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TAIWANESE INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATION, RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE,  
AND HETEROGLOSSIA IN *WARRIORS OF THE RAINBOW: SEEDIQ BALE*

By

John Yu-Choh Chang

B.A., Christ's College, 1988; M.A., Wayne State College, 1992; M.Phil., University of  
Aberdeen, 2001; M.A., St. Cloud State University, 2018

A Dissertation  
Submitted to the Faculty of the  
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
In English/Rhetoric and Composition

Department of English  
University of Louisville  
Louisville, Kentucky

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A Dissertation Approved on

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## ABSTRACT

TAIWANESE INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATION, RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE,  
AND HETEROGLOSSIA IN *WARRIORS OF THE RAINBOW: SEEDIQ BALE*

John Yu-Choh Chang

August 2, 2022

This dissertation explores the relationship between Taiwanese indigenous narrative and rhetoric, in textual representations of the Seediq people and the 1930 Musha Incident. It explores how the forced colonization of Taiwanese indigenous people affected their identities and cultural representation, and how multi-voiced forms of narrative, storytelling, and meaning-making have rooted in indigenous oral traditions and rituals that counter colonial representations. Across a range of cultural texts, I identify what I call Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR), drawing on Simon J. Ortiz's theory of indigenous literature and oral traditions as indigenous-nationalist forms of cultural resistance. In addition, I draw on New Rhetoric scholarship to position TIRR within a broader rhetorical framework, to analyze the relationship between heteroglossia, Taiwanese indigenous narratives and the interplay of various textual, media, filmic, ritual (semiotic), graphic, and documentary forms.

For the methodology of this dissertation, I incorporate New Rhetoric scholarship, Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia, and Chadwick Allen's trans-Indigenous methodologies to analyze rhetorics of resistance in the literary and cultural representation

of Taiwanese indigenous history and culture. Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia recognizes how the voices and languages of different (marginalized) ethnic groups represent themselves. Different indigenous nations in Taiwan, such as the Seediq, Tsou, and Atayal, have found various forms to express indigenous rhetorics of resistance against authoritative discourses and master narratives invented by imperial Chinese and Japanese colonial authorities, including the colonial rhetoric of "savages" versus "civilization."

In Chapter Three, I analyze the retellings of the historical Musha Incident—the 1930 uprising of the Seediq people against colonial Japanese forces. From Seediq perspectives, I argue that representations of the Musha Incident which challenge the academic and political authorities of authors, institutions, and governments that created falsehood, propaganda, self-interests, and inhumanity. In Chapter Four, I argue that Seediq oral tradition forms the basis of a range of heteroglossic narratives that represent Seediq rituals and ways of life that constitute a rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese forced colonization. As represented in different texts and films, Seediq signs including symbols, rituals, and artifacts constitute a multi-voiced discourse that expresses the tensions between colonizers and the oppressed. In Chapter Five, I argue that to engage with these representations of Taiwanese indigenous culture articulates a vision for different ethnicities (Aborigine, Hoklo, Hakka, or Chinese) to co-exist in Taiwan, and to protect their respective ways of life, against the danger of a single-voiced political system that dictates Taiwanese society and its constituent communities. Further, it is imperative that the multiple voices that represent Taiwan's ethnic diversity can grow and be heard to express their cultural identities and representations. I conclude that these continuous



rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization may help Taiwanese Indigenous peoples and all readers of these texts to envision “a new society” for the future, at a time of increased democracy in Taiwan.

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION  
THE MUSHA INCIDENT, TAIWANESE INDIGENOUS STUDIES AND  
RESISTANCE RHETORICS

Since the release of *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (2011), the most expensive film in Taiwanese history, it has been compared to *Braveheart* or *The Last of the Mohicans* in the media.<sup>1</sup> The film recounts the historical events of the Musha (Wushe) Incident of 1930, an uprising of Taiwanese indigenous people against the Japanese colonial masters who ruled over them with an iron fist and destroyed their beliefs, culture, and livelihoods. During a 2018 interview, a great-granddaughter MaHeng BaWan (馬嫗.巴丸) of the Seediq resistance leader Mona Rudao—the protagonist of *Warriors of the Rainbow*—said with tears in her eyes that she was “awakened” by the film crew that came to shoot the film in her hometown one day, and that it suddenly dawned on her that she had been keeping quiet about the trauma of the Seediq resistance. For her, this tragic event in Taiwanese history was still a “taboo” that was only told by the non-indigenous filmmakers, who reminded her of the fact that she is a descendant of the Seediq tribe. Since then, MaHeng has decided to tell her children her own indigenous account of the 1930 Musha Incident and its aftermath, including the second Musha incident that followed on 25 April 1931. At that time, the Seediq were decimated to only 298 people—only children and women were left to live, because the Japanese colonizers

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<sup>1</sup> *Seediq Bale* literally means “real Seediq” or “real men”.

and those indigenous groups who worked for them killed and beheaded most Seediq males in her tribe. The Seediq survivors were removed from their homeland, never to return to it so that they would not incite other indigenous groups to resist the Japanese colonial rule (*Taiwan Apple Daily*).

Before the release of the film, the majority of Taiwanese people, especially the younger generations, had not heard the history of how Seediq warriors resisted the Japanese powerful military forces.<sup>2</sup> The tragic story of the Musha Incident had further been silenced by the nearly four-decade long martial law (1949-1987) imposed by the Chinese Nationalist (KMT) government shortly after Japan surrendered and left Taiwan at the end of World War II. Martial law and Mandarin Chinese-Only rules were implemented as part of an assimilation policy that forbade the majority of Taiwanese and indigenous peoples from talking about the 2-28 Incident of 1947 and the White Terror that instilled fear in the people of Taiwan and deepened Taiwan's culture of silence.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the Seediq language, culture, and identity, like those of other indigenous tribes, have become so endangered today that many Seediq young people do not even know how to speak their native language or tell stories about their colonial past, because they were taught at school that their language is inferior to Chinese.<sup>4</sup> As of today, the

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<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, Taiwanese indigenous peoples are underrepresented in Taiwanese culture and politics, and it was not until 2008 that the Seediq people were officially recognized as the fourteenth indigenous tribe by the Taiwanese government.

<sup>3</sup> When World War II ended in 1945, the Chinese Nationalists took over Taiwan shortly after Japan surrendered and left the island. The 2-28 Incident (also called Taiwan Holocaust) violently occurred in 1947 and claimed the lives of some 28,000 people in Taiwan as a result of the atrocities and killings of Taiwanese civilians and indigenous peoples committed by Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist (KMT) regime and soldiers, who were defeated by Chinese Communist soldiers led by the Communist Party of China (CPC) or Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949. Then, the KMT regime, soldiers and Chinese refugees retreated to Formosa and changed its historical, colonial name to Taiwan, also officially called the Republic of China (R.O.C.).

<sup>4</sup> The Seediq language is an endangered indigenous language in Taiwan. Older generations of the Seediq tribe still speak Seediq. According to Abhinash Das, the term "Seediq" refers to "both the people and their

Seediq tribe is one of the sixteen Indigenous nations officially recognized by the Taiwanese government. Many anthropologists, archaeologists and linguists have claimed that Taiwanese indigenous languages are part of the Austronesian language family, or that Taiwan could be the birthplace of Austronesian languages—from Taiwan, Southeast Asia (including New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific Ocean) to Madagascar in Africa.<sup>5</sup>

The tension between the national language of the colonizers and other languages of the colonized ethnic and indigenous groups of people can be described as what Mikhail Bakhtin calls “the centripetal forces” of a “unitary” (single) language that is linguistically “opposed to the realities of heteroglossia”—forces that struggle for the “unity” between “reigning” (official, national) language and everyday and literary languages (270).<sup>6</sup> That is, a central government enforces and unifies a single language—such as through Japanese-Only or Chinese-Only language and the other languages (multiple, diverse voices) in a nation. Like most of the people living in Taiwan (especially the Hoklo and Hakka ethnic groups), the indigenous peoples have weathered a long, complicated colonial history which began over 400 years ago. In short, it was not until 1997 that the late President Lee Teng-hui, the first democratically elected president of Taiwan, paid respect to the Seediq leader Mona Rudao and memorialized him with a

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language. The Seediq language is a part of the Austronesian language family and it is made up of three major dialects: Truku, Toda, and Tgdaya. The Truku dialect is also shared by the Truku (or Taroko) tribes.”

<sup>5</sup> Scott Simon notes that members of those officially recognized Taiwanese indigenous languages belong to “at least 60 distinct small dialect groups, [and] they are part of the Austronesian linguistic family, stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island, from Taiwan to New Zealand. In fact, archaeological evidence suggests that all Austronesian groups most likely originated in Taiwan” (“Negotiating” 728).

<sup>6</sup>In terms of a unitary language, Bakhtin says that “the victory of one reigning language (dialect) over the others, the supplanting of languages, their enslavement, the process of illuminating them with the True Word, the incorporation of barbarians and lower social strata into a unitary language of culture and truth, the canonization of ideological systems, philology with its methods of studying and teaching dead languages, languages that were by that very fact ‘unities’...” (271).

statue erected in Musha (Wushe), where the Seediq uprising took place. The Musha Incident had eventually led to the production of the film, *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* that has informed the public about the indigenous peoples and promoted more indigenous presence and studies in Taiwan.

*Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* is symbolic to many Taiwanese people and indigenous peoples—especially the Seediq people—who have experienced a national awakening to their traumatic colonial past and present. Yet despite the success of the film, which has won local and global acclaim, critics or scholars concerned with the representation of indigenous people might question the relationship between the filmmakers and the Seediq people or challenge the authenticity of its portrayal of the protagonist Mona Rudao, compared to the historical record of Mona Rudao and the Musha Incident. For example, Wei Te Sheng, the Taiwanese director of the film, is not Seediq or a member of one of the other Taiwanese indigenous nations, so how can he represent the Seediq people through his filmmaking? Also, although the actors (many of whom are not Seediq themselves) deliver their lines in the Seediq language, following the script for the film, can their speech acts as a whole be viewed as a form of indigenous resistance rhetoric against the Japanese language?<sup>7</sup> What forms of indigenous resistance are considered legitimate in representations of Indigenous culture and history?

These questions are important because not all proclaimed indigenous artifacts and literary productions necessarily represent indigenous people, to speak on their behalf or

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<sup>7</sup> I see Wei Te Sheng's film script drawn (based) on the form or content of a novel. In terms of the unity of an individual language or style, Bakhtin says that "we have no need to follow where such an analysis of novelistic style leads, whether to a disclosing of the novelist's dialect (that is, his vocabulary, his syntax) or to a disclosing of the distinctive features of the work taken as a 'complete speech act,' an 'utterance.' Equally in both cases, style is understood in the spirit of Saussure: as an individualization of the general language (in the sense of a system of general language norms). Stylistics is transformed either into a curious kind of linguistics treating individual languages, or into a linguistics of the utterance" (264).

to promote their interests and lives. Some indigenous scholars challenge the authenticity of any indigenous literature and research that are not produced by them. At worst, they point out that researchers exploit indigenous studies, or mistranslate and misinform the public about indigenous stories in their studies that misrepresent indigenous peoples. For instance, Jane Hill critiques “the ways in which linguists and anthropologists may unwittingly undermine their vigorous advocacy of endangered languages by a failure to think carefully about multiple audiences who may hear and read advocacy rhetoric” (119). Shawn Wilson, too, addresses the problem of misrepresentation of an indigenous study by a researcher who mistranslated and published an indigenous story which brought harm to the family of a human subject the researcher interviewed (74).<sup>8</sup> Wilson advocates the necessity of “relational accountability” in his concept of Indigenous research methodology, arguing that “respect, reciprocity and responsibility are key features of any healthy relationship” (77). Clearly, it is important for indigenous scholars to conduct indigenous studies research ethically, with integrity, and to treat indigenous peoples as equal human subjects so that they can build good relations with them.

Due to Taiwan’s four-century-long colonial past until the establishment of democracy in 1996, the development of Taiwanese indigenous studies and the representation of indigenous peoples have fallen behind, compared to the development of indigenous studies and representation in the West. As such, there has been a lack of attention in indigenous studies scholarship to Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance

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<sup>8</sup> Wilson includes a story of a doctoral student, Cora, whose grandfather was interviewed by an anthropologist. In a library Cora happened to find the mistranslation of her grandfather’s words in a published article by the anthropologist (71). Wilson says that “the personal nature of the research added to the problem of misinterpretation. Cora felt a sense of being violated and assaulted. I am sure that any Indigenous research would be upset by the sloppy research and misrepresentation” (78).



against colonialism. Despite the diversity of Taiwanese indigenous languages (encompassing a rich body of oral traditions and oral histories), cultures, and peoples, very few Taiwanese indigenous scholars wrote and published literary works to represent their own tribes, until the longstanding rule by martial law was lifted in 1987. Kuei-fen Chiu, a Taiwanese scholar of indigenous studies, notes that “1984 is commonly identified as a landmark in the history of indigenous literature in Taiwan” when “it witnessed the appearance of the first special issue of indigenous literature in a poetry journal called *Spring Breeze* (春風).” Despite the hegemonic domination of the Chinese language and culture, “the indigenous literary production in Chinese has increased steadily, particularly after the lifting of martial law” (1073-74). And yet, considering this increase of indigenous literary production, Chiu only mentions one indigenous writer, Syaman Rapongan, who represents his T’au tribe living on Orchid Island off the south-eastern coast of Taiwan.

While exploring a range of both Taiwanese indigenous and Native American literary texts, I identify what I call Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR), drawing on the work of the Acoma Pueblo poet and storyteller Simon J. Ortiz, who made an important contribution to Native American literary studies by exploring the relation between Native American literature, oral traditions, and indigenous peoples’ adaptation of colonizers’ languages. In his influential essay “Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism,” Ortiz identifies a “nationalistic character” in Native American literature, in which cultural authenticity means a “resistance” to colonization that is “carried out by the oral tradition” and is continued by a “surge of literature created by contemporary Indian authors . . . based upon continuing resistance,

which has given a particularly nationalistic character to the Native American voice” (10). Since the 1960s, many indigenous scholars in the United States have centered their scholarship on defining the political and academic status of indigenous literature in terms of oral tradition, resistance, and survival. Ortiz argues that “throughout the difficult experience of colonization to the present, Indian women and men have struggled to create meaning of their lives in very definite and systematic ways” (9). Ortiz suggests that “along with their native languages, Indian women and men have carried on their lives and their expression through the use of the newer languages, particularly Spanish, French, and English” (10). For Ortiz, learning colonial languages and using them for expressing Native American culture or ways of life does not signify merely a capitulation to colonizers, as Native people “used these languages on their own terms” in the struggle against colonialism:

some would argue that this means that Indian people have succumbed or become educated into a different linguistic system and have forgotten or have been forced to forsake their native selves. This is simply not true . . . it is entirely possible for a people to retain and maintain their lives through the use of any language. There is not a question of authenticity here; rather it is the way that Indian people have creatively responded to forced colonization. And this response has been one of resistance; there is no clearer word for it than resistance. It has been this resistance – political, armed, spiritual – which has been carried out by the oral tradition. (10)<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ortiz explains, “Since colonization began in the 15th century with the arrival of the Spaniard priest, militarist, and fortune and slave seeker upon the shores of this hemisphere, Indian songmakers and storytellers have created a body of oral literature which speaks crucially about the experience of colonization.

Ortiz sees a close connection between the oral tradition and anti-colonial resistance, arguing that “the continued use of the oral tradition” in Native American literature “is evidence that the resistance is on-going” (10). As the oral tradition represents how indigenous “culture and community integrity have been maintained,” to identify a tradition of anti-colonial resistance in literary and cultural texts means paying attention to things or rituals like “prayer, song, drama-ritual, narrative or story-telling, much of it within ceremony—some of it outside of ceremony—which is religious and social” (9). These indigenous rituals are often closely related to the oral tradition, and they have special meaning and value in Native American culture that non-indigenous people may not understand.

For my definition of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance, I draw on Ortiz’s understanding of the “oral tradition” as a tradition of anticolonial resistance. Even though there are clear differences in their respective rituals, traditions, beliefs, and cultures, I notice the significant parallels between Native American and Taiwanese indigenous traditions, including the use of song, drama-ritual, and story-telling in oral and literary traditions. To trace a similar tradition of indigenous resistance in Taiwanese indigenous texts thus depends on a transnational comparative approach that attends to both the similarities and differences between various indigenous traditions. For instance, the representation of facial tattoo rituals and the carving of artifacts in Taiwanese indigenous literature are closely related to Seediq spirituality (religion) and oral tradition. Although different from the Native American stories and rituals Ortiz alludes to, these Taiwanese indigenous rituals are similarly a form “resistance literature.” This tradition of

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Like the drama and the characters described above, the indigenous peoples of the Americas have taken the languages of the colonialists and used them for their own purposes” (9-10).

resistance is transnational in another sense as well: such rituals were practiced—in different forms—not only between different tribal nations and ethnic groups (Chinese, Hoklo, and Hakka) in a local context, but also by indigenous nations globally, in different colonial contexts.

The tradition of anticolonial resistance in indigenous writing, then, is part of a broader global story. Importantly, in a 1989 interview Ortiz suggests that the Native American tradition of “resistance literature” invites comparison to other traditions of “Third World literature,” which he characterizes as a global body of “decolonization and liberation literature” that includes African literature, Latin American literature, and Asian literature (Ortiz et al. 365).<sup>10</sup> Other scholars, too, have taken a transnational approach to Native American and indigenous studies. For Scott Richard Lyons, anticolonial resistance is a “global-political” project centered on a transnational notion of “indigenous people.” As Lyons argues, the argument for Indigenous sovereignty is “by definition to engage in nationalism, but rather than attempt to organize hundreds if not thousands of native nationalisms worldwide, tribal communities instead produced a new, ultimately more effective global-political subject: ‘indigenous peoples’”(3). Following Lyons, I take a transnationalist perspective to studying the relationship between the representation of Taiwanese indigenous literature and indigenous peoples in Taiwan, and the Seediq people in particular.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> In Kathleen Manley and Paul W. Rea’s interview with Simon Ortiz, he shares his view on how he uses languages for Native American literature: “Although most of us write in English, there are some of us who use the original or indigenous languages; I do, to some extent, in my work. But what we do with the English language is give a Native American tone or distinction to it. Even if we do use English, it’s English that has its own uniqueness in terms of Indian values, concepts, ideas, intonations, and so forth. So that’s perhaps another distinction” (365).

<sup>11</sup> As Lyons puts it, it is impossible for a “separate text or critical sphere” in Native American literature to be “divorced from the global forces (political, economic and cultural), no possibility of a practice purely dissociated from global networks of production, circulation, and consumption” (1).

Again, this is not to suggest that all indigenous peoples are the same in terms of their languages, cultures, and rhetorics of resistance to colonial rule, either in or outside of Taiwan. However, Lyons argues that “if you do not look at the native situated in a global context ... then you could miss out on a story that deserves to be told, and the story you do tell could very well be incomplete” (*The World* 7). In approaching Taiwanese indigenous studies in a global context, I draw on Bakhtin’s term to define Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR) as a multi-voiced discourse, based in oral traditions, that expresses Taiwanese indigenous struggle for continuance and resistance against colonialism. Because indigenous identities are shaped by local, national, and global contexts, the representation of indigenous identities typically concerns multi-voiced discourses. As Lyons notes, there is no such thing as indigenous “authenticity” that exists in “a natural state outside of history.” Rather, “authenticity is a discourse conducted in the midst of many voices, not all of them tribal, and none getting the last word” (5). The idea of indigenous “authenticity” as a multi-voiced discourse draws on a Bakhtinian notion of dialogic rhetoric, which, as Arthur Walzer writes, “is multidirectional—that is, directed toward the referent and toward many other voices—and the various voices within the discourse compete with the author’s voice” (50).<sup>12</sup> In light of Walzer’s argument on dialogic rhetoric, indigenous authenticity is clearly given more rhetorical space for many different indigenous voices, compared to monologic rhetoric, with which an author seeks to dominate the rhetorical discourse of dialogism or the forces of heteroglossia. As Walzer puts it, “no voice – not the narrator's or a single character's – arbitrates the polyphony. For Bakhtin, rhetorical discourse falls between the

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<sup>12</sup> Walzer argues that “dialogic rhetoric also contests monologic or unilateral rhetoric that is defined less as a relationship of words to ideas than as a relationship of a rhetor to an audience” (49). Walzer

univocal referential discourse and authentic dialogism” (50).<sup>13</sup> In other words, Walzer’s viewpoint on Bakhtinian rhetoric appears to resonate with that of Lyons with respect to multi-voicedness. Lyons and Walzer would agree that no “voice” or no one has the “last word” on indigenous authenticity.

From a transnational perspective, the expression of resistance in indigenous writing also emerges from the differences between various indigenous nations resisting colonialism globally. I therefore draw on Chadwick Allen’s trans-Indigenous methodology for indigenous literary study to distinguish different Taiwanese indigenous resistance rhetorics. In *Trans-Indigenous*, Allen calls for an approach to comparative indigenous literary studies that complements “the necessary, invigorating study of specific traditions and contexts” by “augmenting and expanding broader, globally Indigenous fields of inquiry.” To perform a trans-Indigenous analysis means “acknowledge[ing] the mobility and multiple interactions of Indigenous peoples, cultures, histories, and texts” (Allen xiv).<sup>14</sup> For my study of Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance, that means grappling with the representation of different Formosan tribal nations.<sup>15</sup> Although Taiwanese indigenous peoples may share some features of their histories, politics, cultures, rituals and oral traditions, their languages and stories about

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<sup>13</sup> The word “authentic” from “authentic dialogism” has nothing to do with indigenous identities. According to Michael Holquist, “dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia. Everything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole—there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others” (Bakhtin, *Dialogic* 426).

<sup>14</sup> Allen explains why he turns to “trans-Indigenous” expression by saying that “similar to terms like *translation*, *transnational*, and *transform*, *trans-Indigenous* may be able to bear the complex, contingent asymmetry and the potential risks of unequal encounters borne by the preposition *across*. It may be able to indicate the specific agency and situated momentum carried by the preposition *through*” (xiv).

<sup>15</sup> The word “Formosan” is the adjective of Formosa, a name given by Portuguese sailors in 1542 when they first saw the island of Taiwan. Today, the Mandarin name Taiwan is officially used instead of Formosa. In this dissertation, I use the term “Formosan” interchangeably with “Taiwanese” though both names can also be used as nouns and mean natives of Taiwan. However, the name Formosa predated the name Taiwan, and the term “Formosans” implies that both native Taiwanese and indigenous peoples have lived on the island since colonial times, before the Chinese colonized it.

resistance against colonial authorities—or against other ethnic groups in Taiwan—vary between different indigenous nations. These historical, political, and cultural differences will be essential to recognize in the study of diverse Taiwanese indigenous voices, representation, and rhetorics of resistance.

Advancing a transnationalist approach to studying indigenous literature, artifacts, and data, I draw on Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia as a critical lens to examine the ways in which indigenous texts and signs (rituals) represent rhetorics of resistance. In his famous essay “Discourse in the Novel,” Bakhtin observes “the forces that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world” of specific social groups: “Unitary language constitutes the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited—and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia” (270). Speaking to a wide range of linguistic, rhetorical, and cultural phenomena, Bakhtin points to the tensions and resistance between a single language and multilingual languages, and between a dominant culture and other cultures in society. To analyze indigenous films, texts, signs, graphics, and data that represent such tensions, I draw on the methodology of Adrian Blackledge, Angela Creese, and Jaspreet Takhi, who adopt Bakhtin’s notion of “heteroglossia to refer not to languages but to the heterogeneity of signs and forms in meaning making.” I apply their interpretation of Bakhtin’s heteroglossia to my research materials – to analyze indigenous rhetorics of resistance, and to examine how an analytical attention to “multilingualism” (i.e. to the intense “struggle,” “interaction” between languages and “boundaries”) helps us understand “the

sociohistorical and ideological bases of language meaning and use” and acknowledge the presence of different languages, codes and and multivoicedness (193-94). In light of Blackledge et al’s interpretation of heteroglossia, my project acknowledges the existence a diversity of indigenous languages and a multiplicity of voices among different groups of ethnic groups of people – including a variety of oral traditions of many indigenous nations in Taiwan.

However, there is still a need to develop indigenous studies in the field of rhetoric and composition, especially to examine indigenous contexts in Asia, such as Taiwanese indigenous languages and cultures that have become either extinct or endangered on the island of Taiwan. Although Ortiz does not use the word *rhetoric* in his theory of Native American literature, the relation he identifies between literary language and the oral tradition—centered as it is on story-telling—is central to my method of reading indigenous resistance in Taiwanese indigenous literature *and* rhetoric, which similarly express an ongoing tradition of resistance against forced colonization in both indigenous and non-indigenous languages. My approach to analyzing Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric resistance is also informed by scholarship in the “New Rhetoric” movement, which has tried to bridge the study of rhetoric and literature. According to Patricia Bizzell, Bruce Herzberg, and Robin Reames, in the mid-twentieth century scholars of rhetoric “observed that literature and logic are forms of discourse through which people engage with the world around them and formulate ideas about it.” For scholars of New Rhetoric, persuasion is always “implicitly at work in both literary narrative and logical demonstration . . . For critics in this movement, concepts that had long been the purview



of rhetoric offer a better explanation of how language functions than can be found in literary theory, logic or philosophy alone” (55-56).<sup>16</sup>

Taiwanese indigenous literature frequently uses stories, rituals, artifacts, and other aspects of oral traditions not only for aesthetic literary effect but also for advancing forms of political rhetorical persuasion against colonialism. As such, there exists a complex interplay between the (literary) representation of Taiwanese indigenous culture, the oral tradition, and what Ortiz calls the “voice for liberation” in indigenous anti-colonial resistance literature (12). To analyze this complex interplay, I offer the following five characteristics of what I term Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR) in Taiwanese indigenous texts, films, signs, rituals, stories, and oral traditions. I trace the following characteristics throughout the literary, cinematic, visual, and archival texts that I explore in this dissertation:

1. Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR) does not support the imperialistic Chinese claim that Taiwan (Formosa) is historically part of China because from a historical, genetic, linguistic, and cultural viewpoint, Taiwanese indigenous peoples are basically Austronesian, and because Formosa was not exposed to the outside world until colonial powers invaded the island in the sixteenth century. According to Cindy Sui, Taiwanese indigenous peoples inhabited the island of Taiwan for “as long as 15,000 years before Han settlers from China arrived in the 17th Century,” and she says that “though Taiwan has a majority population of Han Chinese now, its original residents

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<sup>16</sup> In the chapter “The Poetics and Logic of New Rhetoric” of *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classic Times to the Present* (2020), Patricia Bizzell, Bruce Herzberg, and Robin Reames argue that “[r]hetoric has a newfound importance for these thinkers because it provided them with a vocabulary for identifying the ways in which authors use language to persuade, even in genres not commonly recognized as ‘rhetorical.’ This change of perspective occurred independently among literary scholars like Kenneth Burke, Richard Weaver, and Wayne Booth, who observed that literary language possesses a persuasive dimension, and philosophers like Chaïm Perelman and Stephen Toulmin, who posited that rhetoric offers practical models of reasoning and argumentation” (55-56).

were indigenous Austronesian tribes. In fact, Taiwan is believed to be where the languages and cultures of the Austronesians began, which includes people in the Pacific Islands, Southeast Asia, the Maoris in New Zealand and Polynesians in Hawaii” (*BBC*). The fact that Han Chinese immigrants came to Taiwan during Chinese colonial periods, and that there has been a long history of intermarriage between Taiwanese (Hoklo and Hakka) and indigenous peoples, including Chinese immigrants who came to Formosa in 1945 after the Japanese colonizers left, it does not make Taiwan part of China.

2. TIRR is heteroglossic and expresses the tension between a unitary, national language of imperial Chinese or Japanese colonizers and the languages (not officially recognized) of the colonized and oppressed. The colonizers’ linguistic domination and assimilation policies have punished, silenced, destroyed, and endangered native Taiwanese (Hoklo and Hakka) and indigenous peoples’ identities, languages, cultures and traditions. Therefore, on the one hand, TIRR is against forced education of colonizers’ languages; on the other hand, it encourages a diversity of languages, multiple voices of ethnic groups of people for their existence and survival. My project therefore incorporates Bakhtin’s idea of heteroglossia and Blackledge et al’s use of heteroglossia to analyze the representation of indigenous signs and rituals within different texts. TIRR explores the close relationship between indigenous narrative and rhetoric in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural contexts and seeks the voices of different tribes to be recognized and heard through a diversity of indigenous stories, texts, news and research publications, media, films, documentary films, and protests, while advocating more rhetorical space, discourse, and freedom of speech for indigenous representations and stories to be told by the public for persuasion.

3. TIRR is, by definition, a generic term, and in a way, it is shared by or relating to all Taiwanese indigenous peoples or Taiwanese indigenous people, not just those classified by Chinese and Japanese colonizers.<sup>17</sup> Building on a transnationalist perspective, my use of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance seeks to diversify our understanding of Taiwanese indigenous peoples. TIRR rejects imperialistic Chinese and Japanese colonizers' way of classifying Taiwanese indigenous peoples into only nine tribes during their assimilation projects. However, my analysis of TIRR draws on Chadwick Allen's trans-Indigenous methods to emphasize the differences (as well as similarities) between various indigenous groups, via what Allen calls "purposeful indigenous juxtapositions" between texts from different indigenous contexts (xix). I apply Allen's methods and avoid generalizing or stereotyping different tribes—to maintain every tribal distinction and identity as a unique people who have their language, culture, tradition and community. As of today, there are sixteen Formosan tribes officially recognized by the Taiwanese government, compared to only nine tribes previously classified by China and Japan.<sup>18</sup> More importantly, TIRR supports Taiwan's democracy and recognition of indigenous nations, transcending the idea of single indigenous nationhood or sovereignty in both local and global stages for all people of Taiwan.

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<sup>17</sup> According to *Cambridge Dictionary*, the word *Generic* is formally defined as "shared by, typical of, or relating to a whole group of similar things, rather than to any particular thing" (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/generic>). Whether TIRR should be singular or plural, it depends on its context.

<sup>18</sup> However, "there are about 29 tribes identified by the people themselves. All of the tribes that are not recognized are referred to as the plains indigenous people. One reason for not being recognized is that the government has deemed many of the tribes to be too diluted with Han people and are unable to be identified" ("Taiwanese Indigenous"). Although TIRR is mainly focused on the mountain tribes in Taiwan, it is open to any plane indigenous peoples (or "Pingpu tribes") who may be officially recognized in the future.

4. TIRR is against Chinese and Japanese forced colonization, including forced and false identities on native Taiwanese and Taiwanese indigenous peoples.<sup>19</sup> In particular, Chinese and Japanese colonial authorities treated Taiwanese indigenous peoples as “savages” and invented master narratives (propaganda) to falsify Taiwanese indigenous identities so that they could “civilize” the latter in their assimilation projects. For example, the KMT regime massacred many native Taiwanese and indigenous peoples in the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror during the four-decade-long martial law; the Japanese colonizers almost decimated the entire Seediq tribe, forcibly displaced and traumatized the remaining Seediq survivors during the Musha Incident and its aftermath. Ciwang Teyra, a member of the Truku tribe, says that “Looking at the historical trauma suffered by indigenous peoples throughout the world, Taiwan is no different. Taiwan suffers the same fate from colonization—loss of land, language, identity, and cultural knowledge. The Native Americans, for example, were forced to relocate and attend boarding schools, which led to the loss of tradition and identity” (*Commonwealth Magazine*).<sup>20</sup> Hence, TIRR deals with the loss of Taiwanese indigenous cultures and traditions and the distortion of indigenous identities in colonizers’ master narratives. In Chapter Three, I analyze Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the political and social stigma to being called “savages” by Japanese colonizers in the Musha Incident, Tsou

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<sup>19</sup> As a reminder to readers, Taiwan has been a contested “land” for colonial powers since the Portuguese sailors “discovered” and named the island “Ilha Formosa” (meaning “Beautiful Island”) in the 16<sup>th</sup> century – or to be more precise, since the colonization of the Spanish, Dutch, Ming Dynasty (Koxinga), Qing Dynasty, Japanese and the KMT (Chinese Nationalist regime). Even today, politically and militarily, powerful countries such as Communist China, the United States, and Japan are competing for their different national interests for the island – at least for the interest of Taiwan’s TSMC semi-conductors to become leading economic and military power to dominate the world stage.

<sup>20</sup> A PhD candidate in Social Welfare at the University of Washington, Teyra says, “Here in America, professors often ask students to introduce themselves to the class at the beginning of the semester. Every time I mention to my classmates that I am from an indigenous tribe in Taiwan, my classmates’ surprise taught me: the outside world really doesn’t know much about us” (*Commonwealth Magazine*).

rhetoric of resistance against the story of Wu Feng, and Atayal rhetoric of resistance against the story of Sayun.

5. TIRR expresses anti-colonial resistance through literary language in Ortiz's terms: it represents indigenous rituals and oral traditions to explore the role of storytelling and non-textual forms of meaning making in indigenous cultures, histories, and lifeways. It represents indigenous narrative and perspectives through a range of different forms and genres—film, documentary, graphic novels, drawings, photos, and alphabetic texts—to transmit and interpret indigenous stories, artifacts and rituals. I apply linguistic and semiotic interpretation to analyze Seediq signs (symbols, rituals, and artifacts) and how they express Seediq historical perspectives and oral traditions within contemporary (literary) texts. TIRR thereby complements Blackledge et al's linguistic method to understand the the literary and narrative aspects of Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia.

### **The Brief History of Colonization in Taiwan**

Taiwan's colonial history began in 1542 when a group of Portuguese sailors sighted the uncharted island on their journey to Japan and named it *Ilha Formosa* ("beautiful island"). Formosa quickly became a contested land among colonial powers which sought to expand their global territories: Dutch Formosa (1624-1668), Spanish Formosa (1626-1642), the Kingdom of Tungning (Kingdom of Formosa 1661-1683), Qing Dynasty (1683-1895), and Japanese Formosa (1895-1945).<sup>21</sup> Japan surrendered in 1945 at the end of World War II, and the Republic of China (R.O.C.) took over Formosa

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<sup>21</sup> The Spanish Empire colonized Northern Formosa (Taiwan) from 1626 to 1642 whereas the Dutch Republic colonized the Southern Formosa from 1624 to 1668. In 1642 the Spanish was defeated by the Dutch in a battle and ceded its colony to the latter.

and changed its name to Taiwan.<sup>22</sup> The Chinese Nationalist Party (the KMT) which ran the R.O.C. was defeated in 1949 during the Chinese Civil War by the Communist Party of China (CPC) or Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which runs the People's Republic of China. Demographically, in Taiwan's colonial history, the Han Chinese (Hoklo) first immigrated to Dutch Formosa which needed labor to cultivate farmland, then the Hakka immigrants arrived during the Qing Dynasty rule, and finally the Chinese Nationalist (the KMT) government with millions of Chinese soldiers and refugees (Mainland Chinese or Mainlanders) retreated to Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949). The above historical records give a brief picture of how competing colonial powers attempted to occupy Formosa and rule the people of Taiwan. According to Arturo Escobar, "states and international organizations use development as a discursive strategy to justify their presence in indigenous and other communities, but social movements of resistance in these communities offer an alternative to external hegemony" (Simon 726). Ever since these early days of colonialism, the indigenous peoples in Taiwan have been marginalized among other ethnic groups, constituting less than three percent of the total population of Taiwan today.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The ROC is the official name of Taiwan, not recognized by the United Nations as a "country," due to "One China" policy, with which China sets conditions that "any country that wants diplomatic relations with mainland China must break official ties with Taipei." Also, "the One China policy is a key cornerstone of Sino-US relations. It is also fundamental bedrock of Chinese policy-making and diplomacy" (*BBC News*). Taiwan has been internationally marginalized and excluded by the United Nations from participating in any international organizations for decades because of One China policy, and the country is usually mistaken for Thailand by peoples (especially younger generations) in international communities today partly because they have been told that Taiwan is part of China.

