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The Significance of Museum Materials in the Name Correction Movement of the Pingpu Peoples of Taiwan

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1. Aim

The aim of this paper is to discuss the significance of material culture in the name correction movement of the Pingpu peoples in Taiwan. The name change or correction movement has developed within a variety of contexts across Taiwan. One key element concerns the Taiwanese indigenous peoples, who have made claims to use the ethnic names for individuals and populations that stem from their vernacular languages, rather than those given to them by the Japanese colonial administration, or during the rule by the Republic of China. Another key side to the name correction movement, which concerns diplomatic relations with China, consists of an attempt to replace references to the Republic of China with those to Taiwan, and was especially prominent during the Democratic Progressive Party government era. This paper shall concern itself with the former aspect of the movement.

The Pingpu peoples have been officially excluded from being classified among the group of indigenous peoples in Taiwan. They usually speak Taiwanese, and are Taoist or Buddhist, with the exception of one Pingpu religion which will be discussed later. Their food, clothing, and other daily items are all similar to those of the Han Taiwanese. It is therefore not easy to isolate features which could distinguish the Pingpu from the Han Taiwanese. This means that, from their customs, religion, and material cultures, the Pingpu are not easily recognizable as an indigenous population. The Han peoples, including the Helou and the Kejia or peoples from the mainland, discriminated against the Pingpu as those of another race because the Pingpu peoples tend to have particular family names and live in particular areas. It is very important for the Han Taiwanese or Han Chinese to have a family chart in which one's patrilineal lineage has its root in mainland China. The Pingpu peoples are local residents of Taiwan and do not have their roots in mainland China. They have not considered themselves as compatriots of the Han peoples in Taiwan. The ethnic position of the Pingpu has thus been unclear, both officially and unofficially, within Taiwanese society.

Through the name correction movement, Taiwan's indigenous groups acquired social position and legal authorization for themselves. A few smaller groups split off from the major ones to establish themselves as officially recognized specific ethnic groups. In addition to language, ethnohistory, and social system, an especially important consideration in

acquiring legal authorization for an ethnic population is those visible features that enable people to recognize the ethnic boundaries separating groups. Thus, material culture holds a big influence—in particular ethnic costume and architecture, which are very useful in forging the image of a certain ethnicity. However, those people who have been assimilated for a long time by the majority have often lost these visible features in their original form, and this is true too of the Pingpu peoples, whose traditional material culture has broken off with their increased interaction with the other ethnic groups, especially the Han Taiwanese. In their campaign to achieve name correction, the Pingpu are, like other indigenous peoples who have succeeded in their name correction movement, required to demonstrate their cultural uniqueness and historical background. They are therefore attempting to reconstruct their materials, in order to express their unique ethnicity. This attempt sometimes takes the form of visits to museums in Taiwan or abroad, looking for clues there to past materials with which to reconstruct their material culture.

In this paper, I wish to discuss the possibility of historical objects, such as those that are collected and curated in museums or research organizations, acting as a means by which people can visualize these kinds of ethnic boundaries. Historical study has encouraged the development of research into the Pingpu peoples. There are also a handful of anthropological studies about them (Hsieh 2006). Articles on material culture, however, are still pitifully few, and this paper thus suggests new possibilities for research focused on this area. In that historical objects can help in the efforts of the indigenous peoples to achieve cultural revival or promotion, we can term them cultural resources. However, in that they are necessarily objects from a particular period, there are still some doubts that such materials can show anything other than the features of ethnicity at that particular time. The paper relates to the essential qualities in which museum materials have.

2. The Pingpu Peoples

The term Pingpu refers to a group of indigenous peoples who lived on the plains of Taiwan, and their descendants. Most Pingpu groups lived in the plains of East Taiwan before the Han peoples migrated there from mainland China from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. After the Han migrated to Taiwan, the residents of the western plains came into contact with these migrants. Their language, customs, social relationships, subsistence patterns, and material culture were sinicized through interaction or intermarriage with the Han immigrants, and their ethnicity changed to that of the Han Taiwanese.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ming dynasty began to use the term “the east savages” (Tongban) to refer to all the residents of Taiwan. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Qing dynasty established a system for classifying the native peoples of Taiwan according to their place of residence, as well as their degree of sinicization. Thus, the sinicized residents of the western plain were called “*pingpu* (plains) savages” or “mature savages.” “Mature” here implies sinicized, and the term “mature savages” indicated that these indigenous peoples’ culture and society had been strongly affected by the Han. On the other hand, the groups who lived in the mountainous areas and eastern plain areas were called “wild savages,” with “wild” connoting unsinicized or uncivilized.



