "religious proclamation miracle" in the history of the Church mission in Taiwan. It attracted the TYCM tribal people to convert to Christianity and to accept its beliefs.

Support for the tribal mother-tongue offered what was perceived to be in some sense a survival mechanism, and Christian missionaries could claim that they translated the Bible into the mother-tongues to "prevent the mother-tongue from being lost", especially in the environment where the language of the tribal people was prohibited and in which only the writing and speaking of Chinese were allowed. The people saw the importance of the Bible translations as an affirmative point.

For example, the contemporary reader would find an article published in the second edition of the *Yuen Newspaper* dated March 10, 1990, quoting the *Capital Daily News*. Its subject was the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan's extension of the Taiwanese mother-tongues to broadcast the seed of the people's cultural inheritance. It said:

The national language promotion policy is like a blade to cut the Taiwanese dialect culture into pieces. The ruling government has intervened to deny the Church the freedom to preach and communicate in the mother-tongues. The ruling government (KMT) did not establish a department for Taiwanese dialect research, but the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has completed the translation of the Bible into the mother-tongue (i.e. Hoklo or Taiwanese). During the early years of their administration the Kuomintang schemed to confiscate the Bible in the Hoklo language, and also in Japanese and the Atayal language, in order to promote their policy of imposing Mandarin Chinese as the national language. In the meantime, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan set up two theological colleges to train both Taiwanese and tribal people to minister in their mother-tongue. The Tainan Theological College and Seminary became a Taiwanese world, and the Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary became a paradise for the TYCM tribal mother-tongues.<sup>109</sup>

In the earlier ruling period under the Kuomintang government, when they interfered with religious groups which had supported proclaiming the Gospel in the mother-tongues, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan completed translation of the Taiwanese Bible and published dictionaries in the tribal mother-tongues. Yohani Isgagavut suggests that the Christian Church made great efforts to maintain the tribal languages, to the extent that they were willing to advocate and to shout slogans such as “Death of the mother-tongue means death of race”, “The mother-tongue is an ID for its own race”, which began a resurrection of the fight for the preservation of the TYCM tribal mother-tongues (Isgagavut 1998:41).

For example, the Bible Society in Taiwan published *The Epistle of James*, one book of the New Testament, in phonetic symbols in 1957, and this book was updated in Roman phonetics in 1963. Then Rev. Fang Min-yin was instrumental in publishing the Taiwanese translation of the Bible in 1989. At the same time, the New and Old testaments were translated and were published through a cooperation between Amis ministers and the Bible Association in 1997, as the first Bible translated into a tribal mother-tongue in Taiwan. With the help of Rev. John Whitehorn, the Paiwan tribal people began to translate *The Gospel of Mark* into the Paiwan language in 1959, but they did not complete the translation for the New and Old Testament until 1993 after Rev. Tung Chu-fa, Rev. Sung Shu and others participated in this effort. The Bible

---

<sup>109</sup> *Yuen News*(原報) on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1990, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

Society in Taiwan invited Rev. Hu Wen-chih to cooperate with the Bunun ministers in 1951 and published the Bunun Bible in 1983. They began to translate the Old Testament in 1987, but they were only able to publish a translation of part of the Old Testament into their mother-tongue in 2000. In 1964, the Bible Society in Taiwan invited Rev. Clare McGill from Canada to translate the Bible into the Atayal tribal language, *Tayak Bubke*. After ministers of the Atayal tribes joined in the effort, they eventually completed the New Testament (with accompanying Chinese and Phonetic text) in 1974. They published the revised version in 1989 and began to translate parts of the Old Testament into their mother-tongue using the Roman phonetic system. The Sediq tribe has been constantly translating the New Testament by their tribal pastor (Howat Pisao) and scholar Dr. Ralph Covell who commenced the translation of the Bible in the Atayal language (Truku Bible), in 1956. They completed the New Testament using phonetic signs in 1960. And they appended the comparative list for the vocabularies among Truku, Toda and Tckaya and completed the translation for the New Testament and part of the Old Testament with Roman phonetic system. They are currently mid-way through translating the Old Testament into the Sediq language. The Canadian missionary Miss. Grace Irene Weklin independently translated the offprint for the New Testament into the Tao mother-tongue Bible, *Seysyo No Tao*, in phonetic signs in 1980. The Bible Society in Taiwan did not invite the Amis ministers and missionaries to join in the translation job until 1987. Seven years later in 1994, they published the New Testament in Roman phonetic system. The Bible Society in Taiwan translated some of the stories from the New Testament into phonetic signs to become the forerunner of the Rukai Bible in 1958, and they founded the Rukai mother-tongue Bible Translation Commission in 1988 to translate the Rukai New Testament, which they completed in 2001.<sup>110</sup> There have been other translation efforts among the different tribes, such as processing the translation for *The Gospel of Mark* for the Pin-Pu and the Puyuma tribes, translating the New Testament for the Tsao. The other tribes, such as Saisiat, the Thao, and the Kavalan do not have a mother-tongue Bible even as of today. In addition to the fact that Christian workers made a prominent contribution to maintaining the TYCM tribal mother-tongues and preventing their loss under the strength of the cultural invasion, they paid a great deal of attention to transferring the proper meaning of the phonetic symbols within those mother-tongues as they became written words.

When we review the Church history of the TYCM tribal people, we cannot ignore the achievement of translating the Bible into the indigenous languages, to ensure that the Bible was available in written form and was heard by the people; on the other hand,

---

<sup>110</sup> See <http://www.biblesociety-tw.org/>.

however, the content of these translation efforts expressed alien Christian beliefs, which have gradually replaced the tribal culture and religious traditions. Under such circumstances, the mother-tongues for the TYCM tribal people became a kind of alien language in the world of the Bible even though it was written in the TYCM tribal mother-tongues.

The tribal mother-tongues, used for Bible translation, would not have been given over so easily by the tribal people if the proclamation by the Church had not helped also establish 'A Convocation House' or an assembly place (*Prrngawan*) to extend their tribal culture, religion and tradition with their mother-tongue. It has become a type of proclamation tool for the alien Christian beliefs to the tribal people. Jacques Derrida thought that this type of language situation was one in which the tribal language became a signification which we do not possess, which means that in essence it steals speech from the body. Derrida maintained that, "Theft is always the theft of speech or text, of a trace. The theft of a possession does not become a theft unless the thing stolen is a possession, unless it has acquired meaning and value through, at least, the concentration of a vow made in discourse" (Derrida 1999: 175). The tribal people felt strange after the mother-tongues were 'stolen' as translation tools for the Christian Bible. Under these specific circumstances the mother-tongue lost its connection with the tribal religious tradition, which was hidden behind it, and tribal people seemed to lose their familiarity with that. When the tribal people read the Bible in their mother-tongue it generated a total and original sense of loss of existence itself and it was a type of postcolonial situation (176). The translation of the Bible changed the tribal people's language situation from "speech of the body" to one of "the stolen speech".

The important task, then, for those who still speak the TYCM tribal mother-tongues is the obligation to pass on the abundance of this cultural gift from their ancestors through oral speech and religious tradition. When the tribal mother-tongues became a tool for writing and hearing the content of Bible, they were isolated and deprived of their original meaning and relevance. Once the tribal mother-tongue appeared in the Bible, its own culture and content of its religious world were hidden and silenced. The material identity of the mother-tongue was then shifted as the means of explaining the superiority and authenticity of Christian beliefs and doctrines, but the effect was to set apart and isolate the TYCM tribal Christians from their original tribal culture and religious traditions, which were now hidden behind their tribal mother-tongue. This is another topic, with relevance for the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse.

Though tribal people could hear the sounds and see the familiar characters of their tribal mother-tongue, and the language they found was limited, closed and isolated from their original philosophy; yet, at the same time, it is clear that its abundant cultural and religious heritage were still hiding behind it, waiting to be rediscovered. This is why this particular entry into the realm of tribal mother-tongues in the postcolonial situation is familiar but strange for the TYCM tribal people.

### **6.1.2. Uncovering the World of the TYCM “Tribal Mother-tongues”**

The “something” which is hiding behind the mother-tongues of the TYCM tribal people is their complete ancestral culture and traditional religious heritages. Husluma Vava remarks that *Pisazu*, a hunter from the Bunun tribe, said, “Don’t erase our memory completely!” when it was clear that the alien cultures which invaded the tribes despised the traditional tribal culture (Vava 1991). The difficulty of preserving the language of the TYCM tribal people appeared to cover the entire world of the TYCM tribal people’s mother-tongues. The Paiwan tribal minister Rev. Sakinu Tepiq also claimed that the language was the symbol of a race and represented its ability to survive (Tepiq 2003).<sup>111</sup> To translate a text from one language to another is “to transform its material identity. The colonialist translation forced the indigenous culture to be the subordinated culture under the colonial regime” (Young 2003:139). Edward W. Said mentions in the preface to his memoirs entitled, *Out of Places: A Memoir*, that his book was a record of an unforgettable world. He said:

All people live with a background of a specific language, because the people have used that language to produce and absorb and memorize their experience. For me there existed a basic break between Arabic and English: the one is my mother-tongue, and the other one I learnt from my education and that was the one I used to express myself in class. (Said 2000:41-42)

The TYCM mother-tongues are the most precious resource to help the tribal people to multiply, to produce, to absorb and to memorize their tribal experience. But the emotional world behind the mother-tongue is easily ignored and forgotten, as the world of the mother-tongue is purposely marginalized in a silence space through the Christianization of the biblical reading. The re-dictation, re-traceability and

---

<sup>111</sup> Sakinu Tepiq, “Research into Paiwan Tribal Religious Belief and the Christian Religion” (Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute, 2003). <http://www.riccibase.com/docfile/eth-tw26.htm>.

reappearance of the tribal mother-tongue would reduce such self-inflicted pain, which often arose between the TYCM tribal mother-tongue and the alien languages due to the translations of the mother-tongue Bibles.

The mother languages represented the soul for these races. Though the biblical text was translated into the mother-tongues, it could not isolate its abundant original thought world from the language. In order to solve this postcolonial difficulty in the TYCM tribal mother-tongue Bible, we should uncover the undercover world of the tribal mother-tongue. As Sugirtharajah states,

“All new translations are seen as effective instruments of evangelization...Translation must expand and deepen biblical languages by means of Asian, African, Latin American, and the Pacific languages. In the process of translating, non-biblical languages should be allowed to interrogate and even radically disrupt biblical languages. Biblical languages must be willing to be affected *by* the “other” rather than merely affecting the “other”. In other words, biblical languages have to be transformed and rendered more open to the claims of other languages and cultures” (Sugirtharajah 2002:171).

He continues, that we must “open the claims of other languages and cultures” (2002:171). The TYCM tribal biblical scholars who completed the Bible in their mother-tongues through the translation process, probably thought that it would inspire the resources of the TYCM tribal cultures, and that the Bible language would provide a deeper meaning for the indigenous people who could now comprehend the biblical text in their mother-tongues. In addition, the TYCM biblical scholars expanded the meanings of the biblical texts and theology through introducing them to the abundant traditional heritages of the TYCM tribal people.

Kwame Bediako claims that “dealing with translated Scriptures, mother-tongues, new language, and the potential of new idioms, becomes important for inspiring fresh insights into our common understanding of Christianity”. He infers that African pre-Christian religions provide “the idiom for Christian apprehension in the new languages and cultures in which Christian faith now finds a home” (Bediako 2000:81). The rich linguistic heritage of Africa should provide singular opportunities to develop indigenous Christian theologies. It guides the African scene to clarify the nature and meaning of African Christian identity through its pre-Christian religious heritage.

Thus, it was believed that the continuity of God's revelation placed African traditional religion and Christianity in a continuum of revelation that secured for the indigenous religion a permanent place in African religious experience (Bediako 1989).

These new languages and idioms stemmed from the translation into mother-tongues which included the pre-Christian culture and religious heritage. For the TYCM biblical theologians, Bediako reminded us that if a person wants to believe in the "TYCM tribal scene" theology, we cannot give up exploring the cultural and religious heritage behind the language. Bediako points out that:

The vernacular Scriptures became the means of gaining a further insight into the traditional culture, whilst the meaning of the Scriptures was also illuminated in a new way, in relation to a vital aspect of the traditional culture. It then became apparent that a genuine theological dialogue with traditional culture was not always likely to be ironical. For such a dialogue to be meaningful, there would be a necessary confrontation of experiences, sometimes alternative interpretations of reality and identity, and in the profound relating of Christ to the living force of the traditional religion there would also be a power-encounter since the traditional religion, centred at its most vital points on ancestors, was at heart about power ... to occupy firm ground which was *within* the purview of the traditional culture: Christ had a stake in the spiritual universe of traditional religion (Bediako 1995:71-72).

How do those scholars expand their claims for the image of culture and religion based on the worldview of the TYCM tribal mother-tongue? Is this a way to solve the postcolonial difficulties which the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation has to face? But in the meantime, it has also disclosed a meaningful world emerging from the traditional culture and religion behind the tribal mother-tongue. It has allowed for the possibility that the traditions and the sacred scriptures of other Asian religions can enrich of biblical interpretation (Kwok 1995). The fourteen tribal reading groups, for example, used their familiar languages for reading the Bible and in the process enriched both the Bible and their own readings, giving meaning to the world.

We might naturally expect that some ordinary readers would have expressed their understanding of heaven with the use of related terms like "God" in their own culture and religion and in different tribal languages: *Tapang a Kawas* (Paiwan tribe), *Dihanin* (Bunun tribe), *Utux Baraw* (Sediq and Truku tribes), *Utux Kayal* (Atayal

tribe). These invite comparison with the “God” of the Bible. When they use their mother-tongue, which is connected with their tribal culture and religious traditions, to think about the biblical text, it generates differing views among tribes such as the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal, and the Truku.<sup>112</sup>

For example, the words related to tribal Heaven, such as *Cemas*, *Utux*, *Kawas*, *Twaumas*, *Taoduto* or *Mangajiachlemb* in the TYCM tribal languages are used to represent “God” and “Lord” mentioned in Bible. Those TYCM tribal biblical scholars with postcolonial consciousness would know that they could not ignore the world which existed in the different views of their own tribal religions, though now coloured by Christian beliefs. For those tribal traditional religions, the God of heaven exists in personified images: for example the “*Tapang a Kwas*” mentioned in the Bible in the Amis tongue; the “*Dihanin*” mentioned in the Bible in the Bunun language; the “*Utux Baro*” and “*Bukung*” mentioned in the Bible in the Sediq tongue; the “*Utux Kayal*” mentioned in the Bible in the Tayal tongue; and the “*Utux Baraw and Tholang*” mentioned in the Bible in the Truku tongue. Those heavenly beings listen, see, understand, and even intervene through personified, recognisable acts. The *Demaway* (the summit level), *Hemasi* (creator of the world), *Pavensen* (creator of human beings), *na ula i kaylangani kayTasan* (heaven roamer) and *na pakuwamau-na pakuwaziu* (controller)<sup>113</sup> are obviously not the traditional meanings reflected within tribal culture and religion by the mother-tongue. These new idioms became fresh ones in the Bible in the tribal mother-tongues.

We often hear from the ordinary tribal readers that they “don’t understand this mother-tongue expression in our tradition” or that “this is a new idiom used in the Bible or in Church”.<sup>114</sup> Thus, through the reading process for the Bible in the

---

<sup>112</sup> Please refer to those works by TYCM writers and scholars as Peng Ying-hai, *Chan Su-chuan, Research Theoretical Collection for Ping-Pu tribe* (Taipei: Preparation by Institute of Taiwan History, 1995); Basuya Bojijernu, *Oral History for TYCM* (Taipei: Folk culture, 1996). And his *Indigenous Mythology and Culture* (Taipei, Tai-Yuan, 1999); Yiyoahu Poiconu, *The Life-wisdom of the Tsou Tribe in Taiwan* (Taipei, Folk Culture, 1997); Husluma Vava, *The Life Spirit in Yu-Shan: Oral Mythology of the Bunun tribe.* (Taipei, Morning Star, 1997). And his *Guardian of Central Mountain: Bunun Tribe* (Taipei: Rice County, 1997) Peng Chiu-jung, *Millet, Peral, Thunder Women: Praying Rites of the Saysia tribe* (Taipei County, Cultural Bureau in Taipei County, 2000). Liao Shou-chen, *Social Organisation in Taiwan the Tayal Tribe* (Hualien: Tzu-Chi Medical and Humanities Social Academy, 1998). Tseng Chien-tzu, *The Foot of the Spirit Ancestor: Oral History Data from the Shi-Sheng Branch of the Pei-Nan Tribe* (Taipei, Morning Star, 1998). Yu Kwang-hon, *Tung Seng-yong, Taiwan Indigenous History: History Essay on the Yami Tribe* (Taichung: Provincial Literary Assembly, 1998). Peng Da-ho, *History of the Paje Tribe of Ping-Pu: Loyal Courtiers in Taiwan’s Development History* (Taipei: Na-Tien, 1998).

<sup>113</sup> Varikai orally, and composed by priest Tseng Chien-tzu, *Ancestor’s Foot* (Taipei: Morning Star, 1998), 19-20.

<sup>114</sup> These two sentences are the most responsive words from the ordinary tribal readers in the 14 tribal reading groups.

mother-tongue, it is easy to clarify the differences between reported cultural and religious traditional worlds both in the Bible and in tribal society. It is the primary task facing those who participate in the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process. This type of reading method provides a reference for other races attempting to translate the Bible into their mother-tongues.

Let us take another example, the Garden of Eden story in Genesis 2, as translated into the tribal languages. The term in the Paiwan Bible is “*quma i idin*”; the Truku Bible has “*Idin qbliqan*”; the translation in Amis is “*Itin a palosaya*”, and the Bunun version names it “Eden alinaskalan”. Those words from the Hebrew translate into English as “the Eden garden” (גַּן־בְּעֵדֶן) . The big differences among those names are the nouns used to describe garden (גַּן). For example in the Paiwan Bible, the word “*quma*” is added, the Amis Bible added the word “*palosayan*”; and the Bunun version added the word “*alinaskalan*”. Except for the word “*quma*” in the Paiwan language, these all carried a common meaning with the translated word not meaning “garden”(גַּן) but coming from the word root meaning “Eden”, (Hebrew “eden”) which means “happiness”, or “pleasure”.

The people of the Sediq and the Truku tribes cannot understand the new word “*Idin qbliqan*” unless they are Christian and know it means “Eden”. The word “*Qbliqan*” could translate as “happy” or “abundant”, meaning paradise or garden, with the whole name being “Eden world” or “Eden garden” to depict that Adam and Eve lived here without anxiety for lack of food and at one with natural animals, harmoniously, happily and healthily. There was a question about whether or not a place like “*Qbliqan*” existed in the tribal traditional religion. “*Obliqan*” would be described as a place where Adam and Eve lived in the garden with God without anxiety. I think that the place named “*Qbliqan*” is not clear enough to explain what it means for the tribal people. The tribal term “*Idin qbliqan*” represents “paradise” well, and this word gives a hint that the meaning relates to the concept of “spiritual home”. This type of description would incline the tribal readers to recognize their mother-tongue when they read the biblical text. It would open the other layer of our invisible or soundless traditional level related to the tribal ancestors. We can probably ask why we did not hear this type of description, but we should recognize the familiar versions when we read the text with the ordinary tribal readers.

The other example was the word “*quma*”, which was added in the Paiwan language with the meaning “Eden”; and the word “*palosayan*” which was added in the Amis translation with the meaning “garden”. Both terms were meant to describe the life

situation in which Adam and Eve lived. What, then, is the direct image conjured up in the minds of the Amis people when they talk about the word “*palosayan*”? They know whether the meaning is hidden behind the tribal mythology tradition and rites or not.

The Bible in Bunun added the word “*alinaskanlan*”, which carries the root “*naskal*”, or “happy”. The component “*lan*” means “place”; and the prefix “*ali*” means “at”. When the Bunun people used the word “*alinaskalan*” among themselves, they knew that was the place they were reminded of by their traditional ancestors, a place like “paradise” without pain, a place of happiness. The ancestors encouraged their Bunun children to behave properly because they would go to the place named “*alinaskalan*” with their ancestor spirits after their death. The tribe of “*Tau*” have not yet finished their Bible translation, but they use the word “*dumaravan atukun*”, which means “a mountain full of ancestor spirits with white clothes”, to represent the place where their people will go after death. The mountain named “*Tukun*”, is a place where the virtuous ancestor spirits live; they wear white clothes (“*maravan*”) and take care of and bless their offspring. The tribal people who commit crimes will live in the “*kasisibuwan*”, which means the place to dump trash or garbage (Ukan 2006).

Through this collection of TYCM lay people’s mother-tongue speeches, the TYCM tribal scholars gathered abundant data representing the cultural and religious traditions behind their mother-tongue. It is a response to the claim from West that vernacular hermeneutics “speaks of the reading strategies and resources of ordinary people” (West 1999). This reading process in the First Step could obviously be seen. West said that “the heart of vernacular hermeneutics is the relationship between the socially engaged biblical scholar and the ordinary indigenous reader” (West 1999: 37). He goes on to suggest that “our scholarly resources may be useful, but whether they are or not is not our decision, it is the decision of those who have called us to work with them (ordinary readers)” (49).

So the trained readers guided the TYCM ordinary tribal people to deploy their information about the cultural and religious traditions in their mother-tongue. We know that the answers of the TYCM ordinary tribal readers were not determined by trained people hoping to generate results beyond our expectation. But it is clear that the trained readers should be humble and act as an attentive audience guiding/facilitating the ordinary tribal people to reveal those abundant resources behind the tribal mother-tongue.

To sum up, we may say the result of all this was a relocation of the original role and function of the TYCM tribal mother-tongue in the oral expressions of the ordinary tribal readers. The TYCM tribal Christians comprehend a different internal world, inspired by and through their mother-tongue, in combining the Christian and tribal cultural and religious worldviews. When we uncover the world of the TYCM tribal mother-tongue, we have made an important gain from the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process.

## **6.2. Re-locating the TYCM Tribal Mother-tongues**

From the above discussion we can see clearly that the tribal mother-tongues have been used as translation tools to introduce Christian beliefs by believers, and that those mother-tongues will not represent the tribal culture or religious tradition but express the doctrinal belief of Christianity. Within the framework of the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM tribal scholars and authors, tribal Christians should be able to dive into the world behind their mother-tongues to respond to this, and to recall, re-locate and re-explain their tribal memories of this formerly hidden and voiceless world. Then the tribal people would be encouraged to use their mother-tongues for the Bible reading process and encourage the tribal elders to recall, to repeat and to reveal the tribal culture and religious heritage which are embedded in the mother-tongues texts, whereas the carryover of meanings and resonances from the ancestral heritage of religion and culture in the words of the mother-tongue Scriptures.

I call this new phase in the TYCM mother-tongue biblical reading the “post-mother-tongue age”. Thus, it has re-located the original role and function of the TYCM tribal mother-tongues with the ordinary tribal readers in the TYCM mother-tongue Bible. I feel that it is necessary to define the meaning of “post-” in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation in order to reveal its new face. This is such a new, important initiative, namely performing this biblical text reading in the mother-tongues using the “Five Steps Reading Processes”, and it provides an opportunity for the tribal readers to think about what they are reading in their mother-tongues.

So I consider that the significance of the “post”-mother-tongue in the first of the Five Steps Reading Processes is that the ordinary tribal readers re-locate the role and function of the tribal languages, and recognize the following features which have emerged from the fourteen tribal reading groups’ activities.

### **6.2.1. The Period of Colonial History Is Over, and the Period of Postcolonial History Has Begun**

The first feature common to the TYCM ordinary tribal readers involved in the post-mother-tongue reading is that they all ceased using their language (or at least only used it covertly) during the period when the ruling government prohibited them from so doing; and that they all then entered the postcolonial period in which they were free to use them.

As the fourteen tribal reading groups proceeded with their Bible reading in their own languages, they realised that this activity clearly underlined the termination of the colonial period which prohibited them from speaking or writing in their mother-tongue; and the beginning of the new period in which they freely used their mother-tongues and phonetic or roman symbols to record their tribal traditions. This was clear proof of their entry into a postcolonial period in which tribal people could use their mother-tongue freely.

In the colonial period, the TYCM felt ashamed to use their mother-tongues because of the pressure from the government and within the education system. The colonizers' education system made TYCM tribal people despise their own tongues as being a sign of barbarity.

Under such a system of pressure from colonial education, tribal people did their best to demonstrate that they were trying to meet the expectations of the colonial government, i.e. to be like the Japanese or the Chinese. They had to ignore or despise their own tribal culture in order to be assimilated by the policies of the ruling government. It was thus that the TYCM had treated their mother-tongue, causing it to lose its original role and function, in order to meet the policy of "one national language" of the Japanese or the Chinese. As Pyuma tribal scholar Sun Ta-chuan suggests the loss or absence of tribal language signs resulted in the erosion of social structures, including their traditions, and thus the tribal people misunderstood, or lost their familiarity with, their own cultures. The new generation now do not recognize their own culture, so the task of the tribal scholars has been to excavate their tribal culture and their mother-tongues for the future of the TYCM tribal people who are now confronted by this situation (Sun 2000b:12).

Donaldson reminds us that, when we face the reality of the TYCM's colonial experience in our Bible reading, "the act of biblical reading has been fraught with difficulty and contradiction for indigenous peoples," and that:

A high price has been paid for the translation of God's Word into native vernacular: spoken language has been forced into the static form of a written, alphabetic system and into the context of a colonizing Christianity. Reading of the translated Bible has produced traumatic disruptions within native societies and eroded what we now call tribal culture. On the other hand, this depressingly long history of victimization should not obscure the ways in which indigenous peoples have actively resisted deracinating processes by Bible reading on their own terms (Donaldson 1999:20-21; cf. 1996; 1992).

In studying the Church history of the TYCM tribal people, we can see that Christianity did not align itself with the colonialist system of the imperialists in entering the tribal villages. On the contrary, it united with tribal people against the colonists and colonialism. We, tribal people, can scarcely imagine Christianity as setting itself on a par with the philosophy and policies of the colonizers (Tukar 1998). The TYCM tribal Christians adopted a spirit of de-colonization in using their mother-tongue to translate the Bible and to express their traditional thoughts. When the TYCM tribal people began to speak their mother-tongues and thus demonstrate their self-confidence and self-recognition, they would become more aware that their mother-tongue existed in a direct relationship with their tribal culture and traditions.

Thus, in the first step of the Five Steps Reading Process, the facilitator guided the TYCM ordinary tribal people to express freely their views in their mother-tongues. This helped the TYCM Christians to relate to the repository of Christian belief through the Bible readings in their mother-tongues, and it also gave a new impetus to the indigenous culture, which is behind the tribal mother-tongues, and to the traditional religious world to form this hermeneutical method for Bible reading. It also highlights the fact that the TYCM tribal mother-tongues entered into the postcolonial phase after passing through the colonial one.

### **6.2.2. A "Writing Era" for the TYCM Mother-tongues**

Some TYCM languages died out during the long colonial period, and others are almost extinct. According to the statistics published by UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization), there are sixteen languages which are dangerously on the verge of vanishing from the list of Taiwanese indigenous languages. The nine which have actually become extinct include Basay, Katangalan, Kulun, Taokas, Papura, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraiya. Six more are in a critically dangerous situation: Kavalan, Pazeh, Amis Nataoran, Thao, Kanakanabu and Saaroa. And Saisiyat dialects are at the “severely endangered” end of the scale. In addition, even the most widely spoken ones, the Tayal, Taroko (Truku), Tsou, Amis, Bunun, Pyuma, Rukai, Paiwan and Yami languages, are distinctly vulnerable.<sup>115</sup>

We were aware that the ordinary tribal people could read and write about the Bible in their mother-tongues when we proceeded with the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process. The completion of Bible translations into mother-tongues we took as a marker that the TYCM tribal people could now begin to use their mother-tongues to write, thus saying goodbye to their purely oral era. Whether or not the TYCM tribal people would actually use their mother-tongues for writing, which is a difficult undertaking, was a matter for debate among the tribal scholars.

We observed and analyzed how the ordinary tribal readers use or write their mother-tongues, from the reports of the fourteen tribal reading groups. We list our findings below:

1. The ordinary readers prefer to express their thoughts orally, committing very little to writing.
2. They like to supplement their mother-tongue either with a Romanised written form (which is how the tribal languages are written), or with a Chinese translation. The advantage of this is that listeners or readers will more easily absorb and learn the vocabulary of the mother-tongue; the disadvantage is that without such an explanation learners may be left unsure of the meaning just from reading the sentences. For example, they translated “Eden” which is from Gen 2:8 as “*Itin*” (Amis), “*Eden*” (Bunun), “*Iten*” (Tayal), “*Iden*” (Sediq and Taroko), but these do not explain what “Eden” means.

---

<sup>115</sup> See the 2009 edition of UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization)’s Atlas, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00206>. One of their tribes is the Sediq, whose mother-tongue is very similar to Taroko which was recognized by the government, but this does not appear on the website.

3. A better way is for them is to write either directly in their mother-tongue or in Chinese. Thus, they could use the Roman way of spelling to write the vocabulary in their mother-tongues and to explain their cultural materials. Previously, they explained orally their internal culture with vocabulary in their mother-tongues; which would help readers to understand the meanings of vocabulary in their tribal cultures. For example, the title of Eden in the biblical texts in the mother-tongues as translated from the Gen 2:8 text, is translated as “*Itin*” (Amis), “*Eden*” (Bunun), “*Iten*” (Tayal), “*Iden*” (Sediq and Taroko) to be the same as Eden, which means the happiness garden without anxiety, and as “*Itin-a palosayan*” (Amis), “*Eden-alinaskalan*” (Bunun), “*Iten-te htgan wagi*” (Tayal), “*Iden-mbulayeq*” (Sediq), and “*Iden-qbliqan*” (Taroko) in the tribal words.

4. One of the writing methods is to use Chinese to express their meaning directly, adding the vocabulary from their mother-tongues in Roman letters or phonetic alphabet. This features in many reports by the ordinary tribal readers. These directly state the original meaning of the mother-tongue then write the vocabulary words in their mother-tongues.

5. Another method is to present the sentence in two languages as a comparison between tribal mother-tongues and Chinese. This is usually the best way to show the sentence structure in their mother-tongues.

6. The last method is for writers to write directly and solely in their mother-tongues, which is seldom used, out of consideration for readers.<sup>116</sup>

In adopting the above contemporary writing methods, the ordinary readers use the colonizer’s characters but add vocabulary from their tribal mother-tongues to explain the meanings, which would be found in works written by TYCM tribal writers.

For example, the work *Tayal Footprint*, by Walis Nokan from the Tayal tribe (1991), *The Mythology of Pa-Tai Bay*, by Syman Rapngan (1992), and *The Amis who Fish the Rainy Shores* by Siyapenjipeaya (1992) adopt the method of comparison between Chinese and the mother-tongue, a bilingual text, with the indigenous language text accompanied by a Chinese translation and with the authors adding some vocabulary in their mother-tongues as a more detailed explanation and description (Boyijernu 1999). The Tayal author, Walis Nokan expresses the importance of writing in the mother-tongues below:

---

<sup>116</sup> We also refer to the written methods of indigenous authors in their mother-tongue.

The starting point for tribal literature is the use of the indigenous languages' own alphabets (whether phonetic or Romanised). If tribal authors do not do this, the TYCM tribal literature will never become part of the mainstream of Taiwan's literature, but remain a tiny tributary. It will never find a place at the centre and will be looked down upon as a mere marginalised curiosity (Nokan 1992a:133).

Works such as the Bible, which were allowed to be completed in the indigenous languages, preceded the coming era of writing in the mother-tongues for the TYCM tribal people. Though most TYCM tribal scholars use the Chinese language and characters for their writing, in addition, they use the listed methods as other strategies. The Bible in their mother-tongue serves as their best reference book. So when we see that the TYCM ordinary tribal people read and write about the Bible in their mother-tongues in the first step of the Five Steps Reading Process, it means that TYCM tribal people have formally arrived in the "written era".

### **6.2.3. A Way to "Discover" the World behind the Tribal Mother-tongue**

The objective of learning and using the mother-tongue is not only that people may be able to pronounce the sounds or to write down the phonetic signs correctly or to lead the tribal people to know their language structure, vocabulary, grammar, and rhetoric, but also, which is more important, that the learners may meaningfully communicate their ancestral culture, traditional religious beliefs, customs, geography, astronomy, tribal history, legendary stories, and rites formerly hidden behind their mother-tongues. These are part of their rich heritage.

When the TYCM ordinary tribal readers began the first step of the Five Steps Reading Process, it emerged very clearly that they could naturally recall their traditional heritage hidden behind the mother-tongue Bible readings.

Walis Nokan, a Tayal writer, believed that by learning their mother-tongue the tribal people would retain their oral history and the memory of their ancestral struggle (Nokan 1997:334). The Tsou scholar Wang Ming-hui claims that the tribal people should be able to use their mother-tongues with confidence as the main way to convey the stories about the land they inhabited, and the characteristics and experiences of their tribes (Wang 1998: 37). Though those three indigenous authors Hushluma Vava,

Walis Nokan and Wang Ming-hui have been accustomed to use Chinese characters for their writings and discourses, they all agree that the tribal mother-tongues play the most important role in connecting with their traditional heritage. The TYCM scholars and writers, as well as ordinary tribal people, rediscover their tribal history and the abundant record of their culture through the medium of their mother-tongue.

Before our activities commenced the TYCM seldom used their mother-tongues to trace their tribal traditional heritage. The reading process of the fourteen groups helped create a hermeneutical space which made possible the tracing of the tribal traditions through the mother-tongues. For example, when the Amis tribal reading groups read the text of Gen 2:24-25, they often mentioned the word “*mararamod*”, which means “wife and husband”. The word “*mararamod*” expresses fully the tribal societal and traditional cultural meanings that the wife and husband are mutual helpers and that they cannot be separated from each other. “*Mararamod*” expresses the concept of gender equality in the Amis traditional matriarchal society, so it would not generate the concept that the woman is the property of the man, or that she is an accessory for the man. On the contrary, we could hear that the women who are ordinary readers proudly recognize themselves as playing an important role in their families. It would help them to recall their other tribal legends when they entered the Third and Fourth steps of the Five Steps Reading Process (please refer to the discussion in the previous chapter).

To take another example: when the tribal people from the Tayal groups read the words “*Ana ga, laxiy balay niqiy qu bway na qhoniq ka pbiq kinbqan squ blaq ki yaqeh; niqun su lga, phoqil su ryax nasa la*”. (“but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die”). (Gen 2:17), it was easy for the Tayal ordinary tribal readers to connect the term “*laxiy balay niqiy*” (“not eat...”) with their traditional taboos. Such situations not only occurred in the Tayal tribe but also in the Amis, the Bunun and the Sediq groups.

The Tayal readers connected with their tribal taboo material when they read the words “*laxiy balay niqiy*” (“not eat...”). They said that the Tayal people would note the tribal taboo concerning the order of seniority for consuming food and drink: that the tribal elders and guests should eat and drink first, then the junior ones after that. Also, the tribal youth could not eat pig or animal meat which is below their feet, as those who did not observe this taboo would fall sick; nor could the tribal elders eat the heads of birds or fish as this would lead to premature ageing. In the farming cycle of planting and harvesting, the tribal people were forbidden to touch the raw hemp, and

even the hemp fabric and woven clothes, to prevent the failure of the next year's harvest. The tribal people would not put out the fire in the stove until the harvest activity was over. The women listed many taboos during pregnancy, such as that they could not eat the meat of monkeys, bobcat and pangolins, or of animals found dead; they could not talk to infertile women, or even touch any article belonging to them; they could not eat bear bile and spicy food; they could not go into crowded places and their family members could not provoke them with words, including unlucky jokes. Some of them said that they would not point at rainbows with their fingers because the rainbow was considered to be a sacred bridge for all tribal people to walk on after their deaths.

When we share with the ordinary readers in reading the biblical text in their mother-tongues in the first step of the Five Steps Reading Process, or when the TYCM tribal elders begin to think and read in their familiar mother-tongues, we find the tribal oral engagements to be inspiring and stimulating. At the same time, we discover in the First Step that the ordinary readers recall, reconstruct and rediscover their cultural heritage, which is hidden behind the mother-tongue they were forbidden to speak in the colonial situation. It is brought to light through the use of the mother-tongue by those TYCM ordinary tribal readers.

#### **6.2.4. The Tribal Mother-tongues Relate to the “Polycentric”& the Multicultural across the Reading World**

When the Bible translations are in the mother-tongues, the TYCM reading in mother-tongues enters a new phase, being linked with the polycentric<sup>117</sup> and multicultural communities across the reading world. The Bible reading for the TYCM tribal people is not only used to understand foreign culture and religion, but also to inspire a variety of worldviews from different tribes of the TYCM. It has led the TYCM tribal people into a new hermeneutic during the Bible phase in the post-mother-tongue age. This means that it did not only inspire the tribal worldview but also created the new situation of rediscovering those tribal readings in conjunction with the polycentric and multi-cultural communities across the reading worlds.

We found this in the activities of the fourteen reading groups. Through these activities

---

<sup>117</sup> The idea of the term “polycentric” comes from a quote about polycentric multiculturalism in Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism Multiculturalism and the Media* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994).

we heard them discuss the different tribal cultures and religious traditions from the Ciwkangan group of the Amis tribe, the Kuphong, Singwu and Nansan groups of the Bunun tribe, the Plngawan group of the Sediq tribe, the Pyanan and Kngayan groups of the Tayal tribe, and the Tpuqu group of the Truku tribe. The main reason for this wider perspective is that those tribes in Taiwan had intermarried for a long time, so we could hear the similar ways they used their mother-tongues among them and the different views from their separate cultures and religious traditions. So there was no opportunity during this research process to actually bring the fourteen participating tribes together (though that could be a subsequent project), we were able to experience some elements of inter-tribal interpretation.

To take an example here: when we discussed the topic of death with reference to the text of Genesis 2, a daughter-in-law from the Bunun tribe, who married a man in the Tayal tribe, shared her understanding of how the Bunun people used words about “death”, “*mataz*”, in Bunun. The other reading groups from the Bunun tribe mentioned other words for death to add to the discussion, stating that the Bunun people usually use “*mataz*” as the general term meaning death, or “*mudaan*”, which means “gone”. In this case, as we continued the discussion of the topic we found that the Bunun term “*itmantuk*”, mean death of a tribal elders or virtuous death, which is the death during sleep that most Bunun people want their death to be. The Bunun word “*itdahpa*” describes the sick people who take a long time to die or those who die after suffering from an accident. The word “*itkula*” means the people who have met their death through bad luck; and the word “*itsuhis*” describes the still born baby who has died in the mother’s uterus. The word “*Malanghasaz*” describes people who are sick for long time or who commit suicide; the word “*ituu*” means people who commit suicide with poison; the word “*taihasaz*” means people who commit suicide with a gun; the word “*lismushut*” means people who commit suicide by hanging; the word “*kishasaz*” means people who commit suicide with a knife.

We also heard a description from a daughter-in-law of the Sediq tribe who is married to a man from the Truku tribe, who explained how the word “*s-malu*”, “creation” or “doing” is used in other tribes. The root of the word “*s-malu*” is “*malu*”, which means “good”. So the tribal people see that creation is equal with them has a dual meaning, including both the idea of “world” and of “life”. So the meaning of “God’s creation” not only includes the universe, but also covers existing matter, it has an implied meaning, which is “to upgrade the quality of human life”. The other developing words with the root “*malu*” are “*ps-malu*” (“will do”), “*mps-malu*” (“planning to do”), and “*sm-malu*” (“be doing”). Here we may have the hinted

meaning of how tribal people see “God’s creation” (“*s-malu*”)<sup>118</sup> including its past, present and future tense. In the Sediq tribe, the tribal people understand “*s-malu*” as the essence of doing, which covers whatever tenses belong to the behaviour of the creation of God.<sup>119</sup>

From the above we may conclude that when the tribal readers engaged in the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process, they felt more secure in their recalling and exploring the world after reading the Bible in their mother-tongues. At the same time, the participants listened patiently to the other world-views emerging from the discussions of different tribal groups, so such activity does not only lead to a mono-centric mother-tongue reading but also to polycentric and multi-cultural readings in mother-tongues. In addition, we realized that this phenomenon occurred right across the tribal groups when the traditional Bible reading was carried out by different groups in their mother-tongue. Hushluma Vava from the Bunun tribe said that the indigenous people’s special way of thinking would be more abundantly revealed through their familiar mother-tongues (Hushluma Vava 1997).

