

Journey from the Rainbow Bridge

Separated Christian Socialities in an Indigenous Truku Village of Taiwan

Ying-Cheng Chang



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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is the result of original work carried out by the author.

Ying-Cheng Chang

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This PhD thesis represents a long journey in my life in pursuit of my dream – through years of living in ‘darkness’ – where I struggled with frustration, self-doubt, isolation, depression and poverty. This climate, however, deepened the significance of what people’s support meant to me.

Prof. James Fox – the spirit of this thesis – accompanied me through this long process step by step. Despite being extremely strict, he gave me confidence when I lost faith in myself. Although he pushed me very hard, sometimes harshly, he patiently waited for me to overcome difficulties. Again and again, he checked over my drafts carefully (owing to his demands of rewriting). This thesis would not be the same without him. Having nothing to give him in return, but a few sentences here, I wish to acknowledge his profound intellectual influence and dearest mentorship to me.

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ABSTRACT

‘Christianity’, one of the world’s major religions, refers to the general cosmological understanding centred on the belief in Jesus as the saviour, son of God, and the Bible, yet its nature is heterogeneous. Historically, Christianity has developed distinct forms and spread worldwide through a process of missionary activity. This ethnography charts the impact of the denominations of Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism in an indigenous village examining how adherents have become oriented by Christianity in different ways as they strive to become good Christians living in modern society.

This ethnography focuses on a marginalized Austronesian-speaking Taiwanese group, the Truku, who face challenges stemming from their relatively powerless social circumstances. As they have sought ways to cope with the impacts of their colonised status, the Truku people have converted to Christianity: Presbyterianism, then Pentecostalism. These conversions have led the Truku to develop distinct attitudes and approaches to life prompting members to lead largely separate lives despite their shared Truku heritage.

My overall argument traces the bifurcation of this formerly homogenous village into two radically divergent religious communities, and shows how the practitioners of these different Christianities have entered into differing processes of social change. I document how, in relation to their distinct worldviews, adherents variously cope with conflicting cosmologies, socioeconomic tensions, as well as a range of other difficulties in their lives. The findings of this research suggest that Christianity reconfigures understandings of the social constraints and forms of power that local adherents confront in the world. Through reshaping the principles of power, practitioners feel themselves no longer to be marginal or powerless, but become central conduits through which power flows. The reconfiguration of their differing worldviews orients practitioners onto divergent trajectories as good modern subjects, in ways shaped by their specific understandings, and practices of being good Christians.

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INTRODUCTION

It is only in recent years that, due to a late surge of anthropological interest in Christianity throughout the world, Christianity has been put at the centre of ethnographic accounts and come to be viewed as an important object of ethnographic enquiry (Bialecki et al., 2008: 1140; Cannell, 2006:1; Robbins, 2010a:123, Scott, 2005:120, Stewart and Strathern, 2009:4-5). One anthropological debate about Christianity focuses on the challenge of cultural continuity (Robbins, 2010b:160). Pentecostalism, in particular, has been observed to proffer radical cultural discontinuity as practitioners reject their pre-Christian culture (see Dombrowski 2001, Meyer 1999 and Hansen 2012). On this issue, Coleman and Hackett (2015) have indicated that in temporal, cultural, ethical and epistemological terms, this notion of 'rupture' does present issues for Pentecostalism as well as evangelicalism more generally. Yet, it also poses limitations to anthropologists due to some of their assumptions about local ways of life. As Coleman and Hackett have argued, with "their own notions of temporality, salvation, materiality, and so on" (2015:14-16), this orientation encourages anthropologists to ignore the significance and character of *other* Christian denominations. Chua (2012), through conducting fieldwork in a Bidayuh community in Malaysian Borneo (where three churches coexist alongside a few elderly practitioners), also highlights the pluralistic nature of Christianity. In response to the local's old animist ritual practices in a sense of continuity, Anglicans and Catholics tend to reaffirm their connections whereas evangelicals do the opposite (2012: 511-512). Scott (2012), additionally, points out that there are differing Christian ontologies and suggests exploring individualism through the varying nature of Christian beings, regarding how they understand and practice Christianity in a diverse manner. Through "a non-essentialising treatment of Christianity", anthropologists, as Scott (2005) suggested, are urged to engage with theological and historical approaches to develop ethnography "of why and how ordinary Christians take notice of, over look, reframe, reject, or revise the context of Christianity... [and] observe more than one context of Christian practice..." (Scott, 2005:120).

In this ethnography, I compare two Christian groups – one Presbyterian, the other Pentecostal – in an indigenous Taiwanese village, Truku. The convergence of the two churches in a single village, though seemingly a historical coincidence, has contributed to the segregation of this community. Having been situated in the global context of their denominational missionary background, the two Christian groups have constructed their specific worldviews in relation to their differing denominational ideologies. Practitioners have come up with different perceptions of life through their confrontation and experience with social change in their colonial circumstances. By examining the generation and differentiation of two forms of Christian ethics, and their relation to the dominant normative value in modern society, this thesis will highlight

several interrelated themes among cultural process, morality and modern subjects. This ethnography, in the end, points to a need for anthropologist to reflect on our assumptions of 'Christianity'. Protestantism, specifically, should *not* be generalized as one form when considering its implications and impact in localized social and cultural contexts.

Overview of the Thesis Argument

Christianity, having been important in the emergence of both forms of individualism and modernity, is commonly seen as a process through which local people are integrated into the wider social context and globalized society. Through the imagination of 'the world', as Meyer (2010:17) indicated, local practitioners are incorporated into a global religious community, where they live in a larger life-world beyond the confines of the local. Through language, ritual, and media, for example, the core concept of Christianity is frequently intertwined with the force of individualism (Bialecki et al., 2008 and Scott 2012). Keane (1996 and 2007), on this issue, has brought us a new proposition with which to examine the construction of modern subjects by untangling the relationship between words, things and persons. Tracing the threads binding conversion, modernity and individualism, Hansen (2012: 267), following Peter van der Veer (1996), notes that "Conversion to Christianity was assumed to be a conversion to the dominant cultural ideals of modernity and individualized personhood". Selka's (2010) research in Candomblé Brazil deals with local evangelical Christians' distinct religious practices in a community, where, as he claimed, practitioners' socioeconomic circumstances are similar to each other. As Selka (2010) argued, their distinct moral discourses were aspects of practitioners' differentiation in their religious practices.

In my field-site¹, having adopted distinct Christian ethics, the two Truku Protestant groups presented separate tendencies in terms of what it is to be good modern subjects. Regarding their cultural process, specifically, rather than producing a 'rupture' with their past, Truku Presbyterians have created a space for 'Truku culture' by highlighting the separateness of Truku ethnicity from the dominant national culture. Seeing ethnicity as the representation of God's righteousness, this process of cultural revitalization was oriented by a Presbyterian ethic. It, furthermore, encourages adherents to engage in social affairs more generally while they practice as good Christians. Instead of living in a space of cultural discontinuity, continuity is identifiable, I argue, in their Christianity. In addition, since their 'culture' is now supported by the current

¹ This research was conducted in an indigenous community in Taiwan called Fushi, where the residents are basically the minority group of Truku ethnicity (see chapters 1 and 2 for the details of Truku ethnicity). Following a qualitative research methodology in anthropology, my data were collected through long-term fieldwork while I lived with my informants for approximately 14 months during 2010 and 2012. This included preliminary fieldwork of three weeks in December 2010, and primary fieldwork for 13 months from June 2011 to July 2012. See section 3-3 for detail.

government, 'Truku culture' has become inevitably intertwined with different forms of worldly capital. Constructing a 'Truku' subjectivity, therefore, enables Presbyterian adherents to accumulate worldly power by virtue of their religious practice through the orientation of Presbyterianism.

Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand – in a similar vein to Pentecostals elsewhere – reject their past. They disavow and refuse to acknowledge the value of Truku culture. In fact, not only do they possess a negative attitude towards their tradition, Truku Pentecostals reject worldly capital in their contemporary circumstances more broadly. Seeing worldly matters as related to evil spirits, Pentecostal practitioners seek to avoid involvement in these demonic temptations. To accrue moral value, the Pentecostal ethic emphasizes clear moral solutions for followers in their day-to-day life. Adherents tend to practice their social roles as valued moral subjects in order to achieve the status of being good Christians. The principle of achieving this goal, however, suggests a *world-rejecting* manner in relation to the pursuit of worldly capital.

Pentecostalism has been observed by scholars (such as Li 1985, Rubinstein 1996 and Dombrowski 2001) to appeal to people who are socially marginal or in lower socioeconomic positions. The large number of its adherents are found in non-Western countries especially in the Global South (Anderson, 2010:1). In some cases followers are women or young men, in some cases they are native ethnic groups. In most of these categories, participants are characterized by lower socio-economic standing. Also, more generally, in terms of evangelical Protestantism in Asia, Salemin (2009) has noted that, though not exclusively, evangelical Protestantism has been adopted in particular by marginal ethnic minorities. These findings have revealed that, to some degree, Christianity, compared to folk beliefs, is attractive to people who are relatively powerless within the broader social contexts of politics, economics, knowledge and gender. Nevertheless, despite this tendency, the reasons for this phenomenon have not yet been fully explored.

In this ethnography, I will argue that, by Christian conversion in line with the configuration of a new worldview, practitioners are able to gain power through a specific disposition towards social life in general. Truku Presbyterians, by claiming their ethnicity in a way that is consistent with the Presbyterian Church's high valuation of it, devote themselves to the revitalization of their traditional culture. With worldly capital involved, this has reconfigured the power structure in mainstream society dominated by Han people. The Presbyterian ethic also regards material success as the representation of God's justification of one's faith and commitment. This has enabled Presbyterian followers to obtain social power and become more powerful through their religious and social engagement.

Truku Pentecostals, by contrast, do not appreciate the value of their past, nor of worldly matters. By viewing the embodiment of God's grace as speaking-in-tongues, they highlight God's power through the medium of one's physical body instead. A physical body is interpreted as the location in which holy power is revealed. This enables Truku Pentecostals to reconfigure the power structure from various social worldly scenes to the realm of 'the self' through faith. From Hansen's (2012:266-267) perspective, the Christian worldview is implicitly involved in a modern ideal of introspection and reflexive interiority, for the purpose of gaining better control of the inner self. New converts, in her case, are believed to lack a deeper inner individual life, as their empty and vulnerable souls can easily be infiltrated by devils. For Truku Pentecostals, however, being objectified by the Holy Spirit, as I will argue, practitioners' subjectivity is constructed through a specific moral – yet also a physical – approach. A Pentecostal body becomes a locus where the degree of one's spiritual, as well as ethical condition, is presented. Rather than seeing one's inner-self as empty, as Hansen (2012) has suggested, Truku Pentecostal practitioners present their inner-self as an 'object' where the Holy Spirit dwells and is represented.

Regarding a prosperity, or faith, gospel, as Robbins (2010b) noted, "Scholars have shown the rhetoric of prosperity gospel sermons dwells on the ways gifts of belief and money to god ensure success in life" (Robbins, 2010b: 170). In Maxwell's (1998) finding, with the idea of prosperity gospel, Pentecostalism has implications for shaping believers' attitudes, towards both economics and politics, by providing a pattern for the understanding of modernity's dominant values and institutions (1998:350). Through my ethnographic investigation, nevertheless, it is not Pentecostals but Presbyterians whose 'prosperity' is in line with that of the dominant mindset in a capitalist society.

Pentecostal prosperity is not achieved through material success. Having a tendency to *reject* worldly capital, Truku Pentecostals do not try to portray themselves as having a prosperous life. In fact, one's socially 'poorer' circumstances, or marginalized position, are seen as unimportant. Viewing glossolalia as the paramount manifestation of 'power', Pentecostals perceive prosperity by the Holy Spirit in one's physical regime. In their worldview, since power has been manifested in material form through one's physical body, it is health – not wealth – that represents the prosperity of one's wellbeing. Taking this approach, Pentecostal practitioners are able to reconfigure the mechanisms of mainstream power structures through their epistemology. The regime of one's physicality has been taken as the central position where power is revealed. This has challenged, as well as changed, the general perception of power, or powerlessness, constructed in mainstream society. A Pentecostal person senses 'the self' as powerful, since a Pentecostal faith brings along a physical form of power to human beings.

Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into three main parts. **Part I, The Shaping of 'Two Kinds'**, describes the general historical context of the Truku people. It explores their Christian conversion from the life-world of their pre-colonial society to the colonial era, providing the background on how the two Christian groups were shaped in one village. Before colonization occurred in the early 1900s, Truku people lived as a hunter-gatherer society and shared a traditional cosmology which featured important constellations of meaning, termed *utux/gaya*. In their daily life, being surrounded by material abundance, Truku society was egalitarian with no obvious social hierarchy. They formulated their sense of social groups in line with their traditional boundary of *alang*. The colonial situation, however, contributed to a violent social transformation through war, displacement, epidemic disease, livelihood change and the prohibition of traditional customs such as head-hunting. Truku people's suffering from these dramatic social transformations, therefore, led to a challenge to their traditional worldview based on *utux/gaya*. In this climate, Truku people collectively converted to Christianity; Presbyterianism, in the 1930s, and a few years later Pentecostalism too came into play. The overall argument of Part I refers to the Truku's encounter with colonization, which conflicts with their traditional cosmology, as well as social structure, and made them become relatively marginal and powerless. With this social background, in other words, when the locals were integrated into a modern life-world, their conversion to Christianity had also coincided with a transformation in their way of life. Despite living in a shared traditional cosmology of *utux/gaya*, Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals developed distinct worldviews. Starting from this point, the locals were oriented into separate trajectories in terms of their religious and social practice as good Christians. After decades, as a result, this initially homogenous village has become heterogeneous, in which two socialities have formed.

Part I has three chapters. **Chapter One**, *A Marginalized and Powerless Social Condition*, examines the Truku group's general historical background. Beginning with two life-stories of my informants, who converted to the two forms of Christianity yet who shared some commonalities within the larger social context in the colonial era, these stories portray the context of the locals' conversion through various themes, including their confrontation with outsiders, the challenges of old social principles, the miracles of healing and also how they attempted to cope with problems associated with living in colonial conditions.

Chapter Two, *The Cosmopolites of the Global and the Local*, moves toward a comparison of Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism. In this chapter, some topics relate to issues which affect the two denominations at the global level, and some are of local scope in the specific social context of China, Taiwan and the Truku. The differentiation of the two Christian denominations will be explored through an interrogation of their missionary practices, such as institutionalized and

charismatic approaches, local adoption of Christianity and biblical tendencies. By addressing the distinct mission outlooks of the two Christian denominations, the divergent modes of being good Christians will be signposted in the literature through the examinations of later chapters.

Chapter Three, *Two Kinds of Sociality*, portrays contemporary village life through its geographical setting, social groupings, residents' interaction, Christian kin networks and an overview of their current living circumstances. In recent decades, the village had encountered fierce social change, including socioeconomic conditions (which involve the Taroko national park, Asia-Cement and cash employment), cultural assimilation policies (language and education) and a changing political climate with conditions of martial law. Despite the fact that the village was drawn from the same context of their old worldview in a homogenous sense, today, residents' life-world has been developed in line with their Christian boundaries. Their sociality and life perspectives have, also, been constructed through different approaches. A heterogeneous community is thus established along with their distinct Christian worldview. This leads to a further examination in Part II, concerning how the differentiation of Christian ethics is associated with adherents' practice of living in modern society.

Part II. Asymmetries of the Ethical Orders of Modern Subjects, examines adherents' confrontation with the contemporary world, based on their specific understandings of Christianity. I will document the ways in which adherence to the two Christian denominations develops two distinct groups of people, each with a moral schema, which shapes their action, as well as an outlook on life, in fundamental ways. By making the comparison between local Presbyterian and Pentecostal ethics, Part II argues that the two Truku Protestant groups are in an asymmetric ethical order that differently shapes followers' perceptions of life through their integration into mainstream society. With a distinct moral schema about being good Christians, the two Protestant groups have been oriented towards separate trajectories. As a result, specific models of modern subjects have also been developed. Their asymmetric ethical order furthermore contributed to different cultural dynamics, through which one group experiences a continuation of their traditional culture while the other group encounters a process of discontinuation of their past.

Chapter Four, *Presbyterian Ethics and Worldly Capital*, explores Truku Presbyterians' social engagement in modern society under the influence of their specific Christian ethic. By highlighting the issue of ethnicity, Truku Presbyterians distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups, with which they draw a boundary and construct themselves as 'Truku'. The Presbyterian ethic is involved in relationships and activities which are entangled with all sorts of 'capital' in a worldly sense, pertaining to the modern society of Taiwan. Through the separateness of Truku ethnicity, Presbyterians reconfigured power relations in the wider society when they became

integrated into the modern world. Truku ethnicity additionally entails worldly 'capital', which enabled Presbyterians to become more actively engaged in the capitalist mainstream society. Under the conditions of colonization, though Truku people were marginal and powerless, Presbyterianism has rescued their traditional culture from extinction, and through aspects of it adherents put themselves in play with worldly power. A process of cultural continuity, in this regard, is fostered by Truku Presbyterians through their integration into the modern world.

Chapter Five, *Pentecostal Ethics and World-Rejecting Capital*, examines Truku Pentecostals' world-rejecting orientation regarding their practice of 'being good'. Pentecostals possess an antagonistic attitude to the attainment of worldly capital. By developing a local discourse of 'weaknesses', Truku Pentecostals tend to avoid entanglements with worldly matters such as politics, local culture, social status and economic wealth. Through taking action to *go against* worldly capital, a positive meaning is produced for Pentecostal practitioners that demonstrates the 'credit' of one's moral standing. Having embraced this viewpoint, a specific configuration of moral order is constructed. It takes a world-rejecting manner, referring to their social activity, when followers earn moral capital. Unlike Truku Presbyterians who have incorporated their traditional culture positively into their Christian ethics, Pentecostals have developed a negative approach, involving a notion of evil spirits, to understand their past. A process of 'cultural discontinuity' is revealed regarding how Truku Pentecostals conceptualize their ethnicity. Additionally, in line with their perspectives on other social actions such as drinking alcohol, Pentecostals see evil spirits in everyday contexts with temptations in modern society as a negative moral valence.

Part III. The Construction of Self and the Form of Power, will go deeper in exploring church doctrine and ideology to see its impact on adherents' everyday lives. Issues covered will include a comparison of the two groups' language affiliation, scriptural fundamentalism, doctrinal authority, the legitimacy of the spirit, biblical interpretations and the conceptualized model of their social relations. Having been oriented by the two kinds of Protestantism, different approaches for constructing modern subjects are projected. The idea of power, meanwhile, develops following separated trajectories relating to a reconfiguration of the construction of modern subjects.

Chapter Six, *Presbyterian Modern Subjects and Worldly Power*, examines how Presbyterian subjects are shaped in a specific doctrinal style. Truku Presbyterians comprehend Christianity by using their vernacular language. Their traditional Truku cosmology, furthermore, has been positively incorporated into a Presbyterian religious configuration. In addition to being highly concerned about social relations with others, such as the Han majority, Presbyterian doctrine has contributed to adherents' high degree of social engagement and activities which brings worldly

power. The Presbyterian doctrinal mechanism, in a word, operates in a syncretic manner, in which worldly matters, including ethnicity and one's involvement in secular activities, have been intertwined into their religious practice. A space of 'Truku' has been established in a local context in which parishioners live. This is represented as a localized global ethnic centre, constructed by the global mission approach of Presbyterianism. Adherents who present themselves with Truku subjectivity, in this regard, have transformed their socially marginal positions to become powerful.

Chapter Seven, *Pentecostal Modern Subjects and World-Rejecting Power*, explores Pentecostal doctrines and worldview in relation to the construction of personhood and individual power. The Pentecostal doctrinal mechanism highlights a vertical relationship with God and operates in a specific direction. Distinguishing themselves by speaking-in-tongues, Truku Pentecostals take Mandarin as a tool to access glossolalia: the representation of the Holy Spirit, their doctrinal authority. Christianity is posited in an antagonistic relation to Truku people's past. Moreover, Pentecostal practitioners tend to downplay their lateral social relationships. By creating a distance from social affairs and engagements, they stay away from involvement in worldly matters, as well as worldly power. Practitioners who have developed a resistance to worldly matters are appreciated, respected and considered to be better people. Without entanglements in social structure in an outwardly focused manner, Pentecostals are able to view material themselves as a self-subsistent entity in relation to God. Seeing one's physical body as the location of the Holy Spirit, the manifestation of power is understood in a material form, though in a moral sense, through one's physicality. A church, also, is represented as a centre of holy power in a collective form. Due to the omnipresent nature of holy power, a church is powerful even if it is located in a marginal region. Truku Pentecostals have reconfigured their perception of power structures into a new disposition, where a transcendental network is formulated in a global sense. By highlighting material things in an inwardly focused manner, Truku Pentecostals have constructed themselves as powerful modern subjects.

This ethnography, in the **Conclusion**, charts the bifurcation of a once homogenous village following its divergent courses after its residents converted to different forms of Christianity. The two local Protestant groups have, for decades, been oriented to separate trajectories in terms of an ethical order as well as the construction of one's personhood. Within a wider missionary context through global structures, followed by distinct approaches, local practitioners have reconfigured their sense of power in divergent dispositions. This has re-directed local people's sense of their marginal social circumstances in different ways, through which local adherents are able to position themselves in the centre of a power structure where they represent themselves as powerful modern subjects.

PART I. THE SHAPING OF 'TWO KINDS'

Chapter 1. A Marginalized and Powerless Social Condition

Ricky² and Neiyo, two Truku elders I met in the village, were born in the 1920s and 1930s respectively. That was the time when Truku people, as subjects of colonial power, were forced to confront a series of problems. It was, also, the time when Truku people abandoned their traditional beliefs and collectively converted to Christianity. Ricky and Neiyo, nevertheless, converted to different Christian denominations, through which they entered distinct life trajectories.

Beginning with the two life-stories, this chapter will then introduce the historical background of the Truku people's dramatic social transformation, including displacement, livelihood change, epidemic disease and cultural assimilation. In this social context, Truku people were manipulated by the colonial authority, against which they were marginalized and powerless. This was, however, also the precondition of their Christian conversion, which coincided with their being integrated into a modern society. Despite having the same sovereign authority of the Christian God, the conversion of locals to different forms of Christianity has separated the construction of their life-world. Based on denominational factors, the two groups became oriented into separate communities.

1-1. Two Life-stories: Ricky and Neiyo

Ricky is a Presbyterian clergyman who was born on the 5th of August, 1925. I first met him when he was invited to give a sermon for the Lord's Day worship in *Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church*³ where my fieldwork was conducted. Noticing my presence as a guest, after the sermon, Ricky came to talk to me. We had a good chat, but I did not realize that some church members were waiting for him for lunch at that time. Having observed that our chat was quite lengthy, those church members decided to invite me to join their lunch.

It was a big feast in the yard of a local family. Normally this kind of feast is only offered on special occasions, or for important people. A big round table was filled with various dishes, including chicken, fish, wood fungus, broccoli and Chinese cabbage with prawns. Some *special* dishes, nevertheless, caught my attention. One consisted of three animal's heads: two *muntjacs*

² In this thesis, all names, other than those related to the collective tales of Truku people's conversion, are pseudonyms. I use pseudonyms due to concerns about local politics, power relations, and differences between the two churches. Some information in this thesis in particular relates directly to issues that are of great moral concern to the churches and their members. I apologize to any of my informants who would have liked to have had their real names used.

³ Later on in my writing I will simply use 'Ciwang Church' or 'Ciwang Presbyterian Church' as it is what local people call it.

(Formosan deer) and one *serow* (mountain goat). Being called 'mountain products' by local people, these mountain animals were caught by modern hunters, through illicit hunting activities within the area of the Taroko National Park.

Before we were going to eat, Ricky asked for an empty bowl. He filled it with things from a pot that was put in the centre of the table. It looked like red-bean soup to me. "These are catjang peas", the host kindly said to me. "Today we cooked its original flavour. You must have a try. It is very delicious." I had never had catjang before, so I ladled out a big bowl full. However, I did not know that this soup was the stock in which the animals were cooked. Without other flavours added, the taste was extremely smelly and strong. A piece of Formosan deer's skin was floating in my soup, which further strengthened the sensation. The lunch become unforgettable to me. I was struggling not to retch in front of my hosts. Luckily I managed to keep swallowing the air I retched back to my stomach so that nobody noticed.

This was the first time I met Ricky. This experience made me realize that he was a key figure in terms of Truku culture. Ricky, having a good talent for languages, can speak fluent Japanese, Mandarin and Truku. He used to be one of the pioneers in translating the Truku Bible. Nowadays, he is frequently involved in many cultural activities, such as compiling a Truku Dictionary, and he plays important roles in the Truku traditional ceremony of *Mgay Bari* (see 4-4).

After the lunch I met Ricky on different occasions, especially when I followed local presbyters to other Presbyterian Churches nearby for some events. One morning, as I passed by his place, I decided to pay him a visit. "Ricky is now farming", his daughter-in-law greeted me, and took me to the farmland behind their back yard. Ricky, with earth covering his hands, showed me his cultivation. We then sat down on the footpath. In the sunshine, I asked Ricky, "How did you learn farming?" Beginning with this question, Ricky told me his life-story.

In the Japanese period, there was an *Agricultural Training Institution*. It offered two-years training for adults above 16 years old. I was still too young at that time. Before reaching this age, I went to a *Military Training Institution* in Taipei, which only took three months.

[Ricky lifted up his head and pointed his finger to the front region and said] In the past, this area was woodland, from here to the seashore. There was only a small road which connected it to Hualien, the city. The plain areas at that time were all inhabited by Amis people [another indigenous Taiwanese group]. They were good at cultivation. Most of these plain lands were theirs, and some belonged to Han-Chinese people as well.

We Truku lived in the mountains before. We were moved down to here by Japanese people, as they felt afraid that we sometimes came to the plains for head-hunting. All the trees in this region were cut down by our manpower. Japanese people gave us a very little amount of money for chopping trees and paving the road. Barren lands were taken to construct roads. Fertile lands were left for us, and they taught us how to do cultivation.

When we were in the mountains, we divided our peoples and places into Inner-Truku and Outer-Truku⁴. My family belonged to Outer-Truku. We Truku were hunters. At one time, as Japanese people wanted to establish a nature park, they forbade us going hunting. Our people then told them: "If you stop us from hunting, we will burn the whole mountains out". In summer time, since all leaves were very dry, it will be a disaster if we did burn the mountains. The Japanese people eventually didn't really dare to stop us hunting.

In the Japanese period, we had three types of elementary school. For Japanese students, it's 6 years (小學校 *xiao-xue-xiao*). For Han-Chinese and plains indigenous groups, such as Amis, it's 4 years (公學校 *gong-xue-xiao*); their books were easier to read. For mountain aborigines, it was the other kind called *Educational Institute for Barbarian Children* (蕃童教育所 *fan-tong-jiao-yu-suo*) – not even a school. I lived in an area with lots of Han-Chinese and Amis people, so I went to a school with them.

My father died of alcoholism when I was nine years old. ["Could people get alcohol at that time?", I asked] Yes, Japanese people brewed lots of alcohol. When we were in the mountains, we actually didn't drink much. Though we brewed millet, it didn't have much alcohol. People only drank a little. My father worked with Han-Chinese friends to transport wood for them. His Han friends frequently gave him alcohol. He died from drinking too much.

After a while, my mother met a man whose wife had passed away. He became my step-father. We moved here to live with him. My step-father used to be in favour of the Japanese authority. For this reason, he was offered a position as a teacher for Japanese children. I have four siblings; my younger sister died when she was little. My step-father brought us to the school. My study there started from the 4th year and went to the 6th year.

When I was about to graduate, one day, a Japanese policeman called me. He asked me: "Are you going to attend the examination of the junior high school?". Yes, I answered. "Have you prepared for that?". Yes, I answered. But then he said, "From now on, all indigenous children are not allowed to go to junior high school because of the Wushe Incident".

The story of the Wushe Incident was about an indigenous young man who was very intelligent. He worked as a school teacher after his education from a teacher training school. Yet, despite working for Japanese, he still helped local aborigines against Japanese people and killed them. This made the Japanese government very angry, so they stopped allowing aboriginal children to have higher education any more.

I was fourteen. I then went to a *Military Training Institute* in Taipei. At that time, Japan and America were fighting. The Japanese authority thus assembled the youth each fortnight for the fight. The assembling place was in Fushi for the Hsiulin residents (see 3-1). After I studied in Taipei for three months, I came back to help the Japanese military. We were all very keen to join the military at that time. ["Why so?" I asked]. Because the Emperor of Japan was like our emperor, we were willing to sacrifice ourselves for him. And also, Japanese people encouraged us to do so. I thus went to several places to support military affairs, including Ali Mountain. It was in the middle of the winter around November, December and January. The weather was extremely cold there.

⁴ Ricky, as an insider, did not explain the meaning of the terms. It, however, can be found in literature (such as Liu, 2011, Book 2:1-16) that Inner-Truku referred to people who resided in the deep mountains of the Central Mountain Range along the upper and middle reaches of Li-Wu River, whereas Outer-Truku are people and places neared the lower reaches of the river and closer to the coast/plain regions.

During that time, there were many American airplanes circling in the air. They were planning to land from the area where Taidong Airport is nowadays. One day, we had an urgent call from our headquarters which was located in the mountains. We were assembled immediately, and we saw a group of aircraft carriers were approaching land. We were going to bomb them. The Japanese people tied bombs on our people's bodies. They asked us to run to those aircraft carriers. ["So, the people would die?"] Yes, they asked us to do so. We all had wives and children already, but we didn't feel afraid at all. Maybe because we ate animals in the mountains, we're all very brave, not like Amis people.

The U.S. probably had already known that we're ready to attack them, eventually they didn't land. They kept heading to Okinawa, Japan. The Japanese government then asked for volunteers to go to Okinawa. I volunteered at that time, even though I was already married and had a wife and kids. Finally, the U.S. dropped the atom bomb, and then we didn't need to go.

In the second year, when the KMT government took over the authority, I was 24 years old. Much earlier than that, we had all converted to Jesus already. The '*Taiwan Bible Institution*' was recruiting preachers. There was no limitation for their recruitment. As long as people felt interested in learning, even if illiterate, it was fine. We didn't need to pay anything. The training was for two years. Every morning we brought some rice and vegetables to the school; three or four people cooked together for lunch. Some of our teachers were Han-Chinese, and some were foreigners, who came from Hualien Presbyterian Churches.

(My interview with Ricky, 2011)

Ricky's life-story provides an example of how the broad and general processes of colonization, as well as Christianity, had a strong impact upon individuals' lives, especially through education, language and livelihood. Another life story I am going to introduce is Neiyo, born on the 30th of September, 1932. Her story does not overlap closely with Ricky's. Yet, it likewise gives insight into the background of Truku people's lives, shedding light on the development of Pentecostalism in the local context.

I first met Neiyo in the True Jesus Church on the day I arrived in the village. Neiyo, together with her son and granddaughters, were committed church-goers. Neiyo had been living in the village for about 70 years, but she was not born there. She came from another village, Nan-ao, approximately 55 kilometres away. The Nan-ao village is mainly inhabited by Atayal people, not Truku. There is a complex ethnic issue among three Taiwanese indigenous groups, nowadays called Atayal, Truku and Sediq. These three groups, however, were not distinguished in this way until recent years. More than a century ago, they were all classified as Atayal (with Truku and Sediq being classified as sub-groups of Atayal) from the beginning of the Japanese colonial period (see 1-2 and 4-2).

Neiyo came to Fushi village at about eleven years old, due to fear of religious persecution. She learnt Christianity in her childhood in Nan-ao, where she witnessed the scenes in the village when people threw stones at someone who believed in Jesus. It was during the Japanese colonial period. As the Japanese authority propagated State Shintō (the Japanese religion), they prohibited people

from believing in, or gathering for, Christianity. There were many stories of cruel Japanese persecution of those who did not conform to Shintō, and many died from this.

Though Neiyo had witnessed the persecution of Christians, events conspired in such a way that she could not help but become involved in Christianity. Her mother was sick. Her sickness got worse and worse, and eventually became quite serious. As a little girl, Neiyo felt very scared. She heard from her uncle that Jesus might make her mother recover. However, if she wanted to pray for that, she might have to go to Fushi village. There had been a small group of Nan-ao residents, approximately seven to ten, who made their escape to Fushi already. Some news that people in Fushi had strong faith in Jesus was sent back and they treated Christians with great hospitality. Neiyo was not afraid to travel to Fushi, as she was determined that her mother recover from her illness. Having a few others' company, a group, five of them in total, including one of Neiyo's adult relatives, made a second group and travelled to Fushi. Walking for more than a day without rest, sometimes swimming across rivers to avoiding being seen by Japanese police, eventually they managed to arrive safely. People in Fushi village, as Neiyo had been told, did indeed welcome them with great kindness. They received great hospitality and were offered places to live, as well as farmland to cultivate.

The community where Neiyo stayed is 'lower-Fushi'. People also called it 'Kele' (可樂) in Mandarin. This name comes from the story of its formation, where the earliest inhabitants were a traditional tribe called *Klugi*. Being a very big and powerful group living in the mountains before colonization, *Klugi* were forced to move to this plains community by the Japanese authorities in 1927.

Neiyo was taken care of by the family of Siban, who is the son of the chieftain of the *Klugi* tribe. Siban was the first convert in the True Jesus Church's missionary work in indigenous Taiwanese regions (see 1-3). Living in a place provided by Siban's family, Neiyo worked for them doing housework, such as cooking and feeding domestic animals. After Neiyo regularly prayed for her mother, her mother's illness gradually receded and she became healthy again. After a little while, the political climate changed. Japanese police were no longer present, since the KMT government had replaced the Japanese authorities. Religious persecution thus had come to an end. Some Nan-ao people decided to go back to their own village. Neiyo and a few others, however, chose to stay, so that they could do more work for the church and follow Jesus.

One day, Neiyo came back home from work. A church leader had come to visit, and a man came with him. "I will arrange for this guy to be your husband", the church leader said to Neiyo. Feeling a bit shocked, Neiyo expressed her reluctance. Though of an age for marriage, Neiyo only had thoughts to live for Jesus. The church leader, however, gave her a sermon saying that "the Bible

says, a woman should be together with a man as an integrated whole". Neiyo, being a very devoted church member, though reluctant at first, eventually agreed to marry the man. The church leader immediately offered the 'new couple' a prayer for their marriage. This was Neiyo's 'wedding ceremony'. Neiyo's husband was also a devoted church member. After their marriage, both of them engaged regularly in church affairs. Her husband was frequently selected as a church manager throughout his lifetime.

Neiyo was a good cook. She used to earn a living by offering catering in nearby regions, on which she raised her seven children. Neiyo also had a great talent in weaving. She used to watch her mother weaving when she was little, and her good skill was cultivated by her mother in a strict fashion. As Neiyo recalled, when she and her sister were learning, since her sister was easily distracted by other things, their mother often beat her sister as punishment. Neiyo, however, was interested in learning. With a lot of practice, she became an excellent weaver. Neiyo, in her mid-forties, won first and many other prizes, as there were competitions of indigenous weavers held all over Taiwan. Neiyo, subsequently, obtained some positions in the tourist industry to perform traditional weaving for tourists, which demonstrated 'indigenous culture'.

Afterwards, since the nearby Taroko National Park was recruiting workers as weaving performers, Neiyo finally settled to work there. In addition to having a good weaving skill that impressed people, Neiyo became more and more famous, as her work represents the idea of cultural preservation that the Taiwanese government has come to be concerned with. Some politicians, singers and well-known figures came to see her weaving and took photos. As she had developed an outstanding achievement and reputation, people called Neiyo a 'national treasure'.

This title, however, did not bring many tangible benefits to her. More specifically, in fact, Neiyo was not much concerned with this kind of praise relating to 'culture'. Neiyo enjoyed her role of being a labourer for the park. Though her position was under contract for a labour outsourcing company, not the park, she earned a regular salary to raise her children. Her salary was low. The only benefit was that she could have extra income selling woven products to tourists. Neiyo worked in the park for approximately 20 years. She stopped working in 2012, at the age of 79. Having fallen down a couple of times, due to pain from diabetes, her health can no longer endure the work. She was actually unwilling to stop working, as she needed money to pay for her daily expenses and a grandson who lived with her. As she said to me, she did not have savings to rely on.

Apart from her career, another significant achievement of Neiyo's should be illustrated. Always committing her time to help others, not only family, but also friends and neighbours, Neiyo was admired as a very generous person, for which people voted her as the head of the two neighbourhoods in Fushi village. Neiyo had this position for 28 years in total. There was a 'funny'

story, as she said, that the KMT government wanted to promote her as a local candidate in an election for town councillor. Neiyo and her close relatives interpreted it as a funny joke. Despite having a number of achievements in her career and personal life, Neiyo had no intention of being involved in politics. She was more interested in devoting time to Jesus. In daily life, Neiyo was dedicated to all sorts of church affairs, such as cooking, cleaning, attending sermons, Bible study, prayers and fellowship gathering. Additionally, she contributed her earnings to the church. Beyond tithing – the basic requirement – the more Neiyo earned, the more she donated. In doing so, she felt blessed and fulfilled as a good Christian.

Religion, in Kele village, is a significant aspect of ‘culture’ that has been passed on through the generations. The stories continued to circulate in the community regarding how residents encountered religious persecution, their generous hospitality, and the miracle of healing and so on. Local people believed that all of these stories indicate Jesus’ love of this community, as well as the blessings he has bestowed upon it. Having this idea, elder residents felt obligated to pass on their stories of strong faith and commitment, and they presented themselves as a good models for younger generations to follow. Neiyo is but one example among other elders. In spite of relying on wheelchairs, many elder practitioners go to the church almost every day. Their presence in the church is seen as representative of the blessing for the whole family.

The life-story of Neiyo exemplified how Christianity plays a crucial role in practitioners’ lives, through her settlement, marriage, day-to-day social interaction and perspectives towards political power and wider society. Neiyo’s identity and daily activity was grounded in the kind of Christianity she belongs to – Pentecostalism. It opened a new course for her to be a good Christian and a good member of the Pentecostal church. Having 70-80 percent of residents as church members, Kele village has formulated a collective identity that it is “the village of the True Jesus Church” (Chang, 2000: 116-117). This has become more important than Neiyo’s – as well as other residents’ – indigenous status as Truku or Atayal.

The life-stories of Ricky and Neiyo, while unique, well exemplify common experience for all Truku people living through periods of Japanese and Chinese colonization. Their stories illustrated some commonalities of the wider social context, including displacement, disease, changes in livelihoods and impacts of cultural change. The two Christian denominations, nevertheless, positioned themselves differently in their attitudes towards traditional Truku culture and to life in modern society. Their differences enter into practitioners’ personal lives and experiences, which shape practitioners through different trajectories of being good Christians.

1-2. Truku: The People and Their Place in Early History

Before Taiwan first appeared on a Dutch map at the end of 16th century, little more than its Portuguese name '*Ilha Formosa*' (the beautiful island) was known to the western world. The expansion of maritime commerce throughout East Asia in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, in the wake of the arrival of the European powers, brought an end to the isolation of Taiwan (Ka, 1995). Beginning in the early seventeenth century, Taiwan was occupied by the Dutch (1624-1661), the Spanish (1626-1642), the Chinese loyalist rebel Koxinga (1661-1683), and the Manchu Qing Dynasty (1683-1895). Their administrative power, however, was mainly confined to the western plain areas and did not extended to the eastern part of Taiwan where most indigenous people live (Chien, 2004:126; Simon, 2009:5; Brown, 2001:154).

Geographically, Taiwan consists of numerous mountain regions with the exception of a few areas of alluvial plains around the coast. Surrounded by the Pacific, Taiwan is a long and narrow island. With the Central Mountain Range forming the island's spine, it runs from north to south and contains more than forty peaks exceeding 3,000 meters, which divides the island into eastern and western districts. The western area is a wide plain. Since that is the best agricultural land, colonizers have been the main inhabitants of the region. The eastern area is a narrow valley, covered with alluvial deposits, where most indigenous Taiwanese reside (Kim, 1980: 24-25). Some of the indigenous people lived in very high and rugged mountain areas surrounded by cliffs, and thus were not easily reached by outsiders. The geographical features of Taiwan provided a natural shelter, as physical barriers, for indigenous Taiwanese protecting them from intruders. Even under colonization, this geographic feature also became a significant factor in the continued separate existence of Taiwanese indigenous people and colonizers (Kim, 1980:55).

After a long colonial history of nearly four hundred years, nowadays, Taiwan is mainly inhabited by Han-Chinese people. Among the total population of 23 million, however, approximately 500,000 people (2.2 per cent of the total population) are indigenous Taiwanese rather than of Han ethnicity⁵. They "speak Austronesian languages and have a radically different history, language and culture to the dominant Han people. They have lived in Taiwan for centuries, during which time they have had little contact with the outside world" (Chien, 2004:125).

The Qing Dynasty (1683-1895) classified indigenous Taiwanese into two groups based on where they lived and whether or not they had submitted to Qing rule⁶. People who lived on

⁵ According to the census data of the Department of Statistics in the Ministry of the Interior in Taiwan, the total population in 2011 was 23,224,912, and indigenous Taiwanese were 519,984.

⁶ This was visible because it meant adopting the hairstyle of Qing queue.

western plains were labelled as ‘cooked barbarians’ (熟蕃 *shoufan*) in contrast to ‘raw barbarians’ (生蕃 *shengfan*) who lived in eastern areas. More than a geographical difference, this classification deployed the contrastive metaphor – raw and cooked – to refer to the degree of their assimilation to Han-Chinese culture. The central mountains and eastern coastal areas, where ‘raw barbarians’ lived, were not even claimed as part of Qing administered territory until 1875. The government only allowed its Han people to settle in the western part, and let the non-assimilated indigenous people maintain control of their own territories (Simon, 2005:55-56 and 2009:5). “For nearly two centuries, the Qing state established a boundary between settler-controlled plains and indigenous-controlled mountain areas, basically leaving Austronesians with effective sovereignty of over half the island” (Simon, 2011:48).

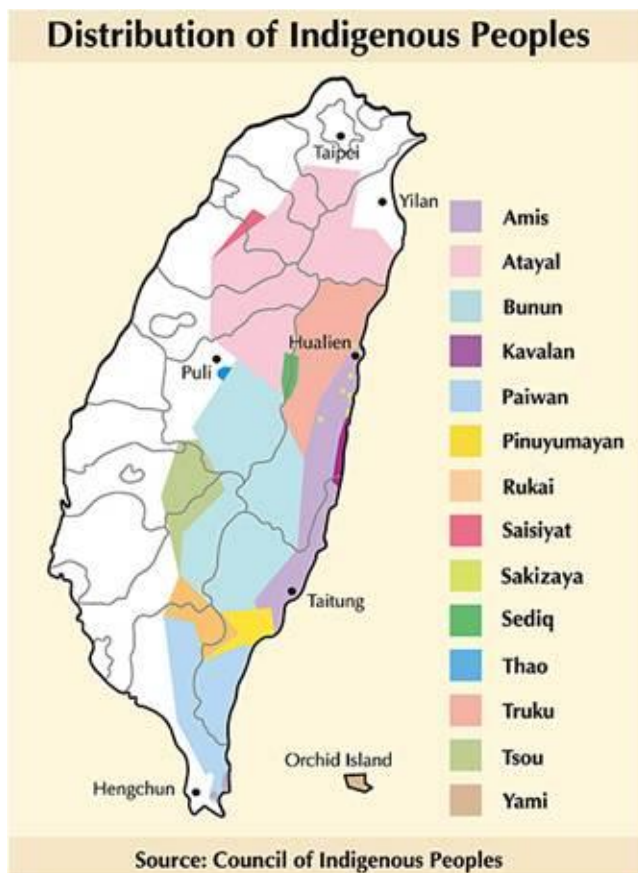
For indigenous Taiwanese, the colonial story begins with the Japanese occupation (1895-1945) and then continues with the subsequent Han-Chinese government to now⁷. During the Japanese period, indigenous people who lived on the plain areas were called *Penpohuan* (平埔蕃), literally meaning ‘savages on the plain’, in contrast to *Kuoshanhuan* (高山蕃) who were ‘savages in the mountains’ (Kim, 1980: 29-30). They were also regarded as the ‘tame savages’ and the ‘wild savages’ respectively in terms of the degree of being ‘civilized’ and in easy contact with the outside world.

Before the invasion by any colonial power, indigenous Taiwanese were diverse. The topic of how to classify them had concerned scholars for a long time. The mountain indigenous groups, especially, remained mysterious for colonizers. In order to have a better understanding of how to manage them, the Japanese government decided to conduct ethnological investigations in the mountains. Since then, systematic classification has been in the process of development. The first report emerged in 1900 in a book written by Mr. Ino Kanori and Mr. Awano Dennojou titled ‘*Indigenous Taiwanese*’. Though the classification of indigenous Taiwanese had begun, different scholars came up with various methods of classifying the different groups. As explained by Kim (1980:48), the early publications classified eight groups, yet, “in 1911, the Japanese Colonial Government classified them into nine mountains tribes while Mr. Mori (1912) divided them into

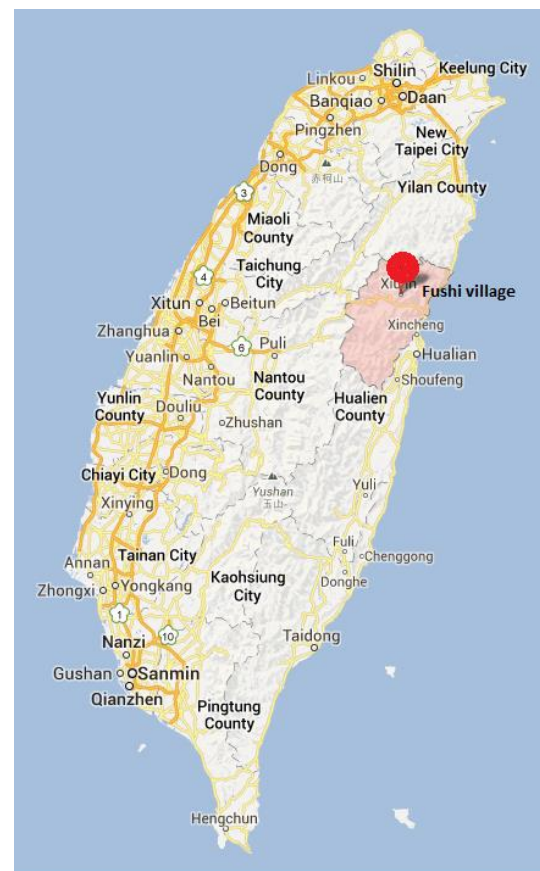
⁷ I should clarify that, as colonization is an academic concept, in Truku people’s day-to-day life, this term is hardly used by the locals. Indigenous Taiwanese have various political attitudes to the Han-Chinese government. Though most of them are fairly conservative and are loyal to the Nationalist Party Kuomintang (KMT), some are actually the supporters of the opposite Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Regardless their different political opinions, they generally would use the term of “the government” to refer to the Han-Chinese authority. Nevertheless, as many of my informants (who are social elites) engaged with indigenous rights, they frequently possessed an antagonistic attitude to the Han-Chinese government even if the word ‘colonization’ is not directly applied.

six tribes". Throughout the Japanese colonial period, the classification of indigenous Taiwanese was ongoing. As the end result of Japanese efforts, nine groups were eventually recognized.

This classification, furthermore, was adopted by the subsequent Han-Chinese colonizer: the Nationalist Party Kuomintang (KMT) government. Based on their cultural differences, such as language, customs and history, together with physical differences, the government announced in 1962 that there were nine indigenous groups in Taiwan: *Amis*, *Atayal*, *Paiwan*, *Bunun*, *Puyuma*, *Rukai*, *Saisiat*, *Tsou* and *Yami* (Kim, 1980:49-50). For many decades, this version of classification was official, which appeared in all sorts of reports, textbooks and media.



Map1.1: Indigenous Taiwanese peoples dwell in the eastern part of Taiwan. This map shows the distribution of the 14 indigenous tribes. (Source: Council of Indigenous Peoples).



Map 1.2: The administrative map of Taiwan. The field-site of this research, Fushi Village, is marked in red (Source: Google Map).

Truku, the ethnic group I have worked with, was not the name of an ethnic group until the 2000s after the movement of 'Name Rectification' in Taiwan. This was attributed to the dramatic change in the political climate when the KMT government ended Martial Law in 1987. This opened space for all sorts of ethnic movements to enter Taiwanese society, and the number of indigenous movements has grown since then. After several decades of effort, a tenth indigenous group, *Thao*, was granted official recognition in 2001. The eleventh group to gain recognition was *Kavalan* in 2002. *Truku* were the twelfth to be recognized in 2004. The thirteenth was *Sakizaya* in 2007 and

*Sediq*⁸ was the fourteenth in 2008 (Map 1.1). Additionally, the groups of *Hla'alua* and *Kanakafu* had been recognized as the fifteenth and sixteenth groups in 2014 (Council of Peoples, the Legislative Yuan, Taiwan).

The term 'Truku' was initially used to designate a place, and appeared in a map during the Qing Dynasty. 'Truku' was used to refer to the people who lived there. According to the local history, Truku ancestors came from a place called *Truku Tarowan* (Liao, 1977:68 in Kim, 1980:57) in the deep mountains near the present Nantou County (Map 1.2). The word 'Truku' is composed of *Tru* and *Ruku*. Literally, '*Tru*' means three, and '*Ruku*' means living place. This term is said to be traced back to the oral history of their migration. After a long period of time living in the original area, the space that could be used for hunting and agriculture became more and more limited. Facing an increase in their population, the initial group decided to move out. They followed the course of three creeks to separate and go in different directions. A main group ventured to the east. Two smaller groups remained staying in nearby areas in the west.

'Sediq' was the local term that refers to 'humans'. For people who migrated to the east, they were called 'East-Sediq', and the two smaller western groups were 'West-Sediq'. After a long time of separation, they have developed distinct identities, vocabularies, memories and histories⁹. These circumstances precipitated their differentiation after the cessation of Martial Law in the freer political conditions. Eventually, the 'East-Sediq' became an independent ethnic group in 2004 using the name of 'Truku'. The 'West-Sediq' also followed this tendency which was officially recognized as 'Sediq' in 2008.

Regarding the early literature of indigenous Taiwanese people, those known as Truku, or Sediq, were not differentiated from other Atayal, as both Truku and Sediq were classified as sub-groups of Atayal before the ethnic movements of 'Name Rectification'. Atayal was the second largest indigenous group in Taiwan. They resided mostly in mountain areas over 1000m above sea level (Kim, 1980:52) and they had occupied almost two-thirds of the whole mountain region. When the Japanese military came to the east coast, Japanese had difficulty in gaining control of where the Atayal lived, as they were very hostile to the approaching Japanese army. "Having the geographical advantage of the high mountains which are very steep and difficult to reach, they could maintain their settlements unconquered" (ibid:58).

⁸ There are also other ways of spelling such as *Sedjek* and *Seejiq*, pronounced as [ˈsædzɪq].

⁹ Specifically, according to the local history, Truku people can be largely distinguished as Truku, Teuda, and Tkdaya, following by their local dialects. The details of their sub-groups are quite complicated. Considering that this issue is not directly relevant to the core theme of my thesis, Christianity, for readers who are interested in this local complexity, see Liu (2011).

The Atayal people used established techniques of head-hunting to attack the Japanese military. With the custom of tattooing their faces, they were called 'Northern savages'¹⁰ or 'Tattooed savages' (ibid: 50-52). The Truku group, having a similar custom of facial tattoos and head-hunting, lived in the southern reaches of Atayal territory. Truku people were particularly notorious for resistance against any encroachment on their sovereignty (Simon, 2009:1-2). The 'Xincheng Affair' (1896) and the 'Weili Affair' (1906), for examples, were famous large-scale raids that Truku people inflicted on plains communities as they refused to be subdued by the Japanese authorities (Kim, 1980:58)¹¹. Since there was much bloodshed between the Japanese forces and Truku people, the Japanese government described Truku as 'the most hostile and barbarous savages' (ibid: 55).

The initial Japanese intrusion into Truku territory was ordered by the fifth Japanese governor-general, Sakuma Samata. Before his administrative term of 1906-1915, previous governors-general had never successfully occupied the mountain areas. Sakuma Samata argued that those governors-general were too gentle in their management of indigenous people, since most of them sought to appease them as much as suppress them. He proposed that this was the reason why the Japanese government failed to penetrate the mountains after such a long term of administration. Sakuma Samata decided to use the military to aggressively manage indigenous people. He launched a number of violent expeditions into indigenous territory. The most successful incursion, regarded as a milestone, was called the 'Five-year Expedition'. It was carried out from 1910 to 1914. Over ten thousand indigenous people were killed during the battles with Japanese forces (Simon, 2005:57). The most famous and largest expedition, in eastern Taiwan, was called the 'Truku War'¹² (1914) in what is now the Taroko National Park (Simon, 2009:6).

Instead of controlling mountain villages scattered over a vast area, the Japanese authority built several large communities in the plains regions. Truku people were forcibly moved down from their mountain homelands, and relocated in the new communities where they lived nearer to the Han people in Xincheng (Simon, 2005:57 and 2009:6). The removal of indigenous people was conducted mainly in two periods of forced mass migration. The first removal took place in the later phase of the 'Five-year Expedition' (1910-1914). In 1913, a policy of pooling indigenous

¹⁰ As Kim (1980:50-52) illustrated, "When Okamatsu distinguished the northern and southern tribes, the Tayal [Atayal], Saisiat, and Tsou were grouped with northern tribes because they occupied the northern half of the island. The name Tayal or Atayal, which means 'man', was later adopted for classificatory purposes since these are the names by which they call themselves".

¹¹ Here I focus on some aspects of Japanese attempts to subdue the indigenous population most relevant to Truku; for fuller discussion, see Kim (1980: 50-61).

¹² Fujisaki (1931 in Kim, 1980:58) described that: "The war, on the 31st of May in 1914, was the longest battle in the history of Japan-Aborigine conflicts, lasting almost eighty days with 20,748 Japanese soldiers engaged".

people into twelve main reservations at the foot of the mountains was conducted, where people were easily kept under the intensive control of the police (Kim, 1980:58-59). The second mass migration was brought about by the 'Wushe Incident'. That incident took place in the west mountain areas on October 27, 1930¹³. Being shocked by this affair, the Japanese authorities determined to enforce the policy of placing the indigenous people under strict control. A more aggressive approach was then taken. In this climate, almost all original settlements of Truku in the mountains were deserted (Kim, 1980:59-60). The history of Truku people's displacement constitutes the background to the formation of the Fushi community¹⁴ where this research was conducted (see Chapter 3).

The Japanese government ruled Taiwan for approximately 50 years, during which their influence in the Central Mountain Range spanned about 32 years. Apart from the purposes of obtaining natural resources such as forest products and minerals¹⁵, Japanese invasion of the mountain regions was also motivated by their intention to subjugate indigenous Taiwanese. They at first set up a military region to compel indigenous people to disarm. Police stations were then built to assimilate them. Subsequently, the implementation of a policy of relocating indigenous people was conducted. After relocation in the plain communities, Truku people were taught cultivation, and they worked for the Japanese in the timber industry. After that, Truku people's living conditions changed drastically for the worse.

1-3. Conversion

After the displacement into the plains regions, Truku people felt aggrieved at the authorities. Many of them, especially the elders, escaped by running back into their mountain homelands (Wen, 1957:855 in Kuo, 1985:46). There were also outbreaks of diseases during that time.

¹³ The story was recounted by Simon (2009:6-7): "In the Wushe Incident of October 27, 1930, a group of 200 Seediq warriors attacked Japanese spectators at a sports event in Wushe (Nantou County) and killed 134 people. It took Japanese forces two months, and the deaths of 644 aboriginal people, to completely quell the uprisings that followed (see Walis 2002). The survivors were moved for surveillance purposes onto a tightly controlled village built on a river island, where many of them subsequently died of tropical diseases or suicide. The members of that community remember the rigid military control as being 'like a concentration camp'".

¹⁴ According to the early local history illustrated by Zeng and Wu (1995:31 in Chang, 2000:38-39), Fushi community was composed of several major regions/groups; they were *Makligi*, *Makebutakan*, *Makebusugan*, *Makelotsin* and *Takalon*. The traditional Truku term '*mk*' means places. Here the *Makligi* refers to 'the place of *Klugi*' which I have mentioned in Neiyo's life story. Although the groupings found in the region today do not exactly follow this settlement pattern, since there has been a lot of movement between communities, the present residential pattern has developed based on this history.

¹⁵ "The climate in Taiwan is sub-tropical; only on high mountain peaks does snow and ice ever accumulate in winter. Vegetation covers practically the whole island, from the cultivated low land to the mountains, which are densely clad with trees, shrubs, and wild grass. In addition to both fresh and salt water fish, there are various animals in the mountain regions. These rich natural food resources were undoubtedly important to the survival of early indigenous tribes and also to successful occupation by invaders" (Chai 1967:25, in Kim, 1980:25).

Malaria, in particular, was prevalent in many indigenous villages. According to Ren-Ing Wang (1967), malaria could not be contracted in places above the elevation of 1000 meters. The most intensive infections of malaria were found in villages around the foot of the mountains, many of which were ones established during the Japanese colonial period and consisted of resettled indigenous people (Ren-Ing Wang, 1967:75 in Kuo, 1985:52). The prevalence of the epidemic and the suffering from it brought about great uncertainty to Truku societies, which also struck a dramatic blow.

Yin-Kuai Hwang (1983) examined this issue among indigenous communities and noted that: “This kind of epidemic disease could not be cured by their traditional methods, such as witchcraft, thus people had no way to deal with it” (Yin-Kuai Hwang, 1983:113 in Kuo, 1985:53). For the Truku group, specifically, their traditional worldview was constructed in terms of a cosmology of *utux/gaya*. *Utux* refers to the overall sense of spirits (both good and bad). *Gaya* expresses an idea of customary law in their society. Pre-Christian Truku people believed that “All nature is given by *utux*, and all the rules in the world, which is *gaya*, are generated from *utux*” (Yi-Hong Chang, 2000:68). This cosmology was tightly embedded in people’s pre-colonial life-world through their everyday practices, such as hunting, and living in the mountains. In local terms, for example, *alang* referred to a concept of boundary and space in which people who live together were considered as the same social group. More than a social meaning, people in the same *alang* additionally shared the responsibility, and even punishment, of their action living in the environment in a supernatural sense. One significant concept of *utux* referred to Truku people’s living circumstances, such as health, illness and death. Believing that human beings were subject to *utux* who controlled the entire living world, Truku people conducted some rituals, like head-hunting, to maintain a good relationship with *utux*. Head-hunting, however, was forbidden by the Japanese government. Facing out of control epidemic diseases in the plains communities, Truku people suffered a deep anxiety from having no way to communicate with their traditional spirits¹⁶.

Truku people’s fear of illness and death posed a severe challenge to their traditional belief system. This is explicitly indicated in their stories of Christian conversion. I was told by a local expert, who worked on the history of Truku migration routes, that “In 1928, Truku villages suffered severely from malaria everywhere. A lot of people died from this. It was a turning point leading to Truku dramatically converting to Christianity”. In the following, I will illustrate two stories of conversion referring to Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism respectively. Both are

¹⁶ for more information see *National Religion Information Network*:
<http://religion.moi.gov.tw/Knowledge/Content?ci=2&cid=45>

common origin tales similar to those shared among all Truku, and even among other indigenous Taiwanese groups, as their collective narrative.

Throughout the indigenous Taiwanese regions, the earliest conversions began with a Truku woman, Ciwang¹⁷ (1872-1946), now regarded as '*the Mother of Indigenous Churches in Taiwan*'. Ciwang was born in Fushi. She moved to her grandparents' home in a nearby village after her father's death during her childhood. With a good talent for language, Ciwang spoke Japanese, Taiwanese and the vernacular Truku language very well. She also had a good relationship with Japanese policemen. When the conflict between Japanese and Truku became fierce, Ciwang was sent by Japanese policemen to Truku communities to persuade her Truku fellows to give up fighting. Realizing that the Japanese government had many powerful weapons and artillery, with which Truku people were unable to compete, Ciwang decided to ask her Truku fellows to surrender, in order to save their lives. In total, Ciwang spent 11 years trying to halt Truku hostilities against Japan. This led to people calling her "Ciwang the Reconciler".

Ciwang was a smart and beautiful woman. Everyone liked her and many Truku men were attracted to her. Ciwang, however, did not have any interest in any Truku men. She only became involved with Han-Chinese men, as in her opinion, they knew how to earn money. Ciwang had three marriages with Han husbands. Unfortunately, those men did not bring her happiness but only depression. Her first Han-Chinese husband was killed by a Truku man who felt jealous of him. Her second husband died of disease. Her third husband married Ciwang for her wealth. He idled his time away and wasted her money on gambling, wine, women and song. One day, frustrated and angered by her husband's debauchery, Ciwang took a knife and resolved to kill him. She began a journey to town to find him. On the way, she met some Presbyterian Han-Chinese clergymen. They convinced Ciwang not to kill her husband and brought her to Christianity. This changed Ciwang's life.

After attending some Christian gatherings and learning about the Bible, in 1924, Ciwang was baptized. She became the first indigenous Taiwanese Christian. In 1929, encouraged by Rev. James Dickson¹⁸ and Miss Adair, Ciwang entered the *Dansui Female Bible School* in Taipei. She was 58 years old at that time, but she still performed very well and graduated at the top of the class after eight months of study. Having finished her Presbyterian education, Ciwang returned to her hometown, Hualien. Starting with preaching Christianity to her relatives, Ciwang's mission spread quickly. Ciwang formed a missionary team, with three disciples as companions: her

¹⁷ Also spelled as Jiwang. Information details see Lecarl (2010:7-9), Youcarl (1998:64-70), and also the website: <http://blog.xuite.net/spiqan/twblog/110937794>

¹⁸ Rev. James Dickson (1900-1967) was born in South Dakota, USA. In 1927 he was assigned as a missionary by the Toronto Presbyterian Church to Taiwan.

adopted daughter (Rabay), her sister (Komo) and a woman from a nearby community (Tumun). They walked through Truku tribes to spread Christianity. One of the three female followers, in particular, had the talent of curing illness through prayer. Many testimonies occurred and were circulated describing how after she prayed, sick people soon recovered. Ricky (see 1-1) is the nephew of Ciwang. He explicitly indicated that “The miracle of healing was the main reason that Truku people converted to Christianity one by one”. Ricky provided examples of the circumstances that occurred at that time.

After the day Ciwang and her followers said a prayer for a sick person who had lain in bed chronically, the sick person recovered and walked around his garden.

A neighbour witnessed this. He felt shocked and couldn’t believe it, and so asked him: “Haven’t you been sick and lain in bed for a long time? How come you suddenly get up and have a walk?” The sick man responded that it was because of the prayer, which gave the miracle of his healing that he could recover.

In another example, the story was about *moxuni* (bad witches)¹⁹ in Truku society who used tricks to harm people. When Ciwang and her disciples walked and spread gospel to indigenous regions, *moxuni* always failed to harm them, no matter how hard they tried. *Moxuni* ended up feeling very scared of Ciwang’s group. They knew that Jesus had stronger power than their local spirits. (My interview with Ricky, 2012)

During Ciwang’s mission, since Taiwan was under Japanese authority which promoted State Shintō, Christianity was suppressed. Truku communities were thus closely monitored by the police. Some Truku people died from brutal police beatings for their belief in Christianity (Youcarl, 1998: 64-70). In order to avoid being noticed, Christian gatherings and conversions were carried out in secret. A big cave in Fushi was where Ciwang frequently proselytized to followers. This area became an important place for Truku people. After the KMT government came to power in 1945, a church beside this big cave was constructed in October, 1946. Today, it is named as the *Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church* (Plate 1.1) where I conducted my fieldwork with Truku Presbyterians. This church is located in the middle and upper parts of Fushi community (see 3-1).

¹⁹ In Truku people's traditional cosmology, a bad witch is called ‘*moxuni*’, who always do things to make people become sick or even die. This idea stands in contrast to a good witch, ‘*smapox*’. They are like doctors who bring blessings to people and cure illness as well.



Plate 1.1: The *Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church* was constructed on the 1st of October in 1946 in Fushi. Photograph by the author.



Plate 1.2: The True Jesus Church in the lower part of Fushi. This church was established on the 8th of December 1945. Photograph by the author.

Despite the fact that the entire Truku region was influenced by Ciwang's missionary work, it was also in competition with other Christian denominations. About the same time, another church was also established nearby. It belonged to the True Jesus Church, an independent church related to Pentecostalism, which was constructed in the lower part of Fushi community in December of 1945 (Plate 1.2). The conversion story of the True Jesus Church started from the story of Sibán, a Truku man, in 1937. Sibán was the youngest son of a powerful and rich chiefly family, the traditionally powerful tribe of *Klugi*. Sibán got serious pulmonary tuberculosis. His family and relatives tried numerous ways to cure his disease but all were in vain. He was about to die. One day, a Han-Taiwanese herbalist introduced Sibán to the True Jesus Church. Having secretly made a few trips to the town, Hualien, Sibán received the 'True Gospel'²⁰ there to conduct prayers. Soon after that, Sibán recovered from his illness. With Sibán's testimony which proved the power of the Pentecostal doctrines, the gospel of the True Jesus Church was disseminated quickly from Sibán's family and relatives. It furthermore spread out to other indigenous regions nearby. Eventually, it earned a successful place in the community in competition with Presbyterianism.

Sibán's story foregrounds 'the miracle of healing' as the key element which prompted local people to convert to Pentecostalism. Besides this, I should also note that Sibán's wife was a midwife, who had some medical training and could handle basic medical treatments. In a

²⁰ It is common that, instead of the full name of 'the True Jesus Church', people simply use 'True Jesus' or 'True Gospel (TJC term, 真道 *zhen-dao*)' to refer to its church members or doctrines.

traditional Truku society, giving birth was seen as a very dangerous procedure involving spiritual issues. With this skill, Siban's wife was particularly remembered and appreciated as having a kind heart. She sometimes walked deep into the mountains even in the early morning when it was still totally dark in order to help people. She was also nice to the poor who could not offer payment. Her kindness earned her a lot of respect from other Truku. This added to the good reputation and social position of Siban's family, which had become powerful in terms of the local political, financial and prestige networks in the village. One of Siban's daughters described the wealthy living conditions in her childhood:

My family had many large pieces of land, and we had many workers. My parents never wanted us to help with any farming or housework, as that work was taken care of well by others. Neiyo cooked for my family. Sometimes if she didn't cook well, my father got angry. Our clothes were also washed by our aunties.

I don't know much about things on the farms. I only remember that we had plenty of sweet potatoes. While many others lived in starving conditions, we didn't. We had many pigs, chickens, ducks and turkeys. We also often had pig-kills. I don't know whether it was for any ritual purposes or other reasons though.

My father was elected as a local representative for longer than a decade. In the olden days, this political role wasn't as busy as it is today. If my father wanted to announce anything, he did so in the church. Sometimes he could even just say things in private, and everybody would mobilize to do it.

Believing in the True Jesus Church, my father sometimes brought followers to the mountains. A few times, unluckily, they were caught by Japanese policemen. It was a cold winter and my father was sick. Those policemen asked them to stay underneath the water of the river and said: "if anyone gets up, you have to convert to Shintō". None of them got up, as they collectively testified that the water was so warm.

Another time, a few residents were caught by Japanese policemen. When those Japanese policemen took out their guns and were about to shoot them, the weather suddenly turned to heavily storms, extremely windy and with fierce thunder. The Japanese policemen felt very scared and then ran away. (My interview with Siban's daughter, 2011)

Having told Ciwang's and Siban's stories about how they were converted and began converting others, I shall draw out some significant factors which contributed to the early conversion of Truku people. First of all, Truku conversion involved an encounter with Han-Taiwanese people. Under Japanese rule since Christianity was suppressed in Taiwan, in that encounter, a space was opened in which Han-Chinese conveyed their gospels to indigenous Taiwanese.

Secondly, by encountering Han Christians, it brought the opportunity for Truku people to break down their traditional gender constraints imposed by *utux* and *gaya*. In traditional Truku society, there were customary rules concerning gender and interaction between the genders. In Ciwang's case, specifically, she transgressed many aspects of *gaya* relating to her gender role. Marrying Han-Taiwanese people was one. Regardless of this *gaya*, Ciwang had three marriages with Han-Taiwanese men. Wearing a knife and setting out to kill somebody was also considered to be

breaking the *gaya*, since women were not expected to do so in the traditional patriarchy of Truku society. Through the prominent female figures of Ciwang and her three followers, the social order of Truku patriarchal domination was undermined. Women's conversion to Christianity moved Truku people away from their traditional gender order into a new set of beliefs and practices. In a south-eastern Chinese context, women are frequently the significant actors in terms of religious conversion, "it was usually women who sought help from various kinds of spiritual beings and who first converted to the Christian God" (Chen-Yang Kao, 2009:179).

Thirdly, Ciwang's conversion to Christianity precipitated a challenge to their traditional norms of divinity in Truku society in a more general way. This challenge was made explicit when issues of health, sickness and healing came to play a role. Within the system of traditional Truku cosmology, *utux* refers to the ideas of spirits in a general sense. The customary rules, *gaya*, emanated from the spiritual authority of *utux* to govern people's life. Their Christian conversion produced a change in the basis for cosmological authority in their belief system from *utux* to Jesus. 'The miracle of healing' relieved the tension caused by the power of their traditional deities. At that point, a new chapter was opened concerning how the two Christian denominations reinterpreted their traditional cosmology, after they became more fully immersed in new Christian worldviews. By taking different forms of Christianity, distinct trajectories of being good Christians took shape, with different styles of practice.

Chapter 2. The Cosmopolites of the Global and the Local

Protestantism and modernity have long been considered as interrelated especially for those living in a capitalist society. “The central drama of Protestant theology at least since the middle of the nineteenth century has been the question of how one can cope intellectually and practically with the necessity of living in a secular world” (Berger, 2001: 444). With the advancing development of modernity, the Pentecostal movement has emerged and swept across the world beginning from the early twentieth century into the present. Not only do Pentecostals keep expanding in western societies while the ‘mainstream’ Christian denominations decline, but a rapid expansion has occurred in non-western societies, such as Africa, Latin America, Asia and Pacific regions (Robbins, 2010a:123).

Regarding this social phenomenon, anthropologists have only paid limited attention to it. Pentecostalism has gradually begun to be seen as distinguishable in some ways from other Protestant churches since many of their characteristics are different. *Other* Protestant denominations, however, are frequently generalized into a broad category, such as evangelicalism. Evangelicalism, as defined by Coleman and Hackett (2015), refers to a wide range of evangelical movements, including “Baptism²¹, Lutheranism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, some streams within Anglicanism and so on; occasionally – when used in its very broadest sense – it may also encompass Pentecostal and charismatic Christians” (ibid:9).

One of the most popular evangelical Christian denominations, Presbyterianism, to be specific, is usually taken as a form of mainstream Protestantism. Especially in some social and cultural contexts, such as in the United States, Presbyterians are considered mainstream Protestants, together with Methodists and Baptists (Barton, 2006). Presbyterianism, in addition, is frequently understood as a form of Calvinism, since its church history was influenced by John Calvin (1509-64) and his associates (Landis, 1957:100-103).

With a long and complex history, Presbyterianism has spread widely. By the presence of churches, for example, Presbyterianism is visible in local communities. Its influence on the locals, however, has not yet been explored in depth. The majority of literature on Presbyterianism has mostly been written by historians and theologians²². It was only lately that Presbyterians’ relation to issues of national identity came to be studied by political scientists (see Conser and

²¹ Though the authors use the word ‘Baptism’, I prefer the term ‘Baptist’ in order to avoid confusion between the ritual baptism and the Baptist movement.

²² To give some examples, historian work literature on Presbyterianism see Duncan (2015), and theologian work see Coalter, Mulder and Weeks (1992) and Lewis (2003).

Cain, 2012)²³. As for anthropologists, according to my survey²⁴, Presbyterianism is rarely taken as an object of ethnography. Despite being addressed sometimes, Presbyterianism is usually illustrated in the context of local history as the background information of a community.

In recent years, a number of scholars have begun exploring Presbyterianism more thoroughly in different social settings. Mohr (2013), for instance, investigated Presbyterians' sub-group identity among migrants in Ghana and the U.S.²⁵. Eriksen's work (2007 and 2012) explored how Christianity engaged with the idea of 'governance' in Vanuatu, where Presbyterians – together with many other denominations, such as Anglicans, Catholics and Adventists – involved strongly in the local's political affairs. Harkness (2014) conducted his work with Presbyterians in Seoul, Korea. His ethnography takes voice and voicing as an object to examine its various sociocultural dimensions of contemporary South Korea in terms of modernity. Having provided good insights and deep analysis looking at Presbyterians in different social contexts, these anthropological ethnographies, however, did not specialize in 'Presbyterianism' in and of itself. Presbyterians are taken as merely an example of the broader category of Christians, such as Calvinists or the issue of 'Christianity' more generally. Presbyterians, otherwise, are viewed in approaches to other themes, such as voice, that are highlighted as the main object of analysis. In other words, to what degree Presbyterian 'culture' has been examined in its impact on local communities, unfortunately, is still obscure and undeveloped in the discipline of anthropology.