Figure 1 The distribution and movement of the Pingpu population (redrawn from National Museum of Taiwan History 2013: 189)

In the time of the Qing dynasty, the Han peoples started to colonize the western plains of Taiwan, where the Pingpu people lived. Until this point, the indigenous peoples had their own rules of land ownership. The Han peoples needed the right to use the land in order to create suitable land for them to farm and increase productivity. They tried to bring their system of landownership or the rights of land to Taiwan. They made contracts regarding landownership or the right of land use with the Pingpu peoples under conditions that were not necessarily fair to the original landowners. Some Pingpu groups lost their own land through these unfair contracts and, unable to continue living in their original homes, were forced to migrate to other areas.

The Pingpu groups dispersed across plains all over the country, some reaching as far as the north and south regions of eastern Taiwan (Figure 1), thus losing their original unity as an ethnic population. The peoples who moved to new territories became sinicized through the influence of the Han peoples living around them, meaning that peoples who belonged to the same Pingpu population experienced different processes of sinicization. For example, the Siraya, one of the Pingpu populations, living in Tainan Prefecture, have kept their own religion, the Ali faith but this was not observed among those Siraya people living in Taitung Prefecture (Figure 2).¹⁾ There were some populations who are not distinguished from the Han peoples and the others continued their original residence and retained partially their ethnicity as the Pingpu.

During the period of Japanese colonialization of Taiwan, the colonial authorities tried



Figure 2 An Ali altar in *konqai* (Kabasua, 2013)

to classify the ethnic groups there according to their language, customs, social relationships, and living conditions. The Pingpu were deemed to be sinicized and not classified as part of the aboriginal groups, who were referred to as the Seiban. The Pingpu population was not also officially classified as containing different groups.²⁾ The Pingpu were commonly referred to as the “Jukuban” or “Heihozoku” in Japanese, and officially classified as the mature aboriginal peoples. This classification was used also in the Japanese census registration, where Pingpu individuals were described as “mature” on their registration sheets. The Japanese authorities, however, did not make a special inspection of the Pingpu peoples as they did for the aboriginal groups and the Han peoples, but rather treated them as part of the Han.

The Pingpu society experienced a strong impact on its landownership through the abolition of the conventional tax system known as *bantaiso* by the Japanese colonial government. With this system, when the Han or other peoples used the Pingpu land, they had to pay land tax both to the landowner, and to the authorities or government, i.e. dual landownership was conventionally permitted. When the Japanese government abolished the *bantaiso* system, the conventional landownership system of the Pingpu completely disappeared. Almost none of the Pingpu landowners could afford the land tax, and thus it was easy to shift the ownership of their land over to the Han peoples. Thus, the Pingpu people could now be easily separated from their land.

It had been thought that the local history monograph from the Qing dynasty which gives useful information on peoples in each area might help in investigating the history of the Pingpu peoples. However, it proved difficult to discover the history of those Pingpu peoples who moved to other areas after the beginning of Japanese rule.

After World War II, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) took over Taiwan. The KMT government continued to enforce the Japanese policy toward the indigenous peoples. Under the KMT, certain peoples, who had been known as the Takasagozoku in Japanese colonial period, were classified as Shanbao, or “wild savages.” These were the people lived in specific autonomous areas of both mountains and plains as established by Japanese colonial government, based upon the areas where the indigenous populations conventionally lived. The Pingpu people were not included in the Shanbao classification, because they did not live in those designated areas.

In 1950s, the Shanbao were sub-divided into two categories, according to their place of residence: mountainous Shanbao and plains Shanbao. At the same time, the KMT government allowed Pingpu individuals to register their social status as that of plain Shanbao during a specific period in 1956, if they had been described as “mature” in the census of the Japanese colonial period. It seems probable, however, that news of this decision on the part of the KMT did not reach the local areas where Pingpu people lived to a sufficient degree.³⁾ As a result, almost all of the Pingpu people failed to register their social status as indigenous people at that time. This failure might have contributed to the sinicization of the Pingpu people, or their assimilation to the Han peoples. Almost all the Pingpu people lived in local areas where Han Taiwanese formed the majority. Shanbao people, on the other hand, lived in mountainous areas, with the exception of a few groups. The government offered financial support to the Shanbao people in areas such as welfare, education, medicine,

employment, and so on. The Pingpu, however, were not subject to such financial support, because they were not classified as Shanbao. In social affairs, they had to compete with the Han Taiwanese and those from the mainland.

In the early period of its rule, the KMT government was keen to recover control of mainland China. It conceived of Taiwan as a part of China, and Taiwanese peoples as Chinese, and this was stressed in daily life and elementary education. This policy had an effect on the identity of both the Shanbao and the Pingpu, but their social environments were very different, and the influence on the Pingpu peoples was stronger than that on the Shanbao. Some mountainous indigenous groups continued to practice conventional subsistence activities, maintain their traditional social relationships, and speak their native languages in daily life. Young people or children had the chance to observe and come to understand these practices within their villages, and therefore recognized themselves as indigenous people. However, the Pingpu people had already lost their native language and adopted a sinicized lifestyle, and hence the successive generation had no opportunity or space to identify themselves as the Pingpu. They acquired no knowledge or information on the Pingpu. Thus, almost all of the Pingpu people came to live a similar lifestyle as that of the Han Taiwanese people.