We established four points from the activity in the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process. We saw that the TYCM tribal people, after the publication of the Bible in their mother-tongue, would try to avoid the traditional ways of using their mother-tongue to describe their biblical beliefs. And we also found that when they immersed themselves in the biblical text reading in the post-mother-tongue age, they were able, by employment of the mother-tongue, to rediscover a hidden world.

### **6.3. The Case text: Re-reading Genesis 2:4b-25 with TYCM Languages**

In addition to the above, I would like to list the reading results from the discussion among those fourteen tribal reading groups: the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq the Tayal, and the Truku, and to describe how the TYCM ordinary tribal readers proceed in the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process. This will help us understand better how those ordinary tribal readers expressed their TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, in response to their concern for the survival of their language in the midst of the indigenous postcolonial situation of their TYCM tribal mother-tongues.

---

<sup>118</sup> The term “*s-malu*” can be a verb, and a noun.

<sup>119</sup> Here I would like to respectfully thank the elders from the Pulan reading groups for their ideas.

The main participants in the tribal reading groups are the ordinary tribal people, including their tribal elders, and some trained tribal people and ministers. I called those fourteen fellowship groups, which gathered from 2006 to 2009, the “tribal reading groups” and I still keep in touch with some of them today:

<b><u>Tribe</u></b>	<b><u>Village/Church</u></b>
Amis Tribe	Tisalo*, Ciwkangan*, Molisaka
Bunun Tribe	Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Singwu, Nansan
Sediq Tribe	PIngawan*, Pulan*,
Tayal Tribe	Pyanan, Kngayan
Truku Tribe	Tpuqu, Pratan

< \* : An asterisk indicates that the discussions were held, not in a Church, but in a home or some public meeting place>

The participants in all 14 tribal reading groups are all ordinary tribal people, male and female alike, ranging in age between 35 and 90 but with the majority in the age range 55 and 70. More females than males are usual in all groups. Their education level is mostly elementary. There are more high school graduates and even college level ones among 55 and under. It is my observation that younger people are less able to use their mother-tongue, yet most of the age 55 or above can use their mother-tongue fluently in both speech and discussion. Only those of in the range of 60-90 years old people are fully able to express their viewpoints on the knowledge and interpretation of their tribal culture and tradition. But the younger generations at times have good observations as well as good participation generally.

In order to proceed with the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process, the facilitator must follow the guide for the First Step Reading Process and remind the readers that they are invited to use their mother-tongues for biblical text reading (see discussion in previous chapter). They should also pay attention to understanding the vocabulary, sentence structure and appropriate words in their mother-tongue biblical texts, which have the same or a similar meaning to the tribal mother-tongues that they used or did not use in their tribal villages. In addition, they should think how to translate the original words and sentences of the Bible into their mother-tongues, in order to express the meaning accurately.

So I intend to separate this explanation into two parts. The first part discusses the

different meanings of the biblical text in both mother-tongues and Chinese. This is (in order) to see if the direct translation from the Bible in Chinese into the mother-tongue language could have extracted different meanings (from the Chinese translation) or not. The discussion topics on the biblical text however are focused on the mother-tongues. Because the reading groups from the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal and the Truku have focused on the discussion of Gen 2:4b-25, this chapter only covers the first part.

For the purpose of this thesis, Gen 2:4b-25 is selected as the biblical text which will be read by each of the participating groups. Furthermore, I will report only on those sections of this text that are directly related to the five most significant themes that arose from the group discussions. In each case consent was obtained from each participating group, and those taking a facilitating role were trained by me (using the guidelines discussed above). As indicated, most of this material was also shared directly with the group, so that they too became agents in the reading process. As each group became more familiar with the method, my role was taken over by those who had been selected by the groups and trained as facilitators.

The second point covers my further research to unearth the most important vocabulary from the Bible in their mother-tongues; I will also list some tribal traditional texts which generated the discussion topics for this part. We know already that different tribal mother-tongues contain different worldviews implied within the tribal languages. For this section, taking into account their concentration on their mother-tongue readings, we need to distinguish between the different tribes: the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal, and the Truku, to demonstrate how tribal people use their mother-tongues to read the biblical texts first, and, then, how they re-read those texts in the light of their mother-tongues. In this process, we will discover that the TYCM ordinary tribal people have already created their appropriate readings and can uncover the different topics, even though they have not yet moved to the Second Step, when they read and touch on their cultural and religious traditions, now elucidated by the mother-tongue.

### **6.3.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups**

#### ***6.3.1.1. Amis Mother-tongue Biblical Text***

*“Awaayho ko talod ato kilang, awaayho ko dateng, nawhani caay ho pa’oraden no*

*Kawas, awaay ho ko maomahay a tamdaw*". "No weeds and trees, also no wild herbs, because there is no rain and no working farmers in Heaven". (2:5) This is the Amis translation of the passage and it refers to the fact that four elements have not yet appeared in nature: "*talod*" ("weeds"), "*kilang*" ("trees"), "*dateng*" ("wild herbs"), "*pa'oraden*" ("rainwater"), and also "*maomahay a tamdaw*" ("the farmers") (Tisalo<sup>120</sup>).

*"Nikawrira, mapowar ko nanom a masadak nai lalinik no sra a misnger to kakahaday a sra*". "However, the underground water sprays and soaks large areas of land" (2:6) There is no description of "mist", but underground "*nanom*" ("water"), and the underground water "*mapowar*" ("sprays"), "*misnger*" ("soaks") the large areas of land (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, and Molisaka).<sup>121</sup>

*"Itin a palosayan"* "the garden of Eden" (2:15). "*Palosayan*" is the "garden" full of flowers and trees. "*pakamaomahen Ningra cingra a papisimaw toya palosayan*". "God made him do farm work and manage (or look after) the garden". (2:15) During the discussion, the Amis readers mentioned the words "repair" and "guard" as being the translation they found for the term "manage" used in the Chinese Bible (Ciwkangan<sup>122</sup> and Molisaka<sup>123</sup>).

*"Aka ka komaen kiso, ano komaen kiso i, caay ka 'ca ka patay kiso toya romi'ad," han Ningra*". "Do not eat, if you eat it, you will die that day". (2:17). They talked about the fact that Adam and Eve must die the day they ate the fruit. However, Adam and Eve did *not* die after they ate the fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Tisalo and Molisaka).

*"Awaay ko ccaccay aca to matatodongay a malo cafay ningra to papadama cingraan"*. "No one is suitable to be his (Adam's) friend to help him," (2:20). The "*cafay ningra*" implies that "his friend" or "his partner" could help him. They mentioned that Eve is not just "a friend" or "his partner", but that she is a "helper" (Ciwkangan).

To begin with, when they read in their mother-tongue, the tribal readers reflect

---

<sup>120</sup> Quoted from the Tisalo tribal reading group which gathered in the Tisalo tribal village house, not in the Church, on May 29, 2008.

<sup>121</sup> The Tisalo, Ciwkangan, and Molisaka groups of the Amis tribal reading groups had the same opinion about this verse.

<sup>122</sup> Quoted from the Ciwkangan tribal reading group in the Ciwkangan tribal village on May 10, 2007.

<sup>123</sup> Quoted from the Molisaka tribal reading group in the Molisaka Presbyterian Church on May 24, 2007.

appropriately on the reading to relate what is meant to their cultural and religious traditions, thinking about the words, sentences, or the symbols of the biblical text. For them, especially when they use their mother-tongue to read the biblical text, they link them up very easily with their cultural and religious traditional backgrounds to re-read the text, as in the above example.

### **6.3.1.2. Reading with an Understanding of the Amis Mother-tongue**

Next, I would like to record some views expressed at the meetings of the Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka groups as a result of their reading the biblical texts in mother-tongues, the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process.

#### **6.3.1.2.1. “In the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens” (RSV, Gen 2:4b)**

The readers belonged to Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka groups of the Amis tribe who employ the word “*kawas*”, which is the comprehensive term for “ghost, heaven or spirit”, the invisible and untouchable being who gives blessings to the tribal people. So the priest, named “*si-kawas-ay*”, is the medium for communicating between the “*kawas*” and the tribal people. The readers of the Ciwkangan group mentioned that priests would call on three “*kawas*”, named “*Dugi*”, “*Tuas*”, and “*Aisidan*” or “*Kursut*” when they were performing healing rites. The spirit named “*Dugi*” is a female deity who gives life; the spirit named “*Tuas*” is for family ancestors; the spirit named “*Aisidan*” or “*Kursut*” are guardians of priest who have died. The above list indicates that “*kawas*” means “ghost, heaven or spirit”. In the tribes of the Amis, they use the term “*kawas*” to represent the term we translate as “God”, and this is the term used in the Amis Bible. They also use “*Tapang a Kawas*” to mean the Leader of Spirits, which is equal to the term for “God” mentioned in the Bible (Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka).

In the tribal mother-tongues world, the tribal people do not have words to describe “the world”, so they use words, such as “*tahaf no kakarayan i*” to represent it as a “cover for the sky” to include all existence in the world. They also point out that monotheism does not exist in Amis beliefs but that their belief is in multi-theism, which means they believe that several spirits manage the world. The word “*Kawas*” or “*Tapang a Kawas*” is used by the Church and the Bible translations as the closest

term in their mother-tongues to represent the “God” mentioned in the Bible (Ciwkangan and Molisaka).

**6.3.1.2.2. “Then the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being”. (RSV, Gen 2:7)**

The readers who belonged to groups such as the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka, from the Amis tribe, commented on the fact that “God blew air into the nostrils of a mud man figure to change it into a human being”. For them, the air was like giving life to the human being. In addition, they thought that the true characteristic of being a human being was breath. The readers of the Molisaka group said that this sentence would be translated as “After God created human beings from the mud man figure, God blew air into the nostrils of this mud man figure to give it life to become alive” (Tisalo and Molisaka).

The readers of the Tisalo group mentioned one of their own legends, a story similar to the Biblical one about God creating human beings. But they said that their tribal legend does not read like the story in the Bible: the tribal legend mentions that there were male and female spirits, who fell to earth from heaven, and they gave birth to children. They went back to heaven because of a flood on the earth, leaving behind a man named Gura and a woman named Nakaw who got married and became the ancestors of the Amis tribe. They thought that the ancestors of the Amis were offspring of these spirits who were able to thrive on earth. The readers did not interpret this traditional legend as meaning “God created human beings”, but they all agreed that the behaviour of the human beings in not following the will of God was much the same as the story of the Amis legend. So they believe that the purpose of the human existence is to live upon the earth and follow the will of God (Tisalo).

**6.3.1.2.3. “Then the LORD God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him”. (RSV, Gen 2:18)**

The Lord God said “Human beings cannot live alone, I should create a partner to help him”. God had said similar words at the time of creation (“let us make man in our own image”). The readers who belonged to the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka groups from the Amis tribe mentioned that although the Amis tribe is a matriarchal society, the tribal women respect men also. Co-operation is important

between women and men, especially so that roles would not be duplicated. The women see that they cannot intervene and do the jobs belonging to men, which is a taboo in tribes. The wife and the husband should help each other at home so that their children would receive blessings from God, and their family would be happy forever (Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka).

The sentence in the mother-tongue *“malo cafay ningra to papadama”* means “become a friend and an assistant to him”. The wife and husband should become good friends to help each other mutually, so that their partner does not feel alone. The Molisaka reading group mentioned a tribal legend which warns that a wife and husband should respect and help each other, and that the mother-in-law must not mistreat her son-in-law or she will die a lonely death. It is said that a tribal man married and lived in his wife’s house, and though he worked hard could not win recognition from his mother-in-law. The man could not stand it so he said that he wanted to leave the house, but his wife was pregnant and loved the man very much. So she left the house together with her husband, and she gave birth to many lizards half-way up a mountain. Her husband, even though he tried to comfort her, abandoned her; she was desolate that she could not win back her husband’s heart. In the end she jumped into a gorge to die, and the man did not live long before death. The tribal readers see such a story as teaching them that wife and husband should respect and help each other mutually, even though the son-in-law lives at his wife’s house (Molisaka).

**6.3.1.2.4. *“Then the man said, “This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man”.*” (RSV, Gen 2:23)**

The sentence in the mother-tongue *“Sowal sa koya tamdaw, “O nano 'oka ako a'okak konim, o nano hci ako a hci konini, o “Fafahiyan” han ako cingra, nawhani nai fa'inayan cingra a masadak,” saan”* would translate “that man said “your creation was from my bone as rib and flesh of my flesh, she shall be called woman and she was taken out from man” (Molisaka).

The readers of the Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka groups from the Amis tribe all agreed that such a sentence was sickeningly disgusting; the tribal women felt particularly embarrassed to talk about it publicly in front of their husbands. The readers of the Ciwkangan and Molisaka groups shared that the Amis women would

woo their desired men and actively place peanuts or love tokens in the lover bag carried by men. The Amis women would even live in the house of the men to win recognition from the men's family members. After they married and the man moved into the woman's family home, the man had to take responsibility for hunting, fishing, house construction and fighting in tribal wars. The woman was to be the leader at home, managing property and inheritance, and when she bore children they adopted the family name of their mother. Clearly, the Amis men play the role of protector and perform heavy workloads, while the women bear the burden of taking care of the home life and the family property (Ciwkangan and Molisaka).

The women think that the words spoken between a man and wife in the bedroom are private, but the male readers hold to the contrary view, that these words can be repeated when men are together, to exaggerate how good their wives are. The women from the Ciwkangan group expressed their opinion about sentences such as "she is my woman" or "she was taken out of Man"; they find these descriptions unacceptable. Those women think that all lives are born of women, and protected and fostered by them. But the men joked saying that women cannot have children when they have no men (Ciwkangan).

***6.3.1.2.5. Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh. (RSV, Gen 2:24)***

The sentence "*liyasen no tamdaw ko wama ato wina ningra a malaccay ato fafahi ningra, omalacayayto ko tireng nonini a tatosay*" translates as "then, the man will leave his parents and find a suitable woman with whom to live together, and both become one body". The readers of the Tisalo and Molisaka groups record the Amis word "*Mararamod*", which means "mutually suitable", and "two ones in one" when they read this sentence, with a similar meaning to that of "wife and husband". Someone cited the word "*pataloma*", in which the "*pata*" means "do" and "make", and "*loma*" means "family", so married couples are responsible for building the family (Tisalo and Molisaka).

They say that the Amis tribal tradition is that of a matriarchal society, in which the men leave their parents to marry their wives (as mentioned in Bible). This type of marriage is seen as being similar to that of the traditional social and marriage system in the Amis tribe, with the tribal young men leaving their parents to train themselves

to be independent in a “youth training room” receiving the required training for four years to become the *“kapahl”*. On completion of this they are qualified to be candidates for marriage. Then they find the women they love, get married and live together. Some women also said that women should look for properly trained *“kapahl”* to become their sons-in-law. Youths designated *“kapah”* should have the characteristics of perseverance, bravery, and responsibility, and they should learn other skills, such as hunting, fish net weaving, fishing, and weaving of other essential articles, such as carrying-baskets and appliances. When the women’s family select the son-in-law of their choice at the annual harvest festival, the tribal women dance with the men, then the women’s family present the *“ongto”* (“pipe”), *“safifin”* (“towel”), *“benut”* (“takid”) and *“kadag”* (“bracelets”) as love gifts for the men (Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka).

In a case where a young man likes a girl, they would each inform their parents. The young man would go to the girl’s home to carry out household chores and do agricultural work. For example, the young man could weave articles, pile rice or do some farm work. He does not live in the girl’s house, but goes back home after sunset. Such a period is not of fixed duration, and would last until both sets of parents decide when the marriage can take place and when the young man can become a member of the girl’s family. They mentioned that when the young man is lazy and does not give satisfaction to the girl’s family, the girl’s side will tell him to pack up his clothes and related articles and get out of her house (Tisalo, Ciwkangan and Molisaka).

When Amis ordinary tribal people use their mother-tongue to read the biblical text, it can clearly help them to become “real” readers, connecting with their cultural and religious traditions and enabling them to think about what the biblical text means to the Amis tribe. Ciwkangan and Molisaka of the Amis reading groups like to talk about the meaning of their tribal text, but the facilitator should ask them if they want to go on to do that in the next step.

### **6.3.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups**

#### **6.3.2.1. Bunun Mother-tongue Biblical Text**

The sentence, *“Sasbinaz Dihanin masa kitngab kauni dalah dihanin mas minihumis”*, means “Then the King of gods creates life on the earth and in the heavens in the beginning”. (2:4b). The readers said that there is more of an implication of *“kitngap”*

(“beginning”) in the Bunun mother-tongue biblical text than there is in the Chinese Bible (Ququaz<sup>124</sup> and Sinapalan<sup>125</sup>).

The sentence, “*haitu aiza danum maisna sia dalah san’apav, patal’azungung mas tastu dalah*,” means “Therefore, there is a sudden gush of water out of the earth to moisten the whole land”. (2:6) In the Bunun biblical text this passage uses the word “*danum*” (“water”), rather than the word “mist”. In addition, it describes “a sudden gush” of the water from the soil” (Ququaz and Singwu<sup>126</sup>).

The sentence, “*Dalah hia patalian saichia mas vaivivaivi mananau’az tu lukis, kalas mas masial kaunun tu las*” means “a variety and good-looking trees grow on the land) (2:9). The Bunun reading groups observed that their text says “a variety of good-looking trees grow on the land”, rather than that the Lord God forced the land to grow a variety of good-looking trees. But the Chinese Bible says, “And out of the ground the Lord God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight” (Kuphong<sup>127</sup> and Singwu).

The sentence, “*Maza bununa hai izaun mas Sasbinaz Dihanin mapisia Eden alinaskalan chia, saia hai punghumaun pasaipuk mas alinaskalan chia*”, means “the King of gods took the person and set him in the garden of Eden, and asked him to take care of this happy place”) (2:15). In the Chinese Bible, it states that “the people should repair and guard” the garden of Eden, but in the Bunun biblical text, it says, “to take care of” this happy place (Nansan<sup>128</sup>).

The sentence, “*kasu mais minaun hai namataz tutupa*”, means “If you eat, you will die” (2:17b). “*Namataz tutupa*” means “will die” which is not as specific a meaning as “definitely will die”, there is a hint that the action would not necessarily result in death. (Ququaz and Singwu).

The sentence, “*sinsinaipuk, hazam, mas takismut hai pachinganan amin saichia*”, means “livestock, birds, and the underbrush beasts of whom the people take care”

---

<sup>124</sup> Quoted from the Ququaz reading group which met in the Ququaz Presbyterian Church on Jan 27, 2007.

<sup>125</sup> Quoted from the Sinapalan reading group which met in the Sinapalan Presbyterian Church on May 22, 2008.

<sup>126</sup> Quoted from the Singwu reading group which met in the Singwu Presbyterian Church on June 4, 2009.

<sup>127</sup> Quoted from the Kuphong reading group which met in the Kuphong Presbyterian Church on May 8, 2008.

<sup>128</sup> Quoted from the Nansan reading group which met in the Nansan Presbyterian Church on May 14, 2009.

(2:20a). They think that all the livestock, birds, and beasts were cared for, handled by the people and belong to the people, according to the Bunun text (Sinapalan).

The sentence, “*haitu uka tu tachini madadu uskunan at mahtu mindangaz saichia*” means “Well, there is no one together with him to support him” (2:20b). As already discussed, they refer to the man not having “an assistant” who was “fit for him” as it states in the Chinese Bible, but the Bunun text says “one who can be together with him and support him” (Nansan, Singwu, and Ququaz).

### **6.3.2.2. Reading the Biblical Text from a Bunun Point of View.**

In the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process, the readers from the Bunun groups—Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Singwu, and Nansan, discussed the following features of the text, when they read the biblical text in the sense of their Bunun mother-tongue.

#### **6.3.2.2.1. “Then the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being” (RSV, Gen 2:7)**

The Bunun readers drew attention to the words “*Sasbinaz Dihanin*”, which represents their most adored god of heaven, *Dihanin*, who is the master of all human beings. In the Bunun cultural sense, the meaning of the term “*Dihanin*” includes heaven, the sky, spirits, calendar days, weather terms, and the universe. The “*Dihanin*” watches the behaviour of each person and sends curses and blessings on people (Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, and Nansan).

The Bunun people fear *Dihanin*, so they did not discuss this topic in detail. They said that the Bible would help them to know God, and that human beings should look in awe upon God and face Him with thankful hearts. Some readers think that the God of the Bible is the same as the “god of heaven” whom their Bunun ancestors believed in, so they use the word “*Dihanin*” to mean that. But some claim that the term “*Sasbinaz Dihanin*” (“the king of heaven”) is used in the Bible to point up the difference between this new “God” and the old god “*Dihanin*” (Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Singwu, and Nansan).

The word “*is’ang*” means “the heart”. In the Bunun tribal mother-tongue, “*is’ang hia*

*pakasainun sia isaichia tu ngutus maip*” can be translated as “then God blew into his nose heartily”, and then “*saia hai min’uni aizan mas is’ang mihumis tu bunun*” translates as “that he would have that heart to become a living person”. The Bunun Bible does not use the word “*is’ang*” for “heart”, nor does it express “the breath of life”. If it wanted to be authentic, it would need the word “heart” to indicate that the people are alive, because “heart” is an engine to keep people moving. So, living people have hearts which operate people’s activities. Without hearts, it means death, because the heart stops running (Kuphong and Singwu).

**6.3.2.2.2. “Then the LORD God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an assistant fit for him”. (Gen 2:18)**

In the Bunun groups, they all discussed “the solitary life” as the cause of God wanting to create another person to be this person’s partner. The aboriginal word for “solitary life” is “*nitu masial*”, which means “not good” or “not happy”, it means that God wanted people to live happily on the earth. Having a partner to help the other is the main reason why God created one partner for this person (Ququaz, Kuphong, and Nansan).

In the Sinapalan group, the readers referred to their tribal legends when they discussed the term “*uskunan*”, which means partner, because the “relationship” definition of “*uskunan*” is more familiar than “*kaviaz*”, which means “friend”. The following story was told among the Bunun people: A long time ago, a loving couple gave birth to a lovely boy, but the wife died after suckling her baby. She told her husband to take good care of their son, so the husband asked for assistance from his neighbours to nurse the baby. It was regarded as strange for a mother to nurse any baby who was sick or dying, so no one dared to help that man. The tribal elders ordered the man to take his baby to the wilderness to avoid any harm coming to the tribe. The man used his Bunun warrior coat to wrap his son in and hid him in a bush on a remote mountain. One day, the man returned to see his baby, and found that he had changed into a beautiful snake with stripes similar to his Bunun warrior coat. The snake’s was a “cottonmouth”. The cottonmouth told his father, “I am your son, so you should protect me and my offspring: we would like to be friends with the Bunun people; though we are poisonous snakes, we won’t bite them; but bad people and the enemies of the Bunun we will bite. We hope that the Bunun people will send us back to the bush if we are ever in trouble. This is the reason why the Bunun tribal people named the cottonmouth “*ka-viaz*”, which means “friend” (Sinapalan).

During the meetings with all the Bunun reading groups in the Church, we discovered that they enjoyed using their mother-tongue to think about the meanings of the biblical texts. Their minister or trained readers also joined in with them. They seemed to feel more confident discussing the text in their mother-tongue(s), except for some young tribal people who seldom speak in their mother-tongue.

### 6.3.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups

#### 6.3.3.1. Sediq Mother-tongue Biblical Text

The sentence, “*dxeran we uka qhuni ma uka spereq*” means “there were no trees and grass upon the earth” (2:5). The terms “trees and grass” encompass all the plants on the ground. There is no mention of “wild” and “field”, but only “the earth” in the text in the Sediq Bible (PIngawan<sup>129</sup> and Pulan<sup>130</sup>).

The sentence, “*Keya ka keya ma msqbqeqboq mnkala dxeran klaali ka qsiya ni gmhureq kana dxeran*” means “therefore, it spurted water from underground every day to make the earth wet” (2:6). It reveals that “water spurted from under the ground”, but the Sediq Bible does not define this water as “mist” coming from underground. (Pulan).

The sentence, “*Utux Baro Bukung we pgblequn na peeneq Edeng qbleqan*” means “God, king in heaven, asked him to take care of the garden of Eden carefully” (2:15). The passage added “*pgblequn*” (“carefully”), and its meaning is not only “carefully”, but also “nicely”, “regretfully”, or “respectfully”. It implies that God has prepared everything that the people need in the garden, by which God expresses His love for the people (PIngawan and Pulan).

The sentence, “*Uqun su ciida de, ida su emphuqin*” means “You will die when you eat on that day” (2:17). The meanings of the words “*ciida*” and “*ida*” are definitely “death of the people when they eat” in the Sediq text (Pulan).

The sentence, “*uka ana kingan ka so mneglengu thiqa na ma mdayo heya*”, means “no one is suitable to be together with the man to help him” (2:20). The word

---

<sup>129</sup> Quoted from the PIngawan reading group which met in the PIngawan tribal village on Jan 25, 2007.

<sup>130</sup> Quoted from the Pulan reading group which met in the Pulan tribal village on Jan 23, 2007.

“*thiqan*” (“together”) translates as “companion”, also as “in contact”, or as “united”. It describes the relationship between the people that God wants to create for them which is not only friendship, but also the relationship of marriage (Pngawan and Pulan).

### **6.3.3.2. Reading the Biblical Text from a Sediq Point of View**

We found points of similarity between the views expressed by the Sediq and Truku reading groups, which is probably due to their cultural traditions overlapping. Thus we found several parallel reading results when the readers engaged in reading the Biblical text in their mother-tongues.

#### **6.3.3.2.1. “Then the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being”. (RSV, Gen 2:7)**

The sentence, “*Yupan na hengak knuudus ka muhing na ma muudus ka seedeq da*” means that “God blew the breath of life into his nose, then he became a living person” (2:7). There is no word “into” in the passage, but “directly blew in to the people’s nose” is a colloquial phrase in the Sediq mother-tongue (Pngawan and Pulan).

Some readers from the Pngawan and Pulan groups in the Sediq tribe listed phrases such as, “*mangan bengux dxran*”, which means “take dust from the earth” and “*hengak knuudus*”, which means “the living breath” as points of interest for discussion. When they discussed the phrase “*mangan bengux dxran*”, meaning “take dust from the earth”, the readers from the Pulan group asked, “Why should men should be buried in the earth?”, with the presupposed answer, “Because God created human beings from dust”. Someone asked, “Why were human beings created from dust but not from the earth?” Other readers replied that “Dust is easier to sculpture, in God’s estimation” (Pngawan and Pulan).

Some of them thought that the word “*hengak*”, which means “breath”, and that “*knuudus*”, which means “living” are together necessary for human beings to exist; that human being could not live without one of them. The readers from the Pulan group said that “the breath of man” is given from “*Utux Tmninun*”, so the man will die when *Utux Tmninun* terminates his work of weaving and when the man lacks “*hengak*” and “*knuudus*”. The readers from the Pngawan group asked why man has

a soul; thinking that the main reason was that man got the “breath of life” from God to become a living human being with a soul. When the dead man has no breath of life then the soul will return to God. Someone said the place named “*Tuxan*” means the “living place with God”. In addition, readers of the Plngawan and Pulan groups talked about the topic of death, but they agreed to place this topic in the Third Step after discussion with the facilitator (Plngawan and Pulan).

**6.3.3.2.2. “And the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, in the east; and there he put the man whom he had formed”. (RSV, Gen 2:8)**

The readers from the Plngawan and Pulan groups believed that the phrase “*Ideng qubuleyaq*” could also be simply “*qubueleyaq*”, “a place not existing in the world”. It is a place for the saints and the spirits of the ancestors to live in. So if we do not commit any faults or errors, and live with integrity, we will go there following our death. But they also think that we will go there to live with our ancestor spirits when the “*Utux Tmninun*” stops weaving our life. The spirits live there free from anxiety, sickness, and pain and enjoy peace, pleasantness and happiness (Plngawan and Pulan).

The readers from the Pulan group also mentioned the phrase, “*Ideng qubuleyaq*” as meaning “the place for Adam and Eve”, or “the ancestral spirits’ living place” from the tribal legends. The ancestral spirits’ house for the Sediq tribe is not in “*Iden*”, but is located at the end of “*Hako Utux*”, or “a spiritual bridge”. However, they did not talk very much about such topics (Pulan).

**6.3.3.2.3. “Then the LORD God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an helper fit for him””. (RSV, Gen 2:18)**

The sentence, “*murux bi kndesan na ka seedeq nii ge uxe malu*” could be translated as “the people’s life which was very lonely and was not good”, like the feeling of sorrow and regret that parents at home would have for their unmarried son or daughter. The parents will do their best to find marriage opportunities for their children who are of proper marriageable age. The readers from the Plngawan and Pulan groups think that God does not like man to be lonely; therefore, men must find a suitable person to help build their family, one who will meet with God’s approval. It is similar to the tribal tradition of the Sediq, which does not allow a single man or woman to stay at home.

Many readers agreed with this view. But some women from the Pulan group think that God did not mean that loneliness is unfortunate or a consequence of crime, but rather that He said, “*uxe malu*”, which means “not good”. It is an instruction to people that they should not live alone for their whole lives (Pngawan and Pulan).

The readers from both the Pulan and the Pngawan group think that the wife is the proper partner, “*muteheyaq tuhuy*”, “the person who fits together” and “*mudayo*”, “assistant”, and they also think that such a confirming description is not only seen in the biblical text for “wife” with regard to a “husband”, but also that it proves the husband and wife are complementary to each other., assisting one another. The couple will build a family to fulfil the will of God (Pngawan and Pulan).

The readers from the Pngawan group also mentioned that they used to see lonely individuals in the tribe, such as widows and women without facial tattoos. Due to the fact that tribal men liked to marry women with facial tattoos in order to follow the tribal tradition, the tribal women without face tattoos would live alone their whole lives and their souls could not go to the home of the ancestral spirits to live there together with them (Pngawan).

**6.3.3.2.4. “Then the man said, “This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man”. (RSV, Gen 2:23)**

The readers from the Pngawan and Pulan groups, which belong to the Sediq tribe, would read the sentence as “*buuc pneyah buut mu ma heyi pneyah heyi mu*”. which means “the bone from my bone and the flesh from my flesh” to describe the “*mqedin*” (“woman”). The tribal people of the Toda clan called women “*gridin*” because the pronunciation is similar to the word “*mridin*” meaning “distortion”, so some tribal men use that as a way of commenting on the low social status of women. In the traditional society of the Sediq, the men hold the majority of the tribal resources, marginalizing women, and women do in fact occupy a lower place in Sediq society. The Sediq women agreed with this point that they should respect the men’s opinions and make a family and stay at home with their men. The sentence, “the bone from my bone and the flesh from my flesh” from the Sediq Bible expressed for them that their tribal society and their traditional tribal values were patriarchal (Pngawan and Pulan).

The Sediq readers thought the sentence “*kesun mu muwe ngayan*” (“so that I give the

name”) exactly corresponded to their tribal women’s role and social class in their tribe. The Sediq tribal women change their family names to be the same as their husband’s after their marriage and remove their original one. For example, if a woman’s original name is Temi Ulay, and she marries a man named Temu Watan, Watan is actually the name of her father-in-law. She should therefore change her name to Temi Temu, thus removing her original family name. But for the most part tribal people would call the woman by her original name for easier identification (Pulan).

The readers from the Pulan and Plngawan groups listed their views of the sentence, “*yasa heya ge pneyah seno*” (“because she is come out from man”) considering that it emphasized that men are at the centre in Sediq tribal society and this is as it should be, according to their traditional tribal views. The tribal women should respect and obey their men. Some women from the Plngawan group reading this sentence held that it hints that men would look down on the role of women and relegate them to a lower status. But, they argued, men were born from the uterus of women, but men cannot give birth to women. The readers strongly disagreed on that point, and the facilitator, to avoid embarrassment, stopped them and invited them to proceed to the Second Step (Plngawan and Pulan).

Both Sediq reading groups, the Plngawan and the Pulan, held their meetings by the roadside, in front of their houses. Although their minister did not participate in the reading process, yet the lay people enjoyed using their mother-tongue to conduct the discussion among themselves.

### **6.3.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

#### ***6.3.4.1. Tayal Mother-tongue Biblical Text***

“*Trang kbalay squ kwara cinbwanan Utux Kayal ga*” “when the Heavenly God created the whole world”. (2:4b) Thus the verse does not mention that “the heavens” and “the earth” were created by God, but “*kwara cinbwanan*” (“the whole world”) (Pyanan<sup>131</sup>).

“*ana ga mhtuw qsya kahul zik na raw, shuziq squ hiyal*” “So, the water appears from underground”. (2:6) The text does not note the “mist”, but “*qsya*” (“water”)

---

<sup>131</sup> Quoted from the Pyanan reading group which met in the Pyanan Presbyterian Church on April 30, 2009.

(Kngayan<sup>132</sup>).

“*Qaniy balay qu ubuy gluw maku nanak la:*” “This is truly as my companion for myself” (2:23). The “*ubuy gluw maku*”, may be understood as “as my companion”, or “like my partner”, and “*nanak la*” mention that the companion (“*gluw*”) is made only for himself (Pyanan and Kngayan).

“*Bqni kahul bqni maku, hi kahul hi maku*”. “Bone from my bone, the flesh from my flesh” (2:23). This states that the bone and the flesh came “from” the people, but it did not translate as “the bone in my bone, the flesh in my flesh” which the Chinese biblical text does (Pyanan and Kngayan).

“*Pshriq yaba yaya qu mlikuy, musa msqun squ kneril nya, ru p’qutux hi qu lhga*”. “The man departs from his father, and goes with his woman, and together they become one-in-one” (2:24). The passage notes that the “*qu mlikuy*” (“the man”), departs or leaves his father to stress the fact that the man should be independent after his marriage. The concept of “*pshriq*” (“to leave”) in this sentence does not mean that the man does not care about his parents. The phrase, “*ru p’qutux hi qu lhga*” (“they become one-in-one”) does not mean that the man can control the woman, but it emphasizes that the man and the woman need to help each other (Kngayan).

#### **6.3.4.2. Reading the Biblical Text from a Tayal Point of View**

The readers from the Pyanan and Kngayan groups, who belonged to the Tayal tribe, noted the meanings present in the Tayal text as they proceeded with the biblical text reading in the First Step. They commenced discussion of those sentences which are clearly translated differently from those of the Chinese biblical text.

##### **6.3.4.2.1. “Then the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being” (RSV, Gen 2:7)**

The readers from the Pyanan and Kngayan groups shared one of their tribal legends about how the first human being was created, when they discussed the phrase “*musuna mqyanux qu squlid*” (“a living people”). They related that: “A long time ago, the spirit in heaven created heads for the people first and put them on the ground, and

---

<sup>132</sup> Quoted from the Kngayan reading group which met in the Kngayan tribal village on May 28, 2009.

then created legs so that people could walk on the ground”. The facilitator suggested that they postpone this topic to the Third Step and they all agreed to do that (Pyanan and Kngayan).

**6.3.4.2.2. “The LORD God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it”. (RSV, Gen 2:15)**

The phrase, “*aki mqumah ru mlahang squ qmayah qasa*” means “the man should work and keep the field”. The word “*aki*” is a command, which indicates that the person should work and stay in the field that God created for him. The word “*mqumah*”, could translate as “working”, but also as “weeding” (Pyanan).

The readers from the Pyanan group presented their views as they discussed the “*qmayah qasa*” (“the field”), or the “garden of Eden”. They said that men originally did not have to work hard but that they needed to plant a little upon the earth and they would have a grand harvest, providing them with food for a long time. It only required the cooking of one millet seed to provide enough food for four or five people. They did not need to draw water or prepare wood or animal meat. All these things would come at the call of a human. But the situation changed after men disobeyed their ancestors by cooking too many plants (i.e became greedy). So one day a bird (the “*pisetsu*”) flew out of a cooking pot and soared up into the sky; after which men had to work, hunt, hew wood, draw water, and prepare the necessities of life (Pyanan).

**6.3.4.2.3. “But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die”. (RSV, Gen 2:17)**

The sentence, “*niqun su lga, phuqil su ryax nasa la*”, means “if you eat it, you shall die that day”. The verse notes that the time of the death when they eat is on that day. But they also discussed the fact that Adam and Eve did not die when they ate the fruit (Pyanan and Kngayan).

The readers from the Pyanan group discussed the word “*phoqil*”, which means “death”. They shared a legend that told of a woman and a snake emerging from pig dung. The snake asked the woman to wash its body, but the woman refused, so the snake cursed the woman because she would not strip off the snake’s skin and she suffered death (Pyanan).

**6.3.4.2.4. “Then the LORD God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him”. (RSV, Gen 2:18)**

The sentence “*Mbuci mqyanux qu squliq ga ini kbiaq*” means “the people have a lonely life which is not good for them”, and the readers from the Kngayan group talked about the phrase, “*blaq na bes praw squ hiya*”, which means “the good friend to help him”. The husband and wife are friends, who should be like partners helping each other, but the group also said that the wife was made to help man; and that the wife is more stable and capable than the man (Kngayan).

When they discussed the phrase, “*blaq na bes praw squ hiya*”, which means “the good friend to help him”, the readers from the Kngayan group also shared a tribal legend: “A long time ago, there was a lovely couple who lived together. One day, the husband went hunting for and shot a deer, but the deer escaped to swim across the lake. The husband followed it and jumped into the lake and swam, because he was afraid that the other tribal warriors would laugh at his timidity. Sadly, the man was drowned in the middle of the lake because he became exhausted. After waiting a while for her husband to return, the wife went out to look for him. She found his bow and arrow lying on the shore, and she jumped into the lake, hoping to be united with her husband. After that, the tribal people called this lake “Husband-and-Wife Lake as a reminder that couples should respect and love each other (Kngayan).

In the First Step we quickly recognized the difference in mood and atmosphere of the two reading groups. The minister of the Pyanan group participated in the reading process, and we observed that the lay people did not express their opinions as freely as the members of the Kngayan reading group which met in the house of one of its members without their minister being present. As far as language was concerned, both groups were equally at ease using their mother-tongue to discuss the questions.

**6.3.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups**

**6.3.5.1. Truku Mother-tongue Biblical Text**

The sentence “*Yasa ini na pqixi niya na ni ungat ka seejiq mqeepah ur*”, means that “It is not yet raining and there are also no people to work”. (2:5) The phrase, “*ini na*”,

means “because he does not yet”, which hints that it was a drought, or a time when God does not let the rain fall (Tpuqu<sup>133</sup> and Pratan<sup>134</sup>).

The sentence, “*Kiya ka kiya ni msqbqbuq mnkala dxgal kdjiyax ka qsiya ni gmhuriq kana dxgal*”, means “After that, the water come up from the deep underground to wet the earth”. (2:6) The phrase, “*msqbqbuq*” means, “deep underground” where water comes up from the deep underground but not as mist. The word “*qsiya*” means, “water” (Tpuqu and Pratan).

The sentence, “*Kiya ka kiya ni kska dha hiya o ungat ana kingal ka saw mneglngug tthiyun na ni mdayaw hyaan*” means “However, there is no one could be suitable and help for him among them”. (2:20) The word “*mneglngug*” means “suitable or fit”, which hints that the word “*hyaan*”, “him”, means that they are suitable for each other. The word “*tthiyun*”, which means “partner”, “companion”, or “play together” also hints that man would be with that one together, and they would help each other when they faced lonely times (Tpuqu and Pratan).