<sup>23</sup> According to Scott Simon, "Electoral politics in Taiwan are heavily colored by ethnic identities. The principal ethnic groups are the Hoklo, or 'Native Taiwanese' (72 percent of the population), whose paternal ancestors started arriving from Fujian, China, during Dutch colonial rule in the 1600s; the Hakka (13 percent), whose ancestors came from Guangdong mostly in the 18th and 19th centuries; the 'Mainlanders' (13 percent), who arrived with Chiang Kai-shek after the conclusion of World War II in 1945; and the Austronesian indigenous peoples (2 percent), whose presence on Taiwan dates back over 6,000 years (Corcuff 2002:163)" (727).

My project focuses on the period of the Japanese and Chinese colonial rules over the last century and the twenty-first century to examine Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization. To situate these analyses historically, I offer a brief historical overview of Taiwanese colonialism under both Japanese and Chinese authoritarian rules, and how the rise of Taiwan's democracy affected majority Taiwanese and indigenous peoples.

Taiwan's indigenous peoples were displaced and found their land, identities, languages, beliefs, rituals, cultures, and livelihood were under attack by foreign, oppressive colonial powers. Especially the Japanese and Chinese colonization over the last century (1895-1995) drastically impacted the lives of both native Taiwanese and indigenous peoples. Although for thousands of years, Taiwanese indigenous peoples have lived in the plain, highland plateaus and on the coast, today they mostly live in secluded, mountainous areas, with only limited contact with other communities. They have had centuries-long territorial disputes with their neighbors, such as the Hoklo Taiwanese, people of Hakka descent, and other ethnic groups, and as such they have long guarded against intruders on indigenous territories. As a result, indigenous territories in Taiwan are contested borderlands, which are further complicated by the geographical distribution of different indigenous groups.

Taiwan has a heterogeneous population that includes many ethnic groups and indigenous peoples of Austronesian descent, including people intermarried with Han Chinese and Japanese people. However, both native Taiwanese (Hoklo and Hakka) and indigenous peoples were subject to Japanese and Chinese colonizers' problematic method of classification or categorization of individual ethnic identities that have resulted in

generalization of ethnicities. Ever since Formosa was first colonized, there has been a long history of intermarriages between Han Chinese immigrants and indigenous women. In *Is Taiwan Chinese?* Melissa J. Brown argues that “most Han immigrants who were able to marry found brides locally—primarily Aborigine women and the ‘mixed’ daughters or granddaughters of earlier Han men. Intermarriage thus created a ‘mixed’ population” (134). For instance, Kuei-fen Chiu points out that “In the Qing dynasty, many migrants from China took indigenous women as their wives because very few Chinese women were allowed to come to Taiwan. Since the female ancestors of many Taiwanese were indigenous women, to designate Taiwanese as ethnic Chinese is, in a sense, a patriarchal practice that ignores the important indigenous constituent of Taiwanese identity” (1083).<sup>24</sup> Likewise, in “Cultural Brokerage and Interethnic Marriage in Colonial Taiwan: Japanese Subalterns and Their Aborigine Wives, 1895-1930,” Paul D. Barclay notes that the Japanese government-general “embraced interethnic marriage as a solution to the problem of ‘Aborigine administration’ in Taiwan’s rugged mountain interior, where armed resistance to Japanese rule simmered well into the 1910s. From 1908 through 1914, political alliances cemented with interethnic marriages paved the way for Japan’s conquest of the northern Aborigine territory” (325).<sup>25</sup> Both Chiu and Barclay suggest a notion of hybridity in emphasizing that native Taiwanese and indigenous identities are not necessarily composed of pure Han Chinese for centuries, and that many Taiwanese and Japanese have indigenous relations as well.

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<sup>24</sup> Chiu says, “To reshape their Taiwanese identity, people need to acknowledge their matrilineal indigenous roots. It follows that indigenous otherness is an important constituent of their Taiwanese self, identified as “otherness” only because they are alienated from their mother culture due to Sinocentric indoctrination” (1083).

<sup>25</sup> Barclay says, “The participants themselves, Japanese males and Atayal women, however, ended up divorced, abandoned, dead, or disgraced as a result of the ‘political-marriage’ policy” (325).



Although the Chinese and Japanese colonizers' differently named and classified indigenous people who intermarried with other groups, they disregarded distinct indigenous tribes who remained closer to their indigenous identities and retained their political sovereignty and self-representation.<sup>26</sup> As the Japanese and the Chinese developed colonial systems of classifying indigenous peoples, they categorized Taiwanese indigenous peoples as "savages" or "the uncivilized," assigning them to a racial category in an attempt to stereotype and assimilate them in their colonial projects. This practice is similar to the history of colonial classification in the United States, where Native Americans were collectively assigned to the category of "the Indian," which developed as a White "invention," "image," and "stereotype" (Berkhofer 3). As Scott Richard Lyons puts it, "Natives were considered by most to be a minority ethnic group as opposed to nations, a 'race' rather than different peoples, and a reminder of something tragic that happened long ago instead of historical human groups living and acting in the world today" ("The Fine Art" 77). This assigning of indigenous people to the status of ethnic group rather than nation—and to the historical past exclusively—applies also to the situation of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, who faced the hegemonic domination of the Chinese Nationalists' authoritarian rule and their Chinese-Only language policy. Similarly, in 1895, the Japanese colonized Formosa and brought not only a new world order switching from the Qing Dynasty's rule to the Japanese rule over the people on the island, but also a new language system that changed the official language policy from Chinese-Only to Japanese-Only—a colonial means of controlling the thoughts and

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<sup>26</sup> The single Han "race" theory claiming that all Taiwanese people originated from China is problematic. For example, under the imperialistic Chinese and Japanese authoritarian rule for the purpose of their assimilation policies, there were only nine tribes; however, today there are at least 16 officially recognized tribes. Besides, more and more Taiwanese call themselves Han Taiwanese instead of Han Chinese which has often confused the world.

behavior of the colonized.<sup>27</sup> The Japanese colonizers began a project of Japanese education and assimilation of the Taiwanese indigenous people. Although in Taiwan the racial categorizing was not defined by skin color, the Japanese and the Chinese Nationalist governments often treated the indigenous peoples as “second class citizens,” and their dominant languages and cultures have caused the indigenous languages, cultures, and oral traditions to gradually disappear because of century-long assimilation policies, which in turn brought about Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against Chinese and Japanese imperial rule.

While my project proposes to examine Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization in general, I here focus on the Seediq people and the 1930 Musha incident as an example of indigenous resistance against the oppression of Japanese colonialism. For the Seediq people, colonialism ushered in an existential conflict between two fundamentally different belief systems: between Japanese rule and *Gaya*, the Seediq system of moral codes. According to Scott Simon, *Gaya* refers to the codes by which indigenous Taiwanese people such as the Seediq, the Atayal (who observed *rutux gaya*), and the Taroko (*lutut gaya*) guided “the moral behavior of its members,” and although it did not function through “formal political institutions or written law, the moral code known as *Gaya* was crucial for maintaining social equilibrium” (“Negotiating Power” 729). However, there was no recognition of *Gaya* codes during the Japanese colonial regime, as there was no room for negotiation between

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<sup>27</sup> The year 1885 seemed politically rather unstable for colonial powers. Qing Dynasty lost the First Sino-Japanese War and ceded Taiwan to the Empire of Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. France had to abandon its attempt (the Keelung Campaign) to invade the northern part of Taiwan when suffering a defeat in Sino-French War (1884-1885). Soon after the Treaty of Shimonoseki (20 March to 17 April 1895) was made, Formosa declared independent, starting a short-lived Republic of Formosa (1895 June-October) – Japan’s military power defeated the new Formosan government in Tainan (capital city), occupied and colonized Formosa.

Japan and indigenous tribes or the Taiwanese people, because the Qing Dynasty had already ceded Taiwan to Japan. The Seediq tribe was denied a status as a nation-state ever since its political sovereignty and autonomy was not recognized, but this colonial oppression eventually led to the Seediq resistance against the Japanese rule and assimilation. After the 1930 Musha Incident, the Japanese government introduced its assimilationist *kominka* (imperialization) policies to force “indigenous people to learn Japanese, adopt Japanese social practices, and even take Japanese surnames. Every village had a chief who was supposed to obey the instructions of the police. The true power in the villages remained with Japanese police officers” (Simon, “Negotiating Power” 730). Not only the Seediq but also the entire population of Taiwan—including many different Taiwanese and indigenous ethnic groups—had to learn the colonial Japanese language and obey harsh Japanese rule.

After the 1930 Musha incidents that almost destroyed the Seediq tribe, indigenous people in Taiwan were silenced and forbidden to tell their stories in their native languages about the Japanese oppression. Then in 1945, the oppression of the Taiwanese people—including its indigenous population—continued at the hands of the government of the Chinese Nationalist party, the Kuomintang (KMT), which took over Taiwan when the Japanese surrendered and left the island at the end of World War II. Although the people of Taiwan hoped that new governance would improve their difficult lives, they were quickly disappointed, being persecuted and mistreated as second-class citizens. The KMT regime committed horrific atrocities, such as the February 28, 1947 massacre (known as the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror) of thousands of Taiwanese civilians who protested the KMT government and its subsequent political repression of Taiwanese

people, when in 1949 the KMT began to rule Taiwan through martial law. Also called the Taiwan Holocaust, the 2-28 Incident has spurred comparisons to the Holocaust in Nazi Germany. In 2008, Caroline Gluck shed light on Taiwan's dark history: during the White Terror era, "thousands of people, mainly from the intellectual and social elite, were arrested, tortured and jailed on false charges of treason or espionage," and many believe that the KMT party "has still not fully atoned for its past actions" (*BBC News*). The KMT government imposed a single-party, authoritarian system and implementing Mandarin Chinese as the only national and official language, banning any other ethnic and indigenous languages at school and suppressing non-Chinese identities and cultures.<sup>28</sup> In "Legislating Language in Taiwan," Jean-François Dupré argues that "the idea of Mandarin as unifying language of the whole Chinese nation had long been a central component of the KMT's ethno-nationalist ideology" (424). The political and cultural silence of Taiwanese and indigenous peoples continued under the four-decade long martial law as the Chinese Nationalists' suppression of free speech and assimilation policy that has caused serious damage to Taiwanese, Hakka, and indigenous languages, cultures, and identities. Consequently, the official, national language policy has been responsible for the destruction and endangerment of indigenous languages ever since.

In 1987 the KMT government finally lifted nearly four-decade long martial law under international pressure and internal, political change—a turning point for Taiwan's democracy. While the year marked the end of the sinister, unjust martial law, it also

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<sup>28</sup> The 2-28 Incident (also called Taiwan Holocaust) violently occurred in 1947 and claimed the lives of some 28,000 people in Taiwan as a result of the atrocities and killings of Taiwanese civilians and indigenous peoples committed by Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist regime (Kuomintang-led government of the Republic of China, ROC) and soldiers, who were defeated by Chinese soldiers led by the Chinese Communist Party (the CCP) in 1949. However, in 1945, when WWII ended, the Chinese Nationalists took over Taiwan shortly after Japan surrendered and left the island. Hence, the Republic of China (the KMT regime) continues to fight the People's Republic of China (the Chinese Communist regime).

marked the beginning of freedom of speech in Taiwan, which meant that the truth about the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror came to light. From 1988 to 2000, the first Taiwan-born president, Lee Teng-hui, “inherited his position from an exiled authoritarian regime that still claimed itself as the rightful ruler of all of China and that had not made any official amends for its past” (Rowen 100).<sup>29</sup> Lee’s democratic vision for Taiwan was revolutionary, though he also faced “grassroots pressure to accelerate the pace of democratic reforms.”<sup>30</sup> Since 1987, the people of Taiwan have increasingly broken their silence and told stories about their tragedies, and a Taiwanese collective memory and narrative of the terrible massacre has begun to surface. The 2-28 Incident and the White Terror have become a national trauma narrative for the colonized and oppressed: native Taiwanese people—including indigenous peoples—were treated similarly as when they were Japanese subjects: living in fear, persecuted, and silenced by the KMT regime mainly run by the Mainland Chinese and the Republic of China’s Armed Forces. For decades, many international scholars have examined the 2-28 Incident and the KMT’s authoritarian (if not totalitarian) regime, and Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorship that oppressed the Taiwanese and indigenous peoples and silenced their voices, including Taiwanese people overseas.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Mr. Lee, a native Taiwanese, was educated in Taiwan, Japan and the United States. He was once a Communist before joining the KMT. He became the vice-president of Taiwan and succeeded Chiang Ching-kuo, the only biological son of former president, Chiang Kai-shek. It is said that his Japanese was more fluent than Mandarin. Mr. Lee was the President of Taiwan and chairman of the KMT between 1988 and 2000, but in 2001 he was expelled by the KMT because of his democratic, Taiwan-centric, and pro-independence stance.

<sup>30</sup> Since 1995, on many occasions during Taiwan’s presidential elections, Communist China has sent threatening signals by deploying thousands of missiles across Taiwan Strait, aiming at Taiwan and shooting them close to the island to remind Taiwanese presidential candidates not to break and disobey the “one China policy,” and to disrupt Taiwan’s democratic process and to intimidate Taiwanese people not to vote for independence.

<sup>31</sup> Chiang Kai-shek was often portrayed by the KMT government as a national savior of China and Taiwan in history textbooks during the martial law. He wanted to fight Communist China to unify Mainland China.

Taiwanese indigenous peoples and other ethnic groups of people (Hoklo and Hakka) have voiced and shared their traumatic memories and stories about the 2-28 Incident and White Terror over the years. According to Craig A. Smith, “aboriginals were very involved in the events of the 2-28 Incident and played significant roles in the uprising against the Kuomintang (KMT), yet until recently their roles have been marginalized” (212). Smith also points out that Taiwanese historians have given considerable attention to the actions of three aboriginal elites – the Tsou head for Alishan Township, Uyongu Yatauyungana, and Losin Wadan (an Atayal member of the provincial legislature), in addition to “the work of the Tsou in Chiayi County during the 2-28 Incident (214). Beginning in the 1980s, writers and academics have often turned to their story as a focal point for remembering Taiwan aboriginals’ place in the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror” (214). Smith argues that concerning the aboriginal victims of the White Terror, “none has attracted as much attention as those involved in the “Tang Shouren Case,” which led to the execution of six prominent aboriginal elites” (212). The KMT regime seems to have targeted those highly Japanese-educated indigenous intellectuals and executed noticeably the only well-known, most educated indigene of Tsou tribe during the Japanese rule, Uyongu Yatauyungana (Japanese name, Yata Issei, 矢多一生; Chinese name, 高一生, Kao Yi-sheng), who resisted the Chinese Nationalists during the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident. As a result of his advocacy for aboriginal autonomy, he was unjustly accused of committing espionage and executed by the KMT regime. Yatauyungana’s involvement in the “Tang Shouren Case” and his subsequent execution had shocked the peoples of his neighboring tribes who tried to dissociate themselves from him or his Tsou tribe in order to save their own lives. The neighboring

Atayal tribe and especially the Seediq tribe did not want to participate in Yatauyungana's resistance to the KMT regime because most of the Seediq men had previously been killed in the Musha incidents.

In 2008 the KMT chairman Ma Ying-jeou (from mainland China) became the President of Taiwan; however, unlike his predecessor, Mr. Ma was reluctant to continue with public apologies for the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror, attempting to dissociate the KMT regime leader from the 2-28 Incident was consistent with his party's creation of the master (national) and false narrative that Chiang Kai-shek was a national "hero" not a dictator. Mr. Ma followed his party's understanding and stated that "the guilt should fall on local leaders and not on Chiang Kai-shek," and he stressed that the 2-28 Incident was "a political uprising and definitely not, as the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) claim, an ethnic conflict" (Smith, "Taiwan's 2-28 Incident" 158). Mr. Ma's insensitive remark to the suffering 2-28 victims and families showed his lack of remorse for the KMT's atrocities later met with a serious, political backlash from the silenced, angry Taiwanese people protested in front of the Presidential Office in Taipei on 9 August 2008 with 140,000 pictures of the victims of White Terror who were either imprisoned or executed by the KMT government led by Chiang Kai-shek (Fuchs). Moreover, Mr. Ma's KMT master narrative seems to have recently been echoed by the very controversial Academia Sinica research fellow, Chu Hung-yuan (朱宏源), whose research into the causes of the 2-28 Incident shifted blame for the 2-28 Incident to the Japanese government; underground Chinese Communist activities.<sup>32</sup> At worst, Chu dismissed the "oral history" (personal testimony) of 2-28 Incident victims showing "unnecessary emotion" in the government-

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<sup>32</sup> The Japanese government; underground Chinese Communist activities; the Presbyterian Church; local ruffians' involvement; George Kerr (a well-known American author of *Formosa Betrayed*, an eye witness account of the incident); and hawkish American figures (Tsao).

sponsored 1992 report by a research team, Hsu Hsueh-chi (許雪姬) and other researchers, describing the Incident as a small-scaled “peasants’ revolt” (Tsao). Although Chu’s research attracted national attention, he was criticized in social media and challenged by DPP legislators in 2012 for making “baseless” conclusions of those breakthroughs and distorting the “facts” of the 2-28 Incident that “could cause serious damage to families of the victims of the incident, creating confrontation between Taiwanese and Mainlanders” (Shih Hsiu-chuan).<sup>33</sup> Chu’s research into the 2-28 Incident raises serious concerns about his personal motive, research methodology, ethic, and the question of representation of his political affiliation, and it has done harm to the real history of the incident, the 2-28 victims, and the cause of social justice.

From a Taiwanese and indigenous perspective, Taiwan’s colonial history may continue in the near future. The constant threat and tyranny from another imperialistic, authoritarian rule, if not from within the KMT regime, it is always from the big neighbor across the Taiwan Strait. In 2014, President Ma’s KMT government had made a series of historic deals with Communist China to increase communication, travel and business ties, including the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) which triggered a massive

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<sup>33</sup> Chu received a grant of NT\$500,000 from the government-affiliated Taiwan Foundation for Democracy and published his study of 2-28 Incident in 2011 in Washington. The chief executive of the Foundation, Huang Teh-fu (黃德福), “bombarded with questions from DPP lawmakers regarding the study at a meeting, said that Chu’s study “represented his personal views and that it was not the position of the organization because it was a grant-maintained study rather than a project undertaken by the organization.” DPP Legislator Hsiao Bi-khim (蕭美琴) asked, “How could you not know what role the Presbyterian Church played in the democratization process in the country? Chu admitted that he wasn’t able to access the Presbyterian Church’s files. Given that, how could he come to the conclusion he did?” In response, Huang said, the conclusion was also ‘to our regret,’ adding that the foundation would upload the research online so that it could be subject to scrutiny” (Shih Hsiu-chuan). It is not clear why the research was not uploaded online until Huang was questioned. Additionally, in 2016, according to *Liberty Times Net*, Chu’s research into the 2-28 Incident was questioned and criticized for being “unprofessional” by a government official because Chu kept changing his stories about the 2-28 Incident, and his manuscript could not pass inspection for further publication (盧姮倩2016/03/17 <https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/paper/969367>). Smith says, “Although Chu’s scholarship has been contested by other academics and the media, his work reminds us that the deeply political mythologization of the 228 Incident is still far from over” (161).



protest movement led by college students, the Sunflower Student Movement, that resulted in thousands of students and civic groups of people rallying in Taipei streets for weeks and occupying government buildings). The KMT government was not transparent to the public about the trade pact with China, which sought close economy integration with Taiwan and open investment into Taiwan's markets; however, the protesters believed that the trade pack "negotiated behind closed doors" would hurt Taiwan's democracy and economy, and that the country would eventually become over-reliant on China (Cole).<sup>34</sup> They demanded all cross-strait negotiations and agreements in the future between the KMT and the CCP be closely monitored. Hundreds of professors and industry experts had warned of the national risk involved in the outlined telecommunication services in the trade pack. The KMT government ignored the voices of the public, and the riot police used violence to crack down on the protesters and evicted them from the legislature building. This political crisis had drawn more and more international attention from many countries around the world, even from the former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who warned that Taiwan is "facing a turning point" in its relations with China (*Taiwan News*).<sup>35</sup> Mr. Ma left office with significant low approval ratings on his job performance, and his KMT, Chinese Nationalist regime has been seen as one that increasingly embraces Communist China against democracy.

In 2016, the people of Taiwan elected a new national leader, President Tsai Ing-wen, a DPP member, who fights for Taiwanese democracy and apologizes for the

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<sup>34</sup> J. Michael Cole says, "After the KMT imposed internal measures making dissent grounds for expulsion, its reluctant legislators fell in line and began the process of passing the pact in the legislature" (*The Diplomat*).

<sup>35</sup> According to *Taiwan News*, "Clinton says Taiwan must carefully consider to what extent it is willing to open up its markets to China, because once it loses its economic independence, its political independence will be dramatically affected as well" ("Hillary Clinton Warns against Over-dependence on China"). <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/2513205>

injustice done to Taiwanese aborigines while Communist China continues to intimidate Taiwanese people and threaten to invade Taiwan for its authoritarian rule. According to a 2016 report in *The New York Times*, President Tsai offered “a formal apology” to “aboriginal peoples.”<sup>36</sup> From a historical point of view, this was a symbolic gesture for the Taiwanese government to not only acknowledge the existence of indigenous peoples but also apologize for the mistreatment of its colonial past and authority. President Tsai obviously has not forgotten the Musha Incident, the 2-28 Incident, the White Terror, Taiwan’s hard-won democracy, and those century-long oppressed, marginalized Taiwanese and indigenous voices. And yet, since her presidency, President Tsai has been greeted with threats of invasion by Communist China, which has sent numerous jet fighters, nuclear bombers, and war ships over Taiwan Strait hundreds of times from 2020 and 2022. During the period that the whole world has been suffering from the Covid pandemic, the United States has continuously sold more and more powerful weapons to Taiwan to defend itself. In hindsight, today, the people of Taiwan have seen what has happened to Hong Kong, disillusioned from the so called “one country two systems” and “One China policy.”<sup>37</sup> It is a wake-up call not only for Taiwan but for the rest of the world to see Taiwan’s crisis of democracy and resistance to authoritarian rules, and perhaps a new page of colonial history is unfortunately about to begin in the near future.

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<sup>36</sup> In 2016 *The New York Times* Austin Ramzy reported that President Tsai Ing-wen of Taiwan “offered a formal apology” to “aboriginal peoples for centuries of “pain and mistreatment,” and she promised to take concrete steps to rectify a history of injustice.” During “a ceremony at the presidential office in Taipei attended by aboriginal community leaders,” President Tsai said that “although Taiwan had made efforts to end discrimination against hundreds of thousands of indigenous people, a formal apology was necessary.” Since 1996 she is the second president from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). According to 16 January 2016 *BBC News*, President Tsai Ing-wen’s “father was Hakka, her mother Minnan (Hoklo), and her paternal grandmother was from the Paiwan indigenous tribe” (Sui).

<sup>37</sup> Speaking of Taiwan-US relations, Mrs. Clinton “stresses that the US places a very high priority on Taiwan and hopes that China and Taiwan will be able to live in peace in the face of the US’ One China Policy. “We do not want to see Taiwan's independence or democracy threatened or destroyed, and we do not want to see Taiwan's economy suffer from unfair competition. Thus we continue to consider Taiwan one of our highest priorities”(Taiwan News).

Although my project is mainly about Taiwanese indigenous peoples and their resistance rhetorics against colonial powers, I also mean to show why Taiwan's history matters in the context of major imperialistic nations that seek to conquer Taiwan and other small countries around the world—not to mention even smaller Taiwanese indigenous nations. As a case in point, today, the parallel between Taiwan and Ukraine as Communist China and Russia have plotted to invade both small countries respectively cannot be ignored by the world. Not only small Asian and European democratic countries, but perhaps even large countries like the United States, are safe from wars when we allow ourselves to disregard the expansion of invading countries and their authoritarian rules. Native Taiwanese and Aborigines have learned to co-exist and resist colonizers and their authoritarian rules for centuries. In this section, I have presented indigenous cases where the Japanese and Chinese invented, false national (master) narratives in literature and academic research with ill-intentions to stifle, deceive and silence those victims of oppression so that they cannot tell their stories and speak the truth. In other words, the Musha Incident, 2-28 Incident and White Terror cannot be treated as isolated events which have affected the whole nation and other oppressed, marginalized ethnic groups because native Taiwanese and indigenous peoples' identities, ethnicities and representations matter in their lives. The people of Taiwan have no illusion that forced unification with China under its authoritarian rule is no more than another stage of forced colonization for both native Taiwanese and indigenous peoples. From this perspective, I will present three case studies in Chapter Three and the subsequent chapters to show how Taiwanese indigenous peoples have rhetorically resisted colonial powers in the last one hundred years in my dissertation.

## **Review of Literature**

This literature review is composed of three sections: (1) Studies of Indigenous Taiwanese Rhetorics of Resistance, (2) Trans-indigenous Scholarship on Resistance Rhetorics and Representation, and (3) Scholarship on the Specific film(s) and Related Texts to Be Analyzed. It begins with situating Taiwanese resistance rhetorics and Taiwanese indigeneity in indigenous literary works by both indigenous and non-indigenous writers and representations. It then discusses different critical perspectives of indigenous studies, indigenous resistance rhetorics, and representations. Finally, it is concerned with the analysis of representative Taiwanese indigenous literary works in my research project.

### **1) The Representation of Taiwanese Indigenous Resistance**

Much of the scholarship that is relevant to my study engages with one of the most important events—the 1930 Musha Incident. In 1999, a well-known literary writer from Taiwan, Chen Guocheng 陳國城 (whose pen name is Wu He or Dancing Crane 舞鶴), published an unusual, seemingly autobiographical novel titled *Remains of Life* (餘生). A non-indigenous author, Wu He investigated the traumatic history of the Musha Incident that had been silenced during Japanese and the KMT's rule, while living in a Seediq village where he learned Seediq oral narratives about the Musha Incident. Wu He's account of the Musha Incident predates the national narrative of the 2-28 and the White Terror, and seems to have set the stage for a burgeoning of Taiwanese indigenous work on the Seediq people and their 1930 resistance against Japanese colonial oppression.

Studies of Wu He's novel have raised questions about the definition and representation of Taiwanese identity and indigeneity, as both native Taiwanese and Taiwanese indigenous peoples seek to redefine their new identities against the unitary Chinese identity forced on them by the KMT's authoritarian regime. Key aspects of this redefinition of indigenous identities have been the move from land-based to an ocean-based sense of indigenous space, and an expanded vision from a local to a global perspective on indigeneity.

Wu He's *Remains of Life* describes the Seediq resistance to the Japanese colonial rule in the Musha Incident and the Seediq survivors living in their exiled reservation called Kawanakajima (川中島 in Japanese); later, the KMT government changed the name of the reservation to 清流部落 (Chinese pronunciation – Qingliu) though the Seediq people call it Alang Gluban today.<sup>38</sup> *Remains of Life* broke the silence about the Musha Incident after the martial law was lifted, and after Taiwan became a democratic country in 1996. Wu He turned his ethnographic work in the Seediq village and his investigation of the Musha Incident into a novel. Wu He began the idea of his novel in 1997 while roaming about Qingliu village where visited a small monument, named Remains of Life, commemorating the Seediq deaths and survivors after the Musha Incident. To learn about the incident, he moved to Alang Gluban and lived there in the midst of the Seediq people in 1997 and 1998 to conduct research into the Musha Incident (*Dancing Crane Interview*).<sup>39</sup> Wu He's novel resists the singular voice and rhetoric of a

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<sup>38</sup> Google Maps translates 清流部落 as Qingliu Tribe, which is incorrect since such a “tribe” does not exist. The pronunciation Qingliu for the first two Chinese characters 清流 probably refers to the clear water running in the river which became a name for the tribal village – Alang Gluban.

<sup>39</sup> In 1999 it took only two months for Wu He to complete the manuscript of the novel. He said that *Remains of Life* is the only work that he has not revised, and that he is reluctant to look back even if there is an error on a word or a number of a year he made (*Dancing Crane Interview*). Nevertheless, the novel has

national, colonial language and speaks the voices of those marginalized indigenous people who have been silenced. An English translation was published as *Remains of Life* in 2017, seventeen years after Wu He's novel was first published: the long time that it took for Wu He's novel to reach English reading audiences probably owes much to Wu He's literary style, which poses a challenge even in the original language. The literary critic Bradley Winterton observed in 2017 that "I wasn't that surprised to read that Michael Berry took over 10 years to complete" his English translation because "reading it didn't give me much pleasure," and even Berry himself has admitted that Wu He's novel is "a difficult text" (*Taipei Times*). Chris Littlewood comments that "it is a torrent of text, written as a single, uninterrupted paragraph, with a smattering of full stops. The distended sentences, the heavy presence of the author, the turbid mix of fact and fiction, and the obsession with historical memory and trauma" (*TLS*). If book reviewers are concerned about seeing "a single, uninterrupted paragraph" and gaining "pleasure" in the novel, it may not be Wu He's only goal to do just that. Notwithstanding his unusual literary language, the reader notices that the historical memory and trauma of the Musha Incident predated that of the 2-28 Incident and the White Terror, which has begun to surface and has broken its silence in his novel. He reminds the world that the story of the Seediq people who once resisted the Japanese oppression has not been forgotten.

Wu He's novel reminds the reader that Japanese colonizers treated all Taiwanese aborigines as "wild savages," a stigma that is perhaps yet to be removed even today. In response to Wu He's novel, Winterton points out the history concerning what had

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received many literary awards since its publication, and a French translation appeared as *Les Survivants* in 2011, and an English translation was published as *Remains of Life* in 2017, seventeen years after Wu He's novel was first published.

happened four years before the Musha Incident took place: “Then, in 1926, the Atayal (tribe) handed over 1,319 rifles and 8,086 bullets to the authorities. Clearly the advice of one of the first Japanese to set foot on Taiwan was being followed: ‘If you want to colonize the island of Taiwan,’ he’d said, ‘you must first tame the wild savages’” (*Taipei Times*). The Seediq people must have handed over their rifles and bullets to the Japanese colonial authorities because they were then still part (a clan) of the Atayal tribe according to the Japanese way of categorizing the two tribes. Although the Japanese colonizers confiscated the Seediq people’s rifles and bullets, the latter did not stop resisting the Japanese oppression and tyranny of their new slave masters.

Wu He’s deconstruction of the dominant language system suggests an emerging presence of the long, suppressed heteroglossia that represents many Taiwanese and indigenous voices that were finally allowed to talk about the truth and history of the Musha Incident after the martial law was lifted.<sup>40</sup> In “Remapping the Ethno-Scape of Taiwan: Representation of Violence in Dancing Crane’s *Remains of Life*,” Chia-rong Wu explores the rhetoric of indigenous resistance in terms of “how violence is represented textually and psychologically in Dancing Crane’s heterogeneous writing through a close reading of *Remains of Life*” (37). Wu notes that through the narrator in the novel, an outsider, who visits the declining tribe of the Seediq aborigines in search for the truth of Musha Incident, Dancing Crane uses “disorderly language and structure” in an effort to “deconstruct the dominant linguistic system and writing politics,” and that “the breakdown” of his written language “echoes the heterogeneity of aborigines” (37-38).

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<sup>40</sup> I notice that Western scholars like to address the author as Wu He whereas Taiwanese scholars and readers call him Dancing Crane (舞鶴). This is probably because a two-character Chinese penname is more common in the Chinese language and literary culture; especially, the figurative animal name may have a special meaning in this context.

Dancing Crane argues, as Wu translates, that “Taiwanese have no sense of history, while tribesmen are even more short-sighted. [...] During the period of anti-assimilation in the 1900s, the [aborigines’] assimilation [to the Han people] is the fastest” (187). In short, Wu says, “the aborigines are losing their consciousness of ethnic identity and memories of the historical facts” (40).<sup>41</sup> To recollect the painful memories of the history and tell the stories about the trauma can be a difficult, re-awakening process, and it takes collective efforts to put the broken pieces of indigenous consciousness together. As Wu observes, “To recapture the historical trauma and the Atayals’ remains of lives, Dancing Crane makes use of the technique of polyphony, a term coined by Mikhail Bakhtin, claiming that the multiple voices from different social strata interact with one another in the fictional world” (46). The tragic Musha Incident cannot be treated as an isolated event that matters no more than the Seediq and Atayal peoples because it is symbolic to both indigenous and Taiwanese people that whenever a foreign, imperialistic, authoritarian power invades and colonizes Taiwan, it not only affects everyone on the island nation but they also share Taiwanese indigenous resistance rhetorics against colonial authorities. For Wu, “It is legitimate to label Taiwan as cross-cultural and multi-lingual, but we keep in mind that Taiwan’s cultural hybridity can never be divided equally” (40).<sup>42</sup> There are indeed many ethnic and indigenous groups of people, linguistic and cultural voices in Taiwan.

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<sup>41</sup> Wu says, “The pride and dignity of these aboriginal martyrs have suffered a catastrophic decline due to the military governance during the Japanese colonization and the cultural impact under the KMT regime” (40).

<sup>42</sup> Wu argues that “the cross-cultural quality of Taiwan represents the overarching power people in plains who indeed cross the cultural boundaries and assimilate minor ethnic groups like aborigines. In other words, the word cross-culture associated with the aborigines’ assimilation” (40).



Although the Seediq people do not represent all indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the Musha Incident characterizes a Taiwanese indigenous identity and resistance against colonial powers like Japanese and Chinese colonial authorities, and it raises the question of what it means to be a Taiwanese indigenous people. In “The Production of Indigeneity: Contemporary Indigenous Literature in Taiwan and Trans-Cultural Inheritance,” Kuei-fen Chiu examines how the production of indigeneity in Taiwan involves both “inscription of resistance from indigenous people” and “strategic exploitations of transnational legacies by different social groups” through “the case study of Syaman Rapongan,” a Taiwanese indigenous writer known for the ethnographic portrayal of his tribal culture. Chiu argues that “the question of Taiwanese indigeneity” is not only about “indigenous self-representation” in terms of claiming “the subject position of the indigenous people and seeking to restore declining, oppressed indigenous cultural heritages,” but also about the need “to go beyond the familiar scheme of binary opposition to deal with the complexity of the question of indigeneity” (1071). Chiu’s concern about the question of indigenous identity in relation to Taiwanese identity suggests a transnational rather than binary approach to looking into the issues of the definition and authenticity of Taiwan’s indigeneity, cultures and its literary representation of it.