In the 1970s, Taiwan achieved economic development and experienced rapid social change. The Han Taiwanese gained economic power and their political influence gradually increased. They forced the central government to withdraw special political and economic privileges given to mainlanders, and democratization in the nation advanced. Another social movement that focused on respect for the culture of the indigenous peoples and their claims for various rights was launched in the latter half of the 1980s. It was called “the aboriginal movement.” This took place during the wave of Taiwanese democratization and localization movements of the 1980s. The movement was centered around the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA), an organization established in 1984. It encompassed not only various ethnicities and classes but also urban and rural members.

The membership of ATA was made up of Shanbao people, and at the beginning, the Pingpu did not join the movement. There seem to be a number of reasons for this, with the weakness of the interaction between the Shanbao and the Pingpu being crucial. Those indigenous groups who were categorized as Shanbao had had many chances to meet or cooperate with one another over a long time. They were recognized as one of Taiwan’s ethnic units, and also conceived of themselves thus.

The Shanbao people might not have found the Pingpu particularly congenial, because they lived in the plains, spoke the Minnang language, and had a very similar lifestyle to the Han Taiwanese. The same thing can be said about the attitude that the Pingpu people have to the Shanbao. The Shanbao may well have seemed very different to the ordinary Pingpu people, as most of them lived in mountainous areas, hunted wildlife, cultivated millet in burnt fields, and spoke Austronesian languages other than Minnang language and Mandarin.

It is also important to think about the distance between the Shanbao and the Pingpu peoples in terms of their approaches to government or policy. For example, the Shanbao elected their legislators not from their own particular ethnic group, but from the whole

pan-ethnic group of the Shanbao. This means that the Shanbao are institutionally a unity within national politics. On the other hand, the Pingpu people are included in the general vote frame. This means that the Pingpu peoples cannot easily elect a Pingpu representative because they are fewer in number than the Han Taiwanese and mainlanders. Even if the Pingpu joined the aboriginal movement, it would not necessarily secure them any political advantage. They are also fewer in number than the indigenous peoples. The Pingpu's participation in the aboriginal movement came about much later, in 1993.

The aboriginal movement aimed to fight for the recognition of the indigenous peoples' identity and the protection of their rights. They brought about constitutional amendments to recognize their existence in Taiwan and gained a particular name for themselves: Yuanzhumin, which means "people who originally resided in Taiwan." The constitution was amended to state that the Taiwanese nation had to promote the Yuanzhumin's culture and improve their welfare. In response to this, the Executive Yuan, the cabinet in Taiwan, established a new central government organization devoted to indigenous affairs in 1996. This was the Council of Aboriginal Affairs, which was renamed the Council of Indigenous Peoples in 2002.

The council did not encourage the name correction movement among the Pingpu peoples because, around the time of its establishment, it had its hands full with indigenous peoples' issues. Moreover, the council has no responsibility to the Pingpu peoples' issues, because it was set up to deal exclusively with the indigenous peoples' affairs, and had nothing to do with the Pingpu peoples' affairs per se. Thus the Pingpu peoples continued to be excluded.

3. Name Correction Movement of the Pingpu People

The name correction movement of the Pingpu people is thought to have started in the early 1990s (Duan 2013). With the encouragement of some of the aboriginal movement's leaders, some Pingpu individuals joined in the movement's demonstrations, and the movement raised the awareness among some Pingpu individuals of themselves as indigenous Taiwanese. Participants in the aboriginal movement at that time included the Kavalan peoples, one of the Pingpu groups, and it was these Kavalan groups who started their name correction movement first.

The Kavalan peoples live around Yilan to Hwalian in east Taiwan. Like the other Pingpu groups, they were not classified as Shanbao or Yuanzhumin, but registered as "mature savages" in the census of the Japanese colonial period. This means that they were recognized as a different ethnic group from the Han peoples, and from the indigenous peoples, or Takasagozoku. On the other hand, Yilan Kavalan and Hwalian Kavalan were not in contact with each other, and therefore had no opportunities through which they could have fostered an awareness of being members of the same tribe. It was not necessarily an advantageous condition for them to win recognition as an independent indigenous group.

Compared with the Yilan Kavalan, the Hwalian Kavalan had maintained their traditional culture to a greater degree, upholding their own religion and owning traditional materials such as weaving made from banana fibers. In 1991, the Hwalian Kavalan peoples visited

a Yilan Kavalan village and it had a powerful effect on their consciousness of being the same Kavalan people, with shared ancestors. Subsequently, the Kavalan peoples began promoting among themselves participation in similar activities to the indigenous peoples, such as harvest festivals or the manufacture of craftwork. They thus strengthened the identity of the Kavalan, as well as the idea that the Kavalan people were an indigenous population. As a result, the Kavalan people were recognized as a new indigenous group in 2002, making them the first of the Pingpu peoples to be so.