### **6.3.5.2. Reading the Biblical Text from a Truku (Taroko) Point of View**

#### **6.3.5.2.1. “Then the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being”. (RSV, Gen 2:7)**

The sentence “*Yupan na hngak kneudus ka muhing*” means “blew breath to the nose of the living”. It mentions that God directly blows breath into the nostril of man in the biblical text in the Truku mother-tongue. Though it does not mention the breath entering into the body of man, the man is alive because it has (Pratan).

The readers from the Tpuqu group mentioned a traditional tribal myth when they discussed the topic of “God’s creation of man”: “It was said that there had been a great forest upon earth to shelter it from the sky. A kind of hairy animal with four feet was born to an animal with two feet; after that, two types of animals were born on the tree, the one’s shape was slim, and it could not stand straight but climbed; the other one was light with long arms and could walk upon the earth and fly in the sky. These were the ancestors of animals, birds and men. Then a couple was born from the trunk

---

<sup>133</sup> Quoted from the Tpuqu reading group which met in the Tpuqu Presbyterian Church on June 7, 2008.

<sup>134</sup> Quoted from the Pratan reading group which met in the Pratan Presbyterian Church on April 19, 2008.

of the tree and these were the ancestors of the Truku tribe” (Tpuqu).

**6.3.5.2.2. “But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die”. (RSV, Gen 2:17)**

The phrase, “*ida su emphuqil*” means “You shall die”, but it does not state clearly the time of death; it just says “shall die”. The readers from the Pratan group thought that was why Adam and Eve did not die immediately after they ate the fruit of the good-and-evil tree (Pratan).

They also shared the Truku people’s view of “death”, which is considered to be a very serious topic, when they discussed the word “*emphuqil*”. They stated that family members should not be involved in the care of a sick person before his death; or in the case of one dying through bad luck. But when the deceased was a good person, their family members should dig a hole under the bed to bury the dead person’s body; they should build a new house and do the same thing for the unfortunate dead person to prevent bad luck falling on their family. They mentioned also the traditional regulations concerning the period of mourning, which is three to five days when a wife or husband has died; one month in the case of parents. These regulations forbade all activity including even going hunting (Tpuqu and Pratan).

**6.3.5.2.3. “Then the LORD God said, “It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him” (RSV, Gen 2:18, 20b)**

When the readers from the Tpuquo and Pratan groups talked about the word “*murux*”, which means “lonely”, they felt that this was why God created extra people so that the first person would not feel lonely. Some readers thought that because man is the master of his family, this mean that he would have to bear more responsibility. The readers from the Pratan group regarded the phrase “*mneglngug tthiyun*” as having a meaning connected with their tribal tradition of facial tattoos. Because couples who have facial tattoos get married, they are the “*mneglngug*”, or “suitable to each other” to build a family and to live together (Tpuqu and Pratan).

They described how there was a particular type of prohibition against any close family members marrying, and they said that their marriages were decided by the parents. The desired ones revealed their proposal to others through the

recommendation of the tribal elders, the parents from both sides of the family, and the relatives who visited the house of the girl's side. Before the girl's side could accept the marriage proposal, the desired man could not go to the girl's house to perform farm work until he had gained their approval. The man's side should prepare marriage gifts, such as land, ten to fifteen knives, five axes and other items, to present to the girl's family. The man's side also should kill pigs, with the number to be decided by the girl's side, and invite families and friends to their marriage ceremony and feast. The man's side prepares the *"msbarux"*, which means the needed furniture for the married couple. But the girl's side should prepare gifts of equal value in return, indicating acceptance by their family and friends (Tpuqu and Pratan).

**6.3.5.2.4. *"Then the man said, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man".) (RSV, Gen 2:23)***

They examined the sentence *"buut pnaah buut mu ni hiyi pnaah hiyi mu"* ("bones from my bones, and flesh from my flesh"), in which the word *"pnaah"* ("from") occurs three times, as well as *"buut"* ("bone") and *"hiyi"* ("flesh") and *"pnaah....mu"* ("from my..."). The third time it reads, *"yasa hiya o pnaah snaw hki"*, which means because "she is from man", the woman comes from man. Some male readers made a joke about this, saying "Our tradition is right, our social system is patriarchal so women should obey the men" (Pratan).

But the woman readers objected to the phrase *"Hiya nii o, Kuyuh"*, which means "she is a woman" unlike the biblical "she shall be called" a woman. They did not think that man named woman because the naming right belongs to an individual's parents. They thought that the sentence *"buut pnaah buut mu ni hiyi pnaah hiyi mu"* means that "the man loved the woman, and that man was pleased with the woman". The noun "woman" means that when a man loves a woman, she is willing to take that name and it is not a term of contempt (Tpuqu).

The Tpuqu and Pratan groups were very interested in discussing the traditional role of woman in the tribal villages, maybe because there were more female readers than male.

From the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process in the fourteen groups we see that the reading perspective using their mother-tongue is reflected in the discussion in

many ways. We observed that they pay attention, and are interested, and that they want to know the meaning of their cultural and religious traditions through the reading process with their mother-tongue. Yet we do have to provide them with an absolutely free and open atmosphere in which they are encouraged to recall their tribal traditions. The facilitator has only to ask them the first question, “*Would you like to use your tribal mother-tongue to read the biblical text?* ”, in order to help start the reading process that will make them become “real” readers. It clearly emerged from the above discussions that the ordinary tribal people really appreciated this opportunity, and engaged more closely with their mother-tongues, employing them to reflect on the meaning of the biblical text and on their tribal traditions in the tribal villages.

#### **6.4. Conclusion**

The authentic mother-tongues are the focus of the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process for the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. This attempts to highlight the connection between the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns for their mother-tongue issues in their postcolonial context, especially after TYCM tribal people are given the opportunity to read their mother-tongue Bible in the Church and in the tribal village. The traditional worlds, which were previously hidden behind the tribal mother-tongue, are now gradually discovered and revealed by the ordinary tribal people when they begin to read, to speak, and to think in their mother-tongue. By beginning to read the biblical text with their mother-tongue, it can really help the ordinary people to participate in the reading process and to respond easily to the different topics about which they are reading in the biblical text.

The TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation engages with their understandings and with their interests in re-constructing their own tribal cultural and religious traditions. It is from this mother-tongue centred perspective that the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process can aid the TYCM tribal people. It helps them to reemphasize their tribal cultural and religious traditions through the mother-tongue Bible, with its focus not only on acknowledging the identity of the TYCM tribal people, but also for the TYCM tribal Christians who have returned to their tribal villages. Moreover, the mother-tongue centred perspective in the First Step is for the purpose of ensuring the reading strategy for the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, which identifies a role of the TYCM tribal Christians in their tribal villages. The TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation should begin with the biblical text to guide and to encourage the TYCM

tribal Christians to read their mother-tongue Bible first. Then, they should feel free to re-construct and to connect with their own tribal cultural and religious traditions, which had previously been silenced through their past reading of the biblical text in their mother-tongue. Reading the biblical text in the tribal mother-tongue can also reveal what has happened to the tribal mother-tongue in the postcolonial context in the tribal villages, as mentioned in previous chapters.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation (2) : Re-locating the TYCM Tribal Texts**

#### **7.0. Introduction**

To focus on the mother-tongue from the perspective of the First Step of the Five Steps Reading Process of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, as outlined in the previous chapter, is foundational. In the reading process, according to what we observed in the First Step, we have to provide people with an open, free place, and then we will discover that they really endeavour to engage with share the meaning of their cultural and religious traditions through the reading of the biblical text. In this way, the world of the tribal mother-tongue, which previously lay silent behind the biblical text, was allowed to emerge.

In this chapter I intend to concentrate on the biblical text and research the TYCM tribal text for the Second and Third Step of the Five Steps Reading Process, to provide a link between the Five Steps Reading Process and the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns. This can be highlighted, especially in the process of the biblical reading, to show their postcolonial concerns, in which the TYCM lay people re-search and re-construct the TYCM tribal texts through reading the biblical text in the Third Step with the purpose of identifying the cultural and religious traditions which were ignored in the past.

The key emphasis in this chapter will be on the TYCM tribal texts in the TYCM postcolonial discourse and in so doing to learn something about the TYCM tribal colonial condition. This leads us to ask about the biblical reading method regarding the TYCM tribal texts in order to refresh our minds concerning the primary topics in the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse. What is the most practical method by which we can discover the vitality of the TYCM tribal texts for the TYCM ordinary tribal people in the process of their doing biblical interpretation? How can we use the knowledge of biblical scholars and TYCM tribal biblical scholars to extend the discussion platform for such topics? Finally, we will use the text of Genesis 2:4b-25 again as the textual sample for this chapter.

### **7.1. TYCM Tribal Texts and TYCM Tribal Postcolonial Concerns**

As described in the Taiwan postcolonial situation highlighted in the chapter concerning Taiwan postcolonial discourse, and the colonial writing strategy of TYCM tribal scholars, those who re-called Taiwanese or TYCM concerns about their land left the city to return to their own tribe to live with their tribal people. The TYCM tribal writers and scholars began to record the historical memory they lost during colonialism, and to generate the sense of local identity and the recognition of their communities and their inhabited land. These became part of the strategy which Chen Fang-Ming inspired, the creation of a Taiwanese postcolonial discourse and Taiwanese indigenous de-colonization writing (Chen 2007). Through their Bible readings TYCM tribal Christians contributed their voices to this process, as they tried to recall their lost power and marginalized tribal texts, which they still retained in their bodies and minds.

It is, thus, not surprising that there has been no previous relationship established between the biblical readings and the TYCM tribal texts. The TYCM tribal textual reading was formerly seen as disobedience to their Christian faith and to traditional theology and a departure from the accepted way of Bible reading. It was even seen as a sign of the devil or Satan. At the same time, the traditional tribal members viewed the TYCM tribal Christians as people who had denied their tribal cultural tradition. These realities of the community life began to generate feelings of separation and ignorance.

If we recall the pinnacle point in Taiwanese postcolonial discourse, then we may discover when the Taiwanese experienced a historical amnesia or felt they wanted to avoid facing their own history and culture. In the midst of this Taiwan tribal postcolonial discourse, the tribal culture and traditional heritage were damaged by a colonial system which was transmitted by foreign immigrants, forcing the indigenous people to increasingly forget and abandon their traditions in the colonization process. The indigenous people even began to despise themselves and felt ashamed of their own identity. The TYCM tribal people were converted to Christianity but carried this mind-set over into the Churches, so that they distanced themselves from their own identity and began to use the Biblical text to expel their tribal culture and religious tradition.

We may also recall the examples given in the previous chapters, as suggested by

Walis Nokan, a Tayal tribal scholar, about how the TYCM tribal writers proceeded with their writings under imperial and colonial time. The TYCM tribal people did their best to hide their identity and they did not use any materials related to their indigenous heritage in their works in the colonial time. Walis Nokan thought that this is the reason why the TYCM tribal people's works were almost non-existent in the literary world, since they had to flatter the non-tribal people in order to protect their identities and survive in such a colonial environment (Nokan 1999a:38).

Actually there are many examples of this in the previous chapters, where various means were used to force the TYCM tribal Christians to ignore their own cultural and religious traditions, thereby separating them from their origins.<sup>135</sup> Such methods of biblical interpreting need to be changed too, along the same lines as Walis Nokan demonstrates, carried out by home returning TYCM tribal intellectuals who record the memories of the tribal elders, men and women, in order to locate their tribal traditional texts. This is a key form of de-colonization writing strategy in the context of TYCM tribal postcolonial times.

This is why TYCM tribal Christians should re-locate their traditional tribal texts through biblical reading, although it is not generally considered to be part of the accepted traditional biblical reading strategy. Though Churches and schools are established in the TYCM tribal communities, the biblical readings and educational training from the government are not able to associate with the painful suffering of the TYCM tribal people because they stayed continually in the postcolonial situation. Therefore, it could not be said that normally the TYCM tribal people could re-locate the tribal texts through the biblical reading. I personally think the poem entitled "Bell Ringing" by the blind poet Monanen, who belongs to the Paiwan tribe, expresses very well the TYCM tribal people's feelings about this detachment:

When the "Madam" turns on the light  
It seems that I hear the Church bell ring on a Sunday morning  
And the pure light of the sun shines from Mount. La-La to Mount. Da-Wu  
and into the hearts of the tribe of A-Lu-Wei,  
When the Church bell is ringing,  
Mummy, do you know? Do you know  
That a hypodermic needle with its hormone injection is ending your daughter's  
childhood prematurely?

---

<sup>135</sup> Please refer to the articles in the *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* from indigenous Biblical scholars. <http://61.221.41.151:82/rd/schoolpapers/>.

When the school bell is ringing,  
Daddy, do you know? Do you know  
The pimp's fist is closing your daughter's smiling eyes.?  
Ring the bell again, Reverend Father.  
Will your prayer win back this lost soul's virginity?  
Ring the bell again, my teacher,  
Will it make me smile innocently in the playground again?  
When the bell is ringing again,  
Do you know, my parents, do you know?  
I fervently hope and pray you will ...  
Let me be born again.... (Monanen 1989:16-17).

The above poem hints at the negative roles of Churches and schools which are located in the tribes for the purpose of "education", but the poet sarcastically points out that they do not really understand or identify closely with the TYCM tribal people.

This situation is similar to that of the TYCM tribal Christians' biblical reading in which they are unwilling to consider the association between the biblical texts and postcolonial tribal life. Yet if the TYCM tribal people have so strongly expressed their postcolonial concern that the indigenous people should return to their tribes to recall and to re-locate their traditional tribal texts, why should we not adopt this biblical perspective for our de-colonization reading strategy? This is why we have explored such TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns and thoughts in previous chapters, in order to incorporate this shift of emphasis into the biblical texts reading strategy for TYCM tribal people.

## **7.2. Re-research TYCM Tribal Texts as Biblical Reading Strategy**

TYCM tribal Christians should be able to re-research and re-locate their tribal texts according to their own postcolonial concerns, which they might identify in their biblical reading. Such a method does not only call for the tribal people to return to their own tribes, to learn from their tribal elders (men and women), and to re-research their tribal texts, but also to reveal the de-colonization reading strategy which is the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, in order to reconstruct the voices of the tribal texts through the biblical reading. However, the question remains: How can the experiences of the biblical scholars support the TYCM tribal Christian to uphold their tribal texts by means of their biblical reading? I would like now to explore the views

of Archie Lee, an Asian biblical scholar, Pablo Richard, Robert Warrior, and some TYCM tribal biblical scholars.

### **7.2.1. Cross-textual Biblical Hermeneutics**

The Asian biblical scholar, Archie Lee, who lives in Hong Kong, points out that the biblical reading in Asia inspired a multi-cultural religious perspective for the interpretation of the biblical texts because of their multi-cultural tradition, especially in the social and political struggles and situations in this arena. He claims that such a method of biblical interpretation will allow the community not only to recognize the existence of the living religious tradition in Asia but also, and most importantly, to engage Asians in a cross-textual hermeneutical effort to allow Asian texts such as the Upanishads, Bhagavadgita, the Buddhist scriptures and the Taoist canon to interact with or to confront the biblical texts directly (Lee 1993:38).

He introduced successfully the culture-tradition heritage, which had a bearing on the Asians for their biblical text reading, which revealed the religious texts and culture-tradition of Asians simultaneously in the biblical reading process. This is seemingly different from the traditional biblical interpretation, which holds that the text alone bears its own unique meaning. As an Asian biblical scholar, he declares consistently that the biblical text-alone approach is quite different from traditional biblical interpretation and he admit that it takes a great deal of effort for him to challenge the world of biblical scholarship to accept this special Asian method as a viable means of doing biblical interpretation. He thinks that the biblical readers should ask the following questions when they read the biblical texts:

Whose story is it? Who is telling it? For whose benefit is it expressed?  
Who stands to gain and who will suffer as a result of the narrating?  
What other stories are being suppressed? Are there any other silent voices? In brief, what are the power dynamics inherent in the inscribing of the text? How do we characterize the community in its struggles? ...The Chinese Christians and Indian Christians can never be isolated from our literary cultural context or cut away from the living religious world of our ancestors (Lee 2002:79).

In the traditional biblical reading, Asians do not receive any benefit, but seem to bear the end of suffering from the perspective of traditional biblical interpretation. The

special story of Asians is suppressed and their inherent multi-cultural religious traditions are silenced. Archie Lee has successfully coordinated the multi-cultural biblical interpretation tradition in Asian Christianity to address the challenge of those struggling to choose between Christianity and their Asian heritage, as they seek to adopt two identities—an Asian cultural identity and a Christian identity. His study allowed the world of the Bible and Christian and the world of Asian scriptures, cultures, and religions to be presented in the biblical reading process simultaneously (Lee 1993:37; 1994; 1996a; 1996b, 1996c; 2005). So he has claimed that we must stand firm on the cultural traditions of Asians:

The cross-textual hermeneutics deems questionable the traditional Christian denunciation of the truth claims and values of other religious traditions and cultures. It holds that Asian Christians should venture to read their own classical texts and the biblical text together, and let one text shed light on or challenge the other, so that creative dialogue and integration can take place. Only by a full identification with the two textual traditions that we claim as our own can this be achieved (Lee 2003:60-61).

In addition, he claims that “No one text should hold absolute sway over the other” (61). The cross-textual reading takes seriously Asian religiosity and the cultural values in Asian classics and scriptures.

He gained acceptance for approaching traditional biblical reading in the light of the dual identities of Asian Christians with this biblical interpretation method. His revelation about cross-textual hermeneutics elevated the level of integration of the Asian cultural heritage as it crossed the boundary with traditional biblical reading. It helped us acknowledge the Asians’ struggles from the multi-religious and multi-cultural perspectives that most Asians have; and it also made us aware of the fact that the classism of both Asian cultural traditions and the Bible exist together in the physical world.

### **7.2.2. Indigenous (Native) Biblical Scholars**

The TYCM tribal people were one of the world’s communities of indigenous people which experienced colonization, so we should in part examine the international indigenous biblical scholars’ experience to construct a broad basis for the TYCM’s

biblical reading interpretation method.

For example, Pablo Richard, a Latin American theologian, tried to reveal the process of creating an indigenous hermeneutic from the Latin American indigenous colonization experience in his book *Biblical Interpretation from the Perspective of Indigenous cultures of Latin America* (1996). He offers at least three biblical interpretation models from indigenous groups as the basis for such a hermeneutic process. Firstly, the model from the indigenous people preserves an integral way for its own culture and religious traditions. He adds that because the indigenous cultures and religion are lived out daily and in a significant way in every village, that they have authority in the community for the indigenous people. Under such circumstances, the Bible should be considered as having a secondary role and be subordinated in the process of studying and interpreting the indigenous tradition (Richard 2002:311). Secondly, it is the model for reconstructing the “pitcher” of the indigenous culture and traditions, which has “broken into a thousand pieces”. He points out the fact that the indigenous tradition has been “almost completely smashed apart” by the history of occidental conquest and colonization, quoting from the Quechua Indians of Ecuador who say that “the indigenous culture is like a pitcher broken into a thousand pieces”. So in this, as well as our model, the biblical tradition, instead of serving as a second wave of destruction in the indigenous communities, rather permits the reconstruction of their indigenous tradition. This model permits the reconstruction of their indigenous tradition in the light of the Bible. Thirdly, the model for the survival of the indigenous religion in an integrated situation of perfect syncretism with Christianity is not a process of separation between the Bible and indigenous culture and religious tradition; rather it emphasizes that the readers should comprehend the biblical texts even though they have a deeper understanding of their own indigenous culture and religious traditions. In spite of the fact that the colonizers were determined to use the Bible to erase the indigenous memories of most of the tribes they sought to convert, the indigenous people could still read their understanding of their own indigenous culture and religious traditions through their comprehension of the biblical texts. He observes that it is possible to reveal a better knowledge of indigenous culture, if one begins with the Bible, and a better knowledge of the Bible if one begins with the indigenous culture (Richard 2002:312).

Pablo Richard recommends the reading of the two books that the indigenous people have received from God, namely “the book of life” and “the book of the Bible”, to explain the relationship between the Bible and the indigenous culture and religious traditions. God wrote two books, the book of life and the book of the Bible. The book

of life is the “book” of the cosmos or of creation, the “book” of indigenous cultural tradition and religion. That is the first and fundamental book of God. The Bible is the *second* book of God, to help us read the first, to transform the book of life into a great revelation of God, to return to us the gaze of faith that allows us to discern God’s Word and Revelation present in the book of life – the book of indigenous culture and religion (Richard 2002:309).

Richard’s recommendation of these two books, which have been used to integrate the indigenous culture and religious tradition as an inspiration from the great God, made the indigenous people take another look at their own religious traditions. Previously, he claimed, indigenous people accepted the Bible due to the fact that they thought the Bible could assist indigenous people to interpret and to maintain their own culture and religious traditions. The Bible could not be seen as an absolute text for indigenous people but it should be seen as an acceptable “canon”, i.e. a measure or criterion for indigenous people to pay attention to God’s words, which are realized in the physical world, such as nature, culture and religion, and those things which people see or in which they believe.

In the view of the aforementioned writer, then, especially because they are closer to their own traditional tribal culture and religious heritage, indigenous people should be considered to be the principal subjects in biblical interpretation, not scholars, preachers and biblical scholars. When the readers begin their study from this social location, in which the indigenous people are the principal subjects for interpreting, the Bible and indigenous tradition culture and religion are regarded as having equal authority, legitimacy, security, autonomy and power whenever indigenous people are included in the interpretation process (Richard 1996:309-310). Thus, the indigenous culture values the Bible insofar as the Bible values indigenous culture (Richard 2002:311). The reason why Pablo Richard claims that the indigenous scholars should address their lost culture and religious traditions, which were broken into pieces by colonial imperialism in the interpretation process of the biblical text, is that for him the indigenous biblical interpreters should be a “pitcher” for their indigenous culture and religious traditions in the biblical interpretation progress. Therefore, they should be allowed to repair the broken pitcher by re-locating the indigenous cultural values and indigenous roots as being the most important resources of their heritage.

The American indigenous scholar, Steve Charleston, mentions that the indigenous people are like Christians who own only an “Old Testament” in his work, *The Old*

*Testament of Native Americans* (1995:68-80).<sup>136</sup> He concedes that:

The indigenes also have an “Old Testament”. They have their own original covenant relationship with the Creator and their own original understanding of God which is prior to the birth of a Christ. It is a tradition that has been evolved over centuries. It tells of the active, living, revealing presence of God in relation to Native People through generations of Native life and experience—God was here, on this continent among the people, in covenant, in relation, in life like Israel itself (Charleston 1995:73-74).

Charleston claims his equating of indigenous people with the “Old Testament” people highlights the indigenous tradition, which has stood the test of time for more than tens of centuries. Their situation was the same as the ancient Israelite people who lived in the world when God created it. The covenant was a type of contractual relationship between the tribal group and God, and it is the most traditional form of understanding in terms of knowing the creator. He further said that the “Native American proclaims that God is God who is—at all times, in all places and for all peoples. Consequently, the “Old Testament” of Native Americans becomes tremendously important, so such so that he considers that the “Old Testament” is the living memory, the living tradition for people who have a special encounter with “the Creator of life” (Charleston 1995:74).

Charleston continues by stating that the indigenous people were encouraged or even forced to abandon their “Old Testament” being required only to accept the “New Testament”. When the “Old Testament” of the indigenous people was considered to be mere superstition, they were prohibited from perpetuating their own cultural and religious traditions from this “Old Testament”. The indigenous intellectual history would be replaced by others. It forced the indigenous people to be silent, because the indigenous people could then not remember their origin names, clan, family and their physical experience of terror and death; they had to use this way to hide themselves in

---

<sup>136</sup> We could list additional articles, such as: Steve Charleston, “Reflections on A Revival: The Native American Alternative”, *Theological Education* 20/1 (1983), 65-78; “Native American Spirituality”. In Owanah Anderson ed., *Jamestown Commitment: The Episcopal Church and the American Indian* (Cincinnati: Forward Movement, 1988), 149-55; “American Indian Tradition: Rediscovering an Old Testament”. *Areopagus* (1991a), 5-8; “Columbus from the Native American Perspective: What Have We Learned in 500 Years?” *Word and World* 12/ 2 (1992), 106-110. We would also refer to George E. Tinker, *Missionary, Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis: Fortree Press, 1993), and his “Native Americans and the Land: ‘The End of Living, and the Beginning of Survival’”, in Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite and Mary Potter Engel, eds. *Constructing Christian Theologies from the Underside* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990), 49-61.

the crowd. It is similar to “An insane silence; a silence of isolation. The silence of a people who have been exiled from the love of their God” (Charleston 1995:74).

Steve Charleston thinks that the “Old Testament” encourages indigenous people to cherish the culture and religious traditions which were given to them by God. Thus there is no need for them to give up their own cultural and religious traditions or become silent or isolated from the world created by God. The indigenous “Old Testament” could assist the indigenous people to stand again on their own culture and religious tradition as a means of knowing God. Thus, he maintains that there is a special relationship between ancient Israelite people and God in the “Old Testament”, just as there is a relationship between indigenous people and God in their “Old Testament”. He says:

God is one. God created all creatures that existed in the world. God is God of human history. God is a God of all time and space. God establishes a covenant relationship with the people. God gives the people a “promised land”. The people are stewards of this land given by God. God gives people a law or way of life. The people worship God in sacred places. God raises up prophets and charismatic leaders. God speaks through dreams and visions. The people maintain a seasonal cycle of worship. The people believe God will deliver them from their suffering. God can become incarnate on the earth (Charleston 1995:76).

After the Christians built the connection between the indigenous cultures and their religious tradition, the “Old Testament” would inspire the people to emerge from their silence which had inhibited them during the imperial colonial period, or their world of “the book of life”. It also inspired the initial contract relationship between the indigenous people and God, which provided a dialogue platform with the indigenous culture and religious tradition, in the sense that they believed that God does not only belong to the ancient Israelite people, but also that God had a relationship with the indigenous ancestors a long time ago. Pablo Richard also adopts this biblical interpretation view of “the book of life” and “the Old Testament” advocated by Steve Charleston.

We can see clearly that both sides could re-locate the indigenous culture and religious tradition through the biblical reading process, and in such a way as to connect the relevant indigenous social class and identity of their cultural heritage with the belief

that God is the creator of the world. Through this recognition the indigenous people would no longer be silenced by the circumstances in which they found themselves under the oppression of imperial colonial rule.

### **7.2.3. TYCM Biblical Scholars**

In his book entitled, *Doing Indigenous Theology with the Stories of Tribal People*, TYCM tribal theologian Pusin Tali, of the Tayal tribe, maintains that tribal people should be able to tell the story of their own life, and that they can use the tribal stories to construct authentic indigenous theology (Tali 2007). He claims that when indigenous people ignore or abandon their own tribal stories, it is like giving up their living rights, and it is a source of grief and indeed the biggest crime against the indigenous people (Tali 2007:72).

In the history of Christian missionary and Church education, the indigenous story was formerly excluded as being irrelevant. It was ignored and considered foreign to the thinking of the Church; the clergy thought it ridiculous to imagine that indigenous stories might contain any truth. Because the indigenous story was not part of the Christian missionary input, it was not seen as having any bearing on the story of the relationship between humans and God (Tali 2007:72-73). He thinks the history of the indigenous community before Christians touched it, and at the present time, and into the future is a locus of God's mission. Because God is the lord of the TYCM tribal people's history, that history is a mission place for God; because human beings are the children of God. Each race comes from a seemingly different world in which they bear their own individual responsibility to respond to the mission of God (73). He claims that the theologians or the indigenous storytellers should ensure a place for indigenous history as an acceptable locus for God's mission. The TYCM tribal history, along with the tribal popular stories of today and the tribal people's story in their own land, are the most important materials from which to construct authentic indigenous theology.

Kapi Kisursur, a New Testament scholar who belongs to the Paiwan tribe, in his work *Reading the Story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42) Through the Eyes of the Story of Dilung* (2005), tried to interpret the biblical texts from the angle of a popular Paiwan tale called *Dilung*. He reveals that the story of *Dilung* can enrich and expand God's revelation in the story of Martha and Mary, and that it can also offer a true insight to western scholars of Jesus' meaning in the story of Martha and Mary.

(Kisursur 2005:15). He brought familiar stories which are popular among the indigenous people into the medium of biblical interpretation, in such a way that they could help tribal people to understand the meaning of the biblical text more profoundly. The indigenous people could read the tribal traditional story and the biblical story interactively to help them understand and appreciate their own culture and spirituality more fully.

I, an Old Testament scholar, Sediq tribe, attempt to develop a cross-reading between the annual Milisin of the Pangcah tribe and the Passover of the ancient Israelite people. I attempt to identify the familiar traditional rites of the indigenous people which are similar to those of the Passover in the biblical text through the biblical text reading process, developing the space and method for biblical interpretation from the perspective of the TYCM's experiences (Ukan 2003). I believe that it is necessary to develop a creative dialogue space in which the TYCM tribal tradition texts can re-generate new meaning for the tribal people who are served by the TYCM tribal Church.

I positively construct and enhance dialogue topics between two differently experienced texts in the Church and in the tribe in order to enrich the beliefs of TYCM tribal Christians. I helped to bring the TYCM tribal texts to the attention of the indigenous people once more, so that each tribal people's group could experience and enjoy the wisdom and training of their ancestors (Ukan 2003:18).

Whether ancient Israelites or TYCM tribal people, they all live in a space designed by God. All races have traditional wisdom and culture which are given by God, and they succeed in bringing up their offspring to live in the world created by God. The traditional tribal text, which is the cumulative experience of TYCM tribal people, will certainly reveal something of the time and space occupied by TYCM tribal people. It is like the traditional religion of the Old Testament which was composed by the ancient Israelite people and which described their lives in the ancient world of the Middle East. Those two traditions describe the different races living in the time and area created by God and they are texts which show the wisdom and ability of God. Though there are basic differences between the cultural phenomena, traditional values, ethics, religious practices, etc., which they describe, nevertheless they demonstrate how the different races reacted to their experiences of God who created them under the same sky (Ukan 2003:25-26).

I think that when the readers read the two texts of the “Old Testament” that they could not directly use the cultural language symbols for the purpose of creating a cross-reading dialogue. In order to do so, they should explore the stories behind the two texts to reveal their physical life situation, and that they should try to imagine what the common life realities were for the people in the two texts. Then the readers can highlight their life experience described in the two texts and make them ignite their interaction and so benefit each other by allowing more abundant insights to emerge from this creative dialogue space (Ukan 2003:26). From the views of Tali, Kisursur and Ukan, we discover that they have a common background on which they take up their stance, which is their double identities as Christians and as TYCM tribal people, and their own cultural and religious traditions, by which they attempt to guide the TYCM tribal Christians to add their understanding of the tribal texts to their reading by the biblical reading process.

Such a way of doing biblical hermeneutics can lead TYCM Christians to read their tribal texts as having some wisdom to contribute when they read the biblical texts. It could also encourage the tribal people to recall their tribal cultures and religious traditions through the reading of biblical texts, thus making Bible reading an accepted method for tribal people to recall their own culture and historical heritage and to re-locate their tribal texts. As we have shown, this is supported by the views of Richard and Charleston, scholars who have highlighted the indigenous tradition texts, examining both “the book of life” and “Old Testament” relationship with God, and encouraging the indigenous Christians to cherish the riches of their cultural religious heritage as a gift from God.

It is easy to see that the reading strategy created by the TYCM scholars helped the tribal people to notice their traditional texts, which had been almost lost in the colonial period. It encouraged TYCM Christians to research and to reconstruct their own tribal texts through Bible reading. Under these circumstances, in which the TYCM tribal people want to re-locate their cultural and religious traditions, there might naturally be a challenge for the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation.

### **7.3. Re-reading Gen 2:4a-25 as an Example of Re-locating the Text**

The main purpose of the Second and Third Steps is to deal with the fact that the people themselves wanted to re-search or re-call the TYCM tribal texts through the biblical text reading, to enhance the TYCM tribal texts, and to develop the biblical

reading process. We began with a discussion of the methods of biblical interpretation employed by scholars in the Third World and the methods preferred by indigenous people throughout the world. Moreover, the postcolonial concerns we emphasized within the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial discourse led our TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation to move into this type of de-colonization interpretation strategy which helps to re-locate TYCM tribal texts. We would like to develop further the above mentioned biblical reading method and re-locate the texts which are claimed by the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation from the tribal experience. We will continue to take as an example Genesis 2: 4b-25, and give the reading results from the Second and Third Steps of the Five Steps Reading Process.

For this section, we will concentrate on the Second and the Third Steps. As we have seen in Chapter 5, the reading process begins with the question, asked by the facilitator in the Second Step: "*What does the Biblical text say?*" and in the Third Step: "*Are these topics currently addressed by tribal people? How do the tribal people understand these topics traditionally?*" Then the people are given an opportunity to focus on what topics they would like to look at, arising from the biblical text. They have a chance to express their opinions freely in the Second Step. Then, in the Third Step, the facilitator encourages the people to think about the different topics related to their tribal cultural and religious traditions in their tribal villages. We will find that, in the discussion process, TYCM tribal people attempt to recollect and to re-search deeply their tribal texts using similar topics from their tribal traditions.

After the fourteen different tribal reading groups have finished their Second and Third Steps in reading Genesis 2:4b-25, we have adequate grounds for supposing that they can re-search their tribal texts using similar topics from their reading of the biblical text in their mother-tongue. The following results were the primary topics compiled from the fourteen tribal reading groups during the Second Step: The origin of human beings (God creating Adam and Eve.), Paradise (the Garden of Eden), the role of women (Eve), the role of men (Adam), speaking to animals (the conversation between the snake and Eve), the inspiration for sex (eating of the fruit and having their eyes opened to the distinction between good and evil), the view of death (dying after eating of the good-and-evil tree), the relationship between the husband and wife (bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh, connection with the wife to become one), birth of culture and civilization (God taught Adam and his wife to put on leather clothes), and so on. Each group brought up the topics which most interested them, and some engaged in serious and thorough discussion, which was very gratifying. Other groups were only inspired by a few topics which they discussed more briefly. However, both had their

advantages and disadvantages.

It is not necessary for the purpose of the Third Step to enter into a detailed discussion of every topic raised by the groups in the Second Step. The Second Step produced extensive discussion, from which I have identified both the above list and the selected topics which will be discussed more fully. In most cases the Second Step led directly into the Third Step, and so I will follow this format, saying little more about the Second Step, but concentrating on the Third Step (and the focus of the process).

My discussion of the Third Step will be restricted to these five common topics: The origin of humans (God creates Adam and Eve), naming (the naming of animals and of Eve ), the view of death (death which follows from the eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil), the role of the husband and the wife or the role of woman and man (Adam and Eve), and the taboos about the naked body and sex (Adam and Eve were both naked, and they were not ashamed). In so far as the discussions by the fourteen tribal reading groups mention all these five topics in the Third Step I intend to focus on these five topics to report on their discussions and to re-search their cultural and religious traditions from their tribal villages. From these five topics, I want to buttress my argument that the TYCM ordinary tribal people really can re-search their tribal texts with the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns within the process of reading the biblical text.

However, to prove this hypothesis, we will follow the pattern of our procedure in Chapter 6 of reading with the five tribes—the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal, and the Truku, demonstrating the reading results from every tribe in these five topics, and showing how the TYCM tribal people remember and construct their cultural and religious traditions through the five topics in reading their mother-tongue Bible.

### **7.3.1. The Origin of Human Beings**

When the fourteen groups discussed the story of Adam and Eve, the original human beings created by God, it generated the topic concerning the origin of human beings. With this as a basis they were led on to the Third Step in which the facilitator asked them, *“Is there any story existing in your tribe which deals with this subject?”* or *“How do the tribal people understand these topics traditionally?”* The community members from those fourteen groups listed the following “local” stories regarding that topic.

### **7.3.1.1 Amis Tribal Reading Groups**

There are three reading groups in the Amis tribe, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka who will reveal below their tribal texts. A woman tribal elder, belonging to the Tisalo reading group, listed one popular legend in the Mataian tribe which is similar to the story of Genesis. She said,

In the period of chaos, when space was without sky and land, two spirits appeared. The man spirit's name was Mareyap, the female spirits' name was Maswang. They had two children. The boy's name was Arayan; the girls' name was Mahadingo. Arayan and Mahadingo had healthy offspring; the important ones being Miahseles and Dongi, the female spirits, and Anafiyaw and Lopalangaw who are the male spirits. Arayan became the sky, so the people of the Amis tribe called the sky Kakarayan. Mahadingo became the sun; Anafiyaw became the moon; the Dongi created the human beings; and the Lopalangaw created the mountains to support the sky, and then they created a great number of creatures. After a bird named Wu-Cho, called "Tacyoturapu, Tacyoturapu", the sky rose to its current height. The Lopalangaw ordered the sun to rise in the east and to set in the west, and ordered the moon to change its shape in phases from crescent to full so that the tribes could follow a monthly time-cycle. The Lopalangaw also created animals and plants (Tisalo).

The Ciwakangan and Molisaka reading groups also recalled slightly differing stories about the origin of human beings, the main difference being that the Ciwakangan version did not describe the story as occurring at the time of a great flood. I recorded the tribal text from the Molisaka as,

A long time ago, when a great flood overwhelmed everything in the world, a brother and a sister sat in a large wooden bucket floating on the sea. They got married after floating to a high mountain and they had many children. Those children lived separately afterwards to form two tribes named the Kiwid and the Tafalong (Molisaka).

In addition, I mention two other legends from the Molisaka. In the first one,

The Arapanay is the place of origin of the Amis people. They arrived here by boat; and the tribal elders said that our ancestors were born from a big stone in the Arapanay.

The second one places the story about the origin of human beings against the background of a flood. It runs:

When the flood was overwhelming the whole world, a girl named Doci, with her brother Lalakan, jumped into a canoe to escape from the disaster. They floated on the sea for a while and eventually they arrived at the Cilangasan. They eventually got married and that is the origin of the Amis today.

The stories from the Ciwakangan and the Molisaka groups focus on how the Amis tribe was born; but the stories from the Kiwid and the Tafalong focus on the origin of human beings.

### **7.3.1.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

There are five tribal reading groups within the Bunun tribe: the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu, and the Nansan. The three groups, the Ququaz, the Kuphong and the Nansan shared similar stories of “The Gourd and the Ceramic Pot”. For example, the text from the Kuphong recalls that,

A long time ago, a gourd dropped from the sky. Then a man and a woman emerged from it. They got married and became the ancestors of human beings. Then their offspring multiplied and prospered on the earth (Kuphong).

There is a similar account from the Ququaz. They relate that the man emerged from the gourd and that the woman emerged from a ceramic pot, while the version from the Nansan does not record that the couple dropped from the sky, but says that the man emerged from a water ladle and that the woman emerged from a gourd.

The other three reading groups: the Ququaz, the Sinapalan and the Singwu shared other texts. The text of the Ququaz is:

In the chaos period, there was a place named Mintungulu where two holes showed up on the ground. A worm named Haluhallu rolled up her faeces into two balls and placed them into the holes. After a while, a man came out of one hole and a woman came out of the other one to become the ancestors of human beings. They got married and their offspring multiplied to become the human beings of today (Ququaz).

The text from the Sinapalan describes that the couples did not walk but climbed out of the holes; and the text from the Singwu mentions that after their marriage, the couple gave birth to four children, two boys and two girls.

The reading group of the Nasan recounted their tribal text:

A long time ago, a gourd dropped from the sky, and a winged worm named Sokkalu flew out of it to become the ancestor of human beings (Nasan).

The other reading group, the Sinapalan, related their tribal story:

In the chaos period, there was a large rock on the top of Mount Embalu. The large rock was broken one day and many people ran out from it and they spread everywhere on the earth (Sinapalan).

However, in the tribal text of the Singwu, it was only a man and a woman who ran out from the rock not “many people”.

### ***7.3.1.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups***

There are two tribal reading groups in the Sediq tribe, the Plngawan and the Pulan. There are two tribal texts from the Plngawan, the first one is:

The ancestors of the Sediq were a man and a woman who came out of a broken rock whose name was Pusu Qhuni and afterwards they got married. Their offspring moved on to live in the Truwan which was the place of origin of the Sediq (Plngawan).