In this chapter, in order to illuminate some global issues and current debates in anthropology, I will begin with the comparative ethnographic literature about evangelical Christianity. Yet, due to the unbalanced nature of the literature focusing on Pentecostalism and Presbyterianism, issues will inevitably shed more light on Pentecostalism. As a result of the lack of anthropological literature on Presbyterianism, I will bring in relevant materials relating to Protestantism, evangelicalism and Calvinism, when it is appropriate to explore it together with Pentecostalism. This chapter, subsequently, will illustrate the arrival of Pentecostal Christianity in the context of Taiwan and China, with its reform movements emerging from a Presbyterian background. Through the investigation of Protestant history in Taiwan, the distinct missionizing outlooks of

²³ From a historical perspective, Conser, Walter H. Jr. and Robbert J. Cain (2012) explored a denominational history of the Presbyterian Church (USA) in North Carolina.

²⁴ Having tried my best to examine most of anthropological work dealing with Presbyterianism, as well as consulting with many scholars who are familiar with relevant literature, I believe that there might be still some research that I have not handled. My apologies for missing any significant work if this is the case. But here I can only consider literature that I have explored.

²⁵ By exploring Presbyterians' spiritual healing in relation to the social development of biomedical science, Mohr (2013) takes Presbyterianism as one example of Calvinism to build-up the conversation with Max Weber's theory. Challenging Max Weber's idea of disenchantment, Mohr (2013) argued that the lives of Ghanaian Presbyterians have become *more* enchanted in a contemporary capitalist context.

the two Christian denominational institutions will then be discussed afterwards, looking at how the locals deploy divergent trajectories in understanding Christianity in particular.

2-1. Global Views: Issues and Debates in Anthropology

Christian conversion is often central in the contested relations among denominations. In Jebens's (2005) ethnography conducted in a small Pairundu village in Papua New Guinea, local communities had confronted some tensions occurring between mainline and fundamental Christianity. In this social dynamic, the locals tended to convert to the more radical denomination – the Seven-Day Adventist Church – due to its more rigid and decisive attitude towards separating believers from traditional culture than is the case for Catholics. Stewart and Strathern (2009) observed that adaptation to Christianity is not just a matter of external forms or compromises. Rather, conflict and competition may course through practitioners' daily activities stemming from their deep conviction in what the righteous Christian life should be.

And there can be overt competition between persons and groups who identify with different denominations, both reflecting and transforming local structural rivalries. Localities, ethnic and linguistic units, clans, and individual agents of change can all be entangled in such conflicts and their partial resolutions over time. These manifestations of agency and practice surely in some sense also reflect earlier processes of competition and conflict between missionaries themselves over what the "proper" Christian faith is.

(Stewart and Strathern, 2009:10)

In an Indonesian social context, Fox (1980) conducted a historical and ethnographic investigation of Christian identities. Looking at the Timor area, he found that "Christianity has come to the diverse peoples of the province in many ways over several centuries" (ibid: 238). In line with other religious followers, such as Muslims and Catholics, evangelical Christians too have been established following local ethnic boundaries and identities. Christianity, rather than lessening ethnic diversity, has actually fostered this diversity (Fox, 1980).

Selka (2010) found that Christianity is embedded in practitioners' local understanding of ideas of morality. Evangelical Christians in Candomblé, Brazil created different religious discourses related to the asymmetry of moral orders. "Competing discourses about morality underline the differences in how the cosmologies of these religions are framed, including how the entities within each are classified" (ibid: 293). Moral discourses have drawn adherents, in his case, from similar socioeconomic circumstances and differentiated religions that compete with one another in the same social spaces.

Morality and Cultural Process

Regarding the ethical ideas of Pentecostalism, Robbins (2010a) examined this issue through the canonical Western philosophical distinction between deontology and consequentialism. He sees the growth of Pentecostalism as involving a move towards a deontological framework. Unlike a

consequential system, which tends to be found as a guide to action in social settings in which stability makes outcomes predictable, deontological ethics emphasize the rule-governed nature of action rather than its consequences, which is particularly suited to situations in which the future is unpredictable. Globalization, said Robbins (2010a:122), has led many religious converts today to opt for morally strict doctrines, in which deontological ethical ideas are found appealing.

Pentecostalism has been observed to possess great adaptability to diverse social contexts, since it is “a religious movement capable of producing local versions of its universal message” (Anderson, 2010:1). On this issue, the existing literature has also presented certain divergent views of the extent to which Pentecostalism is compatible with existing local dispositions and practices. Meyer (1999) investigated the emergence of a local Christianity among the Peki Ewe in Ghana and its relation to changing social, political and economic formations. She regarded Pentecostalism as a new route that reconciles the incompatibility between traditional religion and Christianity. It provided a shelter from paradoxical circumstances and feelings that local people encounter in their lives. Pentecostal converts, in her ethnography, took an approach to demonize things, such as their traditional spiritual beings.

This kind of moral order, according to Robbins (2010b), is different from that observed in Melanesia in which a human’s fall from grace and sinful behaviour is seen as the root of misfortune. Pentecostals’ views on devils have been illustrated as a sense of cultural discontinuity that “In constantly recalling the past under the sign of demonization, Pentecostal efforts to create discontinuity foster their own practices of remembering and continuity, albeit ones that are different from those anthropologists generally associate with the reproduction of tradition” (ibid:160).

In Dombrowski’s work (2001), Pentecostalism represents the opportunity to make a break with the past. Through examining the multiple strands of social tension defining Tlingit and Haida life in Southeast Alaska today, Dombrowski’s analysis shows how these local disputes reflect broader problems of negotiating the relation between what becomes increasingly objectified as culture and Native American identity. Those Alaskan Pentecostal Native Americans, with whom he worked, express negative attitudes towards their culture. The Pentecostal church particularly attracts those people who live in marginal or poor conditions and its members treat outsiders as potential demonic dangers.

For the anthropologist’s exploration of Pentecostalism, the cultural dynamics of discontinuity has been explicitly suggested as a crucial issue (Robbins, 2010b:157-158). This motif, however, is improper for examination of Presbyterianism. Instead of discontinuity, Presbyterians tend to juxtapose the value of their tradition together with their Christian belief, through which a continuation of their ‘culture’ is presented.

This issue can be exemplified by Presbyterians' attitude towards vernacular language, as they regard the scriptures as the basis of doctrine, and their worship emphasizes preaching and hearing the Word of God²⁶. Having a tendency towards the preservation of local languages, Presbyterians also engaged in translating the Bible into local dialects. Though this phenomenon has not often been addressed by anthropologists, it has been of some concern to applied linguists. The SIL International (formerly known as the *Summer Institute of Linguistics*), for instance, is a non-profit organization founded by a Presbyterian minister, William Cameron Townsend, in 1934. This institution has, for a long time, devoted itself to the preservation of vernacular languages, especially among ethnic minorities and endangered language groups. In line with its appreciation of language diversity, this institution also conducts biblical translation for its faith-based purposes. Over the decades, through their linguistic investigations, the SIL International has now recorded approximately 7,000 living languages in their on-line compendium, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (2009)²⁷. In recent years, the SIL International has however faced criticism from social linguists concerning the potential that their engagement with local language has to change cultural patterns and contribute to a negative influence on local communities (see Dobrin et al, 2009).

By elaborating this topic, here I seek to illuminate how Presbyterianism, through its related institutional presence, such as in the form of schools and hospitals (see 2-3 and 2-4), has penetrated into local communities by means of, for example, preserving vernacular languages. In a Taiwanese context, Presbyterianism has had a profound relationship with the preservation of local dialects, through translating the Bible in particular. In some cases, such as my field-site, Presbyterianism has also explicitly taken control of the interpretation of local culture (see chapters 4 and 6).

Christianity, to Presbyterians, is involved in the continuation of local culture. This social dynamic differs from scholars' interest in cultural discontinuity. In my research, working with Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals, both morality and cultural process will be taken into consideration as a framework to explore how the two local Protestant groups comprehend Christianity through their specific distinct tendencies: one involves the continuation of traditional 'culture', whereas the other reveals a process of discontinuation.

²⁶ According to *'The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church'* (3ed.) (2013) edited by E. A. Livingstone. Oxford University Press.

²⁷ Its 16th edition (2009) lists 6,909 languages. See its website: <https://www.ethnologue.com/>

Modern Subjects and Language Ideology

In examining Dutch Calvinist missionaries in eastern Indonesia, Webb Keane (1996 and 2007) illuminated the dilemma of the ambivalent relations between the Protestant spirit and the material economy. By formulating the issue as one between material value and that which is “above price”, the human subject, he said:

Central to the Christianization of twentieth century Sumba (an island between Bali and Timor) is an effort to correct what appears to the missionary to be an illicit conflation of words, things, and persons. This process of disentangling is critical for the constitution of a modern subject (in at least some recensions) (Keane, 1996:138)

Calvinism, originating in a European context, has spread widely throughout non-western societies. Through centuries of evangelical expansion, “The great majority of the largest Calvinist denominations, sixteen out of twenty-one, are located in Asia and Africa” (Mohr, 2013:11). Today, Calvinism carries many different meanings. It can refer to Calvin’s idea of church government in terms of the designation of the Presbyterian system²⁸. Alternatively, “It may be used to denote Calvin’s original theological teachings, which came in part from Augustine and Luther, and which were to become essential factors in many denominations, including those not Presbyterian and Reformed [...]” (Landis, 1957:101-103).

Keane’s (1996 and 2007) analysis of the construction of modern subjects was developed from a specific local context in which Calvinist missionaries encountered local Indonesian converts. With a wide range of diversity, Calvinism has developed into many different styles through its expansion. Keane (1996 and 2007), however, did not elaborate on just what form of Calvinism specifically was represented by these Dutch Calvinists. Unlike his example which refers to a conservative Calvinist worldview, in my ethnographic case, Presbyterianism – overlapping with Calvinism – takes a more liberal form. Believing in Calvinism, Presbyterians tend to incorporate vernacular language, with local concepts, into their Christian worldview through biblical translation. By using vernacular language as a vehicle, Presbyterian followers are expected “to glorify God, to know Him and to do His will” (Landis, 1957:100-103). The theological concept of Presbyterianism sheds light on local understandings and interpretations of Christianity.

Robbins (2001a) examined the way the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea have encountered new languages through Christianization. According to him, though Protestantism’s entanglement with modernity is well-known, its relationship to modern linguistic ideology “has not been widely examined” (ibid: 905). For the constitution of modern subjects, language is frequently seen as

²⁸It refers to a hierarchy of interrelated bodies including “the Session (Kirk session), Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly”, defined by ‘*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*’ (3ed.) (2013) edited by E. A. Livingstone.

integral to the internalization of Christianity. Christian language ideology, thus, is commonly taken as an analytical framework to investigate how the nature of the Christian self is shaped and defined (Stromberg 1993, Harding 2001 and Csordas 2001). Bialecki et al. (2008), for instance, explored this issue and suggested that: “Across these various contexts of language use, a set of broad themes are in play that make Christian personhood paradigmatic of that formation of personhood scholars recognize as individualism” (2008:1146-7).

Among different language policies and choices, in a case described by Courtney Handman (2010), the two Christian groups in her field-site developed different translation models that lead to diametrically opposed views of history and self. Working with Guhu-Samane Christian communities of Papua New Guinea, Handman (2010:576) examines the theme of “a different model of translation in which connections between source and target texts become models of translation for communities that engage with them”. Through the process of intertextuality between different forms of text, Handman (2010) argued that people experienced transformation through those translating models.

Nevins (2010) investigates contrasting understanding of the Bible across two conflicting Christian groups – Apache Independent Christians (AIC) and self-identified traditionalists – with competing religious identities in Arizona. She takes the Bible as a mediated text, which represents a symbol and an instrument, for the two groups of Apache people. By taking the Bible as an example representing a discursive field, the two local groups come up with different textual understandings from entextualized discourse due to the distinct ideological effects of biblical interpretation. Nevins (2010) suggests that it is through this discursive field, that identity encounters language ideologies, between Apache identity, global Christianity, and the authority to speak to contemporary problems. The emergence of competing language ideologies and conflicting ways of interpreting symbolically authoritative texts is, as Nevins (2010:22) says, a common circumstance in a community going through rapid social change.

In my experience, both Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals have a tendency towards being ‘literalist cults’, instead of ‘cargo cult’ that we know from Melanesian contexts. Having an affinity with scriptural ‘words’, the two denominations, however, use different languages to bring Christianity to the locals. Divergent language ideologies thus have been applied to the process of their religious practice, through which personhood is shaped. In this thesis, I will argue that, to the extent that modern subjects of Truku Presbyterians and Pentecostals are constructed, by using different languages in comprehending Christianity in particular, practitioners’ engagements in the wider society have also been oriented in distinctive ways.

Separate Christian Socialities

Making a suggestion that the Protestant ethic should not be regarded as undifferentiated, Berger (2001) provides a tentative generalization about the circumstance of the international evangelical movement that is growing and is found across the globe – not only in Latin America but in the Chinese societies of eastern and south-eastern Asia – of which he said: “This type of robust Protestantism has behavioural consequences that, mostly unintentionally, have an affinity with the requirements of nascent capitalism and are therefore conducive to upward social mobility” (ibid:450-451). Though being broadly categorized as Protestantism, in my ethnographic example, Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism, in fact, do not have the same ethos concerning the ‘Protestant ethic’. Presbyterians are more likely to have inherited some characters of the ‘Protestant ethic’ in relation to Capitalism. Pentecostals, however, are oriented in an entirely different fashion.

Presbyterian missionary work, beginning from Western Europe²⁹, has evangelized widely and became part of mainline Christianity. With the further development of modernity, Pentecostalism subsequently emerged. Its movements occurred mostly outside the central areas from which capitalism began and spread. The most rampant Pentecostal expansion is in the Global South (Anderson, 2010) where history is frequently entangled with colonization, globalization, and involved with all sorts of impacts brought by ‘the Spirit of Capitalism’ in a Weberian sense.

In line with Pentecostal movements, a tendency towards ‘Pentecostalisation’ (see Mbe, 2007) has occurred among other Christians, including Catholics and mainstream Protestants, such as Presbyterians. Between Christian followers who adopted a Pentecostal style of practice and those who tended to maintain their original denominational approach, a process of splitting was observed in Mbe’s (2007) examination of Cameroonian Presbyterian Christians.

In the Christian context, “gifts were made to God in order to secure access to the afterlife in heaven” (Stewart and Strathern, 2009:7). Believing in the Holy Spirit and speaking-in-tongues are seen as gifts that Pentecostal believers receive from God. Pentecostal doctrine also involves a teaching that God will bless true ‘born again’ Christians with prosperity (Meyer, 1998b:762). This specific worldview has frequently been embraced by Pentecostals all over the world, and has transformed its believers, as well as shaped the history of the Pentecostal church (Rubinstein, 1996:354). Through the examination of Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe, Africa, David Maxwell (1998) found that Pentecostalism has been interpreted as offering a specific version of prosperity through which local adherents cope with social change. Maxwell (ibid:351) states that “while the movement’s leadership do draw upon various American versions of the prosperity gospel to

²⁹ Including Switzerland, France, Holland, the Palatinate, Scotland, and Ireland (Landis, 1957:100).

legitimate their excessive accumulation, its own dominant prosperity teachings have arisen from predominantly southern African sources and are shaped by Zimbabwean concerns. It explains the prevalence of the doctrines not in terms of false consciousness or right wing conspiracy but as a means of enabling Pentecostals to make the best of rapid social change”.

Haynes (2007, in Robbins, 2010b: 171) proposes that the prosperity gospel is shot through with a logic more common in a gift economy than a commodity economy. The reason it appeals to people is not because of the material success it promises, but rather, because of the training it provides in how to conceptualize and operate in a gift economy. In my ethnography, Truku Pentecostals are slightly differently oriented to the prosperity gospel. Rather than hoping to become prosperous in a material sense, following the dominant social norms of value, Truku Pentecostals portray the prosperity of their faith differently, in a way not suggestive of an improving upward social mobility. In Truku society, unlike Presbyterians who represent an ethical tendency towards ‘the Spirit of Capitalism’ in Weberian terms, Truku Pentecostals pay less attention to, and are less engaged in, the contemporary social logic grounded in capitalism, by which all sorts of ‘capital’ can be accessed and even exchanged through different forms such as money, time, knowledge, labour and so on. Specifically, Truku Pentecostals reject the value of capitalism that the majority of people, who are subject to capitalism, are entangled with. Truku Pentecostals, rather, accept their marginal and lower social status. In an ascetic style, their ethic highlights the value of moral worthiness. Pentecostal religiosity is applied introspectively to elevate practitioners in spiritual ways instead of competing in the outside world where their powerlessness is apparent.

In his book on Anglicanism, Kaye (2008:19) said, “From the very earliest of times a Christian nation was being formed in England until it broke down in the face of modernity. That process formed not only the nation, but also the Christianity of the people. The creation of this Anglican nation was therefore the creation of an Anglican tradition of Christianity”. Following these findings, we could interpret the Truku Presbyterians and Pentecostals in my ethnography as separate ‘Christian nations’ which were established in a local community. In a parallel sense, with the process of constructing Christian countries elsewhere, each of the Truku group does things in its own way, based on their institutionalized ideology. Their own distinctive ‘nationalisms’, are thus formed, through which practitioners live in the separate socialities of their Christian nations.

2-2. Truku Pre-Christian Life-world

“When we lived in the mountains, there were plenty of animals and plants around. We never had any shortage of food, and we never starved”, said Ibioy, my informant, who grew up in the mountains where he was looked after by his grandfather through his childhood. According to his experience, Truku people’s mountain life had an abundance of everything they needed. Ibioy

moved down to the plain regions in his teens for education and work. After he got married, for a while having difficulty finding a job to raise his children, Ibiyo went back to the mountains to hunt again, which enabled him to obtain the basic subsistence for his family for a few years.

As a hunter-gatherer society before colonialization, the settlement of the Truku was not permanent but contingent on their living conditions. They moved to a new settlement when an old area could not support people's needs. Using land in a temporary way, Truku people actually never owned the land. They only demarcated their hunting territory from the territory of others. In this section, I will explore Truku people's pre-Christian life-world through reviewing relevant literature, along with material from my informants. This examination, nevertheless, is partially involved with a presentation of literature on the Atayal, since the Truku were considered as part of the Atayal ethnic group before the 2000s.

Atayal society was egalitarian. Their tribe, according to Japanese ethnographies, had a leader who played the role of spokesman. This social role, however, did not include the authority to dominate others. Their society appears to have been more heroic and individualistic than other indigenous Taiwanese groups with a less socially stratified structure. Despite having no strict social hierarchy, Atayal people actually lived in a tight knit community where they cooperated closely (Wang, 2000:240).

The Atayal and Truku people speak different dialects. When Neiyo – an Atayal dialect speaker – first joined the Truku community, she only understood approximately 30% of the Truku dialect. The two ethnic groups, however, shared a similar traditional cosmology. Using slightly different but cognate terms, the Atayal belief system was led by *rutux*, rather than the *utux* of the Truku. And their customary rules were described as *gaga* instead of *gaya*³⁰. The definition of their traditional worldview was explained by a local scholar, Mowna, translated by Simon (2005):

They believe that all of nature belonged to the omnipresent spirit *rutux* [*utux*]. The universe was structured according to a moral order called *gaga* [*gaya*]. Any violations of the moral order were perceived to bring misfortune upon both individuals and the entire community. Individuals who violated *gaga*, for example, would fail to catch wild boars while hunting, would fall easily on dangerous mountain slopes, and would be bitten more easily by mosquitoes. Major violations of *gaga*, including the breaking of sexual taboos, required certain rituals to restore order. (Mowna, 1998:59 in Simon, 2005: 56)

In traditional Truku society, there is an indication of constraints on action believed to be enforced by sanctions. If one disobeyed these social principles, or did certain things wrong, one would be punished. Having an overarching singular sanction, nevertheless, Truku religion was

³⁰ In my writing, I will basically use *utux* and *gaya*, which refers to Truku people's traditional cosmology. Only if the literature I cite was focusing on the Atayal group, *rutux* and *gaga* will then be used in my description.

not a form of monotheism. Traditional Atayal and Truku society was governed by ancestors and other spirits, *rutux/utux*. In their old custom, people buried their ancestors at home under their beds, as they were regarded as good spirits that protected descendants and brought them blessings. This, however, only happened if they died naturally. For those people who encountered a bad death, such as accident or suicide, they would become bad spirits (*utux naqih*) and wandered in wild fields (see Kim, 1980).

In their traditional cosmology, Truku people believed that human beings (*Sediq*) are constituted by both soul and body, and dreaming is a separation of the two (Kojima, 1996 [1915]: 40 and Li et al., 1963:99). When one was asleep, one's *utux* would come out of the body and encounter other *utux* (Liu, 2011, Book 2:29). It additionally brought messages about one's fortune or misfortune. One's interaction with other *utux*, as my informants indicated, would also contribute to one's sickness and even death. Dreaming, in other words, was seen as a temporary form of death, whereas death is a permanent condition of dreaming (ibid, Book 1:28).

Paralleled with Truku people's day-to-day activity as hunters, *utux* are understood in the social context of their mountain lifeworld. Ibiy gave me an example of his personal experience of meeting *utux*. Before I illustrate the story, I should clarify the complexity that, since Truku people had converted to Christianity, people's understanding of *utux* today has changed (see chapters 6 and 7). Nevertheless, Ibiy's personal experience of how he met *utux* is still worth illustrating. Though not suggesting how Truku people understand *utux* nowadays, it portrays a general picture regarding the presence of *utux* in the mountain environment.

I met *utux* a couple of times in my life. One time, it was about 5:30pm in the evening. I was sawing wood and thinking to cover my stuff with canvas, as I thought it might rain soon. But since the weather became too dark to do so, I decided to make a fire for cooking first. Yet, perhaps I was too tired, I suddenly fell asleep.

The area where I stayed used to have many accidents where lots of people died in mine collapses while they were mining. I awoke a little. It was maybe about one or two o'clock in the morning. I heard a noise which sounded like when rain was falling on the iron roof of a hut. I was thinking, "Oh no, I haven't covered my things with canvas yet, and the bonfire might be going out soon". Having this thought, I woke up.

Hummm? But it's not raining at all. Stars were still shining in the sky. Then I realized what's going on. I told myself: "*glabi hiya wa* (oh, it's him)".

Since I was too tired, I thought maybe I could just ignore him. I continued to sleep. But soon he started to press on me. I didn't want to get up, so I still ignored him. He left for a little while. But then he came back and pressed me longer. Eventually I sat up. I named Jesus to chase devils away [Ibiy has converted to Pentecostalism]. After that I had a good sleep until the morning. (My interview with Ibiy, 2012)

Though the idea of *utux* was abstract, it came with practical principles, *gaya*, which governed Truku people's pre-Christian society. *Gaya* was constructed from elders' words based on their

knowledge and experience which was inherited from the ancestors. In a traditional Truku society, “Most political and economic decisions relied on a common consensus among elders in the same community” (Mabuchi, 1960 in Lin, 2011:40). *Gaya*, ‘the words’, were presented in an oral form through Truku people’s daily communication.

Believing that hunting harvests were given by *utux*, Truku hunters had to obey *gaya* to hope to get a good harvest. Good hunters, in other words, were regarded as good moral subjects. Through people’s obedience to *utux* and *gaya*, a good moral person was generated and defined in an integrated form, encompassing engagements such as economic, social and political activities.

‘*Seejiq balay*’³¹ is the Truku term that referred to the integrity of a good person. ‘*Seejiq*’ means human beings. ‘*Balay*’ means really or truly. ‘*Seejiq balay*’ – the true humans – are “strong and courageous warriors, morally upstanding persons” (Simon, 2015b:3). In Taiwan, there was a movie made, named ‘*Seediq Bale*’³², produced in 2011. It is a story of the lives of hunters who were ‘true humans’, this movie interpreted some history relating to the ‘Wushe Incident’ and Truku people’s mountain life.

A good moral person, for the Truku, was respectful and powerful. Through one’s robustness in everyday life – such as having sufficient food, good health and family harmony – a powerful Truku moral subject was presented. Under the moral principle of Truku *gaya*, additionally, it was not appropriate to establish individual power. A good moral person was expected to share what he had with others. In their leadership in particular, sharing was the only way people became recognized as having the good character of being good leaders. In a traditional Truku society, what is more, facial-tattooing was a symbolic representation of a person’s moral nature. As my informant Peliu³³ explained, with the physical endurance of the pain and bleeding in the process, facial-tattooing portrayed the complexity of a moral person in a syncretic and physical manner.

The dyestuff of facial-tattoo is made of the resin of maples. When maples are burned thoroughly, its resin will be left in the pot, and then we mixed it up with coals.

Before making the tattoo, people bring a chicken and cloths as gifts to the tattoo maker called *patasan*, and conduct rituals to tell ancestral spirits. Sometimes, if the person wanting the tattoo was considered to be immoral they might have to give the *patasan* two chickens and extra cloths to get the tattoo. Yet, a *patasan* generally felt reluctant to tattoo those kinds of people.

About one week before making the tattoo, people will be only allowed to have a liquid diet and not eat things like meat. The tattoo process takes about one hour for a forehead one,

³¹ Here ‘*Seejiq*’ is a different spelling of ‘*Sediq*’.

³² Another spelling of ‘*Seejiq balay*’.

³³ Peliu is a cultural worker (see chapter 5) with expertise on the facial-tattooing culture. Here I will provide his narrative about facial-tattooing based on his cultural knowledge. It supports Peliu’s business earning money by being invited to give speeches or other cultural programs.

even six hours for a cheek. After making it, there are rules people have to obey such as it is forbidden to look at a mirror as the face will look swollen. Also, it will be about two weeks that they are forbidden from going outside and visiting others. If it is necessary to do so, they wear a gauze to cover their face to avoid getting insects on it.

However, even if following all the principles and taboos, the facial-tattoo may not always be successful. If, unfortunately, the tattoo looked bad or was not beautiful, people judged that the person must have done something wrong, and thus the facial-tattoo failed and is the punishment from *utux*. (My interview with Peliu, 2012)

Traditionally, Truku people conducted sacrifices to communicate with their ancestors and other spirits. 'Blood' represented a significant cultural concept for the Truku, as it symbolized the vitality of life. In the past worship for Truku people always involved blood or bleeding. Dead animals, on the other hand, could not be offered for their worship (Thau, 1998:59). In terms of Truku people's idea of blood, Lin (2010:138) also noted, "blood is by nature a medium that may transmit fortune or misfortune (impure blood), and therefore has the capacity to become infected. [...] an individual's blood may become contaminated by intentionally or accidentally touching, or by eating with, someone whose blood is contaminated."

In a traditional Truku society, domestic pigs represented the prosperity of a family, as well as its wealthy condition. Due to its status as a symbol of family wealth, pigs were frequently used as a sacrifice for significant life rites by Truku. "Pigs were like scapegoats", as my informants said, "they suffered the consequences of violations by human beings". The ritual of pig-killing, called '*powda gaya*' in Truku terms, generally occurred to celebrate the blessings from ancestral spirits, or to resolve the tension between the ancestral spirits and human beings arising from offences to *gaya* (Lin, 2010:137 and 2011:39-40). Additionally, in some circumstances which were more serious, the Truku would conduct head-hunting. The main causes of head-hunting related to unsolvable problems and large-scale tensions when they arose between groups.

Today, since the Truku people have converted to Christianity, their understanding of blood, in a sacrificial context, has been symbolically taken over by Jesus who sacrificed himself for the sins of human beings, and is no longer explicitly linked by people to the traditional belief system headed by *utux*. In an Atayal village called Dayan, Wang (2000) noticed that there was a social transformation through the process of changing people's beliefs from their traditional cosmology to Christianity. Nowadays, Dayan Christians interpret the church and its rules as *gaga*, and they believed that *rutux* represents the image of the Christian God. Due to the influence of Christianity, furthermore, Dayan people began to act in more individuated ways, such as conducting business

on an individual basis. Additionally, since the idea of Heaven and Hell has been adopted, the relationship between God and humans is understood more hierarchically (Wang, 2000:240)³⁴.

Focusing on the Truku, Kim's (1980) work³⁵ presents a good collection of traditional Truku beliefs from historical materials. Yet, he did not address developments in their traditional belief system after their conversion to Christianity. Yun-Fang Chiu (2004) dealt with the transformation between Truku traditional belief and the Presbyterian Church. She found that, though having converted to Christianity, the Truku ancestral spirits, *utux*, still present their existence in Truku people's minds, as local people used '*utux baraw*' (*Baraw* means upmost, see chapter 6) to interpret the idea of God. Also, unlike *utux* which always brought punishments and imposed taboos, the Christian God, *utux baraw*, was found to represent an image which is more kind, gentle, caring and loving (Chiu, 2004).

Hong-Mo Chien (2004) investigated Truku people's conversion experience in a village called Meihsi in Nantou County, Taiwan³⁶. He found that the local's conversion to Christianity happened in a collective way, which was a result of their traditional norms of *gaya*. This principle can be applied to their conversions to different Christian denominations (ibid:140-141).

This *gaya* of the whole family or of the relatives was truly a major cause of the conversion of the village, influencing the initial conversion to the Presbyterians and the subsequent conversion to Catholicism, and, [...], the conversion to the Holy Spirit Church. The emphasis not on individual religious experience but on the behaviour of relatives and the family is a defining feature of the conversion of the indigenous people. When relatives came preaching the villagers would feel ashamed if they refused to listen.

(Chien, 2004:142)

In the Fushi community, Ching-Hsiu Lin's research (2010) focused on the relationship between women and the land. Though he did not explore Christianity, he noted that Truku concepts of *gaya* have been interwoven with a few other elements, including modern laws, Christianity and

³⁴ "[...] according to the traditional concepts of *gaga*, one person's violation of *gaga* might expose all members of the community to the *ruduf's* [*rutux's*] punishment. The modern *gaga* – the Church rules, however, emphasize that a person is responsible for himself. Unlike traditional repentance ritual involving two representatives of the community, a Church believer now must individually repent for his mistakes to God" (Wang, 2000:240).

³⁵ Kim (1980) examined traditional Truku belief in his dissertation, '*The Taruko and Their Belief System*'. He spelled Truku as Taruko. His work looked at a wide range of aspects including myths, legends, division of world, animals, plants, men, spirits, birth, death, funerals, illness and healing.

³⁶ Meihsi residents, strictly speaking, belong to a sub-group of Truku called Tkdaya, which is part of the 'West Sediq', in relation to 'East Sediq', in local history (see 1-2). Sharing a similar lifestyle in many ways, East and West Sediq, nevertheless, were not regarded as different cultural groups until the 2000s. The 'East Sediq' was recognized by the government with the name of 'Truku' in 2004, whereas the 'West Sediq' became 'Sediq' officially in 2008. This distinction, to some degree, is made for political reasons but not ethnicity. Both of the groups share a similar cultural background of their past, such as hunting activities and traditional cosmology. Their Christian conversion, in addition, can be traced back to a shared history, started from both Ciwang (Presbyterians) and Siban (True Jesus Church), see 1-3.

'traditional' norms. '*Koka gaya*' is used to refer to modern laws that are made by the state. '*Ten gaya*', additionally, means the 'ten commandments' in the Bible (Lin, 2010:123-127).

Yi-Hong Chang (2000) conducted his research in Fushi, specifically in Kele village (lower-Fushi), which is dominated by the True Jesus Church instead of the Presbyterian Church. In his master's thesis, "*Utux, Gaya and The True Jesus Church: Kele Tribal Truku People's 'Religious Life'*", he offered a historical account of local people's conversion. Bringing important ethnographic material, Chang (2000) noticed that practitioners' religious life became separated from their other social engagements. Yet, he did not discuss the True Jesus Church in any broader context relating to global Pentecostalism, but only regarded it as merely an example of Protestant Christianity. Also, using the word '*utux*' to refer to Truku people's *traditional* cosmology, Chang (2000) did not notice³⁷ that the True Jesus Church developed a specific way to understand Christianity. Practitioners interpret the concept of *utux* in relation to evil spirits in a way comparable to Pentecostal belief and practice elsewhere (see chapters 5 and 7).

In this section, I have reviewed previous literature highlighting Atayal and Truku people's traditional belief, as well as its relation to Christian conversion. This has presented a general picture of how local belief was converted to a global religion. Today, believing that Jesus has symbolically sacrificed himself for human's sins, for the Truku, the notion of being a good moral subject has been replaced by a Christian cosmology. In this regard, a further understanding needs to be anchored regarding how local people interpret Christianity in relation to their traditional worldview. Specifically, there is a gap, referring to the locals' differing understanding, as between Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism, about the idea of *utux*. This discussion is missing in the current literature. My research, therefore, will examine how modern moral subjectivities have been shaped by their Christian ethic through their distinct orientations to being good Christians.

2-3. Protestant History in a Local Context

Through examining the history of Christianity in Chinese society, both in Taiwan and China, Rubinstein (1991, 1996 and 2003) has noted that "Both Dutch Protestants and Spanish and

³⁷ There might be three reasons, in my opinion, contributing to his lack of awareness. Firstly, he was living with local cultural workers who were 'weak' Pentecostal practitioners who did not like to talk much about the church.

Secondly, though conducting interviews with church-goers, as well as participating only a few times, in Pentecostal religious practice, adherents did not talk about '*utux*' as the church used Mandarin in its practice (see chapter 7).

Thirdly, Pentecostals' attribution of *utux* to devils was a transformation that occurred over time. It also relates to the degree of one's commitment to their church doctrine. On this issue, another researcher Wang (2000) found that Pentecostals' understanding of *ruduf* [*rutux*] sometimes changed (2000: 223-224). Generally speaking, elderly Christians, particularly those who were not strict practitioners would not address this point straightforwardly.

Portuguese Catholics had attempted to make converts and plant communities among the Chinese and the plains aborigines in the early and middle decades of the 1600s" (Rubinstein, 1991:162 footnote 25). Christianity was introduced to Taiwan in the 16th century. Yet, when the Chinese Ming and Qing regimes took control of Taiwan, they destroyed all evidence of Western presence on the island. The early efforts of Christianity did not remain and had little influence at this initial stage.

A turning point came after the '*Second Anglo-Chinese War*' when the Chinese authority signed the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858 and the Treaty of Beijing in 1860. It not only opened Taiwan for merchants with the creation of treaty ports, but also for western missionaries under the so-called 'missionary clause' (Rubinstein, 1991: 18-19). In addition to Catholic missionaries who returned to places where they stayed for a short time in the 17th century, the Presbyterian missions gained great benefits from the treaty ports.

After the 1860s, generally speaking, there were two waves of Presbyterian missionaries in Taiwan. The British Presbyterian group, first, came to the southwest part of Taiwan, Tainan, near where Dutch missionaries had been before. Their mission was under the leadership of Dr. James L. Maxwell. The second group was a Canadian mission led by George Leslie Mackay. Mackay's parents were from Scotland, where they were members of the Free Church, a Calvinist church allied to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland (Mackay 1896: 285, in Rubinstein, 2003:208). The Canadian missionary group worked in northern Taiwan around an area called Dansui in Taipei.

The early period of the Christian mission, nevertheless, drew to a close in 1895. During the Japanese colonial era, Christianity suffered prejudice from the majority of Taiwanese society. "Since 1895, Taiwanese have also demonstrated an often deep-seated antagonism to the missionary presence and to the Christian community created by the missionaries. In Qing, and Japanese, Taiwan there were attacks on the newly emerging Taiwanese Protestant communities" (Rubinstein, 1996:363). The Japanese were promoting State Shintō instead. By the early 1930s, children in the church schools were forced to attend the Shintō shrines and participate in government-sponsored State Shintō ceremonies (Band 1947: 190-191; Historical Commission 1965: 259-263; in Rubinstein, 2003:208). The Japanese authorities also forbade Christian missions from entering the mountain areas (Chien, 2004: 135-136). Christianity, in fact, did not take root until after the arrival of the Han-Chinese government in 1945³⁸. Only after then, did the

³⁸ Conversion occurred at different times. Some villages converted to Christianity after 1945, but some (like Fushi) converted during the Japanese period. Under the Japanese authority, as Christianity was prohibited, Christian conversion was only made secretly. In this regard, official records about Christian conversion generally refer to the time after 1945. From local people's oral history, however, depending on their stories, their Christian conversion can possibly be traced back to the Japanese period, as is the case of Fushi community.

Presbyterians make the most rapid and effective steps into the mountain areas (ibid: 135-136). Eventually, several years later, the British and Canadian Presbyterian missions, combined as one in 1951 to form the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT).

Christianity is not a mainstream religion in Taiwanese society in general. Of the total population, of 23 million Taiwanese, a mere three percent are Christians (Stainton, 2002a:63). The Hakka group (one of the dialects of Han), for example, only had 0.2 percent Christians among the entire Hakka population of three hundred thousand (PCT website³⁹, 2013). Indigenous Taiwanese peoples, however, were a much more fertile field for Christianity than Han-Chinese. For many it is now their dominant religion. Yet, the actual circumstances vary from group to group. In terms of percentage, at the high end, as indicated by Stainton (2002a:63), there were ethnic groups of the Tao⁴⁰ (91 percent), Rukai (88 percent) and Bunun (86 percent). The Atayal and Truku presented as high as 84 percent. By contrast, Christianity was not so fully adopted by a few ethnic groups, such as Puyuma (26 percent) and Saisiat (25 percent) at the low end.

Christianity mushroomed throughout most indigenous Taiwanese societies soon after 1945 when the KMT government took power. According to a survey conducted by Kuo (1985), the dramatic increase in conversion occurred during the initial 15 years of 1945-1960, and spread out from the Truku group in Hualien. The three main forms of Christianity in the indigenous regions were the Presbyterians, the Catholics and the followers of the True Jesus Church⁴¹. Most of the Presbyterian Churches (62.1%) and the True Jesus Churches (67.7%) were established within the initial 8 years of 1945-1952, whereas Catholic Churches were mainly established during 1953 to 1956 (Kuo, 1985:15-21). This mass conversion movement was seen as a miracle, and was interpreted as “a landslide that was rapid and extensive, a true movement of conversion to God” by the Catholic Bishop of Hualien, André Verienux (Chien, 2004:127). By the 1980s, more than 80% of indigenous Taiwanese society had become Christian (Rudolph 2008: 40, footnote 9).

The competition for the minds and hearts of the new converts was intense. Catholic priests, Presbyterian ministers, and True Jesus evangelists all worked with indigenous people and established strong church communities among the various tribal groups (Rubinstein, 1996:424, footnote, 13). Yet, the denominations of different Christian groups also varied from area to area. The Amis ethnic group tended to convert to Catholicism due to its hierarchical social order. Truku

³⁹ http://www.pct.org.tw/ab_evangel.htm

⁴⁰ Also called as Yami group.

⁴¹ In certain localities, a small number joined groups such as the Assembly of God, Seventh Day Adventists and Methodists. These groups, however, did not have the influence of the former three churches (Chien, 2004:126 footnote 3).

people, on the other hand, as suggested by Rudolph (2008), cling to Protestantism because of its looser and more democratic structures (Rudolph, 2008:202).

The True Jesus Church – perhaps unfamiliar to most western readers – is a Chinese Pentecostal church, one of the most influential groups in the history of the Pentecostal movement in Chinese societies. Its church origin can be traced back to Beijing, China, in 1917, within the context of the global Pentecostal movement. Through examining the topic of popular Christianity in modern China, Lian (2010:45) noted that the origin of the Pentecostal movement emerged from the 19th century Holiness Revival in the United States based on the signs and wonders described in Acts of the New Testament. At that time, some itinerant Pentecostal missionaries, representing American and British churches, wandered far and wide in China. “These missionaries would later be organized in America under the banner of the Assemblies of God, the largest and most formally structured of the churches that sprang from the fever of that emotional American religious revival at the turn of the century” (Rubinstein, 1991: 6).

Being inspired by the atmosphere under the global movement, two of the founders of the True Jesus Church – Enbo Wei and Pin Zhang – became dissatisfied with the Presbyterian churches they had first joined, and were seeking to deepen their faith. After meeting those pioneering Pentecostal and Apostolic missionaries, they “soon absorbed the Spirit-filled Christian belief system the new-comers preached [...] adapted the doctrines to fit their own emotional and spiritual needs and what they felt were the needs of other Chinese Christians” (Rubinstein, 1991: 118). Feeling that he had been instructed by God, Enbo Wei established the church and believed that they should correct the doctrinal errors that had been made by other Christians since the early days of Christianity. He sold his textile shop and began to go out and preach as a missionary. Pin Zhang joined Enbo Wei during the next year. They worked together to ‘correct’ doctrines, and they published a newspaper called the *‘Universal Correction Church Times’*⁴² (Lian, 2010:49). About this time, Dianju Zhang (also called ‘Banaba Zhang’, a relative of Pin Zhang) was inspired by the Holy Spirit and received the gospel of the True Jesus Church (Lian, 2010: 50).

This occurred in the early 1900s about the time when grassroots movements arose in China to indigenize the Christian church. “Such movements grew further in response to the rise of nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s in reaction against foreign church or mission organizations” (Zhai, 2010:106). Despite taking Western Pentecostal concepts, the True Jesus Church redefined them to better fit the emotional and cultural environment in Chinese societies. The church successfully attracted many followers. It represents a truly indigenous *Chinese* Pentecostalism

⁴² In addition, the Universal Correction Church (an alternate name for the TJC) was to institute both lay leadership and a degree of egalitarianism (Lian, 2010:49).

through its history, organizational structures, doctrines and patterns of worship (Rubinstein, 1996:358).

In 1925, the 'True Gospel' spread to Taiwan through a Han businessman Cheng-Cong Hwang (1886-1963). Hwang was born in Taiwan. He studied in Waseda University in Japan, and became an active leader in his family enterprises. Possessing a radical anti-Japanese attitude, Hwang had the ambition to reform Taiwan, but for this reason, he was monitored by the Japanese authorities. Hwang's family moved back to China in 1925, where he received the 'True Gospel' from his brother. In an article, Hwang wrote about his conversion, indicating that it was inspired by the Holy Spirit: "through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the last phase has been proved by means of the Bible" (Chang, Sin-Yi, 2009:19-20). Hwang and his family, afterwards, spread the 'True Gospel' to his relatives in Taiwan who were initially Presbyterians. The missionary work in Taiwan was also spread by one of the key founders, Dianju Zhang (Banaba Zhang) and a few other followers. By their efforts, the True Jesus Church successfully expanded in Taiwan (Chang, Sin-Yi, 2009: 19-20). Thereafter, the church has spread across more than fifty countries through Asia, America, Europe, Oceania and Africa, and has become a worldwide Christian group.

2-4. Denominational Mission Trajectories

Having set out the historical contexts of the Presbyterian Church and the True Jesus Church in Taiwan, in this section, I will give an analysis of the institutionalized mission trajectories that the two Christian denominations developed in preaching Christianity. Through examining the denominational mission approaches in relation to the issue of their social engagement, comprehending Christian cosmology and their biblical attitude, I will present the separate orientations in terms of which the two Christians denominations construct their members' understanding of Christianity.

Institutions and Charisma

During the Japanese colonial era, due to a wave of anti-Christian violence, Christianity suffered at the hands of the majority of Taiwanese society. Christianity, nevertheless, was not wiped out but maintained its influence, partially owing to the presence of its relevant institutions. When Presbyterian missions worked early in Taiwan, they developed institutions such as hospitals and schools. These served the Presbyterian flock as well as the greater Taiwanese populace (Rubinstein, 2003). Christianity was therefore able to weather attacks during Japanese rule better than it might have without such strong institutional presence.

'The Mackay Hospital', located in Dansui, Taipei, for instance, was founded in 1880 by the Canadian Presbyterian missionary, Dr. George Mackay. Mackay also established the nearby *'Oxford College in Dansui'* in 1882 for the purpose of mission, education and medical training in

the north. It “emerged as an important centre for secondary education and became the place where thousands of Taiwanese were able to receive the middle and high school educations that the Japanese were unwilling to give them” (Band 1947: 162-167, in Rubinstein, 2003:209). As to the southern part of the island, ‘*Tainan Zhangzhong High School*’ was founded in 1885. “The school became a major educational force in southern Taiwan and continues to this day to serve the community of that old but now rapidly modernizing city” (Rubinstein, 1991:19). Despite the fact that Christianity did not take root in the mountain regions before 1945 (Chien, 2004: 135-136), the first convert from an indigenous society, Ciwang, was sent to study at ‘*Dansui Female School*’ in Taipei. This school was first established in 1884 also by Mackay, and was instituted to offer training for female missionaries. For a while during the Japanese colonial period, the school was changed to become a dormitory for missionaries. After changing its purpose from training clergymen to general education, it re-opened as a primary school and then as a high school following the Japanese educational system.

After the 1945, the Presbyterians made progress missionizing the mountain areas (Chien, 2004: 135-136). When the necessity to train more Presbyterian indigenous clergy arose, the ‘*Taiwan Bible Institution*’ was founded by Rev. James Dickson, a follower of Dr. George Mackay. The ‘*Taiwan Bible Institution*’ was located in Fushi Community, near where the Ciwang Church is today⁴³. It started to recruit local clergymen in 1946, attracting 17 indigenous members. After these indigenous members received training for 2 years, the local Presbyterian missionary work was gradually conducted by local clergymen (Lecarl, 2010:53). Not far from the Fushi community, there was also a nursery school sponsored by a Christian organization called the ‘*Mustard Seed Mission*’. This organization was initially set up in Canada in 1954 and in Taiwan in 1962. The founder was Lillian Dickson, the wife of Rev. James Dickson. In 1964, the ‘*Mustard Seed Mission*’ cooperated with the ‘*Mennonite Nursing School*’ to provide medical services for tuberculosis patients⁴⁴.

Medical treatment and personnel training, precipitated through Presbyterian missionary work, have had a close interconnection. The Truku people’s conversion was sparked by ‘the miracle of healing’ (see 1-3). This, however, cannot be separated from the Presbyterian missionary approach, through which an institutional presence was established.

Pentecostalism, by contrast, does not missionize through a strong institutionalized strategy. It focuses more on charisma and individual experiences instead. The establishment of the True Jesus Church, as well as how its gospel spread, was highly dependent on individual agents: Enbo

⁴³ It has been moved to Shufeng, Hualien, and re-named the ‘*Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary*’.

⁴⁴ http://www.mch.org.tw/english/index_main01.asp

Wei, Pin Zhang, Dianju Zhang (the TJC founders), Chen-Cong Hwang (the first Taiwanese convert) and Siban (the first indigenous Taiwanese convert). Their conversion was especially inspired by events such as receiving revelation, speaking-in-tongues and the miracle of healing. It is through individuals that God preaches his gospel.

The True Jesus Church frequently reiterated the idea that “each individual represents a church”. This is not to suggest that their church institution is less important. Their mission strategy, rather, is less entangled with the presence of institutions but more focused on individual agents. The Pentecostal worldview is embedded in a specific doctrine of speaking-in-tongues which is representative of the Holy Spirit. Lian (2010) indicated that Pentecostal glossolalia was followed by the gifts of divine healing. This is how the Pentecostal movement emerged, as well as how it spread quickly (Lian, 2010:45). Having this tendency, the issue of ‘the miracle of healing’, for Pentecostals, should be understood in the context of the Holy Spirit. By shedding light on the scope of the individual body, the Holy Spirit made the healing effective.

Distinct Approaches to Adopt and Present Christianity

Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism have taken distinct conceptual approaches to interpret what Christianity is about, which has also had an impact on practitioners’ embodiment of being a good Christian. This issue can be illuminated through the social context of Taiwan. Due to its political circumstances, Taiwanese society is a dynamic arena for different kinds of opinions and group identities. In recent decades, “Taiwan experienced higher levels of uncertainty along with its economic development and became mired in a vulnerable position that fell between political, social, and international boundaries. These uncertainties may further accentuate the desire of Taiwan’s people to engage in a quest for identity” (Zhai, 2010:109-110). In order to distinguish Taiwan from China, the issue of ‘indigenous people’ has been taken as an approach to represent the culture of Taiwan, and has been highly supported, and even sponsored, by the Taiwanese government. In this social environment, the degree to which Christian practitioners engaged in relevant secular activities has gone beyond the scope of their religious practice and has taken shape within a broader political, cultural and national context, in which their ideas of being good Christians are deeply embedded.

The Presbyterian Church inspires and encourages practitioners to demonstrate their own ethnicity. Since about the 1970s, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has taken the leading position in many sorts of grassroots activities, especially ethnic movements. Presbyterians are one of the strongest defenders of human rights in Taiwan (Rudolph, 2008:39-40). Their church is the most active institution in terms of protection of indigenous cultures (Rudolph, 2008:113 footnote 17). For many indigenous Presbyterians, as Stainton (2002a) pointed out, their religious and ethnic identities are overlapping constructions, though this issue has actually been

underestimated (ibid: 63-65). In the case of the Truku, Presbyterians were frequently engaged in the protection of their vernacular language, and have made efforts to revitalize their traditional rituals (see chapters 4 and 6). Presbyterianism, in other words, played a crucial role in constructing practitioners' identity, not only from a religious perspective but from their understanding of culture, ethnicity and history⁴⁵.

Though dominant, Presbyterians are not the only Christians in indigenous Taiwanese society. Local opinions and voices were never homogenous, especially when it came to a discussion of ethnic identity and its corresponding movements. "The Roman Catholic Church and the True Jesus Church also have large congregations in indigenous society, yet they very rarely engage in cultural activities and even advise their followers to stay away from the revitalized ritual events" (Rudolph, 2008:113 footnote 17).

Kaji Cihung (2004) examined the historical background of Truku rituals by looking at three ritual cases that occurred in 1999-2000. He found that, in terms of Truku ritual, the attitudes between different Christian denominations in Truku society were quite distinct. Presbyterians appreciated the rituals and were strongly engaged in relevant activities. The Catholic Church demonstrated a lenient attitude; with no intention to interfere with people's engagement, whether church members participated in cultural activities or not was not of much concern to the church. The True Jesus Church, however, possesses a very negative attitude towards this issue. Though the three Christian denominations have accepted the Truku tribes as 'one group', as Kaji Cihung (2004) indicated, people in the different Christian denominations, in fact, rarely participate in the same activities or interact with each other due to their differing doctrines, beliefs and practices (Kaji Cihung, 2004: 108-109).

In fact, it is not only that the True Jesus Church seldom addresses the differentiation between different ethnic or cultural groups, more broadly, they hold to an apolitical attitude regarding their social engagements. True Jesus members tend to maintain a distance from the social fields in which they are relatively marginal and powerless under the colonial authority. Having no intention to be involved with the wider power relations pertaining throughout society, the True Jesus Church have opted to stay silent and ignore politics.

The True Jesus Church is determinedly nonpolitical. It is removed from the type of activism that has led the Presbyterian Church and the New Testament Church, another Holy Spirit-

⁴⁵ In other social contexts, Presbyterianism is also frequently engaged with secular affairs in the society. In America, for instance, it was observed by theologians (see Colater, Mulder and Weeks, 1992) that, in recent decades, Presbyterianism has turned its concern from personal ethics to focus on social justice and service such as class, gender and racism. Using the term 'fragmentation' to describe the contemporary Presbyterian life and witness, these theologians proposed to reform Presbyterianism. Being a mainstream Protestant group, "to redefine 'mainstream' theologically, rather than socially or culturally" (ibid: 240) is regarded as necessary and important by them.

centered church, into direct conflicts with the Guomindang [KMT] rulers of the Republic of China. It demonstrates to one and all that an alternative form of Christianity is available to Taiwanese, a form that is concerned with community but that will not challenge the existing political structure. (Rubinstein, 1996:359)

Their apolitical attitude has enabled practitioners to live more easily with that uncertainty in a broader context, as it “offers a safe haven in a troubled and uncertain political and social environment” (Rubinstein, 1996:359). From my Presbyterian informants’ perspective, the apolitical tendency of Pentecostals represents a silent support for the authority of the current political regime. “Don’t you think the True Jesus people’s apolitical attitude has actually given a hand to whatever the government did?! Their silence showed their biggest support for the government!”, as they say.

In addition to Pentecostals’ non-political attitude and being unconcerned about ethnicity, Rubinstein (1996) also observed that “The True Jesus Church has been, since it began, a church of the lower-middle classes”. Though in recent years, the church seems to be attracting individuals in a more diverse way, such as the new managerial and technocratic classes, its followers, in general, still tend to be from the lower-middle class group in Taiwanese society (Rubinstein, 1996:359). Pentecostals’ lower socioeconomic circumstances have come to be another key characteristic which positions its practitioners in the broader social context.

Conflicting Analogical Model and Biblical Tendency

Human cognition is an arena that accommodates different kinds of possibility. Tambiah (1985[1973]), by examining the analogical mode of thought, asked what we mean by ‘analogy’: “Basically, analogy depends on the recognition of similarities between the instances compared, and, as many philosophers have recognized, analogy stands as a prototype of reasoning from experience” (in Lambek, 2008[2002]). On this issue, different types of analogies, can be distinguished as ‘positive’ and ‘negative’.

[...] ‘positive analogy’ relates to properties shared or points of similarity between the things compared, ‘negative analogy’ to their points of difference or properties they do not share, and ‘neutral analogy’ to properties of the things compared of which we do not yet know whether they are of positive or negative character.

(Tambiah, 1985[1973] in Michael Lambek, 2008[2002]:315-316)

Before the arrival of Christianity, Truku people’s traditional belief was constituted by the traditional idea of *utux/gaya*. As local converts learnt Christianity by comprehending the relationship between the Christian God and their old cosmology, *utux/gaya*, this process of

comprehension has had a continuing importance for Truku Christians. With the introduction of different forms of Christianity, the local's understanding of it, however, has become contested⁴⁶.

One of the key differences is revealed through their distinct approach to the usage of language to interpret the Bible. To Christians, the Bible is regarded as the representation of the scriptural authority of God. Stewart and Strathern (2009:13) have noted that the Christian tendency of intellectual engagement with the Bible is "reminiscent of the practices of seventeenth century Presbyterians in Scotland, with their strong emphasis on discussion and argument". Regarding language, Rubinstein (1991:19) also noticed that vernacular language has been used by Presbyterians in their early evangelical efforts. Taking the Han population as an example, "When Taiwanese Presbyterian membership had grown large enough, the missionaries opened a theological seminary to train a Taiwanese clergy and, by 1885, the missionaries were publishing a weekly newspaper in Romanized Taiwanese". This strategy was the same as that applied by Presbyterians to missionizing indigenous groups. Many Presbyterian clergymen in the Truku area, for instance, received their training at the '*Yu-Shan Theological College and Seminary*'. This school, as noted by Stainton (2002a), is for training indigenous local clergy, which combines theology, language training, and study of indigenous issues.

By using local dialects, Presbyterians directed Christianity to the speakers of these different languages. The Presbyterian Church's engagement in the preservation of vernacular languages gave it the role of "keepers of hope for Aboriginal people" (1987 Aboriginal Mission Conference Declaration in Stainton, 2002a). In terms of indigenous Taiwanese, ten language versions of the Bible have been completed up to now. To some degree, this issue should be also understood in a broader context relating to the SIL International (see 2-1). Having the purpose of preserving vernacular languages, and enabling translation of the Bible into them, the SIL International has operated its global business through advocating language diversity. Truku language⁴⁷, in their report, is categorized under the '*Austronesian, Atayalic*' group. With the publication of the Truku Bible, Truku language has been incorporated into a global business framework operated by the SIL International, a Presbyterian related institution.

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has a specific committee called the '*Indigenous Work Committee*' of the General Assembly. This committee, taking charge of missionary work to

⁴⁶ Traditionally, *utux* referred to a collective sense of spirits involving Truku ancestors. Having no connection with monotheism, *utux* involved some features of humanity encompassing the dual features of good and bad. This offered possibilities of different interpretation when Truku cosmology encountered Christianity. The meaning of *utux* has been taken differently in the context of Christian cosmology. Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals have developed their denominational worldviews into divergent configurations (see chapters 6 and 7).

⁴⁷ It is spelled as 'Taroko', see the website: <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/trv/19>

indigenous groups, is led by indigenous people and concerns itself with church administration and aboriginal social issues, including elections (Stainton, 2002a). The Presbyterian Church is organized into 15 self-governing tribal presbyteries independent of the parallel system of geographic Taiwanese presbyteries. Truku is one of these presbyteries. Additionally, there are 4 districts, which are too small to meet the requirements needed to be classified as a presbytery. Sediq is one of the districts (for their relationship see chapter 4).

By using vernacular language, Presbyterians also highlight indigenous culture. Rudolph (2008) observed this feature of Presbyterianism and noted that, since many indigenous people, especially elites, received part of their education in Presbyterian institutions, its influence has further increased after the Church's indigenization endeavours in recent decades (Rudolph, 2008:39-40).

Pentecostals also possess a very strict attitude towards the inerrancy of the Bible. As Lian (2010:45) noted, "By and large, Pentecostals combined a conservative stand on the inerrancy of the Bible and a puritanical moral code with a premillennial theology, according to which Christ would return after the fearful Last Days to establish a thousand-year reign on the earth. For them, those days were approaching, signalled by the baptism of the Holy Spirit, chiefly in the form of "tongues" and divine healing". Yet, having a specific historical background, the True Jesus Church uses Mandarin to preach Christianity. This language policy is grounded in their church doctrines and ideology. One of the church founders, Wei, proclaimed that the last days before Jesus' salvation will occur in the East, basing this belief on Matthew 24:27 which says "For as lightning that comes from the east is visible even in the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man" (Lian, 2010: 50). Taking this prophecy as the literal word of God, the True Jesus Church believes that 'the East' in this prophecy refers to China. Believing Jesus' second coming will occur in the east, the True Jesus Church thus grounds their doctrines in the Mandarin Bible.

Viewing many interpretations offered by other Christian denominations as 'wrong', the church asserts that only practitioners who follow the right instructions of the Bible – the True Gospel – are able to achieve salvation. Taking Mandarin as the vehicle to convey the True Gospels, the Mandarin Bible is regarded as the literal word of God, which provides evidence of the Holy Spirit and its accompanying concepts. In order to find out what God says exactly, Truku Pentecostals strive to grasp the Bible accurately. Yet, though Mandarin is presented as an orthodox kind of church language in their belief, it is only a 'ladder' to access to the more important language: glossolalia, God's language. Having the capacity to speak-in-tongues, to Pentecostals, goes beyond the value of speaking any other secular languages in the world. Based on their specific doctrines, speaking-in-tongues is also seen as a bodily manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit.

By using Mandarin, the True Jesus Church presents a Chinese face. They sing Chinese hymns, adopt Chinese worship styles, employ Chinese clergy, and explain biblical principles in the context of Chinese culture (Zhai, 2010:106). Additionally, beyond issues of language use, it orients local practitioners to comprehend the relationship between the old and new cosmologies in an antagonistic way. By developing an approach through a negative analogy, Truku Pentecostals regard their old cosmology as in conflict with Christianity. Practitioners are encouraged to not get involved in their past sins. Rather, in order to live a righteous Christian life, practitioners should follow every step that is grounded in their belief in the Bible, such as engaging in church affairs and gaining extensive biblical knowledge. Believing that the True Jesus Church offers the right gospel for practitioners to follow through their lifetime, Truku Pentecostals see themselves as favored for selection by Jesus.

Chapter 3. Two Kinds of Sociality

This chapter considers how the two local Christian groups were shaped in the contemporary circumstances of their village life. Beginning with its layout, the village, its division and groupings, will be discussed. I will then illustrate the way I came to be integrated into the community and the methodology of my fieldwork, which provides a partial description of the community. Subsequently, this chapter will move on to explore residents' Christian ties, marriage patterns, and their daily interaction. Finally, I will provide a summary of the social change that the village has experienced, focusing on its contemporary living circumstances in particular. Through exploring these issues, the two groups' separate socialities will be portrayed, brought about by practitioners' distinct moral schemes and engagement with the wider society.

3-1. The Layout of the Village and Its Divisions

With a varied terrain, the geography of Taiwan has led to variations in peoples' ways of life. East Taiwan has a distinct scenery and atmosphere compared to Taiwan's west. It is usually described as 'the back of the mountains' in contrast to the western region, which is seen as 'the front', facing in the direction of mainland China instead of the Pacific. Yet, this metaphor carries more than geographical meaning. Such an analogy also hints at the region's lower levels of development, underdeveloped infrastructure and disadvantageous socioeconomic condition.

Hualien, the name of the county, is located in the middle of eastern Taiwan. A mostly mountainous region, Hualien has only 10 percent alluvial plains along its inhabitable coastal area (Kim, 1980:25). Unlike most other areas in Taiwan where a cosmopolitan urban lifestyle is dominant, Hualien has a rural atmosphere and a slow pace of life. The township of Hualien's northern extremity is called 'Hsiulin'. It connects the north where the major cities are, through the famous 'Cingshui Cliffs' (a range of steep and dangerous cliffs 22.7 kilometres long). One of its nine administrative units is 'Fushi', my field site, which is the community located at the end of the 'Cingshui Cliffs'.

Of the entire Truku population in Taiwan (29,555⁴⁸) 76% reside in Hualien County (22,581⁴⁹). Hsiulin Township is its major population centre and is seen as a Truku region. Among the entire township population of 15,791⁵⁰, the Truku ethnic group constitutes 84% (13,201). Fushi is one of its biggest administrative units with approximately 2,000 Truku residents.

⁴⁸ Statics accessed in September, 2014, from 'Council of Indigenous Peoples', Taiwan.

⁴⁹ Statics accessed in November, 2016, from the 'Hualien Civil Affairs Department'.

⁵⁰ Statics accessed in November, 2016, from the 'Hsiulin Township Office'.

Fushi (Plate 3.1) represents the largest local community in Taiwan in terms of administrative area. With 685.2 square kilometres, most of this, however, is inside the Central Mountain Range. Situated along a highway linking the mountains, 19 administrative units constitute the body of the Fushi community. Administrative units 1 to 12 refer to the plains areas, where residents lived clustered along the highway. Units 13 to 19 are located in the deep mountains, which have no population. Regarding my ethnographic data, only administrative units 1 to 12 will be presented.



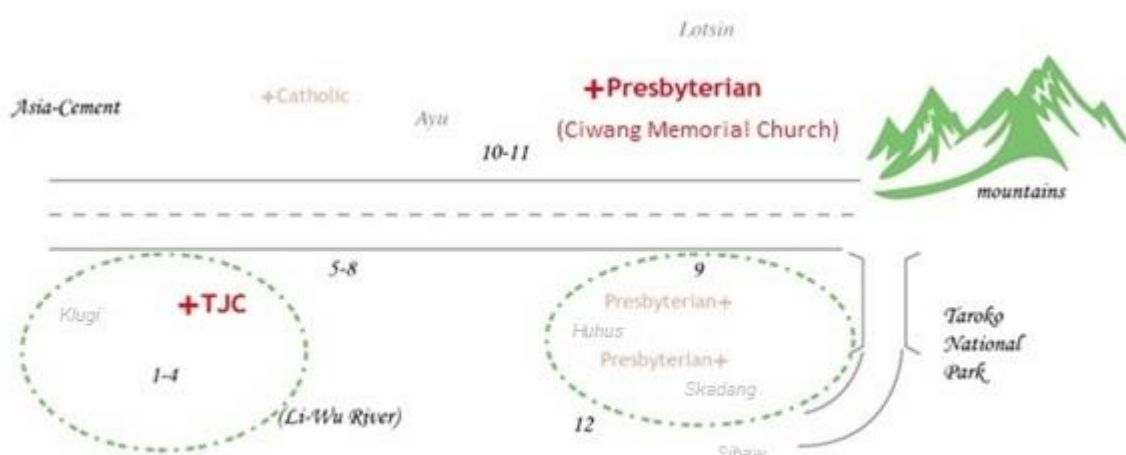
Plate 3.1: The view of Fushi in Hsiulin Township, Hualien County, Taiwan. Fushi is located at the foot of the mountains, near the entrance to the Taroko National Park. Photograph by the author.

Except for its administrative bond, Fushi, to a degree, is not homogenous. Based on the territorial divisions along the highway, it can be divided into three sections: lower-Fushi, middle-Fushi and upper-Fushi. When one drives into Fushi, a large factory, owned by Asia-Cement, is the first thing one notices. This huge factory has used limestone from surrounding hills to make cement since the 1960s. The factory occupies the left side of the highway, and it, unsurprisingly, caused a great deal of impact on local people's everyday lives. Opposite to the Asia-Cement factory, there is a low lying area near the Li-Wu River, called lower-Fushi, or Kele village. As it is shielded behind bunches of shade trees along the highway, Kele village is hardly noticed by outsiders passing by. Residents cluster in dwellings mainly along one small street. This is where I lived through the period of my fieldwork. A big building is located in the centre of this residential area, which is the Pentecostal True Jesus Church. Otherwise, Kele village contains a large piece of farmland, but it has been left fallow for a few decades due to changes in agricultural policy.

After lower-Fushi, continuing on along the highway, one sees a desolate burial ground. With no residents around, there is only a 'softball-and-baseball ground' near the grave yard. A little

further along, a few buildings come into view, this is middle-Fushi. This is where the administrative centre of the whole Fushi community is located, including a local administrative office, an 'activity centre' (with a basketball court), a police station, a public health office, a kindergarten and an elementary school. In addition, there are a few shops, food stands and houses too. Behind these buildings, there is a small Catholic church.

Next, along the highway, though not distinguished from middle-Fushi by any clear boundary, is upper-Fushi. It is located near the foot of the mountains. At the entrance to the mountains, a large beautiful building is located, which is the tourist centre of Taroko National Park. With spectacular scenery in 'Taroko Gorge', the Taroko National Park is a world-class tourist attraction. The atmosphere of upper-Fushi, being closer to the tourist spot, is more tourist-like. A petrol station, a 7-11 convenience store, some bed-and-breakfast hotels, arts-and-crafts shops and restaurants are located along the roadside. Most of these shops, however, are operated by Han-Taiwanese residents, rather than Truku indigenous people (Simon, 2011), who compose more than 80% of Fushi residents. They mainly dwell in the area behind those buildings.



Map 3.1. This is a map, made by the author, to illustrate the locations of the five churches in Fushi community.

Fushi has a population of approximately 2,200 people⁵¹. Around 80% of Fushi residents are Christians. Five churches have been built there. Generally speaking, these churches are close to the localities in which their congregations live. As Map 3.1 above shows, neighbourhoods 1-4 are dominated by the Pentecostal True Jesus Church. A Catholic Church is located in middle-Fushi, whose members are basically from the neighbourhoods 5-8. A Presbyterian Church, the *Ciwang Memorial Church*, is situated between upper and middle Fushi regions. Most Presbyterian

⁵¹ Among them, roughly 2,000 residents are Truku ethnic group.

members come from neighbourhoods 10-11, and some are from 5-8. This is where I conducted my research with Truku Presbyterians.

Neighbourhood 9 has two Presbyterian Churches. This situation can be traced back to the social relations of its settlement. *Skadang* and *Huhus* (also called *Harikuday*) were the latest groups to move out of the mountains in the 1980s. Before moving down to the plain area, the *Skadan* and *Huhus* had converted to Presbyterianism, in May and in June of 1936, respectively. They established independent congregations when they lived in the mountains. Upon resettling in the plains community, the *Skadang* and *Huhus* were allocated land by the government to live as one unit, whose settlements comprise neighbourhood 9 in Fushi. Since 1982, the Presbyterian Church offered them church services together, regarding them as one congregation. This arrangement, however, brought about a series of serious conflicts. As a solution, in the end, the two groups were administratively separated by the Presbyterian Church in 1999. One is called the *Skadan Church* and the other was renamed the *Truku Church*. The two churches are located on the same road, Min-Le Road, number 31 and number 39, they are just a few steps away from one another in neighbourhood 9 of the Fushi community (Lecarl, 2010:30-31).

Fushi is an area full of controversies. Being rich in natural resources in the mountains, it is situated closer to the cities in the north via the highway. Both Asia-Cement and Taiwan-Cement Company constructed their plants in this area. "Their businesses are involved in all sorts of benefit groups and issues with syndicates and politicians", as my informants indicated. "We indigenous people did not understand their rules. Those politicians came to ask our elders to sign documents to lease our lands. As we were cheated by them, eventually our lands were taken away and became theirs" (see Simon, 2002, for this issue).

Additionally, due to the establishment of the national park, the booming tourism industry has also increased complexity, relating to local power structures, politics, economic activities and social relations. These social dynamics become key components of the landscapes that local people, as well as their churches, are involved in.

3-2. Groupings

The Fushi community has its traditional Truku name of '*alang bsngan*'. The word '*alang*' conveys a combined sense of people, space and activity. Involving the idea of social boundary, as well as identity, people in the same *alang* who shared day-to-day activities with, such as hunting and eating, are regarded as the same social group. Yu (1980) indicated that *alang* is how Truku people distinguished their social groups with their identity⁵². The word '*bsngan*' refers to a mountain

⁵² For further description of *alang*, see 4-3, where a cultural worker explained its relevant concepts in relation to Truku cosmology of *utux/gaya*.

pass, which means “the area of encounter or exchange” (Kaji Cihung, 2011:87 and 90). This refers to Fushi as the place where Truku people came down from the mountains to encounter outsiders and to carry out barter exchange with plains indigenous people or Han-Chinese.

The formation of the Fushi community today was a result of an outside force – the colonial authority – rather than a natural process conducted by local people themselves (see 1-2). After a few decades of settlement, the community has now formed into several sub-groups. Based on their geographical and social relations, five settlement regions and groups were identified by Yi-Hong Chang (2000) through his investigations in Fushi (Table 3.1).

Neighborhoods	Named	Also called
1-4	<i>Klugi</i>	lower-Fushi
5-8	<i>Ayu</i>	middle-Fushi
9	<i>Min-Le (Skadang and Harikuday)</i>	
10-11		upper-Fushi
12	<i>Sibaw</i>	

Table 3.1: This table shows the details of the sub-groups in Fushi based on information in Chang (2000).

In 2011, I participated in a local event called *Mgay Bari* (see 4-4). In the opening ceremony, participants wore their traditional Truku clothes and assembled in the meeting place, as the Plate 3.2 shows. This event was organized by the locals themselves. With those signs showing their group names for this festival, a clearer idea about local people’s social relations in contemporary Fushi society begins to emerge. This way of grouping parallels Chang’s (2000) findings, though it is not exactly the same. From the right side of the photo to the left side, these groups are: *Qrgi*, *Bsngan*, *Ayug*, *Skadang*, and *Rowcing*.



Plate 3.2. The opening of the *Mgay Bari* ceremony in Fushi on the 23rd of the October, 2011. Photograph by the author.

Qrgi, also spelled as *Klugi*, is the name of the earliest tribal groups that dwelled in the neighbourhoods 1-2 in lower-Fushi (see chapter 1). Today, under the Han-Chinese colonization, the *Klugi* tribe render their family name in Mandarin as ‘Tien’ (田).

Bsngan, the second group in the photo, is the traditional name of the whole Fushi area as I just noted. For the grouping purposes of the *Mgay Bari* festival, this name was used here by participants who were residents of neighbourhoods 3-4. This residential area, traditionally, was composed of a few smaller groups of families⁵³. Living closely with the *Klugi* tribe, after a few decades, most of them have become kin to the *Klugi* group. Nowadays, the entire neighbourhood 1-4 is generally considered as one village, called Kele, which is isolated from other parts of Fushi. Kele village makes up a total of 35% of the entire population of Fushi. Being such a large group, sometimes, for local events or issues, it is separated into two groups for participation.

The third group in the photo is *Ayug*, which is spelled *Ayu* in Chang's (2000) thesis. Being called 'middle-Fushi' in general, this group was constituted by residents who lived in the neighbourhoods 5-8.

The fourth group is named *Skadang*. It consists of residents in upper-Fushi, where, in Mandarin, they are called 'Min-Le' (民樂) (Chang, 2000). Using one of the traditional names of the two settled groups, *Skadang* and *Huhus*, this group refers to residents of neighbourhood 9. The story of their Presbyterian relations and tensions was just introduced.

The group on the left side of the photo is *Rowcing*, also spelled *Lotsin*. In Chang's (2000) work, it refers to neighbourhoods 10-11, which is separated from *Sibaw* (neighbourhood 12) in the distance. Yet, as they both are small in size, sometimes for local events, they are categorized as one unit.

These local groupings have given us a picture of the social landscape of contemporary Fushi society, which, to a degree, also parallels their Christian divisions. Involving the pre-existing social dynamics where Truku people constructed their group identity along with their social boundary of *alang*, the local's Christian conversion had inevitably formulated an arena in which different Christian denominations competed with each other. After decades, as now we can observe from the locations of local churches, their Christian landscape appears to overlap the local's pre-existing social groupings. This situation is not coincidental. After all, it is people who built churches close to where they lived. The proximity of local churches and their congregations indicates to people's convenience on the one hand, but it also combined with local dynamics of social groupings on the other hand. In this regard, since the local's Christian conversion has developed along with denominational boundaries, it should not be confined to concerns of 'religion' alone. Rather, it has been interwoven with many other aspects of social dynamics, including local politics, family relations and people's daily interactions. A broader sense of one's

⁵³ Nowadays their family names are in Mandarin like 'Yo' (尤), 'Lin' (林), 'Chin' (秦), 'Liou' (劉) and so on.

social engagement, therefore, should be highlighted as the ways in which Truku people become good Christians, as well as good people more generally, in their society.