The activities performed to promote the name correction for the Kavalan people and their eventual success encouraged other Pingpu peoples to start to take steps toward being approved as an indigenous group. The conditions necessary for attaining name correction, however, differed between the Kavalan peoples and the other Pingpu peoples, owing to the fact that many of the Kavalan people had taken the status of Shanbao during the 1950s when the government called for applications from the Pingpu peoples. The Kavalan was one of the Pingpu groups, but many of its individuals had been awarded the status of indigenous people. Accordingly, the name correction of the Kavalan group was an approval of the ethnicity of the Kavalan. However, hardly any of the Pingpu individuals from other groups have the status of indigenous individuals, and this has constituted a major reason why the other Pingpu peoples' attempts at name correction have failed. The case of the Siraya people, who do not have individual indigenous status and have not been approved as an indigenous group by the central government, provides a typical example of this.

The process of the name correction movement of the Kavalan people may hold much significance for anthropologists and historians. It was not easy to study Taiwanese history in Taiwan until the 1980s for political reasons. The historical study of the Pingpu peoples was considered not so worth in Chinese history either, recognized not as the history of China, but as local history (Pan 1994). However, Taiwanese democratization encouraged people to take an interest in the nation's history, and the study of the Pingpu people came to be recognized as crucial to understanding it.

4. The Name Correction of the Siraya People

The Siraya are one of the Pingpu populations who live in the Tainan, Kaoshung, and Pingtung Prefectures. It is known that some Siraya groups migrated from west to east during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but peoples with characteristics in common with the western Pingpu, such as language or religion, have not been discovered in the eastern part. The main proponents of the movement to achieve name correction for the Siraya have been the Tainan Siraya peoples. In Tainan Prefecture, the Siraya has four subgroups in the plains and another group near the mountains. It is important for them to keep the practice of the Ali faith and its associated ritual ceremony, the "night festival."

In the seventeenth century, the Tainan area was under Dutch rule, and we can find descriptions of the Siraya people in European historical documents. For example, the Xingang document is known as a landownership contract signed between the Dutch or Chinese and the Pingpu people. It was written in the Siraya language using the Roman alphabet, with a Chinese translation added. Under the occupation of the Dutch and Qing Dynasty, the

Siraya population scattered across the Taiwanese territory. Some lost their land through unfair contracts with new immigrants or Han merchants, and migrated from Tainan to Taitung or the southern mountainous areas. As previously noted, peoples who migrated did not retain any consciousness of their identity as the Siraya. It is difficult to find those who identify themselves as the Siraya or the Pingpu peoples.

The Siraya population of Tainan numbered 7,383 in the census of 1935 and 6,250 in 2012 (Duan 2013: 15). The society and cultural practices of the Siraya have been sinicized in the same way as those of the other Pingpu groups. They are Mingnan speakers, and their clothes and the items and customs that make up their daily life are very similar to those of the Han Taiwanese. On the other hand, the Siraya people in Tainan have kept their own religion, practicing the Ali faith. This distinguishes them from the Han Taiwanese and other indigenous and the Pingpu groups.

Adherents of this faith worship Ali, but they have no clear explanation for what Ali is—it might be God, the spirit of the ancestors, or another kind of spirit. The distinguishing characteristic of the Ali faith is that the Siraya peoples pray to pots filled with water. It is interesting to note that the Ali faith can coexist with other religions, such as Buddhism or Taoism. We sometimes find an Ali altar in Buddhist or Taoist temples. Some of the populations have maintained the practice of nighttime religious festivals. Those who practice the Ali religion and participated in these festivals actively insist on their identity as Siraya people, and their presence has aided the cause of the Siraya's name correcting movement.

Hong-kun Duan, who is one of leading figures in the Siraya name correction movement, suggested that the movement could be divided into five periods (Duan 2013: 61). They are:

- 1) 1990–2000 Confirming awareness of the “actual existence” of the Pingpu, awakening of the movement
- 2) 2001–2004 Refinement and unification
- 3) 2005–2006 Approval of the Siraya as an indigenous population in Tainan Prefecture
- 4) 2007–2008 Expectations of a bright future and disappointment⁴⁾
- 5) 2009–2012 Rivalry, lawsuits, and negotiation

1) Those referred to as the Pingpu became conscious of their identity as the Pingpu people and also as indigenous people. Inspired by the aboriginal movement, they started a movement to achieve name correction for themselves. They started to insist publically that they were the Pingpu and indigenous people. Organizations were established in each area where the Pingpu people resided, and a general organization bridging them called the “Taiwanese Pingpu Peoples’ Association” was established in 1999.