The second one reads,

There was a tree that had a special shape. It was half tree and half rock. From the part which was a tree was born a man and a woman; their offspring multiplied and became the Sediq today (PIngawan).

There was a similar story from the tribal text of the Pulan. The group member said that she had heard two versions from the tribal elders. The one reads,

In the chaos period, the original human beings were a man and woman who came out from the ground, then another man and woman came out of the soil. They bore children and their their offspring became the human beings of today (Pulan).

The other story tells how,

In the chaos period, a fly came unobserved and laid its egg on the ground. But then a man and a woman hatched out from that egg to become the ancestors of human beings (Pulan).

#### ***7.3.1.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups***

There are two reading groups of the Tayal tribe, the Pyanan and the Kngayan. Those two groups both mentioned that the ancestors of human being appeared at a place called Papak Waqa and that there were related to a spirit bird named Sisin, but there was quite a bit of difference between the tribal texts from the two reading groups. The story according to the tribal text of the Pyanan is,

In the chaos period, there was a large rock on top of the mountain Papak Waqa, which no one could remove. One day, all the birds were gathered there to have a meeting to select a leader. One suggested that whoever could remove this large rock would be their leader. Everyone agreed to this. Only the smallest spirit bird, named Sisin, could remove that large rock after all other birds had tried. The large rock rolled down from the top of the mountain into the valley, where it broke into two pieces. A man appeared from one side and a woman appeared from the other side; they then became the ancestors of the Tayal

(Pyanan).

The tribal text from the Kngayan, also mentions the connection between a mountain named Papak Waqa and a spirit bird, Sisin, but with a slight difference, in that it says:

A man and a woman lived in the large rock which was located on top of the mountain called Papak Waqa. One day, all the birds gathered to select their leader. One suggested, “Whoever has strong enough pecking power to let this couple out from the large rock, will be the leader of the birds”. Every bird took a turn to peck but no one was successful. Until a wonderful pecking sound emerged from the spirit bird, Sisin, who pecked at the large rock and caused it to be broken. So the couple came out to become the ancestors of human beings. And the spirit bird Sisin became the leader of the birds (Kngayan).

A similar story emerged in the discussion of the Pyanan, but this version said that the spirit bird Sisin tried to remove the large rock and let it roll down from the mountain-top to see if it would break or not. But this is only a tiny difference from the other versions (Pyanan).

In addition to the above mentioned, some members of the Kngayan recalled their tribal text simply for the amusement of the others. A woman tribal elder remembered this story:

There were two men and a woman who emerged from the large broken rock which was located at the top of mountain of Papak Waqa. One of the men saw animals and forests so he said “I do not want to live here”. Then he went back inside the large rock, and the other two could not stop him in time (Kngayan).

The participants all agreed that they had never heard such tribal texts from the tribal elders before.

#### **7.3.1.5. *Truku (Taroko) Tribal Reading Groups***

There are two reading groups from the Truku tribe, the Tpuquan and the Pratan. They have different tribal stories regarding the topic of Adam and Eve. These tribal texts

came from the oral dictation of the women tribal elders, though there was some contribution from the men tribal elders. The participants all agreed on the account given by the women tribal elders, who recounted their tribal text story as follows:

In the chaos period, a man and a woman emerged from Pusu Qhuni, a split rock. They had a boy after their marriage. The father died after his child grew up, and the mother needed to find a wife for her son in order for him to continue the line. She was worried because for a long time she could not find one. One day, the mother told her son, “I will leave home to find a wife for you. If you see a woman who has a tattoo on her face on the road tomorrow, you should take her back home to marry her”. After she said this, she left home and went inside the mountain and let her face be tattooed. So the young man found a woman with a tattooed face on the road and took her back home to get married. They then had children in order for their line to survive. That is the reason why the women of the Truku tribe should have tattoos on their faces, and why it has become their tradition even up to today (Tpuquan).

In addition to the story about the origin of human beings, the Pratan reading group mentioned another tale about the origin of animals. They said that life was born from a split rock, Pusu Qhuni, and that the creatures emerged in this sequence: first, an animal with four feet, the second one was a human being, with two legs, the third had no feet and was a snake, and the last were the birds with wings. As each creature’s favourite food was different, they were separated to live and spread throughout the land. The response of some participants was that they had never heard this story from their tribal elders, but there was an oral tradition about human beings being born from the taro plant, which is why people eat it. There were other tribal texts which described human beings as originating from the bowels of the earth or from pig faeces.

From the above mentioned discussions, we see that the people thought about tribal texts related to the theme of the origin of human beings as they read the biblical texts from Genesis 2:4b-25. It became clear, from those fourteen tribal reading groups from the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal and the Truku, that the tribal people remembered their traditional texts when they read biblical texts such as Genesis 2:4b-25 which relate to the origin of human beings, and that they could re-locate an abundance of tribal texts which they were originally not allowed to recall alongside the biblical texts, because the Christian missionaries held them to be of the Devil.

### **7.3.2. Naming**

Under the heading of “Naming”, the groups discussed the traditional tribal material brought to mind by the text in Genesis 2:4b-25, about Adam naming the animals. We found that this was the favourite topic of all the reading groups and the participants got a great deal of fun out of it. Even some rather shy people joined in the discussion of this topic. They wanted to use their own names as examples and enjoyed it very much.

#### ***7.3.2.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups***

There was much duplication in the accounts given by the three Amis reading groups, and we give the findings from these groups. The participants were the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka, who mentioned their traditional naming ways, which include the following: passing on the names of ancestors, old family names, naming babies according to the time or place of their birth, or to commemorate some event, to mark the season or weather at the time of birth, etc. These are still popular today.

But, we were told, the eldest son’s or the eldest daughter’s name should be given by the tribal priest according to the rites relating to the ancestor spirits in which the eldest son or the eldest daughter usually takes on the responsibility of caring for his/her younger brothers or sisters or parents. That is the reason why their naming rites are of considerable importance because they are given heavy responsibility for their families.

The participants shared their own names as examples of these traditions: the name Lisin was because she was born during the harvest festival (Milisin); the name Foting was because she was born when her family members went fishing (Amis “fotig” = “fish”); the name Lahok was because her mother was working on a farm. Some of their names were taken from the names of visitors, because they were born when visitors had come, or, again, some children were named after their place of birth. Kola was born when that tribal warrior visited his home; the one named Nakao had taken their tribal spirit’s name. One was even named Lafin because he was born at dinner time (Amis “lafin”=“evening meal”).

But in the Ciwkangan reading group, someone mentioned that their names should be given with a “ceremony” (“*pangangan*”). The father of the baby should present a worship gift to a spirit, named Mifetik, after they have given a name to their baby, and then the father should report his baby’s name to the spirit Dongi. Secondly, if the baby was found to fall ill frequently or if it was prone to accidents the baby’s father could ask for a “renaming ceremony” (“*Pasomat Tongangan*”) to pray for health or good luck for his baby, but the tribal priest should perform the renaming ceremony. The participants could frequently be given nicknames by their family or partners for the purpose of distinction in their tribes, some having special nicknames which others made fun of during the group discussions.

### **7.3.2.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Bunun tribe, the participants from the five reading groups, the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwuand and the Nansan had a lot of fun discussing this topic. The participants from the Ququaz and the Nansan groups gave a very clear account of the preparations for the baby-naming ceremony. They said that before the naming of the baby, the family members should brew millet wine, the father should go hunting on the mountain, and the family should prepare taro, potato and vegetables for visitors and the family from the mother’s side who would be coming to congratulate the lucky couple. The family should have all these things ready before the baby-naming ceremony, so that the family members would not have nightmares, which are called dream divinations. If someone in the family were to have such nightmares, then the baby-naming ceremony should be delayed. The members of the Kuphong group thought that the ceremony should be hosted by the senior member of the family; while the Singwu group believed that some families would normally invite the tribal priest to host the ceremony. The host should report the baby’s name to the heavens and pray to the ancestral spirits for their blessing. After the ceremony was over, all the tribal people and the family members would enjoy a celebratory feast.

There are clear differences between the tribes as to how old the baby should be when his parents name him. The participants from the Ququaz, the Sinapalan and the Singwu groups think that it should be done before the ceremonial rite takes place, then the host of the rite would report the name of the baby to the ancestral spirits and ask for the blessing. However, participants from other reading groups, such as the Kuphong and the Nansan, think that the proper time is after the baby has completed its first month of life. Some think that it is best to hold one ceremony annually for all

those babies who were born during the same year. But some of them said that it was important to hold the naming ceremony quarterly. The Ququaz group said that the Bunun people note the names, which have special meanings because the people would traditionally take the name of their ancestor so that he/she can carry on the meaning and the memory of the family ancestors. The Bunun still have the renaming ceremony if the baby is sick or in poor health. The Sinapalan group pointed out that their tribal people accept the names John, Peter, Maria, and Martha, who are biblical figures, because they are influenced by Christianity. This is happening more often in modern times.

### **7.3.2.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups**

The other reading groups, the Plngawan and the Pulan from the Sediq tribe, and the Tpuqu and the Pratan from the Truku tribe discussed this topic, which did not inspire such lively debate, though it did engage their interest more than other topics. We found that there were similar views among these four groups. For example, they all agreed that their naming process should be held by the tribal elders in the family. Of course, the tribal elders would consult with the parents of the baby about their opinion, but in the end, the name is decided by the tribal elders, and the parents cannot change that, because it is prohibited. In addition, the family members should be serious, not joking and laughing, when they proceed with the naming ceremony, due to the fact that such behaviour would bring bad luck on the baby. If the baby is prone to falling sick, or if the parents have nightmares about the baby, the members should tell their families, and then the tribal elders should decide whether or not to request help from the tribal priest, who would then hold the ceremony of the *Smiling Utux* (pray for god's mercy). If the family members want to rename the baby, they would do this after the ceremony of the *Smiling Utux* to have the god's response.

Usually the family elders, or the parents, name the baby after someone in the family; for example if it was a boy, he would take the name of his grandfather. If the boy's cousins use that name already, then his parents would give him another name of someone with a good reputation in the family; or the baby's parents might want to remember the name of one of their tribal people. If it was a girl, she would normally take the name of her grandmother. If the girl's cousins use that name already, then his parents would give her another name which is from someone within the family with a good reputation. In the Plngawan and the Pulan groups, the participants mentioned that such a method of naming is very meaningful, showing respect for the family

elders to and keeping their names alive within the tribal tradition. In addition, the Pulan group asked a question about whether the baby takes the family name from his mother. The father's name will be added on after the name of the baby is given, in order to distinguish the child from anyone with the same name in the tribe, in accordance with tribal tradition. For example, the name *Ukan*, which is my father's name, was added after *Walis*, my grandfather's name. The full name of my father is *Ukan Pawan*, and my name would traditionally be *Walis Ukan Pawan* to show that I am the third generation in the family. However, some babies do not take the father's name, but rather that of the mother. When tribal people meet those who have such a name, they would understand the reason: the mother's name is usually given in cases where the father was seriously ill, or died or disappeared, and the mother has had to bring the child up on her own. That is the reason why he is given his mother's family name: to memorialize his mother. And another, secondary, reason is to prevent the baby from suffering the same bad luck as his father.

#### **7.3.2.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

The naming tradition of the Tayal tribe is the most similar to that of the Sediq and the Truku tribes in which they add the father's name. But different points were raised by the two reading groups, the Pyanan and the Kngayan, with their discussion focused on the meaning of the name. For example, the names of the Tayal tribal people are mostly names of animals. Generally, the parents give the babies names like: *Kli* ("mice") and *Mici* ("goat") to reflect their moods at that time. One participant said that his name was *Koli* ("fish") because his father can fish and his mother likes to eat the fish from the stream, so they gave him that name. Sometimes names were taken from plants, like *Palun* ("China Fir"), *Ari* ("asparagus") and *Koniko* ("tree"). They also discussed other names, such as *Limun*, which describes "the one who is beautiful, kind and who can sing and dance well"; and *Pinaw*, which means "the one who will persevere and who will live longer"; so those two names are usually given to women. *Yawin* means "strong, persevering and brave"; *S'man* means "an immovable stone wall" so that is a typical names for a man.

Further, those two groups discussed the basis for a "Name Change", which happens generally when children become sick easily or the family members have accidents or feel unlucky after the child's birth. In a case such as that, the "Name Change" would take place. The Pyanan group members said that the ceremony of the "Name Change" which is not performed by the tribal priest, simply switches the father's names from

two different families, which depends on a family finding another family willing to switch fathers' names with them. The family making the request might give money or kill a pig to thank the other family for granting this special favour. The Pyanan reading group had a stimulating discussion about this topic.

#### ***7.3.2.5. Truku (Taroko) Tribal Reading Groups***

Information provided by the Sediq and Truku groups about naming traditions tended to be very similar. The chief difference between the ideas of these four groups concerns the family names for babies and children. As mentioned above, most took the father's name after their own names, so that although the members of the groups were from different tribes, they could guess where the people came from according to their family names, which made it distinctively obvious. With each tribe intermarrying for a long time, the same name could also occur in different tribes.

One of the points arising from the discussion in the Pulan group was that tribal people sometimes give up the use of their tribal names in order to meet the social requirements of the community in which they live. Usually that means that they take either English or Chinese names so that they can more easily communicate with the surrounding people, but this practice is not popular among the tribal people who live with their tribes. This situation occurs more frequently among tribal people who move to live in the city. They adopt non-tribal names in order to feel more at ease in their work environment, or so that their children can communicate better with their schoolmates. This situation—in some ways a process of assimilation—is increasingly occurring among those indigenous families living in the city, who feel a kind of pressure on them to adopt this practice. Though in these circumstances, parents do not normally give tribal names to their children, the tribal elders who live in the tribe would reserve ones for them, so that the children could still adopt these after they grow up. The tribal elders would advise the parents to let their children know these names in advance.

We found that this topic naturally led the participants to recollect and discuss many tribal texts concerning the naming ceremony. We also found that participants sometimes strayed from the main discussion topic to talk about other (related) topics, upon which the facilitator would lead them back to continue the original discussion. Some facilitators performed this role very well. With a view to generating new topics from the discussion, the facilitator would send the findings from his group to the

facilitator leading other discussions, but I usually found that most groups did not have enough time to discuss all the material.

### **7.3.3. View of Death**

In the biblical text of Gen 2:4-25, it says that the human beings received instructions from God that they “may eat the fruit of whatever trees, except the fruit of the tree which distinguishes between good and evil. If you eat from it, the day of your eating will be the day of your death!” (Gen 2: 16-17). This description of “death” is another discussion topic, which those fourteen reading groups explored in the context of their tribal texts related to death. However, the discussion of this topic was considered much more serious in comparison with previous topics. We might arrange the content of their discussion as follows:

#### ***7.3.3.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants in the three reading groups, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka, which belonged to the Amis tribe, mentioned the same tribal texts as their source in talking about their view of death. In the chaos period, human beings could not die, but if old people took off their skins, then they could be young again. So the tribal people could see the skins of human beings everywhere. It frightened the children and they began to cry because the full shape of the human being’s skin was left behind. The old began to bury their skin in the soil, and it was then that human beings began to experience death, with the dead body being like the skin buried in the soil.

They mentioned that old people died naturally and flew to paradise to be with the ancestral spirits; but those who died unnaturally, or accidentally, were called *Mangtaay kopatay*, which means “premature death”. These would just roam in the “field” (*pala*) but they could not fly to paradise to be with the ancestral spirits. This topic of death led participants to talk about the world of the dead.

#### ***7.3.3.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the five groups: the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the

Singwu and the Nansan of the Bunun tribe think that the soul leaves the body permanently, which constitutes death, so the Bunun people call the “soul”, “*hanito*”, which, when it leaves the body, will enable the human being to die. On the one hand, in the traditional belief of the Bunun, they called the act of dying of the old people, or of those who are sick, “virtuous death”, after which the family members will bury the dead person in the room, and the soul of the dead will go to be with the ancestral spirits to bring blessing on the tribal people. On the other hand, “non-virtuous” dead men and women will become the evil spirits who bring death and disaster upon the tribal people, so they should be buried away from the usual burying place. The participants from the Ququaz group explored the possibility that evil spirits might bring disaster upon the whole Bunun people, a belief that causes some tribal people to tidy up the verges at the roadside in order to protect both tribal people and pedestrians. The participants from the Singwu group said that those who die from accidental causes will be buried at the community burial ground but without any ceremony being held.

The participants from the Kuphong reading group gave another version of this tribal text. It states that all tribal people should stop working after a death, and go to help and comfort the family of the dead person. The original story in this tribal text is:

Two hunters went hunting together one day and one of them fell into a ravine and hurt himself seriously. The injured hunter asked the other one to carry him down the mountain, but he refused and left him there. So the injured man cursed his partner, saying that all the millet he planted would be ruined by rats, with no harvest. Thus, after his death, the hunter became a rat named “*Takuna*”, with the whole tribal county affected by his curse. There was no harvest that year because that cruel hunter had treated his partner that way. So even today the whole Bunun tribe stops work to help the family of the deceased.

The other reading groups of the Bunun tribe also mentioned that the tribal people should stop work to help the family of the deceased, but they did not share this version of the tribal text. The participants from the Nansan reading group said that the living people do not eat meat, drink no wine, and perform no housekeeping duties when a member of the tribe has died, until the day ritually prescribed for the lifting of those prohibitions. The participants from the other four reading groups talked about the custom of *Mapudan Hanitu* in which articles belonging to the dead person are considered to be unlucky, and are thrown off a steep cliff by the living.

### **7.3.3.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups**

The participants from the PIngawan and Pulan reading groups of the Sediq tribe, and from the Tpuqu and Pratan reading groups of the Truku tribe, mentioned the following tribal text, but those from the Pulan and Pratan reading groups said that the background of such a tribal text was not in fact the story of the origin of human beings, but that it took place after human beings had proliferated throughout the land:

One day, a man emerged from a pile of pig excrement and saw a man and a woman standing nearby. He asked if they would do him a favour by cleaning the pig excrement off his body, but they both refused. Before this man returned to the pig excrement he said, “If you had both helped me to clean the pig excrement off my body you wouldn’t die but would just shed your skins to renew yourselves and become young again. But you refused to oblige me, so from now on you will begin to die”. After saying that, the man re-entered the pile of pig excrement.

Thus the people of the Sediq and the Truku tribes began to experience death.

Secondly, the participants from those two tribal reading groups talked about the fact that the family’s relatives should hold the hands of a dying man when he leaves this world, or that the family relatives should leave the house and tribe for one month, then return home to build a new house. They should bury with the dead man the clothes and articles which he had used, and then light a match and place it on the grave so that the dead man could fly to the ancestral spirit home. After that, the living relatives should take a bath and then return to the tribe.

### **7.4.3.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

The participants from the Pyanan and Kngayan reading groups of the Tayal tribe gave accounts of “virtuous” death (the natural death) and “evil” death (the unnatural death)<sup>137</sup> similar to those of the tribal texts of the Sediq and the Truku tribes. In addition, the Tayal tribal people bury the “virtuous” dead in a room of the house, generally under

---

<sup>137</sup> For example of the unnatural death: suicidal death, hhomocidal death, accidental death, or violent death, etc.

the bed, then cover it with a stone slab and soil, as is also the case with the tribal people of the Sediq and the Truku. They bury the “evil” dead on the spot, but they ask the shaman to carry out a special ritual after they bury him, to prevent some disaster befalling the whole family or the whole tribe.

#### ***7.4.3.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups***

The Truku tribe offers the same tribal text as the Sediq tribe about questions concerning death, such as why it does not help a sick or dying man to take a bath. But the account from the Pyanan reading group is that the man who emerged from the stone cursed human beings and the content of his curse included getting sick, growing old, and dying. The version from the Kngayan reading group is that the man who uttered the curse emerged from the excrement of human beings, but the rest of the story is the same as the version from the Pyanan reading group.

Not unnaturally the atmosphere of the discussion became more serious when the participants from the fourteen groups spoke about the topic of death. There were no smiles as there had been during the discussion of previous topics. I always tried to find a woman tribal elder when I joined in the group discussions from the Bunun and the Sinapalan reading groups to ask her why the participants’ attitudes became more serious when they talked about the topic of death. The woman tribal elders said that the topic of death is serious for the tribal people because a joking attitude will irritate the evil spirits in the body so much that they will come back to life and cause the leaders to suffer illness or disaster. (The people of the Bunun tribe believe this, which is the reason why those participants were so serious in discussing the topic.)

#### **7.3.4. The Wife and the Husband and the Role of Woman**

Genesis 2: 21-23 relates how God took a rib from man to create a woman; he brought the woman to the man and said,

This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man (Gen 2: 21-23).

Regarding the above, the fourteen groups selected as topics for discussion the roles of men and women, and the relationship between wife and husband. When the

participants from the fourteen groups proceeded with the biblical reading they attempted to recall similar topics from within their tribal traditions.

#### **7.3.4.1. *Amis Tribal Reading Groups***

A common feature was that the active participation of women was greater than that of the men. The women showed great enthusiasm for discussing, for example, the tribal texts shared by the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka, three groups from the Amis tribe. These concerned the relationship between the husband and wife belonging to a matriarchal society which respected monogamy.

The men and the women in a matriarchal society believe that the man is in charge of events happening outside the family, and that the woman is in charge of events within the family. The women are responsible for managing household affairs and they are the decision-makers in the family. The women are in charge of the inheritance of the family property and the land, and they take the responsibility of raising the children. The men are in charge of matters outside of the family, such as hunting, fishing, and fighting for the tribe and guarding the family, and they are responsible for holding the ritual ceremonies in the tribe. Their cooperation appears to be a complementary social relationship between men and women. But the husband can be renounced by his wife and sent back to his home if he does not perform well or if his relationship with his wife is bad. (So the male participants in some groups who said that, “Women are inferior to men at home”, would find it impossible to assert this in Amis tribal society.) The men should perform their roles in the family well, being good husbands and good fathers, and they should be actively involved in public events in the tribe, or they will soon be renounced by their wives. The male participants from the three reading groups mentioned that if a man comes back home to see a cloth wrapper draped outside his house, it means that he has been renounced by his wife. In this case he should leave home to find a new wife from among the other tribal women or a widow who may accept him and marry him. The women participants agreed with that, and thought that lazy men would have to roam around or move on to another Amis area to find a new home.

Some women tribal elders from the Tisalo and the Ciwkangan reading groups shared similar tribal texts related to women:

A young tribal man, named Satapang, went fishing one day and began

to grill a fish on an island. He was surprised to find that the island was a whale which brought him to an island named Parisang, where there were women but no men. Satapang found that the women on the island had no mouths and no vaginas, and they treated him like a pig and raised him as a pig. One day Satapang escaped from the pig pen and ran to the sea, where he was lucky enough to meet the whale, which took him back to the tribe from which he came.

The women elders from the Tisalo group explained that such texts, which were found in the tribal tradition, telling of the renouncing of the men by the women and saying that the women saw men as pigs (a symbol of laziness), generated male feelings of resentment. As a result, they said, the text was also made to denigrate tribal women by portraying the women on the island of Parisan as weird and ugly, and using their mouths to order men about, and treating men as a “sleeping tool”.

#### ***7.3.4.2. Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the five reading groups, the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nansan of the Bunun tribe discussed the topic of traditional marriage. They all agreed that there has been no freedom to love in the traditional Bunun tribe, but that the parents arrange the marriage for the children, who should simply obey their wishes. In addition, they mentioned the traditional custom of “marriage by kidnap”, with three groups, the Kuphon, the Sinapalan and the Singwu providing the details; this was found to be very interesting and diverting by the participants, who had a lot of fun with the topic.

The tribal text about “robbery marriage” explains:

Once a man met the girl he loved, his family would help him prepare the “kidnap marriage” ceremony in which he and his family members would “kidnap” the girl from her home. The men from both families would fight each other, but they should not hurt each other, and the members of the girl’s family would give her up after she was “stolen” by the other side, to be taken far away from her home. The family of the man’s side would kill a pig and prepare millet wine to send to the girl’s home in celebration to prove that they were in fact, building community between the two families. Both families’ elders would

communicate peacefully in arranging the marriage before the “abduction” took place. Even though an agreement had been reached about the marriage the relatives still thought the “kidnapping” was necessary. The purpose was that both families could then exaggerate their strengths in the tribe, and it would increase the celebratory atmosphere and the noise of the marriage celebrations.

#### ***7.3.4.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the two reading groups, the PIngawan and the Pulan of the Sediq tribe, talked about the relationship between husband and wife, and the role of women, illustrating the common view of the tribal traditional philosophy that men and women should get married. The reason give is that the relatives would gain more children through the institution of marriage and thus be able to pass on the family and tribal traditions. In addition, they portrayed the traditional and philosophical expectations for men. In the traditional patriarchal society of the Sediq tribe the tribal people hold that men should be respected. Tribal women must not laugh at men. A man could claim that a woman laughed at him because he was angry; and he could swear in front of a woman to leave his dignity intact. The man who suffered being laughed at by a woman would ask his male friends as warriors to go head-hunting with him, or to kill a black bear to prove his bravery. If the woman who laughed at him is not married, she would, for security, have to marry the man unconditionally when he returns victorious. If the woman does not want to marry that man or if the man has no desire to marry her, the man’s family could smash things in the woman’s house, including the building itself, forcing the woman’s family to build a new one. Otherwise the woman’s family would have to kill a big pig to beg for pardon from the man.

The participants from the Pulan reading group said that the Sediq tribal society is patriarchal. They emphasized this point by stressing the importance of men in the Sediq tribe. Some women participants had a different view from that of the men; they think that there is a way of cooperation between men and women where there exists a clear line of separation of tasks, which neither could cross to interfere with the other’s work. For example, those jobs with a heavy workload such as the cultivation of new land, fighting, hunting and decisions about public events are men’s responsibilities; the jobs with a less burdensome workload, such as weaving, raising children, planting seeds, weeding and harvesting are the women’s responsibilities. Neither side can cross

into the other's domain for fear of breaching some taboo. They mentioned prohibitions, such as on the one hand, if women touch the men's weapons, the men would suffer accidents; on the other hand, if men touch the weaving loom belonging to the women then the woven article would not turn out as beautiful, and the men who touched the weaving loom would become weak and would not be able to face difficult challenges posed by their environment. For example, their mountain climbing speed would become slower.

#### ***7.3.4.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the two tribal reading groups, the Pynan and the Kngayan, which belong to the Tayal tribe, mentioned that the women in their tribe were trained to be diligent, and should be capable of doing domestic chores, and most especially be adept at weaving. The Kngayan group offered a tribal text:

There was a clumsy woman who was lazy and who did not know how to weave clothes. One day, when the warriors came back to the tribe after their head hunting, all the women put on their tradition colourful woven clothes, and presented their work as red clothes to the warriors. This clumsy woman was ashamed and hid herself in the winnowing platform because she had nothing with which to welcome the warriors. The warriors found a dove, which flew out from the deck, and they thought that the clumsy woman had changed into it.

In the tribal text version shared by the Pynan reading group the account was expanded in that it tells how the dove flew back to the tribe to remind the women that they should be diligent in preparing the celebration ceremony for the warrior's return. The Pynan group offered another tribal text version which said that the clumsy woman did not accept the advice of the tribal elders to practice her weaving skills at home because she felt bored doing that. She liked to eat the meat of wild animals, so she wore the skin of a leopard and changed into a leopard to catch her favourite food in the forest.

#### ***7.3.4.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups***

The two tribal reading groups, the Tpuqu and the Pratan from the Truku tribe, in

discussing the relationship between husband and wife, and the role of women, each mentioned rather similar legends of a tribal heroine. This legend broke the tribal prohibition that women could not join in hunting or fighting, so it was a popular legend in the tribe. It said that there was a pretty woman named Sita Ruku, who was loved very much by a man, but she did not feel the same way about him. He spread a rumour in the tribe that he had had intercourse with her, although he knew very well that that was a tribal prohibition, which would bring disaster to the tribe and to the family. Sita Ruku then learned the way in which men used their knives to take heads from someone outside the tribe; she wanted to prove her purity. Though she knew the prohibition that women could not touch weapons, which belonged to men, yet she did so to prove her purity. Then Sita Riku took the head she had hunted to the home of the chief to prove her purity. In the version from the Pratan group, it was mentioned that the man who told lies about her slaughtered a large pig to obtain her forgiveness, and he praised her as a tribal heroine.

We found that the female participants took a more active part than the men in the discussion of this topic. It might be because there were more female participants than male ones. In general, there were more female participants than male ones in all fourteen reading groups. I think that this topic was more interesting for women, so they expressed their opinions freely. It was apparent that there was an undertone among the male participants in the Amis reading group, which was not like that of the male participants from the other tribes. The reason was maybe that the men from other tribes had a patriarchal social organization, so they had more to discuss. However, the involvement of the female participants in the discussion of such topics was quite passionate in comparison with that of the male participants.

### **7.3.5. The Prohibition about Nakedness and Sex**

The participants from the fourteen groups all mentioned influential tribal texts which concerned nakedness and sex. The main reason is that they felt these related to the biblical text: “And the man and his wife were both naked, and they were not ashamed”. At the same time, when they proceeded with this topic, those participants also discussed the biblical text: “Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons” (Genesis 3:7), after Adam and Eve ate the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Though our reading focused mainly on the topic of the couple not being allowed to eat the fruit of that tree, some groups listed other topics concerning

tribal prohibitions, including a topic about nakedness and the initiation of sex, as common discussion points for the meeting.

#### **7.3.5.1. *Amis Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the three reading groups, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka talked about the problem of nakedness. They all thought that in order for the state of nakedness to be recognized by the tribal people without censure it must only occur within a heterosexual relationship. This is because, to be permitted in tribal society, nakedness and sexual relations must only occur in the context of heterosexual marriage. The participants from those three groups agreed that naked people outdoors, but not indoors, are “ashamed” (Adam and Eve were naked outdoors, not inside a house.) In the view of the participants, only the mentally deranged and people who have been possessed by spirits would be naked outdoors. Such behaviour is not acceptable in adults, but little children are not old enough to know better. The Ciwkangan reading group listed a text, which says:

In the period of chaos, the two spirits named Abokupayan and Tariburayan fell into the world of humans. They built a house to live together and they invented fire. The male spirit found that he had a protruding part on his body, which was different from that of the female spirit, and then both spirits knew that they had different body parts. They learned about the sexual relationship between man and woman after they saw two birds having sexual intercourse in front of them.

#### **7.3.5.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the reading groups belonging to the Bunun tribe, the Ququaz, the Kphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nansan cited this myth:

In the period of chaos, there were two men without bones who climbed up on to the earth. One day, many ants climbed on to their bodies from the ground, and then they stood up and began to walk. They saw two birds which were having sexual intercourse, so they learned from that and they created more and more humans.

The participants from the Sinapalan and the Nansan reading groups talked about similar tribal texts:

A long time ago, there was a beautiful girl and many young men in the tribe wanted to marry her. Her parents selected one to be her husband. But it was strange because after she had been married only one night she was renounced by her husband and sent back to her parents' home. The same thing occurred two more times. Her mother checked her private parts and found that there were teeth there, so the mother ground them with a file until they were smooth. After that, the girl's marriage was happy and without any problem.

But the Ququaz group's version of that tribal text states that many fleas jumped out from the girl's private parts when her mother ground down the teeth.

### ***7.3.5.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants of the PIngawan and the Pulan reading groups from the Sediq tribe talked about how heterosexual couples may not have sex before their marriage, because it is a serious prohibition. In cases where couples break that taboo, then the whole tribe, including their family members, will be punished by the ancestral spirits. So couples who commit this error are confined in the tribal prison in a block house until the whole tribe passes through the dangerous period, and then the couple have to get married after they leave the prison. The participants from the Pulan reading group confirmed this aspect of their tribal text:

A long time ago, there was a young couple of lovers in the same tribe who loved each other very much. They talked to each other for a while, and they had sex before their marriage. One tribe member who belonged to the man's family went hunting, but he fell down a ravine and was seriously hurt. When then he returned to the tribe the family members looked all over to find the reason for his accident. Then the young lover told the truth and admitted that he had sex with his girlfriend. All the young men brought knives to the house of that young man and smashed everything, including the foundation of the building. They sent the young couple to prison for a month in the block house on the mountain and then set them free. The family of the man who had

committed the error prepared him to marry the girl, but the family elders and other tribal people refused to attend the ceremony because they did not want to praise them. So their marriage ceremony could not be properly celebrated.

#### ***7.3.5.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups***

The participants from the Pyanan and the Kngayan reading groups from the Tayal tribe had the same understanding as the Plangawan and the Pulan reading groups from the Sediq tribe. They told how nakedness and sexual intercourse before marriage are seen as serious breaches of the taboo, which would anger the ancestral spirits who would then punish the whole tribe and the family members. So the tribal elders instructed children to follow the laws especially the one concerning sexual intercourse before marriage. The Pyanan and the Kngayann reading groups contributed their tribal text, which was about the prohibition of nakedness and sexual intercourse before marriage. In the Tayal tribe, the tribal people would ask couples to test their purity to prove that they had not gone against the prohibition of sexual intercourse before marriage. The test of their qualification was whether they could make tattoos on their faces or not. Normally men should be qualified for marriage by their successful hunting experiences and whether they had ever participated in a hunt for heads; women would be qualified when they had acquired weaving skills. But men and women who had no tattoos on their faces would have difficulty in finding lovers. If young men and young women committed immoral actions against the prohibition they would be punished by the spirits of their ancestors when they attempted to tattoo their faces. It was generally believed that the scars were harder to heal and the stripes were not clear after they made tattoos on their faces. Only if such evidence did not appear would the tribal people see the couples as having established their purity, and would thus deem them qualified to get married.

#### ***7.3.5.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Truku tribe, the participants in the Tpuqu and the Pratan reading groups talked about the traditional clothing of women and men as well as focusing on the prohibition of sex before marriage. The women could not expose their bodies to any men except their husbands, so the tribal clothing was designed to cover the arms, and, even if the legs could not be covered by the skirts, they would had to use extra clothes

to cover them. However, the rule for men was not as strict. In the Truku tribe, for example, the men only put on a robe, an undergarment to protect their abdomen, and a hanging cloth on their waist to cover their penis. The man did not have to wear trousers. If the penis of a man happened to be exposed in a public place, the tribal women were not to laugh at him. Otherwise, the ridiculed un-married man had the right to ask the laughing woman to marry him, or he could ask that woman's family to kill a pig as compensation.

With regard to the topic concerning the prohibition of sex before marriage, the male relatives from the woman's family would go and fight the guilty man with knives and weapons, even smashing things in the man's family home. After fighting, the woman's family could ask the other side to arrange a marriage with the woman. The participants from the Pratan reading group said if the couples would not get married, they would be beaten by the tribal elders, or they could command them to commit suicide, or even execute them by hanging.

Most participants thought that in public places it was not proper to discuss topics concerning nakedness and sex. So when we reviewed the content of their discussion it was clear that they did not wish to enter into a consideration of the sexual problems arising between men and women, because they see it as a prohibited topic and that prohibition is binding. The topic of sex was only discussed in the Bunun reading groups, while the other groups concentrated on discussing the issue of sexual intercourse before marriage. They were all unanimous that nakedness is not allowable in public places, and they were even quite embarrassed to discuss this part of the topic in a public place.

From the above documentation it is clear that, following the procedures of Chapter 6 with the above five tribes—the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal, and the Truku, the TYCM lay people can work together to complete the Second Step and re-construct the tribal texts from their cultural and religious traditions through the topics raised in the Third Step. There is, therefore, enough evidence to prove that the TYCM ordinary tribal people can re-nurture their relationship with tribal texts through the process of doing a TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation by using the Five Steps Reading Process, even if they were just to work through just the three steps from the First to the Third. In addition, it is clear that we can claim that the process of re-constructing their tribal texts is their decolonial strategy for their tribal postcolonial concerns, through the process of biblical interpretation.

#### **7.4. Conclusion**

In this chapter we have explored the core of the Second and the Third steps of the Five Steps Reading Process to display how and by what means the TYCM tribal texts are re-constructed by the tribal people through the reading process of the biblical text. A closer look at how the ordinary tribal people practice the above reading processes reveals that the Five Steps Reading Process of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation can really help them develop a de-colonization strategy to respond to their postcolonial concerns in the context of their current reading of the biblical text. This process of biblical interpretation manifests this possibility, then, for all of us who endeavour to re-search and re-construct the TYCM tribal people's texts through the reading process of the biblical text. This has benefits for Christian TYCM tribal people to enable them to identify their tribal texts and still find a multiple layered nurturing foundation from their tribal texts and the biblical text in their Churches and in the tribal villages.

Through this contextual biblical reading process, the TYCM tribal Christians are encouraged to recall and to re-locate their tribal cultures and traditional religious texts. It is currently not acceptable for them to do so if they continue to use only the traditional biblical reading methods. Yet in the process of addressing the postcolonial concerns of the TYCM outlined in the previous chapters, which emphasized the emptiness and the ignorance of the postcolonial situation of the TYCM tribal people, the indigenous scholars and writers have adopted various de-colonization writing strategies to reinstate the traditional tribal texts. This biblical interpretation process comes alongside these de-colonization writing strategies.

Obviously, then, when we adopt the de-colonization strategies which are included as part of the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial concerns and apply these in the reading of Christian texts, we may confirm the following conclusion, based on our findings from the practices used by the fourteen tribal reading groups:

The TYCM tribal Christians can fill up the emptiness and ignorance of their postcolonial situation by leading the TYCM traditional text back from its place on the boundary to the centre, where it can be heard by the public (Ukan 2009).

This method has thus become part of a larger grouping of reading strategies in the Taiwanese postcolonial biblical interpretation field. The purpose of this endeavour, to practice such a de-colonization reading strategy, is to let it be realized as a viable opportunity for the TYCM tribes to revitalize their understanding of and their practice of indigenous culture and religious traditions in their postcolonial situation. Thus, it is in this spirit that the TYCM tribal Christians can recall, renew, dictate and re-locate their traditional tribal texts through a biblical reading process, in order to prevent the loss and disappearance of their tribal culture and religious traditional tribal texts into the abyss of colonialism. Moreover, this process can strengthen them to return their tribal texts to the same place in their societies as the biblical text, by introducing another option for reading the TYCM tribal Christian Bible to generate readings with new meaning in this new postcolonial era through their re-dictation, re-location and renewal.

We have demonstrated that the traditional biblical reading could, through this process, thus proceed into the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation reading method which cross-reads the different texts to reveal the hidden tribal texts in the reading process. In this way we have engaged with the aforementioned five topics, not only to shed light on another perspective with which to read and to interpret the biblical text, but also to restore the worldview of the TYCM tribal people from their tribal texts, as a legitimate outcome of re-reading the biblical text. We now turn to the next step, in which the recovered tribal text is used to re-read the biblical text. Unfortunately, the traditional work of interpreting the biblical text has been generally limited to educational institutes, such as colleges, universities, classrooms or libraries, where it has been acceptable to develop a more scholarly slant on the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse, but not to relate to the communities as ordinary tribal people. We will continue to affirm the credibility of the TYCM lay people as they manifest their own perspectives and their own voices in speaking about their postcolonial concerns. I will discuss this part of the topic in the following chapter.

## Chapter Eight

### **TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation (3): Re-locating the TYCM Ordinary Tribal Reader**

*The TYCM tribal people have not been the chief protagonists in the recovery and forceful presentation of their own identity. Rather they have been targeted for research by scholars and experts who have proceeded to observe, analyze, segment, distort and reconstruct, while ignoring the main corpus of existing fact. The activity of the TYCM tribal people while under colonial control has only been visible at the outer edges of Taiwan's history. (Sun Ta-chuang 2003:63)*

*"We, the TYCM tribal people, have always been forced to become Dutch, Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese. Who are we actually? We are the Sediq, which, as our ancestors proclaimed, is an unalterable fact".(Siyac Nabu)<sup>138</sup>*

#### **8.0. Introduction**

The TYCM Christians can recall and re-express their oral traditions to relocate their tribal texts through biblical reading. In spite of their great efforts, this process will not necessarily prevent the marginalization of their traditional cultures and religious tribal texts, but it will provide an opportunity for the traditional texts to be seen as on an equal footing with the biblical text, to be read and then re-read in the biblical reading process of the TYCM Christians. We have established that such results emerge when the general approach is in line with the cross-textual hermeneutic practised in other parts of the world. Moreover, when that is the case, the findings of TYCM biblical scholars are seen as valid, as we noted before, and we may claim affirmatively that the Bible reading can be used to relocate the postcolonial reading strategy for the TYCM tribal texts, having regard to the TYCM's dual identity both as tribal people and as Christians engaged in this process. This will not necessarily lead the TYCM tribal people to re-enter the arena of postcolonial struggle, nor does it mean that they will not continue to ignore the wealth of abundant wisdom they can find in their tribal texts.