3-3. Fieldwork and Settlement

I had no acquaintances in Fushi before I conducted my fieldwork. Though I felt challenged at first, I soon realized that, in fact, this had advantages, in that I could avoid being entangled in all sorts of local power relations. The story of my fieldwork is illustrated in this section.

Having arrived in Fushi, I rented a motorcycle to look around in the town. I shuttled along the highway and visited places like the tourist centre, police station and shops, which are mostly concentrated in middle-Fushi. I also motorcycled through streets and ventured to both of the isolated villages: upper-Fushi and lower-Fushi. I did not meet many local people in upper-Fushi. One friendly resident revealed the reason for this situation. “On week days, our community is frequently empty. Many elders preferred to stay in the mountains and only come back on weekends to go to the church. School kids might have to come back in the afternoon after their school hours, but their parents and other adults generally work outside and come back in the evening”. In lower-Fushi, I did not meet local people much either. A woman was sitting on the ground in the street murmuring. I was thinking of having a short chat with her, but then I realized that she was completely drunk.

I tried to visit churches too. The door of the Catholic church was unlocked. Wondering if anybody was there, I pushed it open. A crucifix was hanging on the front wall. Beneath, it was a stone altar, where there were statues of Joseph and Mary and some flowers. I was attracted by the beauty of the church; unfortunately, nobody was there I could talk to. In the rest of my journey, I did not see any other physical trappings of faith, like statues or icons. Neither the Presbyterians nor the Pentecostal True Jesus Church developed any iconography of Jesus or the saints in their belief. The only things that can be seen in their churches are ‘words’.

For a few initial nights of my fieldwork, I stayed at a bed-and-breakfast outside Fushi. I was looking for a place inside the community to stay. A school teacher learned of my wish. “This person might be able to help you”, she wrote down a phone number for me. After I made the phone call, it appeared that the person I spoke with, named Ciray, was the teacher’s father-in-law.

Ciray’s house, located in lower-Fushi, is a beautiful place, like a palace. Somehow, however, it looked a bit ‘strange’. The building was ‘hidden’ behind a big garden and parking space. A large iron gate, in the front, was locked. “This is for stopping neighbours’ children going inside and destroying things”, Ciray explained. Ciray was retired from his career at the nearby *Fushi Elementary School*. With a great sense of ‘Truku culture’, he now operates a cultural association as a cultural worker. Here, before I move on to his story, I should note that Ciray is one of the few

Presbyterian residents in Kele village, where the majority of residents belong to the Pentecostal True Jesus Church⁵⁴.

"I am glad that you found the right person to help you", Ciray said to me in his yard. "In this village, it is almost impossible to find other families who are able to offer you a reasonable place – clean, comfortable and having hot water – to stay. A few years ago, another researcher was also living with my family when he was doing his fieldwork here". Ciray brought me to look around the house. He showed me the room I could stay in, and said with delight: "See! This room is beautiful, isn't it? I just renovated it with an idea to accommodate tourists. If you like it, you can be the first user". Though I appreciated his kindness, I did not take his offer, as I was aware of his 'elite' background, which would bring me into local power relations and confine my understanding of the village. I said that I could not afford such a beautiful room, but Ciray tried to persuade me to stay. "How about this: if you stay, you don't need to pay a cent for the rent. Other than that, you can have three meals with my family without paying anything either". Surprised by his generosity, I told Ciray that I would consider his great offer. I left. My adventure continued.

As this shows, Ciray's family was living in good economic conditions. This is different from other ordinary families in this community. Ciray's good socioeconomic condition, as well as his engagement with cultural affairs, is actually attributable to his Presbyterian ideology of 'being good' (see chapter 4), which is distinct from the majority of the residents in this community who are Pentecostals.

My settling into the village, after a few days, finally made some substantial progress. It was on a Saturday morning. Having been told that residents would go to the church on Saturday, I parked my 'rumbling' motorbike faraway and visited the village on foot. As I walked into the village, a group of dogs soon surrounded me, and a group of children too. Through those wagging tails, big smiles, and loud greeting of barking and laughing, I finally felt 'welcomed'.

Seeing some residents walking on their way to the church, I followed their footsteps. A receptionist was standing near the door of the church. She looked at me, a stranger, in a second. "Hallelujah", she said. "Please go take a seat". She put a Bible and a hymnbook in my hand. The church was already filled with people. Noticing that the service was about to start, I quickly found a bench near the door and sat down. Everybody, however, was looking at me. The receptionist came to me again. She whispered: "You sat on the wrong side. Males and females should be separated." I immediately changed seats.

⁵⁴ I had not yet decided to focus on Christianity at the preliminary stage of my fieldwork but only afterwards.

The first day of my visit, luckily, was also the start of my settling into the village. After the church service, I went to ask the clergyman if he knew of anyone who had a place I could stay for a while. He tried to help, but he could not think of anyone, whose house had a spare room in reasonable condition. The receptionist, a teenage girl, heard our conversation. She then went to ask her father if he would allow me to stay with them. Her father came over, a shy person; he looked at me and nodded his head. This was my first engagement with 'ordinary' families here.

This family had four children: three teenage daughters (14-18 years old) and one son⁵⁵. Their house was small, and had no spare room to accommodate me. In order to offer me a separate space in their home, the 12 year old boy of the family moved to sleep with his father during the time I stayed. Also, the door of the house was broken. At night, they used a stone to block the door, as a 'lock'. Quite often there was no hot water either, as Ciray predicted, since the family could not afford it.

This was a single parent family: only the father lived together with four children, there was no mother. They had divorced three years earlier due to the wife's relationship with another man. My presence, as a single female, in this family became somewhat awkward. This worry, nevertheless, soon disappeared. As, after all, in terms of family structure, a single parent (either from a broken marriage or a death) is fairly common in this village. Also, shortly after my arrival, I noticed that almost everyone in the community had been informed of my presence. The Pentecostal church particularly has very strict ideas about the boundary between the two sexes. Almost the whole village was keeping an eye on the father's behaviour while accommodating a female researcher.

Due to the circumstance of my settlement, I realised how local residents have a strong connection with their church. Nevertheless, despite having sensed the significance of their Christian life, I was extremely anxious if I could manage this topic, especially because I had very little understanding about Christianity⁵⁶. The first night of my stay was inevitably sleepless. I was pondering if I should put aside my original research proposal (looking at tourism) and jump into a whole new world of Christianity. Yet, believing that anthropologists should be guided by local dynamics – rather than enforcing an imaginary scholarly research framework for academic debates – I woke up with my decision the next day. I asked my informants if they could teach me

⁵⁵ Strictly speaking, the family had five children. The youngest daughter had been adopted by a neighboring family when she was born, to reduce the burden of raising so many children. Adoption is a very common circumstance in Truku society.

⁵⁶ Not knowing much about Christianity in my previous life experience, I only came to be aware of Christian issues through my pre-fieldwork seminar at the Australian National University. In the Q&A, a few senior colleagues pointed out that the local's tendency towards Christianity, especially Pentecostalism, would be interesting to look at.

about Christianity. Their welcoming hospitality, eventually, contributed to my exploration of Christianity in this research⁵⁷.

Having started my church engagement with local Pentecostals (True Jesus Church) whose major church services are scheduled on Saturday, I hung around other nearby churches too. Both Catholics and Presbyterians, however, have their church services on Sunday morning with a conflicting schedule. As I noticed that Catholics have only small number of adherents⁵⁸, compared to Presbyterians who are dominant in Fushi community, I decided to stick with Presbyterians especially in the *Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church*, which played a leading role among Presbyterians through the entire Truku region⁵⁹. My fieldwork activity, as a result, shaped this research to focus on Protestant Christians, both the local Presbyterians and Pentecostal church groups. My material was collected through church participants (approximately 400 hours church services) as well as other church-related activities. Additionally, as living in the village, my interaction with informants, such as formal/informal interviews and day-to-day engagement, was no doubt also the main course of where the data of this ethnography came from.

3-4. Christian Kin Ties and Endogamy on a Denominational Level

Christianity has constructed a new sense of community in practical terms. For the Truku group, since the upmost universal power of spiritual authority has been shifted from their traditional ideas of ancestral spirits, *utux*, to the Christian God, this cosmological change has contributed to the local's understanding of family and community more generally.

⁵⁷ Having finished my preliminary fieldwork of three weeks, I went back to the ANU for further preparation. I made a new research proposal about Christianity. I also gave a seminar, as well as conducted a long list of reading before my primary fieldwork for 13 months.

⁵⁸ In Taiwan, Catholics came to indigenous Taiwanese communities around the 1950s a couple of years after Protestants. According to my informants in Fushi, many local residents used to be Catholics as the church provided benefits for its followers, such as sugar, milk-powder, flour and so on. After a while, however, this strategy failed to earn local people's trust. Especially having learnt the Bible, said my informants, they no longer felt fulfilled by those material things. Catholic adherents became fewer and fewer in the village. On the day when I visited, there were only six adults and six children coming to their church service. Partially due to its small size, this Catholic church did not have its own priest. It was governed by another Catholic church in a nearby town, Xincheng, and their priest came to Fushi approximately once a month to host their church service.

⁵⁹ One might argue that my material involves a strong sense of Truku ethnicity and Truku culture as I examined local Presbyterians through this leading church. In other cases, Presbyterians would probably have less motivation concerning about Truku ethnicity and identity. Regarding this issue, I should clarify that this thesis is not a full study of either Presbyterianism or Pentecostalism but focuses principally on the theme of denominational differentiation. In my ethnographic case, Presbyterians are among the strongest (positive) advocates of Truku culture and identity. Pentecostals also reproduce a cultural Truku identity, though partially through the abnegation of its tradition and cosmology. As a result of my focus on comparison, this thesis inevitably involves a certain dualism more visible from some perspectives than others. Here I pointed this out as the structural factor, or even limitation, into the methodology of this research.

Like Christians elsewhere, Truku Christians call their members 'Brothers' and 'Sisters'. Having the same 'Father', members belong to the same spiritual family in a religious sense. Through a symbolic linkage of blood, between Jesus and his believers, Christianity has re-constructed local people's idea of kinship. Also, more than merely a symbolic concept, Truku people's 'Christian ties' have been practically intertwined with their actual day-to-day networks.

The True Jesus Church particularly highlights the importance of church members intermarrying with their own fellows as they are 'similar spirits' (TJC term, 同靈 *tong-ling*, see chapters 5 and 7). A more practical linkage is established with their Christian fellows through marriage. In daily life, their Christian ties are also given great significance which is sometimes prioritised over blood ties.

Truku Pentecostals formulated a specific way in which members recognize themselves as the same group. There are two phrases, like 'passwords', that signify for them their connection as Christian kin. "*Hallelujah*" (哈利路亞) is used to greet each other before any conversation. At leave-taking their words have to end specifically with "*Peace-and-safety*" (TJC term, 平安 *ping-an*)⁶⁰. These two terms are universally stipulated and circulated as a principle among True Jesus members elsewhere. It was indicated in their sermons that "Even if we travel around other countries, as long as we greet people with '*hallelujah*', immediately we would be recognized by our people and they will regard us as family members". Irrespective of whether or not, in the actual world, people are acquainted or not, by using these correct religious codes, Pentecostal practitioners are connected by the same spiritual bonds. These two terms are sometimes taken as a way for the church to judge how far a practitioner has 'left' their church discipline behind. "By looking at whether a member still greets people by saying *hallelujah* or not, we can tell if he or she still has our mindset", said a church leader.

One day, during a social gathering, a True Jesus woman's mobile phone was ringing. She looked at the screen first, then answered, "*hallelujah*". Through her conversation, I noticed that this phone call was actually made by her son. After she hung up the phone, I expressed my surprise about her way of greeting. She was amazed by my surprise and said: "This is very common for a True Jesus family to do".

In the early stage of my fieldwork, I was not aware that their Christian relations had been constructed overlapping with their kin ties. One day, I followed a church leader to conduct a

⁶⁰ Truku Presbyterians do not have a specific religious form of greeting. Nevertheless, they tend to use Truku vernacular language such as saying '*Embiyax su bug*' or '*Malusu*' for the greeting of 'how are you?'. The same as 'Good-bye', to which '*Swayay da han*' is said by the person leaving, and '*knhway*' is said by the person who send them off.

“house visit”. At that time, three young men were sitting and smoking outside the house. Having seen this scene, the church leader I was walking with became a bit angry. When we approached them, suddenly, the church leader stretched out his hand to take the cigarette out of one man’s mouth, even though the person was still smoking. He threw the cigarette on the ground and stepped on it. I was shocked, and I worried that the young man would come and have a fight with the church leader. Luckily nothing happened. Afterwards, I asked the church leader why he dared to do so without feeling afraid of their anger. He answered: “because I am his uncle”.

Realizing that their kin relations lay underneath the surface of daily church activities, I once asked a woman: “Could you tell me who your relatives are in the village?”. Born in Kele, and in her sixties, she thought awhile then said: “There are maybe 30 households, which are close ones of mine, I mean the parents, with whom I am able to trace relations from the previous generations. But well, there are also many young couples, or distant relations, that I cannot figure out. Roughly speaking, at least 50% of the residents here are my blood relatives”.

When this issue became clearer to me, I decided to draw my informants’ kinship diagrams. My ambition to do so, however, was seen as too naïve, and impractical from local people’s perspective. Despite trying to help me draw the kinship map, they frequently said to me: “Come on. Don’t be silly. It is impossible to do this, because we ourselves cannot even figure out our relations”.

This situation is similar on the side of Presbyterians. Though Presbyterians do not set church intermarriage as a church principle, they still prefer to marry people with the same religious background. In daily life, due to associating often with other Presbyterians, their marriages are frequently established on the basis of Presbyterianism. Nowadays, it depends more on an individual’s circumstances. Young Presbyterians’ stories of meeting their partners have become quite diverse owing to their wide social networks in everyday life, such as meeting at work places, university or during other activities. There are many cases where Presbyterians marry Presbyterians, just as Pentecostals marry Pentecostals.

One day, I went to a ceremony with my informants when a Presbyterian Church appointed a new minister. On that occasion, I did not know people there, as it was far from my field-site. My Presbyterian informants kindly introduced people to me. “This is my cousin. He is the son of my mother’s sister. And also, my mother-in-law is a sister of his grandfather”. A couple of times, since her introduction was quite complicated, I got lost. Privately, I asked her to recount their relationship for me. She then told me that, in fact, she herself had difficulty in figuring out their relations, and she explained the reason. “In our Truku communities, this circumstance is normal. Because some of our earlier relatives were separated to settle in different plains communities when they moved down from the mountains, living at a far distance, we did not interact with each other often. I learnt those kin relations from my parents, but honestly they are very blurred to

me, especially when the relationship is complicated, I only know that they are my distant relatives”.

For the Truku, if the married couple come from different religious backgrounds, generally the children’s religion would follow that of their father. There are, however, some exceptions that, for example, if the wife is the boss in the household, the family might end up converting to the woman’s religion. This was indicated by my Presbyterian informant⁶¹. Through the story of her grandmother – one of the first generation of Truku Christians – I exemplify how Truku people’s religious patterns were in relation to their marriage throughout almost a century.

Regarding what we believed, in fact, it’s all related to our family. My grandmother had three marriages. Her first husband is my blood grandfather who was a Presbyterian. They had four children. All of my uncles, my cousins and my siblings are Presbyterians.

After my grandfather died, my grandma married her second husband; they had four sons and one daughter. Among them, three of my male uncles married True Jesus women; these three uncles were ‘scared of their wives’⁶² and so they have all converted to the True Jesus Church. The rest of my uncles did not marry True Jesus members, so they stayed Presbyterians.

My husband is a Catholic. He almost never goes to his church, and he also never goes to my Presbyterian church either. My children are like their father who almost have no religion. One day I told my husband: “What to do if one day you die, but there is no minister, and even no one to come to offer you a funeral? I would feel so ashamed. I think I will just quickly wrap you randomly and send you off in two days, otherwise what can I do?!” My husband then shuffled and said “ok ok ok, I will go to the church”, but certainly he never did. (My interview material, 2011)

Because of the tendency to marry people with the same Christian background, in Truku society, after a few decades of conversion to Christianity, their kin ties and Christian ties have become firmly entangled. A closer and stronger network, on the one hand, is established within their own Christian groups. On the other hand, as people become more remote from those outside their Christian community, a looser and weaker connection has developed between groups. In this regard, their conceptual social boundaries have been drawn more clearly along the lines of their religious belief.

3-5. Interaction

Living with an ostensibly harmonious appearance as the Fushi community, each church group actually formulates its own sense of identity and establishes its own social network. The entire

⁶¹ She is one of the very few Presbyterians in Kele village living in neighborhood 3.

⁶² A common description in Mandarin, 怕老婆 (*pa-lao-po*), referring to the idea that the wife is the boss of the household.

village, for local residents, has been divided into specific divisions in their minds. More often, one hears private gossip and criticism directed by each group at the other.

Fushi village has only one school. Most of the residents receive their primary education at the *Fushi Elementary School*, no matter what kind of religious background or group identity they have. “When we were kids”, said my local aunt, “since some of my schoolmates lived in middle and upper Fushi, we hung around on every corner of the entire Fushi community. Some of their farmland was near the river here, they also passed by Kele often too”.

Their school life has created a collective memory of residents’ childhood. Yet, though attending the same school, students with different Christian identities, in fact, do not get along well. They complained about each other more often than not. “Those True Jesus people were very unfriendly to us, and they constantly bullied us at school”, said my Presbyterian informants. In response to this issue, my True Jesus informants revealed that they felt wronged. “It was because, they, Presbyterians, frequently spoke sarcastically to our True Jesus people, saying things like, “*True Jesus? only your Jesus is true, ours is all fake? hahahaha*”, and then ran away”.

Beyond childhood, tensions from their differing Christian beliefs have been shaped through practitioners’ life times, from different educational levels to work environment. An example was indicated by a True Jesus member, regarding his relationship with Presbyterian acquaintances working at the same hospital.

When I was a kid, we all studied in the same elementary school. I had some old schoolmates who are Presbyterians in the neighbourhoods of 5-12. But after graduation we seldom had contact with each other. We belong to different churches after all. It’s hard for us to maintain our friendships. Even if some of them become my colleagues at the same hospital now, we only nod heads when we meet without saying anything.

(My interview material, 2011)

Truku people’s everyday interactions have been influenced by their religious landscapes. Today, the *Fushi Elementary School* is still the only school in the community, but their educational situation has actually changed. It used to be stipulated by the government that indigenous children were not allowed to enrol in Han schools in the plains areas. This policy ended in about the 1990s. With social transformation in Taiwan, schooling has become flexible for indigenous children.

For Fushi residents, the *Fushi Elementary School* is no longer the only option for schooling. This situation, however, has led to the separation of the two Christian groups even further. Many True Jesus parents have stopped sending their children to the *Fushi Elementary School*, as more and more criticisms arose concerning the ‘style’ of the school. “*Fushi Elementary School* does not focus on teaching regular education”, said a Pentecostal informant. “This school was embedded with

too many programs and activities about 'Truku culture'. Children spent all day long practicing Truku dances and songs. They spent no time on regular courses".

Viewing the involvement of 'indigenous culture' as a problem (see chapters 5 and 7), many True Jesus children have been transferred to, or enrolled in, other adjacent schools by their parents. It is not convenient for those families to make this choice, since transportation for the children has to be arranged. Nonetheless, True Jesus parents still prefer to do so. They believe that this arrangement is better for their children, as one's religious life is more important than convenience. *Xincheng Elementary School* is generally their top choice. *Xincheng*, the name of a small town, is in a plains area, just next to Fushi, where the majority of the residents are Han-Taiwanese. "The teaching quality at *Xincheng Elementary School* is much better", they said. "Many of its teachers come from Taipei or other counties. They are concerned about children's learning in every school subject. They teach better, and they don't waste time doing things like indigenous culture".

Regarding the 'style' of the *Fushi Elementary School*, this issue should be explained relating back to its previous school leader, Ciray. For many decades working as a school manager and administrator, Ciray was a crucial figure who drove the orientation of the school to conduct 'Truku culture'. Ciray frequently told me how much he felt worried that 'Truku culture' would disappear in a few generations, since young people nowadays had no actual sense of it. This is why Ciray decided to devote himself to running a cultural association after his retirement from the school. He believes that improving young people's sense of 'Truku culture' is critical.

Ciray had another role in terms of religion. He was an active member of the Ciwang Presbyterian Church. He has been involved in the leadership, as a presbyter, for a few terms. With regard to the 'style' of the *Fushi Elementary School* in relation to indigenous culture, I never heard any criticism from my Presbyterian informants. To them, conversely, the idea of 'Truku culture' is welcomed, as it represents blessings from the Christian God (see chapter 4).

Despite having no criticism of the *Fushi Elementary School*, Presbyterians' schooling choices have however also changed. More and more Presbyterian children receive their primary education outside Fushi community. Instead of the nearby *Xincheng Elementary School*, Presbyterians tend to be enrolled in schools in Hualien City. This circumstance particularly applies to Presbyterians who have stable jobs in the city. Their children usually follow this pattern for education. Some Presbyterian children, furthermore, received their primary education at a private school run by the Catholic Church near Hualien City. Although its tuition fee is much higher than normal public schools, this Catholic school has a good reputation of concern for children's moral education, based on general principles of Christianity. Providing a school bus to transport students from remote regions, such as Fushi, some Presbyterian parents,

including those who were farmers working in the village on an everyday basis, have sent their children there.

As one administrative unit, Fushi community sometimes conducts village-wide events, like sports, BBQ (for celebrating Father's/Mother's Day) and *Mgay Bari*. During these events, nevertheless, though participating in the same activity, people basically associate with friends and relatives within their own groups. With the division of neighbourhoods as the basis, most local activities are arranged and mobilized based on this structure. For instance, the allocation of BBQ facilities, their sport competitions, and group performances, are organized in this manner. There is almost no actual circumstance in which the two Christian groups are asked to mix for participation. In other words, even during their village-wide activities, the two Christian groups still gather separately along denominational lines.

3-6. The Dramatic Social Transformation

Through decades of being incorporated into Han-Taiwanese society, the Truku people have confronted radical social transformation, including livelihood change, and cultural and language assimilation. Today, Truku people suffer from many life problems in the contemporary colonial world. In this section, I will provide a brief historical account, focusing on recent decades, to present issues that have challenged Truku people's modern life-world under the colonial power.

Livelihood

Truku people have been displaced to the plains regions since the early 19th century and their mountain homelands have been taken away by the colonial forces. According to Simon (2005:57), "During the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), in order to take control of the island's forest, as well as mineral and other natural resources, the Japanese limited indigenous people to 'mountain reservations', cutting their traditional territory of 2 million hectares down to 24,000 hectares".

After the KMT authority came to power, they adopted the same approach as their Japanese predecessors, which included a plan, developed in the 1940s, to establish a national park. In order to facilitate this plan, Truku people's capacity to use their mountain land was destroyed. A policy of '*Mountain Reservations*' was implemented in 1947, which dramatically reduced Truku people's traditional territory. Also, prior to the establishment of the Taroko National Park in 1986, the *National Parks Law* was introduced in 1972, and several other laws followed, including the *Forest Law* in 1985 and the subsequent *Protection of Wild Animals Law* in 1989.

With no ability to maintain their customary livelihood, and even worse, with hunting declared illegal after the execution of relevant laws relating to the Taroko National Park, Truku people were forced to give up hunting. They were introduced to a new way of earning a living through

cultivation. To survive in a money economy after their displacement, Truku people were brought into the modern mode of subsistence, which profoundly changed their life-world.

Asia-Cement, a KMT-related corporation, was incorporated in 1957 and first listed on the Taipei stock exchange in 1972. It “came into being during the import substitution policies of the 1950s to provide plastics, artificial fibres, cements, glass and other upstream materials for Taiwan’s new industrial producers” (Wade 1990:77 in Simon, 2005:59). Asia-Cement has since expanded to become Taiwan’s largest cement supplier. Its Hualien plant, in Fushi village, is one of its largest manufacturing centres (Simon, 2005:59).

Needing a large area of land close to the source of raw materials on which to build its cement plant, Asia-Cement began by leasing land in Fushi from local Truku. In addition to the land privatization that began in the 1960s, the large investments by Asia-Cement brought an influx of money into the local community. This part of the history, in fact, involved many controversial disputes, as the Asia-Cement company cheated the locals out of their lands (see detailed stories in Simon 2005). Its investment, notwithstanding, poured plenty of money into the Fushi community, which promptly pushed local people into a monetised way of life.

Other than leasing lands from the locals, Asia-Cement facilitated the capitalist economy by providing a new type of career, construction labour, which local people call ‘tying-steel’ (綁鋼筋 *bang-gang-gjn* in Mandarin). With the construction of the Central-Cross-Highway and the newer Northern-Cross-Highway in the 1960s, Fushi residents were able to access the northern and western cities in Taiwan, where ample job opportunities and better salaries were available (Yi-Hong Chang, 2000:46). During the time when Taiwan was in the stage of constructing major infrastructure, the construction industry flourished. Starting in this ‘career’ engaging with Asia-Cement, Fushi residents then moved to other regions. Most of them, under these circumstances, abandoned their old way of living, and joined the labour market. As Simon (2009) noted, “The effects of land loss on all indigenous communities in Taiwan were severe, causing aboriginal men and women to stream into cities in search of work in manufacturing and construction during the period of rapid industrialization of the 1970s and 1980s” (Simon, 2009:8).

The construction industry was only prosperous till the 1990s. After that, since most major infrastructure projects in Taiwan had been completed, the industrial sector was no longer vigorous. The economy in Taiwan became service-orientated. Labour-intensive manufacturing has been relocated to China. Policies of recruiting foreign labourers have been in effect since the 1990s and opportunities for ‘tying-steel’ have become fewer and fewer. Indigenous peoples’ unemployment has risen (Simon, 2009:8).

For many decades, indigenous Taiwanese were almost voiceless in society. This was attributed to the KMT's attitude towards indigenous assimilation to Han-Chinese culture, especially under the policy of martial law. A dramatic political change, however, occurred in the 1990s. It opened a space for the emergence of various social movements. Subsequently, the first Taiwanese-born president, Denghui Li, was elected in 1990. This led to further profound cultural transformations that took place on the island. Beginning with the end of martial law in 1987, various kinds of social movements grew throughout the 1990s. They furthermore reached a climax in 2000 when the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) took the presidency (2000-2008). Issues about Taiwanese identity, such as multiculturalism, were particularly salient. This new political orientation had a great impact on Taiwan's indigenous population, as Rudolph (2001) has noted:

After four centuries of domination by foreign powers (the Spanish, the Dutch, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Mainlanders who had come as refugees from the mainland with Chiang Kai-shek after 1945), the issue of identity search of 'the Taiwanese' now became a theme of growing significance in the political arena. (Rudolph, 2001)

Cultural and Language

Indigenous Taiwanese have endured a long process of cultural assimilation by their colonizers, both Japanese and Han-Chinese. In 1940, the Japanese government initiated a movement called '*Kominhokokai*', which translates as the '*Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects*'. In order to enforce the loyalty of local subjects to the emperor of Japan, this movement encouraged indigenous people to take Japanese names⁶³. Indigenous children were also forced to learn Japanese in compulsory elementary school education (Simon, 2005: 57).

The KMT authority, likewise, implemented similar policies of assimilation. Indigenous Taiwanese were required to take Chinese names and learn Chinese in school (Simon, 2005: 58). From Truku people's perspectives, the imposition of alien Han-Chinese names upon them was met with irony, as they said, "How should we Truku people have Han-Chinese names?!" Even the implementation of this policy was ridiculous. "Our names were given to us in an unreasonable manner by administrative personnel. Some illiterate indigenous people were even asked to choose their family names by pointing their fingers at random words in a book called '*The Book of Family Names*'.

During the Japanese era, despite maintaining an attitude of cultural assimilation, this policy was not implemented strictly, as my informants indicated. "Some Japanese policemen could handle basic Truku conversation. Speaking our Truku mother tongue was not encouraged but the prohibition was not strictly enforced". The KMT government, however, adopted a stronger stance

⁶³ <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3804>

forcing indigenous people to speak Mandarin. '*The Committee of Improving the National Language*' was established in 1946. This instituted a series of regulations and movements enforcing the use of Mandarin. Additionally, the KMT government propagated the myth that all inhabitants of Taiwan originate from the legendary Yellow Emperor. By relevant policies of language and education, cultural assimilation was conducted thoroughly in Taiwan.

Mandarin was the only language allowed in public under martial law (1949-1987). In 1966, language regulations were introduced by the state that all students and teachers were only allowed to speak Mandarin at school, or they would be punished. This common enough tactic of dominant societies to assimilate indigenous peoples shaped the collective experience for the Truku people. "We were fined at school when we spoke in the Truku dialect", said my informants. "Our school teachers even hung a sign around our necks saying 'I SPOKE MOTHER TONGUE' as a punishment in public. We called it 'hanging a dog-tag'. It made us feel so ashamed, as if we did a serious wrong by speaking our mother tongue".

With the implementation of nine-years of compulsory education in 1968, Mandarin penetrated into all communities in Taiwan, including indigenous villages. For a couple of decades, Truku people were forbidden from speaking vernacular languages in public. Under these political orientations, indigenous people, in addition to giving up their traditional way of life, were forced to learn Mandarin and were educated in schools alongside Han-Chinese (Rudolph, 2001).

Eventually, this situation of cultural assimilation came to a close around the 1990s. The Taiwanese government has since adopted a multicultural policy to deal with ethnic issues. All sorts of voices and ideas, such as the idea of 'indigenous culture', began to emerge in the political sphere. Vernacular languages have even come to be incorporated into school education, which included indigenous people's dialects. Since 2007, the certification of '*Indigenous Language Ability*' has been conducted by the *Council of Indigenous Peoples* of the Executive Ministry. This policy has opened-up a whole new area of intellectual knowledge that language proficiency constitutes. It also brings along new opportunities for indigenous people who have expertise in the use of languages.

The Contemporary Living Circumstances

Being subject to colonialism, indigenous Taiwanese were marginalized and powerless. Having been incorporated into the capitalist market economy, they live in poor socioeconomic conditions compared to the Han colonizers. Zeng and Wu (1995:48) have indicated that, in Fushi, the majority of residents engage with work that involves intensive-labour, part-time employment, outflow of labour and a reliance on adjacent markets. Additionally, a statistic was revealed in a

local conference by Hung-Yi Ru that 60% of Truku families are living in the bottom 20% of the population of Taiwan⁶⁴.

Partially owing to poverty, indigenous villages, including Fushi, are facing various social problems, such as high rates of unemployment and crime. Indigenous people in Taiwan are notorious for their addiction to alcohol. Alcoholism has also been a key factor that contributes to their social problems. *Whisbih*, for example, is a type of drink, with 10% alcohol, which is commonly circulated in indigenous communities. With ingredients of concentrated Chinese medicine, such as angelica or ginseng, as well as the vitamin B group, *Whisbih* is frequently used for relieving fatigue after wearisome physical work. In indigenous communities, however, some addicts drink *Whisbih* all day long even starting from breakfast. They mix it with different kinds of drinks, like canned milk, canned coffee, beer or rice wine. *Whisbih* is in fact also circulated among working class Taiwanese. Yet, working class Taiwanese consume much less than what is common for indigenous people, and they do not mix it with other drinks. Like *Whisbih*, another item, betel-nut, is used in a similar way. Betel-nut functions to restore energy, and is typically used among both the working class in Taiwanese society, and indigenous communities. In later chapters, these items will be highlighted regarding how different Christian groups come up with distinct understandings and habits in using them in daily life.

Truku people have now lived in a money based economy, and received at least nine years of Han education. In Fushi, after the elementary educational level, children begin to go to nearby towns for junior and senior high school. Some young adults leave home for higher education if their family can afford the cost. The majority of Fushi residents, also, migrate to big cities. Beginning with construction work, they have flooded into the labour market elsewhere. The village looks almost empty⁶⁵.

Money, however, has come to substitute for people's presence in their households. By sending money home, migrant labourers take care of the daily expenses and relevant costs in their households such as children's schooling or kinship practices. In doing so, their families suffer less from poverty (Lin, 2011:28). I additionally noticed that the presence of money has made local churches become visibly prosperous. Having received contributions from adherents, local churches have been able to renovate their buildings and advance their facilities. This especially occurred around the time when the village was rapidly pulled into the market economy in the 1970s-1990s. Truku Presbyterians, for example, constructed a second floor to their church that enlarged their gathering space, and they also built the ministerium for their ministers. Truku

⁶⁴ The author attended the conference from which this statistic is taken.

⁶⁵ There are of course people at home, such as the elderly, handicapped and unemployed, and local grocery shops are open too. Their streets, however, are less lively during the day.

Pentecostals, also, relocated their church to the centre of the village, as they received a piece of land donated by members. They have furthermore advanced their church building from a humble one in the past – made of thatch, then wood – to a concrete one for their church gatherings. What is more, they constructed an extension building, with a big kitchen, dining place and classrooms. Today, both the Presbyterian and Pentecostal churches accommodate approximately 200 seats in their main hall⁶⁶.

After Truku people collectively converted to Christianity – Pentecostalism, in the 1940s, emerged from the existing Presbyterian religious context established in the 1930s – the two forms of Protestantism have evolved their own sub-groups. As a result of their Christian conversion, Truku people have also changed their perspective on animal sacrifice. “Jesus doesn’t want us to make animal sacrifices because all animals belong to him”, as my informant indicated. Considering that the transition from the Old Testament to the New Testament views of animal sacrifice which symbolically signalled their experiences, animal sacrifice no longer plays the same role for the Truku, in communicating between their ancestors and the living. Money, instead, is presented as a symbolic form of sacrifice to Jesus. Making contributions parallels the way Truku people used animal sacrifice and prayer to receive blessings and wellbeing in the past.

Today, however, Truku people still practice pig-kills, on such occasions as weddings, but the meaning of their doing so has inevitably changed. Pigs used to be household animals. Nowadays, due to government concerns regarding hygiene, animals and poultry have to be kept at a distance from residential areas. Pigs came to be purchased from markets. Despite having this change, the prevalence of pig-kills does not decrease. On the contrary, this custom has become even more popular, both in the number of pigs that are sacrificed for an event, and the number of occasions that people conducted a pig-kill (see 7-5). Lin (2011) observed a Truku people’s pig-kill and found that the number of pigs for a Truku wedding symbolically represents the financial wealth of a Truku household. By means of monetary presentation, pig-kill becomes a way for Truku households to show off their wealth (Lin, 2011:39-40).

The Challenge of Morality in Modernity

In line with dramatic political and social transformation, the old egalitarian style of traditional Truku society has been challenged. Through the decades of the 1980s, 1990s, 2000s and onwards, the emergence of complex social stratification in contemporary Truku society has been observed

⁶⁶ The Pentecostal church is slightly bigger as it contains other spaces. Their similar size, to a degree, can be attributable to an emphasis on equality deriving from the living conditions of the earlier generations of the two Christian groups. As I have illustrated, the Truku traditional society was egalitarian before it was incorporated into the capitalist economy. The two Christian groups were largely in a similar living condition through a few decades.

by scholars. Rudolph (2008), for instance, indicated that, in indigenous Taiwanese society, local elites and ordinary people developed distinct attitudes and perspectives towards many issues. Simon (2015a), in a Marxist analysis, categorized indigenous communities on Taiwan's east coast, such as Truku, into four social classes: the new-middle class (well-paid workers, managers, township leaders and teachers), the permanent proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpenproletariat (2015a:9-10). Lin (2011) classified Truku elites into three categories: "(1) the political elites, who are loyal to the KMT, and they might be local politicians, governmental servants, teachers and policemen, (2) the 'intellectual elites', who are well educated, but who are not loyal to the KMT, they might be ministers or Christians in the Presbyterian Church in Truku society; (3) the younger Truku elites who are descendants of both 'political elites' and 'intellectual elites'" (Lin, 2011:40).

In contemporary circumstances, Truku people's lifestyle has been, in all ways, shaped by capitalism, and is in accordance with other contingent conditions of modernity. There is a sociological difference between Truku people's hunter-gather past and their modern capitalist present. This contributes to a problematic moral gap for the Truku. It has presented serious moral challenges, such as the problem of child prostitution, which used to be rampant in indigenous communities a few decades ago. Hsiulin Township (with nine administrative regions including Fushi) was notorious for child prostitution. This issue was addressed at a local event, offering educational training courses for teachers who taught Truku language at primary schools. A story was recounted by the lecturer, Lukas, a Presbyterian minister.

We, Hsiulin Township, used to have a serious problem of child prostitution, which even led to some research conducted by scholars to examine this phenomenon. Though, we have no idea why those mothers were willing to sell their daughters, this phenomenon should make us think about why it happened.

In my opinion, it indicated a social logic in our current society that we '*Despised poverty but not prostitution*'⁶⁷. It suggests that many people liked to show-off their monetary capability yet were unconcerned where the money came from.

I heard a story that, a mother sent her daughter to engage in prostitution in order to buy an imported car and some electronic products. The imported car she bought was used by her son, who had no job. After a little while, since the son could not pay a cent to keep the car anymore, he sold the car. And guess where the girl was? The girl died.

This story was told to me by a woman describing her personal experience working in a brothel. She said that, as the working conditions were terribly bad, some girls died without being noticed. There were even corpses under the spring mattress that she slept on. She was lucky though. A brothel visitor saved her, and set her free.

(A lecture offered by Lukas, 2011)

⁶⁷ A Chinese idiom '笑貧不笑娼 (xiao pin bu xiao chong)'.

In traditional Truku society, under the worldview of *utux/gaya*, a good Truku person lived in a moral schema which was integrated throughout different aspects of one's life. A wealthy Truku family in the mountains, for example, was represented by the number of living beings in the family (e.g., children, relatives and domestic animals), as well as the natural resources that people acquired (e.g., good hunting harvest and cultivation). Ideas of wealth, in other words, were ordered through a social logic referring to the fertility of life, which was seen as the representation of power, both socially and morally.

The contemporary social logic of capitalism, however, does not provide a moral scheme for people to follow. Rather than accumulating power through the presence of living beings or natural resources, in the modern mode of subsistence, wealth and well-being are actually earned in a 'sterile' way. In the case of Truku, they obtain money by selling agricultural products, selling lands and selling their labour. Only when living beings are physically absent as wage labours, or when possessions become commodities to be sold, do Truku people manage to accumulate income or other kinds of capital.

'Doing well' in a modern society is frequently represented in economic terms, along with other forms of 'having-capital'. For the Truku, nevertheless, such economic achievement alone does not inform their moral standing. Interpreting church principles as modern '*gaya*', whether one is doing well or not has come to be defined by a specific Christian ethic. In addition to the explicit presentation of money that has challenged Truku people's idea of good morality, different forms of 'capital' have also become intertwined, referring to how Truku people define a good modern subject.

3-7. Concluding Note to Part I

Part I, *The Shaping of 'Two Kinds'*, has examined how Truku people have encountered changing conditions that destroyed their old way of life, which they had had lived for hundreds, if not, thousands of years. In accordance with the changing nature of authority in Taiwan, Truku people lost their autonomy and were relegated to a position of relative powerlessness. At this point, Christianity opened for them a whole new world. They converted to Christianity and were 'born again'.

The process of reconfiguring their worldview was shaped by the different doctrines they adopted. Though ostensibly both of the Truku Christian groups utilize the same Bible and worship the same God, the religious theology, practices and identities that are applied to followers' everyday practice are recognizably different.

Through some individuals' stories – both personal life-stories and their group's collective tale of conversion to Christianity – Part I presented the differentiation of the two Christian

denominations, as well as their separate societies, that were entangled with various issues in which Truku people confronted modernity. It spanned different time frames (from pre-colonial early times to contemporary society), different spatial scales (from the local scope of community to the global sense of community), different worldviews (from their traditional cosmology to the two forms of global religion) and different modes of production (from hunter-gather society to the modern capitalist world).

Part II and Part III will explore the asymmetric ethical orders of the two groups and their separate approaches to being good Christians. Shaped by different moral schemes, the two Christian groups are oriented to divergent styles of sociality based on their specific doctrines. As a consequence, the village has been gripped by a process of separation as time has progressed.

PART II. ASYMMETRIES OF THE ETHICAL ORDERS OF MODERN SUBJECTS

❖ Prelude to Chapter 4 and Chapter 5

In the middle stage of my fieldwork, I was extremely stressed. Living in 'the village of the True Jesus Church' (Yi-Hong Chang, 2000:143-144), I associated with my Pentecostal informants, received a great deal of kindness and hospitality from them and I joined most of their church gatherings, which were scheduled six days a week. This situation became quite tense when my Presbyterian informants required more of my time. I encountered difficulty trying to attend as many activities I could when their schedules overlapped. Yet, what was more challenging was the struggle to move between two different, often contradictory, sets of ethics. The two local churches have distinct orientations towards Christian ethics which leads to conflicting moral schemes between the two.

Robbins (2013a: 450-451) observed that anthropology has shed light on the issue of suffering subjects rather than savage others. An 'anthropology of the good' is then suggested as a new trend. Regarding 'the good' in respect to values, morality and well-being, as indicated by Robbins(2013a:457), "[...] we need to be attentive to the way people orientate to and act in a world that outstrips the one most concretely present to them, and to avoid missing their ideals as unimportant or, worse, as bad-faith alibis for the worlds they actually create".

With this orientation, chapters 4 and 5 will examine the messages of 'being good' that the two Truku Christian groups convey to practitioners. In spite of facing the same conditions of social change, Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals have developed divergent moral trajectories, through which they respond to the confrontations of social change. Their perspectives of 'being good' will be explored through a few themes: patterns of social engagement, church-based communal life and ideas of leadership that pertain in each church, as well as relations to 'capital'.

The Christian ethics of Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals, although under the same umbrella of Protestantism, present distinct approaches that go beyond what Weber (1992[1930]) has developed in this theory of '*Protestant ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*'⁶⁸. With the general

⁶⁸ In this thesis, though bringing in Weber's (1992[1930]) work as a theoretical basis, I do not intend to establish a conversation directly with this theory. I do, however, apply his general idea of the ascetic ethic of Protestants to examine the case of the Truku. As Weber states, "When the limitation of consumption is combined with this release of acquisitive activity, the inevitable practical result is obvious: accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save. The restraints which were imposed upon the consumption of wealth naturally served to increase it by making possible the productive investment of capital" (1992:116). I take this postulation that the Protestant ethic brings about the accumulation of capital in their pursuit of having a righteous life to explore how the two groups of Truku Protestants encounter the values of 'capital' in modern society based on their specific Christian ethic.

Protestant approach, as Weber has proposed, Truku Presbyterians tend to evaluate their ethic by acknowledging the values that are derived from their rational acquisitions of 'capital', in different forms, in modern society. Pentecostals, instead, shed light on problems of 'having-capital' in a moral sense. They disavow as sinful many of the values that 'capital' implies. With this tendency, they are less engaged in situations that lead to their 'having-capital'.

In order to explore 'capital' relating to morality, a relevant terminology needs to be defined. In social science, 'capital' is now used in a variety of ways that do not merely refer to an economic meaning. One of the main exponents of a more differentiated usage is Bourdieu (1986), who acknowledges that the idea of 'capital' has its long-term entanglement with economic implications: "It is what makes the game of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle" (Bourdieu, 1986: 241).

Such economic usage of 'capital' will impede our ability to gain deeper insight into the implications of non-economic sociality. Specifically, the term 'capital', as it applies to morality, should be expanded beyond the confines of the economic, and extended to other aspects of social interaction. Even if intersected with issues of 'economics', the value of such capital is not itself economically defined. Regarding this, in the following, I begin with how Bourdieu (1986) defined the idea of 'capital', I will then extend the meaning of 'capital' beyond its specifically economic basis to a broader category.

Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structure, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world.

Pierre Bourdieu (1986: 241)

Capital is accumulated labour, both material and embodied, in living subjects. Capital, also, is historical, as it is accumulated through time. Cultural capital, said Bourdieu (1986), is seen in three forms. It is embodied, in dispositions of the mind and body, it is objectified, in the form of material objects, and it is institutionalized through things like educational qualifications. In all of these three aspects, capital, according to the framework that Bourdieu (1986) has developed, is rendered into physical form through one's embodiment or other material presentation. Capital, therefore, is materialized.

Bourdieu (1986) did not interpret his idea of capital in relation to morality. In my view, its relationship in the moral world is paradoxical in that moral values and meanings may transcend materiality and worldliness. Morality is understood in an immaterial sense, notwithstanding the fact that, inevitably, its presentation is frequently revealed through the medium of materiality.

What I would call 'moral capital', nevertheless, is accumulated by moral agents through their time and application of morally significant labour. It serves to convey the message of one's moral standing to people who share the same ideology in society.

Chapters 4 and 5 will explore how Truku Presbyterians and Pentecostals have responded in their confrontation with different forms of 'capital', through which they perceive ethical value of living in modern society as good Christians. Having adopted distinct moral schemes, the two Protestant groups were led to different understandings, as well as engagements with 'having capital'. The consequences of their moral economy develops in a divergent manner.

Both Truku groups, for example, have incorporated the issue of 'traditional culture' into their Christian ethical order. They, however, have assigned this to opposing meanings. For Presbyterians, their 'Truku' past, along with other social engagements, have been synthesized into the representation of their Presbyterian ethic. Having rescued 'Truku culture' from extinction at the hands of colonial powers, Presbyterians have undertaken a process of cultural continuation which manifests itself through Presbyterian religious practice; this practice also incorporates the secular activities that Presbyterians engage in. Regarding our dominant scholarly view of 'rupture', Chua (2012) examined Christian denominational pluralism and observed how local Christians come up with different ways to connect with their pre-Christian past. Christianity, as she found, has "cultural import but cannot be said to form a singular, uncontested "culture"" (ibid:522). This is parallel with my ethnographic case where Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals formulated distinct moral schemes to understand their traditional culture. Having seen the complexity of Christian pluralism, in other words, our current concerns of cultural discontinuation or continuation, in fact, fail to conceptualize the nuances of how Christianity contributes to the local's response to their pre-Christian 'culture'.

Here, before I move on to the chapters 4 and 5, I clarify how I engage with the concept of 'culture', especially when different levels of conceptualisation are involved. In a broader sense, my thesis explores the 'culture' of Christianity through Truku people's day-to-day social engagement with the wider society of Taiwan, which inevitably involved their indigenous/ethnic status and identity. In chapters 4 and 5, however, the term of "Truku culture" specifically refers to a conceptualization of culture in a reified sense. Being constructed in a specific manner, culture, at this level, is not embedded in Truku people's day-to-day activity, but can be separable from it.

Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, interpreted their past negatively with and in relation to their Christian ethic. The Pentecostal moral scheme is developed through an idea that their pre-Christian life was sinful, a result of demonic work. With this negative moral valence, Truku Pentecostals see their traditional culture as distinct from their Christian status. Besides their pre-Christian past, more generally, the Pentecostal moral scheme is also concerned with a wide range

of activities in contemporary society, such as earning money, education and secular achievements. Pentecostals achieve their good moral condition by *going against* this secular world. Their action of rejection, however, should be understood as meaningful, as it offers a radical solution for practitioners to respond to their confrontation with the relevant power structures with which they engage.

Chapter 4. Presbyterian Ethics and Worldly Capital

The Ciwang fellowship is a famous choir and has high prestige from its singing. In 2011, the fellowship was invited to give a performance for a big concert called the ‘*Sun-Moon-Lake Music Festival*’⁶⁹. In this music festival, the fellowship sang accompanied by one of the best symphony orchestras in Taiwan. This symphony orchestra was led by an outstanding Taiwanese conductor and consisted of more than a hundred musicians, who normally perform in very exclusive venues such as the national concert hall.

I was engaged in this big performance. In order to ensure that the performance went well, the conductor, sometimes, accompanied by some of the musicians came to the local church to practice with us, and we went to Taipei for practice with the whole orchestra as well. The songs we sang for that performance were fairly demanding. With multi-part choruses, the songs required good musical knowledge and the reading of musical notation. This was not a problem for the Ciwang fellowship, since they have had much previous experience performing.

The nearby Taroko National Park sometimes has tourist programs called ‘*Tribal Concerts*’. On these occasions, the Ciwang fellowship is frequently invited to give a performance (Plates 4.1). There is also a local choir, ‘Hsiulin Community Choir’, organized by the local government, in which the Ciwang fellowship was involved. They often have performances for a wide range of activities and events, such as *Mgay Bari*. Apart from these regular activities, sometimes the Ciwang fellowship performs on behalf of various indigenous organizations. They even went to the United Nations in the U.S.A. where they had showcased issues facing indigenous people in Taiwan.



Plates 4.1. Truku Presbyterians' performance at the Taroko National Park, 2011. Photograph by the author.

I joined the Ciwang fellowship for the whole year of my fieldwork. An unanticipated consequence of being involved with the group was that I had opportunities to observe local programs and meetings outside of church activities. For instance, I attended the meetings of local

⁶⁹ ‘*Sun-Moon-Lake*’ is a well-known international tourist spot in Taiwan. This yearly festival had a fireworks show together with a concert, which generally attracts thousands of spectators.

associations, joined a training course for school teachers who teach Truku language, observed competitions of traditional Truku folksongs and attended the conference of *Mgay Bari*. Truku Presbyterians, additionally, actively engaged in issues related to their 'past', such as activities in the mountains. In recent years, a few mountain trips have been made by Presbyterians bringing young people to 'visit' their traditional homeland, and bringing tourists to experience ecotourism⁷⁰.

This chapter will examine Truku Presbyterians' pragmatic engagement with economic, political, social and cultural activities relating to their past. Beginning with an 'exotic' mountain trip that I took with my Presbyterian informants – for two days we hiked through rugged and steep mountain passes⁷¹ covering only about 15 kilometres – I will present Truku Presbyterians' confrontation with the contemporary world under the influence of the colonial Taiwanese society. For decades after Truku people's displacement, Presbyterians have been particularly involved in the process of constructing 'Truku culture', which is entangled with all sorts of accompanying 'capital'. By looking at the Presbyterian ethic, this chapter argues that good Truku Presbyterians are oriented to embody their social roles of being good Christians. The significance of 'being Truku' has been merged with the value of being a good Christian more generally.

4-1. Truku Presbyterians' Confrontation with the Modern Society

During the mountain trip, I had a long chat with Tonny and Hanna, a married couple, both presbyters. Tonny is a retired school principal. His teaching career started at the *Fushi Elementary School* after his study and military service. At that time, the school had two regions, one in the mountains and the other in the plains community. The mountain campus had only two classes of about 40 students in total, who were taught by two teachers. Tonny, a fit young man, was assigned to take charge of the district in the mountains⁷². After one year of teaching, nevertheless, in order to take advantage of the better educational resources, Tonny persuaded all

⁷⁰ Compared with Presbyterians, I found Truku Pentecostals little concerned about their mountain lifestyle of the past. This might partially relate to the issue that, unlike Presbyterians (in upper-Fushi) who still have the land in the mountains today, Truku Pentecostals (largely in lower-Fushi) have lost their mountain lands during the Japanese period and have less ability to maintain a mountain lifestyle. As a result, they have little intention to engage in relevant activities. Sometimes they make a trip to stay overnight in a hostel as they knew the owner. I joined them once. It was organized by their middle-age fellowship for a vocational reason, and allowed families to socialize with each other. Also, another time we went there to host a few significant guests. A few top leaders from their mother church came to visit Kele village, and my informants arranged a trip there for them as a form of hospitality.

⁷¹ In the national park, although there are park trails constructed, local Truku people tend to go for their own "secret paths", which are a short-cut but much steeper.

⁷² "It was a good time teaching in the mountains", Tonny reminisced. "Occasionally wild boars would be found near the school. This was one of the happiest occurrences for the students and teachers alike. When it happened, we stopped the class. Everyone would join in chasing the boars and shouting to drive them in the direction of waiting hunters who would shoot them when they came into view".

of the students and their parents to move down from the mountains and study in the plains school district. Most of the students lived temporarily with their relatives who already lived in the plains community, and some even stayed with Tonny. In total, Tonny served in the *Fushi Elementary School* for 11 years before he obtained the qualification of school principal. He has been assigned to other schools since then.

Hanna, Tonny's wife, was born and grew up in the same neighbourhood in upper-Fushi as Tonny. Once Hanna graduated from elementary school, she then went to the *Hsiulin Junior High School* which was a long walk from her home. She was in the first year of students to be affected by a new government policy in Taiwan, introduced in the 1960s, that required all students to complete nine years of compulsory education. Hanna said of education: "My father felt quite reluctant to send me there. In his opinion, women, sooner or later, would get married and thus didn't have to have much schooling. Also, since the cultivated lands of my family needed to be worked by labourers, he wanted me to stay at home to help. My mother, however, was very supportive. She liked to study. When she studied in a Japanese primary school, she always got the top grade, and she even won a medal".

Like her mother, Hanna performed well academically. She was the best performing student in both elementary and junior high school. Yet, unluckily, Hanna failed the entrance examination of the *Hualien Senior High School* as it was extremely competitive. Nevertheless, at that time, some schools were run by churches. Hanna's teacher brought her to sit their exams. As a result, Hanna enrolled to study at the *Mennonite Nursing School* in Hualien which was established in 1959. Her study was accompanied by an assured job opportunity at the *Mennonite Hospital*, one of the largest hospitals in Hualien, which was constructed in 1948. As described on its website, it had a history of involvement in missionary activities.

The Mennonite Overseas Relief Commission of the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) accepted the invitation of Presbyterian missionaries serving in areas inhabited by aborigines in Taiwan. Missionary doctors began performing medical relief work for the aboriginal people. In the early days, there was no medical station or clinic; their work was restricted to mobile clinics. (The website of the *Mennonite Hospital*⁷³)

Hanna worked as a member of the mobile medical teams of the hospital after her graduation from the nursing school. Having ten people in her team, they mobilized to offer medical services in many remote indigenous communities. Sometimes they came to the mountains in Fushi and stayed overnight. Hanna had worked at the *Mennonite Hospital* through her entire career until retirement.

⁷³ <http://www.mch.org.tw/english/index.asp> http://www.mch.org.tw/english/index_main01.asp

In this mountain trip, after hiking a long-distance, we arrived at the place where we would spend the night. It was the house of Hanna's cousin. The house, a fairly new construction, was built as a bed-and-breakfast for ecotourism, which has become more and more popular in recent years. With no electricity or tap water, the house had two large wooden platforms along each inner wall, with a capacity for 20 people to stay. After dinner, my Presbyterian informants killed two chickens and made chicken-broth with strong alcohol, for which we had already transported several dozen Taiwan Beers by using an old-fashioned method of a cable car (Plate 4.2).



Plate 4.2: Truku people's old-fashioned transportation in the mountains. Photograph by the author.

We sat around a bonfire in the evening. Watan, one of Hanna's cousins, also came to join us. He brought us a high percentage alcohol, *Kaoliang* (高粱 *Kaoliang Liquor*). Watan owns another bed-and-breakfast nearby. He is a leader of an association called '*The Autonomy of Ton-Li Ecological Development*'. Watan was talking about his recent project called '*Journey of heritage and cultural discovery*'. As part of this project in the coming weekends, he was going to lead 30-40 young people on a two-day trip in the mountains, and would need to arrange some women to take charge of work such as cooking. People were also chatting about other issues. Some conversions about the Taroko National Park. Below I present parts of their chat through my field-notes from that day.

"Alas! soon after the government had moved us down from the mountains, the park was established right away. This must have been all thought out and deliberate." One expressed his negative opinion of the park.

"Well, but if it's not the park, mountain lands here might have been purchased by large syndicates and capitalists. I have it by hearsay that many had come to have a look", another person replied.

"Yet, now the government seems to want to purchase more and more lands from us. They might turn it into a place like an ecological centre and so on. But, NO! we definitely cannot let the government take our land away. This is our place and we want to manage it by ourselves". This was a response from the minister of the *Ciwang Church* who also joined the trip.

The topic of their conversation shifted to their idea about constructing a bamboo church in the mountains, which they planned would have the capacity for 70 people.

Watan, a Presbyterian in another nearby church, said: "We have to think about how to integrate the three Presbyterian churches to run the affairs and services of the bamboo church in turn. There is probably no problem for the *Ciwang Church*, but the communication between the other two [in the neighbourhood 9, see 3-1] needs to be mediated by others".

Their chatter was gradually replaced by more and more singing. Soon the night became quieter as people got drunk one by one until we went to bed. The next day, before the departure on our journey, the Presbyterian minister conducted a prayer to wish us good luck:

Thank you, our beloved God. Thanks for giving us this opportunity to experience the life in the mountains that our elders had in the past. We now understand that working in our labors is not an easy task.

The wider environment has been changed. Yet, since our young fellows have now learnt the lesson of working hard by the experience of the trip, we hope that they will be tough and brave to face the challenge they will encounter in the future.

We indigenous Taiwanese are inferior in this society. Having a strong-minded attitude to overcome all sorts of difficulties, hopefully, one day, we will be crowned with the glory of being Truku.

Through the mountain trip, I learnt how Presbyterians dealt with social change, including their relations to the Taroko National Park, educational policy, feelings of ethnic inferiority, Christian institutions and also the habit of drinking alcohol. Presbyterians tend to adapt themselves to circumstances that complied with the colonial social environment. For instance, they are willing to get involved in relevant developments of the park, such as ecotourism⁷⁴, in spite of feeling somewhat hostile to the park. Their tendency toward social engagement had led to them to accept pragmatic benefits such as economic and social capital.

4-2. Social and Ethnic Movements

Truku Presbyterians have been involved in the construction of 'Truku culture' for decades. In this section, starting with the historical context, I will examine ethnic movements in which Presbyterians have been strongly engaged: issues such as tension over Truku people's loss of land, ethnic classification and Presbyterian identity in general. The Presbyterian Church has been a powerful driving force behind many social and ethnic movements. As Simon (2011:57) indicated, "In Taiwan, an autonomous social movement, often tied in a complex, multi-stranded relationship

⁷⁴ In upper Fushi and middle Fushi, many shops, restaurants and hotels are oriented towards tourists, especially in the area where the highway to the park runs through. Simon (2002) indicated that many of these tourist businesses were run by Han-Taiwanese or Truku people whose spouses/relatives are Han-Taiwanese. This, however, did not take into account the influence of their religious background. In fact, it was Truku people themselves who organized local associations and ran ecotourism. Presbyterians' engagement with constructing the idea of 'Truku culture' should not be ignored.

to certain factions in the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) (Allio 1998; Stainton 1995)” leads to challenges to the locals’ social dynamics. Having a specific mission trajectory, Presbyterianism tends to be involved in social affairs, and has fostered the emergence of ‘Truku culture’. Supported by the wider Taiwanese society, ‘Truku culture’ also brings along plenty of opportunities for Presbyterians to become involved in the contemporary capitalist world.

Beginning

‘Return Our Land’, established in 1988, was the earliest indigenous movement in Taiwan. This was also a significant campaign as it later evolved into several other events, such as ‘Return Our Name’. These movements then fought against some other issues such as the Lanyu nuclear waste facility, national parks and also the Asia-Cement Company (Stainton, 2002a). ‘Return Our Land’ was led by a group of young intellectuals who organized the ‘Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines’ (ATA) established in 1984. The ATA was formulated as a response to a policy of ‘Mountain Reserve Land’ in 1981. In this policy, indigenous Taiwanese only had usufruct and not freehold rights to use their homelands.

The ATA was created with significant Presbyterian participation, in the form of financial support, as well as membership of many clergy. In fact, the Presbyterian Church had many issues with the ‘Mountain Reserve Land’ policy. At that time, over 200 Presbyterian churches in indigenous communities were built in reserve regions on land that was owned by church members and given to the church. After implementation of this policy, many churches began receiving bills from local governments for land rent from 1981 (Stainton, 2002a). This policy angered many Presbyterians. In early 1986, they decided to take a new approach, in order to strengthen the emerging petition campaign for land rights. Stainton (2002a) has described how they used a poster with a slogan ‘Return our Land’ to address the underlying question of who owned the land, through which, “a Bible verse alluding to a key Biblical precedent was added: ‘God forbids that I should give you the inheritance of my ancestors (I Kings 21:3)’”.

In 1987, the ATA mobilized together with other indigenous groups, following an incident⁷⁵ that occurred in another indigenous Bunun village. For this, the Presbyterian Church organized a major consultation of all indigenous congregations. They passed a declaration stating that “Our mission in this time and place should be to emphasize the contextualization of the gospel, the contextualization of Aboriginal people, and Return our Land” (Stainton, 2002a). Afterwards, a six day educational event was held addressing issues of land rights. The association of the ‘Return

⁷⁵ The ‘Dongpu Graves Incident’: A contractor who built a tourist hotel in March 1987 dug up a modern graveyard in Dongpu, a Bunun village in central Taiwan.

Our Land Alliance’ was then organized, and eventually a large-scale protest was launched in Taipei on the 25th of August, 1988.

Another movement, ‘*Name Rectification*’, was initiated to struggle for the official recognition of independent ethnic group status. This issue needs to be traced back to the history of how indigenous Taiwanese were classified by the colonial governments (see 1-2). From the time of Japanese colonization, indigenous Taiwanese were classified into nine ethnic groups, a scheme also adopted by the subsequent KMT government. Some ethnic groups felt quite wronged, especially those who had been classified under other ethnic groups. The movement of ‘*Name Rectification*’ was thus started to express their group identities.

The classification of the three groups – Atayal, Truku and Sediq – is one example. For longer than a century, both Truku and Sediq were classified as a sub-group of Atayal, in which the Truku group was known as ‘East-Sediq’ and the Sediq as ‘West-Sediq’. It is through the campaign of ‘*Name Rectification*’ that the Truku group successfully received recognition as an independent ethnic group in 2004 and the Sediq in 2008. Today, the three ethnic groups are now distinct and separate.

The ‘Truku Name Rectification’ Campaign

Though Atayal, Truku and Sediq share some similarities of language and culture, their distribution and residential patterns are quite different due to their separate histories of migration. In the past, group identity could be related to and defined by peoples’ relation to place; however, due to generations of complex intermarriages, ethnic identity among the three groups has come to be a matter of personal history.

To a degree, the *Truku Name Rectification* is the social product of a debate over identity. Its success came as a result of its relation to the dramatic political changes in Taiwan at that time. This campaign was first launched in the Ciwang Church in 1996, by the ‘*Truku General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*’. In addition to church members, many local elites and politicians from Truku society were also invited to attend⁷⁶. The *Truku Name Rectification* campaign brought the

⁷⁶ As illustrated by Chiu (2004:149), there is a statement that displayed their standpoint in the preface of the handbook of the seminar:

We have our own traditional culture, ancestral spirits and language. [...] but we have no position in the current administrative classification. [...] The government adopted the classification of academics to name us, but it misunderstood the real relationships among us and other groups [...] For the coming establishment of the ‘*Indigenous People’s Committee*’, we hold this seminar for the campaign, ‘*Truku Name Rectification*’, to put issues on table for a public discussion, including indigenous people’s history, language, distribution areas, traditional culture and so on.

We hope to combine our understandings to strive for our ethnic dignity and our rights. Eventually we seek for the recognition from the government to rectify us as the Truku group – to add a new category to the indigenous classification. (Chiu, 2004:149, my translation)

debate concerning the relations among Atayal, Truku and Sediq, out of academia and government and into the public sphere. Yet, as the differentiation among them varies from person to person, the overall statement was not agreed upon by everyone, nor was there agreement on the use of 'Truku' as the group's name.

The general debate over Truku identity was split among three positions. One stance was strongly maintained by an influential Truku scholar, Masau Mowna⁷⁷. By devoting his life to exploring local history, Mowna's endeavours have been significant for Truku history. Mowna deemed that Truku and Sediq should still maintain their place as parts of Atayal, for they share similarities of language and culture. Though it had some supporters, this position collapsed after Masau Mowna's death in 1999. Afterwards, the debate proceeded along two directions between Truku supporters and Sediq supporters⁷⁸ and became more contentious. During the six years between 1996 and 2002, seminars were run one-after-another in order to resolve these tensions (Table 4.1).

Date	Place	Organizer	Name
07. 10. 1996	The Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church	Truku General Assembly of the PCT	Truku Name Rectification Seminar
15. 05. 1997	The Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church	The Truku Cultural Development Association	Truku Name Rectification Seminar
18. 10. 1998	Hualien Vocational High School of Agriculture	Association of Truku Construction	Name Rectification of the indigenous group of Truku
20-21. 12. 2001	Youth Activity Centre	The Wanrung Work Station	Finding our Origin and Rectification of the Truku Name
14. 09. 2002	Hualien County Council	Township Offices of Hsiulin, Wanrung and Chuoshi, and Hualien County Government	Taiwan indigenous Truku group: Name Rectification and Self-governance Policy
November, 2002	The 'Association for Promotion of the Truku Name Rectification' was organized and started a declaration about "Truku" name rectification.		
March, 2003	More than 13000 signatures for the petition of the Truku Name Rectification		
14, 01, 2004	Eventually the movement succeeded		

Table 4.1: The process of *Truku Name Rectification* (information from Chiu, 2004: 152 and Wang 2008:10-11).

Through this process, nevertheless, conflicts increased, and people became hostile and opposed each other. In fact, tensions had been accumulating for a long time, which took the form of another matter relating to the Presbyterian Church. According to Chiu (2004:150-151), for some time, the Presbyterian Churches in Nantou (where mostly Sediq /'West-Sediq' people lived) used to be administratively linked to the Presbyterian Churches in Hualien (where most are

⁷⁷ Mowna (1939-1999) was the first Truku person to achieve a higher education. His Chinese name was Shou-Chen Liao. He got his degree in history from the *National Taiwan University*, where he was also inspired by an anthropologist working with the Atayal group. Mowna conducted lengthy fieldwork and many interviews.

⁷⁸ Sediq supporters argued that Truku is just one faction of Sediq; to them, even if they are East-Sediq, Truku are people who come from a West-Sediq background. But from Truku supporters' perspective, East-Sediq are stronger and more numerous than the West-Sediq (in Hualien they are 90% majority); they should separate themselves from either Atayal and Sediq.

Truku/‘East-Sediq’), through an administrative body known as the ‘*Truku*’ General Assembly. As this suggested that West-Sediq and East-Sediq groups were the same group, it made West-Sediq Presbyterians feel discontent. They requested the General Assembly many times to change the name of the ‘*Truku*’ General Assembly. Eventually, all these issues led to group conflicts and reached a head when the Truku people launched the campaign for *Truku Name Rectification* (Chiu, 2004: 150).

Despite beginning with religious tensions, the *Truku Name Rectification* campaign took on political dimensions. As we can see from Table 4.1, this process was initially organized by a group of Presbyterians and launched in a church. Subsequently, events were conducted by local organizations, and held at places outside the church, such as school campuses. By the last stage, it had even been promoted to national level. In 2002, a seminar was held at the Hualien County Council by the local government, combining a few townships, together with the Hualien County Government.

This progressed in the background of the political climate relating to the Democratic Progressive Party’s governance (DPP). With a liberal outlook, the policies of the DPP opened a window for indigenous affairs and allowed ethnic issues a place for debate at the national level. In 1999, Truku and Sediq delegates signed the ‘*New Partnership Agreement between the Indigenous Peoples and the Government of Taiwan*’ as distinct nations with the presidential candidate of the DPP, Shui-bian Chen (Simon, 2011:46 and Wang, 2008:12). By the time of the new presidency of the DPP in 2000, indigenous issues had become part of mainstream politics. One of President Chen’s first moves was to name Yohani Isqaqavut, a Presbyterian minister and activist of the Bunun tribe, as the first indigenous activist chair of the *Executive Yuan Council of Aboriginal Affairs*. In 2001, also, “the Basic Law on the Guarantee of Human Rights submitted to the Legislative Yuan included strong language to protect indigenous rights” (Simon, 2002)⁷⁹. Additionally, in August of 2003, there was an election to decide the head of Hualien County. In order to gain support from voters, the candidate declared his intention to support the *Truku Name Rectification* (Wang, 2008:11).

The atmosphere of social change continued as a tenth indigenous group, *Thao*, struggling for recognition, was successfully recognized in 2001, and an eleventh, *Kavalan*, was recognized in 2002. Subsequently, in 2003, when a local candidate for election was seeking support from voters,

⁷⁹ Also in Simon (2009:1) “In the domestic legal framework of the Republic of China (Taiwan), the most important change to date has been the passage of the Basic Law on Indigenous Peoples (yuanzhuminzu jibenfa, 原住民族基本法) on January 21, 2005. As new legislation based on the Basic Law is drafted and implemented, Taiwanese indigenous peoples hope to regain many aspects of autonomy, including the right to organize their economies.”

he declared his intention to support the *Truku Name Rectification* if elected. This support facilitated the success of the 'Name Rectification' campaign and the Truku became the twelfth distinct ethnic group in 2004 (Wang, 2008:11).

Thus Truku Presbyterians became involved in the political field, going from being voiceless to speaking their name and voice loudly in public. Their social and political engagement facilitated the emergence of 'Truku culture' in the subsequent years and decades. 'Truku culture', supported by the wider mainstream society, became the key area to which different forms of capital converge and from where they are transmitted.

4-3. Creating Opportunities

Though receiving some criticism that the recognition of the 'Truku' was merely the result of the political tactics of others, Truku ethnicity gained recognition as distinct nonetheless. Despite the fact that Truku identity is ambiguous in daily lives – whether one regards oneself as Truku, Atayal or Sediq depending on one's personal history – in the public domain, a clear space had been created for the enactment of a specifically Truku identity. This was accompanied by many opportunities and possibilities involving in the idea of 'Truku culture'.

In reality, the content of 'Truku culture' at this stage remained blurred. After all, it had been a long time, since the Japanese colonial period, that Truku people stopped practicing their 'culture'. Some elements of their tradition had been banned, some were forgotten and some were replaced with modern ways. Specifically, head-hunting, facial-tattooing and their collective rituals, for example, were banned long ago; hunting activities had become illicit with the establishment of the national park, and their traditional weaving method was replaced with modern techniques.

Rescuing 'Truku culture'

To a degree, 'Truku culture' was in danger of vanishing. Especially with the rapidity of the elder generations' fading away, 'Truku culture' might have even become extinct if people did not dedicate themselves to 'rescuing' it. The compilation of the Truku Dictionary, for instance, was a concern for one of the members of the committee who expressed his worry. "We are now having a race with our elders' lifespans. Since many of the elders that we are relying on are in their 80s, or even 90s, we have to work with all speed to record our Truku language as much as possible". A similar example was given by a cultural worker, Peliu, about the vanishing of facial-tattooing. Peliu has been engaged in preserving the culture of facial-tattooing since the 1990s. "There were about 300 elders who wore facial-tattoos in Taiwan at that time, but, in 2012, there are only four left. I have to do my best to record this culture. Facial-tattooing is going to be extinct soon once all the elders die", said Peliu.

With the establishment of 'Truku' as a recognized group, an official space for 'Truku culture' was created. Yet, since its content remained unclear, this made the construction of 'Truku culture' necessary. Almost all areas of their traditional culture needed to be recorded, explored, and 'rescued', including the Truku language, Truku history (especially related to the Truku War, traditional living regions and migration routes etc.), Truku songs and dance, traditional weaving skills, facial-tattooing, traditional medical knowledge and so on. Due to the urgency of preserving 'Truku culture', particularly given the rapid social change going on, the local government provided some subsidies to support the work of reviving 'Truku culture'. In addition, projects related to indigenous cultures, more generally, were sponsored by the central government. A 'culture industry' flourished in Taiwan, which took on the reconstruction of 'Truku culture'.

In terms of social and ethnic movements such as *Return Our Land*, as noted by Rudolph (2004), it was, in fact, mainly indigenous elites who were involved in those activities. The preservation of 'Truku culture' was no exception. It was basically constructed by local elites, not ordinary people. Despite ordinary people sometimes being involved, they generally played a passive role, by attending various programs which were run and monopolised by elites. Through 'rescuing' Truku traditional culture from oblivion, local elites received the benefits and shared all sorts of capital that 'Truku culture' entailed.

Local elites usually come from several career types. Some are school teachers (especially directors and principals), some are local politicians and public servants, and some are Presbyterian clergymen. Many of them engaged in cultural issues as part of undergoing higher education. To obtain a master's degree, for example, local elites conducted interviews and recorded various kinds of local stories. They maintained a hold on the interpretation and construction of their group history from a local point of view⁸⁰.

'Cultural knowledge' is the core expertise that local elites who run cultural businesses possess. The value of cultural knowledge is well regarded by the wider Taiwanese society, as it wants to know more about indigenous culture. Initially, cultural knowledge was represented as intangible. Yet, as anything related to 'Truku' has become a treasure, other opportunities have become entangled with its related activities, performances, competitions, cultural products, publishing, media and so on, tangible capital was brought in. The content of 'Truku culture', however, underwent a process of deliberate construction, instead of emerging from people's empirical

⁸⁰ In recent years, Truku elites put their efforts into the issue of '*Indigenous Self-government and Autonomy*'. This idea has been put as a draft plan onto the agenda of the Executive Yuan (the highest level of the executive branch) of Taiwan since 2003. Although it remains pending due to having no practical method implementation proposed, Truku elites still devote themselves to the possibility of self-government. They continue to hope that their dream of self-governance will one day come true.

everyday life experience. This contributed to the ‘contestation’ of cultural knowledge for the purpose of the authentic representation of Truku tradition.