2) Members of the movement tried to define the identity of the Pingpu people and to make clear what the aims of the name correction movement were. Central and local governments had many public meetings to exchange opinions about the Pingpu peoples’ name correction. This encouraged the Pingpu peoples to petition for the indigenous rights and the promotion of their cultural practices to the central and local governments.

3) The Siraya groups in Tainan Prefecture were recognized as an indigenous group by Tainan local government. This was a unique case in which the local government recognized

the existence of an independent ethnic group although the central government had not yet done so.

4) The Siraya people and the Tainan local government tried to attain recognition of the Siraya as an indigenous people from the central government. At first, the Council of Indigenous Peoples displayed a negative attitude toward the name correction movement of the Siraya people. It was prepared to recognize the Pingpu as indigenous within cultural practice, but maintained a wary attitude toward granting the social status of indigenous people to the Siraya individuals. The Siraya peoples appreciated the difficulty of getting formal recognition as an indigenous population in Taiwan under the current legal regulations.

5) The Pingpu people reported the deputy of the Council and the Council itself to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) for a violation of human rights and the UNCHR accepted their complaint. The Council then established an action group for discussing the granting of indigenous status to the Pingpu peoples. The Mayor of Tainan Prefecture also applied, together with the Siraya people, to the Council of Indigenous Peoples seeking approval of their indigenous status, but the Council rejected the application. The Tainan local government took the Council of Indigenous Peoples to the Taipei Upper Court but the court turned down the appeal.

There are two points concerning the Pingpu name correction movement and the related conflict with the central government that should be noted. The first is that from 2001 to 2008, it was the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) who were in government, rather than the KMT. Most of supporters of the DPP were the Han Taiwanese, and their policy was more innovative than that of the KMT. The Siraya people expected the DPP government to aid the progress of their name correction campaign by revising the law and regulations concerning the indigenous issue, which KMT had taken on from the Japanese colonial government. DPP was, however, robbed of the central government by KMT in 2008. Nevertheless, the Pingpu people might still have expected the central government to continue to support their movement. After all, the KMT had been an opposition party for eight years and were thought to be different from the previous KMT with its mainland-centric politics.

The other issue concerns the Tainan local government's cooperation with the Siraya people for the acquisition of their indigenous position. For the Tainan government to file a suit against the central government on behalf of a particular ethnic population was an exceptional act. The mayor of Tainan City at the time belonged to the DPP, and, with the name correction movement having become deeply entangled with political power, it stands to reason that, as the opposition party, the DPP party and its politicians might try to expand their supporters among the peoples including the Pingpu.

The Siraya group has not yet been approved as an indigenous group by the central government. At the moment, each individual has to get indigenous status separately, so that they can then combine to form an indigenous group. In order for an individual to gain indigenous status, he or she needs to prove that he or she has inherited his or her ethnicity from the ancestral population of the Siraya. When investigating the application for indigenous status, it is fundamentally the census registration from the Japanese colonial period which is used to prove "indigenesness." Only a person who has a relationship of lineal ascendancy with people registered as "mature" during Japanese colonial period might be approved as

indigenous. This administrative system for controlling the indigenous peoples' status was laid down by the government of the Republic of China. To newcomers from mainland China, it seemed convenient to maintain this element of Japanese colonial government policy because they were not familiar with the condition of Taiwan and its residents. Especially, the minorities—the indigenous peoples and the Pingpu peoples—might not be paid so much attention by the KMT central government, as their focus was on the Han Taiwanese, as the majority population who far outnumbered the mainlanders.

Regarding their characteristics as a particular ethnic group, the Pingpu people have endeavored to reconstruct their traditional rituals, language, and cultural materials for the sake of the name correction movement. The Ali faith and its nighttime festival are thought to be symbolic and representative elements of the Siraya's ethnicity. Ethnographic descriptions and movies from the Japanese colonial period have also been used to show their originality and uniqueness.⁵⁾ The fact that the Ali faith or nighttime festivals existed during the Japanese colonial period means that people officially recognized as “mature” had these particular cultural practices. Their ethnic authenticity as indigenous people was officially recognized during the Japanese colonial period because “mature” savages were recognized and registered from the Han Taiwanese. This signifies that their indigenous ethnicity existed at that time. The contents of ethnographical studies, pictures, and movies from the Japanese colonial period could be important resources for the Siraya people when carrying out Ali faith ceremonies or night festivals in the present. Festival songs and costumes are useful for illustrating boundaries that distinguish the Siraya from other ethnic groups, and thus the Siraya people try to reconstruct these in order to stress their ethnicity. Their quest to uncover these materials is part of a deliberate attempt to prove their history. To excavate old materials including documents, movies, and pictures encourages the Siraya people to be conscious of their identity as a people, and of the border which separates the Siraya from Han Taiwanese, other Pingpu groups, and indigenous groups.