---

<sup>138</sup> He is a retired minister in the Sediq Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan.

Yet this type of reading practice must not be limited to the university or the theological seminary, though it must be stated that it does not normally take place in the discipline of a classroom. My focus, however, as mentioned in the previous chapters, is that the ordinary tribal people recognise that they can be authentic readers, recovering their own traditional tribal texts. As we have seen, they are able to become “real” readers of both the biblical and tribal text. It must be stressed that we would not be able to present the TYCM tribal texts without the full participation of the TYCM tribal people; such co-operation meets the basic criteria for a credible de-colonization strategy, a fact emphasized by those scholars who have returned home to reconnect with and to record the tribal people’s oral expression of the traditional tribal village culture and religions.

In this chapter, we proceed, taking another step, to discuss the second objective of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, which is to focus on the relocation of the TYCM ordinary tribal readers. To connect the structure of the Five Steps Reading Process with the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, this chapter will discuss the concerns of the Fourth and Fifth Steps. The main purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the depth of wisdom of the TYCM lay people when they are invited to become “real” readers, practising cross-textual readings, by re-reading their tribal texts and then “returning” to re-read the biblical text (and, in an ongoing hermeneutic cycle, again re-interpreting the biblical text to read their tribal texts). Our concern here is to show that TYCM ordinary tribal people really using their own voices when they become “real” readers in the reading process. It is different from the role of the Second and Third Steps which simply encourage ordinary tribal people to re-call and to record their tribal texts and to compare topics similar to those found in the biblical text. Moreover the purpose of dealing with the Fourth and Fifth Steps in this chapter is to further the opportunity to link the ordinary tribal reader’s viewpoints to their postcolonial concerns in reading the biblical text and the tribal texts, whose meanings were limited not only by biblical scholars but also by the ministers of the Church.

### **8.1. Re-locating the “Real” Reader: the Ordinary Reader**

The second focus of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation is to take account of the TYCM tribal people’s identity as readers and the position of the tribal text reading in the context of the TYCM’s postcolonial concerns. Thus, in this work I have named those tribal people who are the interpreters and readers, “the TYCM ordinary tribal

readers”.

Although we have stated clearly that the TYCM tribal people should be the ordinary tribal readers in the interpretation process, we should point out that this method is different from that of the Cross-textual Hermeneutics defined by Archie Lee. Cross-textual Hermeneutics successfully drew together the multiple traditional cultural and religious texts in the Third World and Asia, setting them on an equal footing with the biblical text for the purpose of doing cross-textual reading. It helped Asian Christians who live in a milieu of multiple cultures and religious beliefs to cherish their own traditional heritages, so that the Asian experience could be mutually shared, appreciated, and enriched by a reading of the Israelite experience mentioned in the Bible.

This is a similar model to that which is proposed by C. S. Song, the Taiwanese biblical scholar, who used stories from the Asian context to construct an Asian Christian theology. He connected the familiar stories of Asians with the Bible to fill it with the meaning of the texts of multiple Asian traditions, cultures, and religious beliefs to represent the theological structure and the possibilities for biblical interpretation among the lay people. However, the role of interpreter or reader in the interpretation process still rests with a minority of biblical scholars and preachers in the field of cross-textual hermeneutics who can discern the perspectives of the Asian stories and do cross-textual readings or theology.

Obviously, there exists quite a big gap between the experience of the scholars who returned to their tribal homelands and the level of the tribal people’s participation in restoring and reconstructing the oral tradition and spirit of the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns. As Pablo Richard emphasized, the principal subject in the biblical interpretation should be the people, not the ministers or the biblical scholars (Richard 1996:309-310). This understanding reflects the fact that the TYCM tribal people can rightly be the real interpreters or the real readers, which is absolutely the best way to respond to the spirit of the TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial concerns on which the TYCM tribal scholars concentrated in the interpretation process.

How, then, do we upgrade the participation of the ordinary people to be the “real” readers, which is the most important role in biblical interpretation? Should we be more open to practice this method of biblical interpretation? We may draw a good example from Gerald West who employs the Contextual Bible Study model as his preferred biblical interpretation method in the context of South Africa. By this means

he rendered a service to all indigenous populations in that he upgraded the ordinary people to be considered both by outsiders and by themselves as “real” readers.<sup>139</sup>

Such an imaginative way of elevating the ordinary reader’s locus in biblical interpretation stems from the research of Gayatri Spivak who reflects on the “speaking” of the subaltern. West adopts notions from Spivak, but places alongside “speaking *to*”, in the postcolonial discourse of Spivak, the notion of “speaking *with*”. In that way, he moves beyond the previous context of biblical interpretation in which the biblical scholar could “speak *for*” or “listen to” the poor or the marginalized ordinary reader (West 1996:21-41). Moreover, he highlights the plight of the subalterns who are located at the margin, encouraging and enabling them to be leaders and readers at the centre, so that they can use their own voices to express and to proclaim their feelings and experiences. Similarly, Musa Dube promotes the women of Botswana to be authentic interpreters from the postcolonial feminist perspective (Dube 1996:111-129).

The Contextual Bible Study method which Gerald West proposes emphasizes not only that the true path to reading and to learning lies with the ordinary reader, breaking the mainstream understanding that the principle subject in biblical interpretation is the biblical scholar, but also that the ordinary reader becomes the subject in the process. This transformation strengthens the role and function of ordinary readers to participate in biblical text interpretation.

Contextual Bible Study focuses on the perspective that Bible study is a process of “reading with” the “ordinary reader”. The term “*reader*” is thus metaphorical in that it includes “the many who are illiterate, but who listen to, discuss, and repeat the Bible”. Moreover, the term “*ordinary*” is used in a general and in a specific sense, with the general usage including “all readers who read the Bible pre-critically”; and the specific usage focusing on a “particular sector of pre-critical readers”, “those readers who are poor and marginalized”. The ordinary readers, thus, are not like trained readers, who use the specialist tools of biblical scholarship, but “they have their own resources to read the texts critically, even if they do not have access to the structured and the systematic sets of resources that constitute the craft of traditional biblical scholars”. As indicated, for West the term “ordinary reader” has both a general and specific designation. *Generally* they are “non-scholars”, according to his differentiation between scholars and non-scholars/ordinary readers; and *specifically*

---

<sup>139</sup> Refer, for example, to the articles in *Semeia* 73, 1996, and Gerald O. West, *Contextual Bible Study* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993, reprinted 2003).

they are the “ordinary” readers who are (in the context of South Africa) the poor, the working class, and the marginalized (including women and those living with HIV and AIDS) (West and Dube 1996:7; West 2007a:2).

West develops the idea of “reading with” thus: it is a “reading process in which the respective subject positions of ordinary, untrained readers and critical, trained readers are vigilantly fore-grounded and in which power relations are structurally acknowledged” (West and Dube 1996:7-8). The practice of “reading with” invites scholars to read the Bible with actual readers from poor and marginalized communities, even when many of these readers are only “readers” in a metaphorical sense. “Those from the margins who have been waiting in the wings, offstage, who are not usually invited to the comfortable coffee table, may now, if we have ears to hear, be heard calling us to come read with them” (West 1996:27; 2003:38). While ordinary readers do not “read” like biblical scholars, West states, most eloquently, that:

The deep awareness, which ordinary poor and marginalized “readers” of the Bible bring with them to the contextual Bible study process, of their own struggles for survival, liberation, and quality of life are, of course, a considerable contribution. Theirs are eyes that are hermeneutically trained by their struggles to detect the presence of the hidden transcript in the discourses of the dominant (West 2002:213).

West proposes that biblical scholars should be invited to “read with” the ordinary readers, which is an unprecedented epistemological paradigm shift, making them the primary dialogue partner in postcolonial biblical interpretation and theological reflection. This requires, as West argues, that more than “an option for the poor”, but also to accept “the epistemological privilege of the poor” (West 2003: xii-xv). Only through an in-depth analysis of the systems of domination and resistance, as experienced by the poor and marginalised, can we determine how we understand the biblical scholars’ role in the struggles of the poor and marginalized ordinary people for survival, liberation and life (xv).

The ordinary readers, thus, are “not silent, and will not be silenced” (39). Traditional biblical scholars have previously excluded ordinary readers, who might disrupt and challenge the established hierarchies of scholarly academics and societies, leaving them as the true “others” of biblical interpretation. However, Contextual Bible Study, says West, must be the new task of contemporary biblical scholars, as “we together

give shape to counter-ideologies, resisting readings and theologies that bring liberation and life” (West 1995:198-200; 1996:32-33).

West considers that Contextual Bible Study has four central concerns or commitments. (1) To read the Bible from the perspective of the South African context, particularly from the perspective of the poor and the oppressed. To choose to read the Bible from the perspective of the poor and the oppressed is a clear indication that God is particularly concerned for suffering people, such as widows, orphans, women, strangers, the handicapped, the poor and the oppressed who are socially, politically, economically, and culturally marginalized. (2) To read the Bible in community with others, particularly to read with ordinary readers and learn from the readings of ordinary people. The “reading with” model requires that the trained readers are hearing the contributions of ordinary readers, and that they do not minimize nor rationalize the contributions and experiences of these ordinary people. Though this process the ordinary people can discover and then acknowledge and recognize “their own identity and the value and significance of their own contributions and experiences”. (3) To read the Bible critically. The ordinary reader may not have a very systematic or structured way to analyse their social, economic, and political areas of life, but the Contextual Bible Study process helps the ordinary reader to have the critical consciousness to face his/her past and present and to shape her/his future. Ordinary readers who are critical readers, though this process, question and study the Bible, rather than “just accept and repeat what others have told us about the Bible”. (4) To pursue personal and social transformation through Contextual Bible Study. The Contextual Bible Study process embraces the readiness of ordinary readers “to appropriate and apply” the Bible to their context (West 1993:11-25).

How is it possible to facilitate the transformation of ordinary people to become “real” readers to read the Bible? The challenge, argues West, of reading the Bible with the ordinary readers is: “allowing, even facilitating, a reading process in which ordinary readers take and use what is empowering for their particular subjectivities and communities, and allowing, even facilitating, a reading process in which we as biblical scholars are partially constituted by the experiences, questions, interests, resources, and readings of those on the margins”. West goes on to say that not only does such “a reading process enable us to be partially constituted by “the other” who is usually absent from biblical studies, but our readings now bring to the academic stage glimpses of readings that are to be found offstage among the poor and marginalized and which call us to share their struggle with the God of life against the forces of death” (West 1996: 38).

In the reading or study process, therefore, the facilitator needs to use appropriate questions, to encourage a close and careful reading of the biblical texts. West calls attention to how the trained reader might “intimidate ordinary readers, hindering them from speaking and contributing in the Bible study process” (West 1993:80). A facilitator offers the willingness to learn, to be an enabler and not a dominator in the contextual Bible study process. As a result, West proposes that the facilitator be free to use the three scholarly modes of reading the Bible, “behind the text”, “the text itself”, and “in front of the text”, to raise appropriate questions and to ensure that when ordinary people participate in the exercise they have the freedom to express their views and comments. The “behind the text” focus is on the historical and sociological world of the biblical text. “The text itself” is the literary world of the text itself, while “in front of the text” emphasizes “the major metaphors, themes, and symbols that run through a text or collection of texts” (West 1993:26-47).

But the power relations within this “reading with” process cannot be obliterated, or ignored. This is why facilitation is the key to the Contextual Bible Study process. West says, “The primary role of the facilitator is to assist the overall purpose of Contextual Bible Study, namely, *group collaboration*”, and “the facilitator needs to be someone who enables the group to work together collaboratively, sharing their resources and coming to some common action” (West 2007:12). For facilitation, West sets out some important elements that the facilitator needs to understand. He should know the group which is doing the Bible study, and be mindful that these studies involve participation and discussion. The facilitator is just one voice, and is present to enable the “group process” to take place, to manage conflict, to enable the participants to engage with the questions, to provide information when requested, and to stimulate the use of local reading resources. The facilitator should remember that not all of the participants may be literate, that the Bible study questions are allocated sufficient time for group discussion, and that the Bible study process moves forward to the conclusion of the process. Central to the facilitation process is the creation of a safe space for ordinary readers, and this can be established through introductory “ice-breaker” exercises before the Bible study begins, and dividing the participants into small groups, because these group studies may evoke considerable emotional responses among the participants (West 2007:12-13).

From the above analysis we may say that Contextual Bible Study ensures that the ordinary reader, who is often silent/silenced, becomes the “real” reader who is now located in the position of “one who won’t be silenced”. The Contextual Bible Study

process can, of course, be taken up as a de-colonization strategy for ordinary people in response to colonialism, if used in the context of postcolonial discourse. In the section that follows we will locate this Contextual Bible Study process in the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial context.

## **8.2. The General TYCM Tribal People's Postcolonial Context As Seen in the Reading Process**

After we carried out the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation with the fourteen tribal reading groups, we discovered some postcolonial contextual issues for the TYCM tribal people. As a guide for biblical scholars we would like to share below some of the responses from the TYCM ordinary tribal readers and to record their comments on their participation experience. These postcolonial experiences are of frequent occurrence among the tribal people. Our hope is that the reader may not only know the postcolonial context shown in the reading process for the TYCM Christians, but also that we may challenge and aid scholars and theologians to pay more attention to those problems existing in the TYCM tribes, as evidenced in the process of biblical interpretation and theological review.

First, the TYCM tribal people have separated themselves from their own cultural and religious traditions, or at least have retained only fragmentary memories of them. We finally recorded these comments made by the participants when they entered the Third, Fourth, and Fifth steps, during which it was their task to recall, to repeat, and to re-locate their tribal cultural and religious heritage:

For a long time we have not heard the tribal histories and traditional stories from the tribal elders (Tisalo, Molisaka, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Nansan, Plngawan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Kngayan).<sup>140</sup>

We have forgotten our ancestors' traditional wisdom and experience! (Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Ququaz, Sinapalan, Nansan, Pulan, Pyanan, Kngayan, and Tpuqu).<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> The purpose in recording those tribal group names is to give them a chance to publicise their thoughts freely, after their reading the Biblical text, and not be influenced by the views of the Biblical scholars or trained readers.

<sup>141</sup> The reason why I use an exclamation mark here is to express my emphatic endorsement of this view. Sadly, it is an incontrovertible fact.

All I remember about the tribal tradition is fragmentary and far from complete (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Nansan, Plngawan, Pulan, Pyanan, Kngayan, Tpuqu, and Pratan).

My parents do not tell me the tribal traditions and stories (Tisalo, Ququaz, Kuphong, Singwu, Plngawan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Pratan).

Our education in school does not teach us about traditional tribal culture (Molisaka, Singwu, Plngawan, Pyanan, and Tpuqu).

The tradition and wisdom of our ancestors does not feature in the syllabus of the examinations leading to educational qualifications (Molisaka, Ququaz, Plngawan, and Tpuqu).

In the Japanese colonial era, we were prohibited from talking about our tribal traditions (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Ququaz, Sinapalan, and Pyanan).

In the period of martial law under the Kuomintang, we had no chance to talk about our tribal ancestors' traditional wisdom and experiences (Ciwkangan, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Tpuqu).

The TYCM tribal culture and religious traditions are bad, the culture of uncivilised barbarians (Ququaz, Kuphong, Singwu, Pulan, and Kngayan).

The TYCM tribal culture and religious traditions belong to the traditions of barbarians (Ciwkangan, Nansan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Tpuqu).

The TYCM tribal people were conditioned to give up their own traditions long long ago (Molisaka, Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Nansan, Pulan, Pyanan, Kngayan, Tpuqu, and Pratan).

We record these responses from the TYCM readers as they show how they understand their own relationship with their cultural and religious traditions. They thought that they ignored their own culture and had been left with a fragmented memory because their parents did not tell them about it, and they did not receive instruction about it in

the school education system. (On the contrary they were taught that their cultural and religious traditions, being the traditions of lazy barbarians, should be abandoned.) Under these circumstances, it is no surprise that TYCM tribal people exist in the state they do in their postcolonial context, having lived so long under colonial control.

Secondly, if the participants are Christians, there is often an apparent dichotomy between the Church and the tribal memory. We list the responses from the reading process below:

There is no opportunity given to tell these stories (Tisalo, Kuphong, Plngawan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Tpuqu).

The minister does not allow us to talk about the tribal traditions in the Church (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Sinapalan, Nansan, Plngawan, Pulan, and Kngayan).

We are allowed to talk about Bible stories but not the stories of our tribal tradition (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Sinapalan, Plngawan, and Kngayan).

It would be sacrilege (blasphemy against God) if we talked about the tribal culture and religious traditions in Church (Ciwkangan, Sinapalan, Nansan, and Kngayan).

The Church is a place for Christians to worship God and to read the Bible only (Sinapalan, Nansan, Pulan, and Kngayan).

The Church is no place to instruct us how to recover and rebuild our tribal culture and religious traditions (Ciwkangan, Ququaz, Kuphong, Nansan, Pulan, Tpuqu, and Pratan).

The heaven spoken of in the TYCM tribal people's religion is not that of Jesus but is of Satan or of evil (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Ququaz, Kuphong, Singwu, Pyanan, and Pratan).

The TYCM tribal religion worships Satan or evil (Kuphong, Sinapalan, Pulan, and Pyanan).

The TYCM tribal culture belongs to the worship of Satan or evil (Ququaz, Sinapalan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Pratan).

The Christians said that the tribal cultures and religious traditions practice morality without a faith (Ciwkangan, Plngawan, and Tpuqu).

The different denominations of the Christian Church are one of the causes of disunity among the tribespeople (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Plngawan, and Kngayan).

I believe the words of the Bible, but I do not believe the traditional stories which I heard from the tribal elders (Nansan, Pulan, and Kngayan).

How does the Church go about adopting the traditional tribal religious rites? (Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Kuphong, Nansan, Plngawan, and Tpuqu).

Most of the participants, with the exception of those from the Kngayan and Molisaka groups, held that it was the different denominations in Christianity which constituted one reason for the tribes not uniting closely with each other. In addition, they maintained that their postcolonial context was partly generated by the fact that, when Christianity entered the tribes, it expelled the TYCM tribal religions.

If we review the responses from the ordinary readers about the relationships between the Churches and the tribal culture and religious traditions, we see that the ordinary readers complained that they had no chance to talk about the tribal traditions and legends in the Church. In the case of tribal people who held the view that tribal culture and religion are an offence to God, they were forced to conclude that the high-god in the TYCM tribal religion is Satan or evil, and that their religion was essentially devil-worship. This is the real postcolonial context surrounding us. These attitudes continue to live on in the current tribes, especially in the conservative Church groups.

Thirdly, previously the ministers and trained readers had absolute influence over the biblical reading process, adopting the results of contemporary thinking from the field of biblical interpretation. We can offer examples from the Molisaka, the Ququaz, the

Kuphong, the Singwu, the Pyanan, the Tpuqu, and the Pratan reading groups' discussions, when the ministers were present during the meeting and addressed such issues. We have only given the ministers' remarks and readers' comments about ministers, withholding the names of the reading groups in order to keep the identities confidential.

You should not explain the biblical text like that.

You should not explain the tribal tradition topic like that.

The minister told us that the tribal traditional religion worships evil.

The priest said that the Christians would not allow us to participate in the tribal rites (e.g: the harvest festival).

"I feel this biblical text describes ...," but you must not talk about it..., because your interpretation is not based on (the Christian) faith.

Your explanation of this tribal legend is not good, it should be....

It is incorrect, it should be ....

The biblical author thought that....

The commentaries from the biblical scholars say that the biblical text should be..., but not ....

In seminary, the theological training showed us that the biblical text should be ..., but not ....

This here is the Church which is the House of God, so we should not talk about....

The main theological topic in Genesis is..., the theological topic of Gen 2 is ....

To explain the biblical text is the job of the priest, but not the job of Church members.

The reason why we write down those responses from the ministers and trained readers is not to present a negative image of the ministers, but to highlight the fact that the ministers and trained readers sometimes dominated the discussion group, unintentionally disrupting the whole reading process. They were not facilitators. This directly affected the reading by the TYCM ordinary tribal readers and made them wonder if they were really free to comment or not.

Fourth, the tribal people did not want to open the wounds or touch the scars from their colonial history. I did not expect results like these from the readings when I myself was a trained reader. Following on from their discussion of how God created human beings from dust in the biblical texts, the participants worked on the topic of land,

which was not discussed until the Third Step. We here summarize their comments as they tried to recall the relationship between their ancestors' land and their experience of the foreign colonizers.

Don't talk about tribal history, it makes us sad (Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Singwu, Nansan, and Kngayan).

Don't talk about the Kuomintang government, or we will be arrested by the police (Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Plngawan, and Kngayan).

We are not strong enough to change our country. If they changed the flag, then the government would be changed also (Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Plngawan, Pyanan, and Kngayan).

The land in which our ancestors lived was confiscated by the government. How can we change that physical fact? (Tisalo, Sinapalan, Pulan, and Kngayan).

Our tribe was forced to move here in the Japanese ruling period (Tisalo, Molisaka, Ququaz, Kuphong, Singwu, Nansan, Pulan, Kngayan, and Pratan).

Our ancestors' land was lost completely after we moved here (Ciwkangan, Kuphong, Singwu, Nansan, Pulan, Pyanan, Tpuqu, and Pratan).

Fortunately, our Christian faith enabled us to forget, and to endure such colonial pain (Ciwkangan, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Singwu, Nansan, Plngawan, Pulan, Pyanan, Tpuqu, and Pratan).

We did not live here originally. We have lived here since the original inhabitants were banished by the Japanese (Molisaka, Sinapalan, Plngawan, and Pulan).

From the above responses we see that the TYCM ordinary people's thoughts on the biblical text were contrary to the expectation of the trained readers. For example, I expected that they would talk about how they saw "land" traditionally, but not give accounts of how they lost their land. As facilitators for the TYCM Tribal Biblical

Interpretation, we did not prevent the participants' from doing this but encouraged them to express their thoughts freely (West, 1993; 2003). Their observations reflected how the tribal people adjusted to the colonial pain they experienced in their lives in the postcolonial context. Though the colonial ruling period is over, the colonial pain and scars continue to exist in the tribes, and this human experience cannot be ignored.

Fifth, the tribal people have given up conversing in their mother-tongues; and only a few people know how to write in their own language on paper. The First Step in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation asked whether the people wanted to read the Bible in their mother-tongue for the reading process, the purpose being to encourage the participants to do so. It was the best way to represent and create the atmosphere of a traditional tribal convocation house, *Prrngawan*, and it provided a stage for the tribal people to use their mother-tongues in conversation, which is a starting point for the tribal people to get in touch with their heritage. We will discuss this topic in the next chapter. Here I offer some responses from the ordinary tribal readers who were part of the fourteen tribal reading groups.

The vocabulary in our tribal mother-tongue is too limited to express the Bible content completely (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Ququaz, Sinapalan, Nansan, and Plngawan).

The mother-tongue which is used in the Bible does not belong to our tribal group (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Kuphong, Singwu, Nansan, Plngawan, Pyanan, and Kngayan).

The meanings between our reading in our mother-tongue and Chinese are totally different (Molisaka, Kuphong, Nansan, Plngawan, Pyanan, and Kngayan).

During the period of martial law the Kuomintang government forbade us to speak in our mother-tongues (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Kuphong, Singwu, Nansan, Pulan, Pyanan, Kngayan, and Pratan).

During the period of martial, the Kuomintang government prohibited us from using our mother-tongues as the main communication tool in public places, and even in our homes (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Kuphong, Nansan, Pulan, Kngayan, and Pratan).

We are not taught to speak or write our mother-tongue under the official education system (Molisaka, Ququaz, Singwu, Nansan, Plngawan, and Pulan).

Increasingly, our children are losing their knowledge of our mother-tongues (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Ququaz, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Singwu, Nansan, Pulan, Pyanan, Kngayan, and Pratan).

Our children don't want to learn our mother-tongues (Tisalo, Ciwkangan, Molisaka, Kuphong, Sinapalan, Singwu, Nansan, Plngawan, Pulan, Pyanan, and Kngayan).

In Taiwan, there are only a few programmes broadcast in the tribal mother-tongues on the media (Ququaz, Kuphong, Pulan, and Tpuqu).

These above responses from the TYCM ordinary tribal readers present the postcolonial context concerning the use of their mother-tongues after their experience under colonial control. For example, they feel that the vocabulary of the mother-tongue is too limited for it to adequately render the biblical content. The tribal people could not coin sufficient words to meet the demands of a modern technological society. At present, the tribal children do not know how to speak their mother-tongue, and even if they do, they do not like to speak it or to write it. The tribal mother-tongues suffered under the ban of prohibition in modern society; which is a reality of the postcolonial context as seen by the aforementioned ordinary tribal readers.

In conclusion, the TYCM tribal people have been artificially separated from their own cultural and religious traditions and only fragmentary memories remain in their bodies and brains. We should cherish the surviving tribal elders by encouraging them to express the cultural and religious heritage and help maintain and re-build the tribal memory, to re-locate and to sustain the TYCM tribal texts at important levels among the tribal people. This became one of the de-colonization writing strategies practised by the TYCM tribal people during the postcolonial period. Thus, one of the biblical interpretation strategies is the Third Step in the reading process when the TYCM ordinary tribal readers share which responses help them to practice such a de-colonization reading strategy. The next highlighted point is that the tribal people use their mother-tongue less often in conversation, and even less in writing; this is yet another obvious postcolonial context which has emerged among the different tribes of

TYCM tribal people in the context of Taiwan.

The TYCM tribal scholars and authors have thus adopted the foreign colonizer's language for their writings to proceed with their de-colonization written strategy, but endeavouring to incorporate their mother-tongues as a means of forcing foreign readers to read it, which is a direct de-colonization literary device (see Chapter 4). How, then, do we practice this de-colonization strategy to guide the TYCM ordinary tribal readers in the reading process?

### **8.3. Re-reading Gen 2:4a-25 with the TYCM Ordinary Tribal Reader as an Example**

To tie together the Five Steps Reading Process of the TYCM postcolonial interpretation, in this section the Fourth and Fifth Steps of the Five Steps Reading Process concentrate on the logical thinking employed in re-searching the tribal texts through the biblical text (Chapter 7) taking examples of interpretation using the mother-tongue (Chapter 6). Moreover the purpose of this chapter is to focus on the emergence of the ordinary tribal people as “real” readers performing the cross-textual reading, re-interpreting the biblical text for reading their tribal texts (the Fourth Step), and re-reading their tribal text for reading the biblical text (the Fifth Step).

In order to do this, we will follow the structure of the discussions found in Chapters 6 and 7 with five tribes—the Amis, the Bunun, the Sediq, the Tayal, and the Truku to show the reading results from every tribe. In addition, the intention is to display how and what the TYCM ordinary tribal people do to be “real” readers and to regain their real voices to read the biblical text and the tribal text. In the Fourth and Fifth steps, we will simply continue to explain their discussion of the five topics in the sixth and seventh chapters: The origin of humans (God creates Adam and Eve), naming (the man naming the animals and Eve), the view of death (death following the eating of the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil), the role of husband and wife or the role of woman and man (Adam and Eve), and the taboos about the naked body and sex (Adam and Eve were both naked, and were not ashamed) to confirm my argument that the TYCM ordinary tribal people must use their voices to transmit their postcolonial concerns in the process of reading the biblical text and the tribal text. For the Fourth and the Fifth Steps, I intend to argue that TYCM tribal people are not only able to touch deeply their tribal traditions, but also able to depart decisively from their silent place on the margins, to move towards having their voices recognized and to

become “the real” readers in the whole Five Steps Reading Process, bringing tribal text and biblical text into a mutually enriching dialogue. For this purpose we will take a close look at their reading results as seen below.

### **8.3.1. The Origin of Human Beings**

Genesis 2 mentions that God created human being, so during the Second Step the people worked on the topic of the origin of human beings. The facilitator asked the question, “Does this topic exist in your tribal tradition also?” or “How do the tribal people understand this topic traditionally?” In an earlier chapter we gave the reading results from the Third Step; now we will list the results which emerged from the fourteen groups in the Fourth Step when they discussed the topic of the origin of human beings.

#### **8.3.1.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups**

The three reading groups, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka, belonging to the Amis tribe, listed their tribal legends in the Third Step, which revealed their knowledge of the traditional worldviews received by oral tradition from their ancestors. The Tisalo group mentioned the traditional worldview of the Amis and the oral legend about the origin of human beings, which said that their male god was named Marevap and their female god Maswang. The same topic discussions in the Ciwakangan and the Molisaka reading groups focused on how the Amis tribes have stories explaining the origin of human beings in an environment full of floods and natural disaster.

When we entered the Fourth Step, those three tribal reading groups did not talk about the conflict between their multiple traditional religions and the view of one God in Christianity. As a biblical researcher, I was interested in hearing their discussion of this subject, but I could not depart from my role as facilitator and intervene in their discussion.

The Tisalo and the Molisaka reading groups said that the origin of human beings concerned a god in heaven and claimed that it is one of life’s mysteries that human being cannot comprehend. The account in Genesis 2 says that human being was created from dust; so how would human beings understand God to be the creator of

human being, because “God” here does not mean a specific one, but one who existed in the supernatural world. This is the worldview of the Tisalo and the Molisaka. That is the mystery of the origin of life.

The Ciwakangan reading group prioritized this topic, pointing out that life itself is a mystery, which means that it is not easy to explain the origin of human beings. They mentioned that God created human beings, so the secret is in the hands of God. It is similar to the second story of creation in the biblical text. The Ciwakangan version recounts how human being was born in the world, without the creation of Adam and Eve, from multiple gods.

The Ciwakangan and the Tisalo reading groups formed the impression that the biblical text instructed them in the mystery of the origin of human beings. The Tisalo reading group suggested that human being could not exist alone, so animals, plants, rivers and nature had to exist with them simultaneously. The Ciwakangan reading group discussed the purpose of God’s creation of human being because human being represented God in managing the world created by God; so human being should breed more humans. Some participants said that human being was not competent to manage the modern world, because they produced a lot of pollution in order to grow their own fruit. The Molisaka reading group pointed out that the meaning of the biblical text is that the resources for human beings were created by God, so human being owes God their soul, which is the air from God given to them so that they can live in the world.

### **8.3.1.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Third Step, the participants from the Bunun tribe talked about the topic of the resources for human beings; the Kuphong reading group thought that men and women came from calabash a gourd; the Ququaz reading group thought that man came from a gourd but woman came from a pottery pot; and the Nansan reading group said that man came from a water ladle and that woman came from a gourd. The Ququaz reading group thought that the gourd and the pottery pot came from heaven, but the Nansan reading group did not mention this point. The Ququaz reading group listed a traditional text that told how human being walked out or climbed out from a hole, which is similar to the version recorded in the Sinapalan and the Singwu reading groups.

But when we proceeded with the Fourth Step, the Nansan reading group thought that

the water ladle and the gourd came from heaven, saying that the difference between the water ladle and the gourd represented the differences between men and women. The Kuphong reading group said that the resources of human beings were created by God. They believed the gourd (calabash) which dropped from heaven was related to God. They also pointed out that human being was bred from the man and woman who emerged from the gourd; but how could those two breed children without committing the taboo of incest? The Nanan reading group had a similar view, but the Ququaz reading group did not say that. The Sinapalan and the Singwu reading groups mentioned that God created human being from dust to explain the familiar relationship between the land and human being which are inseparable from each other.

In the Fifth Step, the Kuphong reading group explored the inspiration and instruction for tribal people arising from the biblical text. Obviously all the groups, such as the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nanan mentioned that according to the Bible the resources of the earth and human beings were created by God; but the Singwu and the Sinapalan reading groups stated clearly that human being was created by God to inspire a more familiar relationship between human being and God, closer than the relationship between human being and animals. This is because human being have souls which are the air from God, without which human being would not exist in the world. The biblical account explains that human life does not exist in a familiar relationship with the land, but it also relates that air is the source of life given by God. The Nanan reading group thought that the biblical text described God as clearly asking the man and the woman to cooperate with each other and to unite to build a family. So the Nanan reading group believed that the Bible also explained that God created the family, and that the man and the woman should stay at home to breed their offspring in abundance.

In the Fourth Step the Kuphong group questioned how the man and woman who emerged from the gourd could breed children and commit the taboo of incest, but in the Fifth Step they did not question why Adam and Eve could do the same thing. It might be that the Fifth Step discussion took place in a Church or with the minister present so they didn't like to discuss it. Their findings were similar to those of the Ququaz group, i.e. that we wouldn't know the origin of human beings and the world if we didn't have the biblical account.

### **8.3.1.3. *Sediq Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Third Step, the PIngawan group from the Sediq tribe talked about human beings coming from the splitting of a large rock located at Pusu Qhuni. The Pulan group mentioned that human being came from the egg of a fly. In the Fourth Step discussion, then, how did those Sediq groups view Genesis 2? The PIngawan group shared that for them the origin of human life is a mystery. Their ancestors had said, “we jumped out from a stone” to explain it; in other words, human being can not understand it totally. Some participants discussed when human life will end; saying it is like a riddle to guess the answer. Some of them offered that human life stemmed from the Utux Tmninun, the God of weaving, so only Utux Tmninum knows when life is over. They thought that God gave the air of life to human being who belonged to God, so it is natural that no one understands the mystery of life, but they agreed that the Bible would express such truths to all readers.

The Pulan reading group mentioned that human beings have souls (“*utux*”), and that the soul will return to its place with the ancestors or to God after its death, because it belongs to God, just as the Bible said that the body of human being was created by God from dust, so we will go back there after death. They all agreed that human being receives his soul from God, as was proved by the traditional philosophy of the Sediq, which holds that human being has a soul which is a kind of certificate to enable him to return to the place where the ancestors are and to be with God.

The groups from the Sediq tribe had good discussions in the Fifth Step. The PIngawan and the Pulan reading groups both agreed that the Bible inspired and instructed people to know where they come from, and that it guides us to understand the initial process of the creation of the world. The Pulan reading group suggested that the Bible trained and instructed us to be more in awe of the world and of nature, because it is all created by God, so we should treat those respectfully. The ancestors only told us how human beings came to exist, but it is not like the Bible in which it says that God created everything: the sky, the land, the sun, the moon, the stars, the sea and all the creatures, so we should learn and study the Bible more to know about the miracles which were worked by God. The PIngawan reading group mentioned that their ancestors explored the origin of human beings but that they knew very little. The Bible describes more about God’s process of creation, and that we are all part of His creation.

#### **8.3.1.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step of the discussions, the Pyanan and the Kngayan groups from the Tayal tribe named Papak and Waqa as the place of origin of human beings, and they mentioned a wise bird, named Sisin, which appeared from a large rock. When we arrived at the Fourth Step we found that the content of the Pyanan group's discussion was different from that of the Kngayan group. The Pyanan group focused on the relationship between the wise bird Sisin and human being; and the Kngayan group concentrated on the signs of holiness.

The Kngayan group said that when God created the world and human beings, he defined which things were not offensive to Him, namely the holy, and which ones were. They thought that all things in the world were created by God and thus are holy, so that nothing is offensive to Him.. Especially, they said, man has a soul from God so the life of man is holy; and God designated the seventh day as a holy day to remind the people of his work of creation. They mentioned the holy places, Papak and Waqa, and the holy bird named Sisin.

The Pyanan group discussed the conversation between Eve and the snake even though this passage is in Genesis 3, not in Genesis 2, but it was found interesting so participants proceeded to discuss it.<sup>142</sup> The snake knew things about God; this reminded them of the Tayal people's use of the wise bird Sisin to divine their future. The snake is the most intelligent animal in the Bible, which is similar to the wise bird, Sisin, who is considered to be the most capable one in the Tayal legend. The tribal people used the wise bird Sisin to predict their future in order to prevent disasters. But it is ironic that the most intelligent animal in the Bible, the snake, seduced human being to commit a crime, by which God expelled Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden.

In the Fifth Step, the Pyanan and the Kngayan groups from the Tayal tribe talked about the inspiration from the biblical text. The Pyanan group thought that the Bible said that human being was created by God, so we should listen to God's words but not to those of animals; because human beings have souls which are from God, human being should listen to words from God to prevent suffering or misfortune. For example, when Adam and Eve disobeyed God's command and listened to the snake telling them they should eat the fruits from the tree, this was like committing a crime,

---

<sup>142</sup> We found here that ordinary readers weren't so disciplined or organised in their Bible reading as trained readers. They conducted their discussion in a more random manner. Sometimes it was hard for us to understand or explain their thoughts. But rather than control the process, we allowed and enabled ordinary readers to raise issues and make comments spontaneously.

and so God expelled them from the Garden of Eden. This warns people to listen to what God says and not to commit crimes. Today, the Tayal people do not perform divination through the wise bird Sisin to tell the future, because they are now Christians. The Kngayan group thought that the Bible was inspired, by the fact that God created all things in the world, and he said that marriage and the family are holy. The Church is the holy habitation of God, so we should work hard to have joyful lives as God commanded.

#### **8.3.1.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step, the Tpuqu and the Pratan groups from the Truku tribe talked about a man and a woman who came from *Pusu Qhuni* and the woman gave birth to a child. There was a problem After the father died, the woman, of course, could have no more offspring so she used an Atayal tattoo to disguise herself and then married her son to solve that problem. And thus the Atayal tattoo has become the custom in their tribe.

When they proceeded to the Fourth Step, the Tpuqu group shared another version of this tale: A man and a woman came from *Pusu Qhini* and gave birth to their children who were disabled or became sick and died. They received an instruction from heaven to scoop a hole in the ground and line it with goat leather as a place to have intercourse and so give birth to healthy children. From the above discussion, the Tpuqu group proposed that the reason why God created Adam and Eve was to make them a couple and work side by side to build a house, to have a good married life, which is their view on the topic of the origin of human beings. So they thought that the relationship between the man and the woman, who were created by God, was not that of brother and sister, but of spouses in order for human being to reproduce and multiply. This is similar to the discussion in the Truku groups in that they mentioned the birth of humans initially and also addressed the problem how they might reproduce themselves. In the Fourth Step the Pratan group stressed that the Garden of Eden was not only the place of human creation, but it was also a place of origin similar to the location of the *Pusu Qhuni* designated a holy place by the Truku.

In the Fifth Step, we will study the origin of revelation and how it is generated from the biblical text. The Tpuqu group thought that the purpose of biblical revelation was to let us know that human being was created by God and to know where we are from; to help us to have a new understanding of our original birth place, and to know that the relationship between Adam and Eve was the first marriage for human being. The

Bible instructs that husband and wife should help each other, and it is therefore not acceptable to divorce readily, because the biblical words for this joining were “Bone in Bone, Flesh in Flesh” in that husband and wife would unite with each other in a bond which could not be broken.

Some participants thought that the biblical text instructed people to cherish their lives, because all life is created by God, therefore, people should take their lives more seriously. The Pratan group continued the topic from the Fourth Step, in which they commented that God hoped that human being could live in the Garden of Eden, but human being went against his will to be expelled from there. The soul of human being would return to the place to be with the ancestors or with God after death. Some participants from the Pratan group described that the biblical text enables us to know the origin of human beings, who were created by God. The readers know the creator God from biblical revelation.

### **8.3.2. Naming**

The reason why the topic of naming was mentioned in the Bible is that the man who was created by God named all the animals (Gen 2:19), and that the man named the woman who was created from his rib by God. This at last is “bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man” (Gen 2:23). The other part in the biblical text said that the man called his wife Eve, because she was “the mother of all living beings”. (Gen 3:20). So we generated the topic of naming in the Second Step, and we guided the TYCM ordinary tribal readers to recall the traditional texts in their tribes in the Third Step. We will continue on to the Fourth and Fifth Steps next.