Preserving indigenous ways of life through a colonial language was an important means of keeping the oral tradition while resisting forced colonization—a dynamic that, as Simon Ortiz recognizes, is central to indigenous writing traditions. However, Chiu suggests that an indigenous way of life cannot be replaced by the Chinese way of life through a cultural translation of the dominant language like Chinese or Japanese, even

though many Taiwanese indigenous languages have become either endangered or extinct today.<sup>43</sup> Under the KMT government's language policy, before the birth of Taiwan's democracy, indigenous peoples were not allowed to use their indigenous names except their official Chinese names in Taiwan.<sup>44</sup> Chiu observes that the first-person pronoun "I" "acts as a cultural translation, mediating between tribal culture and the dominant Chinese culture. Since indigenous writers often pose as translators and tribal spokespersons, they are expected to possess authentic knowledge of their tribal culture" (1074-75). From the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, she argues, the Taiwanese nativist movement "turned to indigenous culture for its quest for 'genuine' Taiwanese identity. The reclaiming of indigenous identity in indigenous literary discourse, particularly in the way mapped out by Rapongan in his literary creation, converges with the Taiwanese reclaiming of native roots in the forging of a Taiwanese identity" (Chiu 1072-73).<sup>45</sup> Although Taiwanese indigenous writers like Rapongan generally produce their literary works in Chinese, Chiu notices that they use the autobiographical "I" as "a gesture of affirming the subject position of the indigenous writer" that "may explain why prose essays constitute the largest corpus of indigenous Chinese-language creative writing" (1073). In the formation of Taiwanese indigeneity, Chiu sees a close relationship between Taiwanese identity and indigenous identity, and both ethnic identities unavoidably have to deal with the issue of Taiwanese sovereignty and nationality.

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<sup>43</sup> Chiu says, "To challenge the hegemonic domination of the Chinese language, it is important to stress the un-assimilable indigenous otherness even if the writer is forced to use Chinese in writing" (1075).

<sup>44</sup> Simon points out, "After 1945, the imposition of Chinese surnames and household registration according to surnames also reinforced a patrilineal logic of relatedness to the detriment of more flexible ritual groups" ("Negotiating Power" 729).

<sup>45</sup> According to Chiu, "The year 1984 is commonly identified as a landmark in the history of indigenous literature in Taiwan," and "indigenous literary production in Chinese has increased steadily, particularly after the lifting of martial law in 1987" (1073).

Geographically, is Taiwan a sovereign country or is it still part of China as the KMT or the CCP claims today? What do Taiwanese indigenous peoples think and define themselves if they have the voice to say who they are? For centuries, imperialistic nations or colonizers have seen Taiwan as an “unsettling” island as if it does not have its own sovereignty, and therefore it is up for grabs through violence or war. Not only do they compete and conquer the island but give their political definitions of identity to the colonized—the Taiwanese and aborigines—by creating and changing their master-slave narratives. In “Savage Construction and Civility Making: Japanese Colonialism and Taiwanese Aboriginal Representation,” Leo Ching sees “two popular representations of aborigines from the 1910s and the 1930s, ‘The Story of Gohō’ (Wu Feng) and ‘The Bell of Sayon’ respectively that best delineate this shift from natural savages to national subjects” (797).<sup>46</sup> The question is: Are all Taiwanese and indigenous peoples Chinese or Japanese as far as the colonizers’ master narratives are concerned? In master narratives from before 1885, during Qing Dynasty’s rule, all people of Taiwan were Chinese subjects, whereas after 1885, all people of Taiwan were Japanese subjects. Chiu argues that “the implicit competition of Japanese and Chinese legacies in the shaping of the Taiwanese new identity discourse testifies to the politics of ‘invented tradition’” (1078).<sup>47</sup> Such “invented traditions” often go against Taiwanese rhetoric of resistance, especially

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<sup>46</sup> Ching says, “Gohō” is the Japanese adaptation of a Chinese folktale that narrates the benevolence and self-sacrifice of Gohō, a Ch’ing (Qing) official who supposedly convinced the aborigines to give up their head-hunting practices. “Sayon” is a colonial dramatization and commemoration of an aboriginal girl, Sayon, who drowned in a torrent while shouldering luggage for a Japanese draftee” (797). The story of Gohō refers to the Chinese legend of Wu Feng which appeared in textbooks and was taught at school in Taiwan for many years until the Taiwanese government abandoned it recently.

<sup>47</sup> Chiu does not refer “invented tradition” to Eric Hobsbawm, who coins the phrase in *The Invention of Tradition* and defines it as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (1). In my view, Hobsbawm’s definition of “invented tradition” applies in this context.

indigenous oral tradition, languages and cultures. Additionally, today, the majority of Taiwanese people do not think that Taiwan is part of China because in reality it is already an independent, democratic country.

By the end of the twentieth century, more and more Taiwanese and indigenous literary scholars have seen a thread of hope for democracy and had a new vision of Taiwan. They have contributed to the making of a new image of Taiwan as a sovereign country of the ocean, and appropriated “the Austronesian heritage of Taiwan’s aborigines to construct a ‘New Taiwan’ identity. They relate the question of Taiwanese indigeneity to Taiwan’s national discourse, which is based on oceanic linkage so as to sever Taiwan’s historical and cultural connections to the Chinese Mainland” (Huang 4-5). Huang seems to emphasize the importance of Taiwan as an island nation that is surrounded by the ocean but not geographically connected to the land of Communist China. Politically, the new identity is not an isolated, closed authoritarian Taiwan which the Chinese Nationalist government used to run with iron fist and the martial law but an open, democratic and oceanic country reaching out to the world and seeking to join global communities and participate in meaningful international activities.

Just as the Taiwanese resisted the imposition of colonial rule and identity, Taiwanese indigenous people have wielded a form of indigenous rhetoric of resistance by re-defining their own identities against those imposed by Chinese and Japanese rule. According to Chiu, in 1998 “a new Taiwanese cultural imagery was just coming into shape. This re-conceptualized Taiwan as ‘a country of the ocean,’ as compared with China, ‘a country of the vast land.’ In this new discourse, the notion of “ocean” is taken to signify open-ness and an extroverted attitude towards cultural interchanges, whereas

land denotes an introvert imagination that stresses agrarian rootedness” (1076). This new cultural concept that Taiwan is a “country of the ocean” has found its rhetorical expression of resistance and representation through the literary works of Syaman Rapongan, a celebrated indigenous scholar described as “a writer of the sea.”<sup>48</sup> Rapongan belongs to the Yami or Tau (Tao) people who inhabit on Lanyu (Orchid Island), a mountainous, volcanic island which is part of Taiwan. Located off the southeastern coast of Taiwan, Lanyu would appear like a mirror image of Taiwan, an island nation as well. However, “while both political parties (the KMT and DPP) participate in the propagation of the idea of Taiwan as a country of the ocean, they draw upon different historical legacies and therefore give their discourse very different significations” (1078). In the representation and production of Taiwanese indigeneity, the indigenous rhetorics of resistance does not always necessarily agree with Taiwanese rhetorics of resistance against Chinese or Japanese colonial legacies, because politically they may resist either the KMT or DPP government’s policies that harm their interest and environment (land) and affect their way of life.

From a transnationalist perspective, my discussion of Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization emphasizes the relationship between the representation of Taiwanese indigenous literature and other (global) traditions. For example, in “Indigenous Taiwan as Location of Native American and Indigenous Studies,” Hsinya Huang explores Rapongan’s work to examine indigenous formations across “national and international boundaries in the study of transnational ethnic and

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<sup>48</sup> Chiu says, Rapongan’s *Smitten with the Ruthless Sea* “is now commonly recognized as one of the most representative works of Taiwan’s “oceanic literature.” ... To pit Taiwanese culture against Chinese culture in this way is to suggest that they have few similarities. It therefore lays the groundwork for a cultural formulation of Taiwan as a country different from China” (1076).

Indigenous literature,” drawing on Tongan writer Epeli Hau’ofam and oceanic literary work (3-4). In the 1980s, as a Taiwanese indigenous scholar and environmentalist, Rapongan “participated in the Aboriginal demonstrations, of which the most significant was the Tau-led protest against the storage of nuclear waste on his “sacred land” Lanyu (Huang 4). The Tau aborigines found out later that the KMT government lied and told them that the dangerous nuclear waste storage was a fish cannery.<sup>49</sup> From “an oceanic perspective to balance continental ways of thinking that dominate(d) the Western canon of ethnic and Indigenous scholarship,” Huang argues that “In response to the nativist approaches to Chinese imperialism, Rapongan calls for de-Sinicization and recuperates Indigenous cultural traditions and histories” (5). Rapongan’s indigenous rhetoric of resistance against the dishonest, unjust practice of the KMT government certainly deserves the attention of the public and severe censure.

Similarly, Chiu argues that “in their attempts to re-define Taiwan through a re-orientation of geographical and historical imagination, the pro-independence, de-Sinicization camp highlights the rich indigenous cultural heritage in the formation of Taiwanese society, in addition to the implicit exploitation of the Japanese colonial legacy of Meiji discourse” (1078). In comparison with land-based Native American literature, citing Chadwick Allen’s trans-indigenous idea of comparative indigenous studies, Huang argues that “the narrative put forth in Rapongan’s work provides an outstanding model of indigenous resistance against (Western) colonial imposition of human reason, values, and

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<sup>49</sup>According to Carmen Roberts’s 2011 *BBC* news report, “In the early 1980s, villagers were told it would be a fish cannery. In 1988, Mr. Rapongan helped rally the support of the six tribes on the island to protest against the nuclear waste.” Angry about the nuclear waste issue that matters the ownership and the ecological environment on the island, Rapongan said in the *BBC* interview, “We see it as an ethnic problem because (previously) the Taiwan government didn’t care about the Tao people, but when we began to protest, they began to think about our problem” (Roberts).

worldviews” (7). In Taiwanese indigenous studies, Huang attempts to differentiate between continental literature and oceanic literature as Rapongan’s oceanic work has become one of the representative Taiwanese and indigenous voices in Taiwan’s transnational vision for his land, the country and the world.

In conclusion, contemporary works of Taiwanese and indigenous literature have engaged the problem of Chinese and Japanese colonizers’ forced identities and redefine Taiwanese indigeneity against forced colonization. They break the silence of the Seediq people who have first-hand knowledge about the historical event of the Musha Incident, and give voice to Seediq history, passing on stories handed down from generation to generation according to their oral tradition—stories about the Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese oppression. Wu He deconstructs the dominant Chinese language system to liberate the suppressed heteroglossia that represents many Taiwanese and indigenous voices, and highlighted their inhumane treatment by Japanese and Chinese colonizers who branded Taiwanese aborigines as “savages”—a pre-text for their oppressive assimilation policies and “civilization.” As a non-indigenous author, Wu He lends support to the newly evolving Taiwanese indigenous literature after the birth of democracy in Taiwan. Rapongan’s literary representation of his Tau people similarly redefines indigenous identities against those enforced by Chinese rule. According to Simon Ortiz, indigenous people have always adopted colonial languages in order to continue their own cultural resistance on their own terms, and Rapongan’s writing in Chinese does not compromise the authenticity of his voice, and his use of the autobiographical “I” affirms his subject-position as an indigenous writer. From a transnationalist perspective, Rapongan’s oceanic works give a new vision not only for his

Tau people on the Orchid Island but also for the Taiwanese generally—a tiny island separated from the island of Taiwan, also separated from Mainland China. Thus, Taiwanese diverse ethnic, indigenous groups seek to represent, redefine their identities and situate indigenous literature and Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced Chinese identity and unification.

## **2) Scholarship on Indigenous Studies, Rhetorics of Resistance, and Their Representations**

Throughout this project, I define Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance as a multi-voiced discourse of the oral tradition in a global context, drawing on Simon Ortiz's notion that indigenous literatures express a nationalist character that is rooted in anticolonial resistance. Ortiz's reading of this nationalist tradition in indigenous writing has made a defining contribution to the field of Native American literary studies, in which the literary representation is closely linked to the representation of indigenous peoplehood and political sovereignty. Yet other scholars of indigenous writing have placed emphasis on indigenous nationalism in the context of indigenous transnationalism, and have emphasized the need for comparative approaches to different indigenous literatures from around the world. For instance, Chadwick Allen writes that "the commonsense definition of literary comparison is a practice of reading that culminates in a statement of similarities and differences, a balanced list of same and its mirrored other, not same, the familiar "compare and contrast" ending in "like" and "unlike" (xiii). Likewise, I argue that comparison of Taiwanese indigenous studies is a practice of reading that culminates in a statement of similarities and differences, and such



comparison helps my research project identify and define Taiwanese indigenous resistance rhetorics—that is, by comparison, an individual Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance from each tribe or nation is distinct in its own right.<sup>50</sup>

This section presents some key American indigenous scholars with different critical perspectives, including but not limited to the issue of indigenous identity and authenticity for the representations of Native American studies. Scholars of Indigenous studies have articulated different views on the issue of authors' positionality in the representation of indigenous people in literature, as produced by indigenous or non-indigenous authors. Some indigenous scholars advocate autonomy for Native American studies governed by indigenous faculty because academic research and indigenous literary studies do not reflect the reality of colonial oppression and marginalized indigenous groups. In an essay on the development of Native American studies as an academic discipline, the Crow Creek Sioux scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn takes an indigenous nationalist perspective to criticize the treatment of Native people in ethnographic research, the treatment of Indian faculty as “tokens,” and postcolonial interpretation (analysis) that has nothing to do with “independence or actual destruction of oppressive colonial systems” (10-14). Cook-Lynn prefers “autonomy” or self-governing for Native American studies and says that without it, disciplinary strategies in the studies are “doomed, marginalized, dominated and coopted” (13). In this reading, it seems that non-indigenous scholars' works are not “authentic” enough due to the fact that they cannot claim an indigenous identity.

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<sup>50</sup> For example, indigenous or non-indigenous authors, Syaman Rapongan and Wu He, whose literary works represent different indigenous tribes, the Tau people and the Seediq people in Taiwan, demonstrate different Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization respectively.

In a reflection on Native American studies, however, the American literary scholar Arnold Krupat addresses the three reigning critical perspectives within indigenous literature studies, which he terms “nationalism” (which centers the concept of indigenous peoplehood and political sovereignty); “indigenism” (which centers indigenous people’s relationship to the land, the natural world, and “non-Western” belief systems); and “cosmopolitanism” (which centers indigenous people’s profound connections to broader global cultural and intellectual traditions, political movements, and social groups). Krupat, who identifies as a non-Native scholar, argues that these three perspectives “are all overlapping and interlinked so that each can only achieve its full coherence and effectiveness in relation to the others.” For Krupat, “all three positions may be enlisted for the project of an anticolonial criticism, as all three may also operate to reproduce colonial dominance under other names” (1). Krupat suggests that the embrace of a cosmopolitanist perspective is the best path for indigenous studies and anticolonial criticism, as it can easily encompass all three perspectives. Krupat also argues that “at the most basic level, cosmopolitan perspectives on Native American literatures read them in relation to other minority or subaltern literatures elsewhere in the late-colonial or postcolonial world; cosmopolitan criticism must always in some degree be comparative” (19). I draw on Krupat’s three critical perspectives to examine Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics, because some Taiwanese indigenous peoples have more connections and interactions with other indigenous and non-indigenous groups—both in Taiwan and internationally—and their self-representations occupy a rhetorical space that ranges from local indigenous communities to national and global publics.

The literary scholar Jace Weaver comments on the relation between, on the one hand, the centering of nationalist perspectives in indigenous studies and, on the other hand, the need for cosmopolitanist scholarship in the field:

In the debates of the last twenty years, I have been identified, both by others and self-affirmation, as a nationalist. Yet in 2014, in *The Red Atlantic*, I took what some regarded as a hard cosmopolitan turn. It would, of course, be both futile and silly to argue that things were no different for the indigenous peoples of the Americas after the Columbus event, as those indigenes became imbricated with European peoples, economies, and ideas. (xii)<sup>51</sup>

In *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (2010), Scott Richard Lyons, too, notes that Krupat's notion of "indigenous cosmopolitanism" is helpful because it "considers the tribe and the world in close proximity to and intimate relationship with each other" (xii). As far as the representation of Native American studies is concerned, Lyons pushes back against a form of traditionalism that posits easy binaries between indigenous and non-indigenous people, which thrive on a distinction between the indigenous "traditional" world and the western "modern" world. Lyons points out that "the most problematic aspect of a modern / traditional distinction is of course, its binary-oppositional character: that is, those things we identify as modern can often be discovered in what we call the traditional, and vice versa." For Lyons, "everything is relative and exists on a continuum that does not carve neatly into two separate and oppositional wholes," and that "we need a way to characterize the dramatic changes of life that treaties authorized and initiated. The language used to be savage/civilized, but it never served us well and won't be

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<sup>51</sup> Lyons adds, "What my critics among my erstwhile nationalist allies failed to understand is that transnationalism is a capacious enough umbrella to shade both nationalists and cosmopolitans alike" (xii).

revisited anytime soon” (*X-marks* 10).<sup>52</sup> Lyons takes issue with traditionalists whose “surrender to tradition entails a betrayal of something else that is good,” which is “where problems can emerge in traditionalist discourse” (11). Instead of maintaining the status quo and keeping tradition for the sake of keeping it, Lyons allows changes to take place for the development of Native American studies, being flexible and practical when indigenous resistance rhetorics and their representations of indigenous studies become stagnant and exclusive of other perspectives.

Chadwick Allen takes a different approach to doing comparative studies on works of literature from different indigenous context traditions in *Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies*. Explaining his concept of a trans-Indigenous methodology for doing comparative indigenous studies, Allen writes that “[t]he point is not to displace the necessary, invigorating study of specific traditions and contexts but rather to complement these by augmenting and expanding broader, globally Indigenous fields of inquiry” (xiv).<sup>53</sup> This is an important point that should be taken with care: namely, we should avoid generalizing or stereotyping any groups around the world, and to prevent the scholarly marginalization of indigenous from groups that are less visible than US-based Indigenous nations, such as indigenous peoples in Taiwan. In his 2014 presidential address to the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA), Allen emphasizes the need for efforts by indigenous peoples to show support for each other globally, creating rhetorical space and opportunities for different groups of

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<sup>52</sup> Lyons explains, “Nativists, or what we will call traditionalists, seek to undo the grim legacies of history by proclaiming the primacy of traditionalism; in so doing, they sometimes engage in battle with a revivalism that no longer exists” (*X-mark* 10).

<sup>53</sup> Allen says: “The point is to invite specific studies into different kinds of conversations, and to acknowledge the mobility and multiple interactions of Indigenous peoples, cultures, histories, and texts. Similar to terms like *translation*, *transnational*, and *transform*, *trans-Indigenous* may be able to bear the complex, contingent asymmetry and the potential risks of unequal encounters borne by the preposition across” (xiv).

indigenous peoples to tell their stories, and giving voices to different rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization in order to raise international awareness of human rights issues. The field of Native American and Indigenous studies seems to have followed this path. In June 2019, a historic NAISA conference was held and hosted by the University of Waikato in New Zealand, which turned out to be “a record breaking meeting for Indigenous scholars from around the world” (“Waikato”).<sup>54</sup> Noticeably, Taiwanese indigenous representatives were allowed to attend the 2019 NAISA conference, despite the fact that for years Taiwan has been excluded from international meetings and organizations, and that its existence has been limited in international space due to One-China policy. In this respect, it is important to note that in 1996 the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP), formerly known as the Council of Aboriginal Affairs, was established in Taiwan, and it is part of the executive branch of the Taiwanese government, the same year when Taiwan’s democracy was born.<sup>55</sup>

The scholarship on three different critical perspectives and comparative indigenous studies help my project set up my analysis and argument of Taiwanese rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization and create more rhetorical space, give voices to different indigenous peoples in Taiwan to tell their stories according to their oral traditions, and position themselves in different world views from a local to a global

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<sup>54</sup> The 2019 NAISA conference “attracted a record 1,872 registrations from many different countries including the US, Canada, Hawai’i, Taiwan, Australia, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Mexico, Chile, Peru and Aotearoa/New Zealand.” The record of the conference is posted at <https://claudelands.co.nz/spaces/news/waikato-hosts-record-breaking-indigenous-scholars-conference/>.

<sup>55</sup> According to the Taiwanese government’s policy, in 2002, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs was renamed as “the Council of Indigenous Peoples” whose “organizational structure was revised to include the Planning, Education and Culture, Health and Welfare, Economic and Public Construction and Land Management departments.” See the website of the Council of Indigenous Peoples at <https://www.cip.gov.tw/en/menu/data-list/D6CE6A4C9BFCEEEA-info.html?cumid=D6CE6A4C9BFCEEEA>.

stage. The three critical perspectives represented by Cook-Lynn, Krupat and Lyons also point to different positions on indigenous literary works by either indigenous or non-indigenous authors, offering a critical framework to examine indigenous identities, representations, and rhetorics of resistance in Taiwanese indigenous literary studies. I use Chadwick Allen's methods on broadening Indigenous field of inquiry into Taiwanese indigenous tribes by presenting case studies on the Seediq, Tsou, and Atayal tribes, to illustrate three different Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization. I will conduct comparative indigenous studies by using Allen's approach to purposefully juxtaposing different indigenous texts and look for indigenous symbols and signs for analysis, arguments, and meanings.

### **3) Scholarship on the Specific film(s) and Related Texts to Be Analyzed**

While exploring and considering representative Taiwanese indigenous literary texts and films to analyze for rhetorics of resistance to Chinese and Japanese colonial rule, I do not rule out the possibility of choosing any works by indigenous writers or artists, because their literary texts or personal stories written in indigenous languages can best represent who they are and speak for themselves, in their own marginalized voices. However, not many Taiwanese indigenous writers have found their marginalized voices heard through scholarly or literary works. As Chiu explains, "it is important to note that very few indigenous writers write exclusively in their tribal languages. This is not simply because these languages have no written inscription systems. Another important reason is that it would strictly limit the readership – to no more than a few dozen in some cases" (1074). Although there are sixteen officially recognized Taiwanese indigenous tribes, it

does not mean that each tribe has its own representative writer. Chiu also points out that about twenty indigenous people “can be defined as writers in loose terms if by ‘writer’ is meant someone who has the experience of literary creation and literary publication,” and that Rapongan is a case in point (1072). Born in 1957, Rapongan must historically have experienced the martial law under the KMT regime’s authoritarian rule though he did not live through the Japanese colonial rule that took place between 1895 and 1945. Japanese-educated indigenous intellectuals like Uyongu Yatauyungana, an educator and musician from the Tsou tribe, were persecuted by the KMT government during the period of the 2-28 Incident and White Terror, which prevented Seediq survivors from telling their own stories through literary publication. Instead, the few noticeable cultural productions about these incidents—such as Wu He’s novel *Remains of Life* and the Wei Te-Sheng’s film *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*—were both made by artists who are not indigenous themselves.

It is not the main aim of my research project to study indigenous rhetoric of resistance to Japanese colonial rule and discuss violence or uprisings; however, it would be rather pretentious to assume that most of Taiwanese and indigenous historical resistance to colonialism was just peaceful protest or passive resistance against oppressive authorities whenever a colonial power invaded Taiwan, while comparing the colonial histories of the West and many other countries around the globe. It is said that there were numerous, if not hundreds, of uprisings in Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty’s colonial rule depicted as “every three years an uprising, every five years a rebellion” (三年一反, 五年一亂), whereas there were about several uprisings during the Japanese colonial rule (Skoggard 10). The constant colonial uprisings suggest that the people of

Taiwan resisted any colonial, authoritarian rules. For instance, Nadin Heé mentions “the Beipu, Tuku [Truku], Tapani, or Musha uprisings, which actors of the colonial state then violently suppressed and followed with physical punishment” when “colonized subjects instigated cases of armed resistance” (633). Both Taiwanese and indigenous people were unjustly treated and oppressed by the same colonial slave masters from different countries. Heé says, “We have to take into account that the entire Taiwanese population by no means responded “passively” or “submissively” to the “civilizing” measures, arguing that “in order to critically look at the narrative of progress associated with the Japanese colony of Taiwan, which relies on theories of modernization and typically sings the praises of the civilizational feats of Japanese colonial rule, it is necessary to acknowledge violence” (633).<sup>56</sup>

The stories about the Musha Incident during Japanese colonial rule, though silenced during the martial law, have resurfaced through Taiwanese and indigenous people’s collective memories, voices and the key literary (artistic) works such as Wu He’s *Remains of Life* (1999) in Chinese (English translation in 2017 by Michael Berry), Chiu Ruo-lung’s documentary film *Gaya* (1999) and the graphic novel, *Seediq Bale* (first Chinese edition in 1990; latest ed. in 2011; Japanese ed. in 1993; French in 2013) that contribute to the making of the popular film, *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (2011) directed by Wei Te-Sheng. Wei had been inspired by Chiu’s indigenous works years ago before writing his script and making the film; both artists are not Taiwanese indigenes, not necessarily representing the Seediq people and creating their art works for profit but for the goal of informing and educating the public, and for humanity.

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<sup>56</sup> Heé says: “The Japanese colonizers legitimized the use of violence against the colonized population within the framework of colonial legislation and considered the introduction of a “civilized” legal system on the island to be a central component of their civilizing program” (633).



Consequently, the success of the film has brought both local and international fame to both artists though Wei had encountered many funding and personal financial difficulties in the process of making his film. The film's dialogue is both in Japanese and Seediq, which suggests that Wei and the film's producers wanted it to sound like the "real" people in history. The majority of the cast are not Seediq, and although some actors and actresses are from Atayal tribe, they needed a Seediq language teacher to coach them when rehearsing their lines. For example, Nolay Piho (林慶台, Lin Ching-tai) who plays the protagonist, Mona Rudao, is an Atayal member though he does not really speak Seediq. In real life, he is actually a Presbyterian Church preacher. Nevertheless, Wei had to convince his investors that his indigenous film would be a success after its production. He was encouraged to make another film first, *Cape No. 7*, to prove his ability, and the film turned out to be a big success. Eventually, Wei was able to gain continuous support from his investors and used the profit he made from *Cape No. 7* to finish *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*, which is by far the most expensive film ever produced in Taiwan.

This body of scholarship on Taiwanese indigenous literary studies and Native American literary studies—especially Taiwanese indigenous works on the Seediq people and the Musha Incident—highlight the imposition of forced identities on Taiwanese (indigenous) people by colonial rule, and how new representations of Taiwanese identity and indigeneity challenged this colonial legacy. Because of the political crisis Taiwan faces today and the on-going threat of its invasion from Communist China, Taiwanese and Taiwanese indigenous peoples gain from a transnationalist outlook as global citizens while continuing their indigenous rhetorics of resistance against imperial China's political and military aggression and forced unification, to safeguard their existence and

participation of international activities on the global stage. For different Formosan tribes, my analysis of Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance attends to the identities, multi-voiced representations, story-telling, and meaning making that are expressed in indigenous oral traditions and literature. A heteroglossic rhetorical framework is needed to analyze the relationship between indigenous narrative and rhetoric in textual, media, filmic, ritual (semiotic), graphic, and documentary forms. Doing so may not only contribute to the visibility of New Rhetoric scholarship and indigenous studies in the field of Rhetoric and Composition, but also help scholars connect Taiwanese indigenous studies and Native American studies as part of the ongoing project to expand our knowledge and understanding of indigenous literature, culture, and rhetoric around the world.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY OVERVIEW

In this dissertation I argue that Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR) is defined by a close relationship between language and forms of story-telling according to indigenous oral traditions. To analyze how TIRR surfaces in a range of texts, I draw on scholarship in Taiwanese (indigenous) literary studies, Native American studies, and rhetoric studies. To bridge these different fields, I use Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia and scholarship of the New Rhetoric movement to build my theoretical framework for the analysis of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance. Through the New Rhetoric, I establish the link between Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia and Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance, as far as persuasion, representation, meaning and rhetorical intentions (motives) are concerned.

A key contributor of the New Rhetoric, Kenneth Burke draws on Bakhtin's theory to place the idea of (literary) language, rhetoric, and narrative in social and political context. In *A Rhetoric of Motives* Burke draws on Bakhtin's "Discourse in the Novel," suggesting that there are multiple, different kinds of rhetoric and rhetorical devices and motives in speech and composition. Burke famously writes that "Wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. And wherever there is 'meaning,' there is 'persuasion'" as

he gives ample examples to illustrate his reasoning (172).<sup>57</sup> As Patricia Bizzell, Bruce Herzberg, and Robin Reames summarize, Burke observed that as people tend to “organize their speech into narratives containing agents who commit acts set within a certain scene,” they use stories not just to “report reality” but to “construct a view of it. And in constructing a view of reality, there is always an element of persuasion at play” (Bizzell et al. 56). From this perspective, too, the prominence of stories in Taiwanese indigenous traditions is a means of persuasion within a larger project of indigenous resistance, and we can read the representation of storytelling rhetorically. We can use both Burke’s theory of rhetoric and Bakhtin’s idea of heteroglossia to analyze and interpret literary language and narratives from many different perspectives and voices; each of the diverse Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance is unique and different in its own right.

While positioning my concept of Taiwanese rhetoric of resistance in the field of Rhetoric and Composition, I have thought about the question of whether rhetoric scholars view the New Rhetoric I adopt as a “theory” for the framework of my research project since it is grounded on literary language and narrative for persuasion. According to Patricia Bizzell, Bruce Herzberg, and Robin Reames, the New Rhetoric was a movement within the field of rhetoric studies, arguing that critics find the rhetoric movement in literary theory as well. However, this “rediscovered” rhetoric suggests that some time ago, it had gradually faded away, but now, it has come back to life. Meanwhile, it appears

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<sup>57</sup> Burke explains that “partly verbal, partly nonverbal kinds of rhetorical devices, the nonverbal element also persuades by reason of its symbolic character. Paper need not know the meaning of fire in order to burn. But in the ‘idea’ of fire there is a persuasive ingredient. By this route something of the rhetorical motive comes to lurk in every ‘meaning,’ however purely ‘scientific’ its pretensions. Wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. And wherever there is ‘meaning,’ there is ‘persuasion.’ Food, eaten and digested, is not rhetorical. But in the meaning of food there is much rhetoric, the meaning being persuasive enough for the idea of food to be used, like the ideas of religion, as a rhetorical device of statement” (172-73).

that my concern about whether narrative (story) should be seen as “theory” is clearly echoed by Malea Powell’s 2012 CCCC convention address to her audience, in which she begins by stating that “When I say ‘story,’ I mean ‘theory’ in the way that Lee Maracle tells it” (384).<sup>58</sup> By equating indigenous “story” with literary “theory,” Powell suggests that there is a close relationship, if not mediation, despite the binary opposition and struggle between European scholars’ view on “theory” and her indigenous concept of “story” as follows:

Among European scholars there is an alienated notion which maintains that theory is separate from story, and thus a different set of words are required to “prove” an idea rather than to “show” one. We [indigenous people] believe the proof of a thing or idea is in the doing. Doing requires some form of social interaction and thus, *story*, is the most persuasive and sensible way to present the accumulated thoughts and values of a people. . . . There is story in every line of theory. The difference between us [indigenous] and European scholars is that we admit this, and present theory through story (3, 7). (qtd.in Powell 384)

Here, I am not arguing that Powell and Maracle’s idea of “story” in contrast to European notion of “theory” agree with or similar to what I have discussed in the New Rhetoric for Native American studies. However, Maracle’s suggestion that “story” is “the most persuasive” way for indigenous people to express their thoughts and values deserves attention especially when we take the relationship between story and rhetoric into account

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<sup>58</sup> As discussed in my review of literature in Chapter One, not all indigenous or non-indigenous scholars who speak, write and publish indigenous works in Native American studies have the same critical perspectives when it comes to taking their rhetorical positions.

as Burke sees a close relationship between persuasion and rhetoric (or meaning) through narratives.

In *Narrative as Rhetoric*, James Phelan also argues for a close relationship between narrative and rhetoric, along the lines of Burke. In his concepts of rhetoric, Phelan compares two “widely circulating conceptions of rhetoric: deconstruction and pragmatism,” pointing out that “most critics and theorists are currently more concerned with reinventing historical criticism and merging literary with cultural studies in ways that foreground the politics and ideology of both cultural and critical texts” (8). In contrast to the “principles” of his “approach to narrative as rhetoric, Phelan says that although he is “not interested in trying to repudiate deconstruction,” he acknowledges the value of deconstructionist principles—that “language is inherently unstable, that there is no transcendental anchor to textual meanings, and that textual meanings are more likely to be at odds with one another than not”—for “complicating our understandings of language, textuality, and interpretation,” so he finds “these views less compelling than many other critics do” (8). In my view, the deconstructionist principles imply that both language and textual meanings are “unstable” and that any values or viewpoints a storyteller or narrator conveys become unreliable or changeable because they are subject to the deconstructionist’s logic.<sup>59</sup> Also, when speaking of “pragmatism’s conception of rhetoric a widely circulating one because, through the efforts of Stanley Fish and Richard Rorty, this conception has come to be seen as part and parcel of poststructuralist

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<sup>59</sup> Phelan disagrees with the deconstructionist’s logic and explains, “The antifoundational perspective helps point out that although no narrative and no interpretation is deconstruction-proof, deconstruction’s logic about textual logic is not as inevitable and necessary as its attention to textual rhetoric makes it appear. Laying bare the leaps that form the basis of the deconstructor’s operation shows that deconstruction cannot really claim to be closer to the literal text than other approaches” (12).

antifoundationalism,” Phelan makes his position clear that his “efforts are less to argue either for or against pragmatism” but “to make a space” and “locate my approach to narrative as rhetoric” in the contemporary critical landscape (8-9). Phelan clearly takes issue with pragmatism though he is careful about not saying anything negative or criticizing it. On the contrary, Phelan’s approach to narrative as rhetoric coincides with the view of the New Rhetoric, which provides a way of understanding my approach to TIRR within the theoretical framework of my project.

Further, in his critique of Fish’s pragmatist position, Phelan explains that “A pragmatist view of narrative as rhetoric would view narrative as inescapably bound up with its interpretation and its interpretation as endlessly malleable—according to the needs, interests, and values of the interpreter on any given occasion” (11). The pragmatist seems to take a precarious, uncontrollable position which assumes unlimited power of interpretation at will to change the meaning of a narrative and ignore a story-teller or narrator as a subject who gives and conveys a value or viewpoint in a story. Additionally, Phelan notes that the pragmatist, especially Stanley Fish, “works with a strict either/or logic: either language describes the world or language constructs the world; either there is transcendent Truth or there is no truth; either there are facts outside of discourse or discourse creates facts and truths” (14-15). Fish’s pragmatist view on truth sounds like a binary opposition theory on the question of truth, a problematic view that disagrees with my concept of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance against any colonizers’ propaganda or master narratives that either misrepresent truth or spread falsehood on Taiwanese indigenous peoples’ identities. Hence, like Phelan, I do not support

deconstructionist and pragmatist views on narrative as rhetoric in relation to the New Rhetoric movement.