Objectified ‘Truku Culture’

Min-Zen Shen⁸¹, a school president, belongs to the local elite. Through his story, this section will exemplify how the knowledge of ‘Truku culture’ is constructed, objectified and manipulated in contemporary Truku society. Now in his 50-60s, Min-Zen Shen’s first memories of learning about his own ‘culture’ came from the time he was a child sitting on his mother’s knee. Having a personal interest in these old stories, he dedicated himself to digging deep into a large amount of literature to expand his knowledge. Other than learning about local history from the literature, he conducted many interviews with local elders⁸².

I met Min-Zen Shen at a cultural event I went to with Tahan (Tahan’s story see chapter 5) in the middle stage of my fieldwork. At that time, I was struggling to understand Truku traditional cosmology, *utux/gaya*. I asked Tahan: “What is *utux/gaya*?”. He then brought me to Min-Zen Shen and said: “Here you go! He is an expert on that topic”. After hearing my question, Min-Zen Shen sat down and explained it for me. For the first time, the shape of Truku cosmology dawned upon me through his clear elaboration. Following what he described to me as traditional Truku cosmology (see the quote below), I drew a conceptual map (Figure 4.1) based on his illustration.

Our ancestors believed that when people died, they would cross a rainbow bridge called ‘*hakaw utux*’ to reunite with their dead parents or relatives, who are ‘*utux rudan*’ (ancestral spirits). The uppermost *utux* in the world is called ‘*tminlun utux*’. The word ‘*tminlun*’ means weaving. Here the idea is that the world is woven by the creator, ‘*tminlun utux*’.

Conceptually, an ‘*alang*’ is divided into four dimensions, though in reality they are actually entwined together but not separated in everyday life. ‘*Ltux dara*’ (blood relations), ‘*dupan*’ (hunting), ‘*smpuwan mkan*’ (commensal group) and ‘*smiyus*’ (worship and belief)...

In our system, an *alang* is like a country. We hunted animals, and we kept their heads, which means that “originally you were my enemy, but now you’re my family”. Those heads represented the consolidation of the spiritual power of the family, clan and ‘*alang*’. Thus, when people see so many heads around, they know that “Wow! so many souls there. This place must have a very strong power”. For this reason, nobody would dare to invade it. Those heads were our defence”.

⁸¹ He was a Catholic in his childhood but stopped practicing Christianity when he grew up.

⁸² With a great amount of knowledge on culture, Min-Zen Shen published a book in 1998 named ‘*The People Who Believed In Ancestral Spirits: Sediq*’. Strictly speaking, Min-Zen Shen has a background in a Sediq group. In response to my question about Truku cosmology, nevertheless, he provided a general cosmological illustration which is shared by both Truku and Sediq sub-group background.

(My interview with Min-Zen Shen)

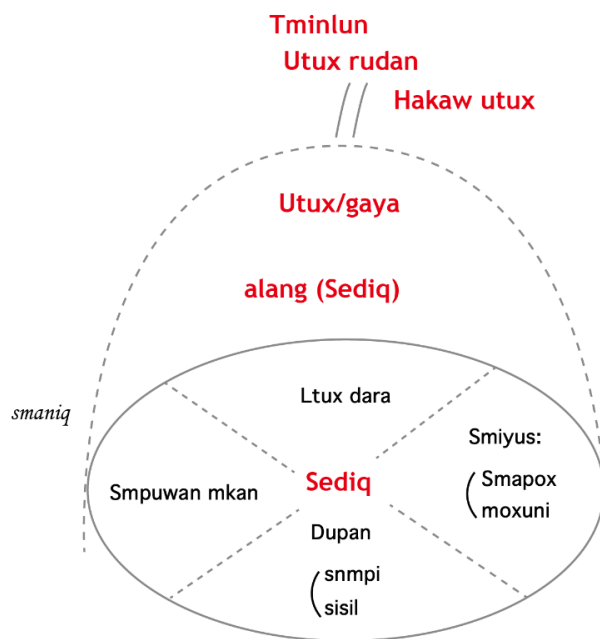


Figure 4.1: A conceptual map of Truku traditional worldview.

In order to make sure that I had grasped ideas, I showed this map to Min-Zen Shen for his confirmation. Aware that this is grounded in *his* knowledge, I also showed it to other informants, by which means I tried to get a consistent opinion. This process was fairly frustrating. Many of my informants were not equipped with the knowledge of *their culture*, especially Pentecostal members. They looked confused about this topic and I got from them a ‘universal’ response: “You should go to ask Presbyterian clergymen. They are experts on that”.

In reality, Truku people’s knowledge about ‘Truku culture’, such as *utux/gaya*, varies from person to person. It depends on, for instance, their age, living experiences with elders, career, and their religious background. From Min-Zen Shen’s perspective, Truku language is the key factor in preserving their traditional culture:

Today, the representation of *utux* has been twisted. Young people even don’t know what *utux* is about, because it’s no longer significant in people’s everyday life. All the life values we learned are from Han-Chinese. Our mother tongue gradually has no real meaning to us.

Only when we still maintain the habit of using the Truku language in our everyday life, those corresponding meanings and circumstances can be maintained in our thinking pattern. Otherwise, alas, our tradition will gradually disappear.

Nowadays, all the customs, habits and life values are from Han-Chinese, but no longer ours. Han people, and also Japanese, consider things as “mine/my”. They occupy lands and categorized them as “theirs”. This is not our Truku thinking pattern at all.

We, in the past, bartered clothes or other stuff without using currency. We moved to other areas if the original one didn't have a good harvest. If a woman would become my wife, I then went to prepare several pigs and some clothes for this union. This is our way: we live together we share together. After all, one day we will all leave the world. Human beings are mortal anyway. (My interview with Min-Zen Shen, 2011)

Through this interpretation, Min-Zen Shen grounded his idea of ‘Truku culture’ in the context of Han colonization, in which language, culture, economy, thinking patterns and social logic are entwined. Here, it is not much a matter of whether his way of interpreting their culture is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. His elaboration indicated the extent to which he objectified ‘Truku’ and shaped a way of thinking about ‘Truku’ as distinct. Instead of emerging from people’s day-to-day life experience of the present, ‘Truku culture’ has been objectified, constructed as a kind of knowledge by local elites. It has also been viewed as an object rather than something Truku people are subject to in their everyday life.

The revival of ‘Truku culture’ is mostly constructed to let people know their ‘tradition’ from olden days. In the modern society, ‘Truku culture’ becomes the core that is bound up with different dimensions such as tourism, politics and economics. Through their efforts to preserve and construct ‘Truku culture’, Presbyterian followers have gained a high degree of access to different forms of capital that ‘Truku culture’ entails. In fact, it is not that ‘Truku’ is valued alone. Their engagement with it is oriented by their Presbyterian ethic. The significance of ‘Truku’ is actually subordinated to their idea of the Christian God (see chapter 6). Yet, Truku Presbyterians did not revive their old culture in a way that conflicts with their Christian worldview. Animal sacrifices, for instance, have been removed from their traditional method of sacrifice, but have been given a new meaning of thanks giving more generally.

4-4. *Mgay Bari*

In recent years, the Truku group has started conducting their collective ritual called *Mgay Bari*. This has been established as an annual event and been scheduled into an official agenda. The process of constructing *Mgay Bari* involved a long term discussion that was initiated in 1999. With the financial support of the local government, a group of Truku politicians and educated elites organized their first collective and inter-village ritual. Nevertheless, as Rudolph (2008: 106-107) indicated, “[...] their so called “ancestral-spirits-ritual” was supposed to serve as a model for all further activities of this kind. In their view, an overarching Taroko [Truku] identity could be forged and consolidated with the help of a common ritual celebrated collectively at least once a year”. Regarding how their collective rituals are ‘revitalized’, Rudolph (2008:110-111)

also noted that the factors which contributed to the outcome of Truku ritual refer to “its incompatibility with Christianity on the one hand and elites’ competition on the other”.

A Historical Context

Mgay means ‘giving’ or ‘offering’.

Bari means ‘gods’, ‘god-of-bestowment’ or ‘utux’.

The term *Mgay Bari* means ‘Thanksgiving Ritual’.

The meaning of *Mgay Bari* (above) was illustrated by a Presbyterian minister, Tong-Yi Xu (Wang, 2008:23). The name of *Mgay Bari*, however, is full of controversy. It has been too long since Truku people stopped practicing their collective ritual occurred at the level of *alang* in the past; the knowledge of it did not get passed down through the generations. Despite having the idea of reviving ‘Truku culture’ by restoring the Truku ritual, the details of its contents remained blurred.

The term, *Mgay Bari*, for the name of Truku ritual, was actually discovered by a Presbyterian clergyman in a book written by the Japanese ethnologist Sayama, Yukichi (1917). It meant “to feed the spirits” (Rudolph, 2008:107-108). A few other terms were also suggested by some educated elites. ‘*Mekan hadul*’ was one example that referred to head-hunting rituals (Rudolph, 2008: 108). For a while, a number of differing opinions were going around concerning the most suitable term for their ritual. In order to force a consensus among the people involved, the local government conducted a seminar called ‘*Truku Group Ritual Seminar*’ in 2006.

According to the program exhibited in the seminar’s report (2006)⁸³, I learnt that people who were invited to give a talk at the seminar were almost all senior Presbyterian clergymen. Through their speeches to the audience, Truku people’s traditional life was portrayed, interpreted and imbued with authority. The final section of the program was a round-table forum. The discussion was opened by the chair, who said: “We had been discussing the name of our ritual for many years. Now, finally, we have reached an agreement to use *Mgay Bari*”. In this forum, in fact, many questions were asked by the audience who wanted to clarify its meaning, such as whether *Bari* is equal to God or not (2006:58). Regardless of those disagreements, this name, *Mgay Bari*, was successfully adopted by the local government as the official name of Truku ritual.

Though, to some degree, the local government has the authority to run cultural activities, they actually relied on senior Presbyterian clergymen who have the expertise of ‘Truku culture’. The *Cultural Department* of the local government is a small team. Only the head, a Catholic, was senior in her position, the other three administrators were quite junior, and basically they only take care

⁸³ ‘*The Seminar’s Report of Truku rituals*’ (2006) was a document made by the Hsiulin Township.

of paper work. The actual knowledge of 'Truku culture' is manipulated by those Truku experts – mainly senior Presbyterians – who are almost 'saintlike' in terms of their knowledge of 'Truku culture'.

The term *Mgay Bari* was suggested by powerful Presbyterian clergymen. Yet, since it was not a current term that was 'alive' in contemporary Truku society, some disagreement still emerged behind the official scenes as, after all, no one had actually heard about it. An opinion was given by a Presbyterian member. "In terms of our Truku language, we should only record what we are actually using, rather than creating new words. Some words, if they were foreign words, don't matter, we should just leave them foreign. But our clergymen are stubborn regarding this issue. *Mgay Bari* is one of the examples of the new terms. Our clergymen use abstruse language to make themselves stand out".

Facing some discordant opinions⁸⁴, those Presbyterian clergymen who were involved in recreating the term felt quite upset that their Truku followers did not appreciate their good-intentions, as Ricky said to me:

It was my idea to use the word *Mgay Bari*. I learnt this term from reading Japanese archives which had a record about Truku ritual. People criticized that they had never heard this term, but Japanese people DO have this record in their archives. *Mgay Bari* was indeed our traditional ritual.

We must organize our own ritual by now. It is only through it, we can strengthen our identity of being Truku. The meaning of it is, in fact, much more important than what it is called. Alas, but people don't understand about this, they criticized the name for nothing.

(My interview with Ricky, 2012)

Organization of Mgay Bari

In 2011, the local government decided to run *Mgay Bari* over a series of weekends with each day's event being run by one of nine townships. The running of the event was conducted as a competition between the townships. A 'Call for Proposals' was opened before it started, through which the government authorized one local group to take charge of conducting this event. At this stage, in Fushi village, there was competition between at least two cultural associations. One was Ciray's cultural association, and the other group was organized by the current village-head, Luby. Ciray is a Presbyterian, whereas Luby is a member of the Pentecostal True Jesus Church. More precisely, Ciray, an active Presbyterian, had been frequently elected as a presbyter in his life. Luby, on the other hand, was criticized as a 'weak' member of the Pentecostal church due to her

⁸⁴ For the Truku group, people's opinions in *Mgay Bari* can be quite various depending on individuals. Generally speaking, Presbyterian ministers are more likely to possess a positive attitude on this issue, although a few individuals would have a negative view or would tend to avoid commenting on it.

involvement in politics (see chapter 5). Despite facing some criticism, with her easy-going and friendly nature, Luby is still well-liked by others.

Ciray was very keen to have his application accepted to conduct *Mgay Bari*. He did not want to see Luby get the job of running it. He somewhat looked down upon Luby's capacity to handle *Mgay Bari*. "Luby has no sense about Truku culture", Ciray sighed. "She knows nothing about it. All that she wanted is the money, as well as the benefits that she can gain from this event". In order to gain support for his proposal, Ciray invited his Presbyterian flock to his house, through which he promoted his idea called '*Finding Our Roots: where do our elders come from?*'. In their meeting, Ciray also offered delicious chicken broth, with thick alcohol added, to treat his Presbyterian fellows. Ciray's application nonetheless failed. The proposal submitted by Luby presented a better plan to mobilize residents to participate in the event. Being the current village-head, after all, Luby had the network, assistants and supporters.



Figure 4.2: The pamphlet of *Mgay Bari* in 2011. The main figure in this pamphlet was one of the seven presbyters of the Ciwang Church. He was also an ex village-head.

This series of *Mgay Bari* events in 2011, as the pamphlet (Figure 4.2) shows, was scheduled from the 3rd of September to the 30th of October, conducted in different townships in turn. Though it looked as if every township had room to design this event, by running it through a mechanism of competition between townships, it was actually monitored by, and under the supervision of, the local government. A committee had been organized to judge the top four townships to receive awards by giving a score to each *Mgay Bari* event. In order to make the judging process fair, some principles had been proposed as significant aspects to be assessed. One was called 'traditional

ritual', for which an official script had been provided by the government as a sample. The design of a 'traditional bamboo house' was another one, which was constructed a couple of days before the event.

Many members of this committee were senior Presbyterian clergymen. Their authority concerning Truku knowledge had been extended to wider forms of authority, such as the municipal government, outside the churches. Below, I present two photos (Plates 4.3) which were taken from a *Mgay Bari* in a nearby village. On that day, as the program had not started yet when I arrived, I walked around observing their preparations. This scene caught my attention immediately. It was an old Truku man, and a Truku boy, who had dressed-up as actors to perform a 'traditional ritual' at the opening ceremony. While they were practicing, a Presbyterian minister was standing alongside to guide them on how to speak their lines well, so that the performance could be done properly, and they would get a high score.



Plates 4.3: The event of *Mgay Bari* in Chong-de Village on the 10th of September, 2011. Participants are doing their preparation. The elder and the boy are practicing their performance for the opening ceremony, and a Presbyterian minister is helping them to do a good presentation. Photograph by the author.

Mgay Bari was virtually under the control of the Presbyterians. Besides these cultural experts, its participation, as well as execution, was also determined by Presbyterians. My informants said that in the past, *Mgay Bari* was usually conducted on Saturday. This was attributed to Presbyterians' wish to avoid having a time that would conflict with their Lord's Day worship on Sunday. Truku Pentecostals did not participate much. Frequently, when others complained about their absence, Pentecostals would explain that, on Saturday, they had their Sabbath. Hoping to improve the attendance from Pentecostal practitioners – or, at least, to give them no excuse to

not attend *Mgay Bari* – a decision was made that the village would hold this event either on Saturday or Sunday in turn every year.

The day of *Mgay Bari* in Fushi, 2011, was a Sunday. Its program was scheduled from 9am to 5pm at the Fushi softball-and-baseball field. To avoid having a time conflict with the Lord's Day worship, the Ciwang Presbyterian Church advanced their customary church service to 7am, in the early morning. This service was a bit short on that day, since people had to run to *Mgay Bari* after that. Before the sermon was about to finish, a Presbyterian minister reminded the whole congregation: "*Mgay Bari* is conducted to worship Jesus. This should be very clear to everyone. Today, if you hear any concern from anybody who feels confused about this issue, please help to make this clear".

I arrived at the venue at about 8am. Some attendees had already clustered in their own rest areas⁸⁵ which were parallel to two sides of the central square. For the coming performances, some were wearing traditional Truku costume. White in colour, with the typical icon (the totem of ancestor's-eyes) on it, these were of modern construction, not hand woven. Also, some participants were doing their 'make-up'. They put 'facial-tattoo stickers' on their faces, which were offered by the local government (Plates 4.4).



Plates 4.4: The event of *Mgay Bari* in Fushi on the 23rd of October, 2011. Participants are putting on 'facial-tattoo stickers'. Photograph by the author.

A 'traditional bamboo house' (Plate 4.5)⁸⁶ was constructed at the opposite end of the stage. On the door, a sign was hung with the word '*Bsngan*' (the traditional name of the area around central

⁸⁵ Following their groupings of *Qrgi*, *Bsngan*, *Ayug*, *Skadang* and *Rowcing* that I mentioned in Chapter 3.

⁸⁶ It was decorated with some dry crops, like corn and millet, and a few animal skulls that I could not recognize. The inside of the house had a central area and a big stove for cooking. A bamboo bed was on the right side, and the left side had a bamboo stand for sitting on and putting things, on which a traditional loom was placed, and some woven clothes hung around. Outside the house, there was a large table with

Fushi) written on it, and an animal head was hung above it. The program of *Mgay Bari* began with a ‘traditional ritual’, during which a Truku elder took charge acting as a tribal leader (Plate 4.6)⁸⁷. This actor was, in reality, a retired Presbyterian minister. He had served the Ciwang Church for a long time. Living just in front of the church, nowadays he still goes to church services every week, and his son has the position of deacon there.



Plate 4.5: A traditional bamboo house was constructed a few days before the event of *Mgay Bari* in Fushi. Photograph by the author.



Plate 4.6: The beginning of the ‘traditional ritual’ performed by a Truku elder in the event of *Mgay Bari* in Fushi. Photograph by the author.

The main program of activities on that day consisted of a series of performances and competitions. Some elements of ‘Truku culture’ were represented in these performances, such as the idea of head-hunting and wild-boar hunting (Plate 4.7).

food to provide a ‘Truku flavoured meal’ to guests; dishes included millet-wine, sticky banana rice, taro and some meats.

⁸⁷ His ‘performance’ started when he walked out of the bamboo house to the front stage. A group of reporters and cameramen then focused their cameras and followed his actions. He first went to a secluded corner near, but behind, the main venue.

Once arrived, he took sweet potatoes and grain from plastic bags, and placed them on the ground with stones. He knelt down, touched the crops and started to murmur. According to my informants who used to observing some elders who were doing rituals, ‘murmuring’ is an authentic kind of traditional Truku prayer. “Our elders were always murmuring when they conducted rituals. We couldn’t hear what they said, because they were actually talking to spirits rather than human beings”, they said.

The actor, then, walked back to the main square, where he announced a call to assemble the leaders of the five groups (*Qrgi*, *Bsngan*, *Ayug*, *Skadang* and *Rowcing*). He allocated each of them a bag of sand and stones, which symbolically represented receiving the blessing from his prayer. Those leaders went back to their tent areas, and led about 30 participants of their own group to the centre of the venue.

Once the whole congregation had been assembled in the main square, the elder went to a bamboo altar, with a plate of crops and two animals’ heads, located in front of the congregation. With a microphone, he conducted a speech, a public prayer, in which he wished that the coming year would be full of harvest and blessing. His performance ended here. A few talks, given by politicians, followed for the opening ceremony.



Plate 4.7: A Truku man played the role of a head-hunter in the event of *Mgay Bari* in Fushi. Photograph by the author.



Plate 4.8: Students dressed-up as devils in the event of *Mgay Bari* in Jing-Mei Village. Photograph by the author.

I also observed a performance⁸⁸ which presented the idea of traditional Truku belief. The story started with a scene when devils came to the village. A group of school pupils wore entirely black costumes and dressed themselves up as devils (Plate 4.8). The storyline was developed relating how '*utux rudan*' (ancestral spirits) chased evil spirits away⁸⁹.

These were representations of Truku people's traditional life that were performed by the locals themselves. Through the activity of *Mgay Bari*, 'Truku culture', including pre-Christian beliefs, was depicted in a way to reconcile it with contemporary life. This represented a new style of

⁸⁸ This was in a nearby *Mgay Bari* in Jin-Mei that I went to. It was given by a local elementary school, which was commonly the winner of the first prize for indigenous people's traditional dancing.

⁸⁹ This performance had nine scenes. I have listed its contents in the table below.

Scene	Key idea	Description
1	devils come	a group of pupils who wear totally black suits, with masks, circled in the centre to give a devil dance.
2	a peaceful village	students who wear Truku traditional costume carried bamboo-baskets to represent the time of agriculture.
3	residents get sick	devils came to attack the village and many people died
4	magic of <i>utux rudan</i>	a village chief conducted magic to cure a sick person
5	head-hunting	a piece of red cloth twined around several men's necks
6	killing-pigs	a pig toy was carried by a few males
7	devils ran away	devils run away
8	happy days	the village returned to their peaceful and happy days
9	<i>hakaw utux</i>	seven pieces of colourful clothes, representing the image of a rainbow, were used to build a bridge; people walked on it.

'Truku culture' and its continuation as constructed under the colonial conditions in which Truku people live. Instead of presenting their old worldview as such, the elements and ideas of 'Truku culture', in fact, were syncretized into the reconfiguration of 'being Truku' (see chapter 6) in line with the Presbyterian ethic.

The afternoon program of *Mgay Bari* consisted of races with various objectives, which were enjoyable competitions for participants⁹⁰. After several hours of racing, laughing and playing, the program of *Mgay Bari* was finished by an awards ceremony, in which all the results of the competitions on that day were announced and rewarded. Very few people, however, were still around the venue by then. Most of participants had gone home after the race of '*catching pigs*'. Since each group had received a pig as their reward, people returned to their neighbourhoods to kill the pig. They had a barbeque with neighbours, friends and relatives, during which many people got drunk with lots of happiness and joy all around. The day of *Mgay Bari* ended with great fun.

To Presbyterians, 'Truku culture' and Christianity are compatible. This does not mean that they co-exist equally in their minds. To some degree, they represent each other (see chapter 6). In the contemporary society, Truku Presbyterians have created a space for the revitalization of their traditional culture. Also, since 'Truku culture' has been entangled with the capitalist market, such as tourism, its value has been supported by the wider society. Believing that ethnicity is a representation of God's justice, Truku Presbyterians' social engagements have aligned their symbolic capital to an ethical value that approves 'doing well'.

4-5. Worldly Capital in the Church

Presbyterians conduct the Sunday Lord's Day worship services at 9:30 am. From about 9am, in order to welcome people who are coming, the church broadcasts traditional Truku songs via a bullhorn outside the building. Turning the volume up very loud, the music generally reaches a large adjacent region. Many of these Truku songs are familiar to Presbyterians. They can also be commonly heard at Truku events. To Pentecostals, however, this is not the case⁹¹.

Before the Lord's Day worship starts, a 'warm-up' time is led by Presbyterian youth fellowship. Like a professional performance team, they play not only pianos, but drums, guitars and

⁹⁰ Such as '*husking rice*', '*carrying traditional baskets*', '*making a trap by using slabs of stone*', '*traps for catching feet*', '*catching chickens*' (for women), and '*catching pigs*' (for men).

⁹¹ One day, when I got a CD of 'Truku songs' published by the local government, I brought it to a gathering of a group of Truku Pentecostals. After I played it, I wondered why nobody was singing along, so I asked, "Aren't these songs very popular? Can you sing them?" My Pentecostal informants responded: "Not really. In fact, some of these songs were made by Presbyterian clergymen. They are not 'traditional' Truku songs. These songs are popular due to political reasons such as elections."

sometimes ‘mouth-reeds’ (口簧琴 *kou-hung-qin*), a kind of traditional Truku instrument. More than merely singing gentle hymns from their hymn book, they sing popular melodies learned from Christian CDs that they obtain from shops or videos on the internet. Additionally, they create dance movements to match the songs that they are performing. The congregation is asked to stand-up and do the warm-up exercise together.

At this stage, church leaders⁹² might still have a meeting in their office or walk around to do some preparation. When they are ready to lead the worship, one presbyter and one deacon, who are on duty, will go to sit on the chairs at the right side of the front stage, and the clergyman sits on his own seat on the left side. The youth fellowship, then, begins to end this ‘warm-up’ exercise of the last song with a long prayer. The piano repeats the intermezzo and the latter section of the song numerous times, and a long prayer is offered at the end.

The ‘busy’ Sunday Lord’s Day worship is ready to begin. Truku Presbyterians’ program has a fairly complex structure. Within the 1.5 hours of their service, there are 19 procedures scheduled as its regular form. These are listed on their program called the ‘Weekly Report’. The atmosphere of Presbyterians’ religious practice is usually lively and infused with dynamic energy. Congregations have to follow the repeated action by standing-up and sitting-down many times. Their speech is also more rhetorical.

The ‘Weekly Report’ is a sheet of paper that Presbyterian members receive every Sunday before their Sabbath worship. One side of the paper shows some basic information about the church, and the detailed program for that day is also provided⁹³. The other side is mainly about money. A big section is called the ‘Accounting Report’.

A key issue of Presbyterian worship concerns money⁹⁴. A ‘bag’ for collecting donations from members is passed around before the end of their gathering, for almost any kind of activity including worship church services, hymn practice, Bible study, and even the Sunday school for

⁹² A leader in the Presbyterian Church is called a ‘presbyter’. Presbyters form the main body of decision-makers taking charge of church administration. A lower position is called ‘deacon’. Generally deacons are juniors who assist presbyters in their work.

⁹³ Such as the topic of the sermon, the name of the speaker, the presbyter and the deacon who are on duty, and the number of the hymns that will be sung (see 6-6).

⁹⁴ I shall briefly introduce the circumstances of money on the side of Truku Pentecostals. Money, in fact, is fairly ambiguous in the True Jesus Church. Regarding personal financial circumstances as something secret, Pentecostals hardly talk about ‘it’ in public. The topic of money, however, is addressed in their church sermons. Other than interpreting that making a donation is the obligation of a Christian, money is treated an aspect of one’s morality. By asserting that people who are unwilling to contribute their money are stealing from Jesus, the church menaces members by telling them that Jesus will bring them punishment without showing any mercy. Although Pentecostals do announce a financial report once a month on the noticeboard, it only shows figures about the income and expenses, or the names of the items the church purchased, but no personal information is included.

children⁹⁵. The money in ‘the bag’ refers to their group contribution, which is recorded in the ‘Weekly Report’. For example, Table 4.2 shows that the church received approximately \$11,782 in Taiwanese currency (\$400 AUD) from 202 members through all sorts of gatherings in that week.

Name of the gatherings	Numbers of the attendances	Contribution (TWD dollars)
Worship service	90	\$ 6128
Children Sunday school	15	\$ 167
Youth fellowship	26	\$ 507
Women fellowship	19	\$ 1400
Family visiting (group 1)	9	\$ 610
Family visiting (group 2)	10	\$750
Family visiting (group 3)	14	\$700
Family visiting (group 4)	7	\$ 550
Family visiting (group 5)	5	\$ 370
Family visiting (group 6)	7	\$ 600

* In total it is \$11782 (approx. 400 AUD) from 202 members of donations.

Table 4.2: Presbyterians’ group contribution (on the 17th of July, 2011).

Apart from the group contributions that are collected during church activities, individuals’ donations are also listed in the report. Here is an example from the 17th of July 2011 about individual donations.

Thanksgiving donate	高生承 \$2,000 In total:\$2,000 [approximately \$70 AUD]
Tithing	朱宏文\$500 陳清豪\$5,000 古玉芬\$800 高玉雲\$1,000 王梅和 \$600 潘協宜 \$1,000 盧成恩\$1,000 白祥裕\$2,000 周佩琳\$1,000 金元隆 \$1,000 陳慧欣 \$2,000 王韻琇\$600 張雯瑛\$1,000 劉尚斌\$2,000 李方貴\$1,000 李婷琪\$1,000 金偉明\$2,000 金邱研惠\$1,000 吳學文\$2,000 陳聖美\$1,000 金同高\$2,000 廖輝信\$1,000 金鶴林\$1,000 金信里\$1,000 金展順\$1,000 李秀惠\$1,000 金萬河 \$1,000 李高仕\$1,000 余民同\$1,000 陳章得\$1,000 余敏秀\$1,000 李逸明 \$2,000 In total:47,500 [approximately \$1700 AUD]
Construction donate	金宗龍\$2,000 白聖志\$15,000 白祥裕\$1,000 陳孝文\$10,000 金禮方\$1,000 金偉明\$1,000 杜貴雲\$1,000 周美蘭\$1,000 高仁惠\$500 余民同\$5,000 陳英怡 \$1,000 洪修文\$1,000 李成皓\$200 邱毓恩\$1,000 和牧師\$3,000 In total:43,700 [approximately \$1560 AUD]

Table 4.3: Presbyterians’ individual contribution (on the 17th of July, 2011).

⁹⁵ Truku Pentecostals do not pass around any donation-bag during their church services to collect money. They put donations in envelopes. After members put money in, they write down their names, and give the envelopes to church leaders. Eventually a receipt will be returned to them in the envelopes. Therefore, in spite of seeing the ‘passing envelopes’ among leaders and members, no detailed information – such as who made what donations, how much money, for what kind of donation and so on – is revealed or circulated in public.

The Presbyterian Church divides members' donation into three kinds (Table 4.3): thanksgiving, tithing and construction. The first one, 'thanksgiving', is purposed for various kinds of circumstances, such as birthdays⁹⁶. Generally people put this kind of money into a red envelop. They can hand it to a church leader before church services, or put it in 'the bag' when it is passed around. The presbyter on duty will collect all the red envelopes and announce it to the congregation, for example: "Today, our sister/brother, XX, contributed the \$\$\$ amount of money to express the thankfulness for the birthday (or other purposes)". The congregation then claps for this contribution.

The second kind of individual donation is tithing. In principle, tithing means one-tenth of one's earnings. In the Presbyterian Church, as the information about money is completely open and visible, people's names are listed on their report together with the amount of money they contributed. Based on my experience of receiving their 'Weekly Report' for approximately a year, by looking at the amount of money one gave for tithing, everyone can gain a good sense of anyone else's salary. Actually, I found it almost impossible to *not* pay attention to how much income somebody earned, especially when the number is bigger than others. It stood out.

The third kind of donation is used for construction, repairing buildings or church facilities. After the Ciwang Church finished repairing the residence of the clergymen, a construction of new toilets was made in the year of 2011-2012, for which a presbyter told the congregation:

We are going to construct a top-level toilet. The old one, as you know, was clapped out. Since our church is so famous and frequently has visitors, it will be proud and honoured if we can provide them a pleasurable trip to the place of amenity.

(Presbyterians' church announcement, 2011)

The church had already borrowed money for the construction. They now had to repay the debt after collecting enough money from members. In order to push members to contribute money, the church made the decision that there should be a 'standard' amount of contribution which must be donated. For a year, each family had to contribute a minimum of \$20,000 TWD⁹⁷. If any family did not reach this amount, presbyters then reminded them to donate. At the end of the year, the church even made available an Excel document for all the members which showed how much money each family has donated in which month, and how much it was short of, or by how much it surpassed, the total. In other words, though it looked like a freely given donation, it was, actually, a stipulated, standard amount monitored by the church.

⁹⁶ My donated money also belonged to this category.

⁹⁷ Approximately \$700 AUD.

4-6. Good Presbyterians

Good Presbyterians generally have high social status through their economic condition, career, education or social relations. Regarding the norm of Presbyterian leadership, I will open-up this issue with the opinion of my Pentecostal informant, Ibioy. Ibioy was a Presbyterian before he converted to Pentecostalism in his teens. Based on his own experience, Ibioy stated the criteria for being Presbyterian presbyter. “The reason why those presbyters are nominated, as well as elected, to their positions, frankly speaking, it is all because of money. As long as you are rich, members vote you as presbyter”.

The Ciwang Church has seven presbyters, who are senior members, close to the age of retirement. I was told by some Presbyterian informants that these seven presbyters (and a few others who are frequently leaders) have been involved in the leadership for decades. Now in their 60s, most of them are second generation Truku Christians, and furthermore, they come from a few powerful local families. Presbyterian leadership, in other words, is dominated by families who have accumulated worldly capital through the decades after their Christian conversion.

In terms of their career, except for one woman, who while unemployed is yet a large landowner receiving rents from tenants, the other the six presbyters, all of whom are three married couples, have good jobs with high incomes. Two of them worked at the *Mennonite Hospital*, two of them are school teachers, and the other two worked at the nearby Asia-Cement company.

The circumstance of Asia-Cement should be elaborated. In addition to the headquarters, located in Taipei, Asia-Cement has two factories and five offices in Taiwan. Its Hualien site, which occupies a large area of Fushi, has one factory and an office. Though offering some job opportunities for locals, most of those jobs are, in fact, temporary. Only managers are official employees of the company; and are insured by it; temporary workers are not. With much lower salaries and no insurance, temporary workers are employed by local human resource companies which contract work out to Asia-Cement⁹⁸. Not surprisingly, the two presbyters of the Presbyterian Church are official employees of Asia-Cement. Their positions are much more stable and reliable compared to the majority of residents. Therefore, in terms of the norm of Presbyterian leadership, it was as my informant Ibioy said: presbyters are richer than other ordinary members.

Unlike Pentecostals, whose church gatherings are quite demanding (see chapter 5), Presbyterians only conduct their main church service on Sunday, once a week. Most of their

⁹⁸ This situation can also be compared to a nearby public sector employer in Taroko National Park. Owing to its large area, with 92 thousand hectares, the park has a lot of work to do, both indoors and outdoors. Yet, only a few staff are in permanent and official positions, because most labouring jobs have been contracted out as temporary work, such as running the café, souvenir shop and cleaning work.

activities, such as fellowship gatherings, are scheduled on weekends at different times⁹⁹. Weekends are the occasions Presbyterians participate in church fellowship gatherings, socialize with relatives, and join in church relevant activities. Some Presbyterians, in fact, do not live in the village. Having stable jobs in town, they rent, or purchase, a place to live there during the week, and only come back to the village on Friday night or Saturday. Despite doing their own ‘secular’ work on weekdays, Presbyterians who live in town do not miss out on any sermon or gathering. They have almost the same level of participation that members who live in the village do. To a degree, they perform even more actively in their group. Many of them are involved in leadership, since they earn high income and share life experiences from their achievement with others.

Presbyterians are all considered ‘good Christians’. Members who present themselves in the church are already categorized as ‘good’. Their church service and other gatherings, after all, require participants to donate money when ‘the bag’ is passed around. Members who come to the church would have nothing to be criticized for from the start.

Presbyterian membership is divided into the status of ‘present’ and ‘not present’. Among them, only those ‘present’ are regarded as real members. Those who do not show-up, without the presence of their money, for longer than a year, will be removed from the list of ‘present’ members. In this case, they become almost ignored by the church, unless they come back. This, however, is for a reason. Since the workload of their church affairs has been heavy enough for leaders – they are busy with other social roles on weekdays – their weekend schedule is too full to take care of members if they are ‘not present’. Generally, if members get involved in ‘bad’ kinds of behaviour or other activities which reduce their attendance of church gatherings, it is their family who will bring them back to the church, or alternatively it can be done by friends. Otherwise, it is their personal loss to not join the crowd of those ‘doing well’.

4-7. Presbyterian Ethics

Presbyterians are generally tolerant and open-minded. They tend to consider that one’s capacity, as well as talent, is a blessing (恩賜 *enci*, in Mandarin) which is given by God. Showing one’s blessing, to them, represents that one is doing well. For this reason, Presbyterians are more likely to ‘display’ their talent, such as singing, dancing, cooking, playing instruments and language capacity. This is different from Pentecostals who frequently see such activities as relating to the

⁹⁹ Family-visiting is on Wednesday. Its main purpose, however, is to visit different households in turn to offer prayer and wishes to the whole family. To some degree, also, it does not require every family member’s presence.

'black-side of humanity', which is inspired by 'devils'¹⁰⁰. Truku Presbyterians have no specific concept of this kind. I once directly asked one of my Presbyterian informants: "What are devils to you?". For a while, she pondered and tried to come up with an answer, but since no answer came to her, she said: "No, we don't really have any idea of devils".

Presbyterians, furthermore, do not mind drinking. Though they would advise not drinking to excess, it is not seen as a problem per se. Alcohol is commonly circulated and welcomed in their social scene, including among Presbyterian clergymen. One day, I got a chance to help cook when a presbyter was going to prepare chicken broth for about eight Presbyterian members, mainly leaders. Before we started, he went to a shop and bought a dozen 600ml Taiwan-Beers. He stir-fried the chicken first, and then, he put in the six bottles of beer to make the soup. "Do we need to put in water?", I asked. "Oh, please don't! It's already too plain", he almost yelled at me. Certainly he was right. Soon after people started eating the chicken-broth, everyone complained that the soup was too weak. They, therefore, added one after another bottle of beer, within 30 minutes, until they were finished¹⁰¹. This kind of meal is always happy. Sometimes it comes with singing karaoke if the family has the facilities.

One of the seven presbyter's alcohol addiction is well-known. Sometimes if he did not show-up to chair the worship when he should be on duty, congregations all knew that "he must have been too drunk the night before". Despite drinking a lot, good Presbyterians, however, do not have a taste for *Whisbih*. This item is seen as low-class in Taiwanese society. Presbyterians have little interest in cigarettes and betel-nut either. To some degree, good Presbyterians are more like middle class Han-Taiwanese people. They frequently have imported biscuits or some 'luxurious' kinds of food to treat guests. Additionally, I should note that 'mountain products' – their traditional style of food – are included at some special occasions. Since those mountain animals are an object of affection and Truku nostalgia (see chapter 5) and are regarded as precious food, sometimes during funerals, for example, Presbyterians offer them.

Presbyterians' way of drinking is different from that of people who are addicted to alcohol. Their drinking, rather, is seen in the context of socializing with others. In Taiwan, it is almost a 'common sense' belief in mainstream society that indigenous people have a strong tendency for drinking. This social phenomenon is acknowledged and sometimes, outsiders, such as researchers, consider drinking as an unofficial way to build-up relationships with local people. I

¹⁰⁰ Though some of these activities are not necessarily involved with demonic meanings, Pentecostals tend to interpret such activities as having possible relations to devils in social life. For example, they did so when students practiced Truku language for a drama competition, or when a cook was absent from the Sabbath worship due to going to work on the weekend.

¹⁰¹ It still contains a high percentage of alcohol. In my experience having the soup with them, I usually began feeling dizzy after having half a bowl.

was told by my informant regarding this issue that “When that researcher XX was here, doing his fieldwork, he got drunk almost every day”, he laughed, “I had to remind him to stop over-drinking”.

Presbyterians’ drinking habits, nonetheless, would sometimes bring tensions to their family, or even issues in public. Drinking, for example, caused some problems for Bawan, a son of a retired Presbyterian minister. Bawan was observed by many in public when he had an affair with a woman. This made his wife very upset and angry. Bawan was facing some disapproval among his Presbyterian group.

After work I frequently have a drink with my friends. Some of my friends like to go to ‘dirty places’, and so I went there a few times. Yes, women there are keen to get closer, and some would even sit on men’s legs. I, however, never betrayed my wife, but my wife still gets upset with me, as she heard gossip from others. I then told her: “You can make a decision to either trust your husband or outsiders, but I never betrayed you”.

(My interview with Bawan, 2012)

Despite being blamed by his wife and a few others, Bawan did not suffer any actual kind of punishment. He was still greeted and welcomed when he came to join church services. His role in the church, as well as the fellowship, was not affected. This is different from Pentecostals where members who have some serious faults will be treated in an unfriendly way or as repellent (see chapters 5 and 7).

Presbyterians tend not to judge one’s ‘bad’ behaviour much, though they are concerned about it. Especially in public, Presbyterians hardly criticized each other. Rather, they try to find ‘good’ things in a person, interpreting this as God’s blessings. Modern society is not seen as ‘dangerous’, nor full of temptations, by Presbyterians. Their church seating arrangement, for example, has no rule of separating male and female members into different seating areas; the two sexes sit together.

Presbyterians usually worship God by giving performances. Spending time on these performances involves sacred meanings and suggests that they are good Christians. This style of worship can be observed not only in their regular church practice, but also in other celebrations such as Christmas, Mother’s Day, hiring new clergymen, weddings and so on. Sometimes they performed in groups (as is fellowships) and sometimes as individuals or families.

Presbyterians also do not mind if their youth fellowship gives a performance in a ‘popular’ style. In some casual occasions outside of church services, teenage girls may even perform fashionable dances, which require one to wear short pants or a sexy dress in accord with the ‘hot’ style of the moment. Presbyterians do not interpret this as a moral issue alone. It is seen as an expression of one’s confidence and beauty, which is a representation of God’s blessing. The most appropriate kind of performance, however, is in the style of ‘Truku’. In their church service, Presbyterians frequently wear the Truku costume as the uniform for their performance, and they prefer to offer

hymns in the Truku language, since they believe that Truku ethnicity represents the evidence of God's justice (see chapter 6).

Through performances, some 'benefits' can be gained. The 'performance fees' are an explicit example, as a Presbyterian leader announced in a church sermon:

The money of our activities last months has been received. Now since the school year is going to start, we will give young people money as their reward so that they can buy stationary. One time participation will receive \$500, and two times \$1,000¹⁰².

As to adults, we prefer not to share directly in a monetary form, but we will find useful presents for them. We are thinking of buying shirts for men and shoes for women, or some household daily articles. If you have any idea or preference, you are welcome to tell us before we do the shopping by next weekend.

(Presbyterians' church announcement, 2011)

One's social network can be established, re-affirmed and strengthened through performances. Whether it is in the style of 'Truku' or not, Presbyterians' performances provide an occasion for practitioners to interact with others. A Presbyterian ethic is presented in social 'networks' that highlight the idea of sociability.

For a start, the idea of having a 'Christianized' family is frequently emphasized among members. In recent years, a movement was promoted among Presbyterians called '*one-bring-one, new-multiple-plus*'¹⁰³. This movement was to encourage members to bring at least one other person to join the church. Beginning from the family, Presbyterian networks are extended to the wider society in which they live.

With a specific style of ethic that highlights sociability, the core norm of Presbyterian ethics does not refer to the issue of one 'morality' alone, but highlights aspects of one's social roles in relation to others more generally. Presbyterians' church gatherings, in this regard, are less demanding, and the degree of moral control exerted by the church is also less. Presbyterians are well positioned to build-up their networks through social relations.

4-8. Power Games of Authorities

The leadership of the Presbyterian Church is dominated by a few powerful local families. These families are seen as good models in that they embody the idea of the 'Christianized' family through generations. Nevertheless, the fact that three married couples are presbyters at the same time is, in fact, unusual. "In a Presbyterian society, generally, clergymen's spouses would have been presumed to help church affairs together, without offering extra authority", said a Truku

¹⁰² Approx. \$20 AUD and \$40 AUD.

¹⁰³ '一領一新倍加': <https://101.pct.org.tw>

Presbyterian from a nearby church. “It is the Ciwang Church which changed the principle to allow married couples to be elected as presbyters, so that they have more control”.

Each Presbyterian Church has a certain degree of autonomy. Despite being connected with the central mother church at some level, each local church is constituted by the administrative power of its own local leaders. Presbyterian ministers represent a religious authority. Their position, however, is as workers ‘hired’ by individual churches, under a relationship of employees and employers. Their employment periods follow a yearly contract, though generally, the church continually hired the same clergyman unless he or she wants to quit. Also, the minister’s salary, and its size, is given by a local church. These circumstances are different from Truku Pentecostals. Pentecostal preachers¹⁰⁴ are assigned by the mother church for a term of 3-4 years. Salaries were set in a standardised manner and are allocated by the central church. My Pentecostal informants frequently made fun of Presbyterian ministers. “Ministers are subject to their bosses: the congregation, and especially presbyters. Ministers have to make them happy in order to remain in their positions”.

In the later stage of my fieldwork, I was ‘lucky’ in that the Presbyterian Church was encountering some turbulence with the changing of its minister. The original one, Lukas, had spent his career there for 17 years. During that long period of time, Lukas gained a good reputation, not only as a good Christian missionary, but also for his expertise in Truku knowledge. Lukas was active in the *Indigenous Work Committee* of the Presbyterian society. Being involved in many meetings in Taipei and other cities, sometimes, Lukas had to take an airplane to keep his schedule. Lukas also played a leading role in local projects and activities¹⁰⁵. He had been on the committee of the team compiling the ‘Truku Dictionary’ for many years. This project, being sponsored by the local government, is regarded as a significant achievement in preserving the Truku language¹⁰⁶. On week days, Lukas works at the Hsiulin Township office, together with a group of senior retired clergymen, to compile the dictionary. His active engagement in local projects is not a secret. Though some opinions from presbyters noted Lukas’s ‘many jobs’, most of the congregations actually felt proud of him. “As long as Lukas can handle the church services and sermons well, I can’t see why having other work is a problem”, said Presbyterian members.

¹⁰⁴ Different from ministers (牧師, *mushi*) to Presbyterians, the True Jesus Church called their clergymen preachers (傳道, *chuan-dao*).

¹⁰⁵ During the week days, due to having a fairly flexible schedule, many Presbyterian ministers engage with other projects. By doing so, not only do they earn extra salary, but more importantly, they embody the norms of being a minister. Their calling indicates a high social responsibility to be involved in local issues (see chapter 6).

¹⁰⁶ An abbreviated version of the ‘Truku Dictionary’ was published in 2007. After that, the committee continued to work on a more complete version.

The primary concern about Lukas concerns his relationship with his wife. Lukas's wife hardly came to the church during the 17 years, because they had lived separately for a long-time. Some presbyters felt dissatisfied with this situation, and so they urged Lukas to fix the problem. A few times, presbyters even privately visited Lukas's wife, trying to sort out *their* problems. Lukas, however, seemed to ignore their efforts; he maintained a cool attitude towards this issue and showed no motivation to improve it¹⁰⁷. A tension therefore occurred between the presbyters and Lukas. Eventually, as disappointment in him increased, the presbyters decided to end Lukas's contract since he did not provide a 'good model' for church members anymore.

After announcing Lukas's resignation, arguments ensued, since many church members possessed a different attitude and disagreed with the decision. The conflict between church leaders and the congregation gradually grew in intensity. A few ordinary members decided to prepare a petition. A document was circulated secretly to collect signatures. With members' disagreement on Lukas's resignation, they stated in their submission that, according to clause 109 of the church rules, the *Truku Tribal Presbyteries*, the upper administrative level, should send a group of concerned people to assess different opinions and make a decision among members. Otherwise the church should conduct a vote and allow all members to make their decision. After this petition was known, the *Truku Tribal Presbyteries* decided not to intervene but left the local church to solve its own problem. This act of making the petition, nevertheless, made those presbyters very angry and upset. With no choice, they organized a meeting with the congregation, through which they hoped to gain support and understanding.

On that day, as I was told that before the meeting was to start, the presbyter who chaired the meeting – the most senior one – drank a half bottle of high-percentage alcohol in order to have courage, and he also brought the rest of the bottle of alcohol with him to chair the meeting. Ordinary members were upset during the meeting too. They expressed their sadness and disappointment about the decision to end Lukas's employment. Lots of people shed tears on that occasion, as they felt thankful for Lukas's contribution. The atmosphere was a bit tense. Yet, though the meeting offered a chance for people to express their emotions, members in fact had no serious intention to challenge the power of the presbyters. Many ordinary members, particularly the ones who made the petition, were actually relatives of the presbyters and deacons. The meeting, in a word, had more of a 'family' feel. I realized this because it was only I who did not open the lunch-box offered by the church. Everyone was kind of relaxed and enjoyed gnawing

¹⁰⁷ Yet, this is from presbyters' perspective, not Lukas's. Feeling uncomfortable to put this personal issue in public and to be judged by others, Lucas, instead, preferred to work on his relationship privately. Behind this story, after a couple of years, Lucas and his wife have become close again. They gathered frequently especially in significant occasions such as Chinese New Year. Lukas sometimes posts their photos on Facebook to share his happiness with friends.

on a big roasted-drumstick from their meal-box. In the end, though the decision was maintained to end Lukas's position, the meeting turned out to have a happy ending: everyone with tears and smiles, thanking Lukas for his contribution to the church¹⁰⁸.

A local Presbyterian Church is an independent political entity, where the dynamics are mainly constructed by leaders, clergyman and ordinary members. To a degree, Presbyterians operate on a more 'grass-roots' and democratic level than the Pentecostals. Unlike Pentecostals whose mother church appoints preachers and holds ultimate authority, Presbyterianism functions more like a small society in which the authority of their clergymen can be 'challenged'.

The Presbyterian ethic accords with the dominant understanding of 'capital' in mainstream society. Being well-off is not seen to conflict with one's religious standing. On the contrary, it is evidence of one's 'doing well'. Presbyterians' activities are intertwined with worldly capital. Adherents' social prestige is, for example, conferred through 'Truku culture'. Since 'being Truku' represents being a good Christian in their religious framework, the Presbyterian ethic orients its followers to take a worldly approach through social networks to practice as good Christians. By the revival of 'Truku culture', Presbyterians have successfully constructed a continuation of 'Truku culture' in the colonial society, where a power structure has been reconfigured incorporating the position of 'being Truku'.

¹⁰⁸ After Lukas's resignation, one issue concerned the next place where Lukas would go. Since the Ciwang Church is big, powerful and has a leading role among Truku Presbyterians, it was regarded as almost the top option for Lukas. As he, in the same vein, represented the 'top ranking' person in terms of Truku knowledge.

Now that Lukas had resigned, a few other churches began to invite him. A few of them, though smaller, even offered a high salary in order to attract Lukas. Yet, some gossip suggested that Lukas would still stay in Hsiulin Township, "because this is where the core of Truku culture is; only if Lukas stays this area, has he the stage to make a good performance and achievement", they said. This prediction was right. Lukas eventually accepted the position of minister at a nearby church belonging to the Hsiulin Township.

Also, the position of minister of the Ciwang Church was, as people predicted, given to a minister who had a PhD degree in theology. He was fluent in Truku, Mandarin and English, and had good knowledge of 'Truku Culture'. His wife always accompanied him to do church affairs, and sometimes his children too. Being the minister of the Ciwang Church – the big church – had been his dream. He had prayed for years, for this to come true.

Chapter 5. Pentecostal Ethics and World-Rejecting Capital

Pentecostals make a break with their past and ‘traditions’, as Marshall (2014:351) has noted: “Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity engages with local culture by polemically staging a break with it”. Their worldview is constructed as a field of spiritual warfare where the battle waged is between the Holy Spirit and demons. In the context of Truku, with the flourishing atmosphere of the ‘culture industry’ in Taiwan, indigenous culture and its relevant development have been encouraged and supported within its wider social environment. Through Presbyterians’ efforts (see chapter 4), ‘Truku culture’ has become objectified, re-constructed and bound up with multiple forms of capital in significant ways.

Contrasting with Presbyterians’ attitude to ‘Truku culture’, Pentecostal practitioners have little interest in engaging with their tradition. Pentecostals are absent from this social and historical process. Their voice, regarding how they have seen social changes through decades, is missing from public discourse, due to their absence from social participation. Because of the lack of Pentecostals’ involvement in the historical construction of ‘Truku culture’, issues discussed in this chapter will be quite different from those discussed in relation to Truku Presbyterians’. Pentecostal followers’ response to their incorporation into Taiwanese society will be examined through how local practitioners have interpreted and understood their confrontation with social change.

Truku Pentecostals are highly concerned about a wide range of issues in modern society. Yet, having developed a specific approach in terms of ‘weaknesses’¹⁰⁹, they interpret what they see as questionable moral behaviour as people being lured to temptation by devils. To them, for instance, gaining money from ‘traditional culture’ is regarded as dangerous. It usually comes laden with problematic moral issues attributed to one’s moral condition of ‘weakness’. Other than the monetary manifestation of capital, the possession of other forms of capital is also a source for Pentecostals’ concern. With cultural entanglement in multiple forms of capital in particular, moral problems stem from the way Truku Pentecostals perceive the world around them.

This chapter will begin with an examination of how Truku Pentecostals see the issue of ‘having money’, and then move on to other relevant problems of ‘having capital’. Subsequently, by examining the idea of ‘weaknesses’, in which good Pentecostals are interpreted as ‘strong’ practitioners and vice versa, I will consider how Truku Pentecostals objectify their confrontation

¹⁰⁹ This rhetoric of ‘weaknesses’ is common among Pentecostals elsewhere, as it enables people to figure out where the demons are, or who might be affected by them, in the secular realm, as they struggle with life in an everyday context.

with modern society. Within the binary oppositional moral structure between weak and strong, Truku Pentecostals measure one's moral standing as the degree of one's commitment.

5-1. Struggling With Earning Money

Pentecostals in my field site live in lower-Fushi, Kele village. Compared to the other parts of Fushi, the location of Kele is furthest away from the Taroko National Park. These more 'marginal' Kele residents have less engagement with the tourism industry. Aside from some murals painted on a few buildings related to the depiction of elements of indigenous culture, which residents were provided a subsidy to paint, there is no indication that tourists visit this part of town. A few bed-and-breakfasts were constructed far away from the core residential area; most of them, however, have fallen into disuse. Unlike the situation in middle and upper Fushi, where, along the highway, tourist businesses are flourishing, shops in Kele function to sell basic daily products to the locals. With no corresponding facilities for tourists, such as souvenir shops or restaurants, Kele village does not attract many outsiders. This section will examine the ways in which Truku Pentecostals engage with the Han-Taiwanese dominated society to survive in the capitalist economy after losing their mountain homelands. Their ways of engaging in economic activity, as we will see, are less entangled with the booming tourism industry attributable to the establishment of 'Truku culture'. In other words, Pentecostals engage in fewer opportunities where they can gain benefits from 'having capital'. While having to be concerned with money in everyday life, what Kele residents are more concerned about are 'problems' that come with having money, as well as having other forms of capital more generally.

The Change of Livelihood

Truku people were initially taught agricultural skills by the Japanese colonial authorities. According to the local history investigated by Yi-Hong Chang (2000:42), in Kele village, when the main tribe (*Klugi*) was relocated there, they moved into houses that were designed and built by the Japanese. Each family was allocated 0.1 hectare of living land and 1 hectare of farming land by the Japanese government. As to the nearby lands, those lands did not have owners. "The person who occupied it first possessed the land", said Liyou, my informant. "My late grandfather was a tribal leader; he seized huge pieces of land, and then he distributed some land to our relatives".

From that time, Kele residents started cultivating in the plains regions. Due to the problem of insufficient irrigation water, agriculture in the Kele village, initially, was mainly dry cultivation of crops such as sweet-potato, millet and upland rice. Only after the completion of the irrigation system in the 1970s in Fushi community, did people start cultivating paddy rice. Their agricultural products were basically purchased by the government. In recent decades, however,

Kele people have been encouraged to leave their land fallow due to an overproduction of paddy rice in Taiwan since the 1990s. Most farming lands are fallow today. Instead residents have relied on a subsidy from the government (ibid: 47). One day, my local aunt was talking about this issue. She illustrated the current circumstance regarding their fallow land as well as its impact on Truku people's everyday life.

I just got a letter from the local government informing us to apply for the subsidy for our fallow land. I need to go to the office to register first. After about one month, officers will come to see the situation, for fallow lands with green manure will get more money than those that grow nothing but weeds. Our lands are the latter kind, we can't use weeding machines because the machine cannot enter our land. If we could use weeders it would turn the soil and make seeding easy. We will get only \$4,100 [Approximately \$140 AUD] for each 0.1 hectare of the fallow land. In total we have 0.4 hectares.

This is not a big amount of money. Some landowners could get a great deal if they have large lands. Most ordinary families don't have big lands. But, well, it still offers an important contribution to our livelihoods. Our lives were tough and difficult. In the past especially, our elders frequently needed to borrow money all over. Once the pressure of having loans had reached a certain degree, they would try to get some benefits from their lands, which makes it easy to sell the land. (My interview material, 2012)

Kele people confronted a dramatic shift of their subsistence from hunting to agriculture and the use of money. In order to earn money, many residents have entered the labour market through engagement in the construction industry. Some even worked in the construction industry in places as far away as Singapore and Jordan (Yi-Hong Chang, 2000:46). Over different periods of time, they also found ways to sell extra products to Han-Taiwanese. For example, they went to the mountains, and rivers, to acquire gold dust, orchids (Taiwan jewel orchid) or 'rose-stone' (a kind of rhodonite). Below I will exemplify entry into wage labour with a life-history from Yayong, born in 1960 in Kele. He used to go to the mountains with my local grandmother for gatherings. He has also been involved in the construction industry, 'tying-steel', for most of his life.

Asia-Cement has had three periods of construction since about 1973. At that time, almost the whole of Kele village engaged in 'tying-steel', both men and women. Yet, since the main construction has been completed, so many labourers were no longer needed, only a few for some minor work, such as transmitting lines. We, thus, turned to work in Taipei or other cities.

I had started 'tying-steel' when I was about 13 years old. I used to follow my father's work to Saudi Arabia for several months, and I myself also went to Singapore. But mostly I stayed in Taipei as a leader of construction there.

When I was young, the salary was only about \$30 per day, then \$75, and then it increased more and more before 1993. Our living condition at that time was in fact pretty good. However, due to the process of industry moving to South Asia, as well as importing foreign labourers, the salary decreased. Now it's about \$1700 in Hualien, \$2800 in Taipei.

(My interview with Yayong, 2012)

Today, according to my investigation, there are about 15-20 residents of Kele who work at the Asia-Cement company, and a similar number who work at the Taroko National Park. Among them, however, only about 3 of each are official positions, the majority are temporary¹¹⁰. Some residents worked as truck-drivers, kindergarten teachers, care-givers, manufacturers, postmen and gardeners. These are already 'better' kinds of work, which provide a steady income without the prospect of periods of unemployment such as 'tying-steel' workers face. The best types of career are as school teachers, nurses, policemen¹¹¹ and public servants, but not many local people are actually engaged in these kinds of work. In recent years, the military has become a new option for indigenous peoples and more are turning to this. Military personnel are a kind of public servant and are offered good pay by the central government. In 2012, for instance, about ten young adults in Kele village were engaged or in the process of enlisting in the military¹¹².

With high rates of unemployment, as in other indigenous villages, governmental projects were implemented to provide vocational training to help residents find employment. These projects are run by local elites, through their cultural associations, for which they get sponsorship from the government¹¹³. By attending those projects, participants can receive a stipend to compensate them during the program. Quite often, however, those opportunities are limited to specific 'eligible' people, such as those who have been unemployed for longer than six months. After accomplishing such vocational training, the jobs people can access, however, are pretty much the same as the ones they had access to prior to the training, which are of a temporary kind, such as being cleaners in the Taroko National Park. This vocational training, as a result, did not achieve the goal of providing better jobs, with stable salaries, to participants, even if was provided with good-intentions. As a local administrator said to me: "those vocational training courses only cause a vicious cycle, trapping people as they become dependent on the government subsidies for such training".

The Change of Hunting

¹¹⁰ For instance, one of my informants worked as a temporary worker at a nature reserve, taking care of plants, butterflies and insects. This job was established by the Asia-Cement company.

¹¹¹ In total, approximately 10 people are involved in this level of work. Policemen do not serve in the Fushi community but are assigned to other areas.

¹¹² In Taiwan, military service was compulsory from 1945. All men had the obligation to join the military as their national duty. Since 2002, however, national military service has changed to shorter durations of compulsory service with more opportunity for people to enlist voluntarily with better career prospects once enlisted. The military was also opened to women in 2006. Military service, in fact, is what most Han-Taiwanese men avoid due to the feeling that it is a 'waste' of their lives, but for indigenous people, it opens a good chance to devote themselves to a long-term career.

¹¹³ Those training projects offered courses, for example, in 'Truku culture', 'local history', 'basic computer skills' and 'handicrafts' (such as rattan-woven baskets or leather carving).

Being a hunting group before, most Truku people in their forties still have an affinity with the mountain lifestyle, as a result of their life experiences living with elder generations. One of the most nostalgic things for them is their habit of eating mountain animals, as it recalls for them happy memories of their childhood: “When our male relatives came back from hunting, those moments were so joyful. Everybody was very happy to see them coming back from the mountains, and it always ended up with good food from their hunting harvest”.

Truku people still hunt today. Besides being dangerous, hunting has also become illegal. Generally, modern hunters are quite often unemployed people. In order to avoid government patrols, modern hunters have to be very careful and sneaky when they hunt¹¹⁴. In Truku society, a demand for mountain animals as food still exists. This has emerged as part of the modern market economy in which people pay for these mountain products, rather than relating to their subsistence economy. The form hunting takes is also quite modern, it no longer conforms to the traditional style of hunting. Modern hunters, for instance, use modern techniques to catch animals. Also, without following customary hunting rules (*gaya*) set up by Truku tradition, they hunt as many animals as possible at one time. Now there is a market for game. Animals have become commodities to be exchanged for money, the more the better.

One evening, a girl pointed her finger at ‘something’ for me and said: “See that? Do you know what that is?”. I saw one animal about the size of a dog lying on the ground. “It is a dead *muntjac*¹¹⁵”, she said. It was bought by my informant, who had ‘ordered’ it beforehand, when a modern hunter, a neighbour of my local family, was going hunting. Since the outcome of hunting cannot be assured, and the kind of animals caught often depends on luck or chance, normally buyers ‘order’ animals from the hunter in advance, so that once the animal is caught, they have priority in claiming it. This time, the hunter caught four Formosan barking deer, two Formosan sambar (*Cervus unicolor*), one flying squirrel and one little weasel. Only the little weasel was too small to sell, so it was consumed by the hunter’s family. All of the other animals were sold immediately.

Truku people have been incorporated into a capitalist economy. Everything now has its price in their society according to its value. Mountain animals, likewise, have a standard price. Below (Table 5.1) I show the prices of some common animals.

¹¹⁴ People would form a small team to work together. They leave the village at about 9pm in the evening when it is totally dark, and they come back from the mountains in the early morning around 3am before dawn. If they are unlucky, they are chased by policemen while they are hunting or traveling. Their escape involves high risks, such as falling down valleys in the dark. Also, even if they have safely arrived home, when hunters butcher the animals in a private yard out of public view, they might still be caught by policemen and sent to gaol, for those animals are considered ‘evidence’ of illegal activity.

¹¹⁵ Formosan deer

Animal	Price (TWD)	Price (approx. AUD)
per flying squirrel	\$500	\$20
per Formosan barking deer	\$2000	\$70
per Formosan sambar	\$3000-4000	\$100-130
wild boars	\$1000 per portion	\$35 per portion
Formosan Sambhar (Cervus unicolor)	\$1000 per lighter portion	\$35 per lighter portion
Formosan Masket Civet	\$depends on the size	

Table 5.1. The prices of mountain animals.

These prices are not cheap for Truku. Generally ordinary Truku families cannot afford to have them often. Some of the buyers are local restaurants. They offer ‘special dishes’ for customers who want to be served ‘under the table’. The deer this time was bought to be a ‘gift’, as my informant was going to visit her sisters, who live in Taipei, for a barbecue during Chinese New Year. ‘Mountain products’ (animals) in other words, generally have positive meanings in Truku society nowadays¹¹⁶. Sometimes mountain animals are offered during the feasts at funerals, if the mourning family is wealthy enough to afford them. ‘Mountain products’, in a word, are cooked, served, and made the centrepiece of feasts for family, as well public occasions, which express joyfulness, honor, thankfulness and wealth in contemporary Truku society.

The deer was butchered by my informant’s son-in-law on the floor of the kitchen on that day (Plate 5.1). I squatted beside the butcher and took a video among a group of children who gathered around to watch. They were excited watching this bloody, smelly and scary scene. The butchering process did not take long. The subsequent procedure, however, dealt me a fierce cultural shock. A couple of dishes with a special ‘delicacy’ beyond my imagination were served. They were *raw* intestines, heart, stomach, and other innards. With salt served on the side, they were put on the table, where family members were waiting. In only a few minutes, eating them by hand, all the ‘delicacies’ were consumed (Plate 5.2).



Plate 5.1: The dead Formosan deer.

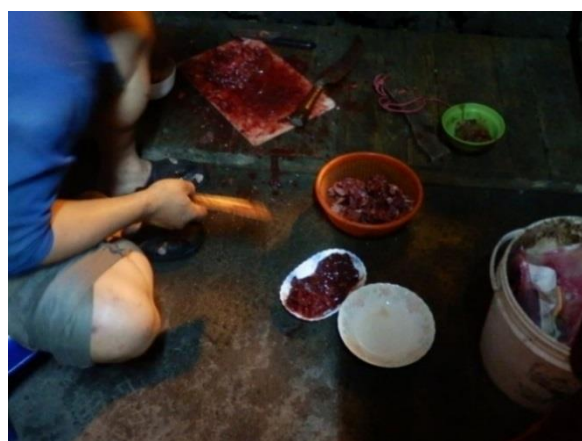


Plate 5.2: Special ‘delicacy’ of mountain animals.

¹¹⁶ Like an example of a lunch I have illustrated (see 1-1), which shows peoples’ appreciation and respect for an elder Presbyterian clergyman.

Understanding their taste for mountain animals allowed me to build-up some intriguing conversations with other informants. Talking about their favourite tastes, those conversations were delightful. A woman, for example, explained: “My favourite is rotten livers of pigs or boars. It has to be rotten enough to be smelly”. Another man particularly yearned for the taste of maggots. “This only happened during summer time when the harvest was poor. When we caught an animal, such as a goat, we didn’t take it back home right away but left it in the wild. We waited for a few days, or even weeks, to let maggots grow in the tummy of the dead animal. By using a special tool, we dig those maggots out from its rump. We then put maggots in boiled water, only for a few seconds. It can’t be long, so that some juice would come out when chewing them, and they tasted tender too”¹¹⁷.

5-2. ‘Weak’: the Problem of Having Money

When I conducted my fieldwork, I was challenged to try to understand the idea of ‘weaknesses’ (TJC term, 軟弱 *ruanruo*) from my Pentecostal informants. Human ‘weakness’, to them, is interpreted as being caused by devils. If someone is not robust enough to reject temptations from devils, he or she will be considered a ‘weak’ person. Truku Pentecostals see the presence of devils everywhere, and they are powerful. “Devils are like wild lions. They especially seek out weak people to tempt”, as one said in their sermons: “They are tricky, sneaky, and can transform into various forms, in order to tempt people when they are absent minded”. The concept of ‘weakness’ is often repeated throughout their sermons. Weakness inheres in many activities indicated in Table 5.2.

✕	using alcohol, cigarettes, drugs or betel-nut
✕	singing karaoke or popular songs
✕	gambling (games such as poker or mahjong)
✕	wearing make-up or fancy clothes
✕	spending too much time on the internet or computer games
✕	having sex out-of-wedlock or getting close to the oppose sex
✕	doing personal business rather than attending church regularly
✕	conducting any form of ancestor worship or ‘cultural activities’

Table 5.2. Truku Pentecostals’ ideas of ‘weakness’ activities.

It is noticeable here that most forms of ‘weakness’ relate to people’s daily activities. Though some situations might have a certain measure of continuity with Truku pre-Christian practice, like the use of betel-nut and gender relations, these, however, have been rendered contemporary concerns involving substance abuse or other moral problems in modern life. Only ancestor

¹¹⁷ Through these delightful conversations, I also learned from my Pentecostal informants that, eating mountain animals is considered a bad, or ‘weak’, kind of behaviour. Ibiyo, the church leader, has stopped eating mountain animals due to his concerns relating to ‘blood’. I will discuss the problem of ‘blood’ in its symbolic meaning in relation to Pentecostalism shortly (see 7-4).

worship and their idea of 'cultural activity' is entangled directly with a rejection of their pre-Christian past. For Truku Pentecostals, nevertheless, part of the reasons these activities are dangerous has to do with 'having capital'. This, furthermore, goes on to induce other demonic temptations, through which the negative side of one's humanity will present itself.

Being a disadvantaged ethnic group, indigenous Taiwanese are confronted with a Han dominated society. Social problems come with the way they encounter life in a capitalist colonial society such as their poorer economic conditions. The vicissitudes of capitalism help to explain the concept of 'weaknesses' that money brings about in Truku Pentecostals' view. It contains both the problem of *lacking* money and *having* money. Other moral issues involving money will also be illuminated. Not going to church makes people weak and afflicted by devils.

Village life is generally quiet in the daytime as residents are away at school or work. It becomes more and more bustling when school kids play and make noise coming home from school. All sorts of sounds gradually emerge like vehicles, children's screaming, dogs' barking, and sometimes mobile vendors with loudspeakers. The street quietens down again during dinner time. From about 7pm in the evening, churchgoers appear on the street. With their bags, in which they put their Bible, hymn-books, notebooks and pens, they go to the church. They might meet with non-churchgoers on the way to the church, as some non-churchgoers sit outside their houses after dinner. If they are acquainted well enough, they greet one another or chat. Despite not taking part in religious life, non-churchgoers are usually still considered members of the True Jesus Church. They are, however, seen as 'not robust enough' to reject temptations from devils.

The service of the True Jesus Church starts at 7:30pm on week-days in the evening. Once it has started, in fact, the life of non-churchgoers also begins. They move to their own gatherings, in a couple of houses in the village, where they gamble by playing poker or mah-jong. On these occasions they often have betel-nut, cigarettes and alcohol, which are prohibited by the church. Young adults like singing karaoke¹¹⁸. When I was in the field, the village had only one karaoke venue, which was merely a room with a karaoke machine, located on the upper floor of a food store. I went there a few times with my young informants, who frequently complained that village life was too boring. Sometimes after singing, they would ride on their motorbikes and leave the village seeking more fun. Their favourite place is another adjacent karaoke venue, with better facilities, where they call friends, both male and female, from other areas to assemble and have fun together. Normally when they come back home, it would be around midnight or about

¹¹⁸ This activity is so popular in indigenous society that Ching-Hsiu Lin (2001) wrote his master's thesis on this topic.

daybreak. Many of their parents, or adults they live with, are 'weak' people, who have nothing to do with those rebellious teenagers, or do not care much.

Teenagers and kids often kill time in the internet-café using computers. The village has two internet-cafés, which belong to grocery stores. Each computer there is equipped with a money machine, into which people insert coins to operate the computer, 30 minutes for \$10 dollars. When teenagers and kids have pocket money, they play computer games or browse the internet, otherwise they just surround others to watch their games while they are playing. The internet-café is regarded as a 'dangerous' place by churchgoers, especially due to the possibility of accessing pornography through the internet. According to the policy, the internet-café should forbid people under the age of 18. Yet, apparently the local internet-café does not follow this rule. The shop officially closes at 10pm. Its back door, however, can still be accessed, as it leads to a private house. I was told by my informants that teenagers frequently watched pornography there at night. Sometimes they have sex while they are watching it, even while little kids are still around.

The village used to be fairly peaceful. Many of my informants recall the days that they slept on the ground outside the houses in summer time. Nowadays, by contrast, "the presence of things, such as the internet-café, alcohol and drugs, had changed our village a lot". A church leader indicated that "many of our members, who used to be committed churchgoers, had 'fallen down' on their way and thus stopped going to the church".

Drugs, including heroin, sosegon and amphetamines, used to be prevalent in Kele. The village experienced its worst period of drug abuse about five years ago. "Almost a half of the residents in our village had drugs", said my informant. This was attributable to a drug dealer, a Han-Chinese man, who rented a house there before a policeman noticed him. He had disappeared a few months before my fieldwork. Nevertheless, a few residents still have his number and contact him occasionally for drugs. Being aware of this issue, one day when I had a chat with a woman, I noticed that while she was chatting, the right corner of her mouth had an uncontrollable twitch. It was, as explained by other informants later, a typical indication of a habitual drug user.

Drugs were particularly common among unemployed people. "They always have money to buy drugs and alcohol, but have no money to buy food", said my informants. "When they get a subsidy from the government¹¹⁹, they do not use it to take care of their family but only to buy those things". I was also told gossip suggesting that one of my female informants used to get undressed in front of her male relative, through which she proposed to get money for sex so that she could buy drugs.

¹¹⁹ Such as for low-income family or disability support.

Another story was told by an 11 year old girl on the 3rd of August, 2011. The girl's mother is one of the regular drinkers in the village. Her father, on the other hand, had been sent to jail in April because of drugs. Being a repeat offender, his first time in jail was only 22 days, but this time his sentence lasted one year and two months. One of the girl's aunts was just released from jail for taking drugs too. This aunt's husband, furthermore, was going to be imprisoned for four months, due to injuring another in a fight. The girl told me that she sometimes goes to see her father. "I went there by myself. I know how to catch the bus and where to get off. I then transfer to a taxi which costs \$100. Normally my mum gives me \$500, and also \$1000 for my dad".