#### **8.3.2.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka reading groups from the Amis tribe mentioned that their tribal traditional naming method is to ask for help from the tribal priests (eldest son or eldest daughter) and the baby’s parents to name the baby. In cases where the baby or child falls sick or is accident-prone after the first naming ceremony, the parents could ask for a renaming ceremony, *Pasomat Tongangan*, which is held by the tribal priest. The children frequently receive nicknames, as that is a common practice in the tribe.

In the Fourth Step, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka groups all thought that the naming was the responsibility of the parents and the priests. When they talked about the description in the Bible in which Adam named Eve, they reflected how impossible that would be in the Amis tribe, because it is a matriarchal society, in which the man who becomes a son-in-law lives in the wife's home and assumes the role of a son, and the mother holds the naming rights. Those three tribal reading groups pointed out that Eve's name given by Adam was possibly a nickname but not a real name. The Ciwkangan reading group said that their tribal parents should report the children's name to the spirits *Mifetik* and *Dongi* and that the children would be blessed by the spirits in order to grow healthy.

When we entered into the Fifth Step to describe the inspiration revelation from the Bible, the Tisalo and the Molisaka groups both thought Eve was the mother of all living beings. It is similar to the way in which the people of the Amis tribe name their babies related to their birth situation, and because women can give birth to life they get the name "Eve" but only as a nickname from their husbands. The Ciwkangan group said that the name "Woman" is introduced after "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh" in the text, so women's names are nicknames to inspire the relationship between husband and wife, and they hint that both should love and help each other.

### **8.3.2.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

The five tribal reading groups the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nasan from the Bunun tribe raised similar points to the aforementioned in the Third Step about the topic of naming. For example, they all agreed that the naming ceremony for babies (*Patingan*) is to be taken seriously, so all the family members should participate in it to welcome the new life joining the group. The Ququaz, the Nasan and the Kuphong groups said that the naming ceremony for the baby should be held by the elders of family. But the Singwu reading group thought that it needed to be performed by the tribal priest. The Ququaz, the Sinapalan, the Singwu, the Kuphong and the Nasan groups pointed out that the parents should report the baby's name to heaven, to *Dihanin* and the spirits of the ancestors to receive blessings. The Nasan group mentioned that the wife does not accept a name from her husband because her name should be from her parents, but the wife can accept nicknames. The wife can also give a nickname to her husband, and they use them when they argue.

In the Fourth Step of the discussion procedure, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Kuphong reading groups highlighted that the name for human being did not come from God directly, but that God named human being from its description in the Bible. For example, they mentioned the names of people such as Abraham (Gen 17:5), Moses (Exodus 3:4) and Samuel (I Sam 3:4). They thought that naming not only relates to family, but also to important events. The Kuphong reading group said that parents could not announce their hopes for their children to their family and their expectancy for their family's future if they did not hold the naming ceremony. The Ququaz, the Sinapalan and the Nansan reading groups pointed out that their names are given to keep the memory of their ancestors alive. In addition, the Singwu, the Kuphong, the Nasan and the Sinapalan groups mentioned that their tribal people have adopted foreign names (e.g: the names mentioned in the Bible), and they also said that the indigenous traditional names were replaced by Japanese and Chinese names during the Japanese colonial and Kuomintang ruling periods. The Nasan and the Sinapalan reading groups said that although the government encourages tribal people to adopt their original tribal names, currently the tribal people do not change back to their indigenous names. The Sinapalan reading group thought that tribal people betrayed their ancestors if they lost their indigenous names.

In the Fifth Step, the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nasan reading groups all agreed that the Bible instructs us about the importance of naming, which is for each individual to submit him/herself to the will of God. The Ququaz, the Kuphong and the Singwu reading groups said that the Bible did not only explain to them the importance of naming for human being, but also included the animals and birds, so we would know how to refer to familiar objects. The Sinapalan and the Nansan reading groups thought the names represented the recognition one receives from one's family, because people know your origin from your family. They explained that the practice of naming portrayed in the biblical text would ensure the passing down of the ancestors' traditions to the offspring of the family. It is like the names Adam and Eve, which were recorded to be remembered forever. The Sinapalan reading group pointed out that the means the Bible prescribes for remembering our ancestors is through naming.

### **8.3.2.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step, similar discussions about naming took place among the Sediq and the Truku; it might be because that their tribal origins were close to each other. For

example, their naming ways, their taboos of naming, and their family origins are very similar to each other. I will describe this part separately when we examine the discussions in the Fourth and Fifth Steps. We wanted to know how the PIngawan and the Pulan reading groups, belonging to the Sediq tribe, saw the topic of naming in the Bible which mentioned that all the animals came to stand in front of Adam to receive their names. The PIngawan reading group thought that it was a serious naming ceremony, and the Pulan reading group said that such a naming procedure proved that human being treated animals as friends and loved and cared for them.

In the Fifth Step, the PIngawan and the Pulan groups thought that the Bible instructed tribal people to take the naming of their children seriously, mentioning the naming taboos and the renaming process, by which children's names could be changed even after the original naming rite. The PIngawan reading group said that the Bible instructed Adam to name Eve to show their familiar relationship, and the Bible also inspired us to note the relationship of humans with animals to love them and to live harmoniously with the whole of nature. The Pulan reading group said that the Bible taught us to keep our names so that we can easily communicate as friends. Some participants mentioned that the Bible reminded us not to destroy nature and wild animals.

#### **8.3.2.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step, the Pyanan and Kngayan groups from the Tayal tribe focused their discussion on the meaning of the traditional names, eg, *Kli* is “mice”, *Mici* means “goat”, and *Koli* means “fish”, etc. They mentioned the naming story in the Bible which describes man and woman, Adam and Eve, and all the animals, etc. The Pyanan reading group shared that naming is the right of the woman, but that they can consult the men about their opinions. The Kngayan reading group stated that the wife and husband name their baby together. In regard to Adam's naming of the woman, the women participants pointed out that it was impossible for this to happen in their tribe as their women don't receive names from men or their husband; so they thought that the name mentioned in the Bible must be nickname. They said that Adam gave a nickname to his wife as “woman”, and Adam had his own as “man” (Genesis 2:23), they all agreed that Adam's wife's name was a nickname. So the group of Kngayan took time to discuss what nicknames are between husband and wife. As an example, a woman member of the group said that she will call her husband “lazy guy” (Mqilan) or “bad guy” (Yaqih) if he stays at home and does not go out working. This would be

an expression of their familiarity and the men participants didn't object to this but regarded the terms as being spoken in jest. It might be that most of the participants in that group were women. The group of Pyanan stated that their family members lost their indigenous family names after they were forced to adopt Chinese names.

In the Fifth Step, the groups from the Tayal tribe discussed the inspiration revelation from the Bible, with the Kngayan and the Pyanan reading groups both thinking that the biblical text about Adam and Eve was inspired by just such a familiar relationship between a wife and a husband, in which the man understandably gave a "special" name to his wife as a woman to express their familiar relationship in public, and the wife also used a name for her husband with the same intimate connotation. Both the Kngayan and the Pyanan reading groups said that the act of naming is from the biblical instruction, so the Pyanan reading group pointed out the fact that their tribal people's names should be connected with their ancestors in order for their families to thrive in the tribe. They thought that it is better to name their children with traditional names. The Kngayan reading group talked about the idea that their place of residence is named, in that they have names for mountains, rivers, trees, even animals; they said that the process of naming according to the biblical model described such inseparable relationships as that between husband and wife, human being and land, human being and nature, human being and animals and plants, etc..

#### ***8.3.2.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups***

How did the groups such as the Pngawan and Pulan from the Truku tribe view the naming topic in the biblical text when they proceeded to the Fourth Step? They thought that naming was a prayer but also a blessing. The Pngawan reading group said that Adam and Eve were traditionally seen as adults. So when Adam gave a name to his wife, it is a kind of prayer. It is like when the husband sees his wife and compliments her as "bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh". The Pulan reading group declared that naming was a prayer for the wife, wishing her to be capable of playing her role as the mother of all living beings; but not everyone agreed with that. Others thought that Adam gave a nickname to his wife to express their intimate relationship.

When they proceeded to the Fifth Step the Pngawan and the Pulan reading groups thought that the biblical instruction expressed a kind of relationship. The beginning of this process of naming was when God created the Garden of Eden to show his good

will. God helped human being to fulfil their stewardship duties well, so human being should know about the things surrounding them and naming was the first step to help human being prepare for that role as stewards of the earth. Take as an example the fact that a husband and wife get to know each other mutually through sharing names for intimate conversation. On the other hand, the PIngawan reading group pointed out that the naming mentioned in the biblical text did not only occur in the Garden of Eden, but also extended into the period when Adam and Eve were expelled from there by God. On the other hand, the PIngawan reading group said that naming was a reminder from God that people should love the grandeur of nature, or that Adam should love his wife well, and thus, should call his wife a woman. This indicates that the relationship between husband and wife was intended to be closer than the relationship with nature and with other people.

### **8.3.3. View of Death**

The first time a passage in the Bible mentions death is when “the LORD God commanded the man, saying, "You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die”. (Gen 2:16 -17). The words, “you shall die!” led all fourteen reading groups to talk about the topic of “death”.

#### **8.3.3.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka reading groups, which belonged to Amis tribe, mentioned that initially human being did not die, but just peeled off their skins when they were old in order to return to their youth again. The reason why human being faced death was as a result of those old men who buried their skins in the ground. They also talked about the different types of death, which are classified as natural, and non-natural, in that they considered that only the souls of the old men who died naturally could arise to the spirit world to be with the ancestral spirits; while, on the contrary, those who died of un-natural causes would continue to roam the world. Some participants in the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka reading groups did not know that there was this traditional text in their tribe, and they were glad to learn about it through this activity.

In the Fourth Step, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka groups, from the Amis

tribe, said that human being did not die initially, because human being created by God would live forever; views which were shared by some of the people. Some participants pointed out that as human being had disobeyed the word of God this changed their destiny. The Tisalo and the Molisak groups quoted the Biblical text which tells that God warned Adam not to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but Adam and Eve disobeyed God's instruction, which lost them their immortality and changed their destiny forever. The Ciwkangan reading group said that when human being lived in the Garden of Eden, they would live forever, but that when human being left the Garden, they began to face death.

In the Fifth Step, the Ciwkangan reading group said that biblical text portrayed that the life of human being is limited and that after his death the soul of human being will rise to another world to live with God or with the ancestors forever. That other world is a place for souls which live forever without death. The Tisalo and the Molisaka groups also talked about this topic, but they focused on the account of Adam and Eve going against the instructions of God when they committed the crime. They thought that the biblical text teaches them that human being faces death because human being committed crimes.

### **8.3.3.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Third Step, the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nansan groups from the Bunun tribe talked about the concept of the spirit ("*hanito*") when they focused on the topic of death, thinking that human being will die when the soul ("*hanito*") leaves the body. So in the Fourth Step, the Ququaz, the Kuphong and the Nansan reading groups declared that God created human being as a living soul, which is the essence of how human life is described in the Bible. The soul of human being is from God as a basis without which human being cannot live. In addition, the Sinapalan and the Singwu reading groups talked about the soul but they added the comment that God watches what human being does because the soul is given from God.

In the Fifth Step, the Sinapalan and the Singwu reading groups thought that the biblical text instructed them that human being could not be separated from God ("*Tama Dihanin*") and that no matter whether human being knows God or not, God will watch over human life. So the description in the biblical text served as a reminder that human being should follow the words of their ancestors and not be like Adam and

Eve, who went against the words from God and ate the fruit on the good-and-evil tree, and so faced death. The Singwu reading group also said that, from the description in the biblical text, they understood that God did not wish human being to suffer death. The Ququaz and the Nansan groups pointed out that the biblical text urged human being to be concerned about one another because human being has received its soul from God. The Kuphong group mentioned that human being would meet death because human being disobeyed the words from God and human beings do not mutually aid each other. The biblical text said that God loves human being, all creatures and all things in the world.

### **8.3.3.3. *Sedq Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Third Step, the Plngawan and the Pulan groups from the Sedq tribe and the Tpuqu and the Pratan groups belonging to the Truku tribe discussed the reason why human being will die. According to the tribal myth it was because human being was not kind and did not help the man who emerged from the pig manure to clean his body; so human being was punished by death.

In the Fourth Step, the Plngawan and the Pulan groups thought that the account in the Bible mentioned that human being should be diligent and work for a living (Gen 2:15-16). The Pulan reading group said that Adam worked hard in the Garden of Eden, so God created Eve to help him. Due to human being's disobeying the words of God and not following the instructions from our ancestors; human being became like Adam and Eve and eventually met death and misfortune.

In the Fifth Step, the Plngawan and the Pulan groups said that biblical text explains that the reason why human being would die is because of their pride and because they disobeyed the command of God. The Plngawan group pointed out that the Bible is a reminder that human being should follow the word of God, then they would be watched over by God and have a good end. The Pulan group agreed with this view, but they said that the death of human being is only in the flesh but not in the soul because the soul is given by God.

### **8.3.3.4. *Tayal Tribal Reading Groups***

The Pyanan and the Kngayan reading groups listed the topic of death in the Third Step,

but they focused on the types of death which are classified as virtuous death and bad death. Though they had talked about the reasons relating to death, they did not continue on the subject for a longer discussion. In the Fourth Step, the Pyanan and the Kngayan reading groups took the biblical text which related to death before human being's creation: "there was no man to till the ground" (Gen 2:5), so human being was created and lived in the Garden of Eden. The Pyanan reading group thought that human being should fulfil their obligation to plough the soil well and to follow instructions from God, therefore, in their view, death is a kind of punishment from God. The Kngayan reading group said that human being would have a virtuous death if we follow the word of God.

In the Fifth Step, the Kngayan reading group said that the Bible reveals that human being will experience death to terminate their bodily life, and that it is a warning to remain alert since God watches human being and hopes that they will not commit crimes. Someone in the Pyanan reading group had the same views, but they highlighted that death is also a gift from God to human being to free them from human sufferings, and that the soul of human being could live in the embrace of God forever.

#### **8.3.3.5. *Truku Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Third Step, the Plngawan and the Pulan reading groups from the Sediq tribe and the Tpuqu and the Pratan reading groups from the Truku tribe, discussed why human being will die, thinking that the reason was that human being was not kind to the man who came out of the pig manure; they refused to clean his body, so human being was punished with death. In the Fourth Step, the Tpuqu and the Pratan groups said that their tribal people would bury their dead family members under the bed to live with the family forever, but this was only for those members of the family who had a virtuous death. They did not bury under the bed family members who had died by suicide or unnatural causes because it would bring misfortune to the family. They pointed out that the reason why Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden by God was because they would bring death to contaminate all the lives there. It is similar to their tribal custom of not allowing people who have died from un-natural causes to be buried at home, to prevent misfortune falling on the home. The Tpuqu reading group mentioned that God keeps watch over human being who was expelled from the Garden of Eden to listen to human being's prayers and to accept their oblations.

In the Fifth Step, the Tpuqu and the Pratan reading groups thought that the Bible informs human being why they will meet death. They said that death is not a judgment from God, but that it is a revelation to remind human being that it should cherish its limited life. This is similar to their tribal custom in which they bury dead family members at home to be with the family for a longer time. The Pratan reading group pointed out that Adam and Eve cherished the time when they were together though they were expelled from the Garden of Eden. The Bible teaches human being to cherish life and every living day to thank God for such a gift.

### **8.3.4. The Role of Husband and Wife and the Role of Women and Men**

The traditional society of the Amis tribe is matriarchal. When we held discussions in the Third Step, they said that the traditional marriage system among the Amis was monogamous, and that the man becomes a son-in-law, lives in the wife's home and assumes the role of a son, the children being nurtured by the mother's family.

#### **8.3.4.1. *Amis Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Fourth Step, the reading groups from the Amis tribe (Ciwkangan and Molisaka) shared that their matriarchal tradition is the same as the situation described in the Bible, i.e. that a man should leave his parents to unite with his wife to become one. They argued that the biblical text "Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh" shows no respect for the woman, and even goes against the traditional advantage of the woman. Like the description in the Satapang group of the youths describing the woman as a "weird woman", an "ugly woman", even "a woman who only knows how to order a man about and use him as a tool for sleeping" to reach that young man's mood when they faced a situation of divorce in the woman's county (the description from the Tisalo reading group).

The words "Bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh" can be used to teach the woman's family how to treat the man when he becomes part of it. According to the Monisaka reading group, such words illustrate that the relationship between a husband and a wife is based on love, commitment and inseparability, so the man becomes a son-in-law, lives in the wife's home and assumes the role of a son who should respect the parents of his wife as his own, including all the members of the family. The words

“Bone of my bone, Flesh of my flesh” are a compliment the man gives to the woman in the biblical text, but there are no complimentary words returned from the opposite side (the woman). Therefore, in the view of the Ciwkangan reading group, the fact that God created woman by using the rib from man but not from dust, means that woman bears a heavier responsibility than man, who simply has to acquire the woman.

Based on the reading results from the Fourth Step, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Monisaka groups commented on the words “Bone of my bone, Flesh of my flesh” in the Fifth Step, which reminded men in these matriarchal societies that they should fulfil their tribal obligations and play their roles as good husbands and fathers at home. The Tisalo and the Monisaka groups said that women should keep their dignity and identity and show respect and love for their men, because women came from the rib of man. The Monisaka group commented that women should be thankful for men’s devotion, so women who bear both a boy and a girl are seen as a kind of successful result of cooperation with men.

The participants among those three tribal reading groups revealed that, over time, such commitment on the part of men has been increasingly lost by the new generation of youth who are educated under the colonial system (during the Japanese and the Kuomintang colonial periods). Many have left their tribes to live in the city where they can seek a living, so such traditional bonds and influences from their matriarchal society are weakened and have been replaced by the model of the smaller family unit, which belongs to patriarchalism and have begun to affect the family life in the tribes and in the cities. However, the Ciwakangan and the Monisaka acknowledge the fact that men should respect women, and this has continued to be a widely observed tradition in the Amis tribe.

#### **8.3.4.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

When the Bunun tribe proceeded with the discussion about the husband and wife in the Third Step, the five tribal reading groups agreed that in the Bunun traditional marriage custom the young men and the young women have no right to choose their partner but accept the decision of their parents.

The Kuphong, the Sinapalan and the Singwu groups revealed that in the “marriage by kidnap” custom in their tribe, the tribal men targeted the good women and even the

widows for marriage. The Ququaz group discussed the topic of the “good woman” in the Third Step, but the other four groups discussed it in the Fourth Step. It is not clear why this order was followed by the groups. Perhaps it might have been the reading methods adopted by those ordinary readers, or the fact that they did not think we were expecting them to share about it.

The Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nansan groups all agreed that “good woman” means a diligent, generous, and virtuous one who lives by the tribal traditional commands. The Kuphong reading group mentioned that the woman who was renounced and was sent back to her parents’ home by her husband is one who cannot conceive, who would be seen as breaching the taboo called “Samoo”, by which she would lose her natural fertility but she would be considered a good “kidnap” target by a tribal man if she was evaluated by the tribal elders or received a blessing from the tribal wizard to be a good woman. The Sinapalan reading group said when a man woos this type of woman he will get blessings from the spirit *Dihanin* for his offspring to thrive. The Ququaz group mentioned that a woman who is not sought after in this way will be left alone at the margin of the tribe because she will bring bad luck to the family. The groups from the Bunun tribe said that tribal elders held the internal characteristics of a beautiful woman to be diligence, generosity, humility, and virtue, but did not judge her on the basis of her outward appearance. The Nansan group defined a good woman as one who could produce healthy offspring in a family, so they said that good woman should be both diligent and have a buxom body. The Kuphong and the Nansan groups alone defined a good man as one who had capable hunting skills; protected his tribe and home bravely, and did not breach traditional taboos, called *Samoo*.

To sum up, then, how did those groups from the Bunun tribe see the relationship between husband and wife and the roles of woman and man with regard to the biblical text? The Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nansan groups thought that the description in the Bible about woman being created from man’s rib by God was written to ensure the continuation of a patriarchal social system. The groups from the Bunun tribe emphasized that man is the centre of the family and of the tribe. The Nansan group said, “Though man is the centre of the family and tribal life, the obvious difference is that the men focus on important things, such as tribal events, annual rites and important family issues, while the women take on family routine jobs and nurtures the children at home”. Of course, both women and men in the Bunun tribe can do the heavy agricultural work without regard to gender, including land cultivation and reclamation. But they clearly emphasize that man is the main centre in

the traditional tribe. The Ququaz, the Kuphong, and the Sinapalan groups stated that a woman could not divorce after marriage, or she would breach a taboo and be shamed in the eyes of the tribe. And they quoted the words in the Bible which say that the wife and the husband are united together, so they should prevent shameful things from happening in their marriage. The married woman could not go back to her parents' home, even if she is divorced or has experienced domestic violence because it would bring bad luck to her parents' home, the family and even the whole county. In the past, a woman who was renounced and was sent back to her parents' home would commit suicide, or her family members would beat her to death. Those three tribal reading groups spoke about this type of custom and taboo, which was prohibited during the period of colonial rule, when murder was not acceptable, and such customs were eliminated. But family members would beat her severely to warn couples not to divorce or to break taboos.

In the Fifth Step, we discussed the naming ceremony in which Adam called his woman "Bone of my bone, Flesh of my flesh". The Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan and the Nansan reading groups thought that the Bible inspires people, so man should cherish and love his wife, in the same way as he treats his own body. The family "needs a woman and her hands" as quoted by the Singwu and the Nansan reading groups. The ideal family is composed of a man and a woman who cooperate with each other to do agricultural work and to build a family for nurturing children. Thus, when men or women live alone it is not good, according to the instructions from the biblical text as discussed in the Nansan, the Kuphong and the Sinapalan groups. The words "Bone of my bone, Flesh of my blesh" were spoken as a compliment from a man to a good woman, and the biblical text implies that a woman likes to be complimented by a man as it raises her self-esteem.

#### **8.3.4.3. *Sediq Tribal Reading Groups***

As part of the Third Step of the discussion, the two reading groups, the PIngawan and the Pulan belonging to the Sediq tribe, explored how after marriage a man and woman become "real" people to produce healthy offspring in a family. In the Sediq tribe, the man is the centre in the traditional social organization, but men and women observe their rules of cooperation to fulfil their obligations and play their roles well, not invading each other's area. When they proceeded with the Fourth Step, the participants of the Pulan group thought that the biblical text highlighted the differences between man and woman; for example, the man was created from dust;

while the woman was created from the rib of the man. They said that the different ways of creation differentiated the characteristics and roles of the man and the woman, in the same way that way tribal men and women play their assigned traditional roles and perform their duties in the Sediq tribe. Thus, it is that man and woman should unite together to cooperate with each other to bring their distinctive characteristics into their roles. When the Plngawan group discussed the Biblical text about it not being good for man to be alone, they also mentioned that this is not a characteristic of human beings in nature, so man and woman should not live alone in the world or they will have a very poor quality of life. After the discussion about “being real people” in the Plngawan group, they pointed out that man and woman should cooperate with each other, that they should unite together and that they should not face life alone. In addition, the Plngawan group reflected on the description in the Bible “Bone of my bone, Flesh of my flesh” which highlighted the fact that man and woman should not live separate from each other, and that they should be attracted to one another and live together. Some of them joked that this is the reason why men and women hunt for each other, and even commit “robbery” to gain their objective/prize.

In the Fifth Step, we are interested in knowing what kind of inspiration and instruction the groups had received from the biblical text about the relationship between man and woman. The Plngawan and Pulan groups said that the Bible provides a supplement, teaching them something different from that of their tribal customs. The Plngawan reading group told how their ancestors instructed them that women cannot divorce or be sent back to her parents’ house, as it would bring bad luck home because she would be seen as having broken a tribal taboo. However, such traditional tribal customs make them uneasy and uncomfortable. But the biblical text instructed them that the purpose of marriage is to unite man and woman to be together to increase their offspring in the world in response to God’s will. The Pulan group mentioned the positive and gracious instruction from the biblical text which said that people should seek friends and partners to avoid having to live alone, and that divorce would cause men and women to be lonely, which is disobedience to the will of God.

#### **8.3.4.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

In the Third Step the Pyanan and Kngayan groups from the Tayal tribe discussed the role of diligence in the lives of traditional tribal women, but they said very little about the topic of wives and husbands and the traditional role of men. When they proceeded to the Fourth Step, then, how did they explain their understanding of woman’s

traditional training in regard to the text of Genesis 2?

The Pyanan and Kngayan reading groups both mentioned that a man needs help from a woman to set a good example to the tribe; for instance a man would have no colourful clothes to put on if he has no wife to weave for him; and the children's clothes and bed sheets also need a woman's weaving skills. Moreover, the Pyanan group not only portrayed woman as being the helping hand for man but also man as cooperating to help woman, which is a good illustration of the saying: "when a man leaves his parent's home to unite with his wife to become her helper".

In the Fifth Step, the Pyanan reading group thought that the biblical text showed them the importance of the union ("*bs'utux*"), as a means of forging the relationship between wife and husband, a topic which was ignored in the Fourth Step. The readers may not know the meaning of *utux* which is a "spirit" to forge the relationship between man and woman. So the biblical text said that the wife and the husband are the only ones who cannot separate by divorce, for this is a shameful thing. The Kngayan reading group said that the biblical text instructed them to know that a husband and a wife should help each other to live together, being united in both mind and body, and that they would face a lot of challenges and problems in future. Therefore, the man and the woman must be lazy so that the family will enjoy lifelong happiness.

#### **8.3.4.5. Truku Tribal Reading Groups**

The Tpuqu and the Pratan groups from the Truku tribe presented their views in the Fourth Step. The Tpuqu group wondered why the biblical text said that "Woman was taken out of Man", which, did not mean that man can force a woman. It describes that man is the main economic source, taking care of the family, serving as a pillar. This is one of the reasons why, on the one hand, that tribal tradition required that a man not eat the tail of animal, but only its innards, in order to train himself conquer difficulties he might face in the future. The woman, on the other hand, cannot eat the feet nor the wings of poultry or she would break a taboo, in which case she couldn't run outside, take care of her family or watch her children. Some participants from the Pratan group said that the meaning of the words "Woman was taken out of man" is that man is at the centre, help his family to thrive. Thus, he cannot disobey the will of God in building up his family. The Truku tribe is so traditional that it takes note of a man's virtue.

In the Fifth Step there were different views from the Tpuqu and the Pratan reading groups. The Tpuqu group said that the Bible inspires husbands to be the only ones to build up their family, which is one of the reasons why God created human being. The gender difference between man and woman was to classify their varying abilities given by God, so they should help each other through the marriage. The Pratan reading group said that the biblical text encourages harmonious reliance on related family members to follow God's instructions for continued happiness.

### **8.3.5. The Taboos about the Naked Body and Sex**

Though this part of the discussion topic is not included in Gen 2:4a-25, the fourteen reading groups mentioned the topic of the naked body and the taboo of sex in the Third Step. Personally, I think the location of the discussion may have influenced the ordinary readers in regard to their comfort level in speaking about the idea of "flesh", because they spent a lot of time on this part of the discussion. This is the reason why I felt it was important to record the content of this discussion in this section. After that, I reviewed my records to understand why they devoted so much time to the discussion of this topic, which developed out of the biblical words "of the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat" (Gen 2:17). Some reading groups explored the concept of taboo as in "you shall not...", while others focused on what kind of fate Adam and Eve would meet after they ate the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

#### **8.3.5.1. Amis Tribal Reading Groups**

When they processed the Third Step, the Tisalo, the Ciwkangan and the Molisaka groups of the Amis tribe talked about the naked body and sexual behaviour, which were allowed and recognized in the relationship between a wife and a husband. They said that would have been a shameful thing for their children, if Adam and Eve had exposed their naked bodies outdoors, but they thought that children being naked in public were a natural thing. In the Fourth Step, they pointed out that Adam and Eve exposed their naked bodies in the Garden of Eden because after they were initially created they were innocent like children, so it would have been natural for them to not be ashamed in front of God and animals. The Ciwkangan and the Molisaka reading groups said that Adam and Eve understood their sexual powers when they developed

after they ate the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The Tisalo reading group said that Adam and Eve felt ashamed only after they knew their sexual powers.

In the Fifth Step, the Tisalo and the Ciwkangan groups of the Amis tribe said that the biblical text instructed them not to feel ashamed of behaviour such as showing their naked bodies and having sex within the bonds of marriage. In addition, the Tisalo and the Molisaka reading groups pointed out that the words “bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh” and “becoming one flesh” are the vows of marriage for Adam and Eve, which highlighted that originally sexuality was viewed as holy and free from shame after the marriage vows were taken. The Ciwkangan and the Molisaka reading groups said that sexual activity is not shameful, but that it disobeys God’s will when it is engaged in without the blessing of God and a witness to attest their marriage vow. Thus, they said, the Bible instructed them to know that legally; sex should be approved by God through the marriage vow. The Tisalo and Molisa reading groups agreed with this point as well.

#### **8.3.5.2. *Bunun Tribal Reading Groups***

When they engaged in discussion in the Third Step, the Ququaz, the Kuphong, the Sinapalan, the Singwu and the Nasan groups belonging to the Bunun tribe mentioned that for them knowledge of sex and the activity of sex is a natural thing, not to be ignored, because it is a means of reproducing offspring. The Sinapalan, the Nansan, and the Ququaz mentioned the tribal text about the woman having teeth in her vagina, so her husband divorced her and sent her back to her parents’ home.

In the Fourth Step, the Ququaz, the Kuphong and the Nansan groups maintained that sex is a human instinct, part of God’s creation, and that it was natural for man and woman to be attracted to each other and for them to be together. The Singwu group agreed with this point, but said that the sexual impulse only arose after Adam and Eve ate the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and they felt ashamed. The Sinapalan and the Ququaz groups emphasized that the biblical words “bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh” and “becoming one flesh” described the foundation of the relationship needed for a successful marriage.

In the Fifth Step, the Ququaz and the Sinapalan groups said that the biblical text instructed them to respect the system of marriage and not to commit shameful acts,

such as pre-marital sex, so they thought that sex was a holy and respected matter. The Kuphong and the Singwu groups mentioned that the Bible teaches them about the establishment of marriage and hints that human being misuses sex, which brings punishment and death to the world from God. They agreed that the Bible provides a perfect marriage system, monogamy, which has the model of an authentic covenantal relationship. The Nansan reading group raised the point that monogamy is the response of humans to meet the will of God in building a rational marriage system to prevent feelings of shame, and the Bible teaches us how to build a perfect relationship between man and woman and how not to commit crimes on the earth, and especially how to fulfil the will of God.

### ***8.3.5.3. Sediq Tribal Reading Groups***

The Plngawan and the Pulan reading group from the Sediq tribe focused on their traditional view of pre-marital sexual behaviour, revealing how their tribal people treated those ones who committed such crimes. In the Fourth Step, the Plngawan and the Pulan groups said that the words of taboo, which were mentioned in the biblical text “Don’t eat...”, “or it will result in death” were instructions from God to Adam and Eve. They seemed to be like tribal taboos which have existed for thousands of years, so the Bible would explain this practice clearly. The Pulan group thought that it related to the taboo against sex, with some of them observing that individuals who had had pre-marital sex would bring bad luck home. Therefore, the Bible described the exclusivity of the relationship between wife and husband with “becoming one flesh”. The Plngawan group classified taboos on sex along with marriage taboos for the purpose of their discussion, and they repeated their accounts of how their tribal people treated individuals who committed the crime of pre-marital sex.

In the Fifth Step, the Pulan and the Plngawan groups from the Sediq tribe talked about the instruction and the revelation from the biblical text, believing that it reminded people not to disobey the instructions of God, especially that those who committed the crime of breaking a sexual taboo would bring bad luck home and would undermine the safety of the whole tribe. In addition, the Pulan group mentioned that this reminder from the Bible was to guide people to live longer and to receive blessings from God, so we should follow the instructions from God. The Plngawan group shared their views that showing the naked body and engaging in sexual activity was only acceptable when people got married. Then the souls of human being will return to their place with God to receive the reward they deserve.

#### **8.3.5.4. Tayal Tribal Reading Groups**

The Pyanan and the Kngayan reading groups, which belonged to the Tayal tribe, discussed the idea that the naked body and pre-marital sex would offend the spirits of the ancestors who would bring disaster to their tribes and families. In the meantime, they discussed how their tribal people examined the man and the woman who would get married to make sure that they had not committed the crime of pre-marital sex. For example, they would tattoo the couple's faces after such checks. If they committed such a crime, the tattoos on the face would be faint or not "take" and the scar could become sore or infected. When we proceeded with the activity in the Fourth Step, the Pyanan and the Kngayan groups both revealed that the distinctive Good-Evil Tree was not essentially a tree of death, but was given by God to human being, and planted at the centre of the Garden of Eden to serve as a test of human being to see whether they would follow God's instructions or not. It was there to remind Adam and Eve not to disobey God's instructions. The Kngayan group conceded that human being should not breach the taboos mentioned in the Bible, such as exposing their naked bodies and behaving in shameful sexual activity, but the aforementioned taboos result in criminal charges when they are broken outwith the marriage bond. The Pyanan reading group thought that the relationship between man and woman needed woman's greed to enable their offspring to thrive, which is why Eve ate the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. In other words, if the woman did not break the taboo her offspring could not thrive. There was some disagreement in the group on this point, some people defending Eve's action and saying she was justified.

In the Fifth Step, the Pyanan and the Kngayan reading groups thought that revelation from the Bible was to remind us to follow God's commandments, that humans should stay committed to their marriage, and to understand that sex is holy and in accordance with the will of God. In addition, the Pyanan group declared the reason why the Bible mentioned the naked body and sex was to guide human being to receive blessings from God to help their offspring thrive, because it is important that human being should survive. But at the same time, the Bible offered some taboos which human being should observe. Moreover, the Kngayan group thought that the biblical text mentioned the problem of taboos, because God wanted men and women to understand the foundation of a healthy marriage, thus forbidding them to do shameful things such as having pre-marital sex, in order that they might receive blessings from God and

that their family would prosper.

#### **8.3.5.5. *Truku Tribal Reading Groups***

In the Third Step, the Tpuqu and the Pratan groups from the Truku tribe held that a woman should not be allowed to expose her naked body in public, so they highlighted the fact that their traditional tribal clothing for women covered their legs and hands to prevent them from ignoring the taboo of naked body exposure, and to prevent the women from arousing thoughts associated with sex in men. But there was a different criterion for men in that they do not have to live by such taboos, and may expose their naked upper bodies, but they cannot expose their private parts in public so they need clothes to cover that, (though this does not include their buttocks).

In the Fourth Step, the Tpuqu and the Pratan reading groups agreed that the biblical taboo against the naked body was about the woman's body, and compared it with the traditional tribal command that woman should cover their bodies well; this part in the Bible was not about the man's body. Some people contested this point, arguing that it should include naked men as well. The Pratan reading group said that the description in the Bible "the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed" (Gen 2:25) was about the intimacy of the sexual relationship between a wife and a husband, so it is not a shameful thing. The Tpuqu group thought that God expelled Adam and Eve because they breached a sex taboo and disobeyed his command not to eat the fruit on the tree of good-and-evil. The couple who commit the crime of having pre-marital sexual relations are expelled from their tribe to prevent their act from bringing disaster on or impacting the tribe.

When the Tpuqu and the Pratan groups in the Truku tribe proceeded with the discussion in the Fifth Step, they developed the topic of what inspired them from the biblical text. They pointed out that the relationship between the husband and the wife meets the expectations of God. The Pratan group held that the perfect marriage relationship was modeled on the biblical revelation, saying that a man and woman would not feel ashamed of their naked bodies after they are married. The Tpuqu group thought that their naked bodies meant that they had had sexual relations. They also thought that the biblical text instructed human being how to prevent disaster by not committing the crime of pre-marital sexual activity, and enjoined them to keep the purity of marriage, which a joyful thing is given by God. Some of the participants emphasized that men and women should get married to comply with the will of God.

By reflecting on the five topics above, we can see how, by creating a space to allow ordinary tribal people to be “real” readers and to be able to speak freely, they regained their own voices and were able to share their own perspectives, which is a very important feature in reading their tribal text and the biblical text. We can summarize the above research by saying that ordinary readers have their own appropriate reading perspective to re-read the tribal text and the biblical text. The main issue, we observed, was whether or not it would be possible for us to create a secure space for the ordinary tribal readers to communicate their thoughts freely and openly, and how we should design the steps for the biblical text reading to provide them with the opportunity to complete their discourse.

#### **8.4. Conclusion**

In the course of the research for this text, we asserted that TYCM ordinary tribal people can be the “real” readers in their biblical text reading and their tribal text re-reading to address their postcolonial concerns. When we practised the methods of the aforementioned fourth, and fifth steps of the reading process for those fourteen tribal reading groups in the five tribes, we may confirm that our objective was achieved, in that the ordinary readers could really become “real” readers and regain their own voices to re-read the biblical text and their own tribal traditional texts.

In addition, we observed that biblical scholars or ministers tended to want to take control and present the meaning of the biblical text in such a way that it confirmed their authority role in biblical interpretation. But our facilitators worked hard so that the authentic voices of the tribal people emerged. It was the requirement of the Fourth and Fifth steps to facilitate TYCM ordinary tribal people to really become “real” readers in the whole reading process. Even like me (minister, scholar, or trained reader), it is absolutely necessary to be a facilitators, humble ourself, and conscious our role to create a freely and openly place in the process of the reading with the ordinary tribal people.

“Reading with” the ordinary tribal people engages to discover “what the ordinary tribal voices are” is the main purpose of the Chapter. I know that I don’t understand their mother-tongue unless Sediq and Taloko. So, I need to record it through the translator. But most importantly to confirm their thoughts, I must go back to them again and again to ask whether I am missing anything or need to be corrected, and this

will confirm their voices in the interpreting and writing process.

It should be concluded that, in fulfilment of our main purpose, as stated in Part II, Chapter 5, which was to create a definition of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation, and to implement its practice in the Five Steps Reading Process (from Chapter 6 to Chapter 8), the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation clearly draws connections between the TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns and the biblical interpretation of TYCM tribal Christians, who occupy an ambiguous position of dual-identity between the tribal people and the tribal Christianity of the contemporary postcolonial context in their tribal villages. Moreover, it seems reasonable to suggest that TYCM ordinary people have “re-located” their tribal text (Chapter 7) and their own voices to re-read the biblical text and their tribal texts with their mother-tongue (Chapter 8), to nurture their cultural and religious traditions in their own decolonization strategy. The ability of TYCM ordinary people to express their own views freely depends on whether they are given a place to become “real” readers speaking with their mother-tongue, have their ordinary voices, not only from scholar or trained reader’s in the reading process concerning their postcolonial situation in their specific context.

**Conclusion:**  
**A Convocation House**  
***(Prrngawan)***

In the general postcolonial context in Taiwan, TYCM tribal people remain under a new colonial context, so that a form of biblical interpretation constructed in their own living situation is absolutely needed. Like every other indigenous people in the world, TYCM shares a same fate of deprivation, cruel calamity, and colonization. However, since TYCM's have their own history experience in their own unique situation of being colonized, and of anti-colonization, their own biblical interpretation upon biblical reading is naturally developing in a way that concerns on these postcolonial issues are involved. This is the future trend of development in TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. Scholars should ensure that biblical interpretation gives priority to three postcolonial concerns: text, reader and language, for the purpose in enriching their understanding of TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. More specifically to say, the three major postcolonial concerns are: TYCM tribal texts, TYCM ordinary tribal readers, and TYCM tribal mother-tongues.