Within the theoretical framework of my project, I situate Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance in both Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia and Burke's theory of rhetoric for persuasion where literary language and narrative are tightly bound together for meaning making. The reader may ask: What do the indigenous in the West and Taiwan resist when encountering colonizers' language and rhetoric, both of which are closely related to the oral tradition in my definition of Taiwan indigenous rhetoric of resistance? In the making of his concept for Native American literature, Ortiz and other indigenous scholars struggle with the decision of using the English language because it is the colonizers' language.<sup>60</sup> Historically, English as a national, official language is not always friendly to the colonized who learn to speak and write it due to assimilation policies—for instance, many scholars have discussed the negative impact of the English-Only language policy on non-native English learners who are not only silenced but also punished in classrooms. Native Americans' language resistance (both linguistic and literary) can be explained with Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia in "Discourse in the Novel," as he observes:

A common unitary language is a system of linguistic norms. But these norms do not constitute an abstract imperative; they are rather the generative forces of linguistic life, forces that struggle to overcome the heteroglossia of language, forces that unite and centralize verbal-ideological thought, creating within a

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<sup>60</sup> Note that Ortiz does not reject the use of the English language for Native American literature. Ortiz says in an interview, "Although most of us write in English, there are some of us who use the original or indigenous languages; I do, to some extent, in my work. But what we do with the English language is give a Native American tone or distinction to it. Even if we do use English, it's English that has its own uniqueness in terms of Indian values, concepts, ideas, intonations, and so forth" (Ortiz et al. 365).



heteroglot national language the firm, stable linguistic nucleus of an officially recognized literary language, or else defending an already formed language from the pressure of growing heteroglossia. (270-71) <sup>61</sup>

Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia also explains how the Taiwanese indigenous peoples have resisted the Japanese language or Chinese language, a unitary language used for colonial control over other languages such as Hoklo, Hakka, and indigenous languages. Taiwan, an island country, can be seen as a place or a world where the Taiwanese people speak and interact with "a diversity of languages" and a "diversity of individual voices" (262), and the condition of language diversity in Taiwan's society "permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships" (263).<sup>62</sup>

However, Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia is deeply relevant also to our understanding of rhetoric. Rhetoricians such as Arthur Walzer advocate polyphonic or dialogic rhetoric instead of monologic rhetoric where a rhetor, author, or narrator seeks to dominate and control other voices (50).<sup>63</sup> Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia suggests there are more than one Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance we can study. Generally, I treat the overarching idea of heteroglossia as analytical lenses to look into the indigenous issues of my entire project. Although I do not seek to define or redefine Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, some scholars have different views about it. For example,

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<sup>61</sup> I notice that Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia is found and grounded in the novel although linguists and rhetoricians use his idea as well.

<sup>62</sup> Bakhtin defines the novel as "a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized. The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day, even of the hour ..." (262-63).

<sup>63</sup> Walzer cites Bakhtin's *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, in which Bakhtin "offers a taxonomy that distinguishes varieties of dialogisms" (qtd. in Walzer 50). Also, Walzer points out that dialogic rhetoric, which proceeds from a sense of inalienable rights and values diversity for its own sake, is basically not Aristotelian" (53).

Blackledge et al. point out that the term *heteroglossia* (*raznorečie* in Russian) is a theoretical term, and different scholars in sociolinguistics have different views on *raznorečie* because “the meaning of heteroglossia is not universally or straightforwardly agreed.” Nevertheless, Blackledge et al focus on its application instead of the meaning of it by saying that “if heteroglossia is to be a useful heuristic in illuminating understandings of language in use and in action in our societies, it may be necessary to pin it down a little while incorporating diverse aspects of its meanings” (194-95). In my view, it is important to see Bakhtin’s idea of heteroglossia in context and draw its meaning in the novel as Bakhtin positions it as follows:

The novel orchestrates all its themes, the totality of the world of objects and ideas depicted and expressed in it, by means of the social diversity of speech types [*raznorečie*] and by the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions. Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental composition unities with whose help heteroglossia [*raznorečie*] can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships (always more or less dialogized). (263)

In theory, I basically adopt Bakhtin’s theory of heteroglossia in this context, and I capture at least two key phrases (aspects) of Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia in the novel—“the social diversity of speech types” and “a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships.” In practice, for example, I apply the meanings of these two phrases to Taiwanese indigenous peoples (tribes) in relation to their multiple (social or individual) voices and diverse tribes—each indigenous people

have their own language, voice, culture, and oral tradition, and each shares the concept of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR) under forced colonization. Also, I draw on Blackledge et al's perspective and application of the concept of heteroglossia in terms of indexicality, tension-filled interaction, and multi-voicedness. In addition, as translators of Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination*, Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist explain that "heteroglossia is as close a conceptualization as is possible of that locus where centripetal and centrifugal forces collide; as such, it is that which a systematic linguistics must always suppress" (428). Here, I agree with Emerson and Holquist's interpretation of heteroglossia when I first introduce it at the beginning of Chapter One where I refer Mandarin Chinese or Japanese to a "unitary language" ("centripetal forces of language") as "a system of linguistic norms" that are seen as "generative forces" struggling to overcome heteroglossia (270). Hence, I do not try to pin the term *heteroglossia* down as some scholars or Blackledge et al attempt since the concept of heteroglossia is dynamic and fluid to explain, and it has more than one meaning as scholars have suggested though they tend to debate on possible meanings of the Russian word *raznorečie* without putting it in context.

Specifically, I have incorporated Burke, Blackledge, Creese, and Takhi, and Chadwick Allen for the purpose of analyzing the texts at the center of Chapter Three and Chapter Four. For this reason, I have developed three strategies to analyze language, stories and Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance in different contexts. First, I define the word *rhetoric* in terms of persuasion based on literary language, narrative (meaning making) in indigenous oral traditions. That is, my definition of rhetoric in "Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance" draws on Burke's idea of rhetoric that uses

literary language and narratives to make meaning and form viewpoints. Also, I define the word *narrative* as story or story-telling in a literary sense, similar to the meaning of the word *narrative*: “a story or a description of series of events” as defined in *Cambridge Dictionary*. However, for the analysis of my three case studies in Chapter Three, I use the term, *master narrative* as a kind of “Western master narratives” such as “authoritarian universalizing narratives” as defined in *Oxford Reference*.<sup>64</sup> Namely, I treat and define “master narrative” as an ideological term in Taiwanese colonial context—for example, the problematic opposition of “savagery” versus “civilization in Taiwanese colonial history and literature. I address the problem of “authoritative discourse” of master narratives and “assimilation” in Bakhtin’s idea of heteroglossia (Bakhtin 344-45). Further, the reader should take note of Bakhtin’s idea of heteroglossia when incorporated into the novel, especially into “rhetorical genres” where double-voiced discourse concerns “authorial intentions” that may either unite and set apart author’s voice and narrator’s voice (Bakhtin 324-25).<sup>65</sup> In other words, in rhetorical genres, the voices and intentions of the author and narrator are not the same though they may coincide. As Bakhtin puts it, “the importance of another’s speech as a subject in rhetoric is so great that the word frequently begins to cover over and substitute itself for reality” (353). As a

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<sup>64</sup> According to *Oxford Reference*, “Lyotard’s term for the totalizing narratives or metadiscourses of modernity which have provided ideologies with a legitimating philosophy of history. For example, the grand narratives of the Enlightenment, democracy, and Marxism. Hayden White (b.1928), an American historian, suggests that there are four Western master narratives: Greek fatalism, Christian redemptionism, bourgeois progressivism, and Marxist utopianism. Lyotard argues that such authoritarian universalizing narratives are no longer viable in postmodernity, which heralds the emergence of ‘little narratives’ (or micronarratives, *petits récits*): localized representations of restricted domains, none of which has a claim to universal truth status. Critics suggest that this could be seen as just another grand narrative, and some have seen it as Eurocentric” (“Grand Narrative”).

<sup>65</sup> Bakhtin says that “Heteroglossia, once incorporated into the novel (wherever the forms for its incorporation), is *another’s speech in another’s language*, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of *double-voiced discourse*” (324). He also notes that “Double-voiced discourse is very widespread in rhetorical genres, but even there – remaining as it does within the boundaries of a single language system” (325).

case in point, because only few Taiwanese indigenous authors speak and write for themselves, indigenous representation in Taiwanese indigenous literature has become a serious issue.

Second, for the analysis of the film *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* presented in Chapter Four, I adopt Blackledge, Creese, and Takhi's approach to heteroglossia while examining indigenous and Japanese artifacts, and archival data in relation to Taiwanese rhetoric of resistance. As Blackledge et al point out, Bakhtin sees that "language is stratified not only in linguistic dialects" but also "into languages that are socio-ideological: languages of social groups" (271). While analyzing heteroglossia, I will look into the relationships Japanese-indigenous relationships in the film, to examine how these interactions shape the representations of indigenous rhetorics of resistance, the meanings of artifacts represented in the film, and responses to the film. More importantly, I will use Blackledge et al's approach to heteroglossia as a tool or method based on their emphasis of indexicality, tension-filled interaction, and multi-voicedness they propose. I can use Blackledge et al's method to identify and index artifacts and signs that communicate semiotic value or meaning. Blackledge et al's approach to heteroglossia in terms of semiotic meaning opens a way to study signs of different languages and cultures.

<sup>66</sup> By definition, semiotics is "the study of signs and symbols, what they mean, and how they are used" (*Cambridge Dictionary*). Here, I take symbols and signs as something similar in meaning. Kenneth Burke says that "when we use symbols for things, such symbols are not merely reflections of the things symbolized, or signs for them; they are to

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<sup>66</sup> Blackledge et al do not elaborate on their idea or use of semiotics though they incorporate it with Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia in terms of study of signs. However, I am broadening my approach to semiotics by including symbols in my analysis of Chapter Four. This is not to say that I equate the term *sign* with *symbol*. Besides, many dictionaries define *symbol* as *sign*.

a degree a transcending of the things symbolized” (192). Blackledge et al argue that “signs are available for meaning making in communicative repertoire that extend across languages and varieties that have hitherto been associated with particular national, territorial, and social groups” (192). Drawing on Bakhtin, they argue that “language points to, or ‘indexes’ a certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position (195). They treat Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia as “a useful heuristic in illuminating understandings of language in use and in action in our societies” while “incorporating diverse aspects of its meanings” (195). Their treatment of heteroglossia is insightful and important for my research methodology, because it helps to look into the meanings of indigenous rituals and oral traditions in relation to Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance.

For instance, Blackledge et al’s method aides my analysis in Chapter Four of the film *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*, in which the national flag of Japan—also officially called “flag of sun”—can be treated as an artifact and a sign (symbol) which not only communicates different meanings but also represents a diversity of voices from different groups of people who speak different languages. The flag of sun represents Japan as a country and its people, and has a popular Western nickname: Land of the Rising Sun. However, the flag of sun means something very different to the Seediq people and indexes a different point of worldview, thus representing a tension-filled interaction between the Japanese colonizers and Seediq people.<sup>67</sup> The Seediq warriors

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<sup>67</sup> In a French interview, Row-long Chiu, the author of *Gaya* (document film), *Seediq Bale* (graphic novel), explains that according to a Seediq legend: once upon a time there were two suns which made human lives unbearable due to scorching heat. Then a Seediq bale (hero) carried a child and set out to challenge the suns. The hero shot down one sun and died. The son (child) succeeded him and kept the fallen sun at bay. That is why there is only one sun during the day, one moon, the fallen sun, during the night, to keep life going. Chiu commented that in the film the Seediq warriors relate the flag of sun to the fallen sun in their legend when they fight the Japanese.

have planned and discussed how they will resist the Japanese authorities. The tension has certainly reached its climax at the start of the sports game held in the Japanese village when the Japanese are singing their national anthem and hoisting their national flag of sun. Suddenly, a Seediq warrior with a knife (Seediq knife) appears and gives a lightning strike on a Japanese policeman and decapitates him. This is an enactment of the Seediq head-hunting belief and practice against their enemies, which I argue, is an instance of a Taiwanese-indigenous or Seediq act of resistance. Hence, the Musha Incident begins as the Seediq warriors fight the Japanese soldiers like the hero in the legend who bravely fought the two suns.

The preceding example suggests that Blackledge et al's method is useful for not only interpreting symbols but also reading texts. Blackledge et al cite the following passage from Bakhtin's work on heteroglossia that seems to describe the situation of Taiwan's political climate, its colonial past, different Taiwanese groups, and its indigenous people:

In the most sharply heteroglot eras, when the collision and interaction of language is especially intense and powerful ... aspects of heteroglossia are canonized with great ease and rapidly pass from one language system to another ... In this intense struggle, boundaries are drawn with new sharpness and simultaneously erased with new ease; it is sometimes impossible to establish precisely where they have been erased or where certain of the warring parties have already crossed over into alien territory. (qtd. in Blackledge *et al* 194; Bakhtin, *Dialogic* 418)

Blackledge *et al* thus suggest a method for analyzing how Taiwanese (indigenous) texts may express themes, indigenous rituals, signs, and artifacts that draw attention to how

different languages surrounding Taiwan's colonial past collide or interact, and how these construct indigenous resistance rhetorics.

Third, I use Chadwick Allen's idea of trans-Indigenous method as a methodology for comparing and contrasting indigenous texts and their representations of resistance rhetorics, while still recognizing the distinctions between indigenous nations, cultural traditions, and geographies.<sup>68</sup> For the purpose of analysis with Allen's trans-Indigenous method, I divide the process into two stages. In stage one, Allen presents what he calls the two concepts "together equal" and "together (yet) *distinct*." When dealing with the concept "together equal," Allen rejects "generalizations about inherent differences" between indigenous-to-indigenous comparisons.<sup>69</sup> As he explains, "rather than producing an enlarged view of evolving cultures or their (post) colonial histories, or a more precise analysis of self-representation, this form of Indigenous-to-Indigenous comparison re-centers the (uninformed) dominant settler culture and process hierarchies of Indigenous oppression – or legitimacy or authenticity – that serve only the interests of the settler, his culture, his power, his nation-state" (xiv). Like Allen, I avoid "generalizations" when comparing Taiwanese indigenous tribes. For instance, in Chapter Three, I present three indigenous case studies (Seediq, Tsou, and Atayal tribes) and three different Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance. Rather than seeing them with the concept of "together equal," I focus on the concept of "together (yet) *distinct*." I agree with Allen when he

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<sup>68</sup> I see my research project as rooted in a trans-Indigenous method, not only because Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance go across national boundaries, but also because I position myself as a non-indigenous researcher to analyze different indigenous texts. In a sense, even though my research topic on indigenous resistance rhetoric is situated in Taiwan, my research project is global due to the fact that I conduct it in the United States for an American audience.

<sup>69</sup> Allen points out that "for all the potential of comparative paradigms to displace settler interests from the center of intellectual activity and to produce new knowledge, especially those that stage comparison as Indigenous-to-Indigenous, Native peoples know too well that the abstract concept of *together equal* is easily turned against the political interests of specific individuals, communities, and nations and various forms of coalition" (xiii-xiv).



asks his readers: “Within a context of ongoing (post) colonial relations, shouldn’t the objective of a global Indigenous literary studies in English run more along the lines of “together (yet) *distinct*”? (xiii) While looking into the issues of indigenous identities and representations, issues such as “savagery” vs. “civilization,” subaltern narratives vs. master narratives, and truth vs. propaganda, I am interested in finding out how different indigenous peoples are represented or misrepresented in Taiwanese indigenous studies. Thus, in my view, for the purpose of differentiating and identifying indigenous rhetorics of resistance and the representations of indigenous studies, any generalizations in their uniformity or in the name of “Indigenous” stereotype, stifle, and even silence individual voices from different indigenous groups (tribes) when dealing with the representations of Taiwanese indigenous studies. The KMT regime with its on-going One-China policy will continue to exert its political power on the fledgling growth of Taiwanese indigenous studies in academic institutions and prevent the heteroglossia of language and individual voices in Taiwan, including indigenous oral traditions and rhetorics of resistance.

In stage two, I adopt Allen’s method of “purposeful indigenous juxtapositions” for productive scholarship of indigenous literary studies by placing “diverse texts close together across genre and media, aesthetic systems and worldviews, technologies and practices, tribes and nations, the Indigenous-settler binary, and historical periods and geographical regions” (xviii). This method helps my research project differentiate indigenous rhetorics of resistance when I relate Taiwanese indigenous texts to scholarship in Native American studies or studies of indigeneity in other settler-colonial

contexts.<sup>70</sup> Also, for my analysis of Chapter Four, I purposefully juxtapose key literary (artistic) works on the Musha Incident: Wu He's *Remains of Life* (1999), Chiu Ruo-lung's documentary film *Gaya* (1999) and his graphic novel, *Seediq Bale* (2011), and the popular film, *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (2011) directed by Wei Te-Sheng. While comparing these texts, I ask these questions: What is the difference between the stories about the Musha Incident told by the Seediq elders who had experienced it and the stories written by non-indigenous authors in their literary representations of indigenous works? What is the difference found in the Seediq rhetoric of resistance (oral tradition, rituals as signs and symbols) between the Seediq elders' stories about the Musha Incident and the respective stories written and shown by non-indigenous authors in their literary representations of the Seediq people? Although I understand that any analyses of texts are subject to different theories of interpretation, I have refrained myself from interpreting or changing the meanings of the Seediq elders' stories in the Seediq language which have already been translated into Mandarin Chinese, and which I subsequently translate into English for my readers of this project. My decision to adopt this approach is to maintain the original meanings of the Seediq elders' stories as their already marginalized "voices and arguments" to be read and heard, instead of adding or curtailing those meanings of their stories with my own interpretations and viewpoints. Above all, the Seediq elders' living memories of the forbidden stories with real-life experience matter and deserve respect.

In conclusion, the methodology of my project clearly draws on Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia (including Blackledge et al's method), the New Rhetoric (mainly

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<sup>70</sup> Allen says that "My goal in staging purposeful Indigenous juxtapositions is to develop a version of Indigenous literary studies that locates itself firmly in the specificity of the Indigenous local while remaining always cognizant of the complexity of the relevant Indigenous global" (xix).

Burke's theory of rhetoric) and Allen's trans-Indigenous method. According to Patricia Bizzell, Bruce Herzberg, and Robin Reames's *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classic Times to the Present* (2020), I position my concept of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance (TIRR) in the New Rhetoric movement. In Bakhtin's terms, I argue that TIRR is not just about *rhetoric* but indigenous rhetorics of resistance in Taiwan, based on indigenous oral traditions where indigenous literary languages and narratives are created to make meanings and form viewpoints on indigenous resistance against forced colonialism, injustice and inhumanity. In a sense, I find that the "rhetoric" expressed in Ortiz's concept of Native American literature or "resistance literature," his literary language and story "in terms of literary theme" such as land, identity, language, spirituality, and culture are based in rituals and the oral tradition (364-65). As a researcher, I realize that an indigenous oral tradition does not mean that a tribe does not have its native language, but that it is erased, forbidden, endangered and even "killed" by colonial powers although its stories are preserved through word of mouth and memory through indigenous rhetoric of resistance. Although I have not learned all the oral traditions of those sixteen officially recognized indigenous tribes in Taiwan, I believe that indigenous nations and peoples have their stories to tell to the world through either verbal or written language to make meaning of their way of life and culture. While indigenous rhetoric is seldom heard in Native American studies, Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance may locally contribute to Taiwanese indigenous literature or literary studies and globally to the field of Rhetoric and Composition.

CHAPTER III  
TAIWANESE INDIGENOUS RHETORICS OF RESISTANCE AND  
REPRESENTATIONS

In late 1914, Sakuma Samata, the Japanese governor general of Formosa (Taiwan), was still participating in the fiercest battle with the Truku tribe even though the island of Formosa was officially ceded to the Empire of Japan in 1895. Earlier in 1907, Sakuma had announced his first five-year plan to “govern the savages.” However, Japan only occupied nearly half of Formosa, and the other half which mainly consists of mountainous regions was never colonized but inhabited by Formosan indigenous peoples. It would take another two decades, in 1915, before imperial Japan, the first colonial power in history to do so, gained total control of the island of Formosa (Cheung, “Taiwan”).<sup>71</sup> The Empire of Japan was after the rich minerals (gold, coal, and sulphur) and globally valued natural resources such as camphor, sugar, rice, and timber in Formosa – the political and economic motives (driving force) for the Japanese colonial ambition. At worst, like its Chinese counterpart, Japanese colonizers called Formosan indigenes “savages” (生蕃, “wild barbarians”) waiting to be “tamed” and “civilized” in their colonial project – especially the Seediq people in Musha Village that

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<sup>71</sup> According to Cheung, “For the Aborigines in the Truku area, this entailed setting up new guard lines in the mountains to further isolate the tribes, and then finally subjugating them through military action if necessary.” It was reported that “the Truku had caused the colonial government trouble as early as 1896 and was reportedly one of the fiercest tribes to resist Japanese rule.” Samata had “more than 10,000 men” on his Japanese side, and “this would be the largest and final battle of Sakuma’s Aboriginal pacification campaign.” The Japanese colonial government classified several indigenous groups as “vicious savages” that Sakuma therefore “required military expeditions. After campaigns against other tribes in 1910, 1911 and 1913, Sakuma saved the Truku for last” (*Taipei Times*).

was considered the most successful example through assimilation (Hung 222; Roy 49). To achieve its aim, imperial Japan launched its colonial project and claimed the Musha Village as its “model” village, geographically speaking, the heart of Formosa, where the Seediq people had resided for centuries. Unfortunately, in 1930 the Japanese colonization of Formosan indigenous peoples implemented forced labor, committed human rights atrocities against indigenous peoples, violated the Seediq law of *Gaya*, and destroyed the social order in indigenous communities. These factors eventually led to the Seediq resistance against Japanese colonizers in the Musha Incident, in which the Japanese military’s violent response almost decimated the Seediq people.

Besides this physical violence, colonial assimilation policies discouraged indigenous representations of their languages, traditions, and cultures, and they created master narratives and propaganda that denied the existence of indigenous identities. These problematic master narratives rely heavily on the propagation of colonial ideologies to stereotype and distort individual tribal identities and to create negative images of the entire indigenous population in Taiwan. As forms of colonial misrepresentation, these master narratives employ what Bakhtin calls “authoritative discourse” to influence and control colonized populations—Taiwan’s indigenous peoples and other subaltern groups—especially during the period of Japanese colonization and the period of martial law imposed by the KMT. However, even after Taiwan became a democratic country in 1996, there has been a lack of indigenous representation in public media or academia. That is, the lack of self-representation by Taiwanese indigenous peoples—especially academic and public voices—has become a

serious concern in their resistance to authoritarian master narratives that aim to dominate, silence, and subjugate them.<sup>72</sup>

In this chapter I explore how Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance countered the master narratives imposed by Chinese and Japanese colonial governments. In particular, I examine the colonial and indigenous representation of three narratives: the representation of the 1930 Musha Incident, the popular legend of the Qing Dynasty merchant Wu Feng and his death at the hands of Taiwanese indigenous people; and the representation of the Atayal girl Sayun. Of course, when it comes to the representation of indigenous peoples, however, the question is whether non-indigenous scholars have the right and ability to represent indigenous peoples. Can a non-indigenous writer or scholar represent and speak for indigenous peoples in terms of his/her identity and literary language and works? And how does such a scholar's works contribute to (Taiwanese) Indigenous studies as an academic field? In considering these questions, my goal is to give more rhetorical space to Taiwanese indigenous peoples' self-representations. More importantly, I argue that only when indigenous peoples have human rights and ability to speak for themselves which are the key to restoring and revitalizing their oral traditions, they can effectively resist false narratives that misrepresent and damage their true indigeneity. For this reason, I explore how texts by both indigenous and non-indigenous authors (differently) represent Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance—against the authoritative, colonial master narratives—in both artistic and academic work.

Exploring different representations of the Musha Incident, the Story of Wu Feng, and the Story of Sayun, I trace the recurrence of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of

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<sup>72</sup> I define the term, *master narrative*, as a “authoritarian universalizing narrative” – a ideological term in Taiwanese colonial context in terms of “savagery” and “civilization” referring to studying Taiwanese indigenous colonial history and literature. See “Methodology” in Chapter Two.

resistance in these texts, to locate what Ortiz calls an ongoing resistance in language to forced colonization that “has been carried out by the oral tradition,” which includes prayer, song, drama-ritual, story-telling, ceremony, and religious practices (10). No doubt, there are many differences between Taiwanese indigenous oral traditions and the American Indian traditions that Ortiz describes: differences in their respective languages, rituals, traditions, beliefs, cultures, and media. However, Ortiz’s emphasis on the relation between contemporary indigenous literature and the oral tradition has important implications for my analysis of Taiwanese indigenous literature and rhetoric, because Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance similarly expresses an ongoing form of anticolonial resistance that is rooted both in contemporary forms of writing and oral traditions. For instance, as we interpret the representations of the 1930 Musha Incident, it is important to pay attention to Seediq rituals of facial tattooing and the cultural meanings around practices of headhunting, which are rooted in the Seediq oral tradition and the law of Gaya. Hence, Seediq “political, armed, spiritual” acts and rhetoric of resistance against Japanese colonizers is a case in point, as one of the many Taiwanese indigenous peoples which illustrate Bakhtin’s theory of heteroglossia – which opens a way for voices (languages) from different ethnic groups, including the marginalized to represent and speak for themselves. Drawing on a Bakhtin’s notion of dialogic and multidirectional discourse, I define Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance as a multi-voiced discourse of the oral tradition that Taiwanese indigenous people struggle to keep as they resist forced colonialism from past to present. In this dissertation, I frequently use the generic term Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance, and I refer to each indigenous discourse as Seediq, Tsou, *or* Atayal rhetoric

of resistance respectively. When I refer to these different indigenous peoples collectively, I refer to them as Seediq, Tsou, and Atayal rhetorics of resistance in the following case studies.

### **Case 1--Wu He's *Remains of Life*, Representation of the Musha Incident, and Seediq Rhetoric of Resistance**

To understand the politics of indigenous representation, it is important to note the close relation between the (self-)representation of Taiwanese indigeneity and the broader representation of Taiwanese (national) identity. As Kuei-fen Chiu, a Taiwanese scholar of indigenous studies, points out, the “reclaiming of indigenous identity in indigenous literary discourse” converges with the “Taiwanese reclaiming of native roots in the forging of a Taiwanese identity” (1073). The authoritarian rule of the KMT regime imposed new identities onto Taiwanese people—including Taiwanese indigenous people—by dictating that everyone, regardless of their ethnicity, was officially Chinese and must learn the Chinese language and literature. Chiu says that “as a special grouping of literary writing based on the ethnic identity of the writers, indigenous literature in Chinese is usually marked by some specific features. First is the use of the autobiographical ‘I,’ a gesture of affirming the subject position of the indigenous writer” (1073). In other words, the use of the autobiographical ‘I,’ has become a literary strategy for indigenous self-representation and Taiwanese indigenous literature. Chiu sees the need to distinguish native Taiwanese people and indigenous people, or between “native Taiwanese” and “indigenous Taiwanese,” as P. Kerim Friedman puts it, in terms of identity politics (2).<sup>73</sup> For centuries, native Taiwanese and indigenous people have

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<sup>73</sup> In “the Hegemony of the Local Taiwanese Multiculturalism and Indigenous Identity Politics,” Friedman, familiar with Taiwan’s cultures and politics, says, “An English speaking visitor to Taiwan might be



historically been subjected to, and resisted, Dutch, Spanish, French, Chinese and Japanese colonial rule. While different indigenous peoples have their own oral traditions, and therefore their own forms of self-representation, and rhetorics of resistance, these various colonial regimes also cast different indigenous nations into a category of the “Other,” together with a range of marginalized ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Against these distortions and generalizations imposed by various colonialisms, Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance articulated close connections to indigenous identities and land. As the Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson writes, for indigenous people around the world, identity is “grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land” (80). Wilson emphasizes the importance of land for indigenous peoples’ sense of identity and futurity, which also applies to indigenous peoples in Taiwan. For centuries indigenous peoples have lived within boundaries between different tribes in plains, mountains, and coastal regions throughout the island of Formosa. Colonial powers such as Holland, Spain, and the Qing Dynasty did not occupy the entire Formosa until Japan came to colonize it. The Qing Dynasty only ruled nearly half of the island according to its territorial claim on the map; Qing Chinese were too afraid to conquer the other half of the island because of the fiercest indigenous warriors. As Rina Chandran points out, Taiwan’s indigenous people faced significant loss of their lands with Japanese colonization in the nineteenth century, and when the

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forgiven for thinking that the phrases ‘native Taiwanese’ and ‘indigenous Taiwanese’ refer to the same people. In fact, in the Taiwanese context the terms “native” (*benshengren*) and “indigenous” (*yuanzhumin*) have very different meanings. ‘Native’ marks an opposition between those southern Chinese (both Hoklo and Hakka) who began settling in Taiwan over four hundred years ago and the ‘mainlanders’ (*waishengren*) who came over with the Kuomintang (KMT) in the late 1940s, at the end of the Chinese Civil War” (2-3).

KMT asserted control in 1945, “indigenous people’s access to traditional lands was further limited, as authorities built modern cities, high-speed rail lines, and created national parks and tourist facilities” (*Reuters*).

Given the colonial assault on indigenous lands, land is sacred and closely related to indigenous peoples’ ancestors. “Indigenous leaders would like to see a return of all traditional territories,” writes Scott Simon, co-chair in Taiwan studies at the University of Ottawa. “But any legislation is always subject to negotiation and compromise” (qtd. in Chandran). For Taiwanese indigenous people, returning to their lost land means returning home. In 2005, the Taiwanese government passed The Indigenous Peoples’ Basic Law, which granted a wide range of rights to Taiwan’s tribal people, but “its implementation was stalled,” said Panai Kusui, an indigenous leader and singer, who joined at a protest against the stall. In addition, another step was taken to “recognize their ancestral land: the government’s Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) in February 2017 declared 1.8 million hectares—about half of Taiwan’s total land area—to be traditional territory.” According to Kolas Yotaka, a legislator who belongs to the Amis tribe, “The CIP has asked the nearly 750 indigenous communities in Taiwan to apply for recognition of their traditional territory under the 2017 legislation. More than 250 have already submitted their claims” (qtd. in Chandran). The number of these indigenous communities is significant on a small island nation like Taiwan with a population of almost 24 million, and indigenous protests have become a form of resistance against the Taiwanese government’s policy on indigenous land and hunting rights.

Although the violence of headhunting rituals are a thing of the past in Taiwan today, they were widely practiced by the majority of Taiwanese indigenous tribes to

safeguard tribal lands and borders, subdue and intimidate enemies and colonizers who crossed and invaded their territories. Scott Simon points out, “headhunting was historically practiced” in Formosa and other parts of South East Asia (“Politics” 164).<sup>74</sup> Except for the Tau (Yami) tribe on Lanyu (Orchid) Island, almost all Formosan tribes believed and practiced head-hunting rituals.<sup>75</sup> According to Seediq, Truku, and Atayal rituals and narratives of headhunting and facial tattooing, indigenous men were expected to hunt and collect heads proving their manhood while women must show their domestic skills (e.g. weaving and cooking) ready for marriage.<sup>76</sup> They celebrated with singing, dancing, drinking, and even feeding severed heads; these rituals were accompanied by the making of facial tattoos for both men and women, which would qualify them after death to meet their ancestors when they walked through the rainbow bridge in the spiritual realm of their world (“Classification”). Thus, headhunting, facial tattooing, and other rituals (ceremonies) and the narratives of these rituals are parts of Formosan indigenous oral traditions.

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<sup>74</sup> Scott Simon points out, “Headhunting was historically practiced from as far north as highland Formosa, as far west as Assam, and southwards to the Indonesian archipelago (Davison and Sutlive 1991: 153). The last practices of headhunting in the region, which were documented and analyzed by Renato (1980, 1993) and Michelle Rosaldo (1983), ended among the Luzon Ilongot with the 1972 implementation of martial law in the Philippines. Yet headhunting continues to be politically relevant in Southeast Asian and Oceanic communities, not only because headhunting rituals are sometimes celebrated with coconuts or dolls as surrogates for real heads (Cauquelin 2004; George 1993, 1995; Hoskins 2002; Rudolph 2008), but also because ordinary people evoke their headhunting heritage in conversations about topics as diverse as state-community relations or norms of masculinity” (“Politics” 164).

<sup>75</sup> According to *Academic Kids Encyclopedia*, “In Taiwan, headhunting was a symbol of bravery and valor. Almost every tribe except the Yami (Tao) practiced headhunting. Often the heads were invited to join the tribe as members to watch over the tribe and keep them safe. The inhabitants of Taiwan accepted the rules of headhunting as a calculated risk of tribal life” (“Taiwanese Aborigines”).

<sup>76</sup> Note that “the Formosan societies were only relatively recently incorporated into the nation-state. People still recall the words of their elders who had told them stories about non-state forms of political life, anti-colonial resistance, and headhunting. By listening to their narratives, we can learn more about the assertion of political power over their communities, a story all too easily forgotten amidst the much more common Taiwanese tales of democracy and economic miracles. Headhunting belongs to that story, as part of the 'Austronesian complex' of warriors, men's houses, and age classes (Désveaux 1996: 145)” (Simon, “Politics,” 165).

For the Seediq people, headhunting rituals were connected to oral traditions, and they were used not only to maintain lands, borders, and power, but also the social order under the laws of *Gaya*. In “Politics and Headhunting among the Formosan Sejiq (Seediq): Ethnohistorical Perspectives,” Scott Simon points out that “headhunting was once an expression of the sacred law of *Gaya*, as both reinforcement of territorial boundaries and a way of settling legal disputes within communities. It expressed tensions in a ‘reverse dominance hierarchy’ by which some men tried to consolidate political power, but were usually deterred by a strong egalitarian ethos” (164).

Additionally, scholars have interpreted headhunting as “a form of resistance against state encroachment” (167).<sup>77</sup> However, Seediq highlanders’ law and order, *Gaya*, came to an end with the Japanese colonization of the island of Formosa; Japanese colonial authorities banned the practices of headhunting and facial tattooing, establishing their new hegemonic order that Formosan indigenes became the colonized. Consequently, the indigenous world and lives were turned upside-down, besides the loss of their indigenous identities, hunting rights, land, languages, cultures and natural resources for their livelihood and disappearing oral traditions. The indigenous law and order, especially the Seediq *Gaya* was destroyed by the Japanese colonial power. This eventually led to the Seediq to resist Japanese colonizers and ended up with the tragic events of the Musha Incident.

Wu He’s 1999 novel *Remains of Life* is the first novel to represent the forgotten Musha Incident shortly after Taiwan became a democratic country with free elections

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<sup>77</sup> According to Simon, Kenneth George shows “how headhunting was once a form of resistance against powerful coastal states.” Also, George discusses “the question of who hunted heads and whose heads were taken, an approach that highlights collective over individual catharsis. He also shows how the continuing ritualization of headhunting as simulacra of former violence shapes village polity and maintains ideological control of the past” (“Politics and Headhunting” 167).

and freedom of speech. Although written by a non-indigenous author, its narrative exposes the long hidden historical records about the Musha Incident, thereby giving voice to a Seediq perspective on the events that had long been silenced. In the following passage, which represents a conversation between the narrator and an unnamed girl, Wu He represents the pain associated with unearthing such tragic memories:

It was an early autumn afternoon and rays of light were coming off the face of the courtyard reflecting a hot beam of sunlight inside through the window, I was in the living room wearing a pair of shorts and a T-shirt, reading a work by a great Japanese scholar entitled *Investigative Record of the Savages*,<sup>78</sup> when Girl suddenly appeared outside my door, she was also wearing a pair of shorts and a T-shirt, but her outfit was entirely black, “I know this scholar, he brought a team of researchers here to examine the Musha Incident, my grandparents were all interviewed by him, although my maternal grandfather had a bad stutter, he knew more about the incident than anybody else, they kept him the longest — my mom told me that they didn’t feed him, by the time he got home he was dead tired and she had to warm up some taros for him to eat,” “But didn’t that scholar have to eat too?” I asked, “Didn’t it enter their minds that they should feed their guest?” Girl rolled her eyes, “My mom said that Grandpa would rather starve to death than eat their sushi,” Girl picked up my book and nosily flipped through its pages, “I’ll bet this book about savages is no

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<sup>78</sup> According to Michael Berry, “the author is referring to the Chinese-language edition of Suzuki Tadashihara’s *Investigative Record of the Taiwan Savages: An Investigative Search Into Indigenous People’s History* (Taiwan fanren fengsu zhi: Tanxun yuanzhumin de lishi ), published in 1991 by Wuling Publishing House. As he does throughout the novel, the author omits the word “Taiwan” from the title when mentioning the book” (qtd. in Wu He 328).

page-turner; c'mon, let's go over to the general store to sing karaoke. (An excerpt from Wu He's *Remains of Life*, 10)

This passage shows that Girl's grandfather—who would rather “starve to death than eat their sushi”—probably distrusts the Japanese researchers who interviewed him for their book about the history of Taiwanese “savages.” The unpleasant interview suggests that it was uncomfortable or even painful to recall the tragic memory about the Japanese colonial project and the Musha Incident.