The girl is the eldest child in her family. She has two younger brothers, and one of them is still an infant. Our conversation ended when I urged her to go home, as it was getting dark. "The electricity at my house had been cut off since my mum did not pay the bill, I feel quite bored", said the girl. Her family in fact regularly has social workers come to their house to monitor their family situation. At one time I met the girl in the street again, I asked her whether everything was going alright, then she responded: "I just came back from a family to which my youngest brother was sent for temporary care. I went there with social workers and also my mum and my aunts. The family was very nice and friendly to us, but I felt quite reluctant to separate from my little brother. I cried. The social workers said to me, if the condition of my family improved, my brother will be sent back again soon".

Fragmented families, which lack father, mother, or both, are actually common in indigenous communities¹²⁰. Here I will exemplify this issue through one case of a Truku family that I worked with, which exhibits some similar patterns found in other families too. The grandmother of the family conceived ten times. Three of her children died before adulthood. In the Table 5.3, I tell the story of her seven remaining children and grandchildren. Among her children, six out of seven ended up having broken families, which were attributed to divorce, death and having children out of wedlock.

Sequence	Gender	Description
The 1 st one	male	His young daughter (adopted) married a man in a nearby village, they produced two children then divorced .
The 2 nd one	female	Her two daughters are from different fathers : one out of wedlock , and the other father

¹²⁰ I came to realize this issue in the early stage of my fieldwork. One day, on a playing field, a group of Pentecostal practitioners were playing softball. A boy, 7 years old, broke the rules that the coach had emphasized numerous times. The coach was a little bit irritated, and asked him: "Who is your father?". "I don't have a father", the boy answered. "Who is your mother?", the coach asked. "I don't have a mother.", the boy answered. "So, tell me, who do you live with?". "I live with my aunt", the boy said. Feeling surprised and saddened, I was also told by a local officer that "this situation (fragmented families) was worse in Kele than other communities". Having learnt this, I tried to find statistics documenting this circumstance but I could not find any. Governmental offices did not have statistics that present the situation 'within' families, as they explained. Yet, a leader of a local charity confirmed to me that this information was correct. They collected their own data to make cases. Their data, however, included personal information. For this reason, they could not show it to me due to their policies concerning confidentiality.

		passed away due to alcoholism. The elder daughter married a neighbour, family name Yo. The young one married another neighbour, family name Tien; they have three children but then divorced , and now she lives with her boyfriend in a nearby region.
The 3 rd one	female	She married next door, family name Kuo, then divorced . Her two daughters are from her second marriage; the elder one (under 18 years old) produced a baby out of wedlock .
The 4 th one	female	A so-called 'wholesome' family
The 5 th one	male	He divorced about three years ago and has four teenagers
The 6 th one	male	He passed away several years ago because of drink driving. He was married once, then divorced . His daughter had mental disability and passed away a few years ago. His son is about 17 years old and now lives with the grandmother.
The 7 th one	female	She is in a second marriage with three children.

Table 5.3. A Truku family illustrating the pattern of fragmented families.

With other problems as well – such as poor economic conditions, child-care and a low standard of living – fragmented families have drawn the attention of some charities, non-governmental organizations and also the government. My local family, for instance, is assisted by World Vision and T.F.C.F. (Taiwan Fund for Children and Families) since the father is a single parent. Sponsored by donors, sometimes children were instructed to write thank you letters to their donors, and sometimes meals or meetings were arranged to meet donors or representatives of the organizations. The second daughter's sponsor (a Han man who has sponsored her for six years) is especially generous and rich. The man even took her, and another girl he sponsored, to Malaysia for a holiday with his family. They stayed in a luxurious villa with a private beach and wildlife park for a week.

Alcoholism is one of the key factors which has contributed to many social problems. On a rainy day, a scene was witnessed by a few children in the village, in which a drunken man raped a drunken woman in a vacant property. After seeing it, those children ran back home to tell their elders that: "Without wearing clothes, they hugged each other and were lying on the ground naked". Another case, not long after that, was also witnessed: a woman – who residents called a 'female booze-ghost' – was raped by the same man after they both had drunk alcohol.

In a late stage of my fieldwork, having built-up some trust, a female informant told me that she was raped in her early adulthood by a drunken man in the neighbourhood. "I hate him", she said, "but my parents wanted me to marry him since this had happened. Actually, not long after that, I was pregnant". I responded to her by warmly smiling in silence. In order to relieve the upsetting atmosphere during our chat, she then laughed and said: "But well, the child's father is another man". I did not ask her whether the rumour I heard from others that she used to work in a brothel was true or not.

Alcoholism causes problems including drunk-driving, rape, quarrels, illness, financial issues, family breakdown and even death. In the following I will present the life-history of Walis, who used to be such a heavy drinker that he called himself a 'booze-ghost'. He divorced his wife a few years ago and is now a single father taking care of his children. Walis's story gives an indication of how alcoholism affects indigenous Taiwanese and the problems flowing from it in general.

I did temporary work 'tying-steel' for a long time. *Dong Hwa University* was one of the places I worked. About twenty years ago, earning money was actually pretty easy, too much construction everywhere.

Han-Taiwanese bosses liked to hire indigenous workers, because we are very useful [he meant, physically, indigenous people have a stronger/better constitution than Han-Taiwanese]. At that time, since the labour force was insufficient, bosses treated us very well. Normally there were two shifts a day. We only had to pay for our breakfast. Once we started to work, meals and drinks were provided, sometimes cigarettes and alcohol too. Some people even went to Pescadores [an island near Taiwan]. As long as we were willing to go, those air tickets were covered as well.

Sometimes we had to complete a project quickly. At one time, we only spent 20 days, for that I was given a bonus and received high pay. But normally we worked three, or four, days a week, and then we had one week off. My wife and I earned about \$4,000 per day. Well, but no matter how much we earned, it was never enough, because half of our salary was spent on buying alcohol. We didn't have any idea to save money.

We would frequently drink for three or four days in a row, until our stomachs felt too upset and uncomfortable. I got dead drunk all the time. Sometimes my children dragged me back home. At one time, when I woke up after a dead drunk, I saw Crosses everywhere, as I had slept at the burial ground while I was too drunk. Another time, I had a fight with somebody after a big drink, I then went to hide myself. I thought I was hidden in a garden but in fact it was a hearse among lots of flowers.

When my wife and I worked in Taipei, we brought our two daughters together. The eldest one was 7, and the second one was 5. We left the youngest daughter here [in the village]. She was looked after by my sister. Since my wife and I were quite busy at work, my elder daughter frequently carried her sister around. One day, a couple came from Hong Kong saw my two daughters, they loved them very much. The couple were infertile. They came to ask me for how much I would be willing to sell my daughter. I was very angry at that. I told myself no matter how poor I am I would never ever sell my daughters.

My personality was quite aggressive before. I wasn't afraid of anything. I often quarrelled with my wife when we were drunk. I also yelled at my children too. They felt very scared of me, because I was quite fierce.

During the time I worked in a city somewhere, at one time people laughed at me because I am indigenous. For this situation, I got a gas tank and a lighter. I was going to make a fire, as I was thinking: "If you want me to die, fine, let's die together", and soon everybody ran away. I joined a gang and became a hoodlum. I was extremely dissolute.

I chewed betel-nut all day long. It improved my energy when I had it. I also loved drinking, which gave me courage and made me feel that I am a big deal. At one time, my friend told me, I was so drunk that I gave a speech in a railway carriage. My friend said that I even spoke in English to a foreigner, "fuck you", I said. I couldn't believe what I did. I know nothing about English. Having alcohol gave me a lot of confidence and bravery. I talked loudly, and I talked fluently. But, well, my body was almost broken because of that.

(My interview with Walis, 2011)

Although this is merely the life story of one person, it could be regarded as indicative of indigenous people's life circumstances in Taiwanese society more broadly. As Walis sees it, the use of alcohol is attributable to indigenous people's position within their wider social context, including ethnic prejudice, labour market involvement and a lack of a sense of how to spend and

save money and so on. It has increased the risk of personal illness and financial uncertainty, it leads to quarrels with spouses or others, and it has contributed to family breakdown. In fact, other than Walis's divorce (family breakdown), drinking had also caused his younger brother's death (drunk-driving), his brother-in-law's death (cirrhosis) and his nephew's husband's death (hepatitis). His father's suicide was, I was told, also related to drinking alcohol.

Truku Pentecostals struggle with moral issues, and with problems in their everyday life that are entangled in the cash economy. From Truku Pentecostals' perspective, these contemporary circumstances have been interwoven with their idea of affliction by devils. Through the demonization of the negative impacts on their lives, Truku Pentecostals ascribed to them supernatural causes. Also, these confrontations are seen as the consequence of one's 'weaknesses'. Truku Pentecostals have made the problem of 'having money' intelligible, which enables them to avoid succumbing to weakness.

5-3. Against Culture: the Problem of 'Having Capital'

With an explicit idea of 'weakness', Truku Pentecostals are not only concerned about the moral problems that money brings with it, but also with the implications that other forms of capital involve. In Truku society, the process of constructing 'Truku culture' has brought cultural capital to the fore. Pentecostals, however, regard it as a kind of 'weakness'. Truku Pentecostals' concern about 'having capital' suggests a range of moral implications, and a problematic 'black-side of humanity' in particular.

Cultural Workers

The 'culture industry' in Taiwan has flourished in the last couple of decades, many cultural organizations, associations and studios have been established. According to the website of Hsiulin Township¹²¹, there are 27 local associations on the web-page of '*Academic Cultural Association*', 48 cultural studios or shops on the web-page¹²² of '*Indigenous Arts Room*' and also 22 handicraft programs show up on the web-page¹²³ of '*Handicraft Classroom*'. Their establishment was intended to fulfil several purposes, including cultural education, cultural development, language improvement, social welfare, ecological education and social networks.

These associations are not stable over time. Most of them do not last long but 'die' in a few years. This, however, does not matter. Many have been re-established by the same group of people by using different names. These cultural businesses are run by local elites. Due to the

¹²¹ http://ap.shlin.gov.tw/Cultural/group/group_more.aspx?&pi=0 (accessed on 30/05/2015)

¹²² http://ap.shlin.gov.tw/Cultural/workroom/workroom_more.aspx (accessed on 30/05/2015)

¹²³ http://ap.shlin.gov.tw/Cultural/handicraft/handicraft_more.aspx (accessed on 30/05/2015)

required paper work, such as writing proposals, making budgets or financial reports, only elites can run them successfully. Ordinary people were unable to manage the administrative process and afford fees and taxes that operating a studio incurs.

In Kele village, generally speaking, four stable associations engaged in cultural business¹²⁴ during my fieldwork. One is called '*Kele Culture Passing-Down Association*' run by Ciray, a Presbyterian. The other three are related. They are operated by two brothers and one of their cousins. The two brothers are Tahan Siban and Peliu Siban. Their cultural studios were like windows through which outsiders (such as reporters, politicians and scholars) contacted 'the locals' and inquired about 'Truku culture'.

Tahan has thoroughly devoted himself to this business since his recent retirement. Being assisted by his wife, a retired school teacher, who is good at singing and dancing, Tahan has frequently been invited to be involved in many cultural projects. Sometimes he has to go to Taipei for meetings at the national level. The expertise of Tahan's studio focuses on Truku history and migration routes¹²⁵. Currently the title of his association is '*Tulowan Cultural Education Association*'. This name has been changed from time to time¹²⁶.

Peliu, the younger brother, operates a facial-tattoo cultural studio. He has been engaged in 'this culture' for many decades. His grandmother wore a facial-tattoo. "At that time, indigenous Taiwanese were looked down upon by Han-Chinese. Wearing facial-tattoos was not a pleasant thing for a family", Peliu said. "It was actually shameful, so our family just kept silent on this issue. Nobody used to talk about it when my grandmother was alive".

Peliu's engagement with facial-tattoos started from a story related to a Han visitor coming to his house, while Peliu was participating in a local election for a position on a local legislative body. One day, Peliu invited a few other politicians to his place. One of them, a Han-Taiwanese politician, was extremely attracted by a photo put on a table in Peliu's house, which was of a Truku woman

¹²⁴ Here I do not count one association that was organized by the village-head, Luby. It was established for the purpose of social networking, with no specific expertise relating to 'Truku culture'.

¹²⁵ In recent years, Tahan also engaged in 'Sediq culture'. Tahan's father is a Truku, and his mother has a Sediq background (the Teuda sub-group). Tahan identifies his ethnic background as "Truku of the Sediq group". To him, Sediq is the term that can refer to both Truku and Teuda sub-groups equally (see 1-2 Truku history and 4-2 Truku Name Rectification).

¹²⁶ As its secretary stated:

In the beginning it was named '*Industrial Development*', as it was fundamental at that time. Then, we changed it to '*Tourism*' as the head of the township office likes to put forward massive budgets on tourism programs. But since we found that tourism was of more benefit to the tourists instead of improving the living conditions of the locals, now we decided a new direction of '*Cultural Education*' was better. We had done enough groundwork before. I think it won't be difficult for us to work on this direction in the future. (My interview material, 2011)

wearing a facial-tattoo¹²⁷. The next day, this politician phoned Peliu and said that they should organize an exhibition for those facial-tattoo photos. This was the beginning of Peliu's awareness of the value of 'this culture'.

After a few decades of taking photos of elders who were wearing facial-tattoos and collecting their stories, Peliu's cultural business has run pretty well. It is getting more and more popular now that facial-tattooing is becoming extinct. Peliu has been frequently invited by universities and organizations to give public talks about the culture of facial-tattooing. Sometimes he even goes overseas to places, such as America, Singapore and China. His cultural studio has often been visited by outsiders, not only Han-Taiwanese but foreigners. "There were even professors coming from the University of Cambridge to visit my studio", Peliu proudly told me.

The other cultural studio is owned by their cousin, Binsey, who is a wood carver and cultural worker. Having been introduced to wood-carving by Tahan a few decades ago, Binsey is now a renowned Truku artist. He has won many prizes and awards in arts-and-crafts competitions. Most of the subjects in his masterpieces are inspired by memories of Truku people's past life experience, which depict images like harvest, hunters, Truku elders or women with bamboo baskets. One of his famous works is the carving of wild-boars, as they look extremely vivid.

These three cultural studios are owned by 'members' of the True Jesus Church. They are, however, non-churchgoers. The church regards them as 'weak' people. Tahan and Peliu, interestingly, have a very close connection with the church. They both come from the core family which established the True Jesus Church in Kele. Their father, Sibán, was the first person to convert to the church in 1937. This family was well-off and powerful. Sibán's father, Geo¹²⁸, was the chief of the *Klugi* tribe. My informant, Liyou, recalled his memory of Geo and said: "Geo, my grandfather, was extraordinary strong and tall, approximately 200 centimetres. He was a good hunter and a good leader when they lived in the mountains. He was assigned by Japanese policemen to govern the village when they moved down to settle here".

Sibán's family was wealthy. In addition to having plenty of land, domestic animals and fowl (see 1-3), they were also rich in money. Wayuh, a nephew of Sibán's wife, recalled this. Not a Kele resident, Wayuh comes from San-Li village, which is another Truku village where a large number

¹²⁷ This photo was taken by Peliu's wife. A few decades ago, in order to earn a living to raise her family, she was recruited by friends to do funeral services, working for a company operated by Han people in Hualien. Sometimes they held funerals of indigenous people. Some deceased elders at that time still wore facial-tattoos. Peliu's wife took photos of them for use in their funerals. She herself collected a few at home, as, in her opinion, those Plates with facial-tattoos looked pretty. Though she did not link this story to her Christian background, she is a Presbyterian from a nearby village.

¹²⁸ Geo had five children: two daughters and three sons. His middle son was adopted. Sibán is the youngest one who had three daughters and four sons.

of True Jesus members reside together. During the time Wayuh was studying at an educational training college, he used to stay with Siban's family in Kele. In his memory of the rich condition of Siban's family, "there were drawers full of coins from which I could take some anytime I wanted", he said.

Owing to this family history, Tahan and Peliu engaged in many church affairs when they were children. Nevertheless, they stopped practicing Pentecostalism when they left the village in their adolescence. Both Tahan and Peliu resided in other cities for a long time before they moved back to the village. Their relationship with the church went especially bad after they started engaging in cultural and political affairs, which the church regarded as 'demonic work':

I refuse to go to the church anymore. This is because, one day, when a group of church members came to my place, they looked around and seemed very scared seeing those facial-tattoo photos on the walls. They then asked me: 'Do you worship them every day?', 'Do you know that we True Jesus people should not worship ancestors?!'

I was very angry and disappointed at their attitudes, so I responded to them: "Facial-tattoo is a treasure of Truku culture from our ancestors". I think they are very naïve and poor as they don't know how to appreciate our culture and they don't respect it.

(My interview with Peliu)

From the church's perspective, Tahan and Peliu have had their minds taken away by devils through their engagement with 'Truku culture'. "They don't know what they are doing", as a church leader indicated. "They are too arrogant and too proud. They pursue benefits and enjoy being adored by the outside world, but they ignore the true value of what their family preaches, as well as its merits, to people". Being a cousin of Tahan and Peliu, Wayuh also sighed: "Those of my cousins have no filial piety. They put our elders' words aside. This is entirely disrespectful and disappointing".

Seeing Tahan's and Peliu's behaviour as a serious betrayal of their family religion, the church feels not only sorry or disappointed but actually very angry with them. This has caused tensions between Tahan, Peliu and their relatives. Having encountered criticism from the people around them, Tahan and Peliu have almost cut off their relationships with the church, and they seldom associate with other residents. Their homes are located near the highway which they can reach without coming via the main road of the village.

Tahan has two sons. His younger son is an indigenous actor, who has performed in a few documentaries related to indigenous history. In recent years, due to performing a role in the movie of '*Seediq Bale*', he has become famous. "My younger son is now in France because their team is receiving some kind of prize there", Tahan said to me, feeling proud of his younger son.

His eldest son, Basaw, on the other hand, is one of the church managers of the True Jesus Church. Basaw was looked after by his grandfather, Siban, through his childhood and teenage years.

Basaw was greatly influenced by his grandfather, and has become a very committed church member. From Basaw's perspective, it is shameful, and sad, about his father's betrayal. He continues to look forward to his father's repentance. "I put this hope in my mind, through prayer, that one day my father will come back to the church again", Basaw said. As for Tahan, he actually felt upset at Basaw. In his opinion, Basaw spends all of his time in the church every day, and has no interest in doing any 'other' things, such as culture. "Basaw is just hanging around and doing nothing with his life", said Tahan. "Spending time in the church will not bring him a prosperous life". With this tension at home, Tahan and Basaw do not talk to each other much in order to avoid more conflicts¹²⁹.

'Truku culture', as we can see, conflicts with Pentecostal values. Instead of acknowledging how 'Truku culture' is valued by the outside society, Pentecostals believe that 'Truku culture' evokes the negative side of humanity. This moral concern goes far beyond the sorts of capital and value that 'Truku culture' is entangled with, 'Truku culture' is also entangled with spiritual danger.

Cultural Activities

Truku Pentecostals feel quite irritated by the idea of *Mgay Bari*. This term, to begin with, is jargon. This narrative was given by a church leader:

I never heard the term *Mgay Bari* used by the previous generations. It was, no doubt, created by those Presbyterian clergymen. Now, since you are asking my opinion, let me tell you this.

According to the Bible, you know what? [He raised his voice and said emotionally and loudly]. '*Bari*' is actually the name of the food which is offered by devils to please weak people. This is how we should understand *Mgay Bari*!

(My interview with a TJC leader, 2011)

About one or two weeks before the event of *Mgay Bari*, in Kele, one could sense a 'difference' of atmosphere in the village. The village-head, Luby, showed up at church services a few times. She was sitting in the crowd of the congregation, listening to the sermon, as if she was a regular and committed church-goer. I had heard from others that Luby only came to church in some special situations, such as when elections were approaching, when the church conducted their yearly

¹²⁹ Their tension was not a secret in the village. Instead, almost everyone knew about it, although residents tend to avoid bringing in these sensitive topics in their day-to-day conversation. Tahan and Peliu dislike talking about it too. Issues about the church or Christian beliefs were somehow like a taboo to them. Peliu, however, told me in private that, in his mind, he still respects the church a great deal. "Although the church, at the moment, cannot agree with the value of what I am doing, I hope that, one day, my effort will be seen and appreciated". To Tahan and Peliu, in other words, their conflict with the church was merely temporary, with no deeper or serious resentment involved. In fact, behind this scene, a couple of years after my fieldwork, Tahan's and Peliu's tension with the church has become less fierce. Some of their relatives (who are church leaders) were even invited to their house for a chat/visit. Tahan's and Peliu's relationships with other church-goers have also become much better.

community meeting, or like this time, because of *Mgay Bari*. Additionally, residents started to gather together in private yards to prepare their performances, as there would be a dancing competition among groups. Truku music was playing while they were preparing Truku dance. It sounded a bit shrill as normally the village was fairly tranquil.

Their gatherings occurred in the evening when people came back from work, starting around 7:30pm. This conflicted with the time of Pentecostals' daily church services. This was probably not a big deal as 'weak' people were seen to be the main participants of *Mgay Bari* anyway. Yet, to some church-goers who were not of a very committed kind, this created a certain degree of ambivalence about whether they should go to the church or not, especially when other weak ones were coaxing them to join in the performance. This became an issue for the church. About the time that people were preparing for *Mgay Bari*, attendance at church sermons did decrease slightly. Church sermons, therefore, highlighted the topic of *Mgay Bari*. "Some people think that it does not matter to go to *Mgay Bari*. But what they don't know is that, in fact, it is a spiritual war of the two spirits", which was the church's position on the event. *Mgay Bari* was interpreted as a feast offered by devils in order to lure weak people.

People could gain some 'benefits' from participating in *Mgay Bari*. For indigenous societies in Taiwan, it is very common that many local activities involved some benefits for them. Participants who attend those events would frequently be offered something as a 'reward'. Sometimes these rewards are monetary, such as a performance-fee. Sometimes they are materials or gifts, which are often everyday articles, like laundry detergent, dishwashing liquid, toilet paper and cooking oil. Residents all know this, and frequently it becomes a motivation for them to participate in those programs. This is, however, also part of why the Pentecostal True Jesus Church is concerned. With support from a biblical passage from Psalms (115: 4 and 8), the church interpreted *Mgay Bari* as a material temptation which represented evil.

It is quite often that – even if we probably didn't realize it – the reason why we participated in those cultural activities is because we had been tempted by the happiness of sensual desire, as they offered things as rewards for our participation.

Through those things, we have unconsciously put our faith in God aside. This is very dangerous. We should be aware that, by doing so, devils have penetrated into our faith. We should not put our faith to the test. (TJC church sermon, 2011)

Church leaders started admonishing members saying they should be more careful of devils in material form. "Don't think it doesn't matter to receive those things", said the church. "This is the starter that devils put on you". The metaphor of 'yeast' is frequently used in Pentecostal sermons. From small beginnings it continues to grow and multiply. People too will begin to become weak, and from there, their weakness will grow as yeast does and they will get ever weaker. "We, good Christian disciples, shouldn't be so easily attracted by those tricky things. If your family does

need those daily articles, go to spend a little bit of money to buy them by yourself. Don't think that having that stuff will save your money. They are distorted forms of devils who just want to pull you down".

All the tensions attributed to *Mgay Bari* accumulated more and more as the day approached. Its aftermath also lasted a few weeks. On the Sabbath of the next week of *Mgay Bari*, the Pentecostal church was, still, trying to identify as 'wrong' the behaviour of their members going to *Mgay Bari*. In a sermon, the preacher indicated to the congregation that good Christians should look to duty and sincerely avoid those sins. He then told the congregation, "I felt very sad and disappointed about the fact that last week, many members went to attend *Mgay Bari*. I am really upset about this. You not only unlearned important things in your life, but you also ignored my concerns and disregarded my admonition to you last week. I almost feel heart-broken....". The preacher stopped talking for a while, because he was actually weeping on the stage. The atmosphere in the church at that time was fairly depressing. After a little while, the preacher continued saying: "Now, to be honest to Jesus, to me, and to yourself... Raise your hand if you went to *Mgay Bari*...". The air was almost frozen. There was no response from the congregation. Everybody lowered their head and maintained their silence.

The event of *Mgay Bari* exemplifies how Truku Pentecostals responded to the idea of 'Truku culture'. 'Truku culture' is the vector through which different forms of capital are concentrated and transmitted. It brings monetary benefits such as a salary if one engages with it in a relevant job. It is interwoven with social capital flowing through networks accessible by being a successful cultural businessperson. It can also be involved in one's tangible achievements in a secular context such as the topic of one's master's degree. Unlike Presbyterians who are happy to engage with all of these issues of culture, capital and money, Pentecostals have grave concerns about their problematic moral implications.

Having capital increases and expands one's desires in Pentecostals' view. Its implications, in particular, are inevitably bound up with materiality where people pursue pleasure and happiness. Problematic aspects of human nature are thus highlighted. In a sensual sense, people pursue corporeal pleasure in things, such as having alcohol, sex, delicious foods and singing. In a perceptual sense, people pursue the pleasure of possessions, such as money, material objects and having other forms of capital that represent power in the material life world. Believing that the 'black-side of humanity' will expand one's desire endlessly, Truku Pentecostals' moral concern has gone beyond the evaluation of 'Truku culture' alone. It is entangled with the problem of 'having capital' more generally. The social phenomena of 'cultural discontinuity' becomes more about the problem of 'having capital' that culture entails.

In the local context, having material things may lead to ‘weaknesses’ of character in practitioners. People may suffer from pride or behave badly and thus reveal a weakness. In order to avoid being involved in ‘having capital’, Truku Pentecostals take an approach oppositional to worldly materiality and capital. As they do so, the idea gains ground that one’s humanity becomes manageable under the authority of the Holy Spirit. A mastery over one’s own subjectivity is demonstrated by means of a more powerful spirituality than one’s own *self*.

5-4. Pentecostal Ethics

Kele village adopted the True Jesus gospel in 1937. The first church, constructed on the 8th of December in 1945, was a humble beginning. The building was small, had a thatched roof and could only contain about 60 people. Three years later, as the number of church members dramatically increased, they decided to build another church. Their second church was bigger and much nicer. It could accommodate approximately 160 people. It was made of wood, and was constructed in a more central location. Owing to the congregations continued growth, even the newer church became too small, so that people had to gather outside to attend services. In the 1970s, they decided to build a third church, which is where the church remains today. This church is constructed of cement and has room for 280 people. Its location is even more central in the middle of the main street (Yi-Hong Chang, 2000:143-144).

Throughout the past decades, the True Jesus Church has developed a crucial role as Kele people see it. Living in ‘the village of the True Jesus Church’ (ibid: 47), church-based communal life is important to Kele residents. The church frequently organizes events for members, including sporting competitions, group tours, and the celebration of Mother’s Day. In a more general sense, this church does not merely play the role of a “church”. It is comprehensively concerned with the village life of its parishioners and residents’ behaviour and morality more broadly.

An Intimate Church: Moral Manipulation

Engagement as a member of the True Jesus Church is highly demanding and intensive. Practitioners are expected to be involved in church affairs in a committed way. Their church service is conducted six days a week (Table 5.4). In fact, it used to be 7 days with no break. Only in recent years, the church leaves Sunday ‘available’, which is for the convenience to arrange their united activities (regional-wide or national-wide) with other churches, such as hymn concerts. Sunday becomes a time for practitioners to travel around to nearby churches, or their mother church, to participate in events.

	<i>Mon</i>	<i>Tue</i>	<i>Wed</i>	<i>Thu</i>	<i>Fri</i>	<i>Sat</i>	<i>Sun</i>
Elder's morning Prayer	morning Prayer: 5:30 or 6am (seasons ¹³⁰) everyday					9:30am prayer 10:00am Sabbath 14:00pm Sabbath	morning Prayer
Evening prayer	7:30pm sermon	7:30pm sermon	7:30pm sermon (House visiting)	7:30pm sermon	7:30pm sermon (Preparation for Sabbath)		

Table 5.4. The schedule of the church service of the True Jesus Church.

Saturday is their Sabbath Day. Two church services are scheduled. One in the morning, the other in the afternoon, and a free lunch called a “love meal” (TJC term, 愛餐 *ai-zan*) is offered to the congregation. In the afternoon, the service finishes around 3:30pm or 4pm. After that, it is time for all kinds of activities, including hymn practice, group meetings, decorating the church, preparing for coming events, playing basketball and social gatherings. Besides the time in the afternoon, some activities are arranged in the evening too. The adult hymn group, for instance, regularly gathered at 7:30pm every Saturday. They study the Bible together and sometimes arrange speakers for their ‘spiritual maturity course’, which members of the group attend. Saturday is always busy for Pentecostals. Believing that practitioners should not do ‘secular work’ on the Sabbath Day – things that are irrelevant to the church are all regarded as ‘secular work’, including earning money – church activities are welcomed and understood as necessary. Having a full schedule arranged by the church is appreciated, which fulfils practitioners’ obligations to Jesus.

Other than demanding church gatherings, the True Jesus Church begins shaping practitioners’ minds at a very young age. Their religious education is offered from the age of 4-6. It functions like nursery before children’s attendance at a regular school. The subsequent courses are conducted for the ages of 7-9, 10-12, 12-15 and 15-18. In addition to religious education, there are also fellowships for five age groups: children, teenage, youth, middle-age and elderly. “We all grew up in the church”, said my informants.

When we were school kids, after we came back from school in the afternoon, as our parents or elders went to farm or do other work, we went to the church to do our homework. The church offered extracurricular classes, in which senior students helped younger ones. When our parents and elders came back from work in the evening, we went back home to have dinner. After that, the whole family then went to the church services together.

(My interview material, 2011)

¹³⁰ Generally only elders participated in morning prayer. Church services vary in time depending on the season.

This has become the general pattern regarding Kele residents' everyday life for a few decades. Through their demanding church service, as well as consistent religious education, an intimate relation to the church is established in one's childhood that will last throughout a member's life. After Kele residents graduate from the elementary school, however, practitioners go outside the community for further education. They start to earn money, and they make friends with non-believing people. Being influenced by outsiders, some practitioners engage in drinking alcohol, smoking or singing karaoke. Practitioners' involvement with the church, therefore, faces a challenge when children become teenagers. It becomes a turning point at which members will continue, or stop, their relationship with the church. Teenage years are regarded as 'dangerous', as they are full of temptations. Yet, an even more 'severe test' comes at the age of 18. A core issue of this stage refers to the problem of dating the opposite-sex and marriage.

Moral Principle

Truku Pentecostals consider that humans are frequently involved in 'fighting'. 'Flesh-body' (肉體 *routi*) and 'soul-body' (靈體 *lingti*) are local terms used to indicate that there is always a war raging between the two. The character of the flesh-body is represented as weak, feeble and flaccid (軟弱 *ranruo*). It needs our soul, which can be strong, rigid and tough, to govern it. With the conceptual division of flesh and soul, Truku Pentecostals highlight that the symbolic 'soul-body' is external, which is more valuable and important than the 'flesh-body', that is temporary. This war is termed as 'belonging to the spirit' (屬靈的戰爭 *shu-ling-de-zhan-zheng*). The reason the flesh-body is involved in this spiritual war is because of its relationship with evil spirits.

In order to 'win' battles, Truku Pentecostals emphasize that one's soul-body has to be trained to be very strong and tough. Also, since spiritual war occurs all the time, practitioners should always remind themselves to stay vigilant and alert (警醒 *jing-xing*). If one's soul-body is absent minded, the person will be easily lured by devils to do things for the flesh-body. Making themselves 'ready', at any time, is important, because Jesus's second coming will have no prior notice. Only people who are alert, and who have prepared themselves well, will be able to achieve salvation.

By distinguishing one's soul from the flesh, their worldview is constructed in a binary oppositional framework between the material world and its counterpart, the immaterial world. Pentecostals are oriented to acknowledge and spotlight the existence of spirituality. Their ideas of soul, salvation, God, spirit and so on, are positioned in this category which is considered as more valuable than materiality. In everyday life, the approach of strong-and-weak is developed as aspects of their binary oppositional framework, through which one's moral standing is defined.

When members are involved in inappropriate habits and behaviours, they are seen as 'leaving the principle' (離開道理 *li-kai-dao-li*). If they furthermore make moral mistakes, it is interpreted as 'falling down' (跌倒 *diedao*) on the road of belief. In these circumstances, the church gives them a warning, along with harsh criticism too, to fix the 'problem'. Members leave the group automatically, if they refuse to take advice or do not make any improvement. If serious moral faults are involved, which directly offend church principles, such as committing adultery, members are forced to leave the group by church policy or public opinion, even if they are reluctant.

In Kele, the Pentecostal church used to exercise a policy of expelling practitioners from membership. During the 1970s-1990s especially, the church encountered a serious decline losing many members. It was the stage of the economic boom in wider Taiwanese society. Despite the fact that residents shared in the economic prosperity from the outside world, the village suffered a 'moral defection'. Many residents were involved in sin, such as drinking alcohol or inappropriate sexual behaviour. "But, thankfully, because of the church, the problem of moral defection ceased, and is now under control", said residents.

Today, due to having lost so many members, the church policy of expelling members has been stopped. Some alternative methods of moral control, however, are still brought to bear. Members who have moral failings, for instance, are not allowed to take charge of church affairs or positions, including cooking the 'love meals'.

Though having strict principles, residents appreciate that the church intends to govern parishioners' behaviour and everyday life. Generally only teenagers complain. "Our church is a *real* church", they say. "It is loving, caring and is sincerely concerned about our daily conduct". Strict principles are understood as effective ways in which members can be protected from doing wrong things. The Pentecostal church has also earned a great reputation that it never stops trying to encourage weak members to 'go back to the right road'. The church's 'big love' has been circulated among residents, as well as True Jesus practitioners elsewhere.

Marriage

In olden days, Truku people's marriage was frequently arranged by parents, once they saw their children were mature enough. Because traditional Truku weddings involved pig-sacrifice, in some cases, Truku people's marriages occurred "because our elders wanted to eat pork". Bliah's marriage was one of these cases, as were those of her five sisters, who were all married once they turned 16, for their parents wanted to eat pork. In a traditional Truku society, pigs were sacrificed for ritual purposes, like weddings, and sometimes to make up for a violation of *gaya*, such as

having sex out-of-wedlock. For all these reasons, pork was a precious and luxurious food that Truku people loved.

After their conversion to Christianity, people's marriages became related to Christian authority. Some practitioners' marriages were arranged, or introduced, by church clergymen. A story by my Pentecostal informant serves to illustrate this situation: "My sister doesn't like that guy. But, since one of her legs was disabled and this marriage was arranged by the church, she still married him. They don't have children. My sister doesn't like him at all".

Truku Pentecostals possess a very strict attitude to the relation between the sexes and marriage. Apart from seeing sex out-of-wedlock as a serious fault, other intimate kinds of interactions, such as holding hands, are considered 'dangerous' behaviour as well. This inappropriate behaviour is seen as a temptation that lures people to fall down. Truku Pentecostals, additionally, interpret divorce as a severe moral failure. Only if one's spouse dies, is one allowed to have another relationship. Divorce was one of the common reasons why members were expelled by the church.

The Pentecostal church advocates that members should marry with their own Pentecostal folk, who are described as 'similar spirits' (同靈 *tong-ling*). This is in contrast to non-believing people who are 'outsiders' (外邦人 *wai-bang-ren*). The adoption of this principle has increased intermarriage (i.e., of Pentecostal-to-Pentecostal) in Kele village. When I was drawing up residents' genealogies, there were (at least) 17 intermarried couples occurring in three generations, within 7 families. In addition, 5 other cases (at least) were found where a spouse was a 'similar spirit' coming from another village.

Among them, a few cases involved close relatives-in-law who were actually unrelated, or distantly related. Truku people often adopt children. I was told by my informants that child adoption is believed to fertilize a family if the married couple does not have 'news' of pregnancy. Alternatively, sometimes a wealthy family will adopt children from poor families to help raise their children. In Kele, some residents had two or three marriages due to the deaths of spouses. A widow would find another man (including her relative-in-law) in order to look after her children. In this regard, Pentecostals' intermarriage should be understood as a manifestation of accumulating power, especially when the idea of spirituality is implicated.

In order to help single members find a spouse among 'similar spirits' in their groups, the Pentecostal church has an administrative position that serves as a 'marriage broker' (婚介 *hun-jie*). Their mother church regularly organizes training courses, offering sermons on the topic of marriage, for those 'marriage brokers' of local churches. During these gatherings, 'marriage

brokers' exchange information among themselves to see if there are single parishioners who would suit each other.

Emma was in this position when I was in the village. Having a True Jesus family background in a nearby county, Taidong, Emma married into a True Jesus family in Kele. Her husband, working in a train station, was in a slightly 'weak' condition. Feeling guilty about his habitual drinking and smoking, he did not go to the church often. Emma, on the other hand, was an active practitioner. She has been elected as a church leader for a few terms. Being a nurse, Emma earned a stable income from her career. Her educational training, however, had been with the *Mustard Seed Nursing School*, which was a Presbyterian related institution (see 2-4). Emma's story inspired me to be concerned about the differentiation of Christian denominations.

Originally I couldn't go to that school, because the school requested a reference letter from a Presbyterian minister. Coming up with an idea I asked my Presbyterian friend if she could help me to get a reference letter from her minister; luckily they helped me, and so I enrolled.

My family is a True Jesus family. Later on when my clergyman got the news, he was very angry reading what I did as a betrayal.

Our training class ran from 8am to 5pm, and there were also Christian courses offered before and after the class. Their Christian rituals were quite different from ours. They baptized members in a bathtub, they didn't have the foot-wash sacrament, and they didn't divide the unleavened bread but use a small wafer instead. I frequently asked our teacher about the Bible. He thought I was such a hard-working student [she laughed].

After I enrolled, nobody actually asked me anything about my religion. They presumed that I must be a Presbyterian and never doubted it. There was only one time when we filled out a form, one question was related to 'religion', to which I just simply wrote down 'Christianity' as my answer. (My interview with Emma, 2011)

Emma's best friend is Hinley. She works in the same hospital as a colleague and lived in Kele village as a neighbour of Emma. They frequently helped each other swapping shifts for convenience. Hinley's husband is a policeman, also a weak church member, who only goes to the church occasionally. One of Hinley's sisters-in-law is hired by the True Jesus Church as a 'doorkeeper' taking charge of the key of the church. This also involves 'housework' for the church, such as cleaning or watering plants. This is regarded as a very holy position that attracts blessings from God for taking care of the church.

Marrying into a Pentecostal family, Hinley came from a Presbyterian background in Nan-ao village, an Atayal village. Hinley's mother did not like the True Jesus Church¹³¹; she forbade Hinley to convert even after Hinley's marriage. Facing a religious dilemma from the conflict between her

¹³¹ As Hinley's brother was brought by friends to the TJC and wanted to be baptised when he was a junior high school student.

two Christian families, Hinley did not go to either of the churches for a few years. Yet, seeing that her child was growing up, Hinley eventually decided to disregard her mother's opinion. She began to join in the Pentecostal church. After a while, Hinley found that she appreciated Pentecostal doctrines and enjoyed going there. Hinley was baptised before her child who received the baptism at the age of six. Growing up in a True Jesus family, Hinley's son, now in his early twenties, has married a True Jesus woman, who works in the military. Their new-born baby has also been baptized as a Pentecostal.

Hinley's story involved the recruitment of new Pentecostal members. Hinley converted to Pentecostalism from a Presbyterian background. Her conversion, furthermore, also had some influence on her son, who had an intermarriage across churches. Truku Pentecostals, in fact, recruit new members through a few key methods. In addition to new-born babies, or children, they frequently draw new believers from the context of other existing Christian organizations, through marriage.

Church-wedding

Truku Pentecostals believe that marriage plays a key role in enabling practitioners to stick to their religion throughout their whole life time. A church-wedding is regarded as one's 'holy union' with another 'similar spirit'. Having a church-wedding, however, is not easy to achieve as it comes with strict principles. A church-wedding is only offered in situations where both the bride and groom are members, who are 'inside the Lord', and both are virgins, who are regarded as 'clean'. In Kele, church-weddings used to be fairly common, a few in a year. This tendency ceased a while ago, because no couple fitted the requirement. In recent years, however, church-weddings have begun to be fashionable again.

Since the case of Fulin in the 2000s, a few young couples have followed suit. Fulin, a young man in his 20s working in the military, and is of the third generation of Pentecostals in Kele. Fulin's mother is a committed True Jesus member, who runs a breakfast shop in the village. Her shop is located in a corner behind a very small lane that only the locals know. Running this family business does not bring her much income. Yet, it has earned Fulin's family compliments and respect from others, as the shop is closed on Saturday to leave the holy day free to do God's work.

Fulin and his two elder brothers received profound religious education from their childhood and through adulthood. Being a committed member, his elder brother, Dekiy, has been consistently selected as a church leader. Dekiy and his wife have worked as postmen in a private company for decades. Their work did not afford them a high salary, such as public servants would have. Nevertheless, their finances are at least stable and reasonable. Though not rich, their house is frequently visited by people. Not only Kele residents who often stop-by their place to have a

chat or meeting, but other 'similar spirits' from elsewhere frequently come to visit. Fulin, the younger one, just had his church wedding marrying a True Jesus 'sister', Yiayia, who came from an Atayal village across the other side of the mountains. One of Yiayia's uncles was a True Jesus clergyman. In a church service, Yiayia was invited to share her story as a testimony, which offers a good model for young practitioners to follow.

Today I will share my experience called "The unexpected happiness given by God". Regarding marriage, my attitude is always that, firstly, he must be a Brother inside the Lord, and secondly, he takes the establishment of our relationship as the first step towards our marriage.

Originally, both my family and Brother Fulin's family agreed to arrange our wedding after I graduated from college. Yet, our preachers always asked: "Why can't you make it earlier? Both of you guys have such a great family. Your union is not only a matter for you two. It honours the two families and even the two churches, and it will offer a great example for other young people".

My family were persuaded very soon, so they secretly arranged a date for Brother Fulin's family to come to propose our marriage [...]

Although it was a bit of a rush to prepare my wedding, I felt that everything had been arranged by God, like *1 Corinthians* (10:23) told us: "Everything is permissible" – but not everything is beneficial. "Everything is permissible" – but not everything is constructive.

(TJC church testimony, 2011)

Young Pentecostals, through their religious education, have generally developed the idea that having a church-wedding is a great honour and blessing. Because the church authority continues to prescribe this principle, many young Pentecostals have hope (through prayers) that, one day, their church-wedding will come true.

In addition to having a conservative attitude towards sexual relations, Truku Pentecostals are more likely to get married at an early age. If young couples have sexual relations, quite often, their family and relatives would urge them to marry as soon as possible. This circumstance happened in my local family and with a few neighbours when I was in the village. Though Pentecostals regard 'similar spirits' as the ones practitioners should marry, if one has sexual relations, normally it is taken as an indication that one should get married.

5-5. Leadership and Moral Hierarchy

The True Jesus Church in Kele has seven local leaders. Called 'responsible people' (負責人 *fu-ze-ren*), they are responsible for the daily operation of the church, and also do relevant administrative work. In Table 5.5, I list the details of the seven church leaders in 2011, including their gender, age, occupation, marital status and the lengths of their leadership.

Title	gender	age	Jobs	Marriage	How long
Educational administration	Male	40	Postman	2 daughters (12-16y) Wife is a postwoman	From in his 20s
Missionary	Male	40	Casual jobs making films	Single	From in his 20s
Education	Male ¹³²	25	Just quit from Asia Cement	Single	Just beginning
Information	Female	30	Motor-Vehicle Department (public servant)	Single	From in her 20s
General services	Male	40	Asia Cement (permanent)	2 children (12-16y) Wife is a nurse	From in his 30s
Financial	Female	28	Asia Cement (by contract)	Single	Just beginning
Treasurer	Male	50	Hospital, but an administrator in shifts at night or weekends	2 sons (20-30y) Widower	From entering his 20s

Table 5.5. The seven church leaders of True Jesus Church in 2011.

None of them is engaged in a ‘professional’ occupation, nor are they ‘upper-class’ politicians, social elites or entrepreneurs. They are ordinary people with ordinary jobs. Except for the one who is unemployed, and one who was doing irregular casual work, the other five leaders earned regular income. Nevertheless, only two of the five are in permanent positions; they are otherwise under temporary contracts, and one was on long-term night shift work. Having a good job, in a word, is not a necessary criterion for Pentecostal leadership; even people who endure periodic unemployment can be church leaders¹³³.

Many of these leaders are still single and young. In middle age – in their twenties, thirties and forties – they are second or third generation Kele residents¹³⁴. None of them is involved in ‘Truku culture’ activities. Most of them do not come from a rich family background either. Only Basaw is the son of a well-off family. He, however, was not ‘lured’ by secular wealth, nor by ‘Truku culture’, which his father is engaged in.

For Pentecostal leadership, worldly forms of ‘capital’ or achievement are not considered, including one’s occupation, professional knowledge, social position and economic condition. It is, in fact, not because these leaders have not yet accumulated tangible or intangible forms of achievement in their life. On the contrary, their leadership accumulates precisely as they refuse to pursue any secular form of social and economic capital in a worldly manner. This has earned them moral capital, and so they have become leaders.

Kele residents generally leave home for towns and cities in pursuit of economic improvement or higher education from their teens. The outside world, however, is seen as full of temptations. Therefore, when young adults have to move and live in a city for work or study, and cannot come

¹³² The 25y male is the son of the 50y male.

¹³³ Yet, I have noticed that leaders seem to suffer less economic burden in raising their family. Married leaders generally earn a regular salary, even if it is not much, to maintain their families.

¹³⁴ Except for one, Ibioy, in his 60s, who used to live in upper-Fushi, before he converted to Pentecostalism in his teens from Presbyterianism.

back to the village regularly, they are urged to go to find another True Jesus group near where they live. Through having some connection with their own Pentecostal fellows in cities, practitioners do not really cut off their ties with the church where they grow up. Despite unavoidably associating with 'outsiders', their close acquaintances are, still, the same Pentecostals. Good practitioners, in this regard, would not be too influenced by outside friends in the way they dress, the activities they engage in, the understanding of church principles, and, most importantly, in their loyalty to the church.

Jeni is one example of a person who joined another True Jesus Church near Taipei where she worked for years. Jeni's presence in a city church was noticed, since many of clergymen regularly move between churches to give sermons for the Sabbath or Holy Communion. It was appreciated that even though facing all sorts of temptations, Jeni could still stay 'strong' without being lured. This earned her compliments and a good reputation from other Pentecostal fellows. Now that Jeni has transferred her work to Hualien and lives in the village, she has become involved in the leadership.

Pentecostal followers are required to devote time to doing 'holy work' (church affairs, 聖工 *sheng-gong*), which includes daily church gatherings, helping out in religious education, preparing coming events, hosting visiting groups and so on. Being a good 'worker' for God is seen as being a committed member and is admired by the Pentecostal community. If young adults stick to this principle to consistently engage in 'holy work', they earn the compliment that they are wise and can tell right from wrong.

During the stage of one's early adulthood in particular, since other young followers of the same age are 'leaving the principle' one by one, committed members are seen as good models for other practitioners. Day by day, being engaged in more and more church affairs, these become the bulk of their religious activities. They are considered and appreciated as 'strong' ones who never leave the church behind. Eventually they become involved in church leadership.

Pentecostal religiosity highlights an internal relationship with spirituality (see chapter 7). Through a church network in cities, a space is offered for practitioners to maintain their vertical relationship with God rather than their horizontal social relationships. Despite being physically absent from their home village, presenting themselves in city churches shows that the practitioner's mind still belongs to, or is controlled by, Jesus. Especially when witnessed by other fellows, such as clergymen, practitioners can accumulate moral capital from the Pentecostal society, though they are away from their rural village.

The possession of worldly capital is not appreciated by Pentecostals. Pentecostals' city networks are built for a religious purpose, not to build social relationships with the outside world,

as is the case of Truku Presbyterians. Presbyterians are frequently absent from the village for the purpose of education, career training, earning money and other activities, and their networks in cities are intertwined with secular affairs such as social engagements and cultural activities. Presbyterians' secular success can thus be accumulated and transferred to their religious achievement. Even if Presbyterians are away from their rural village for a while, once they come back, their secular achievements can still be counted as part of their Christian ethic and commitment. In Presbyterian society, a religious hierarchy parallels members' social hierarchy.

Pentecostal leadership, on the contrary, is manifested in one's moral capital, not one's possession of worldly capital. More specifically, the Pentecostal ethic posits the relationship between worldly matters and moral capital in a contradictory manner. Only when one goes *against* pursuing worldly capital, does one accumulate moral capital. In order to improve their moral standing, Pentecostal leaders frequently put secular success aside. They earn money for survival but do not seek to be rich. They receive education but do not prioritise it over their religion. In everyday life, they drink tea not alcohol, they sing hymns not popular songs, and they talk about biblical stories not politics or economics. This kind of ascetic approach would sometimes lead to a decent lifestyle for a Pentecostal family, such as having stable economic circumstances or providing a reasonable educational environment for the children. In this case, however, practitioners are taught to be more careful to not get lured by the material things they have achieved. And the most important issue is to maintain the habit of going to church regularly.

Believing that spiritual warfare rages all the time, to Pentecostals, the only way to steadily win battles with evil spirits is to be vigilant. Pentecostal leaders are the ones who not only have been able to maintain a good moral condition, but keep it with lasting stability. As to ordinary Pentecostal members, their 'good' status is, quite often, temporary. Sometimes they leave the principle, become absent minded, or even fall down. Making mistakes is not uncommon. Considering that many 'sinful' moral issues are actually part of the nature of humanity, one's engagement in those 'sinful' circumstances is nothing unusual.

It was normal to hear from my Pentecostal informants about someone who 'used to be' quite active in the church, but has now stopped practicing their religion. Generally, this happened in one's early adulthood, due to the influence of outside friends, getting too close to the opposite-sex or being involved in drink and so on. Although disappointed at these 'weak' members' lapses, church leaders and good practitioners still look forward to their awakening through praying for their 'coming back'. It is believed that, one day, especially when weak members confront serious life problems, such as losing a family member, divorce, illness or accident, they will awaken from their moral defects.

Walis is one of these examples. In his early adulthood, Walis left the church due to drinking and fighting. Because of a bad relationship with his wife, Walis divorced. One day, when Walis felt sorrow at losing his wife, he bumped into a church clergyman who encouraged him to go to the church for the '*Spiritual Convocation*'. Walis, since then, has returned to the church and he has also quit drinking and stopped associating with his bad gang.

As Walis's case shows, weak members can be accepted by the Pentecostal flock again. As long as they sincerely repent their moral mistake, Pentecostal society welcomes their return. They come to be seen as respected, appreciated and complimented for their awakening. Walis's story, for instance, has been circulated as testimony that Jesus never gives anyone up. Having returned and feeling eager to make-up for what he did 'wrong' before, Walis has become strongly committed. He brought along his children to the church. This has provided good labour power for church affairs. Yet, despite re-joining the Pentecostal society, weak members cannot take formal church positions to serve Jesus owing to their previous moral faults. They have no way to reach the top of the moral hierarchy, where good members, like church leaders, are placed.

In Pentecostal society, one's social standing is determined by one's moral standing, not by worldly capital. Practitioners accumulate moral capital to the extent they practice church principles. One's morality is diminished if one pursues tangible forms of success in a worldly manner or engages in sinful behaviour. It can also be upgraded by taking more 'holy work' and sticking with church principles consistently. The extent to which one maintains an intimate relationship with the church (not only Jesus) contributes to one's social position and moral standing in Pentecostal society.

❖ Postscript to Chapter 4 and Chapter 5

Within a few decades, the Truku group has encountered dramatic social changes through being incorporated into the mainstream colonial society of Taiwan. With respect to their distinct moral schemes of 'being good', Part II argued that the ethical orders of the two Truku Protestant groups are revealed to be in an asymmetric relation. Distinct approaches have been taken to respond to issues and activities relating to the contemporary society, such as indigenous culture, social movements, relevant policies and earning money.

Through the construction of Truku ethnicity, Presbyterians are highly engaged in activities in relation to 'Truku culture', such as language, history, knowledge, songs and techniques. This is, meanwhile, interwoven with wider involvements through education, politics, tourism and other economic business, since 'Truku culture' has been rendered valuable and acknowledged by the wider Taiwanese society. This has in fact re-configured power structures in the mainstream society relating to Truku. Initially, the space of 'Truku culture' did not exist. It was due to Presbyterians' endeavours, a process of continuation of their traditional culture has been made possible. Through marking the separateness of 'Truku', not only is 'Truku culture' represented as the central course of their ethnicity and positioned in the mainstream colonial society, but it also becomes the core power that aggregates different forms of capital together.

Truku Presbyterians' social engagement is also in harmony with their ethical idea of being a good Christian: both are evaluated in a similar fashion. In Weberian terms, having inherited a Protestant ethic, Truku Presbyterians' ethic is in accordance with the dominant understanding of the spirit of 'capital' in social life. Presbyterians acknowledge the value that is derived from 'capital' in different forms, and furthermore embody it as a representation of their religious well-being. In this climate, Presbyterians' orientation to engage in 'Truku culture' has enabled followers to accumulate social, cultural and economic capital through their day-to-day activities, and through which their symbolic moral capital is embodied through the Presbyterian ethic.

Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, developed contrary attitudes towards acknowledging the dominant value of 'capital' on moral grounds. They are *against* the mainstream understanding in which worldly capital is dominated by a capitalist ideology, which is a representation of 'doing well'. Taking an opposite approach, of a *world-rejecting* manner, Pentecostals' moral condition is defined by their being against the material world. By one's response of rejection, one's good moral standing can be demonstrated to peers and so moral capital is earned. This becomes a profoundly moral act, a Pentecostal life principle, through which one is acknowledged as a good Christian.

The Pentecostal ethic does not lead to the accumulation of worldly capital as Presbyterians do. From a secular viewpoint, we may claim that Pentecostals are oriented to achieve less material success. This, however, is only presumed by outsiders who use the mainstream capitalist ideology as a conceptual criterion to evaluate Pentecostals' secular performance. Regarding Pentecostals' prevalence in lower socioeconomic regions, as scholars have observed, it should be highlighted that the *lower* socioeconomic circumstance in the secular context in our view is actually unimportant, and even untruthful, to Pentecostal practitioners (see chapter 7)¹³⁵. Having a specific worldview that operates the values of 'capital' differently, Truku Pentecostals have constructed a new configuration in terms of the power structures of the modern society. As I will argue, contrary to their 'lower' socioeconomic circumstances, Truku Pentecostals regard themselves as the better Christians who possess the best blessing. To them, the majority of people today are in pursuit of worldly matters, which are meaningless and unpromising from their viewpoint. Only Pentecostals themselves become the most powerful people, morally and spiritually, in society.

¹³⁵ In this thesis, when I discuss the issue of socioeconomic circumstances of the Truku, I refer to a broader concept that takes cultural and social capital into consideration, instead of a pure economic aspect. Despite using the word 'socioeconomic', this meaning goes beyond the degree of its social and economic definition.

PART III. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF AND THE FORM OF POWER

❖ Prelude to Chapter 6 and Chapter 7

Charismatic and Pentecostal movements have their origins in conservative Protestantism. These movements can be also regarded as evangelical or fundamentalist depending on their historical background and relation to Christian revivalism (Woodberry and Smith, 1998). Some common issues among these kinds of Christians refer to their theological conservatism, such as biblical literalism or biblical inerrancy. The actual circumstances, nevertheless, vary from group to group. Presbyterianism, in these terms, cannot be unambiguously defined as a particular type, as it has flexibility to adapt to different social circumstances¹³⁶. Pentecostalism, however, is generally regarded to contain biblical fundamentalism as a feature, and its followers usually possess a strict attitude to their religiosity and many of them are separatistic (Kellstedt and Smidt, 1991).

In Part III, starting from the complexity that the two local Truku groups access a different scriptural resource in ‘the Bible’ to comprehend Christianity, chapters 6 and 7 will focus on the intricacy of their liturgical language, rituals and ideology. This additionally leads us to explore how church doctrines contribute to practitioners’ social engagements. Proposing an approach of “ethno-theology” for a “non-essentialising treatment of Christianity” in anthropology, Michael Scott (2005) suggests anthropologists conceptualise how local Christians select and interpret the concept of Christianity. This approach enables us to see how local people “embark and re-embark on the diverse logical trajectories that constitute Christianity” (ibid:118). In Part III, by exploring the Christian language ideology of the two local Truku groups as a starting point, I will furthermore examine how local practitioners are oriented to divergent trajectories in their social roles as modern subjects being shaped by distinct forms of Christianity.

Texts, in spite of writing by authors to convey meanings they have in mind, are linguistic works that mediate meanings for readers, and to some degree are semantically independent of their authors (Bartkowski, 1996). The interpretations of text generally vary over communities in accordance with readers’ presuppositions (Bartkowski, 1996:261). Regarding the meaning of the biblical text, therefore, it should be interpreted and examined in the context of the readers’ *culture*, as “cultural work embedded in the search for meaning is likely to be more significant” (Bielo, 2008:19). In my ethnographic cases, both Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals are ‘scriptural’ but on different trajectories, as they do not use the same language to signal Christianity. Presbyterians prefer to use the vernacular language, Truku, whereas the True Jesus Church adheres to Mandarin. This difference epitomizes the transactions between languages and

¹³⁶ In a survey conducted by Woodberry and Smith (1998), regarding people’s attitude to a wide range of issues such as biblical literalism and political attitudes, it was found that “When respondents say they are “Lutheran” or “Presbyterian”, researchers need to ask, “Which kind?” (1998: 34).

cosmologies, for which the two Protestant groups have distinct methods of translation that correspond to their specific Christian ideologies.

Courtney Handman (2010) observes how the Bible is regarded as a separate textual object for local people in Guhu-Samane, Papua New Guinea. In using the translated text in their ritual events, local people form intertextual linkages in the spaces between in entextualization¹³⁷. Having illuminated Fijians' struggle with different meanings as they adopted Christianity, Matt Tomlinson (2006 and 2014) analyzes performances by focusing on the motion of signs and texts. He describes rituals as acts of entextualization – that is the process of turning discourse into texts that are detachable from their original contexts (Tomlinson, 2014:2). Also, M. Eleanor Nevins (2010) explored the relation between intertextuality and misunderstanding for two groups of Apache people (traditionalists and evangelical Christians). With different strategies, the Bible, to them, has become a discursive field, where contrasting identities are constituted by the way in which they construct biblical entextualizations. Nevins thus argues that “any text (the Bible, but also textual symbols of indigeneity) through which a historically colonized community defines its participation in wider social and political orders is likely to be the object of competing claims and discursive elaboration within that community” (Nevins, 2010:19)¹³⁸.

Being a textual object, the Bible, for Truku people, represents a foreign cosmology, which is different from their pre-Christian life experience governed by their traditional cosmological concepts expressed as *utux/gaya*. A discursive field, hence, has been provided for Truku people to develop their own tendencies of entextualization. In chapters 6 and 7, my examination of this issue will deal with the interrelations of language affiliation, translating cosmology, the idea of scriptural authority and hermeneutic interpretation.

Texts are polysemous by nature, allowing multiple interpretations. As Bartkowski (1996) indicated a hermeneutic process whereby the reader ascribes meanings to the text, readers “attempt to marshal various forms of evidence (e.g., scientific, experiential, ethical) to lend legitimacy to their particular reading of the text in question” (Bartkowski, 1996: 262). In my

¹³⁷ Park and Bucholtz (2009) define entextualization as: “the process by which circulable texts are provided by extracting discourse from its original context and reifying it as a bounded object”. This is the sense in which I use the term ‘entextualization’.

¹³⁸ Pointing out that local people recontextualize global texts to fit in with their own meanings and concerns, though these have been also transformed, Nevins (2010:22) has argued that:

Where the anthropology of Christianity and linguistic anthropology have most prolifically converged is in the study of changing language ideologies, or changing semiotic ideologies, introduced through Christian evangelizing (Keane, 2007; Kuipers, 1998; Robbins, 2001[a], Samuels, 2006; Schieffelin, 2000). Such studies reveal that conversion to Christianity represents not only changing beliefs about the nature of the world, but entails changes in orientation to language, in the relationship of linguistic expression to agency and intention, and in the constitution of speaking and listening subjects. (Nevins, 2010:22)

ethnography, with divergent ideas of theological authority, the two Truku Protestant groups come up with separate models of exegesis. These have constructed followers' distinct understanding and practice as good Christians, and furthermore reproducing the divergence of the two religiosities. Oriented by pluralistic forms of Christianity, Part III will develop an argument regarding how separate trajectories of 'being a good Christian' are shaped. By taking language differences as a vehicle to comprehend biblical knowledge to begin with, and using contrasting analogical methods to bridging the gap between old and new cosmologies, the ideological trajectory that is constructed by the two denominational worldviews will be explored to see how practitioners are oriented toward a distinct pattern of subject making.

Presbyterian religiosity has constructed a specific style of sociality, through which practitioners' view of being good Christians is syncretized with secular issues. Having oriented their adherents to engage widely in social activities, Truku Presbyterians are involved in different forms of worldly capital through their day-to-day life. A specific style of modern subject – a 'complex self' – is formulated by Presbyterianism. This, meanwhile, enables Presbyterians to enlarge their sense of subjectivity, through which they become powerful in the social domain.

Pentecostal religiosity, by contrast, has formulated a type of sociality that disengages from secular activities in general. By establishing an intimate relationship with God, which is seen as more significant, social engagement, just like worldly capital, is of little importance for Pentecostals. A Pentecostal personhood is constructed in a style of a 'simplex self'¹³⁹. Being good Christians is approached through one's moral capital which is accumulated through one's physical practice. With this viewpoint, Pentecostal practitioners have also become 'powerful' as they have been integrated into a transcendental sociality, where they establish clear social group boundaries.

Some preliminary clarifications are required. First, although some mutual themes between the two churches will be presented in a comparative manner, there are, in fact, different foci and concerns for each group. My presentation is not structured in a parallel framework in order to make a *direct* comparison. Rather, it flows via issues that are revealed by the material for each group. Second, despite dividing the two groups into separate chapters, some topics are unavoidably bound together in my analysis. Chapter 6 provides the theoretical framework for Chapter 7. Also, some comparative material relating to Presbyterians is presented in Chapter 7 but not Chapter 6. And third, the dynamics between emic and etic perspectives in the two

¹³⁹ Generally the word 'simplex' is a technical term "allowing telecommunication in only one direction" (Merriam Webster Dictionary). It can be also defined as "Composed of or characterized by a single part or structure". (Oxford online dictionary). Here I use this term, 'simplex', to refer to Pentecostal worldview headed by the Holy Spirit, which offers a specific conceptual framework for practitioners to interact with the society in which they live (see chapter 7).

chapters are complicated. This is owing to the complex nature of comparison, and the discourse from my informants cannot be presented without offering my own analytic accounts. Though I have tried to avoid this kind of confusion in my writing, by noting it here, I hope that readers might be aware of the complexity.

Chapter 6. Presbyterian Modern Subjects and Worldly Power

As a living language, the Truku dialect underwent two stages of suppression by the colonial powers. Around the 1940s, firstly, the Japanese authorities restricted its usage, and secondly, the KMT power took an even more radical approach and banned its use for decades. As a result, the prevalence of Truku language in everyday life is inevitably decreasing, even if in recent years, conversely, Truku language has become part of school education under the policy of multiculturalism¹⁴⁰.

Today, the usage of Truku language is relative to age. Elderly people, around their 70s, generally, speak Truku on a daily basis. Many of them can also speak Japanese as they received Japanese education. Middle-aged Truku people, approximately in their 40s to 60s, are usually bilingual. They speak Truku at home, and their Mandarin is fluent. Mandarin was the language they learnt at school, and also they use it at work, where non-Truku are in the majority. The younger generation, between their 20s and 40s, can only manage basic Truku dialect. They communicate with grandparents in Truku. However, in daily life, they do not speak Truku much. As to the next age group, under 20s, they are almost incapable of using Truku for daily communication. Growing up in an environment where everyone speaks Mandarin, their Truku vocabulary is limited.

Other than age, one's proficiency in Truku is related to one's religious background. Truku dialect is the language of a new reconfiguration of Christian worldview by Presbyterians. Having compiled the 'Truku Bible', their liturgical practice is mainly conducted in Truku. Additionally, Presbyterians adapted Truku traditional concepts into their doctrine positively, so that *utux* has its harmonious position within Christianity. Drawing a post hoc inference that *utux* was a Truku manifestation of the Christian God, Presbyterians legitimated their Christian ideology in a local context. By building on the Christian authority with a positive relation to their traditional concept of *utux*, Presbyterians find in this concept an existing local notion in terms of which to interpret Christianity. Presbyterianism, in addition, orients its adherents to engage in relevant activities in the social domain of Taiwanese society. Whether one speaks Truku in daily life or not is not as important as 'being Truku'. It is 'being Truku' that is emphasized as a specific axis of identity for Truku Presbyterians.

Chapter 6 explores how Truku Presbyterians are made as good modern subjects by highlighting the separateness of 'Truku' ethnicity, through which Presbyterianism has constructed its legitimacy in a local context. My argument will be developed through the intersection between religiosity and sociality by examining topics including the Presbyterians' *domesticating* model of

¹⁴⁰ The school offers basically one hour per week of indigenous language instruction.

language usage, their *positive* analogy in translating cosmology, local authority, *relational* approach to sociality, the formulation of a '*complex self*', and being involved in worldly capital, and worldly power.

6-1. Truku Language and the Truku Bible

Today, Truku Presbyterians use the Truku language Bible as a basis for the performative language of their liturgical rituals and daily practices. For translation purposes, the dominant language, Mandarin, is used too. In this chapter, I will discuss how Presbyterians use Truku language to interpret biblical knowledge and to what degree it is applied to their Christian practices. Shedding light on the Truku Bible as the first step, issues will be discussed surrounding Presbyterians' language affiliation, the history of the Truku Bible and the semiology of the Truku Bible. Other relevant themes will be explored in the following sections, including cosmological analogy, intertextual gaps, and Presbyterians' denominational doctrines and exegesis.



Plate 6.1. Truku Presbyterian Church.

In the hall of the Presbyterian Church, there is no iconography. Only a Cross can be seen in the church, a very big one hanging on the front wall with a couple of small ones on some furniture (Plate 6.1). In the middle of the wall, on either side of the big Cross, there are two bilingual sentences (in Truku and Mandarin). The right sentence shows the general objective of the church: "Commitment, Identity, Improvement" (*Gnklaan* 委身, *Pnstmaan* 認同, *Kndkilan* 成長). The sentence on the left represents the theme of the year. In 2012, the theme was "Improving the integration of pluralistic society. Carry out the justice of God." (*Prana Kana Spuan Emblaiq Kbalay* 促進多元共榮 *Knslagu Utux Baraw* 落實上帝公義). In 2013, "Cherishing the country Taiwan, spreading Christ's gospel" (*Gmealu Klwaan Taywang* 疼惜國家台灣, *Pkgarang Malu Kari Kiristu* 傳

遍基督福音) was the theme. These themes are given by the *Truku Tribal Presbyteries* as a shared topic among Truku Presbyterian churches.

These bilingual ‘words’ on the wall of the Presbyterian Church underpin their specific ideology, and are instances of their principle of using the Truku language. This language policy demonstrates their strong concern about ‘being Truku’. Based on an effort to distinguish the Truku ethnicity from mainstream Han-Taiwanese society (see chapter 4), Presbyterians’ church practice is presented in a Truku style. They use a traditional kind of Truku woven cloth for their church tablecloths. The Power-Point in Presbyterian sermons (which is presented to the congregation) has typical Truku patterns as its background. Additionally, it is common to see Presbyterians wear ‘Truku clothes’ to go to church, and their hymn groups frequently wear a ‘Truku uniform’ for their activities. The vestments of the church represent the image of ‘Truku’; this infuses the Presbyterian idea of being Christian.

When the Truku mother tongue was used in the mountains, their cosmology was embedded in the natural environment, which served as a text for them. In the colonial periods Truku people were forced to study in Japanese schools and learn the Japanese language. This assimilation became more oppressive in the era of the KMT government, especially when Taiwan was under martial law for 38 years. Mandarin was the only language allowed in schools. In all of colonial history, the Truku language was never important in a social and political context. Behind the official government position, however, the Truku dialect was taken up by Presbyterian missionaries. They used it as a tool to convey the Christian message to the locals. It is against this historical background that the Truku language has been preserved till today.

The Presbyterian Church has been devoted to translating the Bible into Truku since 1953. The first single pamphlet (Mark) was completed in 1956. It was the earliest Christian text translated among the indigenous Taiwanese societies. At this early stage, the Truku Bible was written in ‘Mandarin Phonetic Symbols’ (ㄅㄆㄇ). Afterwards, this was replaced by the system of ‘Roman Pinyin’, still used today. The first piece of Truku ‘Roman Pinyin’ Bible was translated in 1960 (1 Corinthians). Other biblical texts were subsequently translated in the following decades (Table 6.1). The whole Truku Bible, which includes the New and Old Testaments, was completed in 2005, and was published by *The Bible Society in Taiwan*. Through these symbols for the Pinyin system, the ‘Truku language’ emerged in history. Being literate in the Roman alphabet, as well as understanding the Pinyin system, has become the basic tool with which to read the Truku Bible.

Truku Bible

Year	Parts	Language	Publisher
1956	Mark	Truku (Mandarin Phonetic Symbols)	Hong Kong Bible Society
1960	1 Corinthians	Truku (Rome Pinyin)	Hong Kong Bible Society
1963	New Testament	Truku (Mandarin Phonetic Symbols)	Hong Kong Bible Society and The Bible Society in Taiwan
1985	Amos	Truku (Rome Pinyin) with Mandarin	The Bible Society in Taiwan
1988	Selections of Old Testament and New Testament	Truku (Rome Pinyin) with Mandarin	The Bible Society in Taiwan
1995	Old Testament	Truku (Rome Pinyin) with Mandarin	The Bible Society in Taiwan
2005	The whole Bible	Truku (Rome Pinyin)	The Bible Society in Taiwan

Table 6.1. The translation process of the Truku Bible.

The Bible Society in Taiwan, established in 1956, has endeavoured to translate the Bible into many vernacular languages, including two Han-Taiwanese related local dialects and eight indigenous languages. The Amis people (the largest indigenous Taiwanese group), for instance, had their first single biblical text (James) translated in 1957, and the whole Amis Bible was completed in 1997. Additionally, Atayal people had the first text of the Atayal Bible (also Mark) translated in 1964, and their completed Bible was published in 2003. Although the Truku were classified as a sub-group of Atayal for more than a century by both colonizers, in the eyes of the Presbyterian Church, Truku and Atayal are regarded as different ethnic groups and have been offered separate versions of the Bible, as their dialects are, by and large, mutually unintelligible.

The Presbyterian Church supports preservation of indigenous people's dialects. Presbyterians give sermons to suit the languages of different parishioners by delivering them in vernacular dialects. Thus a Presbyterian minister asserted: "Each Sunday (the Lord's Day), there are at least 16 kinds of language used at the same time when the Presbyterian Church gives sermons for different language users in Taiwan". In fact, the influence of translating the Bible into vernacular languages has been more than an issue of language itself, and goes well beyond the text. The Presbyterian Church has played the role as a reservoir of indigenous languages (Stainton, 2002a). It extends to the general role of preserving indigenous culture as a whole.



Figure 6.1: The logo of the Truku Bible.

The Truku Bible has 403 pages. On the cover, the Truku language '*Patas Suyang Kari Truku*' is printed as its name, which literally means: 'Book, Holy, Verbalization, Truku'. A logo is put under the name (Figure 6.1). The meaning of the logo is briefly described on the first page of the Bible. It consists of five items: *Hakau utux* (rainbow), *Jujika* (Cross), *Patas suyang* (Bible), *Qabang* (woven cloth) and *Hnyigan mtumum* (circle/round). Many of these items are far from typical of 'Christian' symbology in the Bible. The logo is, rather, a combination of Truku and Christian images. It represents, more specifically, the ideology of *Truku Presbyterians*. The items contained in the logo of the Truku Bible are not circulated outside the society of Truku Presbyterians. To take the Pentecostal True Jesus Church as an example, only the word of *Jujika* (Cross) is used, not the other four.

The Truku language is transformed from non-text to text by the usage of phonetic symbols such as the pinyin system. The emergence of the Truku text has re-contextualized ideas into a new Christian context by Presbyterians. The Truku Bible today is the result of entextualization combining a Presbyterian biblical outlook and a specific Truku cosmology. It represents a *new* cosmological configuration: a localized version of Christianity. For Truku Presbyterians, the semiology of the Truku Bible does not suggest a western version of Christianity alone. It is combined with the idea of 'Truku' instead. In the following, I will explore the theme of entextualization by presenting how the key concept of Truku cosmology, *utux*, is translated into Christianity.