The purpose of developing such a biblical reading methodology is to create the possibility for biblical interpretation which combines with the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial experiences. In addition it is to emphasize that postcolonial biblical interpretation should respect their own special historical and cultural moods, and their past and present colonial experience, to form a biblical reading strategy review. The strategy contextualizes the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method to combine with the TYCM tribal postcolonial experience to touch the TYCM tribal people's feelings and experiences as in the above readings, and it proceeds with re-interpreting and re-locating the biblical texts and the tribal cultural traditional heritage texts simultaneously. Moreover, TYCM ordinary tribal people really have, as reading subjects, been able to express their postcolonial concerns with a similar de-colonization spirit, as have TYCM tribal biblical scholars.

As we saw in the previous chapters, the TYCM ordinary tribal readers in the fourteen tribal reading groups started using their own mother-tongue to read the biblical text, then through the biblical text they were further able to open up the hidden world behind the text, which revealed the abundant resources found in tribal cultures and religious traditions, previously prohibited and silenced during the past periods of

colonialism. By using this model the TYCM ordinary tribal people as “real” readers could speak, using their own mother-tongues to communicate, to reconstruct their traditional heritage, to promote their ethnic identities and tribal ways of thinking, feeling, and being, to educate their descendants to assimilate the spirituality and wisdom of the tribal cultural and religious traditions, and to address their socio-political and cultural-religious issues as a minority tribal people in the context of Taiwan. For the TYCM tribal people in Taiwan, this is symbolized by the *Prrngawan*, or “convocation house” in the Sediq mother-tongue, in the tribal context.

The term “*Prrngawan*”, comes from “*pr-rngaw*”, which means “the ordinary tribal readers for discussion”, “*r-rngaw*”, which means “the tribal public affairs that they are talking about”, and “*rngaw*”, which means “the teaching and learning about the ancestor traditions in the mother-tongue”. These are the three important affixes to the word-root which give the full meaning of the word. Thus, we use them to think about the TYCM tribal life and cultural situation, in that the word “*Prrngawan*” should be built on the two basic fundamentals: the ordinary tribal readers should participate in the *Prrngawan*, or the public affairs of the tribal people where they fight for tribal issues; and it has an educational function with the mother-tongue used to teach and to learn the ancestral traditions. If *Prrngawan* loses one of its basic functions, it will lose its traditional role and position in the tribes. Consequently, the *Prrngawan* is not only the most important place for the socio-political affairs in the tribal village, but it also has the responsibility for teaching, training, protection, extending the tribal life, and contributing to the passing on of the cultural heritage.

What is the reason which caused the “*Prrngawan*” in the traditional TYCM tribe to lose its function and role? From our previous analysis, we found that the most influential factor was colonists entering the TYCM tribal villages in the last 400 years, and yet from the perspective of the TYCM tribal people’s observations and experience it is clear that, the suffering of the TYCM tribal people was seldom discussed, and no one seemed to be concerned about it, even during the last 40 years.

In Taiwanese history, the TYCM tribal people’s history is one of colonization. The Taiwan postcolonial discourse scholars emphasize that Taiwan was colonized under the Japanese and the KMT. It is obvious that Taiwan struggles to recognize the tribal people with this paradox between Chinese and Taiwanese nationalism. The Taiwanese postcolonial scholars within the academic system of Chinese nationalism claimed that the beginning of Taiwan’s postcolonial period was in 1945; the other party which supports Taiwanese nationalism thinks the beginning was in 1987 after the KMT

lifted martial law. The TYCM tribal people became a mere footnote between those two major realms of “consciousness” in Taiwanese society, but yet no political body actually recognized them. From the standpoint of the TYCM tribal people’s colonial period, one can state that the beginning of their postcolonialism was neither of those, because those were seen from a Han viewpoint. The TYCM tribal people began to organise activities to recognize their rights in 1994 and to use “Yuen-Chu-Min” (YCM) as a collective name and to legislate it into the constitution. The TYCM tribal people acknowledged that now was the time for recognition and that they would enjoy the freedom to enjoy their rights in Taiwanese society.

The “TYCM tribal people” is a collective name comprehensively recognized by the minority indigenous people in Taiwan. More so, it is a symbol of suppression and injury of our past colonial history, and no less, of a postcolonial wretched context up to this time. From our analysis and discussion in the previous chapters, the TYCM tribal people were regarded as “barbarians”, were seriously suppressed to become voiceless, and were long, even conditioned docile, only to obey instructions from the colonists. On the pretext of maintaining such things as “national security” and “civilization”, the TYCM tribal people are forced to lose the right to own their own land, to maintain their own culture, to practice their own religion; even lose the right to learn and to speak their own language, and to develop their own traditional tribal mechanisms in protecting themselves. They were forced to move from their homes; their lands were robbed; some of their races were suffering from genocide by the ruling powers.

It is the de-colonization writing strategies that the TYCM tribal scholars and authors re-discovered the TYCM tribal culture, religious heritage, mother-tongues, and led the TYCM tribal people to participate in the decision-making process in several areas, such as the political, economic, cultural, and educational. In TYCM tribal people’s postcolonial discourse, there are three main strategies of de-colonizing discourse, by which their postcolonial concerns may be addressed. These are: (1) Re-locating the tribal traditions to guide the tribal people to express their traditional culture orally and to recall their tribal experience; (2) re-locating their tribal experiences to help the TYCM tribal people regain their memory, speech, and writing to form their decolonial discourse; and (3) re-locating the languages to have their own function and re-positioning the role of the TYCM tribal mother-tongues to re-write and to re-trace their rich tribal heritages which lie behind the world of the tribal mother-tongue. These are three necessary features for the de-colonization writing strategy of the TYCM postcolonial discourse to occur.

Traditionally, the “*Prrngawan*” emphasizes that tribal people should participate in public events through oral speech, training and maintenance of the tribal mother-tongues. This is the most familiar method for the tribal people but it was suppressed to a point where it was severely damaged or even destroyed under the colonial system. The TYCM tribal Christians have two identities as Christians and as indigenous people, and as such they should think how they can contextualize the three aforementioned features from the biblical interpretation to develop these three main postcolonial concerns in the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse. This is a challenge in the field of biblical interpretation for the TYCM tribal Christians.

According to our discussion in the previous chapters, how the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation stresses re-imagining the process of contextual biblical interpretation depends on the three decolonial strategies of the postcolonial concerns in the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse. For instance, the trainer readers created locations to invite TYCM ordinary tribal people (the subaltern people) to be “real” readers to speak freely, to relocate the traditional tribal heritages, to do cross-reading with the biblical text, and further to re-read the Bible in their mother-tongues, which was to unveil the cultural sense of the world embedded in the tribal language. However, the process of the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation needs to have the support of the village Christians and traditional leadership to allow more opportunities for contextualization to focus on these TYCM tribal postcolonial concerns within the field of biblical hermeneutics. Thus, this becomes the holy responsibility and mission of the TYCM tribal Christians in the postcolonial situation.

In order to be more effective, the trained reader should create a facilitation space for the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. That is, they should listen to and learn from the subaltern people (TYCM ordinary tribal people) as they become “real” readers speaking out loud and freely, without altogether limiting the roles of the scholars and the trained readers. The reason why we proceeded with the Five Steps Reading Process for TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation was to create a facilitation space for subaltern people to respond to the spirit of being “back home” which, we maintained, was part of the experience of the TYCM tribal postcolonial discourse.

The series of reading activities we organised over several years with the TYCM ordinary tribal people taught the scholars and trained readers to be more modest, and to listen to voices they had previously ignored. These opportunities allowed TYCM ordinary tribal readers to speak freely in the locations provided and to express their

thoughts and views regarding key discussion topics without the restrictions, pressures and anxieties they had faced throughout the colonial periods. Is it possible for the subalterns to speak for themselves? Yes, I believe that they can speak for themselves, and in addition, in the Five Steps Reading Process, the TYCM ordinary tribal readers can contribute the vast riches of their experiences and relationships within the marginalized minority tribal communities, baring their ethnic souls, which reflect the vitality of the TYCM tribal people in Taiwan today. The TYCM tribal people's facilitators used this method for the contextual Bible study in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation to create a platform for the ordinary tribal people to speak freely, and this was greatly appreciated by all who participated in the discussions.

The outcome of this study with the fourteen tribal reading groups in the Five Steps Reading Process is that we may clearly claim that when the TYCM ordinary tribal people become "real" readers, speaking out freely and recounting their knowledge of the Bible in their mother-tongue, they may also possess and process information which enables them to relocate their traditional tribal heritages and to practice a cross-reading with the biblical text. This type of cross-textual reading, which was developed in the environment of multiple religions and beliefs in Asia and other multi-faith areas, enables us to see that ordinary tribal people can authentically become "real" readers. In the reading process our strategy was not only to provide a suitable platform for the TYCM ordinary tribal readers, but also to develop the hermeneutical rights of the TYCM tribal people to engage with their tribal cultural and religious heritages.

Central to this research process was the discovering of the main tool of communication for the TYCM tribal people, one which they might employ in the activities in which those tribal reading groups participated. This was their familiar mother-tongues. The object of this process was to lead the tribal people to hear their ancestors' voices and to respond to the TYCM tribal people's postcolonial concerns in the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation. As they themselves pointed out, the reading aloud played an important role in the reading process. The facilitators would remind the TYCM tribal Christians to note, through this reading, the heritage of their cultural and spiritual world hidden behind the mother-tongue. The ordinary tribal readers were inspired to remember their tribal culture and religious heritages, which they discovered anew and dusted off in their Bible reading through their familiar mother-tongues. The indigenous spirituality embedded in the mother-tongue Scripture, whereas the deeper reality in the carryover of meanings and resonances from the ancestral heritage of culture and religion. It is these resonances and the

re-memory of them that the tribal elders are the custodians of, and which they now have the space to elucidate to those whose memory of them has faded through the colonial impact.

This is precisely why the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation can provide a unique contribution to the indigenous/aboriginal/native (or Fourth World Nation) Christian community throughout the whole world, by encouraging them to recall, to renew, and to explain and their tribal heritages from oral speech in their mother-tongues, so that “they will no longer remain silent, and will not be silenced” in the midst of their postcolonial concerns in their various specific contexts. And they will be encouraged, too, to re-locate their rich and meaningful mother-tongues and reconstruct the elements of their tribal culture and religious heritages which are embedded in the words of their mother-tongue, when they read the Bible in their tribal mother-tongues. As far as possible, the facilitators should encourage the ordinary tribal readers to freely express their tribal spirituality, their ways of thinking, their worldview and sacred philosophy which undergird their experience of the physical world. In this way they will, through the Bible reading in their mother-tongues, fulfil their roles as *Prrngawan* in the traditional tribal villages where the TYCM tribal people live.

In dealing with the postcolonial concerns of the tribal people, the TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation does not entirely disregard the contributions of western biblical scholars. On the contrary, it considers that TYCM tribal biblical scholars should share their knowledge whenever ordinary tribal people want to know more about the socio-political background of the biblical text. We truly respect western biblical scholars who have rich resources and appreciate their long history of scholarly research. Their insights can be very useful contributions for reading the biblical text with the ordinary readers. However, as a priority in seeking to address authentically the postcolonial concerns of the tribal people, as a biblical scholar myself, I need to humble myself to develop a relationship together with them, to give them a free and open space and time to help the minority ordinary tribal people to gain their subjectivity as a real readers, to discover their voices from their silenced, marginalized location in the postcolonial context. Biblical scholars can help by “reading with” them and bringing to light their postcolonial concerns through the biblical text reading as reflected in their specific context.

TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation offers an additional perspective for a “biblical” reading. It not only highlights the marginalization of the ordinary tribal people who had previously “no voice” to re-locate their role as subject in the biblical reading, but

also resolves their dual identity “in-between” the tribal people and the tribal Christians in the postcolonial struggles in their tribal villages. It begins with reading the biblical text in their mother-tongue Bible, and finishes with biblical and traditional tribal text cross-reading in the Five Reading Process with the tribal reading groups. In this way, TYCM ordinary tribal people re-research and recall their traditions according to the themes which are suggested by the content of the biblical text.

It was not necessary to talk about political issues when they read Gen 2: 4b-25, for the survival of the culture itself becomes a real political issue in the postcolonial concerns of TYCM tribal people. They claim that the TYCM tribal people’s history is a creation of colonial history, which was imposed on them by the colonists and religions, including Christianity. Therefore, when they read the biblical text, they understand the processes of conquering, assimilation and colonization. Moreover they strongly express the rights of survival for their mother-tongue and cultural heritage as important political issues in their postcolonial concerns in Taiwan. When TYCM ordinary tribal people become “real” readers, they will be able to engage themselves in discussing postcolonial issues: land rights, human rights, education rights, language rights, religious rights, cultural rights, and other topics which were reflected by their experiences in the political movement of the “TYCM tribal people’s Identity Movement” and the “Return our Land Movement” in the colonial period in the context of Taiwan’s past.

To understand the textual dynamics and impact in their postcolonial struggles lends even greater immediacy and authenticity to the biblical interpretation process and help them to face their postcolonial context. From the beginning, this project to develop a TYCM Tribal Biblical Interpretation method has been committed to creating decolonization strategies relating to the colonized experiences of tribal people; to inspiring them to play the traditional role of the *Prrngawan*; to facilitating their becoming “real” readers of their tribal texts and biblical texts through their mother-tongue; to enabling them to construct and to continue to restore their tribal spirituality and worldviews; and to helping them appropriate de-colonized biblical readings in the struggles of the postcolonial context of present day Taiwan. If we have lived up to that challenge, we hope that the heritage of the people with whom we shared will survive well past the Taiwanese colonial and postcolonial periods, with continuing support from the academic, theological, and religious communities which have contributed to this effort.

### Appendix 1: TYCM Tribal Reading Groups

	<b>Tribe</b>	<b>Reading Group</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>
1	Amis Tribe	Tisalo*	Tisalo tribal village	2008.5.29
2		Ciwkangan*	Ciwkangan tribal village	2007.5.10
3		Molisaka	Molisaka Presbyterian Church	2007.5.24
4	Bunun Tribe	Ququaz	Ququaz Presbyterian Church	2007.1.27
5		Kuphong	Kuphong Presbyterian Church	2008.5.8
6		Sinapalan	Sinapalan Presbyterian Church	2008.5.22
7		Singwu	Singwu Presbyterian Church	2009.6.4
8		Nansan	Nansan Presbyterian Church	2009.5.14
9	Sediq Tribe	Plngawan*	Plngawan tribal village	2007.1.25
10		Pulan*	Pulan tribal village	2007.1.23
11	Tayal Tribe	Pyanan	Pyanan Presbyterian Church	2009.4.30
12		Kngayan*	Kngayan tribal village	2009.5.28
13	Truku Tribe	Tpuqu	Tpuqu Presbyterian Church	2008.6.7
14		Pratan	Pratan Presbyterian Church	2008.4.19

## Bibliography

- Abraham, K. C. 1997. "Asian Theology Looking to 21st Century". *Voices*, 81-98.
- , 1997b. "Dalit Theology--Some Tasks Ahead". *Bangalore Theological Forum* 29:1/2, March & June, 36-47.
- Ahmad, Aijaz, 1992. *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. London: New York.
- Albright, W. F., 1968. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Alexander, David, 2005. "Taiwan's Protestants Mark 140 Years of Continuous Ministry". *Taiwan Church News* 2780.
- An, Shu-mei, 1998. *Comparative the Social Location of the Woman in the Yahwist and Tso Tribe* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Aoanan, Melanio L., 1988. *Spirituality for the Struggle*. Quezon City: Ecumenical Council for Theological Education by Extension in the Philippines.
- Ashcroft, Bill and Griffiths, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen, 1989. *The Empire Writes Back*. London: Routledge.
- Barr, James, 1999. *The Concept of Biblical Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Baser, Watan, 1998a. "We Adopt the Name of Indigenes", in Mei-Kwen, Hsia, ed., *A Command for the Host Name*. Tainan: Jen Kuang, 9-16. Original from *Church News Reports* 1845 (1987/07/12).
- , 1998b. "From the 'Native' to See the Definition of 'Indigenous' Concept", *Council of Indigenous People*. Taipei: Council of Indigenous People.
- , 1999a. "Aboriginal Images Lost", Jie-Lin, Xu ed., *International Symposium on Aboriginal Rights of Indigenous People: Where is the Rights of Taiwan Indigenous People*, (Chinese). Taipei : College of Law, National Taiwan University.
- , 1999b. "Myth of the Images of Aborigines", *International Aboriginal Rights Conference in Taipei*. In <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/watan.html>.
- , 2000. "See the Case of 'Tang Ying-Shen' to Thinking 'Social Problem'", in *Indigenous People*, vol. 7. <http://web.my8d.net/m5a07/volem007/nowadays2.htm>.
- Bediako, Kwame, 1989. "The Roots of African Theology", *International Bulletin of*

- Missionary Research*. 13/2, 58-65.
- , 1993. "Cry Jesus! Christian Theology and Presence in Modern Africa", *Vox Evangelica* 23, 7-26. In [www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol23/cry-jesus\\_bediako.pdf](http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol23/cry-jesus_bediako.pdf)
- , 2000. *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience*. Akuapem: Regnum Africa.
- , 2003. "Biblical Exegesis in the African Context—The Factor and Impact of the Translated Scriptures", *Journal of African Christian Thought* 6/1, 15-23.
- , 1995. *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.
- Bellwood, Peter, 1991. "The Austronesian dispersal and the origin of languages", *Scientific American*. July, 88-93.
- Bhabha, Homi K., 1994. *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge.
- Blusse, Leonard, 1984. "Dutch Protestant Missionaries as Protagonists of the Territorial Expansion of VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie) on Formosa", in Dick Kooiman, Otto van den Muizenberg and Peter van der Veer eds., *Conversion, Competition and Conflict, Essays on the Role of Religion in Asia*. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 155-184.
- Blust, Robert, 1985. "The Austronesian homeland: A linguistic perspective", *Asian Perspectives*. 26/1, 45-67.
- Bojijernu, Basuya, 1996. *Oral Literary for TYCM*. Taipei: Folk culture.
- , 1999. *Indigenous Mythology and Culture*. Taipei, Tai-Yuan.
- , 1999. *The Mythology and Literature by Indigenes*. Taipei: Tai-yuan.
- , 2000. "The chosen development Road for Indigenous literature", *Aboriginal Culture and Education Newsletter*, 9, 2-6.
- Bojijernu, Basuya, and Kadresengan, Auyini, 2000. "Face Dawn", *Song for Wild Lily*. Taichung: Morning Star, 2000.
- Brett, Mark G., ed., 1996. *Ethnicity and the Bible*. Leiden/New York/ London: E. J. Brill.
- , 2000a. "Earthing the Human in Genesis 1-3", in Norman C. Habel & Shirley Wurst eds., *The Earth Story in Genesis, The Earth Bible 2*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 73-86.

- , 2000b. *Genesis: Procreation and the Politics of Identity*, Old Testament Readings. London/New York: Routledges.
- , 2003. "Israel's Indigenous Origins: Cultural Hybridity and the Formation of Israelite Ethnicity", *Biblical Interpretation* 11, 3/4, 400-412.
- Cahpmumu, Panu, 1993. "Report of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations", *the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines in the World Conference on Human Rights*, Vienna, 14-25 June. <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/ata.htm>.
- Cai, Zong-han, 1998. *Century White Paper on Indigenous Policy*. Taipei: Taiwan Indigenous Tribes Culture and Education Foundation.
- Campbell, William, 1913. *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken*. Tainan: Sinlaw.
- Cauquelin, Josiane, 2004. *The Aborigines of Taiwan: the Puyuma from Headhunting to the Modern World*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Chang, Ching-yuan, 1995. *Postcolonial Theory and Cultural Identity*. Taipei: Mayten.
- , 1999. *Postcolonial Theory and Culture Criticism*. Beijing: Beijing University.
- Chang, Hai-yu, and Wang, Rong-ji, 1998. "The History of the Tao Church Mission", *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei:Yeonwang, 399-424.
- Chang, Li-chuen, 1996. *Psalms 13* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Chang, Lung-chih, 2006. "The Postcolonial View, a Taiwan History Research: the Reconsideration for Taiwan Local History Methodology", eds., by Kuei-Feng, Chiu and Shu-ch'in, Liu. *The Postcolonial Eastern Asia Local Thoughts-Taiwan Literature Place*. Tainan: National Taiwan literature building, 359~363.
- Chang, Ming-you, 1996. "Shoot Sun People—The Survey of the Face of Indigenous Theology" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 11, 59-70.
- , 2001. "The Future of the Jealous Evil God", eds. by Chen Nan-jou, Bible, *Hermeneutics, and Context: The memory of Dr. Lo We-jen retired festschrift* (Chinese). Taipei: Yong Wang, 109-142.
- Chao, Hsi-fang, 2007. "Novel of Yang Kuei and Taiwan Localization Discourse", at *Ren-Jian*, website: [www.Ren-Jian.com](http://www.Ren-Jian.com), 2007/07/06.
- Charleston, Steven, 1983. "Reflections on a Revival: The Native American

- Alternative”. *Theological Education* 20/1. Autumn, 65-78.
- , 1987. “Victims of an American Holocaust”. *Sojourners* 16/10. November, 32-33.
- , 1988. “Native American Spirituality”. In Owanah Anderson ed., *Jamestown Commitment: The Episcopal Church and the American Indian*. Cincinnati: Forward Movement, 149-55.
- , 1990. “The Old Testament of Native America”. In Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite and Mary Potter Engle eds. *Lift Every Voice: Constructing Christian Theologies from the Underside*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 49-61.
- , 1991a. “American Indian Tradition: Rediscovering an Old Testament”. *Areopagus*, 5-8.
- , 1991b. “Consider the Cargo, Not the Captain”. *Sojourners*, 25-26.
- , 1992. “Columbus from the Native American Perspective: What Have We Learned in 500 Years?” *Word and World* 12/ 2, 106-110.
- , 1995. “The Old Testament of Native America”, ed., by James Treat, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*. New York/London: Routledge, 68-80.
- Chen, Chao-ying, 1995. “Discovery the Real Colonial History of Taiwan”, *Chinese and Foreign Literature* 24/4, 77-93.
- Chen, Fang-ming, 1984. “Currently Taiwanese Literary Localization Problem”, *Taiwan Arts* 86, 3-14.
- , 1995. “Colonial History and Taiwanese Literature Research-talk Chao-Ying, Chen’s “The Research for Taiwan Localization Movement””, in *Chinese and Foreign Culture* 23/12, 110.
- , 1998. *The Left Wing: Colonized Literature Movement History* (Taipei: Mayten, 131-132.
- , 2000a. “Taiwan new Literature history Structuring and Period Definition”, *United literature* 16/9.
- , 2000b. “The Disaster from Consciousness to Replace Science Knowledge: the Criticism for “Taiwan new Literary History Structure and Definition”, *Unitas, A Literary Monthly* 16/9, 138-160.
- , 2002. *Postcolonial Taiwan: Essays on Taiwanese Literary History and Beyond* (Chinese). Taipei: Rye Field Pub.
- , 2002. *Taiwan Study Workshop* 2002/6/18. <http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/i/iu-seng-koan/hoan-tiongkok-pakoan.htm>

- , 2003. *Modern Taiwan History View*. Taipei: Wheat Field.
- , 2007. “Post-modern or Post-colony-an Explanation of Taiwan Literary History in Postwar Era”, *Postcolonial Taiwan: Essays on Taiwanese Literary History and Beyond*. Taipei: Wheat Field, 23-46.
- , “The Theme of Three Phases History and the Theme of Taiwan New Literary History Could Be Ended”, *Chinatide Association*, [http://www.xiachao.org.tw/i\\_f\\_page.asp?repno=126](http://www.xiachao.org.tw/i_f_page.asp?repno=126)”.
- Chen, Hui-fang, 2006. “Re-discovered the Wizard in the Ulo Tribal of Amis”, *China Times*, on 8 October.
- Chen, Kuang-hsing, 1996a. “Not yet the Postcolonial Era: The (Super) Nation-State and Transnationalism of Cultural Studies: Response to Ang and Stratton”, *Cultural Studies* 10/1, 37-70.
- , 1996b. “De-colony Culture Research”, *Taiwan Society Research Quarterly* 21/1, 73-139.
- Chen, Shi-zong, 2006. “Chien-San’s Ancestor Cult—15 Clan Offspring in the Journey to the Source”, *China Times*, on 2 August.
- Chen, Qi-peng, 2003. “Enflaming’ Taiwan: The Study of Colonial Modernity in Japanese Colonial Taiwan”, *Cultural Studies Association*. Taipei: Yuen Liu, *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%8E%8E%E5%8B%87%E4%B9%8B%E9%90%98>.
- Chen, Qi-nan, 1986. *Culture, Construction and Myth—The trajectory of Culture, vol.1* (Chinese). Taipei: Yun Chen.
- Chen, Qi-peng, 2003. “Enflaming’ Taiwan: The Study of Colonial Modernity in Japanese Colonial Taiwan”, *Cultural Studies Association*. Taipei: Yuen Liu.
- Chen, Zhi-rong, 1995. “Kavalan Tribal People’s Religious Change”. <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~pingpu/education/Essay/essay1995b/nCCJ/nCCJ.doc>.
- Cheng, Hen-hsiung, 1995. “Non-local Language/ Culture Force Stress Versus Fighting”v.s. “Local Language/Culture-Beauty Picture”, in Ching-Yuan, Chang, *Postcolonial Theory and Cultural Identity*. Taipei: Mayten, 292-307.
- Cheng, Yang-en, 1980. “The Blind Point of Taiwan Local Literature”, *The Taiwanese Local Literature Discussion Series*, 93-99.
- , 2000. “The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Taiwanese Society: A

- Centennial Historical Review” (Chinese), *Taiwan Journal of Theology* 22, 1-22.
- , 2004, “Reading the Bible with New Eyes: An Emerging Project of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan”, *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 11, 17-27.
- Chen, Ying-chen, 1984. *U.S.A. Ruling Taiwan*. Taipei: Zen Chen.
- , 1985. “Monanen-a Poet for Taiwan Inside Colonial Place”, *Beauty Spike of Rice*. Taichung: Chen Xing, 190-191.
- , 2000. “The Previously Discussion about Taiwan Society Characteristic—Response to Fang-Ming, Chen”, *Unitas, A literary Monthly* 16/11, 138-161.
- Chien, Ying-ying, 1997a. “The question and prospect of Postcolonialism-some Asia-Pacific area inspiration” ed. By Ying-ying Chien, *Recognition, Variance, Main-body, and Independency: From Feminine Principle to Postcolonial Culture Imagination*. Hsintien: Li-Hsu, 111-152.
- , 1997b. *Recognition, Variance, Main-body, and Independency: From Feminine Principle to Postcolonial Culture Imagination*. Hsintien: Li-Hsu.
- Childs, Brevard S., 1986. *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Chiu, Kuei-fen, 1992a. “Discovery of Taiwan: Construction of Taiwan Postcolonial Discourse”, *Chinese and Foreign Literature* 21/3, 43-46.
- , 1992b. “Discovery of Taiwan: Construction of Taiwan Postcolonial Discourse”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, 21/2, 151-168.
- , 1992c. “We are all Taiwanese — Answering for the questions from Chao-Yang, Liao about the theme of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, 21/3, 29-47.
- , 1995a. “It is Postcolonial, not Post-modern—Review the Taiwan’s Status Identity Problem”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture* 23/10, 41-47.
- , 1995b. “Discovery of Taiwan: Build up the Postcolonial Discourse of Taiwan”, ed., by Chang, Ching-yuan, *Postcolonialism Theory and Culture Recognition*. Taipei: Wheat Field, 169-191.
- , 1995c. “Clarification of Nation and Culture Recognition”, *Chinese and Foreign Literature* 24/5, 125-127.
- , 1995d. “It’s the Post-colony, not the Post Modern Era: Re-talk about the Taiwan Political Identity”, *Chinese and Foreign Culture* 23/11, 143-174.

- , 1996. "History Memory Re-composition and the Construction of Country Dictation: Exploration of Memory Recognition Politic of "New Native", "Mist Garden" and "Dark Alley and Mist Night", *Chinese and Overseas Literature* 25/5, 7-31.
- , 2003a. "Search for "Taiwanese nature—Grass roots Globalization and Political Meanings from Country Land Imagination" & "Taiwanese Nature — Globalization Era and Political Meanings from Country Land Imagination", *Chinese and Foreign Culture* 32/4, 45-65.
- , 2003b. "The Taiwan Deduction of "Postcolonial"", in Chiu Kuie-feng, *Rethinking Postcolonial Literary Criticism in Taiwan*. Taipei: Mayten, 259-299.
- , 2003c. "'Postcolonial' of Taiwan Deduction", in Chiu Kuie-fen, *Rethinking Postcolonial Literary Criticism in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei: Mayten, 259-299, 261-263.
- Chiu, Kuei-fen, and Liu, Shu-chin, 2006. *The Postcolonial Eastern Asia Local Thoughts-Taiwan Literature Place*. Tainan: National Taiwan literature building.
- Chiyo, Shu-hwa, 1993. *Psalms 22* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Chung, Chao-chen, 1997. *Taiwan Hakka Literature Anthologies*. Vol. 1. Taipei: Sin-te.
- Coe, Shoki, 1980. "Contextualization as the Way Toward Reform", in Dauglas J. Elwood ed., *Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Themes*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 48-55.
- Chou, Chin-mei, 1996. *Psalms 6* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Chuang, Chun-kuo, 2004. "Escape from the shadow of colony: Reconstruction of Taiwanese Culture", *New Taiwan Weekly News* 453.
- Dalley, Stephanie, 1991. *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- David Alexander, 2005. "Taiwan's Protestants Mark 140 Years of Continuous Ministry", *Taiwan Church News* 2780.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr., 2003. *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum.

- Derrida, Jacques, 1978. *Writing and Difference*, trans. by Alan Bass. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Dickson, James, 1948. *Stranger than Fiction*, Toronto: Evangelical Publishers.
- Donaldson, Laura F., 1992. *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, Gender, & Empire-Building*. Chapel Hill/London: The University of North Carolina Press.
- , 1996. "Postcolonialism and Biblical Reading: An Introduction", *Semeia* 75, 1-14.
- , 1999. "The Sign of Orpah: Reading Ruth through Native Eyes", R. S. Sugirtharajah ed., *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Donaldson, Laura F., 1998. "Are We All Multiculturalists Now? Biblical Reading as Cultural Contact", *Semeia* 82, 79-97.
- , 1992. "The Sign of Orpah: Reading Ruth through Native Eye", in R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 20-36.
- Dube, Musa W., 1996. "Readings of Semoya: Botswana Women's Interpretations of Matt 15:21-28", *Semeia* 73, 111-129.
- , 1997. "Toward a Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible", *Semeia* 78, 11-26.
- , 1998. "Go Therefore and Make Disciples of All Nations" (Matt. 28:19a): A Postcolonial Perspective on Biblical Criticism and Pedagogy", in Fernando Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert eds., *Teaching the Bible: The Discourses and Politics of Biblical Pedagogy*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 224-245.
- , 1999. "Searching for the Lost Needle: Double Colonization & Postcolonial African Feminisms", *Studies in World Christianity* 5/2, 213-228.
- , 2000. *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*. St. Louis: Chalice Press.
- , 2002. "Fighting with God: Children and HIV/AIDS in Botswana", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 114, 31-42.
- Dyen, Isidore, 1956. "Language Distribution and Migration Theory", *Language* 32/4, 644-626.
- , 1971a. "The Austronesian Languages and Proto-Austronesian", in Thomas

- Sebeok, ed. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 8, 5-84.
- , 1971b. "The Austronesian languages of Formosa", In Thomas Sebeok, ed. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 8, 168-199.
- Dyvasirvadam, Govada, 1990. "Doing Theology with God's Purpose in India in the Context of the Dalit Struggle for a Fuller Humanity", In Choo Lak Yeow ed., *Doing Theology with God's Purpose in Asia*. Singapore: ATESEA, 104-110.
- Fabella, Virginia M. M. and Sugirtharajah, R. S. eds., 2000. *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Fan, Meng, 1996. "The Literature View of the Postcolonial Discourse", *United Literature* 10/8, 17-32.
- Fanon, Frantz, 1963. "On National Culture", *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Ford, David and Muers, Rachel eds., 2005. *Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology since 1918*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Galahey, Yishuer, 2006. "After Nearly Six Decades – Re-celebration of the traditional Thanksgiving of Zhuo Tribe", *TV News magazine created by aboriginal reporters of Public Television Station in Taiwan*. On 26 August 2006.
- Grosfoguel, Ramon, 2006. *From Postcolonial Studies to Decolonial Studies: Decolonizing Postcolonial Studies*. Binghamton: Binghamton University.
- Guha, Ranajit and Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty eds., 1988. *Selected Subaltern Studies*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Guo, Ya-ling, 1996. *Psalms 113* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Holter, Knut, 2002. *Old Testament Research for Africa: A Critical Analysis and Annotated Bibliography of African Old Testament Dissertation, 1967-2000*. New York/Oxford: Peter Lang, 87-98.
- Hong, Zhen-hui eds., 1991. *Burn Without Damage: The Apostolic Training Manual of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Tainan: Jen Kuang.
- Hsia, Mei-kwen, 1998. *A Command for the Host Name*. Tainan: Jen Kuang.
- Hsieh, Shih-chung, 1987. *Stigmatized Identity: The Movement of the Taiwan Indigenous People*, (Chinese). Taipei: Independent Evening News.

- , 1994. "From Shanbao to Yuanzhumin : Taiwan Aborigines in Transition". Murray A. Rubinstein ed., *In The Other Taiwan : 1945 to the Present*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 404-419.
- Hsu, C. H., and Cheng, L. M., eds., 1995. *A Centennial History of the Presbyterian Church of Formosa, 1865-1965(Chinese)*. Taipei: Presbyterian Church of Formosa Centenary Publications Committee.
- Huang, Ling-hwa, ed., 1999. *21 Century Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature*. Taipei: The Education and Culture Fundament for TYCM Tribal people.
- , 2004. "Taiwan's Indigenous Peoples Movement in the Congress Line", Ethnology Master Thesis. Taipei: National Chen Chi University, unpublished.
- Huang, Po-ho, 1996. *A Theology of Self-Determination: Responding to the Hope for "Chhut Thau Thin" of the People in Taiwan*. Tainan: Chhut Thau Thin Theological Study Centre.
- Isasi-Díaz, Ada María, and Segovia, Fernando F. eds., 1996. *Hispanic/Latino Theology: Challenge and Promise*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Isqaqavut, Yohani, 1998a. "Return our Land Movement and Presbyterian Church in Taiwan" (Chinese), *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*. Taipei: Yong Wang, 547-562.
- , 1998b. "Briefly History for TYCM", in Tukar ed., *The Indigenous Church History of Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*. Taipei : Indigenous Ministry Committee, 41, <http://www.biblesociety-tw.org/> °
- , 2002. *Indigenous Awakening and Reviving (Chinese)*. Taipei : Avanguard, 20-21.
- Ito, Kiyoshi, trans. by Walter Chen, *Taiwan History*, <http://members.shaw.ca/leksu/mainp4e.htm>.
- James Dickson, 1948. *Stranger than Fiction*. Toronto: Evangelical Publishers.
- Jiang, A-yong, 2004. *Comparative Reading of the Bunun Tribe's Makavas and the Israelite Circumcision* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Jiang, Yi-hua, 1998. "Currently Taiwan national recognition discourse and review", *Taiwan Society Study Quarterly* 29/3, 163-229.
- Jingror, Masegeseg, 2001. "Historical Perspective of the Aboriginal Church: The Presbyterian Church and Its Impact on the Aboriginal Tribes", *Taiwan*

*Mission Quarterly*, 10/4, 23-30.

Ke, Yu-ling, 1998. *The Preliminary Study of Ngurharhekai(Rikai Traditional Wedding), And Uwarhubi ka Senai(The Lamentations)*(Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.

Kennedy, Glenn, 2001. "God's Grace Among Taiwan's Aborigines", *Taiwan Mission Quarterly*, 10/4, 17-22.

Kim, Yong Bock, ed., 1981. *Minjung Theology*. Singapore: CTC, CCA.

-----, 1987. "Minjung Social Biography and Theology", *Asia Journal of Theology* 1, 523-530.

Kisursur, Kapi, 1998. "The Crisis of the Three Servants in the Luke 19:20-24" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 5, 59-71;

-----, 2002. "The Theological meaning in the narrative of Jesus Heals Ten Men (Luke 17:11-19)", (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 9, 1-20;

-----, 2003. "Explanation the Samaritan Return in the Context of the disadvantaged Minority (Luke 17:14-19)" (Chinese)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 9, 1-16;

-----, 2004. "Recovering God's Reign for the Marginalized: Interpretation of the Parable of the Mustard Seed (Luke 13:18-19) in the Light of Jesus' Ministry (Luke 13:1-17)", (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 11, 59-71.

-----, 2005. "Reading of the Story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42) Through the Eyes of the Story of Dilung", *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 12, 1-16.

-----, 2006a. "The Role and Function of the Marginalised Person in the 'Love Neighbor' Teaching in the Narrative of Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 13, 79-96.

-----, 2006b. "The Meaning of the 'Merevavulung' in the Cultural Context (John 2:6-10)", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 6, 140-201.

-----, 2009. "The Interpretation Dimension from "People's Story in Culture" to "The Story of Jesus' Kingdom of God" Analyzes the Meaning of Indigenous' "Sharing Alcohol Ceremony"", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 16, 77-90.

Kosuke Koyama, *Waterbuffalo Theology* (New York: Orbis Books, 1974).

-----, 1985. *Mount Fuji and Mount Sinai: A Critique of Idols*. New York: Orbis

Books.

- Kwok, Pui-lan, 1989. "Discovering the Bible in the non-biblical world", *Semeia* 47, 25-42.
- , 1991. "Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World", in R. S. Sugirtharajah ed., *Voices From the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 299-315.
- , 1992. *Chinese Women and Christianity 1860-1927*. Atlanta: Scholar Press.
- , 1995. *Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- , 1996. "Asian Feminist Theologies", in Letty M. Russell, *Dictionary of Feminist Theologies*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- , 2000. *Introducing Asian Feminist Theology*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- , 2005. *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*. Westminster John Knox Press.
- Landry, Donna, MacLean, Gerald, eds., 1996. *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. New York: Routledge, 287-292.
- Lardinois, Olivier, SJ, 2004. "A History of the Catholic Church among the Aboriginal People in Taiwan", in Olivier Lardinois S.J., Chang Chang-hui, and Sun Ta-chuan, eds., *Church Alive: The Catholic Church among the Aboriginal People of Taiwan: Past, Present, and Future (Chinese)*, The Research Center for Taiwan Aboriginal Theology at the Faculty of Theology of Fugen University. Taipei: Kuangchi, 29-43 (Chinese), 75-97 (English).
- Lardinois, Olivier S. J., Chang Chang-hui, and Sun Ta-chuan, eds., 2004. *Church Alive: The Catholic Church among the Aboriginal People of Taiwan: Past, Present, and Future (Chinese)*, The Research Center for Taiwan Aboriginal Theology at the Faculty of Theology of Fugen University. Taipei: Kuangchi.
- Lee, Archie, 1993. "Biblical Interpretation in Asian Perspective", *Asia Journal of Theology* 1, 35-39.
- , 1994. "The Chinese Creation Myth of Nu Kua and the Biblical Narrative in Genesis 1-11", *Biblical interpretation* 2, 312-324.
- , 1996a. "Syncretism from the Perspectives of Chinese Religion and Biblical Tradition", *Ching Feng* Vol.39, No.3, 1-24.