The narrator in the novel conducts himself like an ethnographic researcher, similar to how the author Wu He himself had lived in a Seediq village to find out what had happened before, during, and after the Musha Incident. Wu He's literary language, however, is not that of ethnographic description, but a heteroglossic discourse that represents multiple Seediq voices. As Bakhtin writes, “heteroglossia, once incorporated into the novel . . . is *another's speech in another's language*, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of *double-voiced discourse*” (324).<sup>79</sup> Likewise, the characters and narrator in Wu He's novel stage a multi-voiced discourse that allows Seediq characters to speak in their own language—against the political pressure to speak Chinese—and to represent their own stories and history. Hence, I argue that Wu He creates indigenous “speaking persons,” to use Bakhtin's terms, that voice their views on the master narratives of the Musha Incident at a time when the authoritarian KMT regime would not tolerate any criticism of its government. The novel's representation of Seediq people and their speech acts

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<sup>79</sup> Bakhtin explains that his type of speech “serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions...” (324).

constitutes a resistance against academic authorities that invented false master narratives of the Musha Incident by dehumanizing the Seediq as “savages” and misrepresenting their stories about the tragic event. In other words, through his narrator Wu He points out how the Seediq people resist Japanese academic scholars who either condone colonial ideologies of the “civilization” project, or lie about the history of the Musha Incident by contradicting Seediq accounts in the oral tradition of the 1930 events.

In *Remains of Life*, Wu He resists the colonial dehumanization of the indigenous people by allowing all Seediq people to represent as “speaking persons” in the novel, validating their oral traditions and historical knowledge. According to Bakhtin, “the human being in the novel is first, foremost and always a speaking human being; the novel requires speaking persons bring with them their own unique ideological discourse, their own language” (332).<sup>80</sup> However, the discourse of such speaking persons are not directly “transmitted or reproduced” but “*artistically represented*” through authorial discourse (332). Importantly, Bakhtin argues that the characters, fates, and discourses of *individuals* are not the “concern of the novel” as a genre, but rather how an individual characters’ discourse may be “a factor stratifying language, introducing heteroglossia into it” (333). Although *Remains of Life* is written in Chinese, Wu He introduces a range of “speaking persons” in relation to heteroglossic discourses including practices such as headhunting, facial tattoos, singing and dancing rituals. Wu He’s representation of Seediq stories about the Musha Incident are not merely dialogues that generate

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<sup>80</sup> For Bakhtin, “the speaking person in the novel is always, to one degree or another, an *ideologue*, and his words are always *ideologemes*. A particular language in a novel is always a particular way of viewing the world, one that strives for a social significance” (333). Note that Bakhtin’s Russian concept of “ideology” here is “not to be confused with its politically oriented English cognate. It is “simply an idea-system. But it is semiotic in the sense that it involves the concrete exchange of signs in society and in history. Every word/discourse betrays the ideology of its speaker; great novelistic heroes are those with the most coherent and individuated ideologies. Every speaker, therefore, is an ideologue and every utterance an *ideologeme*” (429).

characters or plot, but artistically represented Seediq stories that articulate a multi-voiced narrative that resists the dominant historical representation of the Musha Incident and its aftermath. Wu He's literary language portrays the Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese forced civilization and decimation that have kept the remnant, traumatized Seediq people from telling their stories about the horrific Musha Incident that almost destroyed the entire Seediq tribe.

Early in his novel Wu He lets several "speaking persons" articulate stories which reveal the previously silenced historical reality of the Musha incident(s). As the narrator listens to Girl's story about her future "plan" to follow her Ancestral Spirits and return to her lost homeland, he questions her if it is "a genuine return" and wonders if she is "returning to the Mystic Valley where she can hold hands with the Ancestral Spirits, eating and drinking in ecstasy" (3). The fact that the girl remains nameless suggests that the narrator may try to protect her real identity, perhaps because she is telling forbidden stories. In either case, here, the novel hints at two transitions the Seediq people have gone through since the Musha Incident took place. First, Girl says that they had transitioned from their original home on the mountain to Riverisle ("virgin land" or "place of exile") in the plain. Second, they had to learn how to farm (grow rice and fruit) but leave behind hunting practice. This transition from hunting to farming has had a devastating effect on men who had practiced hunting as a ritual for centuries, so the displacement of the Seediq tribe and the transformation of the Seediq way of livelihood have had a serious, negative impact on them, especially on men who turn to drinking and become addicted because of their loss of meaning of life.



By giving voice to stories that oppose accepted academic versions of history, Wu He's novel represents indigenous rhetoric of resistance to academic authorities. While the Seediq law, *Gaya*, was violated and broken by Japanese and Chinese colonizers, the characters here reclaim the memory of Seediq headhunting ritual as an important part of the Seediq oral tradition, as a defining factor in the Musha Incident, and as a Seediq form of resistance against the Japanese colonizers. One Seediq hunter's son tells the narrator his depressing stories that "nothing in life seemed to be as important," and that "drinking every day will lead to what you academics call 'self-destruction.'" He says that his Dad was punished by Japanese colonizers for going out hunting alone instead of farming in the Seediq community, adding— "from then on all the way up to his death Dad was a farmer who lived the rest of his days bent over in the field, he never passed on any of the techniques or stories of the hunter, his children and grandchildren had no idea how to respect the memory of their ancestors' lives as hunters" (4). This Seediq hunter provides the narrator with much needed information about what had happened to Seediq hunters and their oral tradition after the Musha Incident, despite the fact that academic authorities might refute their stories because of their addiction to alcohol. In Bakhtin's terms, all these voices—the hunter, narrator, and the academics—are socially and historically discrete, even if they are not all "incarnated in a character" (336).

During the course of his investigation into the Musha Incident, the narrator says that he met with two Seediq intellectuals with a "civilized" education representing two different Seediq subtribes (clans): Bakan (Seediq Daya) and Danafu (Seediq Toda). Both men have two very different views on the Musha Incident and how it is interpreted not only by their own tribes respectively but also by academic authorities. On the one hand,

Bakan believes that “history had misunderstood the fundamental meaning of the Musha Incident” because headhunting was simply a daily ritual and says that “the Ancestral Spirits will approve of Mona Rudao’s headhunting ritual, but they will never understand this thing called the Musha Incident.” Bakan thinks that the Incident could have been avoided if the Japanese colonial authorities and Mona Rudao had reached a peaceful resolution as the Seediq had tried. On the other hand, Danafu denies the historical existence of “the Incident,” claiming that there was only a large-scale Musha “headhunting ritual,” and that the common people must learn to forget the “man who led the ritual – Mona Rudao.” Danafu says that his father never understood what the “Second Musha Incident” was, not to mention “anything about its place in history” (6-7). The two Seediq men seem to oppose each other in their different perspectives on the Musha Incident because Danafu’s father actually participated in decapitating large numbers of Mhebu people, Mona Rudao’s people, during the second incident, though the Seediq Toda tribe did not take part in the Musha Incident. They seem to have a distrust of the history of the Musha Incident which they do not understand in terms of how it was recorded and narrated.

These two different interpretations of the Musha Incident suggest there was a clash of two different Seediq subtribes which had different views on the responsibility of the violent acts (two Incidents) and Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese colonizers though they had close kinship. How does the representation of two opposed views of the Musha incident by two characters identified as Seediq tribesmen work rhetorically as a form of resistance to academics? Wu He represents not only an academic debate between two intellectuals, but also a critique of the Japanese and

Chinese master narratives of the relationship between civilization and savagery that historians wrote about the Seediq people and their headhunting (hunting) rituals. Danafu writes, “those people writing the history books these days base everything on the explanations of government propagandists and misguided academics.” He has doubt that “historians can advocate a balanced historical theory.” For Danafu, “this is only a tragedy as defined by civilization, how could anyone ever say that we Seediqs were the ones who prompted the killing?” (7). The narrator says that both Bakan and Danafu have “resented the fact that civilization used their civilized tools to ‘massacre’ the six savage tribes—almost to the point of genocide – but could not accept the idea that savages would ‘massacre’ other savages” (7). Their remark here may sound alien to the reader, so do they as speaking persons who do not understand the meaning of civilization which has colonially caused more harm than good.

In Wu He’s *Remains of Life*, this Seediq rhetoric of resistance against forced Japanese colonization gives voices to the under-represented Seediq people in the Taiwanese society who have been traumatized, silenced, forgotten, and marginalized by Japanese and Chinese colonial authorities. The rise of democracy in Taiwan has given growing freedom of speech to Taiwanese authors like Wu He, who incorporates the idea of heteroglossia into his novel and creates indigenous characters and the non-indigenous narrator (an “ethnographer” doing investigation into the silenced Seediq community), the “speaking persons” to tell their “forbidden” stories about the Musha Incident and its aftermath which have threatened the Seediq identity and survival. In other words, according to the oral tradition, the Seediq rhetoric of resistance can be recognized in Seediq stories that counter the colonizers’ master narratives. It is a Taiwanese

indigenous rhetoric of resistance against colonizers' dominant ideology and academic authority responsible for inventing master narratives of the Musha Incident which portray the Seediq as “savages”—hence are subject to Japanese and Chinese assimilation (“civilization”) projects. As the Crow Creek Sioux scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn has argued, the validity of indigenous knowledge and oral traditions has long been challenged by “scientific” and “objective” methodologies that sought to delegitimize them (10-11). By artistically representing two Seediq intellectuals who challenge the master narratives in the history of the Musha Incident, the novel raises the question of historical accuracy on the record of Musha Incident, and the research methodologies and literary theories that researchers and intellectuals have used to interpret indigenous peoples. Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance prompt us to examine the motives and goals for research in indigenous studies in the project of promoting humanity and justice for indigenous people.

### **Case 2—The Story of Wu Feng vs. Tsou Rhetoric of Resistance and Representation**

On 10 September 2017, an article titled “Taiwan in Time: The Drastic Downfall of Wu Feng (吳鳳)” appeared in *Taipei Times*, and the author, Han Cheung, a staff reporter, began: “Revered for almost a century, the man who sacrificed himself to stop the Aboriginal practice of headhunting was removed from history textbooks in 1989, and slowly fading into obscurity.”<sup>81</sup> Why? It was supposed to teach a moral lesson to school children about Wu Feng’s good deed even before the KMT government retreated to Formosa from China after the Chinese Civil War. Cheung says, Wu Feng “was known

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<sup>81</sup> A copy of this news article can also be found at MCLC Resource Center in the department of Modern Chinese Literature and Culture at the Ohio State University (<https://u.osu.edu/mclc/2017/09/13/wu-fengs-downfall/>).

as a selfless, compassionate hero. Under both Japanese and Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) rule, every child read in school about how Wu sacrificed himself to stop Aborigines from their ‘savage and backward headhunting practices.’” The problem is that no one dared to question the Chinese colonial authority about the authenticity of Wu Feng’s identity and the accuracy of the story of Wu Feng because it came from a distant past.<sup>82</sup> It was an “authoritative discourse” on the name Wu Feng.

However, it is in the common interest of both indigenous and non-indigenous Taiwanese people to work together and resist the authoritative discourse of an oppressive regime and its education system in Taiwan. Thus, in the case of Wu Feng, I argue that an indigenous public protest is often seen as a rights movement and an indigenous (Tsou) act and rhetoric of resistance against what Burke calls an “ultimate vocabulary” or what Bakhtin calls “the authoritative word” in colonizers’ master narratives and assimilation project that are embedded in their dominant ideology and discourse of education.<sup>83</sup> Such indigenous public protest sometimes results in meaningful dialogue between Taiwanese indigenous people and government officials, or in solutions through legislation to bring change to unjust laws on the belief and practice of indigenous oral traditions for the sake of improving the lives of indigenous peoples.

Like the Qing Dynasty and later imperial Japan, the KMT regime believed that if they could control language, they could control native Taiwanese and indigenous

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<sup>82</sup> The legend of Wu Feng was first recorded in 1855 during the Qing Dynasty though he was born in 1699 and died in 1769. However, the legend of Wu Feng had changed and became different since 1855 (Xu).

<sup>83</sup> In this sentence I am trying to formulate my main argument for the analysis of the case of Wu Feng. I explain these two separate concepts, Burke’s “ultimate vocabulary” and Bakhtin’s “the authoritative word” and the similar meanings they have in the context of master narratives in the next paragraph. Also, I do not mean or use the term indigenous public protest as a special term but one that is different from any (non-indigenous) public protest against violation of any human or property rights.

peoples' thought and action.<sup>84</sup> The Mandarin Chinese became a superior, unitary, standard, official language and all other languages such as Hoklo, Hakka, and indigenous languages were treated as inferior "dialects" that non-Chinese children would be physically punished for speaking at school. Mandarin Chinese represents not only the Republic of China and the KMT, government, but also Chinese Nationalists (Mainlanders) who speak it. The KMT determines the meaning of every word one says and pronounces according to the imperial order or martial law during the 2-28 Incident and White Terror era. This situation is very similar to what Kenneth Burke says about enacting "an ultimate vocabulary" of an authoritarian ideology that "owes much of its persuasiveness to the way in which its theory of action fits its theory of order. For if any point, or 'moment,' in a hierarchic series can be said to represent, in its limited way, the principle or 'perfection' of the ultimate design, then each tiny act shares in the absolute meaning of the total act" (195). That is, The KMT's language policies reflect what Bakhtin calls "the authoritative word," which "demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it" (342). The authoritative word is supposed to be accepted without any questions by those who have no power and it is "organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already acknowledged in the past. It is a prior discourse." The authoritative word, Bakhtin writes, is not chosen "from among

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<sup>84</sup> Note that most Han Taiwanese did not speak Mandarin Chinese but Hoklo. Perhaps ignoring the historical strained ethnic relations between native Taiwanese (perhaps since the Dutch and Spanish colonization of Formosa) and indigenous peoples, Simon says that KMT Mainlanders (Chinese Nationalists) "claim a historical role as protector of indigenous peoples. In fact, village Mainlanders argued to me that the Qing Dynasty had protected indigenous peoples from settlers in the 19th century and that only the KMT can play that role in the present because the DPP is the party of Hoklo nationalists" ("Negotiating," 732). Contrary to the KMT's claim, many Taiwanese have said that the Qing Dynasty gave up on them because it gave away Formosa to the imperial Japan.

other possible discourses that are its equal,” but is “given (it sounds) in lofty spheres, not those of familiar contact” (342). Both imperial Japan and the KMT regime owned the ultimate vocabulary and dictated every word and sentence of their colonial assimilation projects. They created master narratives and transmitted them which usually assume the forms of slogans or propaganda; they rhetorically disguised their political motives for the representations of native Taiwanese and indigenous peoples. The narrative forms are designed to deceive subalterns or indigenous peoples rather than tell the truth as long as discernment of it is difficult, and its reality remains hidden.<sup>85</sup>

Both imperial Japan and the KMT regime created master narratives for their respective colonial projects on the indigenous peoples in Formosa, based on a mixture of historical fact and fiction, and in the authoritative words of their narratives, they made sure that there were no indigenous individuals disobeying their order. On the contrary, in Bakhtin terms, “in the history of literary language, there is a struggle constantly being waged to overcome the official line with its tendency to distance itself from the zone of contact, a struggle against various kinds and degrees of authority” (345).<sup>86</sup> Taiwanese rhetorics of resistance challenge the authoritative discourse of those official narratives that assert hegemonic language ideologies and distorted narratives about colonized peoples. For the indigenous peoples, Japanese and Chinese authoritative word is far removed from what Bakhtin calls the zone of “familiar contact,” which is rooted in their own languages, oral traditions, customs, cultures, and laws.

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<sup>85</sup> As Burke puts it, “the ‘ultimate’ order comes most natural to narrative forms. Usually, in narrative, it is so implicit that we may not even discern it” (197).

<sup>86</sup> “In this process discourse gets drawn into the contact zone, which results in semantic and emotionally expressive (intonational) changes: there is a weakening and degradation of the capacity to generate metaphors, and discourse becomes more reified, more concrete, more filled with everyday elements and so for” (345).

To analyze the case of Wu Feng in relation to the Tsou (tribe) rhetoric of resistance and its act against the colonizers' assimilation projects and master narratives that Chinese and the Japanese authorities used as colonial strategies for civilizing the "savages" in Taiwan – fake narratives that were eventually debunked by indigenous publications and public protest, I analyze a news article titled "Taiwan in Time: The Drastic Downfall of Wu Feng" by Cheung, examining how it voices a form of indigenous rhetoric of resistance against falsehoods, stereotypes, and the representation of indigenous people as "savages."

It is unclear when the story of Wu Feng began during the Qing Dynasty's rule. According to Cheung, the first known account of Wu Feng's story was published in 1855, but there have been different versions of it since then.<sup>87</sup> The story usually goes like this: Wu Feng lived with the Tsou Aborigines who inhabited Chiayi County, teaching them how to farm and make crafts. He attempted to persuade them to give up headhunting rituals but did not succeed. One day, Wu Feng told them to decapitate a man dressed in red clothes who would pass by the following day. After they followed Wu Feng's instruction, they realized that they had actually beheaded their friend Wu Feng, who sacrificed his own life in order to change their heart. They were shocked and saddened by the incident and vowed to abandon their headhunting practice forever. However, when Japan colonized Formosa, it appropriated the story of Wu Feng and elaborated on it. Subsequently, during the Japanese colonial rule, Wu Feng's "motives

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<sup>87</sup> Cheung points out that "the commemorative 1985 book Wu Feng" depicting him as "The Righteous Man (義人吳鳳) contains songs, poems and submitted essays praising Wu's character and his determination to 'civilize our mountain compatriots.'" He says, the 1855 story was rather different from the story in school textbooks, which "was a simple tale of how Wu volunteered to die for two Han Chinese villagers after asking them to flee. After his death, his ghost haunted the Aborigines and brought them great sickness. Terrified, the Aborigines vowed not to kill any more Han Chinese in that area and paid tribute to Wu's grave every spring and fall" (*Taipei Times*).



went from protecting his people to ‘civilizing the savages.’ The purpose was manifold: to discourage Han Chinese from fighting against other races, to show that Aborigines can be civilized through kindness and also serve as an example for colonial officials. The tale was made into films, plays and entered elementary school textbooks” (Cheung). Though historically a distant figure, Wu Feng became a modern national hero, and according to the Chinese customs and traditions, he was deified, like Confucius, at a temple built in 1820, Chiayi County, Taiwan, where he was supposedly killed by the people of Tsou tribe. The Tsou people were conscious of their oppressive situation though they were not allowed to speak for themselves because the powerful colonizers had already decided to speak for them through languages, narratives and folktales they controlled and invented.

Later, after Japan surrendered at the end of World War II, the KMT government appropriated, translated and transmitted the entire Japanese version of “the legend into its textbooks, promoting Wu as a beacon of Chinese virtues that people should look up to” (Cheung). In terms of appropriating and transmitting another’s words and texts, Bakhtin says that this is “the tendency to assimilate others’ discourse” that “takes on an even deeper and more basic significance in an individual’s ideological becoming, in the most fundamental sense.” The assimilation “performs here as *authoritative discourse*, and an *internally persuasive discourse*” because it no longer serves as “information, directions, rules, models and so forth—but strives rather to determine the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behavior” (342).<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> According to Bakhtin, “both the authority of discourse and its internal persuasiveness may be united in a single word – one that is simultaneously authoritative and internally persuasive – despite the profound differences between these two categories of alien discourse. But such unity is rarely a given – it happens more frequently that an individual’s becoming, an ideological process, is characterized precisely by a sharp

The story of Wu Feng had become an official folktale, incorporated into school textbooks and taught by school teachers. The school students from other ethnic groups such as Hoklo, Hakka and aborigines would often get punished physically for not speaking Chinese, not to mention learning school lessons like the story of Wu Feng.

The story of Wu Feng became an authoritative discourse of a folktale handed down from generation to generation, and school teachers often dictated the story of Wu Feng and executed the project of assimilation through language and master-slave narration in their authoritative discourse of the KMT regime's ideology during the martial law period. Cheung cites school teachers' essays about the story of Wu Feng which show imperialistic Chinese attitude toward indigenous peoples and children, pointing out: "Wu Feng was the first Han Chinese to give the mountain compatriots human rights. Throughout history, whenever Chinese culture came in contact with barbarians, it always used the method of gradual and natural assimilation," a schoolteacher Huang Kun-yuan (黃崑源) wrote in an essay. "Wu Feng lived in savage land but he did not let his superiority get the better of him. Instead, he did all he could to improve the lives of the mountain compatriots." The majority of students in Taiwan used to keep quiet in classrooms, not encouraged to raise their hands and ask questions mainly because the education system adopted the "banking method" coined by Paulo Freire that students' brains are treated as vessels ready for the teacher to deposit knowledge without students questioning the subject matter. Another schoolteacher, Yan Ming-hsiung (顏明雄), wrote that the "reason Han Chinese culture has been able to

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gap between these two categories: in one, the authoritative word (religious, political, moral; the word of a father, of adults and of teachers, etc.) that does not know internal persuasiveness, in the other internally persuasive word that is denied all privilege, backed up by no authority at all, and is frequently not even acknowledged in society (not by public opinion, nor by scholarly norms, nor by criticism), not even in the legal code" (342).

survive for thousands of years while absorbing weaker and inferior races is because of the Confucian virtues of compassion and righteousness,” adding that “Wu Feng sacrificed his life to change the bad habits of the Aborigines. This is because of the virtues that have been present in Chinese culture since ancient times .... We should carry forward the spirit of our people” (Cheung).<sup>89</sup> These imperialistic Chinese teachers’ authoritative words represent a gross violation of indigenous peoples’ human rights and dignity, by referring to them as “barbarians,” “savage lands,” and “weaker and inferior races.”

Imperialistic Chinese teachers often shamed their indigenous students in classrooms. As Cheung puts it, the story of Wu Feng brought “feelings of shame” to Aborigines. Huang Hsiao-chiao (黃筱喬) writes in the study “Sense of Identity Beginning from Wu Feng” (身分認同從吳鳳說起) that “As a half Aborigine, I felt angry when I read this story. I was angry that I had the blood of such an uncivilized people in me.” In addition, “others spoke in various reports of being looked down upon because of the story and even attacked by Han Chinese children who wanted to take revenge for Wu Feng” (Cheung). Huang’s personal story about how the story of Wu

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<sup>89</sup> In short, Cheung sums up the main points of the problematic essays by the Chinese Nationalist teachers he read with a note: almost every essay ended with something along the lines of “we must apply Wu Feng’s spirit to our lives so we can defeat the Communists and reclaim the mainland.” In its political motives and authoritative discourse, the KMT regime politicizes teaching Confucian virtues as a pedagogical ideology that transmits the story of Wu Feng for the aim of its project of assimilation. Chinese teachers are to make sure that the transmission of their politicized Confucius teachings to be followed, echoed, memorized and recited in both verbal and written forms of speech by students without questioning its authority from generation to generation. In Bakhtin’s terms, “when verbal disciplines are taught in school, two basic modes are recognized for the appropriation and transmission – simultaneously – of another’s words (a text, a rule, a model): ‘reciting by heart’ and ‘retelling in one’s own words’...” (341).<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, such dichotomy between Chinese superior moral virtues and civilization and Taiwanese indigenous headhunting rituals does not help the KMT regime promote education and human rights but bring constant shame and discrimination against Formosan indigenes that eventually resulted in the Tsou rhetoric of resistance against the fake legend of Wu Feng in Taiwan.

Feng had made a negative impact on his indigenous identity and life needs to be taken seriously because of the problem of century-long master narratives of the colonizers being used to teach and civilize the “savages.”

In the early 1980s, however, Chen Chi-nan (陳其南), a non-indigenous anthropologist, wrote a “revolutionary” article titled “A Fabricated Legend: Wu Feng (一個捏造的神話: 吳鳳)” which surfaced in a local newspaper, the *Minsheng Daily* (民生報) that eventually brought down the story of Wu Feng. The article title suggests that much of the story of Wu Feng was simply invented myth relating to the authoritative words of two competing colonial powers’ master narratives. Chen, a Yale University Ph.D. graduate, a professor of the University of Virginia, and the former director of National Palace Museum in Taipei, once said that “history does not serve colonists,” and according to Xie Wenhua, Chen observes that “those who opposed the restoration of the Great China’s view of history in textbooks were now labeled as beautifying the Japanese colonial rulers.” Chen therefore wanted to cite the myth of Wu Feng to highlight that in his words: “history is history and politics is politics,” and that there is no such thing as “beautifying whoever colonial ruler” (*Liberty Times; Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples Portal*).<sup>90</sup> From the standpoint of an anthropologist, Chen believes that the story of Wu Feng should not have been appropriated because of politics, and his observation suggests that the myth of Wu Feng was a misrepresentation of Wu Feng as a historical, heroic figure, and that the authoritative discourse of Wu Feng’s story had been responsible for stigmatizing Aborigines especially the Tsou people as savages, silencing and shaming them by imperialistic Chinese school teachers and students for over a century. Therefore,

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<sup>90</sup> This is a Google Translation of Chen’s statement in Chinese from the *Liberty Times* news article. It also appears in *Taiwan’s Indigenous Peoples Portal*. <http://www.tipp.org.tw/news>.

Chen's article not only spoke for Formosan indigenous peoples but also helped them become awakened and consciousness of the social injustice and dehumanization done to them.

Chen's article puts the authenticity of Wu Feng's identity and validity of the story about him in question. It has become a driving force for indigenous peoples in Taiwan to mobilize their human rights movement in the form of public protest, I argue, as the Tsou rhetoric of resistance against unjust law, and against implementation of the authoritative discourse of master narratives portrayed in school textbooks. According to Cheung, "the Aboriginal rights movement soon took off, and during the 1985 ceremony, several Aborigines showed up wearing white shirts that read: 'Wu is not a hero' and 'Wu Feng's story is the shame of education.'" Soon after the martial law was lifted in 1987, "the rectification of Wu Feng's story became a focus of Aboriginal protests, and in 1988, local pastor Lin Tsung-cheng (林宗正) led a group of Aborigines and destroyed the Wu Feng statue in front of Chiayi train station with a chainsaw" (Cheung). Pastor Lin was subsequently put in jail for seven years because of the violence that ended up destroying public properties (Wu Feng's statue); he started with the angry aboriginal protesters. Therefore, the Aboriginal movement in the form of on-going indigenous publication and demonstration (public protests) in this case can be seen as acts and Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance against injustice and human rights violation (against their stereotyped identity as "savages," discrimination, and oral traditions that obviously the Tsou tribe was singled out) because the majority of indigenous tribes, including the Tsou tribe, share headhunting rituals. There was a possibility that the KMT regime's authoritative discourse of Wu Feng's story in terms of educating and civilizing the

savages would eventually collapse. At last, Cheung reports that on 12 September 1989, Minister of Education Mao Kao-wen (毛高) agreed to remove the story of Wu Feng from the textbooks (*Taipei Times*).

These acts against colonial master narratives and assimilation projects are an example of Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance that involve all tribes protesting colonial injustice and human rights violations. The public protests against stereotyped indigenous identities as “savages” and the misrepresentation of their oral traditions (stories) constituted a social movement showing solidarity among all tribal communities, against imperial Chinese master narratives that falsely accused the Tsou people of Wu Feng’s “sacrificial” death, because of their practice of headhunting rituals seen as their “uncivilized” action. Consequently, Taiwanese Aborigines from all tribes became the objects of the Chinese colonizers’ assimilation project and public shaming at school by imperialistic Chinese teachers and students. In contrast, the Seediq rhetoric of resistance in the case of Musha Incident can be seen as an isolated tragic incident, a war between the Seediq “nation” and imperial Japan, whereas the Tsou rhetoric of resistance in the case of Wu Feng became a social movement against Chinese colonizers’ dominant ideology and discourse of education embedded in their master narratives for all Taiwanese indigenous peoples. In Wu He’s novel, the Seediq intellectuals challenge indigenous academic discipline and imperialistic Japanese master narratives (propaganda) portraying Formosan indigenes as “savages” responsible for the Musha Incident. However, in the case of Wu Feng’s story, indigenous public protestors challenge Chinese master narratives about “savages” with the help of the non-indigenous anthropologist, Chen Chi-nan, whose academic research provides convincing

evidence to debunk the two-century-long myth of Wu Feng and removed the legend of Wu Feng in school textbooks in Taiwan.

### **Case 3 – The Story of Sayun: The Atayal Rhetoric of Resistance and Representation**

Like the story of Wu Feng, the story of Sayun has been politicized by both imperial Japan and the Republic of China's KMT government. According to the common telling of the story, Sayun was a 17-year-old girl from the Atayal tribe, who was born and lived in a remote, mountainous indigenous settlement (area) called Ryohen Village in Formosa.<sup>91</sup> In 1938, Sayun was a student of a Japanese teacher, Masaki Takita, who lived and worked in the distant mountain village. One day, Takita received a military draft to go to the battlefield in China. He asked Sayun to help him carry his luggage out of the mountain village. Unfortunately, Takita, Sayun and other helpers were caught in a typhoon on their journey. Sayun fell into a river and was quickly swept away by a rushing torrent. Her body was never found.<sup>92</sup> In 1941 a new version of Sayun emerged. After learning of Sayun's good deed, Governor-General Hasegawa Kiyoshi presented Ryohen Village with a bell inscribed with the following phrase: "The Bell of the Patriotic Maiden Sayon."<sup>93</sup> Ching says that "the reclamation of Sayon as a patriotic body requires the authorship and the authority of the colonial government" (810). That

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<sup>91</sup> Sayun's Atayal full name is Sayun Hayun or Sayun Hayon (Japanese: サヨン; Chinese: 沙韻, 莎鴛 or 紗蓉; Taiwanese (Hoklo): 莎勇/莎詠). Note that Jinyue Village, called "Home of Sayun" today, is not the original, mountainous village, Ryohen, where Sayun lived. The KMT government forced all of the Ryohen villagers (Atayal people) to relocate in Jinyue Village in the plain.

<sup>92</sup> In November that year, a memorial service was held for Sayun, and Takita sent a telegram to thank those people at the service. In December, the Governor General in Taipei visited Sayun's village, family and paid respect to Sayun at her grave; in his condolences he even wrote a poem about Sayun and instructed his officers to spread the news of Sayun's "patriotic" deed, which drew more official attention in Formosa and Japan. However, the story of Sayun was quiet for a while.

<sup>93</sup> Note the different spellings of the Atayal girl's name: Sayun and Sayon. The name, Sayon, suggests the Japanese fictionalized version of the girl as a patriotic heroine, and it appears on the title of the Japanese film, *Sayon's Bell* as well.

is, Sayun became a Japanese, imperialized subject and patriotic heroine, and her name was changed to Sayon, who sacrificed her life for the emperor of Japan. The authoritative discourse of Sayon's story was to be written in school textbooks and taught in public schools. In 1943, Sayun's tragic accident was made into a propaganda film called *Sayon's Bell* (*Sayon no Kane*; Japanese: サヨンの鐘; Chinese: 莎韻之鐘) by the Japanese imperial government. While the Second World War seemed to overshadow or complicate the on-going Japanese colonial project, *Sayon's Bell* was widely screened in Formosa, China and South East Asia; however, the official motives behind such a film might not speak well for indigenous peoples, in particular, the Atayal people and Sayun.

When the KMT government, Chinese Nationalist soldiers and refugees came and took over Taiwan in 1945, it banned *Sayon's Bell* in an attempt to erase the memories of native Taiwanese and indigenous people about the film.<sup>94</sup> In 1957, the KMT relocated the Atayal inhabitants of Ryohen Village—Sayun's home village in the mountains—and moved them to Jinyue Village in the plain near the coast (Nan'ao Township in Yilan Country). However, despite the KMT regime's ban on *Sayon's Bell*, narratives about Sayun were expressed in different forms, in paintings, novels, songs, and other films. According to Darryl Sterk, Sayun's story was adapted for a 1958 Taiwanese language film, now lost, which was “freighted with a civilizing or imperial mission” and played up Sayun's tale as romantic martyrdom,” with its poster showing how the Japanese

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<sup>94</sup> As a matter of fact, I remember that my Taiwanese parents used to listen to the song of *Sayon's Bell* in Japanese on their record player at home though as a child from a younger generation, I had no idea about what the song meant, or why they were listening to it with enthusiasm. They could speak some Japanese, sometimes with their Taiwanese friends who were educated during the Japanese colonial rule. They never talked about the 2-28 Incident and White Terror. When they talked in private, they were careful about possible eavesdropping neighbors even though my parents were not involved in politics.



teacher had become a KMT officer (213).<sup>95</sup> Though the Taiwanese version of *Sayon's Bell* did not show Sayun's patriotic love for imperial Japan, the censorship of the KMT still kept the film from being distributed. In 1959, "a Taiwanese language popular song about Sayun was released, only to be banned simply because it was about the colonial era" (Sterk 213). Instead, a 1962 Mandarin Chinese song titled *Moon Nocturne* (月光小夜曲) became popular, which appropriated the melody of the Japanese film *Sayon's Bell*, but without any reference to Sayun. With Sayun's story being forbidden under the White Terror, younger generations had no clue about *Sayon's Bell* or the anti-Japanese elements of *Moon Nocturne*, which has since become a popular, classic song. The KMT regime's authoritative discourse has taken over the Japanese one in its colonial language education.

Both Japanese and Chinese colonizers used media (film, song, lyric, etc.) as tools to help them spread their propaganda and authoritative words of their master narratives. The colonizers had changed Sayun's indigenous identity from a "savage" girl to a Japanese patriotic heroine and a romantic lover of a Chinese officer. Also, the KMT regime removed the Atayal people from Ryohen Village (Sayun's home) on the mountain to Jinyue Village in the plain. The problem is that the relocation has caused Atayal elders' suffering from their forbidden memories of the past. The elders had been silenced to tell their stories for so long that even younger generations in the Atayal community of the new village had no clue about the sad history of the old village and Sayun's true identity. This raises the question of who can represent the relocated Atayal

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<sup>95</sup> Sterk cites Lin Liang-zhe's article, "From Patriotism to Romance: How the Semiotic Code of *Sayon's Bell* was Constructed" and says that "Judging from the poster, the Japanese teacher had turned into a Kuomintang (KMT) officer [Lin Liang-zhe 2007, 54-55]" (213).

elders and Sayun's true identity through their own narratives, songs and films of Sayun? In 2011, unprecedentedly, one of the most noticeable events in relation to the story of Sayun is a young Atayal woman from Sayun's village, Laha Mebow (陳潔瑤Chen Chieh-yao), who represented her community on their own terms and came out to direct the romance film called *Under a Different Moonlight: Finding Sayun* (不一樣的月光).<sup>96</sup> In some ways, the making of *Finding Sayun* offers the reverse to the Mandarin Chinese pop song *Moon Nocturne*, undoing the erasure of Sayun and her story from popular culture.