6-2. Translating Cosmology

"*Utux* lives vividly in Truku people's mind and could be reconciled with other forms. Even if interacting with other religions, *utux* is still there". This opinion was given by a Truku scholar, Kaji Cihung, in a public speech at a local conference on the 22nd Oct, 2011. In Kaji Cihung's thesis (2004), he revealed a quote by a Presbyterian clergyman relating to their old and new cosmologies: "There are two ways to understand theology. One is Christian theology, and the other is Truku theology of ancestral spirits. The two theologies and their principles, between the Christian doctrine and *gaya*, overlap. [...] And the reason why the Gospel of Christ came to Truku society was because of the blurred image of divinity" (2004:109-110).

Truku Presbyterians see a positive and direct analogy between the Christian God and their traditional spirit, *utux*. Regarding this, one day I asked my Presbyterian informants: "What does *utux* mean to you?". They answered: "Well, if just one word, '*utux*', that means God, Jesus. But in order to make the subject clearer, we use the phrase '*utux baraw*' to refer to the idea of God more specifically. *Baraw* means upmost, strongest or biggest, and the phrase '*utux baraw*' means the most powerful spirit".

Truku Presbyterians comprehend the subject of the Christian God by extending their understanding of *utux*. They use ‘*utux baraw*’ to designate God. This principle has been applied to indicate the Presbyterian idea of the Christian God in most contexts of their Christian texts. ‘*Utux baraw*’ can be seen everywhere in the Presbyterian Church. For instance, the theme of 2012 displayed on the wall contains ‘*utux baraw*’. On the page of the Truku Bible which explains the meaning of the Truku logo, ‘*utux baraw*’ is also used. For detailed contents, I show Table 6.2 and my translation provided.

Icon	Description (Tuku language)	My translation
<i>Hakau utux</i>	“ <i>Hakau Utux</i> ” o pusu pnskraya kndsan Truku. Seejiq pkdunsun o asi ka mdrumut smlukay kari Utux Baraw .	“Rainbow” is the symbol of life for Truku group. People who are saved have to learn God’s words seriously.
<i>Jyujuka</i>	<i>Jyujika</i> o pusu malu kari ni pteura gnealu Utux Baraw .	“Cross” is the key of Gospel. It reveals God’s love.
<i>Patas Suyang</i>	<i>Patas Suyang</i> o kari Utux Baraw , ptgpusu snhyian ni kndsan ta.	“Bible” is God’s words, which is the basis of our beliefs and life.
<i>Qabang</i>	<i>Qabang</i> o pgkla tmninun kana ana manu Rgihur Suyang Utux Baraw .	Weaving clothes indicated that God’s spirit has spread everywhere, with love and blessing.
<i>Hnyigan Mtumun</i>	<i>Pnskraya mtumun</i> o nirih knlwaan ni qnlhangen Utux Baraw .	“Circle” symbolizes God’s protection and concerns.

Table 6.2: The meaning of the logo in the Truku Bible.

‘*Utux baraw*’ is one representation of their old and new cosmologies, now interpenetrating. ‘*Hakau utux*’ is another example. Referring to a rainbow bridge as a natural phenomenon, ‘*Hakau utux*’ also has a cultural meaning. Traditionally, Truku people believed that when people die, they would cross a rainbow bridge to reunite with their dead ancestors. After their Christian conversion, ‘*hakau utux*’ became an element that is incorporated into the logo of the Truku Bible. One of my Presbyterian informants indicated to me how he sees this issue: “*Hakaw utux* still exists in our minds. But today we understand the situation in which we need to obey the principles set out by God in order to cross the bridge and reach the other side”. Truku hymns¹⁴¹ are in a similar vein. The Presbyterian hymn book is called ‘*Suyang Uyas*’ (holy songs). Among the 330 Truku hymns, in the Truku texts, 18 hymns have the word ‘*utux*’ in their title, and within the hymn, certainly ‘*utux*’ is repeated in the lyrics (Table 6.3).

HYMN NO.	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH TRUKU HYMN	CHINESE TITLE SHOWED AS
NO. 4	Brax utux baraw	The power of God
NO. 29	utux baraw huway su	The grace of God
NO. 31	utux baraw huway su	The grace of God
NO. 33	utux baraw gmaalun knan	God loves me
NO. 35	utux tgpusu baraw	Supreme God
NO. 43	rdax huway utux baraw	The light of grace
NO. 50	laqi utux baraw	The son of God
NO. 109	utux baraw iyah hini	God comes to me
NO. 141	laqi utux baraw	Children of God

¹⁴¹ Truku hymns were translated in the same way as the Truku Bible. They were introduced to Truku by western missionaries. A few new hymns, in recent years, were created by local Presbyterian ministers who had received their training at Presbyterian theological institutions. Truku hymns are less complicated than the Truku Bible.

NO. 155	huway <i>utux baraw</i>	The grace of God
NO. 164	gmaalu bi <i>utux</i>	God's love
NO. 174	gmaalu bi <i>utux</i> mu	Love my soul
NO. 248	supu lagay <i>utux baraw</i>	Together with God
NO. 249	bneyay <i>utux baraw</i>	God's giving
NO. 257	<i>utux baraw</i> gnaalu	God's love
NO. 266	tama mu <i>utux baraw</i>	My father, God
NO. 291	<i>utux baraw</i> tndhuun	The supreme God
NO. 318	laqi <i>utux baraw</i>	God's children

Table 6.3: The titles of Truku hymns with the word *utux*.

In addition to these Christian texts, the phrase '*utux baraw*' has been inserted into the beginning sentence of their prayers in their daily practice. Sometimes adherents would use '*utux mu*' alternatively. It means "my God", as my informants explained. "We use '*utux mu*' when we are particularly indicating individual issues, such as one's prayer, whereby *utux* can be used without the word *baraw*".

Truku Presbyterians have incorporated the idea of '*utux baraw*' into the concept of the Christian God, a process of entextualization. This mode of Presbyterians' practice has been extended to circumstances in a broader context outside the church. Presbyterian clergymen frequently play a leading role in conducting local activities. On some occasions, the Truku style of ritual is incorporated in their activities. In Kaji Cihung's thesis (2004: 90-91), he recorded a prayer during a public event offered by a Presbyterian minister, Yudaw Pisaw (Table 6.4). In this public prayer for the opening ceremony, the subject of the prayer was directed towards the Christian God (*utux baraw*) rather than Truku ancestors (*utux rudan*).

(Truku language)

*Kana ita menswai, prajin ta dmurun **utux baraw**, thudan ta **utux baraw** han. Kiya dao, psupu ka бага namu ni pqmi duri namu. Thmuku, psupu бага namu, pqmi duri namu. Tlalai ta dmurun **utux baraw** han ho. Supu ta inuri han [...]*

(English Translation)

All brothers and sisters; thank you for coming to our event. Please pray together with us to **God**. Now please bow your heads, put your two hands together, and close your eyes. Let us pray to **God** together [...].

Table 6.4: My translation, and boldface added of Kaji Cihung's (2004: 90-91) work.

Utux, in the old Truku cosmology, represented a wide range of concepts, including gods, souls, elders, supernatural powers and spirits in general. Nowadays, *utux* and its relevant concepts have been synthesized into the Christian framework. Truku Presbyterians take a positive analogical approach to comprehend the hierarchical relationship of *utux* and Christianity. Rendering that Christian God as the upmost and the most powerful God, which is superior to any local deities like *utux*, Truku Presbyterians emphasize the similarity between the Christian God and their traditional ideas of divinity, *utux*, in which *utux* are less powerful than the Christian God.

On this issue, Truku Pentecostals see difference rather than find similarities. Taking a negative analogical approach, they regard *utux* as opposed to God and in the same category as the Christian devil. Pentecostals incorporated *utux* into their Christian cosmology in a manner diametrically

opposed to the position of the Presbyterians. *Utux*, in this regard, becomes challenging, antagonistic and the adversary of Jesus (see chapter 7). For both churches, this does not simply represent the use of disparate traditional concepts of pre-Christian Truku cosmology. More than that, a Christian adoption of the concept *utux* is the complete re-configuration of Truku pre-Christian cosmology, which reconciles it, one way or another, with the different versions of Christianity. Their original worldview, constructed by *utux*, is no longer the same, since it has been embedded into the framework of Christianity.

Today, Truku people's *new* worldview, incorporating Christianity, has also been formed by the convergence of factors external to their community. Their experience of displacement, colonialism, epidemics, cash economy, and even conversion to Christianity, have all collided to forge a new Truku outlook on life in a modern style, through which modern subjects are made.

Yet, despite the fact that the two local Christian denominations come to the opposite conclusion about the evaluation of *utux*, their perspectives of *gaya* are quite similar. Both regard it as a set of rules. Taking the intertextuality in Presbyterian texts as an example, the chapter of Deuteronomy in the Truku Bible is translated as '*Mgay gaya*' (know, *gaya*). Additionally, among Presbyterians' doctrines, the 'Ten Commandments of God' is translated as '*Maxal gaya utux baraw*' (ten, *gaya*, *utux baraw*). And the meaning of the 'New Commandment' is interpreted as '*Bgurah gaya*' (new, *gaya*). These are recorded in the beginning pages of the Truku hymn book and play significant roles in Presbyterians' religious rituals (see 6-4).

Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, used Mandarin to comprehend Christianity. Though I do not have textual evidence of show their intertextual approach in using the concept of *gaya*, sometimes *gaya* is still mentioned orally. *Gaya*, similarly, was used by Pentecostals for some religious principles, such as the Sabbath, tithing, the prohibition of sex out of wedlock, and the prohibition of worshiping idols (in particular idolizing *utux*). These are practical principles of being good Christians for Pentecostals in general.

Truku Presbyterians have re-contextualized *utux/gaya* in a new Christian configuration, formulating their own specific worldview. They take a positive approach to bridge the gap between Truku cosmology and Christianity using Truku language to build-up intertextual linkages in the process of biblical entextualization. The two cosmological authorities have been synthesized into a consolidated worldview.

6-3. Language Choices and Translating Models

Since the Truku vernacular language has been applied by Presbyterianism to interpret Christianity, the legitimacy of Presbyterianism has been established in a local Truku context, amalgamated with Truku cosmology. Presbyterians use the *Truku Bible*, sing *Truku* hymns and listen to *Truku* sermons. Presbyterian clergymen usually do bilingual translations on their own, to help younger church members who do not speak Truku well to understand the Truku Bible.

In the case of the Truku Pentecostals, by contrast, not only do they see the negative linkage between the two cosmologies, but they dislike using the Truku language to comprehend Christianity. They, instead, sing *Mandarin* hymns, read a *Mandarin Bible*, and deliver sermons in *Mandarin*. In their sermons, sometimes when a translator is arranged, it is for the purpose of translating the Mandarin Bible into the Truku language, for elders who cannot understand Mandarin well. The Mandarin Bible they use is a general one: the *Chinese Union Version*. It is a common Mandarin version, whose copyright belongs to *United Bible Study* (1919) located in Hong Kong, instead of *The Bible Society in Taiwan*. As for an English Bible, the Pentecostal church recommends the (New) King James Version as the best one.

Pentecostals regard the Truku language as ‘useless’, since the mainstream society speaks Mandarin. Christianity is considered as a foreign thing coming from outside, something their original native language could not grasp well. Mandarin – the official language of Taiwan, and despite its being the colonial language for Truku people – nevertheless, is seen as the way to fully comprehend Christianity. As my Pentecostal informant said: “The Truku language cannot convey the messages of the Bible well. Our mother tongue has no corresponding words and meanings to refer to Christian ideas, because we Truku did not have Christianity, how can we comprehend Christianity with the Truku language?!”.

Viewing Christianity as foreign, Truku Pentecostals possess a suspicious attitude towards the Truku Bible. They claim that the Truku Bible does not contain the same content as the ‘real’ Bible. “It is a creation by a group of humans, the Presbyterians, but not like the real Bible inspired by Jesus”, as they said. For this reason, Pentecostals believe that the Truku Bible can mislead people and cause them to understanding the Bible in an incorrect way. A church leader illustrated this ‘problem’ of the Truku Bible by his experience of reading it:

I used to read the Truku Bible together with the Bible [here he meant Mandarin version]. This process was quite confusing.

“Hum?... the real Bible doesn’t have this paragraph that appears in the Truku Bible. How can this happen?!” This question always occurred in my mind when I read the Truku Bible. Having this question I wondered for a while, I then found the answer.

I have many kinds of biblical books, as I use them to prepare sermons for some reference and ideas. Sometimes I read a spoken version of the Bible¹⁴². Interestingly, the more I read it, the more I found that the Truku Bible is, in fact, similar with the spoken version of the Bible, but not the real one.

It dawned upon me how those Presbyterian clergymen translated the Truku Bible. I believe that they must have used the spoken version Bible for the translation. They must only take some paragraphs which, in their opinion, were possible and easier to be explained by the Truku language, so that they made the Truku Bible.

After all, you know, much of the content of the real Bible is quite profound, which cannot be expressed by our Truku language. Only in this way, it makes sense if Presbyterian clergymen took the paragraphs from the spoken version instead of the real Bible for translation. Otherwise how can we understand why the Truku Bible is not translated in accordance with the real Bible?!

Our Truku language is very general. We do not have so many phrases to distinguish meanings into many details. Like the word *suyang*, it means something good. Generally, as long as we want to describe the idea of 'good', such as beautiful or nice, we say *suyang*, without differentiating levels or degrees to express it. Mandarin, on the other hand, has a bunch of relevant words to describe the difference. The Mandarin Bible conveys better the biblical knowledge that Jesus wants his followers to learn.

Presbyterians, in addition, read their own 'side-Bible'¹⁴³. It is like the Catholic Church they read a transcript version of the Bible, which specifically belongs to them. Presbyterians also have that kind of 'side-Bible'. Their clergymen are encouraged to find, or create, new opinions to interpret the Bible. This is how they grant the degree of theology doctors, or masters, and train-up their clergymen.

(My interview with a Pentecostal church leader, 2012)

The Truku language, in my informant's opinion, does not have the capacity to convey the complexity of the Bible. Hence, it is inadequate to convey biblical knowledge completely. Mandarin, instead, is a good vehicle to transfer biblical knowledge with less ambiguity, and convey authentic knowledge with accuracy. The dynamics between language choices and worldview have been untangled. The Truku language and Truku Bible, too, are not necessary overlapping. Using the Truku mother tongue or colonial Mandarin to comprehend a new cosmology, in other words, are formative of different trajectories for biblical comprehension, and separate models of entextualization are involved.

¹⁴² The Mandarin Bible has several versions. Other than the one the True Jesus Church uses, there are also more recent translations, such as *Today's Chinese Version* (1979) and its revised version published in 1997. Here my informant did not specify which material he meant.

¹⁴³ See 6-6.

In translation¹⁴⁴, whether translators take a foreignizing or domesticating approach will lead to a different transformational process (Handman, 2010:577)¹⁴⁵. By using Truku dialect to convey Christianity, Presbyterians are oriented to a trajectory, in which the Christian God is transformed in a local sense. This is a *domesticating* model. Truku Pentecostals, conversely, use the colonial, or foreign, language, mixing some Japanese with Mandarin, to comprehend Christianity. They have adopted a *foreignizing* model.

Language choices have contributed to different trajectories to convey Christianity. A ‘domesticating’ model or a ‘foreignizing’ model works differently for Presbyterians and Pentecostals. In Table 6.5, the first column shows some general Christian ideas. Following this, Truku Presbyterian terms are presented in the second column. Putting them together with the third column of Pentecostals’ terms for a comparison, it can be seen that the two local Christian groups applied distinct language methods to interpret Christian ideas. Unlike Presbyterians who stick to their vernacular language, Pentecostals tend to find a way outside the range of their mother tongue to understand Christianity.

ITEMS	PRESBYTERIAN TERMS (TRUKU LANGUAGE)	TJC TERMS (JAPANESE, MY TRANSLATION)
BIBLE	<i>Patas suyang</i> (book) (holy)	<i>Sencio</i>
HOLY SPIRIT	<i>Suyang biyax</i> (holy) (force)	<i>Seyle</i>
SATAN/DEVILS	<i>Naqey utux</i> (bad) (utux)	<i>Akuma</i>
GOD	<i>Utux balaw</i> (utux) (upmost)	<i>Gamisama or yeysama</i>
PRAY	<i>Tmulun</i> (or <i>I-nuri</i>) (committed)	<i>I-nuri</i>
SABBATH	<i>Jiyax snqayan</i> (time) (rest)	<i>A-si-ku-ni-ji</i>
BAPTISM	<i>Psuig qciyax dunur</i> (drop) (water) (head)	<i>Senle</i>
DEUTERONOMY	<i>Mgay gaya</i> (know) (gaya)	<i>Senmingi</i>

Table 6.5: Christian terms used in the two local churches.

Presbyterians translated the word ‘Bible’ by using the Truku term ‘*Patas suyang*’. This phrase is a combination of the ideas of book (*patas*) and holy (*suyang*). In the same vein, the Holy Spirit is translated as ‘*Suyang biyax*’, which resembles the concept of holy (*suyang*) and force (*biyax*). Sabbath, too, is translated as ‘*Jiyax snqayan*’ (time, rest), and other terms likewise. This way of

¹⁴⁴ Though my work does not explore the topic of translation, I found it useful to extend this differentiating approach to describe the distinct models of entextualization that the two local Christian groups are involved in, referring to their ways of translating cosmology.

¹⁴⁵ Handman (2010) relies on the work of Walter Benjamin (1969) and Lawrence Venuti (1998).

entextualization involves the creation of Truku terms. By reassembling Truku words, new meanings have been produced to fit into the Christian context.

This model of entextualization is different from that of Truku Pentecostals. At the time when they converted to Christianity, Japanese was the official language. Truku Pentecostals have subsequently adopted Japanese terms from early converts to comprehend Christian ideas. For instance, they use the Japanese word '*Sencio*' to refer to the Bible instead of '*Patas suyang*'. By the same principle, they have adopted other Japanese terms such as '*Yinuli*' (Pray), '*Seyle*' (Holy Spirit), '*Akuma*' (Satan/devils) and '*GaLubyma*' or '*Yeysama*' (God or Jesus). By taking a colonial language to comprehend Christianity, the process of their entextualization is formulated through a foreignizing model to construct their Christian worldview.

These Japanese Christian terms are, in fact, also comprehended by the elder Presbyterian generations who lived in the same Japanese era. In the Presbyterian worshiping context, however, they no longer circulate Japanese terms as their liturgical language, since they have developed their own Truku Bible.

6-4. Language Authority and Hierarchy

Presbyterians use vernacular languages to form the intertextual linkage of biblical texts between two cosmologies. The Truku vernacular language plays the mediating role in filling the gap, and facilitates the merger of two cosmologies into one. Despite using their mother tongue to translate the Bible, this language policy, however, does not rest on an assumed capacity of local people to understand what those words mean. The majority of local people are, straightforwardly, 'illiterate' in this specific Christian language. The Presbyterian Church displays its authority through expertise in Truku knowledge, as well as in Christian knowledge. A hierarchy can also be observed in Truku society based on the capacity to use the Truku language.

On the 11th of March, 2012, I joined a regular gathering of the Ciwang Fellowship on a Saturday night at a member's house. We were practicing the Truku hymn No. 156, '*Bitaq Balay Emphing*' (Till My Hope is Gone) for a 'hymn-offering' performance on the coming Lord's Day. Since I could not understand the Truku language well, I relied on an elder presbyter, who would explain Truku expressions to me. He was absent on that day. Others thus kindly offered me the translation. The process of translation, however, was full of confusion. It was a group of people, aged between 40-50, but nobody could explain the meanings of the words in the hymn well. In order to translate for me, they had to discuss and guess what the words meant. From this experience, I came to realize that the Truku language in a Christian context is not comprehensible but is actually full of ambiguity. One day when I asked Menli why she could sing Truku songs and read the Psalms so

well, she responded: “Not really, I only follow reading of the Roman alphabet, but sometimes I cannot grasp those meanings thoroughly”.

Although the Truku language offers a way to bridge the intertextual linkage between Truku and Christian beliefs, this process involves re-assembling and proliferating new terms. A new terminology has been produced. The more new terms that have been created, the deeper the gap that has been formed.

Liling was one of my ‘classmates’ in a class teaching the ‘Roman Pinyin’ system offered by the minister. In her 40s, Liling received her education in Mandarin, and speaks Truku fluently for daily communication. The Truku language in the Truku Bible, nevertheless, is still too profound for her to understand. Liling illustrates her experience of reading the Truku Bible¹⁴⁶:

I only had a fairly vague understanding of what the Truku Bible says. Many of the Truku words I don’t really understand. Sometimes, in order to know some of the vocabulary, I asked my mother-in-law to explain them for me. My mother-in-law is an old Truku elder. She couldn’t handle Mandarin, so she explained those Truku words by using Truku language and gave me lots of examples. Well, but, honestly, after her long explanations with all sorts of stories, I still can’t understand what that means in the Bible. I then went to ask our Presbyterian minister. He is good bilingually. Soon after he pointed out the Truku meaning in Mandarin, it dawned me right away.

(My interview with Liling, 2012)

I also witnessed a scene, relating to a word in the Truku Bible, that a junior Presbyterian minister went to ask a senior clergyman, “I could not find that word anywhere in our Truku Dictionary. What does that word mean?”. The senior clergyman was one of the earlier pioneers involved in the translation of the Truku Bible. He laughed and said: “Yes, of course that word can’t be found in our dictionary, because both prefixes and suffixes have been added to it”.

One’s capacity to comprehend the Truku Bible involves several elements. Other than the Pinyin system as basic, the degree of proficiency with the Truku language is fundamental. Yet, without a proper ‘training’ process to grasp the terminology of the Christian language, one’s comprehension of the Truku Bible can still be limited.

¹⁴⁶ She also described her life circumstance at that time.

I used to spend a lot of time reading the Truku Bible, together with the Mandarin Bible, while I was suffering from depression in my life. At that time, my five children were still in school. I had to take care of them. I didn’t have money, so every day when I woke up, the first thing that occurred to my mind was: “oh, where to get money to raise my children today?”

Feeling so helpless, I thought of Jesus, since he says, as long as we have faith in him, there will be a road to follow. For a period of time I didn’t sleep well. I sometimes woke up at 2am and couldn’t fall asleep again. I then got up to read the Bible for 30 minutes. And sometimes I also read the Bible before bedtime.

There is an issue of coding and decoding involved in reading the Bible, in terms of meaning making. Despite using a local language to access to biblical knowledge, this textual object, the Truku Bible, has been re-contextualized within a Christian worldview. A new coding system has been produced. It is through the process of creating terminology, the Presbyterian Church draws on the available code, the signs, of the Truku Bible to represent Christianity. The capacity to decode the Truku Bible, therefore, is controlled by the authority of the Presbyterian Church, not the majority of ordinary Truku people. Only clergymen who are authorized by this institution are qualified and able to decode the biblical message. Holding onto their authority to decode the signs, the Presbyterian Church controls the power of interpreting God's message.

The authority of coding and decoding the Bible distinguishes clergymen from ordinary people. In a western historical context, emergence of Protestantism demanded that the power of reading and interpreting the Bible should not be controlled by the Catholic hierarchy, but everyone should have access to it. In the case of Truku, even though the congregation has the Truku Bible and speaks Truku, the Presbyterian Church still maintains the power of interpretation. Biblical knowledge is not fully comprehended by ordinary people but becomes a specific category of expertise controlled by the institution.

Nevins (2010) explored some ideas developed from Samuels (2006) looking at the intersection between Bible translation, changing language ideologies and prospects for language maintenance. Through examining the emergence of 'language experts' among the Apache, Nevins (2010) noted that these experts engaged in making some language materials for school use, through which the formulation of local identity was developed.

Falling out of the work Apache translators engaged in, and the skills and institutional status this conferred upon them, is an emergent notion of the "language expert". Such a person is not attributed with expertise by virtue of speaking beautifully, or being able to tell a good story or give a good speech; but by virtue of being able to create word for word, or sentence for sentence, translations between English and Apache language.

(Nevins, 2010:29-33)

This situation is parallel with the case of Truku Presbyterian ministers. Their authority in language matters has gone beyond the religious domain, having been extended to power and knowledge that language use entails. After the 1990s, due to the adoption of a multicultural policy by the KMT government, vernacular languages were encouraged, after a long-term of cultural assimilation. In recent years, vernacular languages have even been taught as regular courses at schools. With the process of the construction of Truku ethnicity (see chapter 4), proficiency in Truku language has come to be treated as a form of cultural capital which is valued by the wider Taiwanese society. Additionally, since 2007, the *Council of Indigenous People* of the Executive Ministry in Taiwan began to offer certifications of '*Indigenous Language Ability*'. With this policy,

indigenous students who pass this certification can be offered 35% bonus points for entrance examinations to universities or other higher education institutions. Students who fail this certification can have only 25% bonus points attributed for their indigenous status.

Most of the materials relating to Truku language, such as text books used to teach Truku in school language courses, and the material used to train school language teachers, are basically controlled by elder Presbyterian clergymen who are regarded as experts on Truku language. Frequently, they also play the role of examiners in Truku language courses. Despite the fact that 'the language' here does not involve 'Christian terms' but only general conversation, those Presbyterian clergymen are, still, positioned as experts. After all, for decades, the Presbyterian Church is the only institution that has preserved the Truku language.

The majority of Presbyterian congregations encourage members to practice the Truku language, through singing hymns, for instance. They have good role models set by the elder Presbyterian generations, especially ministers, who possess the capital and power relating to 'Truku'. Younger generations of Presbyterians, in this regard, have ample opportunity to practice and improve their language ability, and they are highly motivated to learn Truku. When I was doing fieldwork, the Presbyterian youth fellowship was facing mild criticism that they did not conduct their worship performance in Truku but mainly in Mandarin. "We have offered you the best teachers for speaking the Truku mother tongue. So we expect our young members to learn to practice, and improve, your capacity of speaking Truku language", was said in a sermon. After receiving this criticism, some young adults, especially the leaders of the youth fellowship, began translating Mandarin Christian hymns into the Truku language for their performances. They also incorporated short Truku phrases when they led the congregation in prayer. By learning 'Truku', young members earned compliments from the congregation. In fact, with this orientation and under these conditions, Presbyterians are more likely to be engaged in relevant resources, such as cultural projects and activities, through the language. This knowledge extends to better education and job opportunities, through which different forms of capital can be gained.

The degree of Truku proficiency varies from person to person, depending on their background, age, family and religious commitment and so on. A pyramid (Figure 6.2) will help us to see this hierarchy regarding the extent to which Truku people can handle the Truku language. Presbyterian ministers, who are authorized by the institution, have their position at the top. Presbyters and deacons, who are committed seniors of the church but did not undergo the institutional training process, are the second layer. Ordinary Presbyterian members are the next level. Their position is placed higher in the language hierarchy than non-Presbyterians. They have better access to Truku language resources and training than non-Presbyterians. Among non-Presbyterians, such as people who are non-churchgoers and other religious practitioners,

the members of the Truku Pentecostals, to a degree, can be seen as having a particularly low position. Due to devoting most of their time to church activities and using Mandarin as dictated by their Pentecostal doctrine, they have very little chance to practice Truku language in daily circumstances.

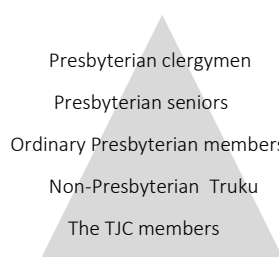


Figure 6.2: Truku vernacular language hierarchy.

Viewing Christianity as foreign, Truku Pentecostals despise using their vernacular language to comprehend the Bible. They assert that the Truku Bible is not inspired by Jesus, and so they have no intention to know about it. With very little concern for their Truku mother tongue, only about ten years ago, the Pentecostals began to translate their hymns into Truku¹⁴⁷. A committee was formed by a group of Pentecostal elders who were ‘holy workers’ such as preachers. By 2012, approximately one hundred Pentecostal hymns had been translated into Truku. Nevertheless, one of the preachers on the committee told me that the way they use Truku language is different.

The version of the Truku language we produced is different from the version which is circulating outside. But well, it doesn’t matter. Our purpose is to praise Jesus and pursue the truth of the Bible. As you know, this is the most important thing.

(My interview with a committee member, 2012)

My Pentecostal informants explained that the official Truku language is set out in a series of grammars and linguistic structures. The practical users of the Truku mother tongue in everyday life, however, do not follow those principles but speak in a free style for communication. One of my Pentecostal informants, in his 40s, described his experience in participating in the language certification exam:

It was quite painful to answer those selective questions. Every option, to me, seems to be the right answer. In our daily life, we don’t have a specific structure, or sequence, for the grammar of our Truku language. We use it to understand what we want to express. But the exam wants us to know, for example, which term should be positioned in which place of a sentence. They are just nonsense to me.

(My interview material, 2012)

¹⁴⁷ Though seemingly counterintuitive, Pentecostals did this in order to enable elderly members of the congregation, who could not speak Mandarin well, to gather together and worship.

Proficiency in the Truku mother tongue is not attractive to the Truku Pentecostals. As a result, most younger Pentecostals cannot manage, nor do they care about, the Truku language. Some of them do not even have a Truku name, since their parents regard it as unnecessary to give them a Truku name. Today, knowing that the policy of the certifications of *'Indigenous Language Ability'* enables students to gain educational bonus points, Truku Pentecostals started encouraging their younger practitioners to pass the exam. Yet, without the full support of the church environment, and their ideology, it remains challenging for young people to achieve this. To take, as an example, the two teenagers of my local family who were registered to participate in the exam in November 2011, one failed the exam and the other did not even show-up to take the exam. "I will not pass it anyway. I will try next time", one said. Truku Pentecostals' attitude to their mother tongue is actually not serious, as one Pentecostal parent said to me:

We can only encourage our children to learn our mother tongue, but not force them. Times are changing. The society today is different from the one we had before. We can't force children to learn things which have been out-of-date, like the Truku mother tongue is in this case.
(My interview with a Pentecostal parent, 2012)

Most Pentecostal young people, today, cannot speak Truku well. Feeling curious about how the Pentecostal church will handle this situation, one day I asked the church leader, who frequently plays the role of translator: "Do you feel worried, if later, nobody from the younger generations will be able to take the role of translator?" He responded to me right away:

No. I believe that everything will be arranged very well by Jesus. If one day a young person feels that he has the responsibility to take this role, it will be certainly the person who Jesus has assigned and arranged. Jesus will no doubt help him, and give him force, to have this capacity to handle the Truku language.

(My interview with a TJC church leader, 2012)

6-5. Language as a Boundary Maker

Truku language has been involved in new terminology used by Presbyterians. With a specific doctrinal tendency, Presbyterians distinguish themselves from other ethnic or language groups. Having their own version of the Bible, Presbyterians draw a boundary and construct a specific group identity as 'Truku'. The issue of Truku language, in fact, has gone beyond the scope of mere language, but involves the new configuration of Christianity mixing with the Truku past as part of their Christian worldview.

The authority of 'Truku language' is controlled by the Presbyterian Church instead of the congregation. It is only people who are on the top of the Presbyterian hierarchy who have the capacity of interpretation. Nevertheless, one's ability in handling the Truku language does actually not matter much. It is one's practice of 'being Truku' that is more significant. Since

Presbyterian doctrines highlight the idea of ethnicity, 'being Truku' is underlined and has become an identity that is shared by ordinary Presbyterian members.

Truku Presbyterians have been fighting for their ethnicity as Truku (as distinct from Atayal or Sediq) for decades. By using a specific local dialect to preach Christianity, Truku has been recognized as a dialect group by the Presbyterian Church for a long time. With their own language version of the Bible especially, Truku Presbyterians regarded themselves as a distinct group. Believing that they are selected by God to present his justice, as in the story of Israel (see 6-7), Presbyterians devote themselves to integrating parishioners who use the same language to form a sense of group solidarity. Through meetings and activities, such as hymn-singing performances, they establish their group identity as 'Truku', which distinguishes them from other ethnic groups, as well as from the Han majority.

Language, therefore, has become a boundary marker between people who use different ethnic dialects. 'Truku' is a local group specifically in Taiwan nowhere else. Despite the fact that Truku Presbyterians are small in number, by establishing their own conceptual boundary, 'Truku' has become a localized Presbyterian centre, with specificity that cannot be replaced by other groups (Figure 6.3). Their group is constructed within a larger, and powerful, network of Presbyterianism at the global level. Through the global mission approach of Presbyterianism, after decades, a localized Truku centre can be constituted in the sense of a global world¹⁴⁸.

'Truku', to a degree, has been incorporated into a powerful global network of Protestantism more generally. With a long history of Presbyterians' presence in schools, hospitals and other social welfare institutions, practically, Truku Presbyterians have made themselves powerful owing to this global and dynamic religious network.

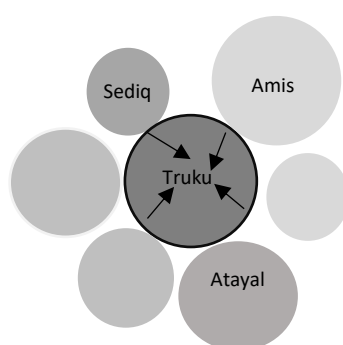


Figure 6.3: Presbyterian's global localization.

¹⁴⁸ In later sections I will examine Presbyterians' tendency to establish social networks and good relationships with others, including other Protestants.

Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, do not construct their group identity by using the Truku language, neither do they emphasize their ethnicity. They use colonial languages as vehicles to grasp Christianity. With this 'foreignizing model' of cosmological translation, Pentecostal practitioners have been involved in a foreignizing Christian worldview. They discard a wide range of domestic issues, including their vernacular language, old cosmology and their past. This discarding, however, is meaningful and significant. In a 'foreignizing model', only when their pre-Christian practice is negatively incorporated into their worldview, a new alterity of being a Pentecostal Christian can be formulated.

Without using the Truku language for mediation, there is no intertextual gap opened between different biblical texts. The Pentecostal True Jesus church does not hold their authority by controlling new terminology. There is no coding or decoding process involved in the language per se, since the Pentecostal congregation handles the same language as the church authority. Their way of decoding the signs of the Bible, however, is in specific doctrinal terms in which the role of the Holy Spirit is dominant. Instead of decoding the biblical text by *language*, Truku Pentecostals' approach to exegesis is through decoding the *meanings* of biblical texts that are conveyed by the Holy Spirit¹⁴⁹.

Truku Pentecostals distinguish themselves by speaking-in-tongues: the sign of the Holy Spirit. In speaking God's language (see 7-1), they build-up an intimate vertical relationship with God, and downplay horizontal kinds of social relationship. God's language has become a boundary maker in a conceptual sense which constructs practitioners as a group. In this mode of defining a group, any idea of ethnicity is of little import. God's language is shared and spoken by practitioners who belong to the wider ideological network of the church. Speaking 'the same' language of glossolalia serves as a basis of group identity, emerging from this there is a 'global world' in which Truku Pentecostals extend their connections everywhere True Jesus Church members are found (Figure 6.4)¹⁵⁰.

Viewing the physical body as the location where spiritual power is generated¹⁵¹, an idea of 'spiritual location' is constructed. Through the mediation of a physical body, spiritual power can

¹⁴⁹ In this interpreting framework, *utux* is decoded through its negative symbolic meaning as devils.

¹⁵⁰ In this conceptual diagram, a solid spot represents a local church, especially those ones located in a remote area. An empty spot, with double circles, illustrates a bigger church, in a city, or in a global domain. It does not matter in reality if one church interacts practically with one another or not. Due to the transcendent nature of their spiritual belief, local adherents everywhere see themselves as connected as one group in a global sense. Presbyterians on the other hand, while maintaining connections to other churches, tend to emphasise local, and ethnic, avenues of network construction, over outwardly focused connections to Presbyterian churches elsewhere.

¹⁵¹ In chapter 7, I will demonstrate that the Pentecostal worldview posits that personhood is a category, locale or vehicle where spiritual power is manifested.

condense and become more powerful when physical bodies are combined. In this regard, a Pentecostal church is represented as a spiritual centre and it is powerful. Even if the church is established in a marginal region, or is in a sense powerless, in economics, politics and ethnicity, it is a powerful spiritualized local centre, in a global world where the Pentecostal True Jesus Church is established.

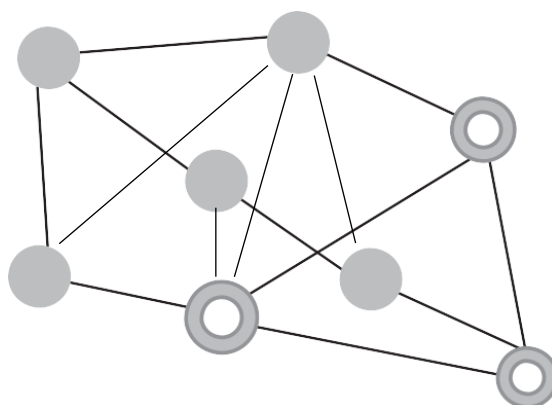


Figure 6.4: The idea of Pentecostals' Local globalization.

6-6. Words for Practice¹⁵²

Given the difficulty most of the congregation has in understanding Truku biblical language, and comprehending the Truku Bible, the Presbyterian service is broken down into short repetitive components and avoids long biblical passages or stories. The singing of hymns is considered to be a good way of worship, as hymns do not require a high level of biblical comprehension. There are also short readings from biblical passages that are simple enough to allow Presbyterians to embody their faith and commitment through regular church activities.

Every Sunday, before Presbyterian Lord's Day worship starts, the 'Weekly Report' is delivered to participants. This document is 'important': on one side it shows the details of their contributions (see 4-5), and on the other side, the program for worship for the day. As Figure 6.5 shows, the Presbyterian program is divided into three main sections: 'Wait for the words of God', 'Listen to the words of God' and 'Response to the words of God'.

This program basically consists of music, hymn, prayer and sermon. Two music sections are offered at the start and at the end of the program. Five hymns are arranged to be sung for different purposes. Also, there are some short biblical texts as fundamental doctrine, that required audiences to stand and read loudly together. Each section of the program is short, which makes their worship 'busy'. The longest section is the sermon, lasting about 30 minutes given by the

¹⁵² This section explores Truku language looking at its performative context through their ritual practice.

clergyman. Presbyterian speeches, nevertheless, have an oratorical talking style, which is full of body language and eye contact so that audience does not feel bored.

2010 年主題		講道：Jiru Mtubug 司會：Riku Rudan Mklawa 司琴：Tumun Ibi *促進多元共榮・落實上帝公義*
等候上帝的話		
(Tgsesu Tnaga Kari Utux Barav)		
●Lmubug (奏樂)	Mplubug	
●Kmaguh Mlawa (宣告)	Mdudul	
●Tmdahu muuyas (讚美) 第 5 首	Kana Rahul	
●Inuri (禱告)	Mdudul	
恭候上帝的話		
(Tgsesu Enbahang Kari Utux Barav)		
●Smriyuh Sapug (啟應文) 第 14 篇 (詩篇 63)	Kana Rahul	
●Suyang Uyas (聖詩) 第 44 首	Kana Rahul	
●Inuri Thowlang (主禱文)	Kana Rahul	
●Suyang Patas (聖經) Patas Ruka 一：26~38	Reybiq Mqapah	路加福音
●Bgurah Gaya (新的誠命)	Kana Rahul	
●Mgay Uyas (獻詩)	無空閑契	
●Tgsa Kari (講道)	silhai tthiyi	Mtgsa
		學習順服
●Inuri (禱告)	Mtgsa	
●Tmdahu Muuyas (讚美) 第 49 首	Kana Rahul	
回應上帝的話		
(Saliuk Kari Utux Barav)		
●Mgay Quaras (奉獻) 第 207 首	Awil Mqapah	Tgnaxal Kingal (什一奉獻禱告)
●Pekia Kari (報告)	Mdudul	
●Nhdaan Uyas (頌贊) 第 292 首	Kana Rahul	
●Smbiaiq Inuri (祝禱)	Jiru Mtubug	
●Uyas Aming (阿們頌)	Kana Rahul	
●Lmubug (殿樂)	Mplubug	
Gnklaan 認同 * Pnstmaan 委身 * Kudkilaan 成長		
* 願神祝福您 *		

Wait for the words of the God

1. Music
2. Announcement
3. Praise (hymn No.5)
4. Prayer

Listen to the words of the God

1. Responsive Prayer (Psalm 53)
2. Hymn (No. 44)
3. The Lord's prayer
4. Bible (Luke 1:26~38)
5. New Commandment
6. Hymn-worship (Jiwang Fellowship)
7. Sermon (topic: learning obedience)
8. Prayer
9. Praise (hymn No. 49)

Response to the words of the God

1. Contribution (hymn No. 207)
2. Report
3. Glorifying (hymn No. 292)
4. Benediction
5. Amen doxology
6. Shrine music

Figure 6.5: Presbyterian Lord's Day Program on the 19th of December, 2010.

Presbyterian styles of practice – short and busy – can be attributed to using vernacular language as an approach to entextualization. Since the use of vernacular language involves new terminology, it requires specific expertise that the majority of ordinary Presbyterians have not mastered. In this regard, Presbyterian practice has been developed through a performative manner, such as short procedures, attracting attention, and keeping participants busy, which becomes their liturgical style.

Apart from the Truku Bible and Truku hymns, a few 'written pieces' should also be highlighted, as they play crucial roles in Presbyterian worship. A series of 39 short texts, called 'Responsive Prayers' (*Smriyuh Smpug*), are presented at the end of the Truku hymn book. Most of these sentences are selected from the Psalms, and some are excerpts from Corinthians, Isaiah, Revelations and so on. For Presbyterian worship, each Sunday, one of the 39 texts is selected to be used in the program and worshippers should read aloud. In addition, on the beginning pages of the hymn book, before the main body of hymns, fundamental Presbyterian doctrines are presented in six biblical text sections. Below, in Table 6.6, I present the titles of the six fundamental texts. In English they are 'The Lord's prayer', 'Credo (Creed)', 'New Commandment', 'God's Ten Commandment', 'The Nicene Creed' and 'The Confession of Faith'.

1	INORI TNEGSA YISU (主禱文)	The Lord's prayer
2	SNHIYUN SNGKGULAN (信經)	Credo (Creed)
3	BGURAH GAYA (新的誡命)	New Commandment
4	MAXAL GAYA UTUX BARAW (上帝十條誡)	God's Ten Commandment
5	SNHYUN PNRNGAGAN NIKAYA (尼西亞信經)	The Nicene Creed
6	PTURA RMNGAW SNHIYAN PNRHULAN KIRISTO KLWAAN TDRUDAN TAYWAN (信仰告白)	The Confession of Faith

Table 6.6: Presbyterians' six fundamental texts.

Among the six texts, two are used every week for worship. If we compare these short texts to the Bible, which contains 1189 chapters and with 31101 divisions, it can be seen how crucial these texts' role is in Presbyterian ritual practice. These texts, in fact, represent 'universal' Presbyterian doctrines, which are attributable to historical, theological and doctrinal concerns relating to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church. This is what my Pentecostal informant called the 'side-Bible' (see 6-1), as the True Jesus Church does not have these critical texts¹⁵³.

The Presbyterian Church, like many other denominations within Christianity, drew from these foundational doctrines in establishing the church and forming its own doctrinal basis. These concerns are displayed on the website of the Presbyterian Church (USA)¹⁵⁴.

The Confessional Banners of the Presbyterian Church symbolize nine creeds and confessions from the early Christian era to the twentieth century. These historic statements of faith represent our Christian heritage from the Roman Empire to the Reformation, including contemporary reflections of faith in our own time.

The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT) follows denominational Presbyterianism to construct their Truku version of Presbyterian doctrines in vernacular language. A local version of their 'Confession of Faith' has been created, with the spirit tracing back to the tradition of the broader Presbyterian Church¹⁵⁵.

For the purpose of recruiting new members, the Presbyterian Church offers 'presubscribed courses' as training for people who want to know about the Presbyterian Church and become members. Baptism will be offered when church clergymen regard the baptismal candidate ready

¹⁵³ Though using standard versions of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments as other Christians do, the True Jesus Church only relies on the Bible but not other critical texts in their practice.

¹⁵⁴ <http://64.33.81.65/reformed/creeds.htm> and <http://64.33.81.65/reformed/banners/index.htm>

¹⁵⁵ As it indicated in their material (in Mandarin) '*Knowing Our Church: the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*' (2012: 40): According to the first clause of the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT), the PCT complies with the tradition of the Presbyterian Church regarding "The Apostles' Creed", "Westminster Confession of Faith" and "The Nicene Creed", through which we regulated our own "The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan".

for baptism. Sometimes if the church knows the candidate well, the prescribed course might be skipped, and a meeting can be held instead, to confirm that the candidate does know the meaning of baptism. Table 6.7 presents two books which are published in 2012 for recruiting new members.

<i>The Prescribed Courses before the Baptism</i> ¹⁵⁶	<i>Knowing Our Church: the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan</i> ¹⁵⁷
Ch1 Starting your new life Ch2 Starting your new lifestyle Ch3 God Ch4 The Bible Ch5 Humans Ch6 Churches Ch7 Contribution Ch8 Holy Sacraments (Baptism and Holy Communion)	Our church – the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan The essence of faith The confession of faith The structure and organization of the PCT Church life and our integrated mission To know the PCT that I belong to

Table 6.7: Two Presbyterian books for recruiting members.

Generally, the contents of the two books are an introductory description of Christianity, drawing on how to be a Christian before baptism, with general ideas of the Bible, God and churches. The importance of monetary contributions is also illustrated, as well as two significant Presbyterian sacraments: Baptism and Holy Communion.

Presbyterian doctrines should be understood in their social context, which is a key point addressed as more important than the specificity of theological concerns. The Presbyterian Church history introduced in ‘prescribed courses’ (the first column) illustrates three periods as its church background: 1865-1945, 1945-1971 and 1971-today. The year 1865 refers to the beginning of Presbyterian missionary work in Taiwan. The year 1945 is significant for a dramatic political change from Japanese colonial rule to the rule of the KMT. The year 1971 marks the social turmoil brought about by the complication of Taiwan’s relations with western countries (due to political conditions with China culminating with Taiwan’s loss of its United Nations seat). With the political tensions gripping Taiwanese society in 1971, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan issued a statement addressing various national topics and called upon the KMT government to extend autonomy to the entire Taiwanese population. In 1975, the PCT announced ‘*Our Appeal*’ to show their concern for all of Taiwanese society. Subsequently, in 1977, the PCT issued a statement ‘*The Announcement of Human Rights*’ to call on the government to declare independence from China. It was at this time that Taiwan broke off diplomatic relations with USA. The local version of ‘*The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*’¹⁵⁸ was completed in 1985.

¹⁵⁶ Con-Ren Kau (2012).

¹⁵⁷ The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (2012).

¹⁵⁸ This confession included five topics: ‘God’, ‘the essence of the authority of the Bible’, ‘churches’, ‘sin and remission’ and ‘humans’ (humans’ responsibility and duty in practical circumstances) (2012:48).

Sitting in the Presbyterian Church and listening to their sermons, I found that their talks shed light on the idea of *social responsibility*. Every Sunday, only a short biblical passage is selected from the Truku Bible. It is incorporated into the sermon given by their clergyman, addressing social issues is its main purpose, rather than theological or biblical knowledge alone. In fact, it does not matter how much one understands the Bible, as Ciray said. He has never completed reading the entire Bible. Using Truku texts is functional in a performative way to direct their rituals and reading those biblical pieces offers the doctrinal basis for Presbyterians. The main course is not the Truku language but how to practice in order to be a good Presbyterian Christian in social life.

Presbyterians practice only two of the traditional Christian sacraments: baptism and Holy Communion¹⁵⁹. To a degree, having Baptism and Holy Communion fulfils their needs as Christians¹⁶⁰. In the following I will illustrate the details of the two sacraments. On the same day that the Ciwang Presbyterian Church held a baptism ceremony for a member of their Youth Fellowship on the 16/10/2011, Holy Communion was subsequently offered to the new convert and the whole congregation. It is common that Holy Communion is conducted after a new member's baptism.

According to my informants, in principle, the Holy Communion should be offered once every two or three months. Yet, its actual frequency depends on the local church and can be quite flexible. The Ciwang Church offers the Holy Communion about 3 times a year. "It will be conducted, for instance, when our church affairs are not too busy, when someone wants to have a baptism, or on some significant Christian days like Easter, but there is no specific rule for it". Below are detailed procedures of the Presbyterian sacraments from my field-notes:

After the hymn, No. 102, the minister announced that they are going to conduct a baptism, and he motioned to a young man to come to the front area before the altar. The young man walked to the front and stood facing the minister.

After quoting some biblical passages¹⁶¹, the minister asked the young man some questions. The questions were similar to those in wedding vows, like "Do you believe that God is your

¹⁵⁹ Presbyterian confirmation is categorized as a ritual on the same level as baptism. It is a type of baptism offered for members who grow-up in a Presbyterian society to confirm their Presbyterian status. For everyone, in general, it is called baptism. Confirmation functions and is offered in the same way as baptism.

¹⁶⁰ This is different from the Pentecostal True Jesus Church, which has five sacraments, including baptism, foot-washing, Holy Communion, the Holy Spirit and the Sabbath. For a comparison, Presbyterians do not regard foot-washing as important. Their Lord's Day of worship is on Sunday (as for many other Christians); they feel no need to explain why it should be on Sunday. Despite believing in the Holy Spirit, they feel the Holy Spirit works when one is inspired or touched through their act of worship, such as praying and singing. When it occurs, they would comment that "you were touched by the Holy Spirit". They, however, do not highlight it much. They also do not try to find the Holy Spirit through interpretation of Truku texts.

¹⁶¹ Five examples are listed in the book of *'The Prescribed Courses Before the Baptism'* (2012:107-108): Romans 6:4, Acts 2:38, 1 Corinthians 12:13, Galatians 3: 27-28 and Colossians 2:12.

Father? Is Jesus Christ your saver?”, the young man answered, “Yes, I do”. “Do you sincerely confess your sin and have faith that God will save you?”. “Yes I do”, the young man responded. “You should rely on God’s blessing and glory. You should serve him, you should practice his principles, and you should do your duty as a Christian well. Do you believe you are willing to do so for him?”. “Yes I do”.

The minister walked down from the dais and stood in front of the young man. A presbyter, on duty, carried a bowl with water and stood beside them. The minister asked the young man to kneel down. He then read bible passages, and dipped his finger into the water and dropped the water on the young man’s head.

In only a few seconds, the baptism ceremony was finished (Plate 6.2). The minister asked the young man to stand up and face the congregation. Then it was time for ‘powerful people’, such as presbyters or retired ministers, to go to the front and shake the young man’s hand. This was an act of the church welcoming him as a new member (Plate 6.3).

Handshaking is a common procedure in Presbyterian ceremonies. The ceremony for hiring a new clergyman, for example, includes handshaking as the main part of the ceremony. All the Presbyterian clergymen, who come from elsewhere to participate in the ceremony, will go to the front of the church one-by-one to shake-hands with the new clergyman to congratulate the person.



Plate 6.2: Presbyterian ritual of baptism.



Plate 6.3: Handshaking ritual after baptism.

The baptism was finished. The minister went back to the dais to conduct the Holy Communion. He took a big round wafer in his hand, showed it to the congregation, while he was reading some Bible passages (Plate 6.4). He also said a prayer after that. Then, he broke the wafer into small pieces, and put them on a plate. The plate, however, was already full of many smaller round wafers that were prepared beforehand.

Presbyters stood up, went to take the plate and distribute the sacrament to the congregation. The plate stopped in front of me. I was confused as I was taught by my Pentecostal informants that I am not qualified to have it. So I asked: “hum... I am not a member, and also not a Christian either. Am I allowed to have it?” The presbyter looked at me kindly, and then she said: “Well, it’s up to you. If you feel like having it, Jesus wouldn’t mind”.

After distributing the ‘body of Christ’, a similar process was repeated to offer the ‘blood of Christ’ (Plate 6.5). However, the cup was filled with mulberry juice not wine or grape juice. A deacon, sitting next to me, told me that the mulberry juice was made by her.

“I planted mulberries in my field. They are harvested once a year in April or May around Mothers’ Day. The mulberry juice was easy to make. We washed mulberries first, and then just put them in a big pot to cook. Don’t put water in. We only added a little bit of sugar. After waiting for a while, the condensed mulberry juice is ready. We then put it in

some bottles. It can last for a long time if you keep it in the fridge. You just need add water before drinking it. Each bottle we sell for \$300 dollars. To acquaintances, \$250!”, she laughed.

I then asked her, if the church ran out of the mulberry juice, how can they have the sacramental wine. She answered, “we just buy commercially made fruit juice from a local supermarket instead”.



Plate 6.4: Presbyterian Holy Communion.



Plate 6.5: Distributing the 'body of Christ'.

(End of my field-note, 16/10/2011)

Truku Presbyterians offer baptism to people who are, at least, teenagers¹⁶², but not babies or children, to whom the church offers a blessing instead. As the church minister explained to me, “We only baptise people who have the self-consciousness to know what they want”. This understanding helps to explain some elements of their rituals and their arrangement too. The ‘presubscribed course’ and the baptismal vow, for instance, require the baptismal candidates’ capacity of intellectuality and self-expression. Not everybody is considered as a ‘person’ in relation to their church membership, but only adults who made decisions and regularly confirmed their presence.

Presbyterians are not strict in recruiting new members. There is no specific rule regarding ‘who’ is eligible to be baptised. Whether the baptismal candidate’s family are members of, or have any connection to, the church, does not matter. Generally, anyone who is reasonable and sincerely wants to be baptized by the church can be. Yet, with less stringent requirements for recruiting new members, their baptism does not imply a permanent status of membership. Administratively, the Presbyterian Church divides their members into ‘present’ and ‘not present’. If members do not contribute time, or money, regularly to the church, their status will be removed from the church file of ‘present’ members. In this circumstance, they have no right to engage in church affairs such as elections.

¹⁶² This is probably not a shared principle in terms of Presbyterianism elsewhere.

Presbyterians' religious life is strongly involved in their engagement with the wider society. The theological basis of Presbyterianism highlights issues occurring in the society more than the theological doctrines. Their religious rituals, in the same vein, highlight social significance more than religious meaning. The point of Presbyterian baptism, for instance, is conveyed through the idea of building social bonds with other members, such as giving a baptismal vow and shaking-hands with 'important figures' in terms of the Presbyterian hierarchy. Its religious meaning, by contrast, is merely symbolic. The core of the baptism ritual is fairly short. 'Dropping' a drop of water on the head symbolizes the ritual. Since offering religious rituals, to Presbyterians, is more important for social reasons, two sacraments (baptism and Holy Communion) can be sufficient to symbolize their Christian status, as these convey the message that one has established, or reaffirmed, membership in Presbyterian society.

This principle also enables Presbyterians to have flexible attitudes about the time for offering sacraments, which can be negotiable for convenience in social life, and about the materials that are used as offerings for the sacraments. It does not matter what the substance for the 'blood of Christ' is; even mulberry juice is acceptable, and their idea of what can be used as bread is flexible too¹⁶³. Presbyterians are open-minded towards material things that are applied in their rituals. To them, the social meanings that material things signify are more important than the materiality per se. Their attitude towards materiality suggests that materiality is seen in a functional or supportive way in relation to one's social life.

Presbyterian doctrine tends to be flexible in relation to social life. It accommodates changes if necessary. A few decades ago, Presbyterians made a proposal to unite all Christians in Taiwan into one group. This related to the historical background of the global ecumenical movement. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan is a member of the World Council of Churches (WCC)¹⁶⁴ since 1951-1970 and the 1980s onwards. In a united meeting among Christians in Taiwan, a clergyman of the True Jesus Church rejected this idea. He said to the participants, "Our doctrines are completely different, how can we unite together?!". This proposal eventually failed to gain acceptance. Presbyterians' theological tendency is embedded with their social engagements. Followers are encouraged to put a great deal of effort into the social context where their social

¹⁶³ One time, in another Presbyterian Holy Communion, before the leader was going to deliver the sacraments, he conducted a prayer while holding a small 'Cross' in his hand and showing it to the congregation. Since I never saw that 'Cross' on any other occasion, after the Holy Communion, I went to ask to the leader: "What is that 'Cross'? I never saw it before." The leader laughed and said: "Oh, that was just a piece of white bread. I came up with this idea this morning. I took out the four corners of the bread and made it look like a Cross!". He was very proud of himself when he described this to me.

¹⁶⁴ It is "the broadest and most inclusive among the many organized expressions of the modern ecumenical movement, a movement whose goal is Christian unity", as indicated on its website. Its fellowship includes "most of the world's Orthodox churches, scores of Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist and Reformed churches, as well as many United and Independent churches" (<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us>).

role of being a good Christian is evident, and they are flexible enough to make changes. With developed social concerns, members embody their Christian faith through practical actions in the broader social domain.

6-7. The Secular Hermeneutical Approach

In the context of Christianity, Protestantism in particular, individualism is sometimes taken by scholars (e.g., Robbins, 2007b) to contrast with relationalism, which generally characterizes a traditional society. Yet, in the case of Truku, individualism cannot be separated from the issue of relationalism as well as its associated dynamics. In this section, I will examine the sociological model that Presbyterianism involves. Based on the concept of relationalism¹⁶⁵, I suggest that the two Truku Protestant groups constructed practitioners' personhood through a slightly different approach. Truku Presbyterians are constructed by a social logic highlighting what I call a 'relational model', with regard to making modern subjects. This is different from Pentecostals whose social logic emphasizes a 'substantial model' (see 7-2)¹⁶⁶.

Beginning by taking the locals' indigenous norms, such as *utux/gaya*, as a foundation, Presbyterianism overlays them with a Christian notion of God and creates a reinterpretation of Christianity. Despite that fact that the old and new cosmologies were initially unrelated, Presbyterianism transforms native norms into a new system of meaning within a Christian framework. Taking over the authority from local traditional notions, Christianity comes to be embedded in a local context in which it gains legitimacy. A new Christian configuration, which is syncretized with native norms, thus has successfully superseded local people's worldview. Christianity and local culture, as my Presbyterian informant indicated, are understood in a harmonious relationship by Presbyterians, whereas Pentecostals, by contrast, see them as conflicting.

¹⁶⁵ In terms of contemporary sociological theory, Emirbayer (1997) has highlighted the distinction between 'substantialism' and 'relationalism'. 'Relationalism', said Lewin (2014), was influenced by the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, who "made a distinction between the logic of things, or substantialism, and a logic of relations, or relationalism (Lewin, 2014:348). Emphasizing configurations of ties that are recurrent in sociocultural interaction, a key norm of relationalism is that "reality is best grasped as an ordering of the elements of perception through a process of construction that gives them intelligibility and meaning" (Lewin, 2014: 348-350). Substantialism, on the other hand, "maintains that the ontological primitives of analysis are 'things' or entities – entities exist before interaction and all relations should be conceived as relations between entities" (Jackson and Nexon, 1999:291). These distinct sociological tendencies can provide us an approach to illustrate the differences between Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism in relation to practitioners' day-to-day social life.

¹⁶⁶ Slightly different from Presbyterians, Truku Pentecostals tend to emphasize the logical approach that things and objects are self-subsistent entities, through which their substantialism is revealed. With a worldview constructed of spiritual meanings in particular, Truku Pentecostals are oriented to highlight the substance and significance of things and objects alone, through which they devalue horizontal kinds of relational linkage in the transactional context of social life (see chapter 7).

The True Jesus Church prohibits its members from participating in our cultural activities, because their Christianity does not recognize our ancestor spirits. But can they show me, on which page, the Bible says that we, indigenous Taiwanese, cannot have our culture? Of course not, because the Bible doesn't say so. It is only that they put themselves into a small and narrow frame to interpret the circumstance of our life.

In terms of Christianity and local culture, I think we should see it this way: Although God is the most powerful spirit, it should be fine that our ancestor spirits stay under him. It does not mean that we want to take humans' spirits to compete, or challenge, God. Not at all. This, therefore, shouldn't be any issue if our ancestors just stay under him. And then, the next lower layer is our position, the human beings.

This is how I understand what a religion should be. If any religion wants me to stop having my own culture, I would rather never believe in it.

(My interview material, 2011)

In the Presbyterian worldview, instead of regarding local culture as in conflict with Christianity, the two are viewed as merged. Culture is interpreted as a form of God's creation. The righteousness of ethnicity represents the justice of God. Presbyterians' ideas of culture, ethnicity, social responsibility, secular achievement and Truku identity are subsumed under their religious framework providing a basis for practice. This issue was indicated by a Presbyterian minister, Lukas.

What is the relation of Christianity and our culture? Christianity is regarded as a western ideology, with a strong idea of imperialism, and it generally destroyed the local or ethnic culture. To our Presbyterian Church, however, this is not true. The situation is in fact the opposite.

Our missionary outline targets the people who are at the bottom, of lower status, in society. And we believe that any kind of culture, in the sense of languages or customs, is a great gift, which is given by God, because cultures are the creations of God.

(My interview with Lukas, 2011)

In theological terms, the Presbyterian mission involves an approach of contextualization. It refers to a Christian missionary process that interprets Christianity into a non-Christian cultural background. In doing so, local people are able to adapt a foreign religion by incorporating local culture into their religious outlook¹⁶⁷. Using this theological concept, here we can make a comparison with its Pentecostal counterpart. By highlighting that the Holy Spirit is antagonistic to the Truku traditional worldview, Pentecostals adopt the foreign religion through an approach in which they 'decontextualize' the idea of God from Truku society (see Chapter 7).

¹⁶⁷ 'Contextualization', or 'contextual theology', is a theological term used by Protestants. For readers who would like to know the details, see Ray Wheeler's (2002) article illustrating the biology of a Presbyterian priest, Shoki Coe. This theological missionary tendency is sometimes expressed with other associated terms. 'Inculturation' is often used by Catholics. In some cases, 'localization' and 'Indigenization' is also applied into associated concepts (Schreiter, 1985:1, also see Holmes, 1999). Additionally, 'spontaneous contextualization' and 'folk Christianity' (Höschele, 2007; Blanco, 2009) are used in some social contexts such as Africa (see Kollman, 2010).

The Truku Bible, as we have seen, is a product of this Presbyterian missionary approach of contextualization in Truku society. For the locals, however, the Truku Bible is understood as a blessing upon Truku Presbyterians that represents the glory of God. Presbyterians regard the Truku Bible as evidence that 'Truku' has been acknowledged in its existence, as well as being significant, in God's eyes. In line with the legitimacy that Presbyterianism has established in the local context, the legitimacy of Truku ethnicity has also been established. With a specific reading of biblical semiology in which the old Truku worldview and Christianity are intertwined, Presbyterian adherents incorporate their Truku ethnicity into Christianity. Rather than having a concern for a literal interpretation of the Bible, Truku Presbyterians use the Bible as a secular guide to be applied to day-to-day living. They comprehend biblical stories as being more like a book of prediction or metaphors in a political sense. An example was given in one of their sermons:

We, Truku, have our customary system constructed by *gaya*. In Hebrew language, *gaya* means fence or enclosure¹⁶⁸. It encloses us, so that we will not be scattered or breakup. In terms of ethnic groups in the world, only the Israelites re-established their country in 1948. This has given us a good model, as it can be paralleled to our case of being Truku. We, everyone of us, are in the same communality, and we should follow the rules made by God. If we don't, eventually, the outcome for us is to die.

(A Presbyterian Church sermon, 2011)

Presbyterians take the trials and tribulations of the ancient Israelites as stories that are actually about the trials and tribulations faced by the Truku. The society they live in has also been taken as a field in which they embody, and are devoted to, their religious belief. Instead of interpreting the Israelites as a bad example, as Pentecostals do, Truku Presbyterians frequently emphasize the positive aspects of the stories, because, eventually, the Israelites established their own country.

Here I use a diagram (Figure 6.6) to depict how Presbyterians operate a social logic in a 'relational model'. In this basic complimentary binary structure, the two categories are in a dynamic and relational interaction. One refers to the principle of Christianity and the other is the ethnicity of being 'Truku'. Within the pair of binary sets, however, Christianity takes primacy and plays a more important role. The two values converge to draw 'Christianity' upon 'being Truku'.

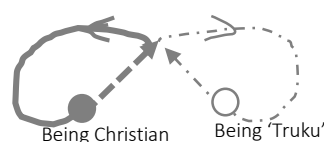


Figure 6.6: Presbyterian 'relational model'.

¹⁶⁸ No matter whether this is true or not, this message was delivered to the whole congregation in public.

This conceptual diagram can be applied to a wide range of Presbyterian representations both in a religious and social context. In terms of religiosity, Presbyterians symbolize 'Truku' in their Christian ideology. The legitimate strategy of the Christian God is built on the existing local concept to create a close equivalence between the two. 'Being Truku' has therefore been reconstructed within their Christian ideology. Yet, though being a Christian and being a Truku are reciprocally related, the significance of native norms actually fades as time progresses. The elder generations might have grasped Christianity by *utux*. The younger generations, however, no longer understand the distinction. The Christian God, as a result, is prioritised.

In a social context, this system creates a dynamic interaction between Presbyterian identities and practicing as good Christians in social life. Taking its material forms as an example, the tablecloths on the church furniture they use, usually have typical Truku patterns on them. Wearing 'Truku' clothes is another instance of Presbyterians' relational social logic. One day, when the Presbyterian Church was preparing a ceremony for hiring a new minister, their church leader announced to the congregation about the uniform for the ceremony:

Regarding our dress for the day, as we should have something like a uniform, everyone just wear your Truku clothes to the ceremony. It doesn't matter if it's a whole suit, or just parts of the costume, as long as it conveys the image that we are Truku.

(Presbyterian Church announcement, 2012)

Any material things or concepts that can signify the idea of 'Truku', in a word, serve as a representation, as well as an embodiment, of the Presbyterian identity of being Christian. A process of interchange occurs when the two terms of a complimentary binary set interact, such as through activities of reading the Truku Bible, practicing Truku hymns, wearing Truku clothes and so on. Ideas, values and meanings of 'being Truku' have therefore been merged and integrated with one another. This relational model guides Presbyterians' religious practice and shapes adherents' social interaction through various circumstances in the day-to-day context. To them, not only is 'Truku culture' *not* in conflict with Presbyterians' Christianity, but it is furthermore represented through Christianity. The value of engaging in 'Truku culture' and the value of being a Christian are not separately constructed, since they interchange with and reinforce each other.

Through the biblical story of the Israelites, for instance, Presbyterians have constructed their Truku identity. Part of the linkage between the Truku and the Israelites, as addressed by Presbyterians relates to suffering the loss of their homeland. In the following I will exemplify this issue by the presentation of two Presbyterian sermons in detail. They suggest that Presbyterians' identity as Truku, and as Christians, is established through a social logic in a 'relational model'.

Biblical passages: *Yusuwa* [Joshua] 1:1-9.

Title: “*Ida empquhuy sunan ka utux Baraw* (God is certainly with you)”.

A significant point of Presbyterian belief is that ‘Everyone is a priest’¹⁶⁹. We receive the calling from God to do his work, and God will, certainly, be with us.

The biblical passage *Yusuwa* [Joshua]1:6 says: Be strong and courageous, because you will lead these people to inherit the land I swore to their forefathers to give them.

For the Israelites and Joshua at that time their ancestors’ lands and their belief were actually closely related. Conducting the work of God is, therefore, a link to inherit their ancestor’s lands.

Due to losing their ancestors’ lands from the wars, the Israelites had to work abroad as slaves. This situation is similar to ours.

In this regard, we have to make an effort to take our ancestors’ lands back. We have to protect our lands. Like the Israelites, who obeyed the principles made by God, we should, in the same vein, continue to pass on our Truku culture, and the Lord will certainly be together with us. (On the 27th of May, 2012)

Biblical passages: *Patas Smnlaan* [Genesis] 1:26-31.

Title: “*Ima ka yaku* (who am I)”.

Quite often, we feel that the Bible seems irrelevant to our current life circumstance but it is the book of the Israelites. Today, I am going to interpret the Bible in a way, which reveals a similar problem that we Truku are struggling with.

I recalled my childhood when I studied in Kaohsiung¹⁷⁰. At that time, people called us [indigenous Taiwanese] ‘*hwan-na*’, ‘*hwan-na*’ (蕃仔, barbarians). It means that we are a wild ethnic group that we did head-hunting. Feeling inferior, when people asked me whether I am an indigenous Taiwanese, I always answered them: “No!”. Because I could not face the fact that I was born as an indigenous person, I denied myself.

Here, however, when we read Genesis 1, it shows us a similar problem with a similar background that the Israelites were encountering¹⁷¹.

Why do we have to ask ‘who am I’? This is indicative of the loss of identity. The Israelites, at that time, had suffered a similar situation to us. Yet, the Bible reveals this situation to us that, in fact, the problem of losing identity has existed for a long time [...] ¹⁷². Through

¹⁶⁹ This is a commonly held belief among both Truku Presbyterian and Pentecostal believers who regard it as common of Protestantism more generally.

¹⁷⁰ A name of a county in Taiwan.

¹⁷¹ Though the passage reading came from Genesis 1 here, the speaker was drawing connections between Genesis, the problems faced by the Israelites and the problems of the Truku.

¹⁷² He provided some detailed information.

Genesis was written about 500 years before Christ, which is 2500-3000 years ago. The Israelites had no country by then. They were controlled by Assyria and Babylon, as well as the Persian Empire. Their people, hence, were educated and trained with the idea that ‘I am an Assyrian’, ‘I am a Babylonian’ and ‘I am a Persian’. You can look at Daniel chapter 1.

our experiences of being indigenous Taiwanese, we can understand many experiences that the Israelites suffered.

How does this inspire us? It means that we, indigenous Taiwanese, are creatures in God's image. We have a new status in his eyes. We are not marginal people in society. We are made by him. We are used as holy instruments by him and we have the right to rule the ground on which we live.

Now, do we still need to feel inferior or in self-denial? No. God says we have his image. God says we are, holy, not dirty. We are his sons and daughters. This is a new status of being Christian. This is our honour. (On the 19th of February, 2012)

Presbyterians constructed their ethnic identity of 'being Truku' through a specific approach of interpreting the Bible. Putting the story of the Israelites together with the story of Truku, Presbyterians see similarities between the two. Seeing the biblical story in this way, Presbyterians insist that Truku should take the Israelites as a good model. Their ethnic identity of 'Truku' is operationalized in a relational social logic that reinforces their identity and social role of being Christian. The two identities have been merged. Presbyterians interpenetrate their religious practice with 'being Truku', these have then been integrated in the social domain.

Truku Presbyterians have developed a secular approach for the process of meaning-making in their day-to-day context. With this hermeneutical approach, which operates at the heart of Presbyterianism, its adherents tend to be more concerned about the relational linkage between persons and objects. They highlight the transactional context and reciprocal relations in social life between significant entities. By putting things and issues in a social relational model, Presbyterians do not emphasize the significance of the substance of material and objects alone. This is of more concern to their counterpart, Pentecostals, who view material things and physical objects as self-subsistent entities (see chapter 7).

Through a reciprocal relational social logic, Presbyterians embody their Christian faith in a social domain that involves their social relations, identity and activities. A Presbyterian person, therefore, is constructed as a 'complex self'. Presbyterian personhood as a good Christian is shaped by the complexity of one's secular engagement in social life. Through one's 'Truku subjectivity' in particular, the Presbyterian way of making a modern subject is oriented towards

Young people had been all trained as if they are the people of the empire, and they even felt proud of that. Yet, some intellectual people of later generations started doubting the question, 'who am I', and 'why we are the people of those who colonized us'. They felt the loss of their identity.

Here, Genesis 1:26, 'Then God said: "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air, over the livestock, over all the earth, and over all the creatures that move along the ground."

It reveals that, when others said to the Israelites that they are the offspring of slaves, the Israelites said: they had a new status and identity which had been given by the Lord. It is God who makes them new, with a new place in the world he created.

an intricacy that accumulates worldly capital, as well as worldly power, in a religious context suggesting that one is 'doing well' as a good Christian.

6-8. Complex Self and the Syncretic Form of Power

After attending sermons from both local groups, I came to notice that Truku Presbyterians seldom addressed the issue of the afterlife, such as salvation, soul and sacrifice. They pay more attention to the secular concerns in this-world instead, like individual achievements, politics, social welfare, social service and human rights.

Presbyterian elders sometimes hold their birthday celebrations in the church, organized by their children. In addition to eating cakes and singing 'Happy Birthday', typically, a 'birthday thanksgiving donation' is made, through which the congregation shares the happiness together. This is different from Truku Pentecostals, as their church cannot be used for any personal or secular purpose. Pentecostals only celebrate birthdays in a private space with friends and family members, and they are not encouraged to have candles on their cakes, due to their demonic significance. "It looks like people are worshipping something", they say.

Presbyterians are more concerned about social engagements. A few times the church announced members' individual achievements for congratulations, such as young members who won the prize for indigenous drama and one who was accepted by his preferred university. Presbyterians, also, emphasize their social roles as good Christians, who give help to other people and society. Sometimes, issues outside their church affairs would be raised. "Gideons International¹⁷³", for example, was offered the chance by Truku Presbyterians to give a short speech and deliver pamphlets in the church, through which the Presbyterian congregation was encouraged to give donations to the Gideons society. Additionally, on the 24th of July, 2011, the Ciwang Church announced to the congregation that: "All of our contributions today will be donated to help the victims of the earthquake and tsunami near the Fukushima nuclear plant, Japan". Apart from social welfare work, secular kinds of talks could be sometimes arranged after sermons. A speech, for instance, was given from the local health centre. It broadcasted information about pulmonary tuberculosis, through which some 'tips' for self-examination were introduced. Another speech was offered by the leader of a local association, promoting the idea of a 'Truku Autonomous Area' to be supported by the majority of Truku people.