- , 1996b. "Biblical Interpretation in the Context of Asian Religions", *PTCA Bulletin* Vol.9/2, 75-77.
- , 1996c. "Cross-textual Hermeneutics on Gospel and Culture", *Asia Journal of Theology* Vol.10, 38-48.
- , 1998. "Cross-Textual Interpretation and Its Implications for Biblical Studies", eds. by Ferando F Segovia, and Mary A Tolbert, *Teaching the Bible: The Discourses and Politics of Biblical Pedagogy*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 247-254;
- , 2000. "Cross-textual Hermeneutics", eds. by Virginia Fabella & R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*. New York: Orbis Books, 60-62.
- , 2002. "The Bible and Contextual Reading: Encountering Communities, Encountering Texts – A Response", *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 56/1-2, 77-81.
- , 2003. "Cross-textual Hermeneutics", eds., by Virginia Fabella and R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The SCM Dictionary of Third World Theologies*. London: SCM Press, 60-62.
- , 2005. "Asians Encountering Jesus Christ – A Chinese Reading of Jesus in the Wisdom Matrix", *Quest: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Asian Christian Scholars*, 4/1, 41-62.
- Lee, Hsiao-feng, 2001. "The 228 Incident", *Taiwan History* <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010228.htm> .
- Lee, Teng-hui, 1999. *The Road to Democracy: Taiwan's Pursuit of Identity*, Trans. by Teresa Chang. Kyoto: PHP Institute.
- Lemche, Niels Peter, 1998. *The Israelites in History and Tradition*, Library of Ancient Israel. London/Louisville: SPCK/Westminster John Knox Press.
- Li, Min-xuan, 2002. *Engaging the Theological Meaning in the Makavas of Bunun Tribe*, (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei, 1995a. *The Distributed and Movement of The Taiwanese Austronesian Languages: The Papers of The First International Symposium of Languages in Taiwan*, (Chinese). Taipei: WenHe, 1-16.
- , 1995b. *The Distributed and Movement of The Taiwanese Austronesian*

- Languages: The Papers of The First International Symposium of Languages in Taiwan*, (Chinese). Taipei: WenHe.
- , 1997. *The Ethnicity and Movement of Taiwanese Austronesian Tribes*, (Chinese). Taipei:Folk Culture.
- Li, Qiao, 1989. *Taiwanese Ugly Appearance: Taiwan People's Self-analyzed*. Taipei: Qian Wei.
- , 1996. Qiao, *An Injustice 1947 Event*. Taipei: Taiwan Sea and Ocean.
- , 2008. "Special Postcolonial Feature in Taiwan", *Office of the President, Republic of China (Taiwan)*, 2008/05/12, [http://www.president.gov.tw/1\\_structure/famous/column/10\\_3.html](http://www.president.gov.tw/1_structure/famous/column/10_3.html).
- Li, Wen-dian, 1997. *Psalms 8* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Li, Xiao, 2006. "The Insistence of True Jesus Church in the Rise and Fall of Taiwan Christian Church" (Chinese), *Holy Spirit Monthly*, 350. <http://goodnews.joy.org.tw/holyspirit.asp?num=851>.
- Li, Yi-yuan, 1989. "Legend and Book——Wu Feng Legend and Related Research from Anthropology Angle", *Journal of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation* 18/1, 1-22.
- Li, Young-chi, Li Qiao, Zhuang Wan-shou, and Guo Sheng-yu, eds., 2004. *Constructing the Subjectivity of Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei: Lee Teng-Hui Academy.
- Liao, Chao-yang, 1992. "Neither fish nor fowl, or alike Tiger, Leopard, Lion, and Elephant? — Say Again with Kuei-Feng, Chiu's Taiwanese Culture", *Chinese and Foreign Culture*, 21/3, 48-58.
- Liao, Hsien-hao, 2003. "Don't be fear the night of Han. Hold torch for parade: Aborigine's new culture discourse", ed., by Ta-Chuan, Sun, *The Anthology of TYCM tribal people's Literature, Writing in Chinese*. Taipei:INK, 249-276.
- Liao, Shou-chen, 1998. *Social Organisation in Taiwan Tayal Tribe*. Hualien:Tzu-Chi Medical and Humanities Social Academy.
- Liao, Ping-hui, 1994. "Postcolonial Discourse", *Modernity in Revision: Reading Postmodern/ Postcolonial Theories*. Taipei: Maitien, 22-23.
- , 1994a. "Ethnicity and Nationalism", ed., by Chen-Feng, Shi, *The*

- Development Nationalism in Taiwan*. Taipei: Chienwei, 101-116.
- , 1994b. "Groups & Nationalism", ed. By Shih Cheng-feng, *Taiwan Nationalism*. Taipei: Advance, 101-116.
- , 1995. "Postmodern and postcolonial Discourse", ed. By Ching-yuan, Chang, *Postcolonial Theory and Culture Recognition*. Taipei: Maitien, 213-232.
- , 1997. "The Question and Foreground of the Postcolonial Studies", *Identification, Diversity, and Subjectivity: From Feminism to Postcolonial Cultural Image*. Taipei: New Century, 111-152.
- , 2006. "Overview of Taiwan under Colonial Angle", in *At the Crossroad of Taiwan and World Literature*. Taipei: United Literature, 42-49.
- Lin, April C. J., 2001. "The Modernization of Taiwan", *The Historical Association in Taiwan*, <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010312.htm>
- Lin, Chang-hua, 1995. "The Mission in the Colonial Context", in Pan Ying-hai and Zhan Su-juan eds., *Pingpu Research Papers*. <http://www.sinica.edu.tw:8900/~pingpu/education/Essay/essay1995b/nLTW/nLTW.htm>.
- Lin, Cheng-fang, 1994. "Mist of Sayon no Kane-Record from Seminar" *I-Lan Journal of History*, 96-101.
- Lin, Christine L. 1999. "The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and the Advocacy of Local Autonomy", *Sino-Platonic Papers* 92, "[http://www.sino-platonic.org/abstracts/spp092\\_taiwan\\_presbyterian.html](http://www.sino-platonic.org/abstracts/spp092_taiwan_presbyterian.html)
- Lin, Kun-cheng, 2006. "Chen-San's Ancestors Festival – 15 Clans Offspring Journey to the Source", *China Times*, on 18 August.
- Lin, Ling-ling, 2007. "The Reconstruction of Law-the Taiwan Literature and Postcolonial Discourse", *WHAMPOA - An Interdisciplinary Journal* 53, 41-50.
- Lin, Mei-ying, 1989. *Reread The Change of the Traditional Marriage of Amis Tribe From View of the Bible: In the Case of Phon-li Puro* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Lin, San-yuen, 1995. *Psalms 119:105-112* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Lin, Mei-Ying, 1989.
- Lin, Ya-ling, 2005. *The snake of the Pawan tribe and Bible* (Chinese), unpublished

- dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Longchar, A. Wati, 2002. *Spirituality of Common Future: Asia – Africa Beyond Globalization*. Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia.
- , 2005. *Global in the Market Place: Theological Perspectives on Globalization*. Assam: South Asia Regional Solidarity Committee.
- , 2007. “Indigenous Peoples in Asia, Theological Trends and Challenges”, in Darren C. Marks, *Shaping a Global Theological Mind*. Aldershot/ Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 95-108.
- Ma, Sen, 1992. “Taiwan literary-Tie of China and Tie of Taiwan-example by Novel”, *United Literature* 89, 11-21.
- MacQuarrie, John, 2003. *Principles of Christian Theology*. London: SCM Press.
- Miller, P. D. Jr. and P. D. Hanson and S. D. McBride eds., 1987. *Ancient Israelite Religion*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Monanen, 1989. “Beauty Rice Spike”- collected the 1<sup>st</sup> to third edit of ‘Poem Magazine of Spring Wind’”. Taipei: Dawn Star.
- , 1998. “When Bell Ringing”, Monanen, *Beautiful Spike of Rice*. Taipei: Morning Star, 16-17.
- Moon, Cyris Hee Suk, 1986. *Minjung Theology: An Old Testament Perspective*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Moore, Stephen D., 1986. “Negative Hermeneutics, Insubstantial Texts: Stanley Fish and the Biblical Interpreter”, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54, 707-719.
- Moore, Stephen D. and Fernando F. Segovia eds., 2005. *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: Interdisciplinary Intersections*. London/New York, T&T Clark International/ A Continuum Imprint.
- Na, Yong-wha, 1988. “A Theological Assessment of Korean Minjung Theology”, *Concordia Journal* 14, 138-149.
- Nacpil, Emerito P., 1980. “The Critical Asian Principle”, in *Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Themes*, ed. by Douglas J. Elwood. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 56-57.
- Niles, Preman, 1977. “Towards a Framework of Doing Theology in Asia”, ed. by Kim Hao Yap, *Asian Theological Reflections on Suffering and Hope*. Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 16-29.
- , 1980. “Example of Contextualization in the Old Testament”, *The South*

- East Asia Journal of Theology* 21:2, 19-33.
- , 1985. "Story and Theology--A Proposal", *The East Asia Journal of Theology* 3:1, 112-126.
- Nirmal, A. P. 1992. "Towards a Christian Dalit Theology", *Asia Journal of Theology* 6/2, 297-310.
- Nokan, Walis, 1992a. "Mixed Chrous-The Conversation Record for Taiwan Tribal Writer", *Chung Wai Literary Quarterly* , 21/7, 6-47.
- , 1992b. "The creative beginning for indigenous literature-some thinking points to salute Tayal", *Draw the Knife*. Taichung: Morning Star, 111-133.
- , 1997. "Place name, oral and national ruling deviation-example of Vai Beinox of Tayal tribal people", ed. by Sung-Yuan, Lin; *Taiwan Informal Literature Theoretical Collection*. Taipei, Taiwan Huang-His Culture Assembly, 323-336.
- , 1999a. "Atayal: War, 1896-1930", ed. By Ling-Hua, Huang, *21 Century Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature*. Taipei: The Education and Culture Fundament for TYCM tribal people, 36-51, 50.
- , 1999b. "The De-colonization in the Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature-the Initial Observation for Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature and Society", *21 Century Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature*. Taipei: The Education and Culture Fundament for TYCM tribal people, 36-151.
- , 2003. "The De-colonization in Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature: the Initial Observation in Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature and Society", ed., by Ta-chuan, Sun, *Taiwan TYCM Tribal Literature in Chinese Collection: Comment Vol. 1*. Taipei: INK, 127-151.
- Palalavi, Haisul, 2008. "Indigenous Movement Memorabilia", (Chinese). *Taiwan's Indigenous People's Resource Center*, 2008.3. [http://www.tiprc.org.tw/ePaper/06/06\\_movementlist.html](http://www.tiprc.org.tw/ePaper/06/06_movementlist.html)
- Pan, Da-he, 2002. *The Difficult History of the Pazih Plains Tribes*, (Chinese). Taipei:Nantein.
- Pan, Ji-dao, 2004. *Taiwan's History*, (Chinese). Taipei: Yu-Shan.
- Pan, Ying, 1996. *The History of the Pin-pu Indigenous People in Taiwan*, (Chinese). Taipei: Nantein.
- Parod, Icyang, 1993. "Why do We Choose "Taiwan Yuen-Chu-Ming" is Called?", in

- Chang Mao-Gui eds., *Ethnic Relations and National Identity*. Taipei: Yeh-Chiang, 187-189 ◦
- , ed., 2008. *The Taiwan TYCM tribal Movement History Data Collection*. Taipei: Council of TYCM tribal People of Executive Yuan.
- Peng, Chiu-jung, 2000. *Millet, Peral, Thunder Women: Praying Rite from Saysya Tribe*. Taipei County, Cultural Bureau in Taipei County.
- Peng, Da-ho, 1998. *History for Paje Tribe of Ping-Pu: Loyalty Courtier in Taiwan Development History*. Taipei:Na-Tien.
- Peng, Hsiao-yen, 2003. "Group Writing and Race/Country: the research for Aborigine's Literature", ed., by Ta-Chuan, Sun, *Anthology for TYCM tribal people's Literature in Chinese: Discourse (vol. 1)*. Taipei: INK, 279-302.
- Peng, Jui-chin, 1991. *Taiwan New literary Athlete 40 Years*. Taipei: Independent Evening News.
- , 1999. "Skip out from the Mist, Search for our ancestor spirits-Initial Exploration for Taiwan TYCM tribal literature problem", *21 Century Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature*. Taipei: The education and culture fundament for TYCM tribal people.
- Peng, Ying-hai, and Chan, Su-chuan, 1995. *Research Theoretical Collection for Ping-Pu tribe*. Taipei: Preparation by Institute of Taiwan History.
- Phillips, Gary Allen, and Duran, Nicole Wilinon, 2002. *Reading Communities, Reading Scripture: Essays in Honor of Daniel Patte*. Harrisburg: Trinity.
- Pihu, Yuhaw, 2003. "The reflection of the Bible Reading and Interpretation in the context of Indigenous People" (Chinese), *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 10, 37-69.
- , 2006. "From the Colonial History Views to have the Ethical Reflection of the Ecological Crisis in Taiwan and the Survival Crisis of the Indigneous People", (Chinese), *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 13, 165-186.
- , 2009. "The Introspection of Ethic in the Colonial National Economy and the Eco-environment Variation", in Chen Nan-Chiu eds., *The Identity and Missionary of Indigenous People*. Huaien: Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary, 215-240.
- Poiconu, Yiyoshu, 1997. *The life wisdom for tribe of Tso in Taiwan*. Taipei, Folk Culture.

- Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, “29 December 1971: Statement on Our National Fate by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan”, *Public Statements*, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. [http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments\\_1.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments_1.htm)
- Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 1975. “18 November 1975: Our Appeal: By the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan: Concerning the Bible, the Church and the Nation”, *Public Statements*, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. [http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments\\_3.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments_3.htm).
- Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 1997. “16 August 1977: A Declaration on Human Rights by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan”, *Public Statements*, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. in [http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments\\_4.htm](http://www.pct.org.tw/english/statements/statesments_4.htm).
- Pu, Chong-cheng, 1999. “Taiwan TYCM tribal literature and history dictation”, ed., by Ling-Hwa, Huang, *21 Century Taiwan TYCM tribal Literature*. Taipei: The Education and Culture Fundament for TYCM Tribal people, 231-241.
- , 2002. “TYCM tribal Thoughts”, *Think about Indigenous people*. Taipei: Advance, 2-4.
- Pusin Tali, 1998. “The History of the Tayal Church Mission”, *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei:Yeonwang, 263-315.
- , 2008. *The Autonomy is the Only One Living Road for Indigenous People (Chinese)*. Taipei: Avanguard Publishing House.
- Qao, Wen-xiong, 1995. *Genesis 11:1-9* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Qiu, Zheng-yi, 1987. “Re-read the Traditional Marriage of Bunun Tribe in the Light of Bible”(Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Qu, Hai-yuan, and Zhang, Mei-hua, eds., 1986. “A Study of Religious Change in Taiwan”, *Taiwan’s Social and Cultural Change (Chinese)*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, The Institute of Ethnology, 65-89.
- Quan, Cai-yun, 2002. *The Relationship of the Men and Women in the Traditional Culture of Bunun Tribe and Bible: Reconstruct the Woman Pastoral Theology in TYCM Tribal people* (Chinese), unpublished dissertatio. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.

- Qui, Ka-er, 1998. "The History of the Paiwan Church Mission", *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei:Yeonwang, 181-246.
- Richard, Pablo, 1995. "Indigenous Biblical Hermeneutics: God's Revelation in Native Religions and the Bible (After 500 years of Domination)", in ed. by Daniel Smith-Christopher, *Text & Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 260-275.
- , 1996. "Biblical Interpretation from the Perspective of Indigenous Cultures of Latin America (Mayas, Kuna, and Quechuas)", in Mark G. Brett, ed., *Ethnicity and the Bible*. Leiden/New York/ London: E. J. Brill, 297-314.
- , 2002. "Interpreting and Teaching the Bible in Latin America", *Interpretation* 56/4, 378-386.
- Said, Edward W., 1984. *The World, the Text and the Critic*. London: Faber and Faber.
- , 1985. "Orientalism Reconsidered," *Race & Class* 27, 2, 1-15.
- , 1989. "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Inerlocutors", *Critical Inquiry* 15 (Winter), 205-225.
- , 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Book.
- , 1994. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- , 1995. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books.
- , 2000. *Out of Place: A Memoir (Chinese)*, trans. By Hwei-Tong, Peng. Taipei: New Century Publishing.
- Scott, James C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Schmidt, B. B., 1994. *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cults and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 11. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Segovia, Fernando F., "Cultural Studies and Contemporary Biblical Criticism: Ideological Criticism as Mode of Discourse", in Fernando F. Segovia and M. A. Tolbert eds., *Reading from this Place, II: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995)*, 1-17.
- , 1996a. "In the World but Not of It: Exile as a Locus for a Theology of the Diaspora", in Ada María Isasi-Díaz, and Fernando F. Segovia eds., *Hispanic/Latino Theology: Challenge and Promise*. Minneapolis: Fortress

- Press, 195-217.
- , 1996b. "Aliens in the Promise Land: The Manifest Destiny of U. S. Hispanic American Theology", in Ada María Isasi-Díaz, and Fernando F. Segovia eds., *Hispanic/Latino Theology: Challenge and Promise*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 15-42.
- , 1998. "Biblical Criticism and Postcolonial Studies: Toward a Postcolonial Optic", ed. by R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*. Malden/Oxford/Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 33-44. (First Published in R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 49-65.
- , 2000a. "Interpreting Beyond Borders: Postcolonial Studies and Diasporic Studies in Biblical Criticism", in Fernando F. Segovia ed., *Interpreting Beyond Borders*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 11-34.
- , ed., 200b. *Interpreting Beyond Borders*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- , 2002. *Decolonizing Biblical Studies: A View from the Margins*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Segovia, Fernando F., and Tolbert, M. A. eds., 1995. *Reading from this Place, II: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Shepherd, John, 1995. "Plains Aborigines and Missionaries in Ch'ing Taiwan, 1859~1895", the thesis in *The Workshop of Taiwan's Indigenous Religious Ceremonies(Chinese)*. Taipei: Nankang.
- , 1996. "From Barbarians to Sinners: Collective Conversion Among the Plains Aborigines and Missionaries in Ch'ing Taiwan, 1859~1895", ed., by Daniel H. Bays, *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 65-96.
- Shi, Ming, *The History of Taiwanese in 400 Years* (Chinese) (Taipei: Pen-Dao Culture, 1980).
- , "Great Progress Under the Colonial Rule by Holland and Spain; Complementary Roles Played by the Dutch and Han Chinese Give Rise to a New Taiwan", in *A Brief History of Taiwan: A Sparrow Transformed into a Phoenix*, <http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/history/tw04.html>
- Shi, Wen-hui, 1986. *The Traditional Marriage of Truku Tribe from the revelation in 1 Cor 7* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological

College & Seminary.

Shih, Cheng-feng, "Taiwan law and TYCM tribal people", ed., by Chieh-Ling, Shih, *TYCM tribal Right International Research Seminar* (Taipei: Law division of Taiwan University, 1999), 170-191.

-----, 2005. "Indigenous People's Rights". Taipei: Tamkang University. <http://mail.tku.edu.tw/cfshih/politics%20observation/%E5%85%B6%E4%BB%96%E6%96%87%E7%A8%BF/20050115.htm>, last accessed March 12.

-----, 2006a. "Pursuing Indigenous Self-Government in Taiwan", the International Peace Research Association Biannual Conference, in *Patterns of Conflict Paths to Peace*, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, June 29-July 3. <http://mail.tku.edu.tw/cfshih/default2.htm>.

-----, ed., 2006b. *National recognition and culture discourse*. Taipei: Taiwan International Research Seminar.

-----, ed., 1999. *TYCM tribal Right International Research Seminar*. Taipei: Law division of Taiwan University.

Shih, Hsiang-heng, ed., 2008. "Re-launch, We—the Arrangement Chronicle Paper of "TYCM tribal Right Association", *Taiwan TYCM tribal sport history data collection vol. 1*. Taipei: Council of TYCM tribal People of Executive Yuan, 97-98.

Shimizu, Hiroshi, 2004. "Sayon No Kane Sayon's Bell", Justin Bowyer ed., *The Cinema of Japan and Korea*. London: Walflower Press, 23-31, 30.

Shutler Jr., Richard, and Marck, Jeffrey C., 1975. "On the Dispersal of the Austronesian Horticulturalists", *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 10/2, 81-112.

Si, Xioung, 2002. *Study the Predeterminism in John Calvin* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.

-----, 2006. *A Biblical and Theological Evaluation of the Gift of Speaking in Tongues* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.

Simon, Scott, 2005. "Taiwan's Indigenized Constitution: What Place for Aboriginal Formosa?". [www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudiesfiles/EATS2005/panel6Simonaabstract.pdf](http://www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudiesfiles/EATS2005/panel6Simonaabstract.pdf).

- Song, C. S., 1979. *Third-Eye Theology: Theology in Formation in Asian Settings*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- , 1984. *Tell Us Our Names: Story Theology from an Asian Perspective*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- , 1988a. *Theology from the Womb of Asia*. London: SCM Press.
- , 1998b. *Self-Determination: The Case for Taiwan*. Tainan: Taiwan Church Press.
- , 1994. *Jesus in the Power of the Spirit*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- , 1999. *The Believing Heart: An Invitation to Story Theology*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press.
- Song, Ming-jin, 2005. *The Meaning of the "Ear Festival" in the Bunun Church* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Spivak, Gayatri, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in eds., by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 24-28.
- , 1990. *The Postcolonial Critic*, ed. By Sarah Harasym. New York: Routledge.
- Stainton, Michael, 2002. "Presbyterians and the Aboriginal Revitalization Movement in Taiwan", *Issue 26.2*. In [http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/csq/csq\\_article.cfm?id](http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/csq/csq_article.cfm?id).
- Suh, David Kwan-sun, 1985. "Theology of Story Telling: A Theology by Minjung", *Ministerial Formation*, 31, 10-22.
- , 1986. "A Theology by Minjung", in Samuel Amirtham and John S. Pobee ed., *In Theology by the People: Reflections on Doing Theology in Community*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 65-77.
- , 1991. *The Korean Minjung in Christ*. Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia.
- , 1995. "Minjung Theology: The Politics and Spirituality of Korean Christianity", in Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young eds., *Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan: The Gospel and Culture in East Asia*. Lewiston/ NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Sugirtharajah, R. S., ed., 1994. *Frontiers in Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Trends*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- , 1996. "From Oriental to Postcolonial: Note on Reading Practices", *Asia*

- Journal of Theology* 10/1, 20-27.
- , ed., 1998a. *The Postcolonial Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- , 1998b. *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism: Contesting the Interpretations*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- , 1999a. *Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- , 1999b. *Asian Biblical Hermeneutics and Postcolonialism: Contesting the Interpretations*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- , 2001. *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial, and Postcolonial Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , 2002. *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- , 2003. *Postcolonial Reconfigurations: An Alternative of Reading the Bible and Doing Theology*. London: SCM Press.
- , 2005a. "Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation", in David Ford and Rachel Muers eds., *Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology since 1918*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 535-552.
- , 2005b. *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Explorations*. Cambridge/New York/ Melbourne/ Madrid/Cape Town/ Singapore, Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press.
- , 2006a. "Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation", in R. S. Sugirtharajah ed., *Voices From the Margin*, Revised and Expanded Third Edition. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 64-84.
- , 2006b. *Voices From the Margin*, Revised and Expanded Third Edition. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Sun, Ta-chuan, 2000a. "Group Construction in the Narrow Space-TYCM Language, Culture and Politic". Taipei, published by the United Literature, 153-166.
- , 2000b. "Some Thinkings about Indigenous Problem in Mother-tongue", in Sun, Ta-chuan, *The Race structure in Loophole*. Taipei: Unitas, 7-19.
- , 2003a. "TYCM tribal Culture History and Mental World Writing: TYCM tribal Literature Possibilities Exploration", Anthology for Taiwan TYCM tribal literature (Chinese). Taipei: INK, 17-51.
- , 2003b. *The Anthology of TYCM tribal people's Literature, Writing in Chinese: Discourse (vol.2)* (Chinese). Taipei:INK.
- , 2003c. *Taiwan TYCM tribal literature in Chinese collection: comment vol.*

- I* (Chinese). Taipei: INK.
- , 2003d. "TYCM tribal literature difficulty-Evening or Dawn", *Anthology for Taiwan TYCM tribal literature in Chinese-Criticism* (Chinese). Taipei: INK, 57-81.
- , 2003e. "The Mountain and Sea of Literature, The Literature of The Mountain and Sea", ed., by Ta-Chuan Sun, *Anthology for Taiwan TYCM tribal literature in Chinese: Comment vol. 1* (Chinese). Taipei: INK, 82-92.
- Tai, Pao-tsun, 2001. "Koxinga: History and the Legends", *The Taiwan Historical Association*, <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010430.htm>.
- , 2001. "The Mirror and the window of Taiwan History", in <http://www.twhistory.org.tw/20010305.htm>.
- Takistaulan, Suna, 1998. "The History of the Bunun Church Mission", *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan* (Chinese). Taipei:Yeonwang, 323-345.
- Tali, Pusin, 1998. "The History of the Tayal Church Mission" (Chinese), *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*. Taipei:Yeonwang, 263-315.
- , 1999. "Doing TYCM theology in the context of TYCM tribal people", (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 6, 9-47.
- , 2002. "The Theological Meaning of the living Cult of the Facial Tattoo in the study of 'The Totem on the Mother Face'" (Chinese), *Yu-shan Theological Journal*, 9, 21-64.
- , 2006. "The Taiwan's Experience of Indigenous People according to the Canaanite Woman's Stor", *Yu-shan Theological Journal* 13, 39-56.
- , 2007. "Reconstructing the Indigenous Theology with the Indigneous Stories", *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 14, 53-77.
- Tao, Tung-fang, 2000. *Postcolonialism*. Taipei: Yang-Chi.
- Tapas, Kumu, 2006. "Repression of the Atayal Women Texts in Postcolonial Feminist Criticism during the Japanese Occupation" (Chinese), *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 13, 137-164.
- Ten, Tsi-hua, 1996. *Psalms 80* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Tepiq, Sakinu, 2003. "The research for Paywain tribal religious belief and Christian

- religion”. Taipei: Taipei Ricci Institute. <http://www.riccibase.com/docfile/eth-tw26.htm>.
- Thompson, Thomas L. 1999. *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and The Myth of Israel*. London: Basic Books.
- Tinker, George E., 1990. “Native Americans and the Land: ‘The End of Living, and the Beginning of Survival’”, in Susan Brooks Thistlethwaite and Mary Potter Engel, eds. *Constructing Christian Theologies from the Underside*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 141-151.
- , 1993. *Missionary, Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Tong, Hollington K., 1961. *Christianity in Taiwan: A History*. Taipei: China Post.
- Treat, James, 1995. *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Tseng, Chien-tzu, 1998. *Ancestor’s Spirit Foot: Oral History Data from Shi-Sheng Branch of Pei-Nan Tribe*. Taipei, Morning Star.
- Tsuchida, Shigeru, 1976. *Reconstruction of Proto-Tsouic phonology*. Tokyo: Study of Language & Cultures of Asia & Africa.
- Ukan, Walis, 2002. “The Aniconic God of the Hebrew Bible and Utux Tmninun of the Sediq Tribe”, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Master Thesis, unpublished.
- , 2003. “Milisin and Pesah: Reconstruction of the Biblical interpretation from the Tribal Experience of TYCM Tribal People”, *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 10, 17-36.
- , 2005. “Aboriginal Mapping of TYCM Tribal People and the Promised Land of the Israelite People”, *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 12, 17-58.
- , 2006. “God speaks in mother-tongue: the Biblical reading and tribal tradition from methodology for hermeutical Biblical reading in tribal mother-tongue mood”, *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 13, 97-117.
- , 2007. “The Horizon and the world of Tribal Traditions are shadowed”, *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 14, 133-170.
- , 2008. “Colonial Consciousness and Biblical Reading: the Source of the Israelite Ancestors in Old Testament”(Chinese), *Yu-Shan Theological Journal* 13, 131-148.

- , 2009. "Call the Subjectivity of TYCM Tribal People: Reading Daniel 1 in the Colonial Experience of the Tribe" (Chinese), in Chen Nan-Chiu eds., *The Identity and Missionary of Indigenous People*. Huaiien: Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary, 215-240.
- Ukpong, Justin S. 1995. "Rereading the Bible with African Eyes: Inculturation and Hermeneutics". *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 91. June, 3-14.
- Vava, Husluma, 1991. "Prey", in Husluma Vava, *Face Line*. Taichung: Dawn Star, 17-42.
- , 1997a. *Sacrifice to Ancestors' Spirits in that Year*. Taipei: Chen Xing.
- , 1997b. *The life spirit in Yu-Shan: oral mythology story for Bunun Tribe*. Taipei, Moring Star.
- , 1997c. *Guardian for Central Mountain: Bunun Tribe*. Taipei: Rice County.
- , 1997d. *Our Worship for Ancestor Spirit in that Year*. Taipei: Morning Star.
- Vayayana, Tibusungu, "The Spatiality of the Taiwan Ethnonationalism: Social Movement to Ethnical Development", (Chinese) from <http://www.taiwanfirstnations.org/movement.html>.
- Walls, Andrew F., 1996. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in Transmission of Faith*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Wan, Chao-li, 1989. "Discard the Beauty lie, Build up dignity of tribe of Tsou: Discussion Story about the Victims from Wu Feng Mythology" *Taiwan Church News* 1925, 7.
- Wang, Hsien-chih, 1994. "Some Perspectives on Homeland Theology in the Taiwanese Context", In R. S. Sugirtharajah ed., *Frontiers in Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Trends*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 185-195.
- Wang, Ho-wei, 1997. "Return Home to find Royalty of ancestor", *United Daily News* (1997.6.16).
- Wang, Ming-huei, 1998. "Some Reviews for TYCM county education", in *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of China: Theoretical collection of the local chronicles and education*. Taipei, The Geographical Society, 33-40.
- , 2001. "The Restrospect and Prospect of the Taiwan's Indigenous People Movement" (Chinese), *Geography Friends* 52, 2-12.
- Wang, Ping-an, 1988. *Comparative Reading the Love of Paul and Tayal tribe* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College

& Seminary.

- Wang, Song-shan, 1995. *The Social and Religious Life of Alishan Tso Tribe*(Chinese). Taipei: Tau-Syang.
- , 2001. *Society and Culture of TYCM tribal people* (Chinese). Taipei: Lian Jing.
- Wang, Ying-tang, 1995. “Dwelling, Historic Preservation and Historical Reconstruction: the Case Haucha in Rukai Tribe” (Chinese), *The Conference Papers of the Cultural Politics and Historical Reconstruction*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, The Institute of Ethnology.
- Wang, Yu-feng, 1976. *Analysis Traditional Marriage in Paiwan Tribe in the Viewpoint of Christianity* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- , 1995. “Dwelling, Historic Preservation and Historical Reconstruction: the Case Haucha in Rukai Tribe”, *The Conference Papers of the Cultural Politics and Historical Reconstruction (Chinese)*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, The Institute of Ethnology, 26-54.
- Warrior, Robert Allen, 1989. “Canaanites, Cowboys, and Indians: Deliverance, Conquest and Liberation Theology Today”, *Christianity and Crisis* 49, 261-265.
- Wei, Yi-chun, 1993. “Against Memory: Dictation and Minority Discourse”, *Taiwan Literature* 8, 207-230.
- Wen. Chu-guang, 1998. “The History of the Tso Church Mission”, *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei:Yeonwang, 387-398.
- Wen, Sheng-xiong, 1998. *Comparative Reading the Funeral Festival of Christianity and Taroko Tribe* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Weng, Jia-yin, 1986. “Research for legend of Wu-Feng”, *The Taiwan Folkways* 36/1, 36-57.
- Weng, Hao-bang, 1995. *History Stream Change and Review through Different Angles-Saint Wu-Feng*, Theses of Archaeology from National University of Taiwan, non-published.
- West, Gerald, 1993. *Contextual Bible Study*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

- , 1995. *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation: Modes of Reading the Bible in the South African Context*. Pietermaritzburg/Maryknoll: Cluster/Orbis.
- , 1996. "Reading the Biblical Differently: Giving Shape to the Discourses of the Dominated", *Semeia* 73, 21-41.
- , 1996. "Local is Lekker, but Ubuntu is Best: Indigenous Reading Resources from a South African Perspectives", in R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 37-51.
- , 2002. "Disguising Defiance in Titualism of Subordination: Literary and Community-Based Resources for Recovering Resistance Discourse within the Dominant Discourses of the Bible", eds., by Gary Allen Phillips, and Nicole Wilinson Duran, *Reading Communities, Reading Scripture: Essays in Honor of Daniel Patte*. Harrisburg: Trinity.
- , 2003. *The Academy of the Poor: Towards a Dialogical Reading of the Bible*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- , and Ujamaa Centre Staff, 2005. *Doing Contextual Bible Study: A Resource Manual*, Produced by The Ujamaa Centre for Biblical & Theological Community Development & Research.
- , 2007a. "Reading Other-Wise: Socially Engaged Biblical Scholars Reading with Their Local Communities: An Introduction", in Gerald O. West ed., *Reading Other-wise: Socially Engaged Biblical Scholars Reading with Their Local Communities*, SBL-Semeia Studies 62. Atlanta/Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature/Brill, 1-5.
- , 2007b. "(Ac)claiming the (extra)ordinary African 'reader' of the Bible", In ed. by Gerald West, *Reading Other-wise: Socially Engaged Biblical Scholars Reading with Their Local Communities*. Atlanta/Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature/Brill, 30-31.
- , 2008. "Doing Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation @home: Ten Years of (South) African Ambivalence", *Neotestamental* 42/1, 147-164.
- West, Gerald and Dube, Musa W., 1996. "An Introduction: How we Have Come to "Reading With"", *Semeia* 73, 7-17.
- Wey, Le-yu, 2002. *Re-thinking Indigenous Traditional Marriage in the Pentateuch and the Gospel: For Example Reading from Gen 2:18-25 and Mathew 19:5-11* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological

College & Seminary.

- Wickeri, Philip L. 1985. "Asian Theologies in Review", *Theology Today* 41/4, 458-462.
- Wolff, John, 1999. "The monosyllabic roots of Proto-Austronesian", in Zeitoun, Elizabeth and Li, Paul Jen-Kuei, eds. *Selected papers from the eighth international conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics Academia Sinica.
- Wu, Jen-she, 2011. "Forbiddance of Romanized Edition Taiwanese Bible", *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*, <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3974>.
- Wu, Le-yu, 2002. *From the Marriage of Pentateuch and the Book of Gospel to Study The Traditional Marriage of TYCM tribal people: Take example from Gen 2:18-25 and Mt 19:5-11* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Wu, Mi-cha, 2005a. *The Ching Dynasty (I): Leaving the Mainland for Taiwan*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 4. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005b. *The Ching Dynasty (II): The World of the "Wandering Bachelors"*, A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol.5. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005c. *The Ching Dynasty (III): Construction Under the Shadow of War*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 6. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005d. *The Japanese Era (I): The Backyard of Japan's Capitalists*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 7. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005e. *The Japanese Era (II): The Age of Awakening*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 8. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005f. *The Post-World War II Era (I): In the Realm of the Strongmen*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 9. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005g. *The Post-World War II Era (II): Reform and Openness*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 10. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- , 2005h. *The Dutch Era: A Paradise for European Adventurers*. A History of Taiwan in Comics, vol. 2. Taipei: Third Nature Publishing.
- Wu, Ming-yi, 1998. "The History of the Amis Church Mission", *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei: Yeonwang, 83-136.
- Wulo, Pisuyi, 2006. "Beginning of the Hunting Festival in Malipa", *TV News*

- magazine created by aboriginal reporters of Public Television Station in Taiwan*, on 7 October.
- Wyatt, N., 1998. *Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Xiang, Yang, 2004. *Taiwan's story*, (Chinese). Taipei: Yu-Shan.
- Xu A-sheng, 2001. "Access to traditional clothes burning incident", *Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary News*, 142, [http://www.yushanth.org.tw/publication/voice\\_of\\_yushan/142/142hp.htm](http://www.yushanth.org.tw/publication/voice_of_yushan/142/142hp.htm)
- Xu, Jie-lin, ed., 1999. *International Symposium on Aboriginal Rights of Indigenous People: Where is the Rights of Taiwan Indigneous People (Chinese)*. Taipei: College of Law, National Taiwan University.
- Xu, Qian-xin, 1965. "The History of Taiwan Island and Christianity-Prior to this 100 Year History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan", *The Century History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Tainan: Taiwan Church News.
- Yahu, Yi-yung, 2000. *The Traditional Laws (Gaga) of the Taboos of Tayal Tribe*, (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Yang, Bi-chuan, 1987a. *A Brief History of Taiwan* (Chinese). Kaoxiong: The First.
- , 1987b. *The Concise History of Taiwan*. Kaushoung : First.
- Ye, Zhong-hui, 2004. *Psalms 70* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Yeow, Choo Lak, ed., 1990. *Doing Theology with God's Purpose in Asia*. Singapore: ATESEA.
- Yeh, Shi-tao, 1979. "Taiwanese country literary history study", in Shih-Tao, Yeh, *Taiwanese Country Author's Collection*. Taipei: Yuan-Ghi.
- , 1980. "The Introduction of the Fundament of Taiwanese local literary history" *The Taiwanese Local Literature Discussion Series*, 69-92.
- , 1987. *History Essay Of Taiwan Literature*. Kaohsiung: Literature Filed.
- Yishuer, Galahey, 2006. "After Sixty Years – Re-organize Tuo's Thanksgiving", *TV News magazine created by aboriginal reporters of Public Television Station in Taiwan (Chinese)* on 26 August.
- You, Xiu-lan, 1994. *From Naboth's Vineyard Event to Think the Homeland of Cloud Leopard –Hawcha Puro* (Chinese), thesis, YSTCS, non-published.

- Youma, Liyijing, “The Reconstruction and the Collapse of Aboriginal culture in the Church-state Relationship”, *Aboriginal Home*, (Chinese) see <http://www.abohome.org.tw/modules/news/article.php?storyid=521>
- Young, Robert J. C., 2003. *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yu, Kwang-hon, and Tung, Seng-yong, 1998. *Taiwan indigenous history: History Essay from Yame Tribe*. Taichung: Provincial Literary Assembly.
- Yu, Sheng-kuang, 2001. “Post-colony or Post-Modern? Fang-Ming, Chen’s written difficulty for Taiwan literary history discourse”, *Taiwanese literary research workshop 2001*, <http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/i/iu-seng-koan/tanhong beng-bunhaksu.htm>.
- , 2002. “ It’s Anti-hegemony of China but not Anti-Mainlanders — Answering for Ms. Lu argued the “Postcolonial discourse-Interrogation” by Chen Fang-Ming”, *Taiwan Study Workshop 2002/6/18*. <http://ws.twl.ncku.edu.tw/hak-chia/i/iu-seng-koan/hoan-tiongkok-pakoan.htm>
- , 2005. “Essay of theory? Or the History Culture Study-the Questions Generation from the Postcolonial Methodology”, in *East Asia locality thinking from postcolonial theory: Taiwan literary field*. Hsinchu: National Tsinghua University, 391-423.
- , 2006. “National recognition and Taiwan literary argument in 1990”, in ed., by Chen-Feng, Shih, *National recognition and culture discourse*. Taipei: Taiwan International Research Seminar.
- Yumin, Sangas, 2003. *Theological Meaning of Tayal tribes' Traditional Deity in the Myth of Hongu Utux* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.
- Yucihay, Duoao, 1997. “From the Land Movement-An Opportunity to See the Integration of Indigenous People”, in Mei-Kuan, Xia ed., *Asked the Name of the Owner*. Tainan : Yan Kwong Publishing, 165-173.
- Zheng, Da-ming, 1998. “The History of the Pyuma Church Mission”, *The Indigenous Church Mission History of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (Chinese)*. Taipei:Yeonwang, 425-442.
- Zhong, Jia-can, 2003. *The Reflection of the Tao's Traditional Funeral in the Church* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College

& Seminary.

Zhou, Wan-yao, 1991. "The Story of the Sayon no Kane and its Wave", *Historical Monthly (Chinese)*, 46, 44-49.

Zhuang, Chun-rong, 1984. *Psalms 8* (Chinese), unpublished dissertation. Hualien: Yu-shan Theological College & Seminary.

Zhibang, Zuling, 2002. "Liverate the Ancestor's Soul with the Action", (Chinese), *Taiwan Japan Research*, 2002. <http://www.japanresearch.org.tw/ohfrontnews-51.asp>