The re-introduction of Sayun and her community in popular consciousness represents a Taiwanese indigenous social movement—a form of indigenous rhetoric of resistance against the erasure of indigenous identities in colonial master narratives and popular culture. This is not a public protest involving direct and visible political action, like the public protests around the case of Wu Feng. Rather, I argue, it is an act of artistic resistance against colonial master narratives through indigenous self-representation and media, demonstrating not only an alternative perspective on indigenous identity but also a critique of authoritative discourses and master narratives, as well as the colonial treatment of Taiwanese indigenous people. Hence, I argue that this indigenous protest gave voice to Atayal rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese and Chinese master narratives of Sayun and her home village that have left permanent scars on the memories of the past in Sayun's Atayal community. Attending to the

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<sup>96</sup> According to news sources, Laha Mebow's grandmother was one of Sayun's classmates in the old village. Mebow grew up in the new village after the Atayal people in the old village were relocated by the KMT government. In a national TV interview, Mebow says that Sayun was a relative of her family ("Taiwan Revelation" 2). Additionally, according to Darryl Sterk, Mebow's film, *Finding Sayon*, is not an aboriginal romance for the following reasons: "At first, there is no strong narrative line, and the casting director's efforts soon fizzle out. Yet not every feature film needs to have a good story, just as plot is not the point of every novel" ("Finding Sayon").

heteroglossic nature of this indigenous protest movement, I examine the interaction of multiple voices in Mebow's *Finding Sayun* as they reconstruct the stories of the marginalized Atayal people.

The Japanese and Chinese master narratives about Sayun are the product of colonial speech (both written and spoken) that has politically appropriated the original story of Sayun and transmitted authoritative discourses that advance colonial propaganda and the assimilation project. Such official master narratives are what Bakhtin calls rhetorical genres, which are “intensely dialogized forms” that “possess the most varied forms for transmitting another’s speech.” According to Bakhtin, rhetoric relies on the “vivid re-accentuating of the words it transmits (often to the point of distorting them completely),” which is “accomplished by the appropriate framing context” (354).<sup>97</sup> By re-accentuating and framing words in the original stories (e.g. love or sacrifice for your country), both Japanese and Chinese colonial authorities changed the meaning of both Sayun’s and Wu Feng’s stories to transmit them as authoritative discourses. This created new master narratives around the story of Sayun that—coupled with the implementation of a unitary, unifying language through formal education and mass media—suppressed the voices and discourses other Taiwan’s different indigenous and ethnic populations. Consequently, the truth of Sayun’s story was distorted, silenced, if not outright forbidden in the heteroglot world and among the Atayal people specifically.

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<sup>97</sup> Bakhtin says, “Rhetorical genres provide rich material for studying a variety of forms for transmitting another’s speech, the most varied means for formulating and framing such speech. Using rhetoric, even a representation of a speaker and his discourse of the sort one finds in prose art is possible ... in most cases the double-voicedness of rhetoric is abstract and thus lends itself to formal, purely logical analysis of the ideas that are parceled out in voices, an analysis that then exhausts it” (354).

Laha Mebow's film, *Under a Different Moonlight: Finding Sayun* (不一樣的月光) gives voice to Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance as an artistic form of indigenous social protest against the representation of indigeneity in Taiwan. In my reading of this film, I begin from Shohat's guiding principle that "[e]ach filmic or academic utterance must be analyzed not only in terms of who represents but also in terms of who is being represented, for what purpose, at which historical moment, from which location, using which strategies, and in what tone of address" (173). *Finding Sayun* begins with a television crew who comes to the Atayal village, Jinyue Village, and conducts a series of interviews on the indigenous people, young and old members of her Atayal community. Drawn by the legendary Sayun, the crew members who appear to be outsiders are making documentaries about the story of Sayun as part of the film plot. In the process of filming the documentary, there are scenes such as one in which a lady (director) is heard scouting for talented people to act. Among the auditions, a young hunter, Yukan Basan, is chosen as the protagonist of the film though at first he is not interested in acting. Yukan does not know why the film crew is in the village, not knowing much about Sayun's story. Later, in another scene, Yukan asks his grandfather Wilang Bonay, a 77-year-old tribal elder, what he was looking at on an old photo taken during the Japanese colonization. He replies: "My classmate, Sayun!" Wilang expresses his wish to embark on a journey to go back to his old village with the film crew, though his grandson says that Wilang is physically not strong enough to go through the difficult, dangerous mountainous trails to return to his old home. Another scene captures the audience that a Japanese version portraying the seemingly romantic relationship between Sayun and her Japanese teacher, including later Sayun being swept away by a rushing

torrent in a river while she and other students are helping their Japanese teacher carry his luggage. But then some village tribal elders who knew Sayun come out to refute the romance by saying that she was just a young indigenous girl not involved in love at all. The film ends with Wilang successfully leading the film crew to find his old village and singing the song of *Sayun's Bell* in Japanese after following “the Road of Sayun,” a mountainous trail that is believed to be the road Sayun used to walk on; the film crew including Mebow finally concludes their four-day difficult mountainous journey.

Mebow represents her Atayal tribe in her effort on their indigenous rhetoric of resistance against both Japanese and Chinese colonial master narratives, because the latter have misrepresented and spoken for Sayun. Even though she was constantly short of funding while filming *Finding Sayun*, Mebow successfully represents her own Atayal community and Sayun story from an Atayal perspective. For Mebow, indigenous self-representation takes priority over professionalism in acting and commercial interest in making a profit out of her film. She gives Atayal community members voice by letting them speak for themselves through different media (including film, documentary interviews, and songs) and by telling their stories about Sayun, giving particular attention to tribal elders who had been displaced from their homeland and relocated to the new village. Mebow's film cast and crew mainly consist of Atayal people from her community with a vision or plot to reconnect with the story of Sayun. Despite the fact that the cast is not comprised of professional actors, Ho Yi writes that *Finding Sayun* is Mebow's “sincere attempt to reconnect with her roots” (*Taipei Times*). Mebow reconnected with Atayal elders to undo the erasure of their own repressed memories about Sayun and their old village in their Atayal. In doing so, Mebow gives voice to

Atayal rhetorics of resistance against the authoritative discourses of master narratives. This reconnection to the past represents an important process of historical awakening for younger generations of Atayal people—including Mebow, Yukan, and other young members of the cast and crew—to bridge past and present understandings of Sayun’s story.

In the plot of her film, Mebow has developed two key strategies for her peaceful protest against the authoritative discourses of master narratives. First, she creates opportunities for retrieving the collective memory and voices of Sayun’s old family members, classmates, and village people who knew Sayun by asking them to tell their own stories about the real Sayun they knew—a form of indigenous resistance against the Japanese and Chinese propaganda that cast Sayun as a Japanese patriot or a “mysterious” romantic lover. This strategy entails a pushback against the master narratives about Sayun’s romance with her Japanese teacher. In the film, she shows a popular version of Sayun’s story told by an aboriginal man in the village who tells a visiting TV crew about the romance. Then, the crew visits other aborigines, young and old village people from house to house, interviewing and asking them about what they know about Sayun’s romance.<sup>98</sup> The tribal elders who knew about Sayun tell a different story from the popular, romantic version of Sayun. For instance, Sayun’s nephew says that Sayun and her Japanese teacher had no romantic relationship because she was just a

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<sup>98</sup> A national TV news channel in Taiwan shows many other villagers, young and old, were interviewed and heard saying that Sayun was no more than 12, 13, or 14 years old – not 17 years old as far as narratives of Sayun go. They said that Sayun happened to go with the other students to help their Japanese teacher carry his personal belongings on that tragic day. In their indigenous rhetoric of resistance against false stories about Sayun, Sayun’s relatives, including Mebow’s grandmother who was Sayun’s classmate, defended Sayun by saying that there was actually no romantic love involved in the relationship between Sayun and her Japanese teacher at all as portrayed in other versions of Sayun’s story; they said that it would go against their tradition, custom and law if Sayun was having a love relationship with her Japanese teacher at her age; they were very careful about Sayun’s reputation as an innocent, ordinary indigenous girl (“Taiwan Revelation 1”).

little child. Another older man said that Sayun's death was simply an accident, and that the story that she had a romantic relationship is not right. Later, in a TV news channel, the producer asked Mebow about Sayun's romance in her film, and she said that it is "not right" that Sayun had a romantic relationship according to the Atayal indigenous beliefs, suggesting that she does not believe Sayun's romance. Later in the film, a group of young aborigines and the elder Wilang are sitting around a campfire at night, and one girl asks: Grandpa, was Sayun your girlfriend? Wilang quickly answered, "No, she was my classmate!" Then suddenly, the Chinese pop song, *Moon Nocturne*, begins to play in the background when Sayun's photos in which she and her classmates were shown in the Japanese school she attended emerge on the film screen. As suggested by the first half of the film's title, *Under a Different Moonlight*, Mebow subtly alludes both to Sayun's presence and absence, since *Moon Nocturne*—an appropriation of the Japanese song from *Sayon's Bell*—does not even mention Sayun's name.

Mebow's second strategy of resistance against the colonial treatment of the Atayal is to find the original Sayun and to return to her ancestral land. In the film, the cast and crew set out on the quest for Sayun's favorite but forbidden and forgotten mountain trail called "the Road of Sayun," which will eventually lead to the old Ryohen Village. This is a historical moment and location for Mebow and her Atayal tribe because she herself is like a pilgrim on the journey with the crew to look for Sayun's Road to return to her Atayal homeland. Mostly significantly, the 77-year-old tribal elder Wilang—Sayun's former classmate—will take the lead to help them get to Ryohen. In *Finding Sayun*, Mebow attempts to reconstruct Sayun's life by tracing back to the historical origin of the story of Sayun. It took them two days to reach Ryohen through

rough mountainous terrain, wilderness, treacherous cliffs and rivers. At the end of their journey, Wilang is heard singing *Sayon's Bell* in Japanese triumphantly from his vivid memories of the past while leading the whole film crew to reach Ryohen. Mebow's film *Finding Sayun* shows "the process," as she says, that it can find Sayun by going back to the old Atayal village on the mountain, Ryohen Village, Sayun's birthplace and home. Mebow concludes, Sayun was simply an Atayal girl that had nothing to do with Japanese patriotism, Chinese moonlight or the romantic Sayun ("Taiwan Revelation 2").

For the goal of her film, Mebow wants to shed a different light on the story of Sayun in her peaceful protest against the master narratives of Sayun. *Finding Sayun* recognizes that there are many different versions of Sayun in various rhetorical genres, the most familiar of which is the romantic story of the Japanese teacher who falls in love with the girl. As Mebow explains, however, "as the Japanese have presented the story through their perspective, now we are going to interpret it on our own" (*Taiwan News*). This artistic resistance against the Japanese colonizing narrative is an inherently heteroglossic one in Bakhtin's terms, as Mebow's rendering of Sayun's story listens to multiple voices in her Atayal community. As Ho Yi argues, Mebow knows that "there is more than one way to look at history, and uses documentary footage to show how differently the story is remembered by the villagers she interviews" (*Taipei Times*).

Mebow's film is not intended to give the audience the "true" story of Sayun, but offers what Sterk calls "a web of unfinished, ongoing, interrelated stories of people in the community" ("Finding Sayun"). More importantly, Mebow has explained that the film's object is to emphasize "that tribal cultures are dying" and that the "disappearing memories of the tribe are the centerpiece of the film" (Psyche Cho). As a form of Atayal



rhetoric of resistance against the erasure of tribal memories, *Finding Sayun* refutes colonial master narratives of indigenous disappearance by restoring Atayal historical memories. Instead of simply retelling her story for people who are curious about the mystery and legend of Sayun, Mebow's film shows this active process of recovery as well as the Atayal tribe's love for their land ("Taiwan Revelation 2").

The Chinese and Japanese master narratives surrounding the Musha Incident, Wu Feng, and Sayun have done tremendous damage to Taiwan's indigenous peoples' images in public, identities, traditions, cultures, and land, and have affected indigenous lives for centuries. In various ways, Seediq, Tsou, and Atayal people—as well as non-indigenous writers—have resisted the authoritative academic and political discourses through which institutions and governments transmitted falsehood, propaganda, and dehumanizing portraits of both indigenous and non-indigenous Taiwanese people. The master narratives of the Seediq tribe and the “savages” in the Musha Incident, the Tsou tribe and Wu Feng's “self-less, sacrificial” virtue, and the Atayal tribe and Sayun's “patriotic and romantic” relationships are cases of misrepresentations, and they have deprived Taiwanese indigenous peoples of their voices to be heard in public and academia. Nevertheless, Taiwanese indigenous peoples must continue their acts and rhetorics of resistance against any unfair and unjust academic publications and political policies that affect their lives by falsifying and stereotyping their identities and taking away their rights to speak for themselves.

Furthermore, Taiwanese indigenous peoples should take advantage of Taiwan's democracy, modern technology and access to participate in productions of their own literature, film, documentary, TV, and social media and tell their own stories, counter

master narratives and help non-indigenous people better understand their indigenous oral traditions, religions, cultures and way of life. Like Mebow, they use these technologies and media for indigenous people to represent themselves and to garner public support and funding for indigenous projects. After all, the three case studies in this chapter are by no means the only ones that concern the misrepresentation and stigmatization of indigenous people in Taiwan, or the violations of indigenous hunting, land, and language education rights. The story of Taiwanese indigenous resistance is an inherently heteroglossia one, and we still need to listen to many other indigenous voices who have resisted this injustice and inhumanity.

CHAPTER IV  
RITUALS, SIGNS, AND HETEROGLOSSIA IN *WARRIORS OF THE  
RAINBOW: SEEDIQ BALE*

Taiwan's most expensive epic film, Wei Te-Sheng's *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (2011) tells the story of the forgotten Musha Incident of 1930. The film begins with a hunting incursion on a hunting ground in the forest between two warring tribes, the Bunun and Seediq. A young Seediq, Mona Rudao, single-handedly breaks through enemy lines and cuts off two dead Bunun men's heads. The Bunun men chase and shoot him with bullets while Rudao is running away for his life with the two severed heads in a mesh bag he carries. Rudao, his father and tribal hunters come home triumphantly and celebrate as Rudao's mother does his first facial tattoos as marks of manhood. This scene is quickly followed by another scene in which Mona Rudao and his men of Mehebu clan from Tgdaya have a bitter exchange of words with some Seediqs of Tnbarah clan from Toda. A teenager, Temu Wallis, challenges Rudao and threatens to kill him when the former grows up. These two warring clans of the Seediq tribe are trading a local Han businessman their animal furs and meat for salt. The Han Taiwanese, speaking Hoklo and having his body guards shown their rifles, quickly warns off Rudao and tells him not to make trouble on his property. Mona Rudao and his men angrily walk away, quickly run home and take out their rifles, ready to ambush and kill the Seediqs of Tnbarah who are passing by Rudao's hunting ground. With his rifle, Rudao aims at Temu Wallis but misses his target. Then, in the next scene the Japanese army invades the land

of the Seediq people. Mona Rudao is seen running and carrying his dying father injured during their resistance against the Japanese army. The Seediq tribe is subsequently overcome by Japanese superior modern weaponry and overwhelming number of soldiers.

These opening scenes of *Warriors* suggest that indigenous hunting grounds are something sacred and connected to indigenous ancestral spirits and law. For example, Mona Rudao's mother, while performing a tattooing ritual on his face, says that "from now on you shall abide by our ancestral spirits to guard our clan and our hunting grounds" (3:40-3:50). By engaging in the practice of headhunting twice, Mona Rudao becomes a Seediq Bale and his facial tattoos authenticate his new identity of manhood according to the law, Gaya.<sup>99</sup> "Seediq Bale" literally means "true men" and has an inseparable relation to facial tattoos, the rainbow bridge and above all – Gaya. As Michael Stainton explains, a Seediq Bale lives by Gaya and is "entitled to join the ancestors across the rainbow bridge" (*Taipei Times*). Also, the Seediq protection of their indigenous hunting grounds or homeland is associated with the act of headhunting for the law of Gaya, an act that serves as a fierce deterrent to enemies crossing their borderlands. Scott Simon points out that in Seediq villages, "young people and lobbyists for indigenous autonomy" usually recall "headhunting as an assertion of sovereignty against external invaders" ("Politics and Headhunting" 165). Although I do not mean to overlook the violence inherent in headhunting or to defend it as practice, I approach the cultural representation of headhunting as more than a depiction of acts of violence. As a strategy for asserting indigenous sovereignty against invaders, headhunting historically played a

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<sup>99</sup> In *Indigenous Cultural Translation: A Thick Description of Seediq Bale*, Darryl Sterk suggests that Gaya can be interpreted as "spiritual power" rather than law. Sterk argues that citing Gaya can be a "rhetorical move," as Mona Rudao did in his day. That is, Mona Rudao "was the law, and the spirit of the law was in some sense in him" (122).

role in setting territorial boundaries and keeping different tribes and clans apart from one another for centuries, even before colonial powers—especially Japanese colonizers—came to conquer the entire island of Formosa.

With the arrival of Japanese colonizers, many things changed for the worse, for the Seediq people and other indigenous tribes on the island of Formosa. Many of the indigenous hunting grounds have been disappearing or become depleted with dwindling number of animals for hunting because of imperial Japan's exploitation of logging and camphor in the forest.<sup>100</sup> In *Warriors*, Mona Rudao is not only concerned with the problem of logging, but also with the fact that Seediq workers are not paid enough for their worth of labor to buy food for survival. As the leader of his clan, he has heard his Seediq people crying out to him for help – they have told him stories about the Japanese police's inhumane treatment and brutalities against them. More importantly, he knows that the Seediq people are facing an existential crisis as their language, culture, rituals, land, oral tradition, and way of life are disappearing day by day.

Furthermore, as a spiritual leader, Mona Rudao sees the crisis of the Seediq people losing their identity and Gaya law—a crisis that will eventually result in their rights being denied after death to cross the rainbow bridge to join their ancestors in their heavenly home. When the Japanese colonial power conquered the indigenous peoples in Formosa, the first thing they did was to ban facial tattooing and headhunting rituals. In

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<sup>100</sup> The Japanese colonists “set up logging yards in the forest areas, especially predatory logging of the virgin forests of Taiwan, and forced the aborigines to engage in hard labor in forest logging....It is a testimony to the plunder of Taiwan's resources by Japanese colonists.” Also, the colonists exploited other Taiwan's resources such as camphor. According to statistics, “Taiwan's camphor production accounts for nearly 80% of the world's total. The Japanese colonial authorities began to monopolize Taiwan's specialty camphor, and all camphor or camphor oil manufactured by the private sector must be paid to the colonial government” (“Japan Frantically Plunders”).

the film *Warriors of the Rainbow*, Japanese colonizers call themselves “civilized” people, whereas they treat Formosan aborigines as “savages.” The ban on these important rituals suggests that the Seediq people are deprived by the Japanese colonial authority of their indigenous identity in terms of “true” manhood and womanhood (Seediq women earn their facial tattoos by learning how to weave clothes), and that their ancestors will not recognize them when going across the rainbow bridge without the marks (signs) of facial tattoos and let them enter the heavenly home. Mona Rudao, who takes pride in being a Seediq Bale undoubtedly sees what is at stake: his “true” manhood being diminished to “savage” and the danger of foreign invaders like the Japanese destroying the Seediq law *Gaya*, a sacred law that his ancestors have handed down to the Seediq people and taught them who they are and their way of life for centuries. In the film, Seediq rituals such as headhunting and facial tattooing rituals function as signifiers related to the Seediq law, *Gaya*, which give clues about why Mona Rudao finally decided to resist Japanese colonial oppression, even though he knows that the Seediq people would be fighting a losing battle against the Japanese Empire, and his resistance resulted in the tragic Musha Incident.

Yet the violence associated with severed heads is not exclusive to indigenous histories: beheading as a way of punishment was often used in wartimes or legal systems in imperialistic nations around the world. After all, the French used the guillotine to decapitate prisoners during the French Revolution; the Germans used their *Fallbeil* to behead criminals as a legal method of execution during the era of the German empires; and the Japanese often beheaded war prisoners as a kind of punishment. In colonial discourses, however, practices of headhunting were typically interpreted as evidence of

indigenous people's "savagery." Yet in contemporary texts about the Musha Incident, the depiction of headhunting serves a more complex function, representing violent, tension-filled interactions between the Japanese and the Seediq, as part of a broader power struggle and mobilization of violence and fear.

In this chapter, I analyze Wei Te-Sheng's *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (2011) in relation to Chiu Ruo-lung's documentary film *Gaya* (1999) and graphic novel *Seediq Bale* (1990), and Wu He's novel *Remains of Life* (1999). Comparing the film and the documentary, I consider what is shown and what is not shown in the film, and how it thereby represents history and Seediq culture according to the stories about the Musha Incident told by elders who survived the historical events of 1930 and knew Seediq law, traditions, and customs. To do so, I build on Adrian Blackledge, Angela Creese, and Jaspreet Takhi's study of heteroglossia to read indigenous (Seediq) artifacts, symbols, and signs as indexical of tension-filled interactions and multi-voiced rhetoric of resistance, as represented in these texts. By identifying different material, sonic, and visual signs in these texts—images, photos, costumes, songs, tattoos, statues, and skulls—I recognize that, as Blackledge et al argue, such signs are indexical of a "communicative repertoire that extend across languages and varieties that have hitherto been associated with particular national, territorial, and social groups" (192), but may also signify a "certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position" (195).

For instance, in *Warriors of the Rainbow*, the representation of Seediq rituals—including headhunting, facial tattooing, dancing, drinking, and singing—are connected to Gaya law, and often involve indigenous signs and symbols made from skulls, tattoo

patterns, bamboo drinking vessels, musical instruments, costumes, lyrics, and poems which suggest a Seediq oral tradition rooted in Gaya beliefs and practices. For instance, in Chiu Ruo-lung's documentary film, *Gaya*, one Seediq elder Tiwab Basau, who shares her story about the Musha Incident she witnessed that facial tattoos are the most important totems in Gaya.<sup>101</sup> While Japanese colonizers regarded such symbols as marks of the "savage," to the Seediq Mona Rudao's facial tattoos represented the respectable marks of a true man. Gaya was a major factor in the Seediq resistance to Japanese colonizers, who dehumanized and impoverished them, and the film's representation of Seediq acts and rhetoric of resistance are closely related to ancestral teachings and guidance for their way of life, based in their language, tradition, and customs. By placing *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* in conversations with related documentary and literary works, I argue that its depiction of the historical interactions between the Japanese colonizers and indigenous people in the Musha Incident—a depiction which draws on the representation of Seediq rituals and signs—suggest a specifically indigenous representation of acts and rhetoric of resistance against Japanese colonization. In doing so, the film suggests a heteroglossic representation of Seediq resistance that is anchored in story-telling and other forms of signification rooted in the Seediq oral tradition.

### **Mona Rudao – A Hero Who Won Back The Seediq People's "Tribal Dignity"**

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<sup>101</sup> The *Cambridge Dictionary* defines a totem as "an object that is a symbol for a group of people," or "an object that is respected by a group of people, especially for religious reasons." Chiu's documentary film, *Gaya*, consists of archival information about film clips of real historical events before and after the Musha Incident, including the scenes of Musha town, the Japanese school, military weapons, soldiers, airplane bombing the Seediq warriors in the mountains, etc. A large portion of the film is dedicated to interviewing the survivors of the Musha Incident who knew about Mona Rudao (also spelled as Mona Ludau), the Incident, and the law – Gaya. In a way, Wei Te-Sheng, the film director, benefited from the reading and making of Chiu's works. Later, Wei hired Chiu to be his costume designer for his film production.

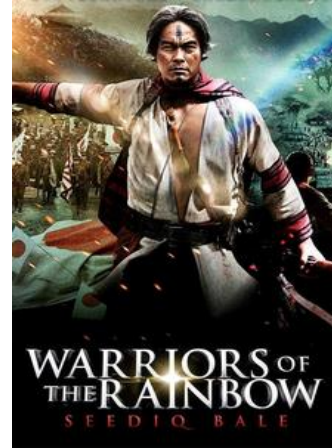




Mona Rudao (Fig. 1)



Mona Rudao Statue (Fig. 2)



Film Poster (Fig. 3)

(All three images from Wikipedia Commons.<sup>102</sup>)

In the making of his film, *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* (2011), Wei Te-Sheng, the film director, was apparently influenced by Chiu Ruo-lung’s documentary film *Gaya* (1999) and the graphic novel *Seediq Bale* (1990), and Wu He’s novel *Remains of Life* (1999).<sup>103</sup> As illustrated by the images above (see figs. 1, 2, and 3), Mona Rudao was a historical figure who became a more mobile symbol of indigenous resistance, conveying different meanings at different historical moments. In the film, Mona Rudao is portrayed for contemporary audiences as a Seediq Bale, a warrior and a hero. However, he also signifies a hierarchical tension with Japanese colonial authority because as the chief of his Mehebo clan, he represents the Seediq people. The Japanese colonial police consider him a threat, and they do not pay any respect to his tribal authority.

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<sup>102</sup> For fig. 1, the photographer is unknown though the source is from海老原耕平『霧社討伐寫真帖』共進商會，昭和六年（1931）；fig. 2, the photo was taken by 芳蘭 徐芳蘭（Fanglan）on March 17, 2012；fig. 3, the poster could be from the film distributor.

<sup>103</sup> Wei had read both works by Chiu. As a matter of fact, in the forward to Chiu’s *Seediq Bale*, Wei mentions his first meeting with Chiu, who was making his documentary film about the Musha Incident; Chiu says that Wei had read his graphic novel years ago and became a volunteer to help him while they were making the documentary film *Gaya* (17, 25). When Chiu looks back the time they spent together, Chiu humorously says that he is amazed by Wei as a film director, a skinny fellow, who instead of Mona Rudao, was “commanding” the Seediq warriors (actors) while fighting against the Japanese army during the Musha Incident (25).

The multiple voices readers hear from both non-indigenous authors and Seediq elders indicate that Mona Rudao might not have fully participated in the Musha Incident though he did not approve of the Seediq acts of resistance against Japanese colonizers. Throughout the film *Warriors of the Rainbow*, Mona Rudao participates in acts and rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese – before and during the Musha Incident – until he is killed with his tribal men on a long bridge. In the graphic novel *Seediq Bale*, Mona Rudao fights the Japanese with other members of his clan, but he disappears and commits suicide by shooting himself in the forest (278). In *Gaya*, Tiwab Basau explains in her interview that Mona Ludau (Rudao) was a fierce warrior who engaged in headhunting ten times in his life (24:55-26:03), which would have made him be regarded as a “true man.” However, Basau says that Mona Ludau did not participate in the fight against the Japanese during the Musha Incident and killed himself in the forest after the Incident. She argues that Mona Ludau did not approve of the resistance when his sons were excited about fighting the Japanese because of Japanese policemen’s brutalities against the Seediq people in Mehebo village. He visited Japan before and was shown Japanese military might during his two-month stay (28:45-29:34). Mona Rudao knew that it would be futile to fight the Japanese military because he had seen their powerful weapons in Japan. Imperial Japan made sure that those visiting indigenous chiefs including Mona Rudao see Japanese superior, modern and powerful weaponry so that they would not resist their colonial masters in Formosa, even though the tensions between the Seediq people and Japanese policemen were very high and impossible to ignore.

Stories told by the elders of two different Seediq clans suggest that Mona Rudao and Temu Walis bore animosity toward each other before the Japanese invaded their

land. In *Gaya*, Tadau Walis says that he knew Mona Ludau, who was kind and generous to the Seediq in Mehebo village. Ludau treated Walis like a son, and he loved to help people. According to the Seediq law, Gaya, if he did not have money to pay his workers, he would slaughter a cow, pay them with the meat, and then share the rest with his people (26:04-27:56). This story suggests not only that Mona Rudao was a Seediq warrior or hero as the film tends to describe him who fought the Japanese oppression for his people, but also that he was a loving, caring and responsible chief – contrasted with the Japanese policemen who were cruel, unkind and violent. On the other hand, Mona Rudao's enemy did not think that he was a good man. For example, in *Gaya*, Takun Temu, a Toda Seediq, says that Mona Ludau took away their hunting ground and threatened to kill all Toda Seediqs; nevertheless, they were not afraid of fighting Mona Ludau (1:13:52-1:14:30). Later, Takun Temu also says that Temu Walis, Ludau's key enemy, was brave, kind, and righteous, and many Toda Seediqs respected and followed Walis (1:19:42-1:22:42). It appears that Mona Rudao and Temu Walis, who led two respective clans, Mehebo and Toda, could not get along and fought each other for some time before the Japanese invaded their land. The tension among them to destroy one another was very high as described in the film.

Wu He's *Remains of Life*, however, offers a different interpretation of Mona Rudao. In the novel, the narrator conducts a research interview with an Atayal Elder, a survivor and "descendent of Mona," who says that Mona Rudao was "naturally our 'people's hero,' because of him even today the entire Musha area shines through history with the Atayal spirit of resistance."<sup>104</sup> According to the elder, Mona Rudao "won us

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<sup>104</sup> The Seediq tribe used to be considered part of the Atayal tribe due to the Japanese and Chinese system of categorization of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. However, in 2008, the Seediq tribe was officially

back our ‘tribal dignity,’ ‘the power for a people that have been oppressed and defiled to fight back,’ dignity must be protected, the oppressed must resist – this is the law of history, Mona Rudao was out for justice and walked straight into this ‘historical law’ without ever looking back” (15-16). The Atayal elder seems to refer to Gaya when mentioning “the law.” The thing that Mona Rudao fought the Japanese oppression for the cause of tribal “justice” and “dignity” is often viewed by many as fighting for a just cause and humanity, although indigenous people like the Toda Seediqs, Mona Rudao’s enemies, may disagree in their antagonistic narrative about him.

### **The Relationship between Gaya and Headhunting and Facial Tattoo Rituals**

The law Gaya is closely connected to Seediq headhunting and facial tattooing rituals, and it is the source of conflict between the Seediq and the Japanese. The word Gaya can be indexed and treated as a sign or symbol. Gaya is usually uttered because the Seediq people follow their oral tradition instead of using a written language. Gaya is the most important law for the Seediq, Taroko, and Atayal tribes, a serious law that the Seediq people abide by for everything in their lives. According to Scott Simon, the stem Gaya can be glossed as the “sacred law” (“Politics and Headhunting” 165). For the Seediq, the “implementation of the sacred law” is called “mgaya” (Simon 165). The observance of *Mgaya* thus represents a form of Seediq resistance against any intruders of their land or hunting grounds in the mountains. Gaya was at the center of headhunting practices and was symbolized by the facial tattoos of Seediq men and women: as tattooed Seediqs “were considered to be better marriage partners, facial tattoos were useful for reproductive success” (Simon 173). While the Seediqs of the Mehebo clan believed and

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recognized by the Taiwanese government as the fourteenth indigenous group. Wu He’s novel was published in 1999 (Chinese version).

practiced Gaya, the Japanese colonial government immediately banned Seediq headhunting and facial tattoos, which is “part of a social, political and religious complex that cannot be reduced to warfare” (165). Shortly after the Japanese conquest, they “criminalized” facial tattooing rituals, which were an essential part of the Seediq people’s observance of Gaya and which they practiced in their rituals (173).<sup>105</sup> Consequently, the ban had created serious tension between Japanese colonizers and the Seediq people.

Although Gaya is not mentioned in the film, I argue that it is manifested in the teaching Mona Rudao receives from his father who shows him how to be a Seediq Bale from childhood to manhood. The inseparable relationship between father and son is indisputable, and the spirit of Rudao’s father follows him many times throughout the entire film. For example, while carrying his dying injured father on his back at the end of the Seediq warriors’ fight against the Japanese invasion, Mona Rudao still thinks about his father’s teaching when he was a boy as a new scene suddenly appears and shows his father teaching him about Gaya: “Mona, do you understand? Abide by our ancestral dictations and be a Seediq Bale” (19:08-19:20). This scene serves as a flashback of Rudao’s childhood, but it soon goes back to the previous scene where he stands and watches from a distance his home being invaded and occupied by the Japanese army. Before dying his father says to him: “Mona, you must keep the intruders away from our clan” (13:25-13:27). Later, in another scene his father’s ghost appears to him at the waterfall, saying, “Mona, the tattoos on your face are still so dark and clear. You’re indeed a Seediq Bale....” In response, Mona Rudao says, “Father, I can’t keep the intruders away” (47:08- 47:44). These two scenes resonate with the teaching of Gaya that

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<sup>105</sup> Simon explains, “Japanese administrators, aware of the connection between tattooing and headhunting, criminalized tattooing” (“Politics and Headhunting” 173).

Seediqs must enact headhunting rituals to keep intruders away in order to assert their sovereignty. The Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese invasion originates from the Japanese violation of the Seediq Gaya.

Many Seediq elders interviewed in the documentary film tell their stories about Gaya, whereas the narrator in Chiu Ruo-lung's graphic novel *Seediq Bale* barely mentions it. In the graphic novel, Gaya is only briefly mentioned by the narrator, who says that the Seediq people have abided by the law as men hunt and women weave; Chiu's drawing about Gaya shows the mountains as their land (88). However, Chiu gives the title *Gaya* to his documentary film, in which he conducts many interviews with Seediq elders who had survived from the Musha Incident. For instance, in *Gaya*, a Seediq elder, Boxin Gllan, explains that Mona Ludau followed the tradition of headhunting rituals and he fought his enemies to carry out Gaya, except that headhunting did not start with fighting the Japanese. Rather, headhunting began first with fighting the Seediqs of Tado and Deroku clans, then with the Japanese (38:35-40:33). However, headhunting ritual is only part of Gaya, which is composed of many other important lessons or rules for the Seediq to follow. In *Gaya*, a group of Seediq elders including Awai Bizeh, who says during their interview that Gaya came from the heart, and that it forbade wantonness and stealing. The Seediq believed that if they followed Gaya, they would not have bad luck when they went out hunting or fighting their enemies who would not defeat them. If they did not do evil, they would fight well and come home safely. If they did good, then they would have a good life.... That was Gaya from the past. Another Seediq elder also emphasized that Gaya did not allow wantonness. For the Seediq, facial tattoos were just

one of the characteristics of Gaya, but they regretted that Gaya is no longer believed and practiced today. It has been forgotten and disappearing (1:07:54-1:10:00).