The Siraya language is no longer spoken as a mother tongue, but it was recorded in historical documents such as the Xinggan and studied by linguists. The Siraya language textbooks were then compiled, based on past documents and research results, and the language is now taught in some elementary schools, so it can be passed on to the next generation. Such movements are changing the situation surrounding the Pingpu peoples. For example, an elementary school in a neighborhood with a relatively large Siraya population has changed its Chinese name to one in the Siraya language.

My hypothesis is that material culture may also serve a similar function in helping to perceive the ethnic borders, given its suitability in making visible ethnic differences and similarities.

5. The Significance of Museum Materials for Siraya Identity

It is not easy for the Siraya people to show their unique ethnic identity using the material culture they have at their disposal at the present. It is only materials related to the Ali faith that have been maintained and used by the Siraya people. They mainly consist of the small pots that the Siraya people use for prayer, which alone would be insufficient to show the

uniqueness of the Siraya, as they are very common products in Taiwan and do not have any morphological features related to the Pingpu's or Siraya's religion. The Pingpu people also give offerings of pig skulls and betel nuts in the place of worship but these too are common in the religious ceremonies of indigenous groups.

In 2009, Taiwan was hit by the Monakot typhoon. The Siraya villages suffered extensive damage, as did most of the indigenous villages. Almost all the houses in Xiaolin, one of the Siraya villages, were swept away by an avalanche of rocks and earth. In the process of restoration, they built a museum near the housing that was constructed after disaster. The villagers planned the museum exhibits, attempting to reconstruct their daily life before the disaster. The exhibit had two components. One was about the life in the previous Xiaolin village, which the village's elderly people attempted to recover. The exhibit included both objects which existed or were used in Xiaolin villages up until the typhoon, and those which had already disappeared before it. The other was a display about Pingpu culture and history, including that of the Siraya. It included illustrations from historical documents and pictures taken by the scholars during Japanese colonial period. It was very important for the exhibit to have objects representing the Pingpu and Siraya peoples and showing their ethnicity. The museum exhibited what the Xiaolin village had been like or what Xiaolin villagers believed it to have been like, and what the historical documents or ethnographies had represented about the Pingpu and Siraya. In fact, there was no direct relationship between these two forms of representation (Figure 3).



Figure 3 Exhibits in the Xiaolin museum (Xiaolin, 2012)

On the other hand, museum materials collected in the past have the possibility of showing past ethnicity. This means that things belonging to a group who were accepted by themselves or others to have a specific ethnicity at a certain time might represent those features formed through the cultural profile of that group. For example, we can discuss the ethnicity within the material culture when we explore the relationship between objects of indigenous groups and those of the Siraya group. Clothes are especially important in their ability to effectively illustrate ethnic boundaries in a visual way, and might be worn by people in order to distinguish them from others. I wish to discuss ethnicity as represented in a female jacket of the Makatao people collected in 1930s and stored in the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan. The Makatao are thought to be one of the local groups of the Siraya who live in Kaoshung Prefecture, making the Paiwan and the Rukai as their neighboring indigenous populations.

The jacket is made in the Chinese style and the both of the main front pieces are sewed from pieces of cloth with a particular embroidered decoration. It is the embroidery that models the hundred-pace snake, which is believed by the Paiwan and the Rukai groups to be an ancestral reincarnation (Figure 4). The use of the hundred-pace snake motif is permitted in only the materials owned and used by the chief or the aristocrats in the Paiwan and Rukai societies. Both societies are hierarchical, and can be divided roughly into the aristocrats' class and the commoners' class. The chief and aristocrats have ritual superiority over the commoners, and they have gotten married within their own class. The classes are distinguished



Figure 4 Makatao costume (Collection of National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, 2013)



Figure 5 Rukai costume (Collection of National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, 2013)

through their belongings and clothes. The chief and aristocrats are able to wear lavish costumes, and the motif of the hundred-pace snake is a symbol used in the embroidery of the cloth used to make garments for the chiefs.

The embroidery on the jacket is geometrical in shape and differs from the embroidery of the Paiwan or the Rukai. On the other hand, the embroidered cloth is sewed onto the jacket using the same technique as that of the Paiwan and the Rukai. The Han peoples, however, never use such embroidery for their cloth precisely because the snake carries ritualistic and symbolic meaning for the indigenous populations, who the Han peoples viewed as savage and inferior peoples. This therefore suggests that the Makatao might have had an affinity with the indigenous peoples when the jacket was made.

It seems likely that the indigenous peoples might also have accepted the material culture of the Pingpu people. A male costume of the Rukai people, collected in the 1930s, had many embroidered pieces of cloth attached. The design elements of the embroidery were typical of the Siraya population and their motifs included flowers, leaves, some geometric patterns, and the *manji* or swastika (Figure 5). These motifs were not common among the products of the indigenous peoples themselves, and the pieces of embroidered cloth may even have been made by the Siraya people and exchanged with the indigenous people.