These examples indicated that social issues – at either the domestic, national or international level – are of high concern to Truku Presbyterians. Through their engagement with charity, politics, social welfare, personal achievement and so on, Presbyterians embed their religiosity of

¹⁷³ It is a Christian non-profit organization, which prints and distributes the New Testaments to schools, hospitals and hotels in rural areas.

being a good Christian into a social context. They emphasize their social roles and social responsibility in day-to-day life. A 'complex self' is therefore shaped through Presbyterians' personhood.

Presbyterians frequently conduct activities to improve social relations, such as singing, dancing, giving performances or other kinds of engagements. In the 2011 summer, Ciray, a leader of a local association, conducted a singing competition called "*Traditional Folklore and Modern Karaoke Songs*". Due to some delays in the administrative process, when Ciray received the official letter from the local government informing him that his proposal had been accepted and sponsored, Ciray only had one week to execute it. He, then, announced his difficulty in the church after the Lord's Day worship. "Please, everyone, we need your help to sign-up your names, or find relatives and friends to participate, in this competition. If you don't know which song to sing, you could come to our association where we provide karaoke songbooks for you to pick one you like to sing". Eventually, Ciray managed to mobilize many participants and the event was conducted successfully in only a few days. Despite some opinions behind the scene saying that Ciray always wants the church do him a favour, such gossip did not interfere with the holding of this event, nor Ciray's respected role in the church.

Presbyterian sermons usually draw inspiration from various resources, such as local and international news, books, songs and popular issues. As a Presbyterian clergyman told the congregation in his sermon, "There are three angles to understand the Bible: from the position of the biblical text itself, from the theological experts and from the readers. Among these three, we prefer the latter: from the angle of the readers". Presbyterians believe that, through engaging with various topics in their sermons, followers gain meaningful and fulfilling understanding of society.

One of my Presbyterian informants indicated to me that, in her opinion, this style of speech is better than only focusing on a biblical story. She compared Presbyterian sermons and Pentecostal ones.

We learn a lot from listening to a good speech. It inspired us with some good issues and examples to think about our life. This is different from the sermons of the True Jesus Church. I went to their church sermons a couple of times as my friend invited me. Their clergymen only read the Bible here and there, without giving any real issues or examples inside their talks. Well, reading those biblical verses are okay, but, frankly, it is just not so impressive to me.
(My interview with Jashin, 2011)

Presbyterian adherents' concern with social responsibility is developed by the theological orientation of Presbyterianism. Most Presbyterian ministers have known each other for quite a long time, since their study in theological colleges. One day, I got a chance to sit with a group of Presbyterian ministers at a meal. During the meal, they were chatting about the old days. Awin

recalled that, in his youth, he engaged in a lot of social campaigns. He was the one who led the first local campaign in Hualien. He also led a group of people to engage in land issues over the Taroko National Park. One of his most memorable experiences was an event they call 'throwing cement'. On that day, Awin led about 40-50 people, with several packages of cement, to the local government office. They stood-by outside the office and waited. As soon as they saw people go through the entrance, they threw cement in their faces. "It was quite a lot of fun seeing everybody covered in cement", said Awin. Yet, Awin sighed, "Alas, people sometimes criticized how much we ministers engaged in political or social campaigns, but those criticisms are a total misunderstanding, and are unfair and even harmful to us". Hearing about this, another minister interpreted Awin's talk and said:

Absolutely! It is because, as we read the Bible, we understand many unjust situations in the world, and we have courage and justice to change them. We don't feel afraid of anything at all, because we presented what we learned from the Bible. Otherwise it would be meaningless if we can't make a link in life with what we read.

In fact, the Bible book of Exodus itself is a political story. Being ministers, we understand more, and feel more sensitive, towards the issue of social justice, and so we present it. Particularly, we indigenous Taiwanese people are a disadvantaged minority and had been oppressed in many ways; we cannot bear those situations when we see them.

(Presbyterian minister, Kayue, 2011)

With a wide range of engagements with the broader society, Presbyterians' religious practice is involved with secular matters such as careers, education, social relations and so on. To them, whether one is doing well or not hinges on a sense of social status in general. Their idea of being a good Christian has gone beyond a limited religious scope and extends to one's social activities and achievements. Material wealth, or its equivalent representation, is indicative of God's blessing. The value of being a good Christian is represented in a parallel way as the value of material success. Below I present a quote from a sermon when the Ciwang Church was conducting a feast for the Lammas Day.

In the past, we survived on agriculture but not wage work. On the Lammas Day, our elders brought their harvest to the church. We gathered here to thank God for offering us food. We shared our harvest, as well as our happiness, with other members.

Today, we no longer rely on agriculture, but it is God who gives us everything we need in our everyday life. On the Lammas Day, we thank God for offering us whatever we have. They all come from God's blessing and love. (Presbyterian sermon, 17/08/2011)

Presbyterians' idea of 'harvest' in modern society refers to one's acquisitiveness in life in general. The prosperity of one's social status is justified as the blessing of God. During the worship for the Lammas Day, in fact, a special guest was invited to the church. This was Ciwang's (first Truku convert's) granddaughter. After the announcement, the congregation gave her a big

round of applause to welcome her visit. She walked to the front of the church and said a couple of words:

Thank you everyone. Today, I visit here with one of my aunts. I am glad that I have this chance to enjoy the glory of God together with you. I am very happy seeing that the church my grandmother established is still so active.

God says that, as long as we work for him, his blessing will come to us for many generations. This is true. My aunt has been selected as the representative of the County Council of Keelung, with the highest vote, for two administrative terms. This is the evidence of God's glory.
(Presbyterian sermon, 17/08/2011)

By making public how much money one earns, how much of a donation one makes to the church, and one's other achievements, Presbyterians portray their social roles of being good Christians. In a Presbyterian society, this is also how hierarchy is defined. Having more material wealth will lead one to attain a higher status in the church. In positions to manage church affairs, for instance, presbyters are the core who mobilize resources for the church. When choosing presbyters for election, the Presbyterian congregation votes for those who have a good financial position and standing in the community, rather than those who are simply committed members or only morally doing well. By constructing one's subjectivity as a 'complex self', Presbyterian attitudes towards value, money, social status, career and politics are integrated into a religious form of power within Presbyterianism. All sorts of economic, social and cultural capital converge with one's religious achievement.

Material things are seen as God's justification of one's faith. Yet, it should be highlighted that material value is created in a social context; this value, however, is contingent on more than the materiality of things alone. Rather than seeing alcohol, cigarettes and betel-nut as 'evil' or in any way connected with devils, Presbyterians are open-minded and recognize their existence as one in modern society. These materials, in fact, have a social function in both Truku and Taiwanese society. Social interaction often entails the consumption of these items, through which people build-up their relationships. Politicians especially use them as a way to socialize with others. Business connections, as my informants indicated, are sometimes made during drinking sessions. On this issue, I recall a chat among a few Presbyterians after their church service, in which a member, who held the political position of delegate of Hsiulin Township, was telling other members about getting involved in money by drink:

I myself do not have much money to contribute to the church or our township, but, well, I made an effort to get financial support from the government and other companies nearby, such as the subsidy from the Power Station for the event of *Mgay Bari*. Without me having to have so much to drink with those funding bodies, where can our money from?!

(Presbyterian informant's discourse, 2011)

To a degree, those material items are the catalyst for improving the accumulation of capital from different sources in modern society. Having a 'relational model' between persons and objects, Presbyterians use materials to improve social relations and social networks. The materiality of things' themselves are less significant, rather, their functional aspects in a social domain are important.

Many Presbyterian clergymen have played leading roles in social movements outside the church. Due to their idea of social justice, Presbyterians speak for minority groups and on social rights issues, such as indigenous lands, nuclear waste and human rights. Ethnicity is one of these issues. Ethnicity is not set as a boundary with other Presbyterians. Specifically, ethnicity sets the boundary of being 'Truku' but does not create any boundary to being Presbyterian.

When Presbyterians migrate to cities for work or study, they participate in activities organized by Presbyterians and other social organizations, no matter if it is relevant to Truku or not. Presbyterians' networks are established in towns or big cities, and offer significant support for Presbyterian migrants and students. This social phenomenon was noted by Simon (2015a:7) who described how many indigenous Taiwanese, especially those who had sold land, "streamed into cities and towns in search as work. New social networks, usually constructed around the Presbyterian Church, became the basis for the indigenous social movement".

In the following I will examine the complex personal network of a single Presbyterian, Hanna, a presbyter. Hanna's career was fostered by Presbyterian institutions that offer training and services for indigenous Taiwanese for missionary purposes (see 4-1). After she graduated from a nursing school sponsored by Presbyterians, Hanna worked in a regional hospital as a nurse, and then she became a specialist in a scanning room after she finished training.

Hanna's mother, in her 90s, is still a committed Presbyterian church-goer. Her religious commitment has influenced her children, as well as their families, to become good Presbyterians, and most of them are actively engaged in local culture and activities. Hanna's husband, a presbyter too, is a retired school principle, who also plays a leading role in a cultural association. One of Hanna's younger sisters is a famous reporter at a TV channel called *Indigenous Peoples* in Taiwan who reports Truku news in the Truku language. Hanna's youngest sister studied in a theological seminary training to become a minister. She was hired by another Presbyterian Church after her study in 2015. Hanna's brother achieved a master's degree in his late forties. He has furthermore been engaged with a social welfare organization for years, which offers help for poor people, such as providing free coffins. Having earned other's respect as a kind, diligent and public-minded person, he successfully won the election in 2014 as the village-head of Fushi community.

One of Hanna's uncles is a retired Presbyterian minister, whose wife, also, is an expert on Truku traditional folklore, running musical projects sponsored by the local government. One of Hanna's cousins, belonging to another Presbyterian church nearby, operates an association related to ecological development. Another of Hanna's cousins works as a mountain patrolman – a permanent employee – in the Taroko National Park. He engages in ecological activity, including ecotourism, in his spare time.

The younger generation in Hanna's family have high educational qualifications. Many of them received diplomas from top Taiwanese universities and they work in institutions related to indigenous affairs. Hanna's daughter received her master's degree in the U.S. and is now doing her PhD in indigenous children's education at the University of California, Santa Barbara, U.S. She was granted a scholarship from the Taiwanese government sponsoring indigenous students to study overseas. The son of Hanna's elder brother has a master's degree about indigenous lands. His PhD expertise dealt with the issue of Truku self-government and was published in 2012. Additionally, the daughter of Menli, another of Hanna's sisters, worked at the *Council of Indigenous Peoples* in Taipei. The daughter of Hanna's brother also had a part-time practice there, relating to her major in communications. She was planning to study overseas after her bachelor degree.

Most of Hanna's family are engaged in work related to their ethnicity, including the Truku mother tongue (e.g., new report), the experience of living in the mountains (e.g., ecological association and ecotourism), the memory of Truku culture (e.g., Truku folk songs and dance) and ethnic consciousness (land policies and self-government) and so on. Being familiar with 'Truku culture', as well as indigenous affairs in general, they conduct relevant work through their career and education, which offers benefits and social capital. A strong intellectual connection and supportive network among them is thus established. When they work or study in different institutions, they also frequently visit each other, and they acquire information and circulate it to each other.

Hanna's case is one example but not an exception among Presbyterians. Presbyterians are oriented to happily engage with social activities. Their church practice, which is not demanding, allows members to take care of their secular work. Their church is not only for religious worship but offers a platform that welcomes members to share their tangible achievements and social concerns. Through their religiosity, Presbyterians have established wide social networks and good interactions with others. Additionally, Presbyterians are open to involvement in power relations. They welcome changes and are willing to take challenges that come along with their engagements, including issues that are connected with other Christian denominations, other ethnic groups and political authority.

By seeing ethnicity in relation to God's justice and glory, Presbyterians practice their social role of being 'Truku'. They fight to have their voice and make themselves visible in mainstream society. By achieving an official status for Truku ethnicity, Presbyterians have changed their social and ethnic position from a marginal indigenous group to become a more powerful cultural entity. With a syncretic approach to create linkages between Christianity and 'Truku culture', Presbyterians embody their status of being Christians by being 'Truku'. Since 'indigenous culture' in general is encouraged and sponsored by the wider society, through its relevant resources for education, economics and politics, Presbyterians have engaged strongly with worldly capital, and they make themselves to become more powerful as Truku subjects.

Chapter 7. Pentecostal Modern Subjects and World-Rejecting Power

Chapter seven explores how Pentecostal modern subjects are made through a specific worldview highlighting the idea of the Holy Spirit. Truku Pentecostals use Mandarin as their liturgical language. A negative analogy is applied to comprehend the relationship between Christianity and their traditional worldview. Through a foreignizing approach, Truku Pentecostals emphasize that the Christian God is in an antagonistic relationship to their past. Additionally, owing to a strict literal fundamentalism, they have developed a specific way of exegesis. Rather than interpreting biblical evidence from a secular context, Pentecostals highlight hermeneutic evidence of the Holy Spirit. By emphasizing a person's vertical relationship with God as the first priority in life, Truku Pentecostals extricate practitioners from social engagement. Viewing the material world as evil, they develop a specific approach to involvement in secular activities.

This chapter argues that Pentecostalism orients its practitioners to become modern subjects through the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in practitioners' physical bodies. A good Pentecostal person is internally defined in their physicality by its relationship with the Holy Spirit. By narrowing down a focus to an individual realm, one does not need to accumulate secular kinds of capital.

Pentecostal personhood, as an 'object' in relation to God, is not subjectified by the outside world through standard norms. Rather, practitioners accumulate moral standing by going against worldly matters. Pentecostal personhood is shaped as a 'simplex self'. Practitioners' moral capital cannot be accumulated by other people, or in other forms, such as money. It can only be earned by one's own physical endeavour, for a spiritual meaning, thus affecting one's interaction with other material objects.

A Pentecostal 'simplex self' implies an ideal type of humanity whose character is diligent, moderate, docile and in self-control. Other aspects of humanity, such as love of adventure, challenging, questioning and being sceptical, are not encouraged. With a strict idea about how to become a good person, Pentecostal practitioners are frequently in combat with society yet meanwhile challenge their own humanity. For individual practitioners, this constructs a pattern of in-and-out involvement. A Pentecostal society orients its leadership to present in a style which is easily overthrown. Specifically, since everyone is equal as an object, it offers equality to all practitioners to be involved in leadership. Pentecostal leadership is constructed by individual factors, instead of relating to worldly capital. Through physical effort, everyone has the same power to attempt, to challenge and to deconstruct leadership. This, however, does not have a negative impact that diminishes their church's authority. Pentecostal doctrinal authority is grounded in the Holy Spirit, which goes beyond any sense of secular boundaries, and is

unchallengeable. In the practical world, since everyone has equal opportunity to engage in leadership, a more vigorous dynamism is created among practitioners.

7-1. Literal Fundamentalism

Pentecostalism has a close relation to conservative Protestantism in its literal fundamental attitude as well as its separatistic tendency (Kellstedt and Smidt, 1991). Pentecostals' gift of the Holy Spirit, according to Woodberry and Smith (1998:29), emphasizes divine healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues. It has primarily spread among socially marginalized groups, such as poor whites, blacks, and immigrants.

The True Jesus Church, though pronouncing itself an independent church founded in China, is inevitably linked with the global movement in America. It has inherited a strict scriptural attitude towards the Bible. The tendency of biblical literalism, nevertheless, is rooted in Chinese texts due to its establishment in a Chinese social context. Believing that the Bible in Mandarin is the only true Bible, the True Jesus Church Pentecostals take Mandarin as the vehicle to convey the correct gospels of Christianity. In this section, I will examine Truku Pentecostals' church doctrine in relation to its language affiliation, focusing on their *foreignizing* approach to the use of language, their *negative* analogy in interpreting traditional cosmology, the *scriptural authority* of the Holy Spirit, the practicing of biblical *literalism*, and also their circular *hermeneutical* approach to biblical interpretation.

'Foreignizing' Approach: Language, Doctrine and Cosmology

Truku Pentecostals comprehend Christianity by taking a foreignizing approach to the use of colonial languages – both Mandarin and Japanese – which were originally used by outsiders. Pentecostals believe that foreign languages allow biblical messages to be conveyed more correctly, making biblical knowledge more authentic and reliable.

Theologically, the True Jesus Church rejects their understanding of other Christians' interpretation of the Holy Trinity and argues that only they hold to the 'oneness' of God. This theology is prescribed as the base of their doctrine: God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit are not separated. To them, there is only one true God. Under the principle of monotheism, God is proclaimed clearly in the Ten Commandments (Exodus, 20:1-6)¹⁷⁴, all other deities are to be regarded as devils.

¹⁷⁴ "And God spoke all these words: I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery. You shall have no other God before me. You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. You should not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand [generations] of those who love me and keep my commandments" (Exodus20:1-6).

Unlike Presbyterians who comprehend the relationship between God and *utux* in a positive analogical manner, Truku Pentecostals interpret *utux* through a negative analogy. They place the concepts of God and *utux* in strong opposition to one another. With a foreignizing approach in the use of language, most Truku Pentecostal texts and documents, written in Mandarin, do not allow for the accommodation of the word of *utux* in the process of biblical entextualization. From among approximately 100 Pentecostal hymns, only one contains a reference to *utux*. It is in the context referring to the idea of devils. Below (Table 7.1) are the lyrics of this Truku Pentecostal hymn, titled ‘Follow Jesus’ (in the left column), whose English translation is provided on the right.

<u><i>Sngul yeysu</i></u>	<u><i>Follow Jesus</i></u>
<i>Tutui da kana ruciq seejiq nina</i>	<i>Get up, all sinners</i>
<i>Mu mnaiq seka meqe raqeyl qetaida</i>	<i>How many pains you had suffered</i>
<i>Yeysu kiris tu o wa da na panun</i>	<i>See, Jesus is the Saviour</i>
<i>kana ruciq seejiq</i>	<i>He carried humans’ sins</i>
<i>Tutui da tutuida knla ngan rujiq</i>	<i>Get up get up, all sinners get up</i>
<i>tutui mapa jiujiqa tana nak mg jiyal utux rujiq sene gul yeysu</i>	<i>Put on your Cross to fight with devils; follow Jesus</i>
(TJC Truku hymn)	(My translation in English; boldface added by myself)

Table 7.1: True Jesus hymn of ‘Follow Jesus’.

Truku Pentecostals actually take pains to avoid using this word. One of their translators explained to me: “*Utux* means devils or bad things, but we don’t even feel like mentioning it. Because it will make the audience feel uncomfortable if they keep hearing *utux*, *utux*, *utux* (devils) in our translations. For this reason, it is very rare for us to use the word, *utux*, in our sermons or conversations”. With such a strong motivation to avoid the mere mention of the word, *utux* is a kind of taboo among Truku Pentecostals. In everyday life, practitioners seldom talk about it, either in the context of the church or daily scenes. If in any situation the elderly want to refer to ‘bad things’, it is more common to hear the Japanese term ‘*akuma*’, which indicates to the category of devils more generally.

Interpreting *utux* as devils, Truku Pentecostals never use the Presbyterian phrase ‘*utux baraw*’ (the upper most *utux*) in their religious practice. Sometimes in Truku terms, for the idea of Jesus or God, they use the phrase ‘*dama baraw*’, which means the upper most father. ‘Father’ is a common metaphor for Christians to apply to God. Truku Pentecostals particularly like to emphasize this relationship. In their church sermons, many biblical texts relate to ‘parents-children’ and are frequently applied to state their relationship. For instance, they interpret Heaven as ‘the home in the sky’, where ‘the father’ has already arranged their rooms. To Pentecostals, their spiritual kin tie with ‘the father’ is significantly foregrounded.

The term ‘*dama baraw*’ suggests a conceptual separation from the Truku ancestors. By using this phrase, not only is an obvious break with their past created, a new alterity is established in their spiritual relation to the Christian God. Instead of using the Truku mother tongue to mediate a cosmological gap as Presbyterians do, Truku Pentecostals use a foreign practical tool (the

colonial language) to explore a newly embraced worldview (Christianity). Despite losing the use of their Truku language in favour of this other ‘tool’, this allows them to adopt a new alterity of being a Pentecostal Christian. By making a ‘break’ with their past, Pentecostals’ new alterity can be meaningful.

God’s Language in Ritual

In a Chinese style of Pentecostalism, the True Jesus Church members read the general version of the Mandarin Bible. Yet, despite Mandarin’s legitimacy, it is merely a vehicle to access a more important authority: the Holy Spirit.

Without a long church history, the True Jesus Church has not developed specific creeds for ritual purposes. There are, nevertheless, ‘two sentences’ (Plate 7.1) that presented their fundamental doctrines. These can be seen on the front wall of the church: “奉主耶穌聖名禱告 哈利路亞讚美主耶穌” (“In the name of the Lord Jesus I pray. Praise the Lord by saying Hallelujah”).



Plate 7.1: The sermon of the True Jesus Church. Photograph by the author.

Written in Mandarin, with a plain background, the ‘two sentences’ highlight how the idea of the Holy Spirit is presented, and practiced, in a specific doctrinal manner. The first sentence “奉主耶穌聖名” (“In the name of the Lord Jesus”) is applied to almost every part of their ritual, such as hymn-singing, sermons and prayers. Through ‘naming’ the true Jesus, a relationship with the true God is established in order to begin their worship. The second sentence “哈利路亞讚美主耶穌” (“Praise the Lord by saying Hallelujah”) is particularly set as the principle for their prayer of glossolalia, which can be regarded as the literal form of the Holy Spirit.

Glossolalia in local terms is called 靈言 (*Lingyen*, TJC term, spiritual language), and is interpreted as a dialect of *God's language*. Glossolalia comes from an extremely quick vibration of people's tongues on the roof of their mouths. The True Jesus Church follows a specific approach to speaking-in-tongues. Beginning from the first sentence of the prayer, “奉主耶穌聖名禱告” (“In the name of the Lord Jesus I pray”), the second sentence, “哈利路亞讚美主耶穌” (“Praise the Lord by saying Hallelujah”), indicates the correct approach of “saying Hallelujah” to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.

Truku Pentecostals' glossolalia can be generally categorized into three styles of “saying Hallelujah”. For beginners, such as children, the church asks them to recite the second sentences (in Mandarin) clearly, loudly and repeatedly: “哈 Ha. 利 Li. 路 Lu. 亞 Ya. 讚 Zan. 美 Mei. 主 Zu. 耶 Yey. 穌 Su.” For members who have been practicing for a while but have not yet received the gift, or cannot speak-in-tongues fluently, their glossolalia is in a simulated style, such as fragmented pronunciation of Hallelujah, like ‘halle-halle-halle-lle-lle-lle-lle...’ or ‘hallelujah-lujah-lujah-lujah-lu-lu-lu-lu....’. As to members who speak clear and fluent glossolalia, their tongues vibrate at an incredibly quick speed, such that no pronunciation of Hallelujah can actually be recognized.

By means of Mandarin, Truku Pentecostals approach the theological authority of the Holy Spirit. Speaking in God's language, Pentecostal practitioners also achieve the perception of a new alterity, where they sense God empirically. Through their religious practice, they become connected to a different spiritual entity which is independent of their past. Truku Pentecostals are no longer ‘Truku’ in this condition.

In Pentecostal daily services, there is no document circulated like the ‘Weekly Report’ as in the Presbyterian Church. A blackboard is put beside the dais giving the information for the day, such as the number of the hymn to be sung, the sermon topic and the speaker. Their church affairs and members' administrative duties have already been arranged for a month beforehand¹⁷⁵. Sometimes, their monthly magazine, named ‘Holy Spirit’, is put on the table near the entrance. This magazine is published by the mother church. It contains testimonial stories from members elsewhere, and some administrative affairs among churches.

Their church service starts when the speaker walks up and stands on the platform announcing: “Hallelujah. In the name of the Lord Jesus. Sing hymns”. Then the congregation stands up to sing a hymn. Once this is finished, the speaker turns to face the wall and kneels down on the ground. The congregation follows kneeling down. In a little while, the church is filled with the sound of

¹⁷⁵ On an A4 size paper, this is given to the congregation once a month.

the kneeling board¹⁷⁶ being pulled down. When it quiets down, everyone has settled into their positions and is ready to pray.

Practitioners close their eyes and interlace their fingers in front of their hearts. The speaker begins to lead the prayer by saying: “奉主耶穌聖名禱告 哈利路亞讚美主耶穌 (In the name of the Lord Jesus I pray. Praise the Lord by saying Hallelujah)”. Everybody follows. These are the only recognizable ‘words’ in their prayers. Soon after this, the church is filled with the sound of glossolalia. People also shake slightly when they are speaking-in-tongues. Some sway gently or wiggle; some clap or shake their hands up-and-down, and some repeat the action to detach their interlaced fingers, then interlace them again.

The prayer session lasts about 5-10 minutes. During this time, despite the loud glossolalia, everything seems to still be in order. A member on duty will walk around to count the number of participants for the record in the church daybook. Their speaking-in-tongues ends when the congregation hears “ding-a-ling-a-ling” from a bell, which is rung by the leader to announce the end. Practitioners then lower their voice and stop praying one-by-one until the church is restored to its quietude. “Amen”, says the leader. “Amen”, follows the congregation. The prayer session is now finished. Everyone then stands up to fold up their kneeling boards, they sit down and open the Bible for the main service: the sermon. The procedures for performing a prayer are listed in the church brochure, *Our Basic Beliefs* (1994)¹⁷⁷, see Table 7.2.

How Do I Pray?

- Kneel with humility.
- Close your eyes to concentrate.
- Begin by saying “In the name of the Lord Jesus I pray”.
- Praise the Lord by saying “Hallelujah”.
- Spend time to speak with God from your heart and ask him to fill you with the Holy Spirit.
- Conclude your prayer with “Amen”.

Table 7.2: The procedures for performing a prayer of the True Jesus Church.

The True Jesus members are regarded as ‘heterodox’ by other Christians due to their noisy glossolalia when they pray. Presbyterians, for instance, do not feel comfortable with this style. They claim that Truku Pentecostals are highly emotional and irrational. As said by my Presbyterian informant: “Nobody can justify that their glossolalia is actually made by God. Their talking sounds more like the style of mankind, when children are learning to talk. Sometimes, they even fall into hysterics. I don’t think speaking-in-tongues is like this. I imagine that, it should

¹⁷⁶ As in many other Christian churches elsewhere, the True Jesus Church has a special design on their pews, where an interfolded wooden board, with soft cushions, can be pulled down so people can kneel down comfortably.

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.tjc.org/collage/awareness/EnglishSites/IA/order/pdf/0001.pdf>

be a free way of talking, as if we were talking to our father, which should be quite pleasant and comfortable, but certainly not like them”.

Despite facing this kind of opinion from other Christians, the Truku Pentecostals themselves interpret their praying style as calm and reasonable. In a sermon, a speaker addressed the issue of the Holy Spirit and said to the congregation:

Some heathens claim that we are probably controlled by an evil spirit rather than the Holy Spirit. They said there is no evidence that shows it is indeed the Holy Spirit who makes us speak-in-tongues.

Their criticism, however, is wrong. What they don't know is that our prayer is, in fact, fairly rational. We are in a clear conscious state but not unconscious. We feel the fulfilment by filling with the Holy Spirit, we know what we are doing, and nobody is out of control.

We, even, rationally, stop our prayer together when we hear the ringing of the bell. This is the evidence of our rationality. (TJC sermon, 2011)

Truku Pentecostals believe that the Bible is the literal word of Jesus. More than simply seeing the Bible as an object of holiness, they assert that the Bible reveals the ‘truth’, the only truth, on earth. Believing in the inerrancy of the Bible, Truku Pentecostals try to discover what the Bible says ‘exactly’ and strive to grasp this ‘accurate’ knowledge¹⁷⁸.

The Pentecostal church service is not divided into many sections. Today, since almost everyone is literate in Mandarin, with no language barrier, comprehending the Mandarin Bible is not a problem for them¹⁷⁹. Their church service is ‘long-winded’. The main body of their worship is a sermon lasting about an hour, which is framed by two sets of ‘hymn-singing and prayer’, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The Pentecostal sermon generally consists of a cluster of biblical verses organized by the speaker with a topic as a theme. Their speakers, furthermore, hardly have an oratorical speaking style, since body language and eye contact are not important in their sermons.

With a literal tendency, Pentecostal practitioners are good-and-student-like. They divide their Bibles by chapters clearly marked with biblical marker stickers. During their sermons, practitioners follow the tempo when the speaker indicates the page number of the passage. They take notes and underline biblical sentences with pens, or highlighters, when they feel inspired by a sermon. Sometimes the congregation is asked to recite the Bible together or in turn¹⁸⁰. It

¹⁷⁸ This kind of biblical attitude is similar to the Seventh-Day Adventists in Madagascar, where Eva Keller (2006) observed a continuing commitment to the church after conversion, and noted that the significance of Bible study in this commitment as believers sought to “rescue the truth from beneath a cover” (Keller 2006:290 in Stewart and Strathern, 2009:13).

¹⁷⁹ As to the elderly who cannot handle Mandarin very well, their religious practice has adopted Japanese Christian terms, which is the colonial language in which they initially learnt Christianity (see 3-6).

¹⁸⁰ Such as through the division of gender by the rows of the tables or individuals.

happened a couple of times that the speaker gave quizzes to the congregation after quoting a biblical passage: “Does anybody know which chapter, and on which page, that this biblical passage can be found? Raise your hand and tell us.” In their everyday practice, Pentecostal practitioners are expected to demonstrate a serious attitude towards reading the Bible to show their commitment.

The Holy Spirit

Though biblical knowledge is delivered in a language which is comprehensible to the congregation as a whole, Truku Pentecostals believe that the Bible is actually more than literal truth. The deeper level of comprehending the Bible is not simply conveyed through the words, but through the Holy Spirit. This was revealed by my informants. “We do not merely read the literal words of the Bible, but we read things above those words.” When a Pentecostal sermon is given, the Holy Spirit is put at the forefront of practitioners’ minds. Its matters are understood on a spiritual level. One of the church leaders, Basaw, indicated this issue:

Our sermons are actually offered by the Holy Spirit, not us, the human beings. We are inspired by the Holy Spirit to guide people, and our flesh-body is used by the Holy Spirit to convey the message it wants. For this reason, we know which passages to select, to deliver and what meanings to address. Without the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, how can we know what to say?!”
(TJC church sermon, 2012)

The Holy Spirit is a symbolic, as well as an iconic, representation of Truku Pentecostals. The True Jesus Church asserts that their church is the only one established by Jesus in person through his Holy Spirit. “The True Jesus Church, a restored Apostolic church during the time of the latter rain [TJC terms 晚雨, *wanyu*, which means ‘end time’]¹⁸¹ and having a spiritual and theocratic government, preaches the truth, is filled with the Holy Spirit, and abounds in miracles and the manifold power of God” (TJC Brochure, *Our Basic Beliefs*, 1994).

Believing that it is the Holy Spirit who facilitates one’s comprehension of the Bible, its meaning can be only decoded by people who have the Holy Spirit, or, more precisely, by people who followed the ‘correct’ church doctrines of the True Jesus Church. Only in this condition is one believed to fully comprehend Jesus’ words. Here, the key to biblical comprehension has been shifted from language affiliation to the theological significance of church authority. Since the Holy Spirit is represented by the specific doctrinal principles constructed by the church, the authority of the Holy Spirit is grounded in the church’s authority.

¹⁸¹ Latter Rain refers to the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement and is a term taken from the King James Bible, specifically Joel 2:23 and now signifies the End Times for contemporary Pentecostals.

Truku Pentecostals believe that receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit is a tangible achievement derived from the 'correct' doctrine that Jesus has revealed through the Bible. As long as one is following Jesus' instruction step-by-step, the gift of the Holy Spirit, sooner or later, will be offered by Jesus. Some people might receive it at a very early stage when they believe in the church, whereas some might only receive it before dying. In their belief, nonetheless, it is merely a matter of 'when' but will certainly happen, since Jesus has promised to endow his people with the Holy Spirit. The practical approach of receiving the gift is through one's sincere prayer. Practitioners are asked to pray with a strong motivation, so that their pleas can reach Jesus. Once Jesus feels touched by one's strong motivation to obtain the gift, it is more likely it will be offered.

The meaning of the Holy Spirit is profound and complex. It presents multiple manifestations combining the degree of one's faith, esteem from society, judgment after death and comprehension of the Bible. Specifically, receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit is seen as a recognition by God, coming from a high degree of faith in him. It implies one's good moral condition, as the Holy Spirit only dwells in the 'clean' body of a moral person. Since having this gift is a supreme honour, it is 'visible' evidence of one's faithful commitment. Through demonstrating speaking-in-tongues in front of others, Pentecostal practitioners gain respect from those people who share this Christian faith¹⁸². As to intellectual meaning, the Holy Spirit guides people in comprehending the Bible and strengthens practitioners' capacity to combat devils, lest they be easily tempted. The Holy Spirit represents a 'ticket' to enter Heaven after death. Only by receiving this gift, entering Heaven, the ultimate goal for Christians, is achievable. In a word, the Holy Spirit is a symbolic representation, from various standpoints, of a person's faithful, moral, social, intellectual and spiritual standing. The iconic representation of the Holy Spirit is considered critical in the Pentecostal construction of their new alterity as Christian subjects.

Hermeneutics

Truku Pentecostals' tendency to biblical scripturalism only developed in recent decades in line with their religious commitment. The starting point of their Christian conversion was entirely experiential coming from 'the miracle of healing' by the Holy Spirit. A Pentecostal leader illustrated the changing approach of their biblical interpretation. "In the past, as most Truku people were illiterate and unable to read the Bible, Jesus inspired human beings with his magical power. Today, people are no longer illiterate. Jesus thus instructs us by revealing the *truth* in the Bible".

¹⁸² In their leadership, for example, speaking-in-tongues is required as a compulsory capacity for taking up this role. With regard to people who have not yet received the gift, they are told to continually improve themselves, for Jesus is testing their faith in him.

Regardless of whether people are illiterate or literate, the link between Jesus' magical power and the biblical truth sheds light on how they 'experience' God. Even if people are now literate, this orientation is maintained. In addition to viewing the Bible as unquestionable, Truku Pentecostals see its cosmological legitimacy as endowed by the power of the Holy Spirit. It offers an approach for practitioners' to make their hermeneutic circle through experiential evidence.

With a fundamentalist attitude to biblical literalism, Truku Pentecostals regard the biblical words as what they are. They are considered as the substance of reality in the material world. On 31/10/2011, after reading *1 Kings 17*, the Pentecostal speaker interpreted the Bible to the congregation saying, "In the time of Elijah, there was no rain if people didn't pray. Look, this circumstance was *truly* [he stressed this word] happening there at that time. This is not just a story. If it was not real, Jesus would have said it is not real."

Truku Pentecostals frequently point to Jesus' miraculous power. They often quote biblical stories, such as the one about the feeding of people with loaves and fishes, or the dropping of manna for the Israelites. In their sermons, members are told by the church, "Don't worry about what to eat tomorrow, God has arranged everything for us". One of the biblical verses commonly applied in their sermons refers to Matthew (6:26): "Look at the birds of the air; they do not sow or reap or store away in barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not much more valuable than they?". Believing what Bible says is all truth, Truku Pentecostals read the Bible word-by-word carefully. They make efforts to learn lessons from the Bible, through which they believe that the Bible offers them guidance in their everyday life.

By reading the Bible together with my Pentecostal informants, I noticed that, in their interpretation, the Bible is written in a threatening tone. This instructional orientation is seen by Truku Pentecostals¹⁸³. Both Truku Presbyterians and Truku Pentecostals like to relate the story of the Israelites to their current circumstances. Regarding the Israelites as the chosen people of God, Truku Presbyterians prefer to emphasize that they succeeded in establishing their own country. Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, tend to look at the 'mistakes' that the Israelites made.

¹⁸³ For readers who are not familiar with the style of the Bible, I provide a biblical passage from *1 Corinthians* as an example. This passage is commonly applied in Truku Pentecostal sermons, which addresses many of their concerns, including devils, sacrifice, idols and God's jealousy. An issue about food that people should, or should not, eat and drink is also indicated.

"Consider the people of Israel: Do not those who eat the sacrifices participate in the altar? Do I mean then that a sacrifice offered to an idol is anything, or that an idol is anything? No, but the sacrifices of pagans are offered to demons, not to God, and I do not want you to be participants with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons too; you cannot have a part in both the Lord's table and the table of demons. Are we trying to arouse the Lord's jealousy? Are we stronger than he [is]?"
(1 Corinthians 10:18-22)

Although we are not the offspring of the Israelites, today, since it has been the period of Grace, God selected people by giving the Holy Spirit, now we are all his sons and daughters. Through these biblical examples, we should remember all of the mistakes that the Israelites made, and we should learn from their lessons. Since now the Bible has revealed to us what God wants us to do, we have to keep them in mind and not fail again by obeying all the rules, the law, that Jesus has instructed.

(TJC church sermon, 2011)

Among Christians, it is commonly understood that the New Testament signifies the 'new covenant' between Christians and God. According to Truku Pentecostals, this change allows ordinary people to directly communicate with God without the mediation of priests. Drawing a distinction between the Old and the New Testaments as a conceptual prototype of a society, Truku Pentecostals relate it to their own circumstances, referring to the change from an errant past to a righteous present. They interpret their old Truku life (with hunting and gathering, worshiping *utux* and making sacrifices) as represented by the conditions described in the Old Testament. Today, in the time of the 'new covenant', each person has a direct relationship with God, as in the story of Cornelius, who, as they say, "Cornelius is the first non-Jew to come to God (Acts 10:1). He is like us, coming from a non-Jewish background, but this is not a matter, especially nowadays, we all spiritually belong to God".

To Truku Pentecostals, the Bible is seen as offering a framework, through which they come to rid themselves of their 'bad behaviour' from the past. In a sermon titled 'Open Country and Tents' (on 18/12/2010), this ideology was illustrated clearly. In biblical stories, Isaac's wife was barren, and God gave her the twins, Esau and Jacob. Through the biblical verses (Genesis 25:27-34)¹⁸⁴ describing how Esau despised his birthright, Truku Pentecostals reflect on their past lifestyle of living in the mountains, and interpret how one should respond to it nowadays.

We, Truku, liked to eat wild animals. We were hunters. We went hunting in the deep mountains in order to have a good harvest. In our traditional society, no woman would like to marry a man who could not hunt, and no man would like to marry a woman who could not weave either. This situation is like the story here. When Esau left home and stayed in the mountains, he did not look after his family, and since finding animals and working in the mountains was quite fatiguing, Esau, eventually, sold his birthright for a mere bowl of red stew.

See the biblical passage of the 34 [...] Like us, when we went hunting, we were not at home. We lost the chance of enjoying the happiness staying with our parents, listening to their

¹⁸⁴ Genesis 25: 27-33. The boys grew up, and Esau became a skilful hunter, a man of the open country, while Jacob was a quiet man, staying among the tents. Isaac, who had a taste for wild game, loved Esau, but Rebekah loved Jacob. Once when Jacob was cooking some stew, Esau came in from the open country, famished. He said to Jacob, "Quick, let me have some of that red stew! I'm famished!" Jacob replied, "First sell me your birthright". "Look, I am about to die," Esau said. "What good is the birthright to me?" But Jacob said, "Swear to me first". So he swore an oath to him, selling his birthright to Jacob. Then Jacob gave Esau some bread and some lentil stew. He ate and drank, and then got up and left. So Esau despised his birthright.

lessons and learning from their experiences. We lost so much only because of our taste for eating wild animals. This indicates our neglect of our faith.

Today, the food we eat in the church is quite boring. Some people feel that having a cigarette, alcohol and betel-nut are much better, so they stay outside and do not come to the church. This is a common situation of our members, who think that the outside world is more interesting. They pursue wild flavours and look down upon their faith. Eventually, they sell their birthright to satisfy their taste.

Jacob, on the other hand, usually stayed at home; here it means the home of God. Like now that we are here in the church enjoying the peacefulness. We stay close with God, we listen to his words, and we feel fulfilled and joyful. Jacob is familiar with domestic work, and it wouldn't be the case if he frequently went outside and chased his other desires.

From these Biblical passages, we have known that, as long as we get close to God, God will also get close to us. We will be offered good rewards for the service we offer him. Like the case of Jacob, preferring to stay at the tents of God, he received lots of blessings. Our church has offered members lots of chances to serve God. As long as you are willing to do so, you will obtain glory and blessings from God too.

(TJC church sermon, 2011)

Through a series of religious rites (see 7-2), Pentecostals' new alterity is constructed. For instance, a new status of being born-again is approached by baptism, and a direct relationship with God is built-up through glossolalia. In this regard, Pentecostals frequently take this empirical evidence as their testimony that they have 'experienced' God. They also tend to create a hermeneutic process by highlighting exotic or extraordinary circumstances (such as seeing angels, seeing white-light, dreams and the miracle of healing¹⁸⁵).

7-2. Religiosity

The True Jesus Church has 'Five Essential Doctrines', which include the observance of the Sabbath, Baptism, Foot-washing, Holy Communion and the Holy Spirit. Among these religious rituals, only the Sabbath is conducted every week, others are offered on a specific occasion called a '*Spiritual Convocation*' (TJC term, 靈恩會 *ling-en-hui*), which is an event organized by their mother church twice a year, in spring and autumn¹⁸⁶. In this section, I will consider these fundamental doctrines

¹⁸⁵ Below I provide a short example given by a church sermon. Some other individual stories relating to this issue will be illustrated in a later section (see 7-6).

In China, the weather in winter was freezing. In some places, sometimes it is below zero degree. Yet, when we baptized new members, since our baptism is only conducted in flowing rivers, many testimonies occurred from their exotic experience of baptizing our new members. Some testimonies revealed that the water became fairly warm while our members were being baptized. A few of them even witnessed that the river suddenly turned to be red colour at the moment of baptism.

(TJC church sermon, 2011)

¹⁸⁶ Some other events offer similar services as well. A *Student Spiritual Convocation* is an extra one for school students during summer vacation, a *College Youth Spiritual Convocation* is for college students and there are also additional gatherings such as an *Indigenous Students' Extracurricular Camp*.

in sequence. I will begin with their weekly rituals of Sabbath, other sacraments will be illustrated by discussing the '*Spiritual Convocation*'.

'Five Essential Doctrines'

Observing the Sabbath is one of the Ten Commandments as listed in Exodus (20:8): "Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy". Truku Pentecostals assert that their Sabbath is on Saturday, rather than Sunday. In their interpretation, since a week starts from Sunday, the seventh day of the week (the Sabbath) should be on Saturday. As listed in their church pamphlet '*The True Jesus Church Essential Doctrines*' (2008:44)¹⁸⁷, the origin of the Sabbath day was revealed by how the Israelites were instructed by God. The main purpose of keeping the Sabbath holy is for the practical reason of getting food, manna¹⁸⁸. If people did not obey this principle, they would suffer from starvation. This is the significant concern for why practitioners observe the Sabbath.

Truku Pentecostals worship Jesus with awe. The church frequently warns members that God is not just powerful but rather to be feared. If they conduct 'secular' work on the Sabbath instead of going to the church, Jesus will send his punishment. This practical concern contributes to why Truku Pentecostals observe the Sabbath. In my local family, for example, the father always felt extremely anxious when his children could not make the Sabbath. Before the father sent them to school or to town, he always reminded the children: "Today is the Sabbath. You have to be very cautious and behave yourself well since you have to go out. Jesus frequently punished people in this situation".

Other than the regular practice of the Sabbath, which is prescribed as one of the fundamental religious rites, the '*Spiritual Convocation*' is seen as the most important occasion. Since it offers sacraments for members, young people who study and work in towns, or cities, will be asked to come back home to join the spiritual reunion. If they cannot make it, they will be urged to go to another True Jesus Church near where they live to receive sacraments. For people who want to become new members of the church, this is also the time to have their baptism. Baptism is prescribed as the first step in the absolution of sin and in the attainment of the status of being one

¹⁸⁷ Here I provide details. In ancient times the Israelites lived in Egypt. They were badly treated by the Egyptians so God chose for them a leader, Moses, to save them from slavery and deliver them from Egypt, across the desert and into the land of Canaan (Palestine, where modern Israel has been established). While they were in the desert, God said to the Israelites "tomorrow is to be a day of rest, a holy Sabbath for the LORD (Exodus 16: 23)". God then dropped manna. Nevertheless, God only provided manna for six days a week not on the seventh day, in order to train the Israelites to obey the Sabbath. During the 40 years of wandering in the desert this is how the Israelites came to strictly keep the Sabbath. Material in Chinese. See The True Jesus Church (2008:44), my translation.

¹⁸⁸ Manna is a kind of food. As the Israelites were wandering in the desert they couldn't cultivate their own food. In order to feed 2 million people [this number is presented in their church pamphlet (2008:44)], God dropped this food in the morning so that people could gather it and cook it later.

of God's children. As described in their church pamphlet (2008), the True Jesus Church takes the baptism of Jesus performed by John the Baptist as described in Mathew 3:13-16 as the standard for all baptism. They also take their inspiration and motivation to baptize from Matthew 28:16-20 and specifically 19-20 that "[...] go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit".

According to their brochure *'Our Basic Beliefs – an Introductory Brochure'* (1994), there are five reasons to have baptism. With biblical passages provided, they are: 'To be Cleansed' (Acts 2:38 and Acts 22:16), 'To Be Saved' (Mark 16:16 and 1 Peter 3:21), 'To Enter God's Kingdom' (John 3:5), 'To Receive A New Life' (Romans 6:4) and 'To Put on Christ' (Clothe one's self in Christ) (Galatians 3:27). Three procedures are emphasized as the correct manner of baptism that must be strictly adhered to. With biblical passages, again, to support these principles as literal evidence, baptism, first, must be 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ' (Matthew 28:19, Acts 2:28 and 10:48, Acts 10:43 and 4:12); second, it has to be conducted in natural flowing water such as a river or the ocean (Matthew 3:16, Acts 8:38-39), and third, the candidate's body has to be fully immersed with his/her head bowed (Romans 6:3-5, John 19:30). Below is the illustration for doing a correct baptism (Figure 7.1).

The Biblical Way of Baptism

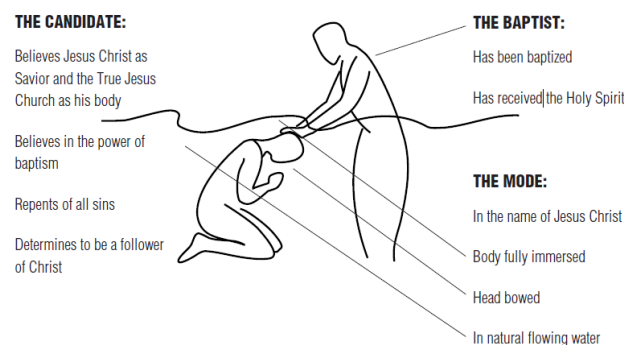


Figure 7.1: The procedures for baptism of the True Jesus Church.

Coming together with baptism, the sacrament of Foot-Washing is taken as an important rite in forming an intimate bond between humans and Jesus. This doctrine is based on the biblical passages (John 13:1, 4-10, 15 and 17) in which the apostle John begins his account of Jesus' washing of his disciples' feet. In terms of the procedure, beginning with 'in the name of the Lord Jesus', the performance of the sacrament is "In accordance with the example the Lord Jesus has set, the worker conducting the sacrament pours water into a basin, washes the candidate's feet,

and dries them with a towel” (TJC Brochure, 1994). Here are the photos of baptism (Plate 7.2) and foot-washing (Plate 7.3) that I took at my field-site.



Plate 7.2: The baptism of the True Jesus Church (31/03/2012). Photograph by the author.



Plate 7.3: The Foot-Washing of the True Jesus Church (01/04/2012). Photograph by the author.

When the ‘*Spiritual Convocation*’ is approaching, people who want to become new members have to express their wish to church leaders to register. If the baptismal candidate is a newborn baby or a child, this process can be done by family members. Holding a very strict attitude to the issue of baptism, an evaluation is conducted by a committee to decide whether the candidate is qualified to receive baptism or not. Teenagers and adults will be assessed to determine whether they are sincere in wanting to learn the ‘True Gospel’. They will be judged by how often they attend church activities, and whether they have the motivation to adhere to church doctrines. Newborn babies or children will be considered according to whether their parents, or grandparents, are committed enough to take the responsibility of bringing them to the church often.

Pentecostal parents generally send their children to be baptised as soon as possible. Baptism is seen as God’s blessing and an honour for the person. It signifies that the child has been placed in Jesus’ good hands. It also shows that the parents have taken responsibility to be concerned about their children’s spiritual life and after-life. It implies that the parents are good models for other practitioners, from which the next generation can receive this blessing.

The church, however, does frequently reject people’s applications. Several cases occurred when I was in the village. People hoping for baptism were rejected. They ended up being asked to display more commitment to church affairs and faith in God. Once their commitment improved, they might try to apply for baptism again.

Besides baptism and foot-washing, the ‘*Spiritual Convocation*’ also offers members Holy Communion. Truku Pentecostals take care when making the ‘body of Christ’ and the ‘blood of Christ’. Practitioners are asked to strictly follow the method listed in their brochure (1994).

Method: The elements of the Holy Communion consist of one bread, made without yeast, and grape juice. The worker [clergy] administering the sacrament (usually an elder, deacon, or preacher) gives thanks for the bread in the name of the Lord Jesus, breaks it and distributes it to the congregation, which says a silent prayer before partaking of it. All the bread and grape juice must be consumed on the same day.

(True Jesus Church brochure, *Our Basic Beliefs*, 1994)

Instead of using small round wafers as Presbyterians do, the 'body of Christ' for Truku Pentecostals has to be 'one piece of bread'. It also has to be 'unleavened bread'¹⁸⁹ made by clergymen before their church service. In a similar vein, these principles are applied to make the 'blood of Christ', which is made by squeezing fresh grapes, with only a little bit of water added before the service. Once the sacramental bread and the grape juice have been made by their clergymen, it is forbidden for anyone to touch them.

These materials will be offered with a prayer to 'sanctify' (TJC term, 靈化, *ling-hua*) them before being distributed as sacraments. Putting 'the bread' and 'the drink' on a plate, the clergyman who takes charge of the ceremony will hold it, and kneel down, to face the wall. He gives a preface and leads a collective prayer by saying: "In the name of the Lord Jesus, now we are going to sanctify the bread/drink". The whole congregation in the packed church then speaks-in-tongues together. This prayer for sanctifying the material is generally conducted for longer and is louder than usual. Since the church is packed, during the '*Spiritual Convocation*', prayers are considered more powerful.

Once the materials are sanctified, the church leaders start to distribute the sacraments to the congregation. Truku Pentecostals see receiving the sacraments as a very special moment. Many practitioners close their eyes and pray silently before having them¹⁹⁰. The whole process is accompanied by hymns sung with a sad melody, which creates a melancholy mood among the congregation, who mourn as though they were in attendance at Jesus' funeral. Feeling touched by Jesus' love in sacrificing himself, many members cry or shed tears during the ceremony.

Not everybody, however, is qualified to receive this 'spiritual food' and 'spiritual drink'. The True Jesus Church has strict rules about the issue of *who* is qualified to receive the sacraments. In addition to people who have not been baptized by the church (like me), those who are considered 'unclean' due to some moral failings, and who have broken the Ten Commandments, cannot receive the sacraments either. This principle is also explained in their brochure (1994).

¹⁸⁹ The church has a specific concern about yeast, which is commonly used as a metaphor for the devil's work (see chapter 5).

¹⁹⁰ Truku Presbyterians did not do so.

Participants: To partake of the Holy Communion, we need to have been baptized in the true church and must not have committed any serious sin. The Holy Communion is to be received in a thoughtful and worthy manner. During the Communion, we should examine ourselves, repent of our sins, and remove any grudges against others.

(True Jesus Church brochure, *Our Basic Beliefs*, 1994)

In Kele village, many participants, despite attending the spiritual reunion, do not receive the sacraments when church leaders are distributing them. To take the autumn '*Spiritual Convocation*' of 2011 as an example, the number of church members who received the sacraments was 181. This is much less than the actual number of participants which was roughly estimated at around 220 people. Regarding this circumstance, one of the leaders gave her opinion about receiving the sacraments to me.

'Receiving the cup' is a very special moment between the person and Jesus. We all know in our mind whether we are qualified or not. When I distributed it, some people stop receiving it temporarily. Some, however, stop taking it and never have it again.

I saw all these happening all the time. But this is not a problem, to me, or to members, at all. It is like a covenant that we have with Jesus. It is merely a matter between the person and Jesus, but not with anybody else.

When Jesus says we are not qualified to receive it, sure, we should just follow his instruction, instead of trying to break the principle he makes.

(My interview with a TJC leader, 2011)

Other than the sacraments, another key reason for members to participate in the '*Spiritual Convocation*' refers to the idea of the Holy Spirit, also one of the '*Five Essential Doctrines*'. Truku Pentecostals regard the '*Spiritual Convocation*' as the occasion when the force of the Holy Spirit is the most powerful. In addition to the larger number of participants present, a lot of 'holy people' (who are church preachers and clergymen) join together. Specifically, when a local church conducts the '*Spiritual Convocation*', the mother churches send a few 'holy people' to help out at the service. Their presence is seen as improving the spiritual condition of the church, which makes people's prayers more effective. Practitioners who are facing difficulties such as sickness or losing family members, and people who are 'weak' due to some sinful engagements, will take the opportunity to conduct a prayer. This is more likely to be the occasion on which people achieve a state of grace and receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.



Plate 7.4.¹⁹¹ Church clergymen are helping practitioners to conduct a prayer effectively. Photograph by the author.

To make a more effective prayer, Pentecostal practitioners are instructed to go to the front. The space nearer the dais is regarded as better, where a more powerful spiritual condition is located. When members are praying, 'holy people' are on duty to 'give them a hand'. Believing that the force of the holy power is conveyable, church clergymen put their hands on the heads of those who pray, and gently pat them on the head (Plate 7.4). They walk around the dais to help people who are praying there one-by-one, and they check whether any of those who pray for the gift of the Holy Spirit have received it. If any of them have, they report it to the church, so that the person's name can be announced to the whole congregation. This is regarded as having the 'baptism of the Holy Spirit'. The date when a member receives the gift of speaking-in-tongues¹⁹² will be recorded by the church in a file, where they record the details of the life story of their members. I saw a few times that part of the information recorded in the files was applied at funerals when the church recounted the life history of the deceased. These files are confidential, because some personal circumstances might also be recorded, such as a divorce or one's 'breaking the seventh Commandment', which means having sex out-of-wedlock.

Receiving 'the gift' is seen as an honour for both the person and the church. It is regarded as evidence that the Holy Spirit has made his presence known. This message is significant to the Pentecostal community. A story was reported in a sermon referring to this circumstance: "There was a church in which the Holy Spirit did not come to baptize people for a long time. Eventually,

¹⁹¹ This photo was taken from the side of female practitioners' seats. As I noticed that female members seem to outnumber male members, I asked my informants about the reason. "Women live longer than men", they said, "and men are more likely to become weak than women". The theme of gender has been of high concern for anthropologists working on Christianity in recent years, such as Klinken (2013) and Eriksen (2007 and 2014). Although some gender aspects could be discussed and explored in my thesis, partially due to the word limit, I will not specifically develop this orientation. I focus on a more general analysis of modern subjects instead.

¹⁹² On any occasion, including ordinary days.

the reason was found that it was because their church leaders did not keep themselves clean". In their opinion, the Holy Spirit only dwells in a clean physical body. One's cleanliness is frequently seen in association with 'breaking the seventh Commandment', as it affects one's condition of physicality where the Holy Spirit dwells. Among the Ten Commandments, 'breaking the seventh Commandment' is considered as an extremely serious fault by Truku Pentecostals. If one breaks this Commandment, misfortune is sent as punishment by Jesus, which is commonly manifested through sickness or accidents (see 7-3). A church leader, Jeni, gave me an example from a female member.

One of our Sisters used to have the Holy Spirit, but one day it was suddenly gone. She privately confessed to us that it is highly possible owing to her breaking the seventh commandment: Don't commit adultery.

This is almost the most serious one. If she just committed other kinds of sins outside the realm of our bodies, it might be still all-right. Since our bodies are purchased with a fairly high price by Jesus, if we commit the sin of adultery, the Holy Spirit might be withdrawn.

(My interview with a TJC leader, 2011)

The Truku Pentecostals' *'Five Essential Doctrines'* including the Sabbath, Baptism, Foot-washing, Holy Communion and the Holy Spirit affect a member's lifecycle from birth to death (e.g., baptism and funeral) and throughout their everyday practice (e.g., the Sabbath and the Holy Spirit). Truku Pentecostals present a wide range of concerns about issues that are relevant to materiality and physicality. This orientation can be seen from their sacraments, such as the idea of water, the position of human bodies, the material form of 'the bread' and 'the drink' and so on, in which the condition of materiality is strongly addressed. On this issue, I will provide a conceptual framework, referring to a specific relational approach, which illustrates how a Pentecostal person is oriented to perceive other objects in a world presided over by the Holy Spirit.

Vertical Relational Model: A Self-Subsistent Entity of Materiality

The Pentecostal worldview is dominated by the value of spirit and is dominated by the Holy Spirit. Viewing the world as filled with all sorts of 'spirits', they categorize them into one of two categories, holy ones or malicious evil spirits, devils. Practitioners order their viewpoint in the form of binary oppositional sets. In each pair, one is better, prior or more preferred than the other. This can be observed in their ideas about time, behaviour, space, work and so on. Below (Table 7.3) I will give some examples.

In terms of ...	spirits	Jesus (Holy Spirit) and devils (evil spirit) are a binary pair. Jesus is superior to devils.
	places	Heaven and Hell are the binary places for the afterlife. Heaven is better than Hell.
	life-world	The world of the afterlife is opposed to this-worldly life. The afterlife is preferable to pursue as it is eternal.
	days	The Sabbath and ordinary week days are binary set of days

		The Sabbath is more important than the other week days.
	space	A church is regarded as a space holier than the outside; also, the closer to the front near the altar, the more holy the space.
	activities	Holy works (e.g. Bible studying) and secular works (e.g. earning money) are binary activities; holy works are more valued than secular works.
	flesh	'Clean bodies' and 'unclean bodies' are binary conditions of the flesh (referring to both humans and animals). Clean ones are better than unclean ones.

Table 7.3. Truku Pentecostals' viewpoint in the form of binary oppositional sets.

Pentecostals believe that the spirit is more valuable due to its being eternal. Material, on the other hand, is ephemeral, which does not present value by itself. The Pentecostal worldview inevitably shows an antagonistic relationship to material things, as it is represented as less important than the spirit. In reality, however, since the actual world is manifested in a material form, the idea of spirit is presented through materiality. In this regard, despite emphasizing spirituality, Pentecostals put a great deal of importance on the issue of materiality.

Materiality, to them, is understood in a spiritual context constructed by their binary oppositional system. This concern can be exemplified through their doctrines. The bread of the Holy Communion, for instance, has to be one piece of unleavened bread, made by holy clergymen, is untouchable for ordinary people, and is sanctified through the action of prayers before its distribution. None of these procedures can be missed or replaced, otherwise the material condition cannot be kept holy. Baptism has to be conducted in flowing water, where only holy persons are allowed to stand inside the water during the ritual, not ordinary people. The person receiving baptism, furthermore, has to be baptised in the mode of full body immersion and with their head bowed. Similar principles can be observed in other rituals as well, such as prayers and speaking-in-tongues.

Truku Pentecostals believe that, in everyday life, devils lurk everywhere waiting to lure people to do evil, as they want to drag people away from the 'path of righteousness' guided by the Holy Spirit. Among all kinds of evil spirits, one of the commonest and worst representations is in the form of 'idols'. As indicated in Exodus (20:5), since God is jealous, the punishment for worshiping idols extends for three or four generations. A Truku Pentecostal church leader explained to the congregation that "In the world, idols are frequently found in five forms: animals, plants, minerals/stones, things in the sky (e.g., sun and moon) and ancient people" (27/09/2011). Based on his illustration, idols are frequently 'things' in relation to some concrete figure or specific phenomenon. The speaker considered the event of *Mgay Bari* as an example of how devils work. By worshiping *utux* as idols, the ancestors of the Truku, *Mgay Bari*, involves evil spirits through material temptations (see 5-3).

As evil spirits do their work to lure people by manifestations in the material world, the Pentecostal worldview orients practitioners to pay a great attention to the issue of 'material' in everyday life. Two stories about Truku Pentecostals' strict attitude towards clothes, make-up and material in general can illustrate this attitude.

In a reminder-announcement from the church on the day before their '*Spiritual Convocation*', a church leader indicated to the congregation: "Tomorrow is our '*Spiritual Convocation*'. Be mindful about the clothes you will wear to the church. No short pants. No slippers. And if the T-shirt has some funny words or pictures, such as skulls, don't wear it to the church." One of the daughters of my local family explained her teenage rejection to the warnings offered by the church: "Those adults thought that my friends who wear fake-eyelashes, or wear make-up, are all bad people and I should keep my distance from them. But how can they judge my friends only by their fake-eyelashes, especially when they don't know them at all". From the Pentecostal perspective, even if things are presented in a material form, they involve spiritual and moral meanings. Truku Pentecostals take material evidence in everyday life as indicative of the condition of one's moral standing. Material things, in a word, are highly meaningful.

The Pentecostal worldview prioritizes the Holy Spirit. This looks paradoxical in that, from one perspective, material is less important than spiritual, but from another, material is of great concern. The idea of substantialism will help to clarify this issue. Highlighting a vertical dynamic in relation to God, rather than horizontal kinds of social relationships, Pentecostals are less oriented to view things and persons according to their social context. They tend to see objects and persons as self-subsistent entities, and disregard their lateral relational linkages with different entities in a social context. The Pentecostal worldview orients practitioners to a deeper and stronger focus on a sense of materiality. How to use material in the right manner for a spiritual purpose is of great concern.

Opposing conceptual poles creates a space under conceptual frameworks. Nothing in reality belongs entirely to one or the other pole. Rather, it is 'the space' *in-between* the two conceptual poles, where practitioners generate meanings in everyday life. As the diagram (Figure 7.2) shows, in a binary oppositional framework of spirit and material (in which one is more significant than the other), an intermediate space is formulated (Figure 7.3). Although the binary framework provides the principle, it is actually 'this space' that intermediates spiritual and moral meanings for material things as a self-subsistent entity. It can be interpreted as an 'immaterial' space, from which some immaterial messages and meanings are generated. Material things, in this framework, have been entangled with spiritual and moral messages more than the representation of material alone.



Figure 7.2: Pentecostals' opposing conceptual poles.

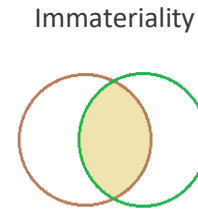


Figure 7.3: An 'immaterial' space in-between the two.

In ordinary life, things' spiritual condition can be practically measured in this principle through the regime of material. The degree of things' spirituality is evaluated by the scope of immateriality between the two conceptual poles. Thus 'immaterial value' can be produced by material things. This value system, however, is not formulated in an economic sense as a common norm shared in the mainstream ideology. Instead, it operates in an opposite manner. By *going against* worldly capital (such as money), immaterial value is created. This underpins the course of 'moral capital' that one can earn in social life. By taking a world-rejecting approach to material things, a message about one's moral standing is generated.

Material is where evil spirits demonstrate their power. The human body, since it is also one type of material, is where evil spirits can exercise their existence and power. This includes both sensual kinds of pleasure (in the sense of the flesh-body) and the possessive kinds of pleasure (in the sense of the soul-body). Truku Pentecostals use the idea of 'weakness' to refer to practitioners who prioritize the happiness of their flesh-body rather than their soul-body. The human body is presented as the locus where Pentecostal practitioners embody their faith in God. Through one's material regime in this lifetime, one responds to the material world, whether one is subjected to evil spirits or the holy one. This contributes to the degree of one's moral standing in the afterlife.

How to manage one's physical body in the material world for a good spiritual purpose becomes an important issue, and a struggle, for Pentecostals. The dynamic can be conceptualized in terms of two separate paths: one occurs in the exterior material world, and the other happens in an interior regime of one's physicality.

The material world beyond one's physicality is understood as having a strong implication in evil spirits. The best way not to be controlled by the devil is to stay away from temptation in the material world. Regarding this 'outward' kind of spiritual tension, Truku Pentecostals tend only to engage in the material world for survival. They consider things as functional for a certain purpose to be adequate for their basic requirements in life. Using money, for instance, should be done in a proper manner such as buying on a daily basis but not buying alcohol or cigarettes. Thus Pentecostals are oriented to live a lifestyle of 'this-worldly asceticism' in a Weberian sense (1992[1930]).

The interior material world, on the other hand, applies to the regime of one's physicality. There are dynamics between one's flesh-body and soul-body. This involves a tension between evil and holy ones. Truku Pentecostals have the idea of a 'living-sacrifice'. Being engaged in 'holy work' (church affairs, such as cooking, cleaning, hymn-singing, playing-piano and attending church gatherings) is considered as conducting a 'living-sacrifice'. Believing that the human body and one's life-time belongs to God, the physical body and its time and labour should be used for God's purpose. This contributes to a good result in the afterlife. Expending one's time and effort on doing the right things for God will lead to 'credit' of moral capital. The more one engages in doing 'holy work', the more moral credit one can earn from living-sacrifice.

The Pentecostal church never really needs to justify its high demands. Viewing baptism as a great blessing for the person, practitioners are usually sent to be baptized by their parents. This allows them to begin their 'living-sacrifice' early, so that it leads to a better quality of person. This issue was addressed by a Pentecostal leader in a sermon to the congregation:

Our children should be sent to serve God, because they are products made by God. Since they are accounted by Jesus, they should be used for doing holy works for him. This is our responsibility to bring them back to God, as, after all, they all have to be sent and returned to God one day. If we cannot bring them to see Jesus, how ashamed we will feel?!

(TJC church sermon, 2012)

Through using one's physical body in the right way, spiritual value and moral credit can be accumulated. Maintaining the clean status of one's physical body is part of the physical regime about which one should be concerned. The human body is understood as sinful and polluted. Only by Jesus sacrificing himself to make-up for human's sins, the sins of the human body can be symbolically washed away, and so the body can become clean. Through religious rites and sacraments, Christians believe that they have restored a symbolic condition of cleanness. From Truku Pentecostals' perspective, despite having a clean body after baptism, the human body would still be polluted by temptations sent by evil spirits in everyday life. Maintaining one's physical body in a clean condition thus becomes one of the ways in which a good spiritual condition is attained.

Starting from the idea of the Holy Spirit who dwells in one's physicality (flesh-body), one's self (soul-body) is meanwhile subject to the Holy Spirit. A Pentecostal self, in terms of subjective formation, is objectively oriented in God's eyes. One's physicality exists under the regime of spirituality. A Pentecostal person, therefore, is understood in the sense of 'being an object' in the material world (see 7-4).

Both material things and physical bodies produce 'immaterial value'. This comes from the space *in-between* the conceptual poles (of which one is more significant than the other). In principle, the better the way of using material things and human bodies, the higher the degree of

immateriality that can be approached. In practice, by means of *going against* the material world, Pentecostal adherents accumulate immaterial value which reflects their moral standing. Specifically, the degree of a thing's (or a body's) immaterial value is pronounced in social life where one's moral standing as a good Christian is seen at the forefront. Having earned immaterial value via the manipulation of materiality, rather than being controlled by it, Pentecostal followers obtain moral capital from their society. Among practitioners, moral standing moves between 'weak' members and 'strong' ones along the scale of a moral spectrum (see 7-5). Human bodies, as with other material things, are self-subsistent entities in which Pentecostals see the complexity of secular life.

7-3. Pentecostal Simplex Self

In social life, evangelicals often have a separatistic attitude. They tend to engage less in politics and social activities (Kellstedt and Smidt, 1991). Some Christians, such as Pentecostals, particularly tend "to disembody the subject from lateral social ties" (Bialecki, Haynes and Robbins, 2008: 1152). Looking at Truku Pentecostals' trajectory in constructing their personhood, this section explores exterior social relations in which Pentecostals reject allowing their subjectivity to be formulated by the standard norms of the wider society.

Truku Pentecostals are fundamentalist Christians who possess a strict moral notion regarding human weakness, failing and the need to constantly battle against temptation. Highlighting a vertical relationship with God, not only do they make a rupture with their pre-Christian past, they also have specific concerns about attaining secular achievements such as earning money and education. They tend to disavow social engagement. Their tendency of going against culture and worldly capital rejects the processes of subjective formulation constructed by the mainstream ideology of the outside world. By showing that one can reject adopting the standard picture of 'who I am' as defined by the exterior society, a specific 'simplex-self' can be developed and presented in the social domain.

Unlike the Presbyterians' perspective, in which wealth is welcome and delightful, Truku Pentecostals believe that "money belongs to God, and human beings should not desire it". One's tithe, particularly cannot be retained as a personal possession, otherwise punishment will be sent by Jesus. The biblical story of '*The Rich man and Lazarus*' (Luke 16: 19-31) is frequently quoted by Truku Pentecostals. In their interpretation, even if later on, after the flesh is dead, the human soul will still have 'feelings', such as the feeling of thirst¹⁹³. In order to gain spiritual wellbeing in the afterlife, Truku Pentecostals claim: "In this story, we should rather be like Lazarus not the rich

¹⁹³ "So he called to him, 'Father Abraham, have pity on me and send Lazarus to dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, because I am in agony of fire'" (Luke: 16:24).

man; although Lazarus is poor, he died in the arms of angels". Pentecostal practitioners are urged to take Lazarus as a good model to follow, instead of the rich man who burned in Hell. In another of their sermons, with the same biblical story of Lazarus, the church furthermore presented the issue of money in relation to contemporary life, referring to the idea of being rich.

Title: Are you content?

Steven Jobs, the CEO of Apple Inc, passed away at the age of 56. He toiled his lifetime for the innovation of computers and technology. He left 83 hundred million after he died. A secret of getting success from him is to "keep going on creating things that are beyond your imagination", as he suggested.

In spite of having had had so much fortune, Steven Jobs still continued to pursue more. Matthew 16:26, however, told us: "What good will it be for a man if he gains the whole world, yet forfeits his soul? Or what can a man give in exchange for his soul?"

If we take off his title of CEO of Apple Inc, Steven Jobs is merely an ordinary person. Though having so much money, he still only ate three meals a day like us, well, maybe plus a night snack at most, and he still only slept in one bed but not three beds. Essentially speaking, we come into the world with nothing and we take nothing with us when we die.

Philippians 4:11 indicates that: "I am not saying this because I am in need, for I have learned to be content whatever the circumstances". From here, we have to learn to feel content. An example can be given by a Greek philosopher that, one day, he was asked by people how to feel happy and content, and the philosopher answered: "Don't increase your fortune. Reduce your desire instead".

In fact, there is a huge number of people on the earth who suffered much more pain than us. It is like the case if we don't have things to eat, having very plain food such as bread rolls is good enough. Yet, the more we have, the more we want. Eventually we eat big meals because we no longer feel content by eating plain food. This is like a famous saying from Socrates: "He is richest who is content with the least for contentment is the wealth of nature".

Hebrews 13:5 tells us: "Keep your lives free from the love of money and be content with what you have, because God has said, 'Never will I leave you; never will I forsake you'."

In this regard, even if sometimes we feel pain in life, don't forget that Job lost his fortune and children overnight. See Job 1:21. "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I will depart. The LORD gave and the LORD has taken away; may the name of the LORD be praised."

Any bit of what we have now is accumulated and given by God. He has arranged us to the most suitable place depending on our capability.

(TJC church sermon, on 29/10/2011)

Other than having little motivation to achieve economic success, Truku Pentecostals have less desire to be involved with the wider society. Taking the issue of making friends as an example, they tend to feel more comfortable surrounded by their Pentecostal folk, those 'similar spirits'. A story was told by my Presbyterian informant referring to her experience working with Truku Pentecostals. She had worked in a mental health service called Bethesda for years, which was

established by a German Christian denomination¹⁹⁴ taking care of handicapped children. Working there does not require any nursing background. Yet, the only requirement is that employees have to be Christians: Protestants but not Catholics.

There are 15 employees in Bethesda. Three of them are True Jesus members. They are like a small gang only sticking to each other. They don't like hanging out with us.

Well, but you know what? When we had a promotion, my boss never promoted any of them as our group leader. My boss didn't explain why, but it's never the case.

(My interview material, 13, 2012)

In social scenes, Truku Pentecostals are less concerned about power relations. Unlike Presbyterians who regard one's social achievement as the representation of God's blessing, Pentecostals interpret secular engagements negatively in relation to evil spirits. To them, secular success is temporary has no benefit for spiritual wellbeing, and could even be harmful. In fact, only if one stays away from being involved, does it turn into a positive meaning demonstrating that one is in a good moral condition to combat the lure of temptation. Seeing one's career is merely a tool for earning a living, Pentecostal congregations were instructed that one does not need to achieve a better social position.