### **Many Diverse Stories and Meanings of Facial Tattoos in Seediq Lives**

Historically, in many Taiwanese indigenous societies, facial tattoos were important marks of distinction for warriors who practiced headhunting and for women who weaved and performed tattooing rituals for men. Four tribes—the Seediq, Atayal, Truku and Saisiyat—had facial tattoo rituals to distinguish them from the other twelve officially recognized tribes in Taiwan.<sup>106</sup> Japanese colonial authorities not only banned facial tattoos but also saw them as marks of savagery. For the Seediq, however, facial tattoos were important indicators of men’s accomplishments in headhunting rituals and of women’s weaving skills for marriage—they were signifiers of true manhood and womanhood.<sup>107</sup> In the film *Warriors*, Mona Rudao receives his first facial tattoos from his mother after returning home from headhunting. Seediq women are in charge of doing facial tattoos. Japanese colonizers banned facial tattoos, and they knew that they were marks of Seediq Bale that women would do for Seediq men. Ralph Jennings reports that “facial tattoos had been banned in Taiwan by Japanese colonists decades earlier,” saying that Kimi Sibal’s “grandmother hushed him and worried that if the wrong person saw the black vertical lines across her forehead she might be beaten or tossed in prison.” Sibal is

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<sup>106</sup> The majority of the indigenous tribes did not have facial tattooing rituals though headhunting rituals were widely believed and practiced by all tribes in Formosa except the Tao (Yami) tribe living on Orchid Island.

<sup>107</sup> According to Ralph Jennings, “The tattoos date back more than 1,000 years, but the Japanese banned them during their colonization of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, people in China viewed them as the markings of a criminal.” But an indigenous Taiwanese man from Truku tribe, Kimi Sibal, says, “I really just want everyone to understand our culture, why we had tattoos, and I don’t want them to think we’re savages.” In addition, Luo Mei-chin, a specialist in the government’s Council of Indigenous Peoples’ education and culture office, says that “the government council now recognizes the tattoos as ‘artifacts’” (*Los Angeles Times*).

of the Truku tribe, and he “got his first lesson on the significance and the stigma of the facial tattoo when he asked his grandmother about the strange markings on her face” (*LA Times*). The facial tattoos of Kimi Sibal’s grandmother can be seen as a case of Truku women’s rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese ban on facial tattooing because she risked punishment for disobeying the Japanese authority. Facial tattoos were thus a source of tension and animosity between the Japanese colonial police and the Seediq people, who have been stigmatized partly because of the marks on their faces, and were dehumanized as “savages” when they were seen wearing facial tattoos.

Facial tattoos, however, serve many other signifying functions besides headhunting, showing the richness of indigenous oral traditions in terms of story-telling and meaning-making facial tattoos that once played an important role in the lives of the Seediq. Such signifiers should not be interpreted only from a political or historical perspective, but should be understood in all their social and cultural dimensions; that is, indigenous voices need to be heard about the forgotten meanings of these stories and facial tattoos. For example, Atayal women were told that if they did not get their facial tattoos, they would be sent away and given to Han people living in the plain. Simon points out that “in the past, observance of Gaya was visible in facial tattoos, as men and women who had proven obedience to Gaya through action had the right to tattoo their faces,” and that “as tattooed individuals were considered to be better marriage partners, facial tattoos were useful for reproductive success” (“Politics and Headhunting” 173). In *Gaya*, a Seediq lady elder, Labai Walis, who wears facial tattoos says that her mother told her that facial tattoos prevented women from aging because they would not see wrinkles on their faces, but she also says with a smile that older people lied to her about this



(1:03:16-1:04:39). In *Seediq Bale*, the narrator says that women who wear different patterns of facial tattoos show that they belong to different clans (85). Today, facial tattoos of indigenous elders are treated as national treasures in Taiwan because they are the last living proofs of indigenous oral traditions in terms of headhunting, weaving, and other material and ritual practices. They tell their stories of the past in their living memories and therefore help younger generations restore disappearing indigenous history that has been lost or destroyed by colonial powers for the last four centuries. In addition, Taiwanese “government officials believe there are now only two people left on the island who have the original facial tattoos. Through the years, though, Sibal has photographed about 300 people with the markings and collected around 100 stories to go with the images” (Jennings). In this light, indigenous facial tattoos represent much more than their political and ideological connotations with past headhunting practices: they are a heteroglossic indigenous discourse that connects visual markings to different oral stories. Once silenced and forgotten, these stories have come back to life and speak to the socially and culturally diverse meanings of facial tattoos and the indigenous ways of life they represent.

### **Japanese Police Uniforms as Symbols of “Civilized” Oppressors vs. Seediq Costumes as Symbols of “Savages”**

The Japanese colonial police’s inhumane treatment of the Seediq people as “savages,” especially the people of the Mehebo clan, was arguably the main cause of Mona Rudao’s rhetoric and act of resistance against the Japanese colonial government in the Musha Incident. The Japanese police uniform can be seen as a symbol of oppression or hate in the Seediq people’s mind. Japanese policemen who worked for the colonial

government and wore the uniforms enslaved Seediq logging workers who were often not paid or not paid enough to buy food. For example, in the documentary *Gaya*, both Tiwab Basau and Tadau Walis tell their stories about Japanese policemen's brutalities against Seediq people especially in Mehebo village. Hunting practices were their livelihood and an important part of their oral tradition, but under Japanese rule these were replaced by slave labor in the logging industry. Basau says that one time two Seediqs, Tadau Walis and Dakis Napai, killed some Japanese policemen because the latter forced them to carry logs on foot for three hours from a remote place back to the village. Walis says that logging workers worked very hard, but they were so hungry that they just could not work anymore. The Seediq people were unhappy about their impoverishment. These Seediq elders' stories suggest that Mona Ludau decided to finally resist the Japanese police after he heard many voices express the suffering of the impoverished Seediq people (20:13-21:55).

In the film *Warriors*, a central dynamic are these tensions between the oppressed Seediqs and Japanese police oppressors. "You're not the boss here in Mehebo. I am," Sir Yoshimura stares at Mona Rudao and says with a fit of rage. This Japanese police officer unjustly punishes a Seediq logging worker for dropping a log into a ravine while going through slippery mountainous paths on a rainy day even though the worker injures himself and nearly loses his life in the accident. Sir Yoshimura slaps the injured worker and rebukes him, saying, "the precious logs are destroyed. Do it again and you'll have to pay for the loss." In response, another Seediq worker named Pihu talks back angrily, yelling at Sir Yoshimura and trying to reason with him: "We get nothing from working for you...." Mona Rudao intervenes, asks Pihu to stop, and tries to defuse the tension

(30:13-30:25). Additionally, the same Sir Yoshimura comes to inspect the wedding party of a young couple, Watan and Lubi. When Tado Mona, the son of Mona Rudao, sees Sir Yoshimura and offers his homemade wine, Tado smears Sir Yoshimura's police uniform, a symbol of oppression and hate, with the blood of a pig he had just killed for the wedding celebration. A fight quickly ensues until Mona Rudao comes out from his house to intervene. Sir Yoshimura is seriously injured during the fight with a group of Seediq men; he is carried away by another Japanese policeman who comes to his rescue. Before they depart, Sir Yoshimura threatens to kill all Seediqs in the village (35:08-38:20). This incident becomes a catalyst for the following pre-dawn Seediq attack on the Japanese police force and people on the school's sports day in the Musha village after Mona Rudao's reconciliation effort for his son and people fails to appease the Japanese policemen, who wear their police uniforms as symbols of oppression and hate.

On other two occasions, the Japanese police uniform becomes a symbol that is hated by the Seediq people, and serves the antithesis of Seediq forms of dress, which in turn is interpreted as a sign of "savagery" by the Japanese. First, Mona Rudao says to Dakis Nomin, who wears a police uniform: "You Japanese policemen always provoke us so much that I want to hunt their heads." In response to Rudao's rhetoric of resistance, Dakis says, "Chief Mona, I'm still a Seediq. Although I'm now a Japanese policeman, I never forget that the same blood runs in our veins" (43:30- 43:28). Second, Dakis in his police uniform shows up at Mona Rudao's home trying to dissuade him from making his plans to resist the Japanese. "Are you Dakis, or Hanaoka Ichiro?" Mona Rudao questions. The name Dakis is Seediq, but Hanaoka is Japanese. "I'm a true Seediq tribesman. I am," answers Dakis Nomin. "If you are, take off your uniform," Rudao says, challenging

Dakis, who has received a Japanese education and worked for the Japanese police (59:52-1:00:08). In contrast, his police uniform distinguishes him as a “civilized” Japanese policeman from the Seediq clothes the Seediq people as “savages” wear. To prove himself as a true Seediq, Dakis has no choice but to join Mona Rudao’s people to plot against the Japanese colonizers. Later, at the beginning of their resistance, when Seediq warriors carry out their first strike of headhunting, while the Japanese are singing their national anthem on the sports day, during the Musha Incident Dakis quickly changes his Japanese police uniform to Seediq clothes to protect himself from being mistakenly slaughtered by the Seediq warriors, and then runs to cover his wife and child with a piece of Seediq clothing (1:15:23-1:16:17). Dakis therefore proves that he is a Seediq by wearing the Seediq clothes as a symbol of his indigenous identity and avoids his head being hunted.

Further, in contrast with the film *Warriors*, the graphic novel *Seediq Bale* shows multiple voices that were heard about Japanese policemen abusing Seediq women who are forced to either marry or co-habit with them against the Seediq law. In 1909, Mona Rudao’s sister was married to a Japanese policeman, but in 1916 the policeman abandoned and left her in a strange place after he was transferred to another county on the east coast of Formosa. She later returned to her home village but was despised by her tribal people, so she washed her face with tears every day. Mona Rudao was in pain and had hatred toward the Japanese police whenever he thought about his suffering sister (Chiu, *Seediq Bale*, 118). At worst, there were stories about Japanese policemen abandoning their indigenous wives after they were sent back to Japan; they even sold their wives into prostitution in Japan. There are also stories about Japanese policemen

who raped unwedded Seediq girls or forced them to live with them (117, 119, 122-23). On the other hand, the film shows some Seediq women wearing Japanese kimonos. For example, in one scene, Dakis takes out his forgotten Seediq costume from a chest of drawers and unfolds it on a bed, while his wife wears a kimono and hangs her washed clothes to dry on a bamboo stick (1:02:50-1:03:05). This scene suggests that the Seediq costume that Seediq women used to be proud of weaving and making in order to earn their facial tattoos is gone. Dakis suffers his Seediq identity crisis, but his wife has kept quiet. He makes a last effort to retain his identity by wearing his Seediq clothes when the Seediq resistance begins.

### **Tattooed Seediqs Following Ancestral Spirits to Cross the Rainbow Bridge**

Seediq ancestral spirits (*utux*) can be indexed as signs of tension and conflict between the two very different religions of the Seediq and the Japanese.<sup>108</sup> While the Seediq treat hunting grounds as their sacred, ancestral lands, the Japanese build shrines on it. On two occasions in the film, on his hunting ground and at home respectively, Mona Rudao questions Dakis's Seediq identity and allegiance to their ancestors because Dakis serves as a Japanese policeman who teaches Seediq children to be "civilized" and punishes them physically at school. "Dakis, when you die, are you entering a Japanese shrine or the heavenly home of our ancestors? ... A Seediq who loses his soul will be forsaken by our ancestor's spirits. Do you understand, my child?" (43:30-43:45; 59:42-59:49). Dakis must have struggled with his identity: either a Seediq ("savage") or a

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<sup>108</sup> According to Scott Simon, "Religion is an inescapable part of indigenous Taiwan. The presence of churches rather than Buddhist and Taoist temples is usually the first visible sign that one has driven into an indigenous village. The Seediq and Truku peoples, as part of the greater pan-Atayalic family, formerly had a territorially-grounded religion based in ideas of customary law (*Gaya*), ancestral spirits (*utux*), and clan-based political community (*alang*). They had rich narrative and ritual practices for the "be-coming" of relationships between the living and the dead as well as between the human and the non-human" ("Making").

Japanese (“civilized”) man though he knows of Japanese atrocities against the Mehebo Seediqs. He has conflicting beliefs between the Seediq law and the imperial Japanese assimilation policy. On the one hand, he believes that he is still a Seediq, though he does not live like one according to Gaya; on the other hand, he conducts himself, like other Japanese policemen, participating in assimilation and teaching Seediq children how to be “civilized” people. Unlike a Japanese shrine, Seediq ancestral spirits do not have a dwelling or a temple to house them. Instead, in Seediq belief, their ancestors’ heavenly home is the place for tattooed Seediqs to go to after they die. As Scott Simon notes, “after death, only tattooed individuals could cross the rainbow bridge of the ancestors (*hakaw utux*) and become ancestral spirits (*utux ludan*)” (“Politics and Headhunting” 173). Dakis has no facial tattoos, so he will not be qualified to enter the heavenly home and join his ancestors. In the end, however, Dakis decides to prove himself a Seediq in that he follows ancestral spirits by joining Mona Rudao’s call to join his Mehebo clansmen’s rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese colonial oppression.<sup>109</sup>

Seediq ancestral spirits are signs of supernatural beings that represent the presence of Seediq ancestors. Mona Rudao’s mother says to him while tattooing his face after he triumphantly returned home from his first dangerous headhunting expedition: “Mona, you’ve offered blood sacrifice to our ancestors’ spirits” (3:44). Later, the younger Mona Rudao encounters his father’s spirit (ghost) which appears to him at least in a couple of scenes, like Hamlet, who has an encounter with a supernatural being which says: “I am thy father’s spirit” (*Hamlet*, Act I. scene 5). Mona Rudao, the chief of Mehebo clan and keeper of Gaya, is eager to follow his father’s spirit and footsteps in a

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<sup>109</sup> Simon explains, “The Sejiq (Seediq) previously believed that the *utux* punish immediately any violation of Gaya by causing the community to suffer from disease, misfortune while hunting, or accidents” (“Politics and Headhunting”173).

vision. As Simon explains, “Gaya is enforced by the *utux*. The Sejiq (Seediq) make a distinction between ancestral spirits (*utux ludan*), good spirits (*utus malu*), and evil spirits (*utux naqex*)” (“Politics and Headhunting”173).<sup>110</sup> The supernatural dimension of the Seediq world in terms of their ancestral spirits as a sign is best captured in the following scene in the “song of Seediq Bale,” a singing ritual, that Mona Luhe (father) asks his son, Mona Rudao to sing together:

Reminisce the people from the past. Here I am. I used to guard these mountains and forests bravely. These are our mountains. These are our creeks.... Oh, creek! Be quiet! Sisin babblers are singing. Sing us a beautiful song, please. Sing for our people, a song of our ancestral spirit. I’m willing to give my life too. When the lightning rifts the rock, a rainbow appears and a proud man emerges. Who is this man so proud? It’s your offspring – a Seediq Bale (47:10-51:30).<sup>111</sup>

Like messengers from their ancestral spirits, Sisin babblers’ singing becomes a way of communicating with the Seediq hunters. Also, another scene at the beginning of the film, during a hunting activity, Mona Luhe says to his son, Mona Rudao, “Sisin babblers are singing an auspicious song. Go ahead and hunt the deer in your dream” (6:29-6:40). They hunt and kill the deer for Rudao’s wedding. In *Gaya*, Tiwab Basau says during her interview that the Seediq warriors did not listen to Sisin before they rushed to attack the Japanese in the Musha Incident, and that if Sisin did not sing well, all human deeds would fail in the world (1:10:41-11:07). Basau’s statement here suggests that the Seediq

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<sup>110</sup> According to Simon, “The *utux* judge between good and evil, punishing wrong doers with the curse of *lumuba*. This curse is used to explain why people who sell ancestral land, commit sexual crimes, or steal subsequently become sick, get injured by falling in the mountains, or have mysterious automobile accidents” (“Politics and Headhunting”173-74).

<sup>111</sup> Sisin is the Seediq name for the bird, babbler or an Old world babbler. The Seediq hunters listen to Sisin for good omens (signs) before going out hunting animals or human heads. It seems that a Sisin babbler has some kind of supernatural power to predict the outcome of a hunting event.

warriors did not heed or forgot to listen to the singing of Sisin babblers in their rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese before the uprising. Also, in the film, another scene shows the spirits of Mona Luhe and other ancestors walking past the severed Japanese heads and headless bodies scattered everywhere on the ground of the Musha village during the Seediq resistance. Mona Rudao has decided to resist the Japanese colonial authority, and the final act of resistance is said to be an offering of a blood sacrifice to Seediq ancestors' spirits.

### **Tragic Seediq Suicidal Deaths and Resistance against Japanese Colonial Oppression**

In the representation of the 1930 Musha Incident, a recurring trope is the depiction of Seediq people's acts of suicide. These events are tragic beyond words, and constitute a powerful signifier of the extreme tensions that marked the interactions between the Seediq people and Japanese colonizers, suggesting that some Seediq people would rather commit suicide than to live and be treated as "savages" under colonial rule. The function of the image of Seediq suicide is twofold: it simply speaks for itself because those who committed suicide wanted to protest against the Japanese colonizers' inhumane treatment of them: they would rather kill themselves than be killed by the Japanese. It was also a protest against slavery, the stigma of being branded as "savages," and life without freedom. In other words, for the entire Seediq people of the Mehebo clan to resist the Japanese modern military weaponry was suicidal. Mona Rudao had no illusion about the final outcome of his Mehebo clansmen's decision to go to war with the Japanese colonizers. For instance, in the film *Warriors*, Mona Rudao is working on his sacred hunting ground when Dakis comes to ask him about his knowledge of Japan, as Mona Rudao had been to Japan before. "They have armies, cannons, machineguns,



airplanes and large steamers in Japan. I know why you're asking me this. You don't really want to know Japan. All you want is to remind me how powerful the Japanese are. Don't worry. I'll never forget" (42:50-43:11). Later, at Mona Rudao's home, Dakis again tries to remind Rudao of Japanese military might by saying: "You know well how many soldiers the Japanese have. You're going to get killed for nothing." Rudao answers angrily: "If your civilization wants us to cringe, I'll show you the pride of savages—the true Seediq tribesmen. Dakis, listen carefully. A Seediq Bale can lose his body, but he fights to keep his soul at all cost" (1:00:05-1:00:50). But why did Mona Rudao and his tribal people want to do it? For Mona Rudao, his Seediq pride or dignity is more important than Japanese "civilization." The Seediq warriors fought to the death though they knew it would be a losing battle in the end of the Musha Incident.

Meanwhile, there was another tragic Seediq act against the Japanese inhumane treatment: that is, the suicidal deaths of many Seediq women and children that ran parallel to the Seediq warriors' deaths. Many Seediq women chose to die by hanging themselves from trees in the forest—harrowing images that will undoubtedly invoke strong emotions, especially among their descendants. These two groups of Seediq people who committed suicidal acts against the Japanese colonizers prompt the reader to look for answers to the question: Why did the Seediq women want to commit suicide? Although it is difficult—and potentially problematic—to speculate on the motivation of historical actors who committed suicide, there are different interpretations about these acts of suicide in the context of Japanese colonial oppression. The graphic novel *Seediq Bale* suggests that one reason may be that they wanted to join their husbands and children's fathers by entering the heavenly home of their ancestors. This reason is reiterated by

Mona Rudao, as he bids farewell to his people in the forest who have hanged themselves from many trees, and the narrator says that many Seediq have wanted to end their lives this way quickly because they have already been suffering a more painful death caused by the Japanese military which illegally uses poisonous gas bombs (277). In the film *Warriors*, this gruesome scene appears when the Japanese military sends airplanes to drop internationally banned poisonous gas bombs on the Seediq people to turn the tide of the war between the Seediq warriors and the Japanese police (1:56:48-1:58:45). Another reason suggested is that the Seediq women wanted to die alongside the Seediq warriors as a means of resisting Japanese oppression. In *Seediq Bale*, the narrator says that they know that the Japanese police will eventually come to interrogate them about the Musha Incident, so they begin their singing ritual devoted to their ancestors and hang themselves as a protest or an act of the Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese (265). The next reason is that the image of suicidal death on the tree has something to do with the birth of Seediq ancestors. The narrator says that the Seediq ancestors were born of big trees, so when the Seediq hang themselves they choose big trees to carry out the act of suicide (263).<sup>112</sup>

However, the birth of Seediq ancestors (*Seediq Bale*) appears at the ending scene of the film *Warriors* according to a Seediq legend where a boy and a girl were born of a big tree trunk (half tree and half rock) named Pusu Ohuni living on Mt. White Stone; the couple gave birth to Seediq offspring. In the scene a group of Seediq women are seen standing in the forest looking up at falling leaves whereas another group of dead Seediq warriors including Mona Rudao are watching the falling leaves as well, quickly followed

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<sup>112</sup> The narrator says that on December 20 the Japanese police found more than 140 dead bodies hanging on trees including 16 of them on a big tree in the forest (274).

by another scene where pregnant Seediq women are waiting to give birth at the hospital (2:24:10-2:25:45). These scenes suggest that after the destruction of lives in the Musha Incident, new lives emerge as the ancestral spirits live in the new generation of the disappearing Seediq tribe. Consequently, the reasons for Seediq acts of suicidal deaths can be interpreted as Seediq acts of rhetoric of resistance against Japanese colonizers since they imply not only that while Japanese military power can destroy Seediq bodies, it cannot destroy their souls, but also that those acts of resistance are closely related to Seediq rituals and oral tradition the Japanese wanted to ban and destroy.

In the graphic novel *Seediq Bale*, Mona Rudao, after seeing many of his people hanging on trees and the lifeless bodies of men, women and children, bids farewell and says to them that he will see them in the heavenly home of their ancestors. Many of them suffered excruciating pains and hanged themselves as a result of the illegal poisonous gas bombs the Japanese dropped from their military airplanes. Mona Rudao proceeds to kill his wife and two grandchildren before killing himself in a secluded area in the forest; he doesn't want the Japanese to capture him (277-78). Four years later, the Japanese found Mona Rudao's dead body in a cave. They had offered a reward to anyone who could find his dead body. Rudao died at the age of forty-nine. The narrator says that the Japanese hate him so much that they will not give him a proper burial but have turned his remains into specimens and displayed them with his gun and knife in a wooden box; however, after the display in the same year, Mona Rudao's body disappears (286). The Japanese treatment of Mona Rudao's dead body can be seen as a violation of human rights since the Seediq people would not have agreed to have their leader's remains displayed in public this way.

The recurrences of the images of Seediq suicidal death in the film, the novel and TV drama reinforce the impression that Mona Rudao's daughter, Mahong, suffered so much from the trauma of the Musha Incident that she wanted to hang herself in the forest and die with her deceased family members. As in the film *Warriors*, in Wu He's *Remains of Life* "many of the Mhebu (Mehebo) mothers displayed the great courage of Atayal women, for some reason many of them hanged their children from the trees, before running off deep into the forest, most of them did as Mahong, throwing their children from the high cliffs as they passed by Valleystream."<sup>113</sup> However, Mahong seems to have made several attempts to hang herself in the forest but did not succeed; the Mehebo people have seen her going into the forest by herself many times. She "regretted not having followed her father and brothers to death in that dense forest" (39-40).<sup>114</sup> In a Taiwanese TV drama *Dana Sakura* (2003), Paicu Yatauyungana, a popular actress and singer from the Tsou tribe, plays Mahong Mona, who inspects her father's remains.<sup>115</sup> Mahong's grandson, Mona Pawan, said in a news report that "Grandma Mahong was the one who lost the most from the incident. Her depression and sorrow only grew stronger, and she started drinking every day. Sometimes she got drunk and fell over with me still

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<sup>113</sup> In *Remains of Life*, one of the two children Mahong Mona threw into Valleystream survived. His name was Old Daya (Old Wolf), who was a grandson of Mona Rudao. The narrator says that "the Ancestral Spirits arranged for Old Daya to land in a deep pool of water, [and] he was pulled out just in time by Granny Atayal." Old Daya said, "Even today I still don't know if I was the child in my mother's arms or the one running behind." Granny Atayal walked all through the night to sneak the child out of Valleystream" (40).

<sup>114</sup> Mahong's full name is Mahong Mona, Mona Rudao's daughter, who survived from the Musha Incident. In the film, she is rescued and revived at hospital after the Incident is over. Also, according to the narrator in the novel, the historical literature provides explanations about the Atayal women hanging themselves: "In order to prevent themselves and their children from becoming a burden, the women wanted to leave all remaining food and supplies to the brave Atayal soldiers..." (39). This explanation is similar to the one shown in the film.

<sup>115</sup> According to the 8 November 2020 news from *Taipei Times*, "At the end of the uprising, Mona Rudao separated himself from the group and shot himself in a cave so the Japanese wouldn't find his remains. Locals found a skeleton and a gun high up in the mountains in June 1933, and the authorities asked Mahong and other members of surviving royal families to identify it. That was the last time Mahong saw her father" (Cheung).

on her back; I remember that clearly.” In 1973, Mahong passed away with her one of her “biggest regrets” that “she was never able to retrieve her father’s remains” (Cheung).<sup>116</sup>

### **Numerous Seediq Elders’ Stories about Severed Heads (Skull) and Headhunting Rituals**

The images of severed heads (skulls) remind readers of Seediq headhunting rituals which created constant violent tensions and conflicts between indigenous tribes and between the Seediq and Japanese policemen. However, the Seediq were forced to give up their century-long belief and practice of headhunting rituals that usually begin with headhunting expeditions and end with preservation of skulls. For instance, in the film, immediately after Japanese conquest of the Seediq tribe, many Seediq warriors are standing in line and carrying the skulls they have collected while Japanese soldiers point their guns at them. One military officer sits at a table and checks their names one by one, making sure that each Seediq Bale is there. Another officer inspects the skulls each Seediq brings before dumping them into a big ditch. When it comes to Mona Rudao, who carries two big bags of skulls, he is reluctant to turn them in. “Are these all yours?” the inspecting officer asks curiously, grabs his bags and dumps the skulls for him. In a rage, Rudao gives the officer a punch in the face and says, “I will never!” This short, stark rhetoric of resistance seems to suggest that Rudao will never give up his headhunting belief and practice. Many Japanese soldiers quickly move to tackle and restrain Rudao as they all fall into the pile of skulls in the ditch. Other Japanese soldiers try to rein back the

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<sup>116</sup> In 1973, Mona Rudao’s remains (bones) were returned to Mahong’s family for proper burial after several professors petitioned the Taiwanese government (KMT) which later approved. Since 1934 Mona Rudao’s remains had been kept in Taihoku Imperial University (today’s National Taiwan University, NTU) (Cheung).

standing crowd of Seediq men and women with their rifles, lining up and encircling them. While struggling to break free from the Japanese soldiers, Rudao is lying on the ground and crying out to heaven when he sees his father's ghost calling his name "Mona!" in a crowd of Seediq people (19:35- 20:20). The situation conveys the precarious tension and conflict between Japanese colonizers and Seediq warriors who are forced to give up their headhunting rituals.

The next scene shows a quick transformation of Seediq people's lives as they are turned from "savage" to "civilized" according to the Japanese colonizers' ideological project of assimilation. It is the year 1930, twenty-five years after the Seediq tribe surrendered, when two Japanese police officers stand on a hill overlooking the Musha village in which many Seediq workers are working and moving logs between buildings. "We've managed to civilize the Wushe (Musha) savages. It's not an easy task. Hard to imagine that this was once the most uncivilized heartland here," one officer says triumphantly. However, ironically, they do not realize that their heads will be hunted later during the Musha Incident (20:32-20:55). The image of a severed head appears at the beginning of the Musha Incident, and within minutes, severed Japanese heads are scattered everywhere in the Musha village. The images of severed heads repeat themselves throughout the film.

By contrast, the film does not show the second Musha Incident in which many of Mona Rudao's people of the Mehebo clan were slaughtered and decapitated. The Japanese army and Toda Seediqs hunted down the remaining Mehebo Seediqs after the first Musha Incident. In *Gaya*, during an interview, Tiwab Basau, a Mehebo Seediq, who knew about the second Musha Incident, says that the Japanese and the Toda Seediqs were

looking for us. The chief of Dalodux, Buhuk Walis, used a cow as a bait to lure Toda Seediqs and then killed all of them at Badebon River (1:11:10-1:11:45). Also, according to Takun Temu, a Toda Seediq, who talks about the second Musha Incident, he and other five Toda Seediqs looked for Mehebo Seediqs from Takdaya. A few nights later in Dalodux, they saw stolen cow meat scattered by Mehebo Seediqs on the load along Habun river. Temu said that Toda Seediqs had no choice but to help the Japanese fight Mona Ludau's people because they didn't want Ludau's people to kill them (1:11:52 - 1:16:12).<sup>117</sup> Consequently, Toda Seediqs and the Japanese attacked and killed many of Mona Rudao's people in second Musha Incident.

The images of severed heads and headhunting rituals serve other functions. Scott Simon points out, the memory and legacy of headhunting rituals “continues to be politically relevant in Southeast Asian and Oceanic communities, not only because headhunting rituals are sometimes celebrated with coconuts or dolls as surrogates for real heads [ . . . ] but also because ordinary people evoke their headhunting heritage in conversations about topics as diverse as state-community relations or norms of masculinity” (“Politics and Headhunting” 164). The representation of headhunting in contemporary texts thus point to the diverse set of stories told by Seediq elders, who retrieve them from their living memories. For example, in *Gaya*, a lady Seediq elder, Awai Bizeh, witnessed headhunting at the age of 15 when the Musha Incident began. Bizeh says during the interview that the blood of a victim splashed on her body, but she

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<sup>117</sup> There seems to be a discrepancy between Basau's and Temu's respective stories about the cow which was killed or stolen in Dalodux, and it suggests that there was historically a battle between these two clans, Mehebo and Toda, because of hunting ground disputes. But one thing is clear about the Japanese role and tactics: to use Toda Seediqs to fight against Mehebo Seediqs as portrayed in the film. After the second Musha Incident, the remaining Mehebo Seediqs were forcibly removed from their land on the mountain and relocated in the plain. The Mehebo Seediqs' land was therefore given to Toda and Truku Seediqs by the Japanese.

was not afraid of what she saw (16:30-18:23). Also, Tiwab Basau says that the Seediq warriors did not collect those severed heads because there were simply too many to do so (32:50-33:47). Another Seediq elder of Deroku clan, Halon Walai, with facial tattoos says that he was not afraid of headhunting because it was fate. When he was a child, his mother told him not to go out because headhunters would ambush him and hunt his head (47:30-48:00). Demu Suyen, a Seediq elder with facial tattoos, says that he had hunted ten heads, seven of which belonged to women. Each time after an act of headhunting, he would celebrate, drink, sing, and dance. He fed severed heads with tree beans, yams, rice, extracting their teeth of skulls to make bracelets. He also says that it was easier to hunt the heads of Han people who roamed about or came up to work in the mountains (51:00-54:00). A Han Taiwanese lady elder, Grandma Lin, says that she witnessed an aborigine hunting a head when she was a little girl. At the time she didn't realize that she was watching a headhunting event; she even learned how to sing the headhunting song from the headhunter. After she went home and told her family about it, they said to her that she was lucky that she was still alive (40:36-43:05). Lupa Nomin, a lady Seediq elder, says that when a man and a woman were caught having sexual relationship outside marriage, the man had to go headhunting and bring a head home to wash their shame (49:00-49:15).

As Japanese colonizers invaded the Seediq homeland and banned headhunting practices, they singled the Seediq people out for their assimilation project to transform Seediqs from “savages” to “civilized” Japanese subjects in Musha village as the “model” colonized indigenous village in Formosa (Heé 632-33). However, imperial Japan seems to have ignored the historical, political, social and cultural meaning of Seediq rituals and oral tradition which were central to the Seediq sovereignty, law of Gaya, and way of life.



Preoccupied with their assimilation objectives, Japanese colonial authority banned the century-long Seediq rituals such as headhunting and facial tattoos, changed their indigenous identity and replaced them with slavery and oppression. While the Japanese colonizers treated the Seediq as “savages” practicing “barbaric” violence of headhunting, it appears that Formosan indigenes were not the only peoples believed and practiced headhunting according to anthropologists and scholars who have found headhunting practice in many other countries around the world, including Southeast Asian and Oceanic countries. To be clear, I am not condoning headhunting practice as a violent act, as it is important to register one’s objection to all forms of violence, including the many forms of inhumane colonial and wartime violence that kill innocent people daily. Yet Formosan headhunting rituals have far-reaching implications for the Seediq people: many stories surrounding the practice of headhunting express a heteroglossic discourse of resistance against colonial rule, commemorating the vehemence of Seediq resistance against Japanese colonial rule.

### **The Rainbow Bridge: A Passage to Ancestral Home the Seediq Must Cross After Death**

The Rainbow Bridge is the passage to the heavenly home of their ancestors that the Seediq people must ultimately cross and enter after death with their facial tattoos which are inseparable from the headhunting rituals. In the film, after his first successful headhunting experience, Mona Rudao’s mother tells him to “abide by our ancestral spirits to guard our clan and our hunting grounds on the rainbow bridge. Our ancestors’ spirits await the reunion of your valiant soul” (3:47-4:08). The “reunion” of Mona Rudao’s soul

with ancestral spirits represents the spiritual bonds between the Seediq people and their ancestors—bonds that are connected by the Rainbow Bridge which serves as a pathway for Seediqs to go and meet their ancestors when they die. Unfortunately, such pathway was quickly cut off by the Japanese colonial authority which banned headhunting and facial tattooing rituals; the Seediq were required to have facial tattoos for the Rainbow Bridge crossing so that their ancestors would recognize and allow them to enter their heavenly home. In a way, the Japanese colonizers had destroyed the Rainbow Bridge, broke the Seediq law of Gaya, and made it impossible for the Seediq to meet their ancestors according to the Seediq oral tradition. The denial of access to meeting their ancestors, not to mention that the Japanese enslaved the Seediq people and dehumanized them as “savages,” is perhaps enough for the Seediq to carry out the act of the Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese in the Musha Incident.

Rainbow Bridge can be seen as a sign of the sacred passage to ancestral home for the Seediq people after their death. When the Seediq people see a rainbow, they think of the Rainbow Bridge. However, the fact that the Japanese banned headhunting and tattooing rituals that destroyed the Seediq people’s ultimate goal of going across the Rainbow Bridge created inevitable tension between the Japanese and the Seediq. Simply put, the Seediq people were denied their passage through the Rainbow Bridge to enter their ancestral home. In the film, the sign of rainbow appears more than once. First, Mona Rudao encounters his father’s ghost which appears with the rainbow at the waterfall on his sacred hunting ground; at the end of this encounter, the ghost, after singing the Seediq Bale song with Rudao, disappears into the rainbow and waterfall (47:30-47:35). In the next scene, Mona Rudao meets Seediq warriors at his home and decides to resist the

Japanese colonial oppression. As the title of the film, *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*, suggests, Seediq warriors follow the rainbow, fight and hunt the heads of all the Japanese people who will gather in Musha village on the sports day. The following secret conversation among the Seediq warriors illustrates the critical situation and ultimate decision they have to make on the eve of the Musha Incident:

“Is it time already?” Mona Rudao asks.

“Father, there won’t be a better chance, and we have no other choice,” says his son.

“We can’t have the Japanese look down on us anymore. We need to show them what we’re made of. Let’s fight them, Chief,” says a Seediq warrior.

“Yeah! Let’s fight them!” all Seediqs echo.

“Young men! I hate the Japanese no less than you do. But do you realize that we’re going to die after all this and all our people will be wiped out?”

“Our ancestors shed their blood in exchange for our lives. Now we’re taking our children along to the battlefield to shed blood. We’re Seediq Bale, aren’t we?” a passionate Seediq says. (52:50-53:50).

The conversation here revolves around the Seediq central belief that they are not afraid to die because dying for fighting and resisting the Japanese is the way of going to join their ancestors in their heavenly home after crossing the Rainbow Bridge.