The collection of the Tenri University museum includes many such pieces of Siraya

cloth of a standard size: a rectangle about 20 cm long and 7.8 cm wide. It seems likely that they were commercial products which the Siraya people made and sold to the indigenous peoples. This suggests that the indigenous people might also have had an affinity with the Pingpu people in their material culture.

In fact, this cultural affinity could function as a double-edged sword in the Siraya's quest to be recognized as an indigenous group. They could use it to give grounding to their insistence that the Siraya culture was one of the indigenous cultures. On the other hand, it might mean they are forced to answer the question of what makes the Siraya material culture unique. For example, the Sakizaya population, who split off from the Ami and gained recognition as the fourteenth indigenous group in 2008, tried to make a new ethnic costume for their application, in response to the expectation placed on them to give an effective impression of the uniqueness of the Sakizaya culture. Having previously been part of the Ami population and dressed in the Ami peoples' ethnic costume, they attempted to manifest a visual difference from the Ami peoples by creating an authentic costume of their own. In doing so, they tried to unearth historical materials so as to reconstruct the costumes in their original form, but the materials were extremely limited. Eventually, the Sakizaya people reconstructed their costumes with the aid of a few old photographs and information from elderly people. The process of creating their new costume was not clear to outside. We cannot know what kind of the materials they refer to for reconstructing their costumes. Once the Sakizaya peoples had been acknowledged as an indigenous group, they came to wear similar costumes, which were then recognized as the Sakizaya costume.

The Pingpu peoples, including the Siraya, face the same issues as the Sakizaya peoples had. They have to reconstruct their costumes in order to demonstrate their uniqueness as the Pingpu and each ethnic group. Museum collections offer the possibility of encouraging them to learn about both the uniqueness of the Pingpu materials, and their affinity with the indigenous cultures. The possibility of affinity in material culture between the Pingpu and the indigenous populations might prove of help to the Pingpu peoples. Thus, when the Pingpu people explore the materials in the museum, they have to take two different viewpoints. One is to inspect the similarities of the material cultures between the Pingpu people and the indigenous peoples, and the other is to find the uniqueness of each ethnic group in the material.

6. Conclusion

The Pingpu peoples started their name correction movement by publically demonstrating that they were also indigenous peoples. The movement of the Pingpu peoples, however, was crucially different from the aboriginal movement, which demanded that Taiwan society changed their existing social values. The respect shown toward indigenous peoples was a global issue at that time. The Taiwanese government and society could accept that Taiwan was a multicultural nation, and the Shanbao peoples were Taiwan's indigenous peoples. It was because of the treatment being given to the issue of indigenous peoples around the world, and the aboriginal movement by the indigenous peoples within the country.

On the other hand, it seems that we should also construe the name correction movement

of the Pingpu peoples as a local practice, which involves local groups such as the Kavalan or the Siraya seeking ethnic recognition as indigenous peoples. This is because the movement of the Pingpu peoples who dispersed and lost their identity as the Pingpu or its constituent ethnic groups do not have the centripetal force of that of the indigenous peoples. At the same time, hardly any Taiwanese people know about the existence of the Pingpu. For this reason, the historical facts surrounding the Pingpu peoples are inevitably ignored when discussing their issues. The political situation in Taiwan has meant their history and culture have been neglected for a long time. Recent studies about the Pingpu peoples have showed that the current situation of the Pingpu peoples in Taiwan has come about throughout their various interactions with the indigenous people, the Dutch or Spanish authorities, Japanese colonial authorities, and the Han Taiwanese and mainlanders.

The Pingpu peoples' name correction movement has not yet achieved success, and their challenge continues. In order to succeed, they will need to demonstrate their ethnicity, as inherited from their ancestors. They will also have to show the uniqueness of the Pingpu peoples and each of its constituent groups in a visible form. Material culture provides one useful means in which this might be done. There is the possibility that the Pingpu peoples will try to reconstruct symbolic materials from their traditional culture, as they appear in historical records. Museum collections, which make their historical and ethnographic context clear, could prove to be important to the Pingpu peoples in this reconstruction of their material culture.

Notes

- 1) The Ali faith is thought to be a religion specific to the Siraya groups. Worshippers build a place of worship called a *konqai*, and give offerings. They sometimes set up an Ali altar in Taoist temples or shrines.
- 2) Some Japanese scholars have tried to subclassify the Pingpu people into multiple groups. For example, Kanori Inō showed ten groups (Inō and Awano 2000), including the Saisiyat population, who were later recognized as one of the indigenous groups.
- 3) The other reason that the Pingpu people might have hesitated to register themselves as Shanbao is that indigenous peoples were discriminated against or placed in a disadvantaged position in Taiwan society. This issue will be investigated in future research.
- 4) Duan referred to this period just as "Expectations of a bright future." However, this period also included negative elements and the author thus amended the description.
- 5) Naoichi Kokubu first gave an ethnographical description of the Ali faith, and Erin Asai made records concerning to the Siraya nighttime festivals during the Japanese colonial period. Siraya people display these records in their cultural facilities as evidence of their inherited ethnicity.

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Appendix

Events regarding the name correction movements of the Pingpu peoples, and related occurrences. (Extracted and translated by author, from *Kanjian Pingpu* [The Gaze of the Pingpu], pp.202–205)

- 1993 Kavalan of Xingsha, Hualian held their own harvest festival, separate to those of the Ami groups. Some Pingpu individuals participated in the demonstration march of the indigenous peoples for the first time.
- 1994 Amendment of the constitution. The name Shanbao was officially changed to Yenzumin. Ketagalan peoples explored their former residence.
- 1995 Amendment of the constitution. Indigenous individuals were permitted to use their ethnic names, and no longer had to use the Han Chinese names in the census register. The Taipei City Government established the Council of the Indigenous Peoples. The Siraya Tousha Village held a “big ancestral night festival” which had developed out of the former “night festival.”
- 1996 Taipei City Government changed the name of a road and a plaza in front of the President's office to the Ketagalan Road and Ketagalan Plaza. The Taipei Prefectural Ketagalan Association was established. The Yilan Prefectural Government held many Kavalan events to commemorate the 200-year anniversary of the opposition of the Han colonization of Yilan in the eighteenth century. Xiaolin Pingpu Hall opened. The Siraya Xiaolin Village held a traditional ceremony built upon the one from former years. The Makatao Kaneibo Village held a ritual house ceremony by themselves.

- 1998 The Taiwanese Academic Society for the Pingpu Peoples was established.
The Siraya Kabasua Village held a night festival built upon the one from former years.
The Tainan Pinpu Siraya Cultural Association was established.
The Pazeh Ethnic Group Cultural Association was established.
- 1999 The Taiwanese Pingpu Indigenous Peoples Association was established.
Siraya groups recovered their traditional ritual house and practiced the ceremony.
The Makatao Cultural Association was established in Pingtung Prefecture.
- 2000 The Taiwanese Tariti Cultural Association was established in Nantou Prefecture in central Taiwan.
- 2001 Public hearings about the recognition of the Pingpu as indigenous peoples were held in the Legislative Yuan, and the Pingpu peoples all over Taiwan participated.
The Thao were authorized as the tenth indigenous group.
- 2002 The Council of Indigenous Peoples established an action group to promote the continuation of the traditional Pingpu culture.
The Kabasua Cultural Association was established.
The Siraya peoples in Hualian held a night festival.
Four Kahabu villages established a Kahabu Cultural Association in Nandaou Prefecture and held their own ceremony.
The Taokas peoples held their own ceremony in Miaoli Prefecture.
The Kavalan was authorized as the eleventh indigenous group.
- 2004 The Tainan Prefectural Government held a series of Pingpu Siraya events.
- 2005 The union of the Siraya villages was established to promote the group's name correction movement.
- 2006 Tainan Prefecture agreed to recognize the Siraya becoming an indigenous population of Tainan Prefecture.
- 2007 The Executive Yuan held public hearings on the recognition of the Pingpu as indigenous peoples of Poli and Kabasua.
The Council of Indigenous Peoples formulated a five-year plan for promoting the Pingpu language and culture.
- 2008 The Council of Indigenous Peoples formally presented their policy concerning the Pingpu peoples.
Tainan Prefecture held a public hearing about the Siraya name correction.
- 2009 The Legislative Yuan held a public hearing about the Pingpu being recognized as indigenous peoples.
Tainan Prefecture accepted the application of Pingpu individuals to be registered as indigenous peoples. The council of the indigenous peoples asked the Tainan Prefectural Government to stop the registration procedure.
The Pingpu peoples from all over Taiwan held a demonstration march along the Ketagalan Road campaigning for their name correction.
The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan recognized the Siraya as the fifteenth indigenous group.
Siraya language classes began at some Tainan elementary schools.
The Morakot disaster.

- 2010 The association for reconstructing the Xiaolin Pingpu culture was established.
The Tainan Prefectural Government supported plaintiffs in bringing about administrative litigation to prevent one Siraya individual obtaining the qualification for becoming candidate for the position of indigenous legislative official.
The Pingpu peoples reported the Council of Indigenous Peoples to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) for a violation of human rights.
The Council of Indigenous Peoples established the Pingpu affairs section.
Tainan Prefecture applied for recognition of the Siraya as an indigenous people to the Council of Indigenous Peoples. The Council rejected the application.
Tainan Prefecture took the Council of Indigenous Peoples to the Taipei Upper Court.
- 2011 Some Pingpu groups (Siraya, Kahab, Ketagalan) petitioned to the Council of the Indigenous Peoples and main Taiwanese political parties.