Above all, Mona Rudao knows the cost of the Seediq people’s ultimate resistance because it is a critical, existential situation where his Mehebo people will be totally destroyed. Toward the end of the film, Mona Rudao and other Seediq warriors are seen chasing the Japanese soldiers on a bridge before they are confronted by the Japanese

General, Kamada Yahiko, and his army at the other end of the bridge which suggests the presence of the sign of Rainbow Bridge.

“So you’re Mona Rudao. Now I see you clearly,” says the General Yahiko walking a few steps toward Rudao.

“Tado, how do we dodge those cannons?” Mona Rudao asks a Seediq warrior.

“Chief, let this ghost lead the way,” Tado says, going in front of Rudao and running toward the enemy on the bridge.

General Yahiko gives the order to blow up the bridge with his cannons. All of the Seediq warriors including Mona Rudao perish following the “ghost” after falling down into the river. Mona Rudao’s ghost immediately appears in front of Temu Walis under the bridge, his arch-enemy, who has been injured while fighting the Mehebo Seediqs. Temu’s head is chopped off right away by a Seediq Bale in this film scene (2:22:40-2:24:10). In a sense, while the sign of the Rainbow Bridge is destroyed, Mona Rudao and the other Seediq warriors enter the heavenly home of their ancestors. Then, the spring comes. The film ends with a rainbow in the sky as a young Seediq hikes up the mountains to see it, the sign of the Rainbow Bridge.

The Rainbow Bridge as a sign of the sacred passage to ancestral, heavenly home is important for the Seediqs of Mehebo clan and other clans to cross and join their ancestors. Even at his last speech to the Seediq warriors (Formosan highlanders), like William Wallace’s last speech to Scottish highlanders to fight the English in the film *Braveheart*, Mona Rudao says that their “revolt” is to offer “a blood sacrifice” to their ancestors so that they are “qualified to stride over the rainbow bridge,” and that it is “a battle that will terrify the invaders” as they “choose how to die” (1:27:50-1:29:09). This

Mona Rudao's last speech filled with words of ritualistic sacrifice and oral tradition, his Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese, again suggests that the Rainbow Bridge is the ultimate goal for the Seediq warriors to go across to meet their ancestors. In the graphic novel *Seediq Bale*, similar to the film, the Seediq believe that only those who have facial tattoos can cross the Rainbow Bridge after they die and enter where their ancestors dwelling in heaven (87). Conversely, Seediqs of other clans may have different stories to tell about the bridge as a legend. In *Gaya*, Halon Walai of Deroku clan does not mention the Rainbow Bridge during his interview. Instead, he calls it the Ghost (Spirit) Bridge. Walai says that men without headhunting experience and facial tattoos cannot pass the Ghost Bridge which has three layers and the ghost is at the bridge watching those who want to pass. Likewise, women without good weaving skills and facial tattoos (two stripes) cannot pass the bridge, reaching the beginning (origin) of it (43:25-48:50).

In conclusion, from facial tattoos to the Rainbow Bridge, the Seediq people believed and practiced many different rituals such as headhunting, tattooing, singing, drinking, and dancing that characterize their oral tradition. In *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* and related texts, these visual, sonic, and material signs are indexical of complex, tension-filled interactions, which anchors what I understand as a heteroglossic discourse of indigenous resistance. In the (documentary) films and (graphic) novels, these indigenous signs do not express as a single worldview or viewpoint, but like different themes in a text, they signal the interactions of a diverse range of voices, from indigenous elders to non-indigenous authors, story-tellers, and actors. The analysis of each indexed sign shows political, spiritual, and cultural tensions between the Seediq people and Japanese colonizers, thereby constituting a form of Seediq resistance against Japanese

narratives of assimilation and oppression. Those rituals and signs under analysis revolve around the central belief and practice of the Seediq law, Gaya. The rituals as signs or symbols often carry different meanings, and they can be interpreted in the form of stories best told by indigenous peoples, such as the Seediq elders who have been the subjects of the Musha Incident.

The Seediq oral tradition, then, forms important bases for new representations that make meaning out of their rituals, to constitute indigenous rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese forced colonization. Anchored in their oral tradition and rituals, the rhetoric of resistance is heteroglossic, drawing on a multitude of stories and meanings—such as Gaya or the Rainbow Bridge—behind each material, visual, sung, or carved sign.

Although *Warriors* does not mention the importance of Gaya, we gain a new understanding of the Musha Incident and its representations of those Seediq rituals and signs that were essential to the Seediq people's lives and their identity. In *Gaya*, Tadau Walis, a Mehebo Seediq, says that Toda Seediqs fighting alongside the Japanese destroyed our Gaya and hurt our hearts that Mona Ludao agreed with us to resist and kill them (1:19:20-1:19:42). Historically, this simple revelation may explain Mona Rudao's final thoughts about his ultimate act and rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese colonizers and Toda Seediqs. Moreover, many other stories about Gaya are important from the historical standpoint of different, marginalized voices of the forgotten Seediq people who are the subjects rather than objects to be heard, and they suggest that there is something more than the film and other artistic works that portray the Seediq people—something more about Gaya that had taught them how to live and conduct themselves for

centuries before colonial powers invaded their sacred land, destroyed their lives, and branded them as “savages against civilization.”

CHAPTER V  
CONCLUSION  
BEYOND “NATIONALISM” IN CONTINUOUS TAIWANESE INDIGENOUS  
RHETORICS OF RESISTANCE

In this project, I have focused on the Seediq tribe and Musha Incident in the context of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance. Other Taiwanese indigenous peoples will have their own indigenous rhetorics of resistance against the Japanese colonizers, anchored in different historical experiences in ways that may run parallel to the Seediq memory of the Musha Incident, such as the Truku people’s war with the Japanese in 1914. Moreover, each film, novel, or graphic novel I have discussed only offers a partial portrayal of the myriad historical accounts of the Musha Incident. Although the Seediq people are just one of the sixteen indigenous nations that have been officially recognized by the Taiwanese government, the Musha Incident has become a popular topic in Taiwan ever since *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* appeared in local and global theaters.

By carefully attending to the textual, visual, and material rhetoric in complex texts such as *Warriors of the Rainbow*, we may discern a wider tradition of Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance, a tradition of textual representation that draws on the oral tradition, employs a range of indigenous voices, and articulates indigenous, anticolonial resistance. As Simon Ortiz writes about American Indian literature, the continuous use of oral tradition “is what has given rise to the surge of literature created



by contemporary Indian authors” (10). According to Ortiz, Indigenous literatures and oral traditions are a means to “creatively” respond to “forced colonization”—a “continuous resistance” that helps explain Taiwanese indigenous literary works on Mona Rudao and the Musha Incident, which articulate Seediq rhetoric of resistance against the Japanese colonizers and in support of Seediq ways of life, land, spirituality, and identity. In other words, Mona Rudao is not a historical figure frozen in the past but a living memory, a national hero that has inspired both Seediq and Taiwanese people to continue their resistance against oppressive authorities, and to have their voices heard within Taiwanese, indigenous, and global literature and culture.

However, representations of indigenous culture are not always produced by indigenous authors; they are often (co-)created by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors who study and write about Indigenous history, culture, and stories. In comparison with Native American literature, Taiwanese Indigenous literary studies are still quite under-represented, under-developed within the field of global Indigenous studies due to a lack of literary representation of Indigeneity in Taiwan. For example, the Musha Incident has become an important issue addressed by non-Indigenous authors—an existential one, I argue—not only to represent a single Indigenous tribe but to represent Taiwan as a nation in the world. The question is, what should Taiwanese Indigenous peoples do in their vision to continue their Indigenous rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization in the future? Regardless of their ethnicities--Indigenous, Hoklo, Hakka or Chinese—the people of Taiwan should share a vision of continuing to learn to co-exist with each other and protect their respective ethnic ways of life, recognizing the danger of a single voice in Taiwan’s political system that dictates their societies or communities. Also, it is

imperative that multiple voices that represent Taiwan's ethnic diversity can grow and be heard to express their cultural identities and representations.

Since Taiwan became a democratic country, the film *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* has played a critical role as an expression of Taiwanese Indigenous rhetorics of resistance against Japanese colonization in the past. Many Taiwanese people, especially younger Indigenous and non-Indigenous generations, have recently been awakened by the film informing them about the forgotten history of the Musha Incident, which has profound implications at two levels. At the national level, the Musha Incident has reminded native Taiwanese (Hoklo and Hakka) and aborigines of their colonial history and both Chinese and Japanese authoritarian regimes and their assimilation policies that have destroyed many non-Chinese ethnic lives, Indigenous languages and oral traditions. Before the 4-decade long martial law was lifted, before 1987, the Taiwanese people were persecuted and silenced by the KMT government, which caused serious national trauma and repressed the collective memory of the 2-28 Incident and White Terror.<sup>118</sup> In other words, the Japanese and Chinese colonization of Taiwan were not isolated historical facts or independent of the indigenous peoples because other ethnic groups of people were oppressed by the same colonizers.<sup>119</sup>

At the international level, Taiwan has diplomatically been isolated and silenced by the People's Republic of China (PRC), which imposes its One-China policy on international communities and forces them to accept that Taiwan is part of China and

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<sup>118</sup> See Thomas J. Shattuck's article "Taiwan's White Terror: Remembering the 2-28 Incident" for more information about the history of the 2-28 Incident and White Terror.

<sup>119</sup> In a news article titled "Aboriginal White Terror Period Victims Remembered," Chen Yu-fu and William Hetherington point out that Jih Chin-chun, a member of the Saisiyat community, was the first Taiwanese Aborigine to fall victim to the White Terror era when he was shot by Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) military police" (*Taipei Times*).

exclude Taiwan from being part of the world – from being a member of the United Nations or other international organizations such as the World Health Organization.<sup>120</sup> As Mark Munsterhjelm points out, “Aboriginal delegations, though often encountering diplomatic interference from the PRC, are frequent participants in various international indigenous rights forums” (“The First Nations”). Also, the PRC has recently threatened to invade Taiwan by force and has sent thousands of military airplanes over the Taiwan Strait to intimidate the people of Taiwan, like the latest critical situation in Ukraine surrounded by overwhelming military forces from Russia. This situation raises a number of questions: When a small country like Taiwan, a Taiwanese Indigenous tribe, or any ethnic group (Chinese, Hoklo or Hakka) is threatened by a larger country or a political regime, how can the former protect its borderlands on the island nation?<sup>121</sup> Moreover, if the international community does not consider Taiwan to be a country, then how can Taiwanese Indigenous peoples be seen as “nations” with sovereignty on both the local and international stages? The Indigenous peoples in Taiwan have now spoken out that they were the first to inhabit the island nation, which we can interpret as a form of rhetoric of resistance against a major authoritarian country like Communist China, which

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<sup>120</sup> According to Communist China’s One China Policy, any countries that have diplomatic ties with China must not have diplomatic ties with Taiwan, whose official name is the Republic of China (Chinese Nationalists), which fought the People’s Republic of China (Chinese Communists) during the Chinese Civil War before and after WWII. As a matter of fact, historically, the Republic of China (R.O.C.) was born first before Communist China. The R.O.C. run by the KMT was defeated by the latter and fled to Taiwan in 1949.

<sup>121</sup> The word *borderland* is defined as “land locked on or near a border” or “an indeterminate area, situation, or condition” (*Free Dictionary; American Heritage Dictionary*). Here, I am using *borderland* broadly in terms of political, cultural, social, linguistic, ethnic, and economic, including Gloria Anzaldúa’s idea of “borderlands,” which focuses on political, ethnic, cultural and linguistic in her article “Borderlands” (“La Frontera”). For example, in Taiwan, politically and ethnically, there are many regions (cities, towns, and indigenous areas) are inhabited by different ethnic groups of people. Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan, is often seen as more pro-KMT (Chinese Mainlanders) regime whereas its rival city in the south of Taiwan, Kaohsiung, is more pro-native Taiwanese who predominantly speak Hoklo.

may see Taiwanese Indigenous “nations” as simply parts of the motherland—Chinese Mainland.

For example, according to Isabella Steger, “in response to a recent speech by Xi Jinping in which he warned he would not rule out military means to force the unification of Taiwan with China,” Taiwan’s indigenous people “issued an open letter addressed to the Chinese president to challenge Beijing’s claims,” asserting that “the various indigenous tribes of Taiwan, which have inhabited the land for 6,000 years, do not belong to the so-called ‘Chinese nation,’ a reference to the oft-used rhetoric by Beijing that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, and that it is a ‘historical conclusion’ that Taiwan and China should be one country” (*Quartz Media*). The Indigenous people’s open letter has demonstrated how important Taiwanese Indigenous rhetorics are in resisting Communist China’s historical claim on Taiwan and its invasion of the country. This historical consciousness is shared by the majority of Han Taiwanese who have lived on the island especially during the authoritarian rules of two previous colonial powers, Imperial Japan and the KMT regime. The indigenous peoples in Taiwan, like the peoples in Indian Nations and First Nations around the world, continue their rhetorics of resistance against the policies of the Taiwanese government that encroach their rights to ancestral land. Mark Munsterhjelm writes that “the Japanese terminated indigenous land rights in 1895. Despite two centuries of Chinese colonization, well over 50 percent of Taiwan’s landmass remained under the effective control of independent Aboriginal peoples on the eve of the Japanese occupation. This fact alone undermines Chinese

nationalist claims of all stripes that Taiwan is an ‘inalienable’ part of China.”<sup>122</sup> The term “First Nations” suggest that the indigenous peoples were to the first to inhabit the island Formosa (Taiwan). Also, according to a report from the Thomson Reuters Foundation, a group of Indigenous people protested in the capital city Taipei, and Panai Kusui, an Indigenous leader and singer, claimed that they were “the original inhabitants of this island, the collective custodians of all land before the concept of public land and private land.” Kusui said, “We have been betrayed by the government” and its regulation that “denies us what is rightfully ours” (Chandran). Kusui’s protest reflects that Indigenous people’s right to protest and have their voice heard in public may have been bolstered by the new democratic values that Taiwan upholds. This is a marked shift from the days of Japanese colonial authority and the authoritarian KMT government, which would not have allowed any indigenous peoples to have such protests, let alone claim that they were the “First Nations” without severe punishment or political persecution. Like indigenous peoples in other countries, the Taiwanese Indigenous peoples when seen as First Nations have equal rights to exist and live in both local and international space—Taiwan and the world.

From a transnationalist perspective, Indigenous peoples in Taiwan can claim that they are “nations” or have “nationhood” and sovereignty while continuing their rhetorics of resistance against any governmental violation of their land rights. Politically, the idea of “nations” applied to Taiwanese Indigenous peoples does not mean that they are states or countries independent of Taiwan. Scott Richard Lyons raises the question of the idea of “an Indian Nation” and asks if “all those different groups who were here in 1491” were

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<sup>122</sup> Mark Munsterhjelm notes: “I use the expression ‘First Nations’ as a translation of *yuan-chu-min chu*, which may literally be translated as ‘original peoples.’ ‘Peoples’ carries connotations of political independence--something denied under colonization.”

“nations”? Lyons argues that “scholars who study the nation have long disagreed about its origins and character,” citing the famous view of Ernest Gellner, “who thought the notion of nationhood was a distinctly modern idea indelibly associated with industrialization, mass literacy, public education, and other such modern developments” (115). Both Lyons and Gellner’s idea of nationalism explains that Taiwanese Indigenous peoples already existed before colonial powers and other ethnic groups (Chinese, Hoklo and Hakka) came to Formosa, and even before the notion of nationhood was introduced to them, so the latter do not need to make nationalist claims for their existence and sovereignty of their land. As Lyons puts it, “lacking the general idea of governance by a sovereign ruler, or instructions producing the same effect, there is no need to make a nationalist claim, for without it” (117). Also, as Gellner explains, “the problem of nationalism does not rise for stateless societies” because “one obviously cannot ask whether or not its boundaries are congruent with the limits of nations” (qtd. in Lyons 117-18). In the United States, “Indian Nations ceded millions of acres of land that made the United States what it is today, and in return received, among other guarantees, the right of continued self-government on their own lands.”<sup>123</sup> Although Taiwanese Indigenous peoples did not cede their territories to the Taiwanese government, they have local autonomy.<sup>124</sup> Today, aboriginal people’s land consists of designated Indigenous

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<sup>123</sup> According to the National Congress of American Indians, “Approximately 229 of these ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse nations are located in Alaska; the rest are located in 33 other states .... The Supreme Court, Congress, U.S. Presidents, and hundreds of treaties have repeatedly reaffirmed that Indian Nations retain their inherent powers of self-government. Treaties and laws have created a fundamental contract between Indian Nations and the United States” (University of Arizona).

<sup>124</sup> According to the Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP) in Taiwan, there are 30 mountain indigenous townships and districts and 25 townships and cities designated as indigenous areas today. See the CIP website at: <https://www.cip.gov.tw/en/news/data-list/56F8DEC19E543530/index.html?cumid=56F8DEC19E543530>. In contrast, the National Congress of American Indians in the United States says: “There are 562 federally recognized Indian Nations (variously called tribes, nations, bands, pueblos, communities, rancherias and native villages) in the United States,”

regions, in urban, rural, and mountainous areas in Taiwan, similar to the Indigenous reservations in the United States and First Nations reserves in Canada. When it comes to claiming land rights, Taiwanese Indigenous peoples can carry out their rhetorics of resistance against private or official violations of their land.

Although continuous Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance against forced colonization includes what Ortiz calls “resistance – political, armed, spiritual – carried out by the oral tradition,” it is not necessarily a “movement” for fighting and growing nationalism with violence.<sup>125</sup> *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* suggests that for centuries, before colonial powers invaded Formosa (Taiwan), Taiwanese aborigines had already practiced headhunting rituals to guard their respective hunting grounds, and that headhunting is a violent act of Seediq rhetoric of resistance; however, *Warriors* makes the point that the Seediq people have rights to defend their land rather than show the violence of headhunting. Chia-rong Wu argues that “on account of the representation of headhunting and its political/cultural implications,” Dancing Crane’s (Wu He’s) novel *Remains of Life* “can be a good work to study body politics” (42). Wu cites postcolonial critic Frantz Fanon’s argument that “violence is the only way against the colonial regime: ‘For the colonized, this violence represents the absolute praxis .... Violence can thus be understood to be the perfect mediation. The colonized man liberates himself in and

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and that “the United States Constitution recognizes that Indian Nations are sovereign governments just like Canada and California” (University of Arizona). See Native Nations Institute at: <https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/introduction-indian-nations-united-states>.

<sup>125</sup> The “movement” refers to Lyons’ view on Ortiz’s concept of the oral tradition and the development of literary nationalism. Lyons cites the same passage from Ortiz’s 1981 essay “Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism” and sees Ortiz’s essay as “representative of American Indian literary nationalism,” and “we can distinguish this insurgent critical movement from both cultural resistance and new traditionalism and call it a realist nationalism” (155-56).

through violence” (42).<sup>126</sup> However, to analyze the cultural representation of headhunting does not mean endorsing (political) violence. Wu and Fanon’s argument about violence as the “only way,” “absolute praxis,” and “perfect mediation” has ruled out other interpretations of headhunting. For example, today, many young Seediq people who advocate for indigenous autonomy and sovereignty see headhunting practice as “a moral good necessary to a society like the violence of police and soldiers” when they interpret Gaya in terms of international law (Simon, “Politics and Headhunting,” 165).<sup>127</sup> After all, the Japanese colonizers had politically banned headhunting rituals, decimated almost the entire Seediq tribe, and removed the remaining Seediqs from living on their ancestral land. Wu argues that the representation of headhunting as a “symbolic practice” and a Seediq “violent act” turns out to be a “form of counter-authority” (42).<sup>128</sup> Despite Wu’s interpretation of headhunting as violence, the Indigenous peoples, even if they are not recognized as “nations,” have their land rights to protect; they still have to deal with political, economic, cultural, and spiritual issues in their respective oral traditions. More importantly, they have to continue their rhetorics of resistance against oppressive authorities to protect their ways of life such as indigenous language or hunting rights.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Chia-rong Wu says in a note that “Sedek is a clan of the Atayals” (40). However, the Seediq tribe, independent of the Atayal tribe today, was officially recognized by Taiwan’s government on 23 April 2008. The name Seediq is also spelled as Sediq, Seedziq or Seejiq in other places.

<sup>127</sup> Scott Simon says, “By affirming their headhunting past in this way, the Sejiq affirm that all men – *rather than a state monopoly* – held power over the legitimate use of violence on their territory” (“Politics and Headhunting,” 165). In his note, Simon also says: “this explanation is a bit *ex post facto*, influenced by notions of ‘sovereignty’ highlighted contemporary televised debates about ‘Taiwan’ and the ‘Republic of China,’ as well as debates about proposed ‘indigenous autonomy’”(181).

<sup>128</sup> Wu says, “At this point, decapitation is not only the actual violence, but also a form of ‘cultural’ process since it is ‘always subject to social control’ and serves as ‘symbolic practice.’ From this angle, the Sedeks’ violent act or ritual of headhunting turns out to be a form of counter-authority” (42). However, in this context, I argue that headhunting is a Seediq act of “political, armed, spiritual” rhetoric of resistance carried by the oral tradition that serves to protect hunting grounds or land.

<sup>129</sup> An example is the case of Tama Talum (Chinese: Wang Guanglu), a Bunun Aborigine, who was controversially convicted for possessing an “illegal” firearm and poaching. According to *Vice news*, “No one is allowed to own guns in Taiwan, with one exception: Indigenous hunters. But there’s a catch. Each



Taiwanese indigenous peoples should continue their rhetorics of resistance against authoritative discourses that thrive on binaries of master and slave and civilization and savagery, to develop Indigenous literature that represents Indigenous identities and tells their stories on their own terms. According to Ortiz's idea of the oral tradition, there is a close relationship between literature and the representation of a political Native voice. Similarly, Taiwanese indigenous peoples need to grow their own literature and voice. As Lyons points out, Ortiz made a "foundational contribution" to the development of "literary nationalism" (155).<sup>130</sup>

While Ortiz's idea of the oral tradition is important for developing National Indian Literature, it remains to be seen whether the indigenous peoples are ready to adopt a nationalist approach to developing their fledgling Taiwanese indigenous literature in Taiwan's political climate as they continue their rhetorics of resistance against forced colonization. Besides the uncertainty of developing a "national" Indigenous literature, we can see a situation where Wu He's *Remains of Life*, Chiu Ruo-lung's documentary film *Gaya* (1999) and his graphic novel *Seediq Bale*, and Wei Te-Sheng's film *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale* were all produced by non-indigenous authors, reminding us that no literary works on the Musha Incident have yet been written by Seediq authors, and it is to

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hunter must make their own gun by hand. This leads to hunters using DIY guns of varying quality, often sorely lacking in safety. Guns made in factories are strictly banned. Indigenous hunter Talum Suqluman (Talum) was charged in 2013 with using an illegal gun to hunt protected animals. In 2021, his case went before Taiwan's highest court in an attempt to resolve the conflict between the right of Indigenous peoples to practice their hunting culture, and Taiwan's near-total ban on civilian firearms. Many Indigenous activists rallied around Talum's case, surfacing centuries-old tensions between the Han Chinese majority and Indigenous communities of the island." Consequently, in 2015 Talum was convicted and sentenced to three and a half years in prison by the Council of Grand Justices. But President of Taiwan, Tsai Ing-wen pardoned Talum. Talum's case has continued to spark indigenous protests and discussion of their hunting rights in Taiwan.

<sup>130</sup> Lyons cites the same passage from Ortiz's 1981 essay "Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism," an important essay that Weaver, Womack, and Warrior's book, *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, credits for making a "foundational contribution" to the development of literary nationalism (155).

be hoped that this will change in the near future. It is important that Taiwanese Indigenous authors and artists can speak for themselves in resisting authoritative discourses that misrepresent Indigenous identities and experiences. Further, Shohat argues that “when a certain postmodernism declares the ‘end of narratives,’ one wishes to ask precisely whose narrative is coming to an ‘end’? The master narratives of the West have been told and retold, endlessly assembled and reassembled, not only in the cinema but also through the major academic disciplines from geography and history to anthropology and literature” (174). Shohat’s argument clearly implies that “a certain postmodernism” attempts to put an end to “narratives” not only that involve academic disciplines like the humanities, many of which rely on doing ethnographic research into issues of marginalized groups of people, but also that have direct impact on literature, especially Native American literature which builds on indigenous oral traditions for story-telling and meaning-making of indigenous ways of life. Likewise, this sort of postmodernism will have a negative impact on the development of Taiwanese Indigenous literature. At worst, it will discourage continuous Taiwanese rhetorics of resistance against academic disciplines that reject indigenous narratives and silence indigenous voices. Also, as long as the KMT and other dominant political parties are in power, political and intellectual discourses are likely to perpetuate their master narratives, which Wu He describes in his novel. While the Indigenous peoples continue their rhetorics of resistance against master narratives that misinform the public, the Taiwanese government should include educating mainstream non-Indigenous students with authentic information about Indigenous peoples in school textbooks. Indigenous peoples themselves should be enabled to preserve their oral traditions and continue to tell their own stories and make

their voices heard in public. And Indigenous peoples should be allowed to participate more fully in artistic and cultural arenas in Taiwan, so that other ethnic groups of people can get to know them better and communicate well with communities beyond their own.

It is long overdue for Taiwanese Indigenous peoples to gain opportunities for aesthetic representation as they continue their rhetorics of resistance against the discrimination that prevents them from participating in art and culture. According to Shohat, it is no secret that “the denial of aesthetic representation to the subaltern has historically formed a corollary to the literal denial of economic, legal, and political representation. The struggle to ‘speak for oneself’ cannot be separated from a history of being spoken for, from the struggle to speak and be heard” (173). Like the subaltern, Indigenous peoples can speak for themselves through literary studies in academic fields and in the entertainment industry, including film, music, media, performance art, and cultural events. For instance, as we have seen in Chapter Three, the Atayal film director, Laha Mebow, offers her own representation of Atayal community in her film *Finding Sayun*. Moreover, Mebow’s quest for an authentic historical representation has been followed by another young Atayal woman named – Yagu (陳芃伶), who hails from the same Jinyue Village where Mebow grew up. Yagu’s indigenous grandparents were originally removed from Ryohen Village. Yagu spent many years trying to revitalize the story of “The Bell of Sayon” in her village and her indigenous heritage, a long process of returning to Sayun’s home. In a 2013 documentary film, Yagu told her story about her decision to return to her Atayal community to serve and revitalize their forgotten heritage. As Anthony D. Smith writes, “nations are modern too, but not made out of thin air.” For Smith, nations are “the products of preexisting traditions and heritages that have

coalesced over the generations” (qtd. in Lyons 119). In a sense, Yagu’s Atayal people is a “nation” that had lost its traditions and heritage which she has helped them restore; noticeably, like Mebow, Yagu appears to have a vision of working on bringing back her lost Atayal oral tradition, something like what Ortiz calls a “literary nationalism.” From a younger generation, Yagu brings new hope for her forgotten Atayal community. “I didn’t know in the past that we had a forgotten old home on the mountain,” she said in an interview. “I often wonder why non-indigenous people are thinking of Sayon’s Bell. Since my encounter with the Atayal elders, my life has changed.” Yagu has set a good example for the younger generations of other tribes. While continuing her rhetoric of resistance against propaganda about Sayun, she represents her Atayal tribe, speaks for herself and the elders of her community who were displaced but who knew about Sayun, a simple, innocent Atayal girl. It is important to see the continuity of both Mebow and Yagu’s artistic works in the filmic representations of their unique Atayal identity and to have their voice heard in Atayal literary study.

In conclusion, this project revisits the once forbidden historical memories of the Musha Incident and examines its related literary art works in terms of Taiwanese indigenous rhetorics of resistance, representation and identity against forced colonization, while using Bakhtin’s idea of heteroglossia as a critical lens to look into Indigenous voices in Taiwan. The purpose of this project is to encourage readers, especially Taiwanese indigenous readers, not only to tell their stories and have their voices heard through their oral traditions, thereby continuing a tradition of Indigenous resistance, but also to envision what is ahead of them in the future, so that Indigenous peoples who see their individual tribes as “nations” on par with other countries around the world may want

to consider how to create “a new society” in their own communities. As the great Martinican poet and theorist Aimé Césaire writes: “For us, the problem is not to make a utopian and sterile attempt to repeat the past, but to go beyond. It is not a dead society that we want to revive,” but “a new society that we must create, with the help of all our brother slaves, a society rich with all the productive power of modern times, warm with the fraternity of olden days” (qtd. in Lyons 111). This idea reflects that “the voice of decolonization at the dawn of the postcolonial era” was one that was “uncompromising and pragmatic” (Lyons 111). As Lyons notes, for Taiaiake Alfred the end goal of decolonization is not “setting out to destroy or replace the state or eject the colonizer” but “the achievement in positive terms of the creation of a new society” (qtd. in Lyons 112).

Hence, my project is not a study of *Warriors of the Rainbow: Seediq Bale*, related representations of the Musha Incident, or Taiwanese indigenous rhetoric of resistance against the Taiwanese government. Instead, it encourages readers and Indigenous peoples to envision and build “a new society” with their voices of continuous rhetorics of resistance for the future, due to the fact that Taiwan has become a democracy and is under a totally different political system now – different from the colonial or dictatorial systems in the past as history has taught us. This does not mean that a new colonial power, or a former oppressive regime like the KMT will not find its way back to authoritarian rule under Communist China’s constant influence today. While Taiwan continues to fight and protect itself from foreign invaders, its Indigenous peoples still face the existential issues of their survival and the protection of their territories. While my project is not an exhaustive study of Indigeneity in Taiwan, it adds to the scholarly discussion of Taiwanese Indigenous culture by acknowledging and recovering the

rhetorics of resistance of the Seediq people and other tribes. Besides this project, there are clearly other important indigenous issues to address, issues such as endangered indigenous languages or indigenous literacy education (pedagogy or composition) in Taiwan as far as the field of Rhetoric and Composition is concerned, and I hope that perhaps I will get another opportunity to address and study those issues in the near future.

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## CURRICULUM VITA

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### Education

Doctor of Philosophy in English: Rhetoric & Composition, University of Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A. (August 2022)

Dissertation: TAIWANESE INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATION, RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE, AND HETEROGLOSSIA IN *WARRIORS OF THE RAINBOW: SEEDIQ BALE*

Master of Arts in English: Rhetoric & Writing, St. Cloud State University, U.S.A. (April 2018)

70-page Thesis: “Situating the Voice of Rhetoric for College Writing: A Paulo Freire’s Reading of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s Speech on ‘The Danger of a Single Story’”

Master of Arts in English: TESL, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota, U.S.A. (December 2014)

70-page Thesis: “Revisiting the Problem of College ESL Student Writing: Cohesion and Coherence”

Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) in English (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century British Literature), University of Aberdeen, Scotland, U. K. (\*The MPhil is a research degree between M. A. and Ph. D., June 2001)

MPhil thesis (a comparative study) on Victorian Literature: a 250-page paper entitled,

“George Eliot and Friedrich Nietzsche: Harmony, Conflict, and Paradox”

Master of Arts in English Education, Wayne State College, Nebraska, U. S. A.  
(May 1993)

Bachelor of Arts in English, Christ's College, TAIWAN (June 1988)

## **Research and Teaching Interests**

Rhetoric studies; memory and trauma archival studies; college ESL education, language and culture studies; critical literacy studies; college writing and pedagogies; Taiwanese indigenous studies; children literature, British literature, American Renaissance literature

## **Scholarships, Honors and Awards**

Graduate Teaching Assistantship (tuition waiver & stipends), University of Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A. (2018-2022)

Graduate Student Assistantships (tuition waiver & stipends), St. Cloud State University, Minnesota, U.S.A. (2012- 2017)

Received the Certificate of Appreciation for volunteer teaching at LCC International University in Lithuania, Europe (2002-2004)

Awarded as an excellent employee (an editor and writer of ESL teaching materials) at

Washington Educational Organization (consisting of three ESL language schools), Taiwan (2000-2002)

Partial tuition scholarships, Wayne State College, Nebraska, U.S.A. (1992-1993)

Full tuition scholarships, Christ's College, Taiwan (1984-1988)

## **Teaching and Work Experience**

College writing instructor, University of Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A. (2018-2021)

College writing instructor, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota, U.S.A. (2015-2017)

College University Writing Center Tutor, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota, U.S.A. (2015-2017)

College ESL instructor, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota, U.S.A. (2012-2014)

English Assistant Professor, Olivet Nazarene University, Illinois, U.S.A. (2008–2011) \* College Writing, ESL and literature instructor

English Instructor, LCC International University, Klaipeda, Lithuania, Europe (2002-2004) \* Teaching Introduction to Literature, British Literature Survey, and Shakespeare (in addition to one course on distance learning)

Editor-in-Chief at Washington Educational Organization (ESL Schools) in Taiwan (2000-2002). \* Writing, editing, and publishing the children's English magazine *Kaleidoscope* \* Recruiting and interviewing both Chinese-English and native English teachers \* Teaching K-12 ESL part-time (kindergarten, middle and high schools)

English Instructor, Christ's College, Taipei, Taiwan (1993-1995)  
\* Teaching College Writing, Short Stories, English Grammar, and American Literature Survey

## **Publications**

“My Trip to Craters of the Moon,” St. Cloud State University's multi-cultural art journal, *Kaleidoscope* (2014)

7 book series (short stories & Grammar for middle and high school students), *Washington English Grammar*, Y-Hwa Publishing Co., TAIWAN (2001-2002)

12 monthly series children's English magazine, *Kaleidoscope*, Y-Hwa Publishing Co., TAIWAN (2000-2001)

## **Conferences and Scholarly Activities**

Attended Thomas R. *Watson Conference*, University of Louisville (2018)

Presented a conference paper, Re-examining Bakhtin's Theory in Shakespeare's Plays at the 22nd Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature at St. Cloud State University (2014)

Participated in Student Research Colloquium, St. Cloud State University (2014)

Attended the Conference, Integrating Reading and Writing: Closing the Circle (2013)

Participated in monitoring College ESL Placement Tests and Assessment, Olivet Nazarene University (2012)

K-12 English Education curriculum / instruction / evaluation and served on sub-committees within the English Department of Olivet Nazarene University to revise NCTE accreditation standards and develop strong assessment for English majors (2008-2011)

Participated in English Department ESL Program Committee, Olivet Nazarene University (2008-2011)

Participated in Intercultural Awareness Committee promoting diversity on campus, Olivet Nazarene University (2009-2011)

Participated in Committee on Summer CLEP College Composition Exam, Olivet Nazarene University (2009-2011)

Created two graduate course modules for the new M.Ed. degree program in ESL at Olivet Nazarene University: Cross-Cultural Studies for Teaching Limited-English Proficient Students & Methods and Materials for Teaching ESL (2009-2010)

Attended Two TESOL seminars at Olivet Nazarene University: “Why Are We Still Teaching the Wrong Grammar the Wrong Way?” (Scott Thornbury); “The Multilevel ESOL Class: A Multitude of Opportunities for Language Development” (Jayme Adelson-Goldstein and Sylvia Ramirez) (Fall 2010)

Attended Scholarship Symposium on Teaching (Pedagogy) and Writing Workshop, Olivet Nazarene University: “College Readiness & Transitions Faculty Workshop” (2009-2010)