Let's say, if you're working in an office in a local government, and one day your boss told you that he would promote you as a manager to lead your team, should you feel happy?

Absolutely not! Because what you don't know is that there might be a trap ahead to make you fall down. Being a manager you would inevitably get involved in some problematic circumstance such as drinking during meals. It will be harmful to your spiritual life but you would never know.

Therefore, tell your boss: "Thank you. I am grateful for your appreciation of me, but I would prefer to just maintain my position as a worker without any promotion".

(TJC church sermon, 2012)

Exterior society is understood to offer a strong presumption of the involvement of evil spirits. The more one is engaged, the more powerfully evil spirits are involved. In this tendency, getting engaged in higher social positions, such as higher education, means being entangled with more evil force, which can prevent practitioners' spiritual success.

Truku Pentecostals, additionally, consider that life lessons and problems accompany secular achievements, through sickness, accident and death. They are sent as punishment by Jesus if one is in pursuit of worldly matters. This issue can be exemplified by excerpts from two Pentecostal sermons.

¹⁹⁴ It was while Sister Kuni (a German deaconess and dentist) worked in Hualien and in the surrounding mountain areas that she saw the need to help handicapped children, especially girls, and so it was in 1955 that the Bethesda Home for Handicapped Children was founded.

One of our Brothers, who used to be a church leader and was welcomed by others, got involved in politics. He won a local election with the highest vote and became a village-head. Yet, after that, he left God and even criticized the church. As a result, his wife passed away, he gets sick and his children are unfilial to him.

(TJC church sermon, 15/11/2011)

A Bunun [Another indigenous Taiwanese ethnic group] young man made himself successful at a young age. His life looked triumphant and bright. A few years later, however, he got cancer in his mouth. He then suffered pains and became very poor. This story tells us that all the secular success is nothing to be proud of.

(TJC church sermon, 13/09/2011)

As the examples showed, Jesus's punishment for one's social engagement is frequently made evident in a physical form. In fact, through highlighting the idea of spirituality, the Pentecostal worldview inevitably illuminates the aspect of physicality and materiality. Since one's spiritual life is more valuable to pursue, the True Jesus members believed that one's secular activities, including education, should not interfere with religious commitments such as church attendance¹⁹⁵. In order to have a prosperous afterlife, Pentecostals would rather give up their secular engagements and achievements.

Truku Pentecostals claimed that members who have a higher educational background frequently become arrogant, and tend to think that they know more than others. Some begin to doubt church doctrines and eventually leave the church. The majority of the True Jesus congregation, in fact, do not have a high educational background. This circumstance was revealed by one of their sermons.

Most of us are merely peasants, or labourers, rather than intellectual people. Sometimes if we have 'thirsters' come along [TJC term, referring to people who come to listen to their sermons but are not members], who are postgraduate students, or even have a master's degree, we feel shy and we don't know how to talk to them.

But we shouldn't feel shy. We have the Holy Spirit guiding us to know even more things than they do. We should be proud of ourselves and be confident to introduce our church to them.

(TJC church sermon, 2012)

In Kele village, residents are not concerned much about pursuing higher education. Among the younger generations, despite bachelor degrees becoming more and more common, instead of having diplomas from top ranked universities in Taipei or other big cities, most young residents study at local or lower ranked universities and colleges. Holding a master's degree is very rare. I met one, who was doing her master's, and so I asked her: "how many Kele residents have achieved

¹⁹⁵ One of their sermons addressed the issue that secular education is less important than one's spirituality.

The Israel people only read one book: the Bible. This is why their belief can be rooted deeply. Today, students read a lot of books. But no matter what kind of specific knowledge we are pursuing, we should remember that the Bible, by all means, should be the only one which accompanies us through a whole life time.

a master's degree?". She answered to me: "As far as I know of, there is another one, so, in total, the number is two". One day I chatted with Ibioy about young people's motivation to achieve education. Ibioy told me the story of his son, who is one of the seven church leaders, who just had his church-wedding in 2015.

Originally my son would go to do his master's. He was encouraged by his teacher to continue his education.

His studying experience in the university, nevertheless, was not pleasant. He lived in a male student dormitory which does not allow female students in. But a few times, when my son went to the bathroom, he bumped into girls there. He felt quite embarrassed and uneasy as he only wore his shorts as underpants. In our phone calls, my son said that this situation made him feel quite upset.

When he was a third year student, he was pondering whether he should continue his education. At that time, my wife got very sick [soon after she passed away]. For this reason my son decided to come back to the village, to take care of his mother, and he also did many holy works. He felt fulfilled, and eventually decided to give up his education. I believe that this was arranged by Jesus. (My interview with Ibioy, 2011)

Feeling very proud of his son, Ibioy appreciated that his decision was wise, because spiritual life should be prioritized over any secular pursuit. On this issue of education, Ibioy also described another story of his uncle, Masau Mowna. Mowna, the first Truku youth who entered university, became an outstanding scholar and completed much significant research in the Truku regions¹⁹⁶. Yet, instead of appreciating Mowna's great academic achievement, Ibioy actually felt very sorry for him: "My uncle was addicted to alcohol. At a certain stage in his life, he even exchanged his books for alcohol due to living in poverty. After years, though he was appointed as a lecturer at the Tzu-Ji University, not long after that, he passed away from liver trouble as he drank too much. What good is it when one pursues education but is controlled by devils?"

Apart from showing little interest in pursuing a good salary, high social position and education, Truku Pentecostals reject 'Truku culture'. If members get involved in it, the church consistently reminds them to be careful, or they might 'fall down' from temptations. 'Truku culture' is not appreciated by Pentecostal practitioners. Without having the structural support from their religious network, as is the case with Presbyterians, Pentecostal practitioners' cultural engagement is merely an individual issue. It will be only admissible if one's cultural activity involves basic survival. As a single mother, Naili makes artefacts (e.g., key-rings and wallets) to sell to tourists, through which she earned money to raise her three children. Naili used to 'fall down' on the road of belief, due to drinking alcohol in her 20s and 30s. After her husband passed away years ago she was awakened from her sins, she went back to the church and became a

¹⁹⁶ Mowna did not have any religious practice, said my informant.

committed member. Even though she is now engaged in 'Truku culture', she does not claim a Truku identity as Presbyterians do.

Most Truku Pentecostals are not experts, nor do they have leading roles in handling 'Truku culture'. Large scale cultural engagement is seen as a problem by Pentecostals. It is interpreted as a moral defect if a person is enchanted by 'Truku culture'. This conveys a message that one is not strong enough to reject the temptations sent by devils. Cultural workers in Kele (see 5-3), according to the church, are "selfish individuals who pursue secular success since their minds have been taken away by devils". Despite receiving many guests from elsewhere to visit their cultural studios, local residents hardly frequent these places. Although cultural workers are in better financial circumstances than other residents, they are not seen as 'leaders' in the village. Their cultural business is their business, which is not appreciated by others, including their siblings and relatives. During the period of my fieldwork, a few times, when cultural workers needed people to participate in their projects, they rang me up and asked if I could find residents who were willing to do so. Quite often I received rejections from residents as they claimed that "those cultural workers only use us for making money for themselves; they are never really concerned about others". With no actual power to mobilize Kele residents, cultural workers' social positions in the village are highly marginal.

For Truku Presbyterians, worldly capital represents a way in which they can gain religious merit. By constructing a 'Truku subjectivity' from their ethnicity, Presbyterians pursue being a good Christian subject through secular achievements, such as high education, stable income and good social networks.

Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, do not take this approach to embody their religiosity. In an opposite manner, they reject being considered as a social person in the way that the exterior society defines them. Specifically, they refuse to be identified by their ethnicity. As for economic value, they go against adopting the standard norms defined by capitalist society. The extent to which a person is seen as an intellectual by the society is rejected. By their specific approach to the Holy Spirit, a new alterity of the Pentecostal 'simplex-self' is formulated and developed. The more one rejects subjectification by the outside world, the better the moral condition of being a 'simplex-self' can be achieved.

7-4. Being an 'Object' in God's Eyes

A Pentecostal simplex-self develops a vertical relationship with God, rather than lateral relations in the exterior social domain. It is constructed through a process of going against standard social norms. It highlights the interaction between material things and physical bodies that one

encounters. This section argues that a Pentecostal person practices being an *object* in God's eyes while living in the material world.

Physicality

Truku Pentecostals are concerned about using material in a proper manner. Not only the materials for sacraments, but one's physical body should be used in a correct manner, thus conducting a good 'living-sacrifice' in one's lifetime. A 'living-sacrifice' occurs when one's physical person *touches* other material things and physical bodies. Since a Pentecostal person is constituted by both flesh-body and soul-body, this issue should be understood both in a biological sense and in a symbolic sense.

Biologically speaking, food and sex are crucial in making a 'living-sacrifice'. It is considered dangerous when alcohol brings people to an ecstatic state, or makes people addicted. Drinking alcohol enlarges the sense of one's flesh-body and the power of evil spirits is thus increased. Good Pentecostals do not touch alcohol at all. If they need to socialize with others, such as chatting or hosting guests, they brew tea instead. Drinking is common in their society, from which it is difficult to completely be disentangled. Weak Pentecostals might drink in a private setting. Yet, no matter if they are occasionally drunk, their drinking habit is different from heavy drinkers who cannot live without alcohol¹⁹⁷. If some weak members become too addicted, they automatically stop going to the church and even leave the group due to the harsh criticism of others. Only if one day, they quit drinking, do they join again.

Apart from this biological interaction, when a Pentecostal's physical body touches other materials, there are symbolic meanings that pertain, depending on whether the material is in a clean or unclean state. Truku Pentecostals believe that, having received the precious blood of Jesus Christ (寶血 *bao-xie*, TJC term) through the correct gospel, both their 'flesh-body' and 'soul-body' are cleansed. In this condition, their previous sins have been clearly washed away, so that their bodies are habitable for the Holy Spirit. With this idea, Truku Pentecostals have a great concern about the possibility of their cleansed physicality becoming polluted.

In Yi-Hong Chang's (2000:104) thesis, he indicated that, in terms of how local people understand the doctrine of the True Jesus Church, one of the special aspects of the church is the

¹⁹⁷ In Simon's (2015a:9-10) classification, which refer to people at the bottom of society, he writes: "Those who come closest to being hyper-marginalized would be the elder men at the bottom of the lumpenproletariat, who roam the village daily in search of food and cheap rice wine and who are stigmatized as "booze-ghosts"". Weak Pentecostal practitioners are not like this.

prohibition of eating pig's blood. This has become one of their principles urged by the church that has circulated among practitioners¹⁹⁸.

When I was in the village, I overheard a conversation on the occasion of a pig-killing. After butchering the pig, residents cooked a soup of pig's blood. This is part of the procedure of pig sacrifice. Pig's blood is cooked together with rice-noodles to share with people who come to the event. A Pentecostal teenage girl witnessed the scene while her uncle was cooking pig's blood. She walked up to him made the noise "Errrr", and said, "disgusting pig's blood! The church says that we shouldn't eat pig's blood". Her uncle, a weak member, felt a bit offended hearing what the girl said. "Why can't we eat pig's blood?! "This is our custom!", he told the girl.

Truku people's traditional custom of pig-kills is challenged by Pentecostal ideology¹⁹⁹. A conflict occurred between this cultural practice and its religious meaning. In their secular everyday life, 'eating blood' or not is considered indicative of one's moral standing. When good Pentecostal practitioners conduct pig-kills, they let the blood flow out, because people who eat it become polluted.

In addition to pig's blood, eating mountain animals is endowed with a symbolic meaning. Mountain animals used to be some residents' favourite food: "It is the most delicious kind of food on the earth". As Ibiyo said in a sermon, "Sometimes for the desire of having that flavour I could not wait but would go to the mountain in a hurry to hunt". Ibiyo, however, stopped doing so.

I don't do hunting anymore. I now have a job even though what I earned is only a bit of money for survival. It is good enough. And also, now I have learned the Bible better, I have come to know the principle that we should not eat animals which have not been killed by being bled out through the neck.

Those mountain animals are not. They are killed by shooting or falling into a trap. Without the process of bloodletting, their blood is actually not clean. Eating those animals would incur some pollution and misfortunate to us. I have now stopped eating them.

(TJC church sermon, 2012)

Having the concern of blood, eating mountain animals has become ambiguous and dangerous to their faith. More specifically, for a clean state, Truku Pentecostals only eat animals when they were taken alive, and were drained of blood properly. Yet, since it is difficult to ensure whether the animals are clean or not, loyal Pentecostals would rather not take the risk of eating them at all as a safer approach. To them, strictly, the issue of 'blood' can also affect practitioners' daily life more generally. One time, in a Pentecostal sermon, a church leader said to the congregation: "We,

¹⁹⁸ He indicated four aspects: 1) their manner of prayer, 2) the prohibition on eating pig's blood, 3) the signs of miracle and 4) foot-washing. Yet, despite having observed these social phenomena, Yi-Hong Chang (2000) did not develop any further discussion of these issues.

¹⁹⁹ Though believing that this doctrine is grounded on the Bible, most of my Pentecostal informants could not articulate the biblical reasons, as they said, biblical knowledge is intricate and complex to understand.

good members, should be careful about what kind of things we eat, particularly when we go to markets outside. Are you aware of ingredients when you order dishes in restaurants or buy food from markets? Have you noticed that some food is made from pig's blood? If we are absent-minded, devils will get a chance to sneakily come into our life".

Truku Pentecostals tend to avoid consuming food if it has been used for worship. Below is an example indicating food that may have been used to worship Han Taiwanese's ancestors behind the scenes.

On the 1st and 15th of the month, don't go shopping in local markets, and it's actually better to not dine out at all. Because in Han-Taiwanese culture, some people follow the lunar calendar to worship their ancestors by offering them meats, drink and biscuits, on the 1st and 15th of the month in particular.

In order to avoid buying or eating things that may have been used for worship behind the scenes, the best way to avoid eating them is not to buy them on those days.

(TJC church sermon, 2012)

In addition to food, whether one's physical body is clean or not is related to sex. Truku Pentecostals possess a strict attitude to sex. It is only acceptable in wedlock. Marrying pagans who do not believe in Jesus or even worship their ancestors is considered harmful, as it pollutes Pentecostals' clean condition. "Pagans make the temple of God dirty", the church has interpreted. It leads practitioners to engage in secular affairs, through which they put church principles aside and eventually leave the church. Viewing one's physical body as the place where the Holy Spirit dwells, Truku Pentecostals insist that this cleanliness has to be maintained. One of their sermons exemplified this issue. "Being God's sons and daughters, we are holy. As we are the temple of God, our body cannot become stained by the outside world. How can a stained body conduct holy work for Jesus? Of course not, it has to be entirely stainless." Under this principle, Truku Pentecostals should only interact with other clean bodies to maintain the status of cleanliness.

Pentecostal 'simplex-self' sheds light on the situation of the encounter with material objects. In the next section, I will look at other materials, including flowers, photos, alcohol and 'red' things used in weddings and funerals, as indicative of the degree of one's moral standing.

Other Materials

Truku Pentecostals frequently criticized some materials used with weddings or funerals, such as alcohol, cigarettes and betel-nut. "Don't offer those things to guests", said a church leader at a funeral, "Our funerary family is already so sad from losing a beloved family member. Why should we spend money offering guests that stuff and carrying on the burden of the finances it brings?!".

Consequently, Pentecostal practitioners do not provide alcohol, cigarettes or betel-nut at their weddings, funerals or other social events²⁰⁰.

Some other materials have also been seen as a problem because of their symbolic meanings. I witnessed once that a Pentecostal wedding family was asked to take down a red-cloth hanging on the side of the tent for the wedding feast. “It looks as if it is used for worshipping something” was stated by the church. Pentecostals do not like the idea of using ‘red’ things for celebration, even though this is part of Han-Taiwanese culture, where ‘red’ implies a message of celebration.

In Taiwanese society, ‘red’ usually means good luck or congratulations. A ‘red-envelope’, with money for example, is commonly circulated at birthdays, weddings, job promotions and Chinese New Year. Truku Presbyterians also use a red-envelope when members donate money to the church. There were always a few red-envelopes that could be seen in ‘the bag’ when it is passed around the congregation²⁰¹.

Truku Pentecostals also have a specific concern about the place of the deceased’s photo in a funeral. Worrying that participants would ‘bow to the photo’, Truku Pentecostals put the deceased’s photo aside, or outside, at the venue where they conduct the ceremony. Bowing to the deceased’s photo, similarly, is Han-Taiwanese culture. Participants do so in a funeral to show their condolences for the dead.

Because of a different opinion about ‘using material’, a tension occurred between the two Christian groups in Kele village in 2012. It was a funeral conducted for a praiseworthy Pentecostal elder. Since he had devoted his entire life to the True Jesus gospel and followed every step of church doctrine, to honour his loyalty, the church decided to offer him a church funeral. The funeral family was very proud of this decision and was excited to host this significant event. Homei, who operated a small funeral company, was a sister-in-law of the deceased’s wife. As a close relative, Homei took charge of the funeral work. Hoping to make it brilliant, Homei put in lots of effort to prepare it. She, however, came from a Presbyterian background in a nearby village, and did not know the details of True Jesus doctrines. Homei ended up having an unpleasant experience.

²⁰⁰ Though some weak families still offer them outside the time of church services (in the afternoon or late night).

²⁰¹ Observing this, I also followed this way of making my contribution. This was welcomed by Presbyterians without any problem. Pentecostals, however, asked me to stop doing so. They gave me a specific kind of church envelope in vellum paper. This envelope is freely taken from the shelves near the church entrance, for making donations. In social life, for exchanging purposes, Pentecostals also generally use normal mail envelopes instead.

Conflict arose in her mind when the Pentecostal church offered house-prayer services in the deceased's house. Homei cooked many delicious meals, such as 'mountain-products', to treat their guests. A barbecue was also offered every night. Homei, in fact, also prepared lots of cigarettes, alcohol and betel-nut. Unfortunately these items were forbidden by the church. Homei felt quite upset. Privately she said to me: "Our guests are not only their True Jesus people, why should everyone follow their principle?!"

On the night before the church funeral, Homei spent hours constructing a tent near the church entrance. Plenty of flowers were used to decorate the place, and a large photo of the deceased was hung in an obvious corner. Homei finished it around 8pm and was very satisfied with the outcome (see Plate 7.5). This, however, was quickly noted. The Pentecostal practitioners reported to the church that "it could *not* be used for the funeral tomorrow". The church immediately instructed a few young men to take the photo down. Within one hour, they also took away the flowers, and moved some of them down to a lower place, so it did not look like a place for 'worshipping something' but more like a garden (see Plate 7.6). After they finished rearranging the setting, the church banners, which were standard for Pentecostal funerals, were then hung up. Homei was extremely angry and saddened by the church destroying all her effort. The next day she did not show up at the funeral.



Plate 7.5. Before Truku Pentecostals re-arranged the funeral place. Photograph by the author.



Plate 7.6. Pentecostal funeral banner was hung up after the place had been rearranged.

Although the flowers alone did not pose any problem, 'too many flowers' was seen as inappropriate. When I was talking with Homei about the funeral services, I asked her whether the funeral company offers different things for Presbyterians and Pentecostals, Homei answered: "No, we don't separate different sets of articles for the two groups. They are all Christians anyway. Those items with a Cross are the same. We only offer several options for different financial budgets. One of the key issues of different budgets concerns how many flowers will be used in the funeral".

As Homei indicated, the core issue of 'how many flowers' used in a funeral is about money. This can be paralleled with how many pigs should be sacrificed for a wedding (see 7-5 and Lin, 2011). In social life, in fact, Truku Pentecostals reject having an extravagant ceremony. Apart from the explicit examples of flowers (and pigs, see 7-5), other materials, such as alcohol, cigarettes and betel-nut, are also implicitly involved with economic concerns.

Pentecostal funeral banners, on the other hand, represent the opposite tendency. The banner is of a standard form applied to all practitioners' funerals. Regardless of the difference in socioeconomic background of the family of the deceased, the banner conveys an idea of egalitarianism. All practitioners are seen as equal by the church, no matter how much secular worldly capital they possessed. The banner, in other words, represents the Pentecostal attitude of going against standard norms in mainstream Truku society as well as Han-Taiwanese society.

Truku Pentecostals are oriented to emphasize a specific sense of materiality. By contrast, Truku Presbyterians tend to see a justification of material things by faith, as the representation of their religious commitment (see Chapter 6). Presbyterian sociality operates by a relational model through a secular approach to 'being Truku'. Their engagement with the wider society recognizes forms of worldly capital, including money and the value of 'Truku culture'. Their attitude is bound up with social relations related to things instead of the value of materiality relating to spiritual threats such as evil or daemons.

In October 2011, I attended two Presbyterian church-weddings (Plate 7.7). Presbyterian couples would sometimes wear their traditional indigenous costumes as their wedding dress. By doing so, they showed their indigeneity in public representing that they were good Christians. The wedding photo (Plate 7.8) shows a Truku man and an Amis woman wearing traditional costumes. It was displayed at the entrance of the church to be viewed by the guests. Presbyterians' church weddings do not insist on the principle of 'virginity' as do the Pentecostals. In one of the weddings I attended, the couple already had a child before their marriage. Feeling curious about the conditions under which Presbyterians offer church weddings, a Presbyterian minister responded to me that they only have a very general principle: "Our church-weddings are conducted for couples who are sincerely Christians and they both are loyal to each other"²⁰².

²⁰² Not all Presbyterians will agree with this issue in the same way, needless to say. Yet, in this case, it shows that there is a negotiable space for couples to have their church weddings even if they have sex out-of-wedlock.



Plate 7.7: Presbyterian Church wedding.



Plate 7.8: The wedding couple display their photo with them wearing traditional indigenous costume at the entrance of their church wedding.

Using material in Presbyterian funerals is not an issue. Presbyterians are open-minded to material things as well as different cultures. I witnessed a funeral speech in 'Truku' style in which a retired Presbyterian minister told an old Truku myth saying that their ancestors came from stones. Presbyterian rituals, additionally, are adjustable for Han-Taiwanese guests. They put the deceased's photo in the centre of their ceremony. 'Bowing to the photo' is also not seen as a problem, as my Presbyterian informant said:

In the past, bowing to the photo was prohibited by Presbyterians. Yet, we told our ministers, sometimes the funeral family have many Han friends, who came from a long distance to participate in our funerals, we should also consider and respect their culture. After all, we don't hold a funeral only for our own religious members.

After we complained, our minister has taken this advice, now it can be decided by the funeral family depending on the actual situation and their social network.

(My interview with a Presbyterian member, 2011)

Presbyterian rituals convey messages that refer to their church hierarchy. For instance, the first nail to seal the coffin should be driven in by a Presbyterian presbyter, and it is a Presbyterian minister who covers the coffin with a cloth depicting a Cross before moving to the grave. These are different from Pentecostals who allocate the workers of the funeral service to do so. Additionally, Presbyterians welcome politicians to funerals. Showing their appreciation for the politicians' concern about the funeral family, Presbyterians would name those politicians during the ceremony. If, alternatively, politicians send a banner with a eulogy as a present, it will also be hung in an obvious place on the canopy. This does not happen on the Pentecostals' side. Truku Pentecostals do not show any special appreciation for politicians. They refuse to name politicians in their ceremony, and they do not hang out a politician's banner in an obvious spot. Considering that everybody should be equal in their ceremony, a Pentecostal preacher explained to me that

"We welcome politicians' coming and appreciate their concern, but they are not different, or superior, to any of us. Even if the president shows up, it is the same".

Unlike Pentecostal services which are structured with a main sermon with biblical interpretation, hymn-singing is a crucial part of Presbyterian services. By practicing and helping out at the performance of each other's events, members build-up their social network and social relations with each other. What is more, alcohol, cigarettes and betel-nut are freely circulated at Presbyterian ceremonies.

Truku Pentecostals weaken the significance of social relations and worldly capital in social life. They not only have an antagonistic attitude to 'Truku culture' but also to Han-Taiwanese cultural practice, particularly Han ancestral worship. By this 'two-way' cultural rejection, Truku Pentecostals refuse to be defined by 'who they are' in the wider society. They deny how others see them as different, refusing to acknowledge the cultural difference with Han *others*. By taking a more radical approach to disavow themselves as 'Truku', they can approach a new alterity.

Instead of putting themselves in power relations prescribed by the mainstream society, Truku Pentecostals are released from the burden of being judged by the outside world by standard social norms. They highlight the idea of 'being an object' in God's eyes instead. Pentecostals rather spend time and energy in an internal domain making themselves 'clean' physical objects. With less interest in accumulating worldly power, Pentecostal society upholds its egalitarianism. Yet tensions of personhood inevitably occur. Old customs conflict with this new alterity of being Christians.

7-5. Living In-Between the Binary Oppositions

Truku Pentecostals do not discard their traditional culture in a sudden break. The extent to which one engages in 'traditional culture' depends on one's moral standing: weak and strong. Only weak practitioners get involved in their old cultural practices, the weaker, the more. Strong practitioners have developed some alternative ways in which their customary practice is accommodated and actually acceptable. This section will take Truku people's traditional custom of pig-kills as an example to argue that Pentecostal practitioners have varied, refined and even distorted pig-kills into a new form under the scope of Christianity, through which they overcome the discrepancy between their old and new worldview.

Pig-Kills: Problems

In modern Truku society, the custom of pig-kills is still practiced, but its meaning has been changed²⁰³. Pigs are commercial products bought from a professional hogger today, and the

²⁰³ For readers who are interested in this issue, see Kim (1980) and Lin (2011).

occasions Truku people killed pigs have become more flexible. In Table 7.4, I list the occasions on which I observed pig-kills in the village. Most of these occasions occurred in Kele, whereas a few of them were village-wide activities.

DATE	PLACE	NUMBER OF PIGS	PURPOSES
2010,1231	Private house	20	Wedding (2 Kele families)
2011,0616	Private house	1	His birthday, and his daughter's sex relationship out of the wedlock
2011,0721	Private house	1	After 49 days after a household member's death
2011,0701	Private house	2	Wedding (committed Pentecostal practitioners)
2011,0808	Village office	1	BBQ for celebrating Father's Day
2011,0828	Private house	1	Sex relationship out of wedlock
2011,0901	Private house	1	Joining the army
2011,0911	Village office	1	BBQ for celebrating Mid-Autumn Festival
2011,0925	My local family	1	Grandmother's 80 birthday
2011,1025	Public area	5	<i>Mgay Bari</i> (a competition of catching-pigs)
2011,1001	Private house	10	Wedding (a Presbyterian family)
2011,1120	Private house	11	Wedding (a daughter)
2011,1225	Private house	1	No reason, just for gathering
2011,1231	Private/public	1	A cultural event in the cultural worker's place
2012,0108	Private house	1	Sex relationship out of wedlock
2012,0212	Private house	1	Sex relationship out of wedlock
2012,0302	Private house	4	Wedding (the second marriage)
2012,0624	Private house	14	Wedding

Table 7.4: The occasions of pig-kills in my fieldwork.

In total, 77 pigs were killed during the period of my fieldwork. The most common circumstances for pig-kills was a wedding, which is usually a big feast in which Truku people kill more pigs than on other occasions. In recent years, ten pigs is normal for a wedding. This number has already decreased compared to the time when Taiwan was at the stage of economic take-off, in which twenty pigs for a wedding was not uncommon.

Since buying pigs requires money, the number of pigs that are sacrificed for a wedding is proportional to the wealth of a family. This idea of wealth does not only refer to economic riches but social riches as well. Through pork distribution, the extent of one's social network is elaborated (Plates 7.9). Generally, in Truku society, one pig is divided into 20-25 portions as a standard amount for pork distribution. Like gift exchange, pork distribution offers a social function between people who give and people who receive, through which their social relationships are established or reaffirmed. In olden days, labour was involved in compensation for exchange with pork. In modern times, receiving a portion of pork will be commonly returned by a red envelop with money. Pig-killing, therefore, involves the idea of 'capital' in an economic and social sense. The wider the extent of the pork distribution, the bigger the social network that is present.



Plates 7.9. Pig-kills for a Truku wedding and the process of pork distribution. Photograph by the author.

Other than weddings, as above Table 7.4 shows, pig-kills are expected for celebrations in Truku society, including one's birthday at a special age, Father's Day and the Mid-Autumn Festival. What is more, some are BBQ events organized by local officers for the public. Pig-kills are a social phenomenon that is distinct from the majority of Han-Taiwanese, with some cultural meanings referring to Truku people's social life and their old tradition as well. They have become a way to represent the idea of 'Truku culture' (Plates 7.10). Pig-kills are frequently involved in public display, such as performances and the race of '*catching pigs*' in *Mgay Bari*. They offer a political 'tool', by which politicians or local leaders demonstrate the local identity of 'being Truku'.



Plates 7.10. Pig-kills for the Fathers' Day BBQ event outside the office of the Fushi community. Photograph by the author.

This tendency, however, is resisted by Truku Pentecostals. In terms of the current circumstance of pig-kills, Pentecostal practitioners consider this old custom inappropriate. "Today, people kill pigs for whatever reason they want, and many of those reasons are even ridiculous", they said. In Table 7.5, based on the sequence of some of the events that I just presented, I will add one column on the right side to illustrate how Truku Pentecostals viewed the occasions of pig-kills by the 'criticisms' that I heard.

Date	pigs	Purposes	Criticisms
2010,1231	20	Wedding	Others said: "They are weak members. That's why they killed so many pigs, poor pigs".
2011,0616	1	birthday, sex out of wedlock	Others said: "Only a Christian who has insufficient faith kills pigs for a birthday".
2011,0721	1	for the dead	Others said: "We Truku never killed pigs for someone's death before. The idea of 49 days is from Han Chinese Culture."
2011,0701	2	Wedding	The host said: "We faced many criticism as my friends thought it's unfair, because they gave me much more pork than I can now return to them".
2011,0808	1	Father's Day	Residents said: "Don't go to participate in that event".
2011,0828	1	Sex relationship out of wedlock	This is the only occasion I didn't hear any criticism about 'pigs', for it involves a significant part of <i>gaya</i> in Truku traditional cosmology. All the gossip focused on the couple. The woman, who was a divorced and a single mother with two children, was ten years older than the young guy.
2011,0901	1	Joining the army	Others said: "When my son joins in the army this December, we will organize a feast at the church, instead of killing-pigs".
2011,0911	1	Mid-Autumn	Residents said: "Devils always try to lure people by all means".
2011,0925	1	80 birthday	The elder said: "I actually don't want to kill pigs for my birthday, but my children and grandchild wanted to do so. I think they just wanted to eat pork".
2011,1025	5	<i>Mgay Bari</i>	Residents said: "Don't eat things which are used to worship idols and devils".

Table 7.5: Pentecostals' criticisms of the occasions of pig-kills.

In contemporary Truku society, pig-kills have been conducted for some circumstances in a sense of one's rite-de-passage, such as purchasing a new car/house and joining in the army. Nevertheless, in some situations it can be just for a fun family gathering or celebration. Presbyterians do not mind these circumstances. Although pig-kills are not encouraged by the church, due to their understood reference to the pre-Christian practice of animal sacrifice, Presbyterians tend not to criticize it when members do so. As a Presbyterian minister said, "Nowadays, for any situation, such as a birthday, buying a car, or even if members want to do something after 40 days of someone's death, we encourage them to make a contribution to the church instead". In Truku society, sometimes, a pig is sacrificed after 40, or 49, days of someone's passing-away. Regarding this circumstance, unlike Presbyterians who are comfortable with it, a Pentecostal preacher explained to me that this practice is wrong.

We Truku people did not kill pigs for funerals in the past. Today, however, some people kill pigs after 49 days. This is because that they have been influenced by Han-Taiwanese culture who have this custom for worshiping the dead.

Also, some Christian groups outside would do so after 40 days. It is because Jesus ascended to Heaven at that time. But this is wrong. The Bible doesn't tell us that we should do any sacrifice after 40 days of a human's death. If Jesus indeed wants us to do so, he would tell us directly, just like what he says about Holy Communion. Otherwise they are all wrong.

(My interview with a Pentecostal preacher, 2012)

Pentecostals' concerns about pig-kills particularly have to do with the numbers of pigs, one's social networks and the principle of being a good Christian. In their opinion, pig-kills have been frequently involved in problematic circumstances such as showing-off one's wealth, the sensual pleasure of eating pork and the burden of maintaining social relations. These are evidences of one's being controlled by demons. Truku Pentecostals go against pig-kills under their moral schema of being good Christians in contemporary society.

Animal sacrifice

Apart from these 'modern' kinds of implications, a crucial 'problem' of pig-kills refers to its previous meaning of animal sacrifice. Pig-sacrifice was a traditional method in which Truku people communicated with their ancestors and other spirits. After sacrificing a pig, Truku people symbolically took a bit of every element of 'the pig' – to represent the whole – to worship their ancestors. This kind of ancestral worship, after Christian conversion, has become prohibited and is seen as unacceptable.

Today, though pig-kills are still practiced among Truku Christians, the meaning of animal sacrifice has been largely discarded. No actual ancestral worship is implicated by pig-kills. More often, a Christian style of prayer is involved, whose subject matter refers to the Christian God only. In some cases, however, Christian practitioners still secretly worship ancestral spirits by pig-killing behind the scenes. This usually happens among the ones who are not committed. I will exemplify this issue by reference to a weak Pentecostal family who sacrificed a pig for their elder son, who had had sexual relations with his girlfriend. After the pig was sacrificed, the father 'disappeared' for a little while, he went to the ancestors' tomb nearby. He took a plastic bag, with 'a bit of everything' of the pig, and reported to his ancestors about what's going on. I was told by family members that "by doing so, it can be assured that nobody in our family will be punished by having misfortune visited upon them for this young couple's violation of old *gaya*".

To those extremely weak Christians, generally non-church-goers, whose commitment to Jesus is insufficient when they feel the stress from the spiritual world, animal sacrifice is still a solution. This situation, for other Christians, is seen as 'sinful' and unacceptable. Therefore, weak people normally practice it secretly so that they can avoid being noticed by others. In the following I will present the case of Yuki, a weak Pentecostal. She sacrificed a duck for her grandson, Viyung, a teenage boy, because of his serious accident and misfortune.

It was approximately 3:30am. Viyung stayed with his friends overnight, and he had some alcohol. Viyung asked his friend for a ride on his motorbike for fun. With no licence and being inexperienced, Viyung lost control of the motorbike. He fell down. Unluckily, as he bumped something on the ground, his face was injured and bled badly. Viyung was sent to the hospital

immediately. It was then found that there was a serious injury on his right eye. After some surgery, it was learnt that Viyung's right eye would be permanently blind. Seeing this serious misfortune befall her grandson, Yuki was deeply sorrowful and worried. She was not a church-goer, though living in a committed Pentecostal family. A few times, Yuki tried to return to the church by helping out cooking. This, however, incurred some criticism from others that she was too weak to do holy work for the church. Her regular gambling habit and chewing betel-nut had not yet made this possible. Feeling helpless, Yuki ended up sacrificing a duck, "for whatever the spirits caused this misfortune", she said. "Seeing plenty of car accidents happen on that road, it is quite *yin*²⁰⁴, especially since it happened at the time where lots of spirits were around. Originally I was thinking of visiting the medium²⁰⁵ to ask about this situation. But well, if the spirits asked for a bigger animal, like a pig, it will be too troublesome, so I decided to sacrifice a duck by myself instead".

Yuki's story exemplifies the circumstance of the 'weak-end' of Pentecostal practitioners. With insufficient faith in Jesus, animal sacrifice is secretly practiced when they want to ease the anxiety and the awfulness of the spiritual world. To the majority of Truku Christians, animal sacrifice is like a Christian taboo, since it strongly offends their belief. Practitioners generally do not sin in this way. For those at the 'strong-end', the practice of pig-kills has lost any sense of animal sacrifice. Pig-kills, to them, are understood as a local custom.

Dynamics

Pig-kills are acknowledged and practiced among good Pentecostal practitioners under some conditions. A Pentecostal wedding, for example, sets the number of three pigs as the maximum. I will exemplify how Pentecostal practitioners followed this church principle in the case of Limuy.

"I returned to the church due to my repentance". Limuy used to be a weak church member but now she is committed. Drinking and smoking when she was away from the village, Limuy married a 'pagan', a Han Taiwanese husband, in her early twenties. After years, Limuy's husband met another woman and asked her for a divorce. Since then, Limuy has raised her two children as a single mother. Her religious practice stopped due to her being expelled from the church. Her daughter, nevertheless, was frequently brought to the church by her cousins as they grew up together, and eventually she decided to be baptized in her teens. Seeing this happen, Limuy felt

²⁰⁴ A Chinese cosmology of yin-and-yang. In contrast to the brightness of *yang*, *yin* refers to darkness and involves in dangerous elements of the supernatural such as ghosts.

²⁰⁵ There was a Truku female medium who lived in a nearby village who still practiced traditional Truku methods for people who wanted to communicate with their deceased ancestors. Many Truku people, however, do not believe that it is 'real'. Some informants told me that she is a fake medium. Nevertheless, visiting the Truku medium still offers an alternative way for Truku people who want to solve their life problems.

very touched that “Jesus never gave upon such a sinner like me and my daughter”. Later on, being sick, Limuy returned to the church.

After her long absence from religious practice, Limuy became a committed practitioner again. When Limuy’s son got married, though in reality Limuy needed to kill more pigs, since “many of my friends complained that I wasn’t treating them as friends, otherwise, why else did I not invite them²⁰⁶”, Limuy still decided to follow the church principle killing less than three pigs. Her commitment to the church principle was highly appreciated by other members. Walis, for instance, said that: “When my daughters are married, I will also only kill three pigs. Otherwise the debt would pass on to my children and they would have to carry it as a heavy burden through their lives”.

In Limuy’s case, after returning to her religion, she demonstrated a strong commitment by *going against* use of alcohol and cigarettes. She also followed the principle of killing fewer pigs. In doing so, Limuy earned other practitioners’ respect. She accumulated moral capital from her strong commitment to being a good Christian²⁰⁷.

Pentecostal religious practice is highly demanding. One’s commitment is only presented through one’s physical presence otherwise no moral capital can be made or earned. Frequently, however, while a force pulls practitioners *into* their religious practice, another force drags them *out*. Facing these dynamics, practitioners’ religious engagement is commonly revealed in an *in-and-out* pattern. This is but one example that Pentecostal practitioners are positioned an ‘in-between’ status.

In their binary oppositional framework, extreme poles construct conceptual ideas in social life as moral principles. In practice, however, it is the space in-between these binary oppositions, where social meanings are generated. A moral spectrum is formulated here, through which Pentecostal practitioners position and evaluate their moral standing. The stronger ones engage in less problematic circumstances regarding wealth, capital and materiality, the weaker ones, being more entangled with these issues, slip further down on this moral spectrum. More generally, this *in-between* space is where the battle between holy and evil spirits occurs, where a Pentecostal person struggles with the flesh-body and soul-body, and where Pentecostals reject allowing their subjectivities to be defined by the standard social norms. The space of *in-between*

²⁰⁶ In Truku society, they see ‘pork’ as a wedding invitation. If one did not receive a portion of pork, he or she is considered as not invited.

²⁰⁷ Getting involved in the wrong kind of material (e.g., alcohol), as well as wrong bodies (e.g., pagans), is seen as one’s moral defect. As I argued, this has broken the Pentecostal principle of being a good ‘object’ that one should maintain the status of cleanness for God in a material sense.

the binary oppositions, therefore, offers a meaningful social space, in terms of morality, through which Pentecostals define their ideas, as well as their social position, as modern subjects.

7-6. The Physical Form of Power

The human body is the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit. It will produce spiritual value if one can expend the time and energy of the body in a righteous way by making 'living-sacrifices' to accumulate spiritual wealth for the afterlife. Through the labour of one's physical body, in other words, one earns moral capital and gains spiritual power. The Pentecostal gospel, instead of hoping for secular prosperity, highlights physical wellbeing as a representation of spiritual prosperity in the material world.

Unlike worldly power which can be accumulated or transferred by others through worldly capital, physical form of power is obtained through one's physical presence. Due to the material manifestation of holy power, it brings along physical wellbeing to individual practitioners for the prosperity of one's faith. Holy power, in this regard, has the character of locality. Yet, paradoxically, it is not limited to the immediate locale, as it goes beyond any sense of boundedness that the secular world can present. Pentecostal practitioners, in fact, are connected by a larger and more powerful network.

Conveying, Gathering and Wellbeing

In this material world, being the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit, even if a human body contains all the weakness of materiality, and is attacked by evil spirits, the Holy Spirit will guide one's soul-body into doing wise things for the person. Through improving the spiritual standing of one's soul-body in this lifetime, one's flesh-body will become robust. Therefore, physical wellbeing is enhanced. If one is ill for any reason, the dwelling of the Holy Spirit will cure it.

Holy power is transmitted by the materiality of the human body. When physical bodies gather, holy power can be accumulated and become more powerful. When more people are gathered to pray together, the prayer is seen as more effective. Truku Pentecostals, for instance, usually gather to encircle someone if the person is sick. They collectively pray for his or her recovery. On every Wednesday, they regularly gather at a member's house to pray for the family. In this way, the family can receive blessings from Jesus.

The Truku Pentecostal church offers a 'substitute prayer' (TJC term, 代禱, *dai-dao*) for members who need others' help to pray for them. 'Substitute prayer cards' are free to take from the shelves near the church entrance. Generally, these cards are filled out by the sick persons' families or relatives and given to the church leaders. Once the wish is received, the names of those who need to be prayed for will be announced before the prayer session starts. The congregation then does

a 'substitute prayer' for them. Reasons for these prayers were various, but were mainly due to illness. Enterovirus, spinal scoliosis, colds, migraines or facial palsy were examples which occurred while I was in the village.

The church usually gets the news right away if any of its members are sick or in hospital. Church leaders also regularly go to nearby hospitals to visit their members and pray for their recovery. After the sick person gets well, he or she will be reminded to go to the church and show gratitude to the members who 'helped' through prayers. If, unfortunately, the person passes away, the church then takes charge of the funeral. They organize a gathering over a couple of nights at the deceased's family home to offer them 'comforting prayers' (TJC term, 安慰禱告, *an-wei-dao-gao*). They, furthermore, host the funeral ceremony as well as the burial.

The degree of holy power in one's physical regime accords with one's moral standing. A good moral person embodies stronger holy power. Church leaders and clergymen are regarded as the ones who have the strongest holy power. Their prayers are seen as more effective. I once witnessed a senior church leader (about 75 years old, in her role as a deacon) who saw a girl, who had just come back from hospital as she sprained her ankle. To fix the illness, the church leader immediately conducted a prayer for the girl on the street. She closed her eyes, raised both of her arms, swung to the sky and then gently patted the girl's head, the same as she did on the occasion of the '*Spiritual Convocation*'. The leader, in the end, told the girl: "the Holy Spirit is now helping your ankle to recover soon".

Recognizing this tendency to use spiritual power to fix their health problems, I asked my informants, to what degree, or in what kinds of circumstances, they would do so. A church leader explained to me that "Nowadays, since our residents have had a better sense to use medicine when they get injured or sick, and there are hospitals and clinics nearby, people would seek their help. But a few decades ago, when people got injured, such as being bitten by snakes, instead of sending the person to hospital, the first thing our elders did was to gather and pray before doing anything else".

During the period of my fieldwork, I did not witness other occasions when they prayed for someone's recovery from illness. Yet, an experience of conducting a 'substitute prayer' for a member, May, occurred in a similar vein, and highlighted how devils, in everyday life, make people weak and sick. In May's case, specifically, her 'sickness' was caused by drinking alcohol rather than any other illness. Pentecostal practitioners, in this circumstance, conducted a collective prayer for her. Eventually, the evil spirits were exorcised out of her body successfully.

It was on the evening of the 20th of December, 2010. The church service was about to finish. A church leader announced to the congregation: "If you're available after the service, please join us

to go to May's house to do a 'substitute prayer' for her. She is now controlled by devils." It was the initial stage of my fieldwork. I did not know the local community well. I followed the crowd to May's house. While we were walking on the street, a group of children and teenagers surrounded me. They described what happened to May a few days before, and told me how frightening those devils were. The story was constructed from several pieces of information told by six people whose ages were between 10 to 20.

"She is my aunt. She said she is going to find weak people. I am so afraid".

"It was last Friday. She suddenly stopped talking after drinking alcohol. She only used gestures. She said there're two devils who are choking her neck that she couldn't talk. Her mum then asked: "Are they going to catch you?" She nodded her head and said: "hum-hum-hum".

"For one hour or so, she couldn't talk. Suddenly she bent over on the ground. She stared at everybody. Her eyes looked about twice as big as usual".

"A church leader came to pray for her. Originally she was lying and sleeping, but suddenly she sat up and smacked the leader's face".

"One afternoon, while she was walking in the street to throw out some garbage, she closed her eyes and it looked as though someone was guiding her around. Her mum came and grabbed her to take her home".

"Last time, there was also another man, who serves in the military, even more wild and serious. He fought people! When church members visited his house to pray for him, he yelled: *"You guys are people of the 'terracotta soldiers of the First Qin Emperor'. I have a lot of soldiers, I will send them to catch you."*

(My field-note material, 2010)

It was a pity that, when we arrived, we did not get a chance to pray for May as she was sleeping. Yet, after several days, accompanied by her mother and aunts, May showed up in the church. She arrived when everyone was praying, nobody noticed her presence. May joined the prayer. While she was praying, suddenly she became hysterical. She screamed, yelled and cried very loudly. The teenage girl next to me whispered to me, "She is the one who was caught by devils". The congregation, however, were not astonished by her loud crying and hysteria. May did not appear in the church again after that. She herself was a 'weak' member. But according to her family, after she prayed in the church, devils stopped controlling her. She returned to normal. The church was very relieved and glad of this result. They believed that it revealed Jesus' power which exorcised the devils.

May's story exemplifies how Truku Pentecostals see the tension between evil spirits and the Holy Spirit and pray for practitioners' physical wellbeing in an everyday context. May's case was explicitly related to her drinking alcohol. Yet, more often, evil spirits are not manifested in such a blatant manner. Being sneaky and tricky, devils lure people by transforming into other forms in their daily activities. The most common material manifestation of evil spirits, nevertheless, is

revealed in the context of one's physical body such as through death, illness, having an accident, being injured, or even being lazy in church attendance.

The Direct and Indirect Physical Presence of the Holy Power

With a worldview that considers sickness and physical problems in relation to one's spirituality, Pentecostal practitioners tend to interpret spiritual condition from one's physical condition. "The following testimony occurred to a boy", as said in a Pentecostal sermon: "Every morning, when the boy's mother gave him money to buy breakfast, he took the money to an internet-café and spent it on computer games. After a while, one day, when the boy was about to play the computer game, his hands suddenly turned stiff. The boy was shocked and scared. He ran back home and confessed this situation to his mother. Luckily, this problem didn't happen again".

By seeing one's physical condition as an indication of one's moral standing, Truku Pentecostals tend to intensify spiritual standing through one's physical experience. When one is sick or injured, it is regarded as 'the assignment given by God'. A common reason for the 'assignment' suggests a punishment for one's physical absence in a religious scene (such as on the Sabbath Day) or when one's commitment to church matters is overtaken by a commitment to secular engagements. Sometimes the 'assignment' implies a moral test. For example, losing a family member tests if one can still maintain his or her faith in Jesus.

The True Jesus Church sometimes has evangelical activities called 'medical missions'. Being organized by the mother church, members who have a medical background gather to offer a medical service. This medical service is usually conducted in rural areas offering basic medical consultation for local people. Yet, as I observed, the final procedure of their health service is provided by church preachers who pray for the patients' recovery.

Truku Pentecostals believe in the miracle of healing, which is understood as the presence of the power of the Holy Spirit. A testimony was given in a church sermon saying that in a member's dream, angels took away her cancer, and it was then confirmed in reality. Pentecostals frequently interpret how they experience holy power through physical experience. On the 4th of July, 2011, I went to a '*Student Spiritual Convocation*' in a nearby True Jesus Church. The session was designed for young practitioners, who were primary school students, to share their testimonies. They went to the front stage to tell their stories one-by-one. Among 50 participants, 13 testimonies were given. Beginning by saying "In the name of the Lord Jesus I offer a testimony", below are some of their stories:

I was three years old. In a car, my mum said to me that "Don't open the door. I will be back soon". After a little while, as I missed my mum, I opened the door and got out of the car. Suddenly a car bumped into me and I fell a few steps away. My mum ran to me. Thanks to Jesus' help. I only had a minor injury. (Hong-Yeh Church)

I was in my mum's belly. The doctor said I would be born with abnormalities. A lot of church members prayed for me till I was born. Thankfully I am healthy. This is a great miracle which happened to me. May the honour belong to the True God. (San-Zen Church)

Dad was on the way home. Suddenly a big truck appeared near to his front and was about to roll him under the wheels. But he felt that there was a strong force moving him and his motorbike to the other side of the road. (Lisan Church)

My family wasn't in a stable condition when I was little. I lived with my grandma when I was four years old. One day, mum said that daddy had melancholia, as he was trying to commit suicide after drinking. My family was very depressed at the time. Though, according to the doctor, daddy was controlled by alcohol, I felt that it must be devils. I put this wish in my prayers. After a while, mum said daddy had become much better. (Nan-ao Church)

I went to a harbor with daddy. My foot got stuck on something. I fell into the sea. I kept crying, but daddy didn't see me. Finally daddy came to save me. Thanks God. (Ilan Church)

I was about 3 or 5. I got an electric shock. My face turned pale. Mum was near the water tank on the other side of the house. She saw me and ran to me. I fainted. Mum carried me to a room and prayed for me, then I woke up. (Nan-Huwa)

I went to the mountains with my auntie. We met a poisonous snake on the way. The snake didn't bite us and slithered away. Halleluiah. Thanks for Jesus. (I-Sen Church)

From these testimonies, the issues of illness and physical problems are considered as the core areas in which holy power manifests itself. 'The miracle of healing' is also commonly involved. Holy power can also present itself in an implicit manner, through some abstract representation of materiality and physicality.

Having constructed a worldview by a binary oppositional framework between spirit and material, an intermediate space is created in this structure. It is in this intermediate space, a thing's immaterial value can be generated in Pentecostals' social life. Holy power, in this guise, does not need to present itself through concrete kinds of materiality. By one's thinking, imagination, perception and experience, it can be presented too, as a human body is already the medium of the material manifestation of spirituality. Below, I will give examples from words, dreams and extraordinary events.

'Words', in general, mediate between one's mind and one's body. In pre-Christian Truku society, customary law, *gaya*, was constituted by elders' 'words' in a spoken form. Through the presentation of sound, the idea of spiritual authority was formulated in the traditional cosmology. After Christian conversion, Jesus' words have become visibly revealed in the Bible. A more tangible form of the physical presence of 'words' is manifested: the written form of words revealed the feature of physicality in a tangible sense (by shape) more than the spoken form of words (by sound). In Pentecostals' principle that power is manifested by material things, biblical words, with a sense of physicality, are considered as a more powerful spiritual authority than ancestor's words. In addition to perceiving power by material presentation in a direct manner, a

further approach has also been taken by Pentecostals who sense power through abstract or symbolic forms of materiality. Biblical words, in this regard, can be perceived in a symbolic sense through speaking-in-tongues. This is the key representation of the Pentecostal worldview that stands in the position between spirituality and materiality. It is seen as powerful as it synthesizes different senses of the materiality and physicality in a symbolic manner.

Both dreams and extraordinary events also reveal an abstract sense of physicality and materiality, through which Pentecostals perceive power. In a traditional Truku worldview, dreams were understood as where the ancestors and the living encountered one another. Dreams were therefore where spirits and human beings were integrated. Ancestors' physical presence in one's dream was regarded as a message sent by the spirit. Particularly, "If they talk to you, *gaya* became involved", they said. In the following I will illustrate a story from my informant, which indicates how she interpreted the meaning of her dreams, and how she took action to deal with the problems she saw in her dreams. The event in this story occurred about 20 years ago when she was still married.

During the nine years I lived in the nearby town, both my mother-in-law and father-in-law were alcoholics. They have four sons, but since my husband was the eldest, they asked me to cook for the whole family and to do all the housework.

At one time, my leg was swollen and I couldn't walk. I didn't know why. My mother-in-law then went to ask [a medium].

It was discovered that, it was a *rudan* (a late elder) on the side of my father-in-law. He said that he didn't have our pork. Before going there, my mother-in-law had already bought some eggs, chicken and pork from the market, but the *rudan* didn't feel satisfied with that. He said he wanted to have one with four-legs and 'see the blood'.

My husband decided to kill a pig. On the night before, I was fighting with the *rudan*. ["Did you dream of that?" I asked]. Yes, in my dream. He won the fight, and then he said: "This is the last time". The next day we killed the pig, and since then, everything was solved.

There was also another time that my daughter was nearly taken away by an old woman. I was pregnant. One night, in my dream, I was discussing with a group of people to cross a bridge to the other side. It was a big watercourse underneath, where a slat was put across it as a bridge.

While I was crossing, an old woman came to ask if I could buy guavas from her. I said no, but then she got very angry. She became aggressive and asked me to buy guavas, but I didn't want to. She then came to fight me. We both fell down into the watercourse.

I woke up. I told my husband about my dream, and surprisingly, my husband said he had the same dream. So we bought some meat and asked a medium to give them to the old woman. Otherwise my daughter would have been taken away by her.

(My interview with a Pentecostal member, 24/06/2012)

After Christian conversion, Truku people were told to stop their pre-Christian practices and ignore what happens in their dreams. If someone passed away, during the funeral period, the Pentecostal church always reminded the congregation and the deceased's family in particular. "If

the deceased show-up in your dream, be careful, don't believe in what they say; they are sent by devils especially when you feel sorrow and are feeble. Just pray instead."

Dreams are, sometimes, involved in extraordinary events. Quite often extraordinary events are interpreted as a good sign sent by angels or God. When a Pentecostal teenage girl lost her grandfather, for instance, the next day she told relatives that she dreamt of her grandfather with white light around him. "He must be now in God's arms", people interpreted her dream.

One's extraordinary experience, whether they are together in one's dream or not, are acknowledged and are frequently understood as a testimony that the person has experienced God in a daily context. This was how a young man, Daniel, testified to being safe from an accident. "While I was flying away from my motorbike, I saw white light first, and then red light and blue light. I was scared that I might be dying, but after two minutes, I woke up. Thankfully I had a small injury but was safe". In another case, illustrated by Limuy, extraordinary events were revealed with slightly different messages. It first appeared as evil temptations causing her troubles, but, on another occasion, it was the representation of the Holy Spirit that she was experiencing²⁰⁸.

At that time I had been unemployed for about three months. One day I was riding my motorbike hanging around on the farms. I saw something there which was shining, so I stopped. It was a golden-snake on the road-side. The snake was quite big, whose colour was strange but extremely pretty. Yet, I got sick after that for two years. I went to stay with my mother as I felt uncomfortable when I was alone. I often felt dizzy.

One day, on my way back home, I saw three people in front. I looked at them but then I realized that their heads were at a fixed angle. After they walked passed, their heads had been turned around 180 degree back to front. At that moment, a strong force dragged me down from my motorbike. I got seriously injured.

On the day of the '*Spiritual Convocation*', my mother suggested that I pray at the front. As a result, when I was praying, I saw the most beautiful scene that I had ever seen. I could tell that I was deeply filled with the Holy Spirit. The feeling was so fulfilling and profound. After that, my illness decreased day-by-day. I quit smoking and drinking as well.

(My interview with Limuy, 21/12/2011)

Although holy power is frequently manifested in a concrete object, it can also be revealed by some abstract representation of materiality, such as shapes or images. With different approaches, as long as some presentation of materiality can be perceived, either explicitly or implicitly, the physical form of power can be manifested.

Accumulating, Transcending and the Network of the Holy Power

²⁰⁸ These forms of extraordinary testimony were not a feature of Presbyterian services.

Truku Pentecostals are generally uninterested and disengaged from involvement in the mainstream power game. Pentecostals focus on the self-subsistent aspects of things and persons, where being a holy 'object' is practiced. By highlighting one's interaction with other 'objects', instead of power relations in the social domain, Pentecostals achieved more freedom and sense more authority in their daily life. This issue was addressed in one of their church sermons:

Because we are not bounded by secular material things, we don't have a burden to grant a loan for a big house or a luxury car. Because we don't seek tangible achievements and good social statuses, we are satisfied with present circumstances. Because we are not controlled by alcohol and cigarettes, we don't need to spend money on them, and thus we enjoy what we have. (TJC church sermon, 2011)

Truku Pentecostals perceive themselves to possess an unconditional autonomy as a human being where the soul-body and flesh-body comprise the complete entity of a person. Being a material object, every 'body' begins as basically equal. Pentecostal leadership is constituted of individual endeavour through the presence of one's physical body. Pentecostals' moral capital cannot be accumulated, or transferred, by others, like family, or in other forms, such as money. It is only earned by individual effort. In this climate, Pentecostal leadership tends to have an 'unstable' nature through time (regarding its diachronic power structure). This, however, does not cause any negative effect for the group. Instead, it gives a more resilient dynamic for practitioners to be involved in leadership.

Truku people's Christian conversion began with Presbyterianism. According to local history, Truku Pentecostals emerged from a sub-group of Christians. They separated themselves from the mainstream Christian society, Presbyterianism, and eventually established their own religious organization. In Kele, Sibán's recovery from his illness involved the issue of 'the miracle of healing', and was the key reason why local people collectively converted to Pentecostalism. Decades after their Pentecostal conversion, the leadership of the True Jesus Church was overturned and reformed.

Sibán was the son of a powerful chiefly family. Sibán's sons (Tahan and Peliu) had more worldly capital than other residents: better education and a better socioeconomic position. Secular success, however, did not contribute any positive meaning to Pentecostals' understanding of morality. Although Sibán's sons had the potential to become church leaders, this family background actually became somewhat 'harmful'. Its wealthy condition contributed to Sibán's sons' physical absence from the village, nor did they show themselves in city churches either. Worst of all, they became involved in 'Truku culture'. Eventually, they lost the possibility of church leadership.

Their absence, nevertheless, created a vacancy in church leadership. It opened a space for everyone to get involved. Even if members who come from a poor family background, as long as

they are committed to church principles, leadership is approachable. Starting from their physical presence, they engage with church affairs, through which moral capital is earned from the group. If they continue their practice to be a good 'object' – maintaining their physical cleanliness for God – they become true leaders eventually. Consequently, the power structure of Pentecostal leadership was overturned.

In Kele village, when I was doing fieldwork, change in the structure of power became evident. The Pentecostal church today is not controlled by Sibán's family any more. Its leadership has been spread through other smaller families with less worldly capital. This changing power structure is not exclusive to Kele village. One day, as I was inquiring about this topic from my informants, a Pentecostal preacher, who came from another village, responded to me: "Indeed, this situation also happened in my community. Our church leadership nowadays is not maintained by the family who first converted and was powerful. It has been taken over by a few other families."

In Kele, though there is criticism of Tahan and Peliu for their moral defection from their Pentecostal belief, most practitioners' loyalty to the church is not diminished. The majority of residents, especially Sibán's other relatives²⁰⁹, are still strongly committed to the True Jesus gospel. They were told by the church that their status as a True Jesus member is a big blessing. "Among the entire population in Taiwan, there are only 50 thousand people who are luckily selected by True Jesus". Holding this belief, Truku Pentecostals see themselves as the luckiest Christians in the world, and they appreciate that Jesus offered them such a great benediction.

While Pentecostal leadership is resilient in a diachronic sense, the Holy Spirit brings another dynamism to Pentecostal society in a synchronic manner. With the Holy Spirit as its authority, there is a network, which connects practitioners. Since spirituality goes beyond the scope of the locale, a larger spirituality can be perceived without secular boundaries among Pentecostal practitioners everywhere.

In daily life, Truku Pentecostals commonly interact with their 'similar spirits'. Other than clergymen who often travel around to nearby churches to offer services, ordinary practitioners from different churches also gather together regularly. Sometimes they have united activities arranged by the mother church, such as 'hymn worship'. Sometimes local gatherings, like sport competitions, are conducted by a few nearby churches. From time to time, 'visiting groups' are organized by a single church like a tourist tour. "When our True Jesus members travel on

²⁰⁹ Those who resided in the neighborhoods 1 and 2 in Kele.

Saturday”, said my informants, “we need to find a church to do Sabbath Day worship, as it is our obligation”. Because of this concern, a ‘visiting group’ is commonly arranged among practitioners.

Geographically, Kele is a remote village, far away from the economic centres of Taiwan. This village nevertheless frequently has ‘visiting groups’ who are not tourists but are other True Jesus members from elsewhere. The Pentecostal church in Kele is adjacent to the Taroko National Park. In addition to having a historical significance as a location of the first indigenous church, this church has become a popular spot for other ‘similar spirits’ to visit²¹⁰. When I was doing my fieldwork, there was a visiting group that came from the U.S. Being the members of the True Jesus Church in the U.S., they are not westerners but Chinese immigrants who have settled and lived in the U.S. Due to the nature of the church’s Chinese background, True Jesus members around the world are basically Han-Chinese immigrants. Those ‘visiting groups’ coming to Kele are usually not the indigenous minority, but Han-Taiwanese or Han-Chinese more generally.

Having ‘visiting groups’ is regarded as an honour for the Pentecostal church as well as its practitioners. Treating their ‘similar spirits’ as precious guests, Kele residents show great hospitality in welcoming them. Some residents recall that, in olden days, in order to provide meals for guests, members brought rice, chicken or vegetables from their households to the church. They also help out with the cooking together. It created many joyful memories and happiness for the village. In recent decades, since residents do not cultivate their own agricultural products, cooking ingredients are mainly purchased from markets for offering meals. Sometimes, in order to honour their guests with hospitality, residents still gather together to make special ‘indigenous-flavoured’ meals, such as ‘banana rice cake’. In return for local people’s hospitality, visiting groups contribute money to the church. Yet, there is not a standard amount of money that a visiting group should contribute. The situation varies depending on the different financial circumstances of the group.

Cijko, a weak Pentecostal practitioner, illustrated her good experience regarding the time when she was a church member. Born in Kele, Cijko moved to a nearby village at 16 when she married. However, she divorced in her early twenties, for which she was expelled from the church, and since then she has been involved in drinking and smoking. Eight years later, Cijko married her second husband in Kele. Following her husband’s construction projects here and there, she migrated to cities and towns where she was involved in cooking. After years of migration, Cijko returned to the village when she was pregnant, and afterwards to take care of her boy. Cijko had not gone back to the church yet. “I left the church, but I don’t go against the church”, as she said.

²¹⁰ It can be a one-day trip from a nearby church, a two-day trip from churches at a distance across Taiwan, or a longer period if the guests come from other countries.

“Sometimes I even still privately made some contribution through my aunty”. Cijko recalled her fun times with ‘visiting groups’ who came to Kele.

It was funny that, a few times, some unacquainted people appeared, and came to ask my family if I was at home. They were people of visiting groups coming from another True Jesus Church. I used to hang out with some of them when I was in Taipei. We didn’t keep in touch, and so they didn’t know my story [of leaving the church]. But after decades, they still remember me, and even tried to see if they could meet me again when they visited Kele.
(My interview material, 2011)

In reality, the hosts and the guests of ‘visiting groups’, frequently, do not know each other but they nonetheless regard each other as the same class of people. Due to the omnipresent nature of the Holy Spirit, Pentecostal practitioners elsewhere are connected as ‘one’ group, for which no secular boundary exists. Specifically, the holy power has the character of locality based on the location of physical bodies. A church, according to this principle, represents a collective form of the physically holy power. Even if located in a remote area, far away from the centre of worldly power, a church still represents a powerful holy centre and it connects to a larger network.

Kele residents are ‘Truku’. Truku ethnicity has been an object of political work. Before the success of the ‘*Truku Name Rectification*’ campaign in 2004, Truku people were classified as Atayal for nearly a century (see chapter 4). Some Kele residents, in fact, have blood relations to Atayal, and some Sediq as well. They are not concerned about the issue of their ethnicity. “We all registered as Truku”, said my informant. “It actually doesn’t matter what the name of the ethnic group we are called is, because it is just a political classification after all”. In terms of group identity, being unconcerned about ethnicity, identity as ‘Truku’ is hardly emphasized in Kele people’s everyday life. The Pentecostal church, rather, holds a special sense for the group. “Although, on earth, secularly speaking, we are Truku”, said the church, “we actually belong to the group in the sky, where we are the spiritual group of the True Jesus”.

Minney’s story – a young Truku lady – can exemplify how she identifies her ethnicity. In 2011, there was a beauty competition organized by local government during a tourist festival called ‘*Indigenous Sweetheart*’. It was conducted to select beautiful girls for the role of promoting ‘indigenous culture’. Minney participated in this event secretly²¹¹. Since participants were required to wear their traditional costumes for the shows, in this situation, Minney borrowed traditional costumes from her Amis friend and dressed herself up as an Amis. “I don’t want to be Truku”, as she said, “Because if acquaintances see me in the show, they would say that I am doing

²¹¹ She avoided letting others (especially her elders) know her involvement in this competition. Yet, since she was on the channel of local news a few times, it became impossible to keep it as a real secret. Her family, not surprisingly, was unhappy with her involvement.

cultural things. Now that I dressed-up as an Amis, it should be less troublesome I guess. My mother is an Amis anyway.”

‘Truku’, more specifically, is only considered as an issue by Kele residents in its relationships to evil spirits. To them, their group identity is constructed by the Holy Spirit instead. It is the True Jesus status which is presented as much more important. Truku Pentecostals have transcended their ethnic identity to become part of a bigger entity outside the scope of ethnicity. They are not powerless indigenous people but a powerful holy group with the Holy Spirit, where the entire world is their domain.

❖ Postscript to Chapter 6 and Chapter 7

Christianity offered a foreign worldview to the Truku people. In response, the Truku formulated a discursive field, in the gap between their old and new cosmologies, through which adherents developed ideas to make sense of 'Christianity'. Both the Truku Protestant groups are biblical 'literalists' but in different ways. In chapters 6 and 7, I explored how the two Truku groups' religiosity relates to the process of making modern subjects²¹².

Holding onto the scriptural authority of the 'Truku Bible', Presbyterians insert the Christian God into local contexts and establish its theological legitimacy. Highlighting the separateness of 'Truku' from other ethnic groups, a specific space of 'Truku subjectivity' is constructed for adherents who speak this dialect. With the tendency of taking secular achievements as a hermeneutic approach to generate biblical meaning, Presbyterians establish a relational model in a positive analogical manner between one's social engagement, secular activities and religious commitment. A new power relation has been constructed by Presbyterians when they confront the modern society in which they also gain worldly power.

A Pentecostal person is not defined in an external relation socially by others. Truku Pentecostals reject going through a subjective formulation of personhood dictated by standard social norms within the mainstream power structure, such as 'Truku'²¹³. In a *world-rejecting* manner, Pentecostals have reconfigured their relationship to wealth, materiality and capital, by controlling the symbolic meaning of materiality in association with moral value. Pentecostalism *per se* is not necessarily anti-materialist. Some Pentecostals elsewhere embrace the 'prosperity gospel', according to which God rewards true Christians with material as well as spiritual prosperity. Truku Pentecostals, however, respond to materiality in a way in which practitioners position themselves in the centre of the power structure, where their agency can be increased. Seeing the body as a locus of spiritual and ethical values, Pentecostals accumulate moral capital through their day-to-day physical labour. A better person possesses a higher degree of spiritual power and is more respected by other members. Power, to Pentecostals, is presented and gained through one's physicality instead of involvement in the outside power game. One's physicality is an independent entity that produces power for a promising spiritual afterlife, as well as a respectful moral person in this-life.

²¹² I examined this through a few topics, including biblical entextualization with different languages, cosmological translation by using a contrasting analogy, and their divergent idea of scriptural authority. Their distinct religiosity has oriented followers to live in a separate sociality. It leads to a different processes of making one's self as a good Christian.

²¹³ Though each group is mutually defining of one another, Truku Pentecostals explicitly reject externally definitions of themselves.

In the broader social context of Truku, regarding their 'lower' socioeconomic circumstances, Truku Presbyterians have become more powerful by changing the political disposition of Truku ethnicity, which is accompanied by worldly power. Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, reconfigured the way in which they perceived power in a new epistemology by the presence of holy power. In a secular context, despite less worldly capital being involved, Pentecostals transcend to a larger life-world where everyone is equal and liberated in the sense of being a person.

CONCLUSION

I am Han-Taiwanese. I belong to the 6th generation since my ancestors, on my father's side, settled in Taiwan from Fujian Province, China, during the Qing Dynasty. My mother comes from a sub-group of Han Chinese called Hakka, who have also long inhabited Taiwan before Japanese colonialization. My family practices folk religion: a combination of Daoism and Buddhism. Growing up in a Han cultural environment, I knew nothing about Christianity.

Conducting research on Christianity for my PhD was an accident. Putting aside my initial research proposal on tourism, I changed my mind to explore Christianity simply because the churches were where local residents strongly connected with. This research, in a word, has been an intellectual journey for me to understand 'Christianity'. Beginning by learning to read the Bible, my knowledge about Christianity grew further through hearing biblical stories in local church sermons and from my informants' interpretations. Based on the knowledge of Christianity learning from my informants, I examined relevant literature to understand current academic debates. In my field-site, since Catholics are such a tiny minority, I decided not to consider them in my study. Protestantism, therefore, became the main theme I approached in the anthropological literature, looking at how anthropologists understand Christianity, especially its influence on local communities. In this conclusion, along the way, while I summarize my research, I will also reflect on some current debates in the study of Christianity, and my current thoughts for further research will be raised at the end.

A Variety of Christianities

Christianity, through its global expansion, presents a heterogeneous nature that can rupture a society as well as unify it. The heterogeneous nature of Christianity has always been prominent throughout its long history. Even today, conflicts within Christianity still occur almost everywhere. Being considered an aspect of western colonial power, for anthropologists, Christianity is acknowledged to exist in local contexts of colonial history. In many social settings such as in Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, Brazil and in indigenous United States, Christian conversion was observed to involve competition among different denominations, and sometimes also a contested relationship with other religious adherents. Christian conversion shapes local people's group identities, as well as draws boundaries among sub-groups. (Jebens 2005; Stewart and Strathern 2009; Fox 1980; Selka 2010; Chua 2012 and Nevins 2010). Yet, though this characteristic of Christianity has been well understood, regarding how Christianity impacts the local beyond this level, such as *how* Christianity ruptures local societies, has rarely been the object of anthropological scrutiny.

In this ethnography, I have documented the differentiation of religious practice in a homogenous community, which has contributed to a separation of socialities, as local practitioners are oriented to separate trajectories to be good Christians. The process of conceptualizing this topic, however, was fairly challenging due to two 'problematic' tendencies in the literature. One consists in broad assumptions about 'Christianity' without consideration of its intricate forms; the other involves the insufficiency of comparative frameworks. The task of completing this thesis thus has been made doubly difficult.

While much of the literature surrounding fundamentalist Christianity focuses on Pentecostalism, among other denominational groups, Presbyterianism tends to be lumped under the umbrella of 'Protestantism' or 'evangelicalism', rather than being clearly distinguished. In spite of having been discussed to some extent, Presbyterianism has not been dealt with in the same detail as Pentecostalism. Cannell (2006) has proposed that when a non-western locality encounters Christianity, "it is never obvious in advance what the "Christianity" is" (ibid: 43). Rather, Christianity can only be defined "in reference to its own historical development" (ibid: 43). Working in an ethnic community involving multi-dynamics of Christian denominations, in line with traditional practitioners, Chua (2012) also observed the pluralistic nature of Christianity through examining how the locals negotiated their multifaced Christian practices with *adat gawai*, their old way of life.

Through the ethnography of the Truku Christians, I have shown that the implications and consequences of Christianity in local communities are never presented under a single conceptualization of Christianity. The local's distinct beliefs for the faithful has crucially differentiated practitioners' life principles and led to divergent political attitudes, economic activities and social engagement. The intricacies of different denominations might be seen as too subtle, and even unimportant to non-believers. Yet, for anthropologists, we are in an ideal position to track these subtleties compared to historians, theologians and researchers in other social science disciplines. When we develop our general understandings about 'Christianity', though it is necessary to generalize some themes, we should be careful not to allow those generalizations to hamper our ability to track particularities between and within denominational groups. For the discipline of anthropology, in a word, we are *not* merely studying a single form of 'Christianity'. Rather, we are studying a *variety* of Christianities in local communities even within one denomination of Christianity, and heading towards elucidating differences between different denominations.

Having set out one 'problematical' tendency in the literature above, I should also address another relevant issue based on this point. It refers to the importance of developing approaches for comparative studies. Unlike a common analytical framework dealing with one form of

Christianity (which is frequently seen in the literature), the pluralistic nature of Christianity, no doubt, needs to be comprehended through some comparative lens. Only by apprehending the complexity of how local communities negotiated their old ways of life with the global Christian pluralism in a more sophisticated manner through comparison – from the ontological sense of one's biblical understanding of human-divine relations and personhood, to its fuller impacts of one's social, cultural, economic and political engagement – our metaphysical understanding regarding the social logics in today's capitalist society, both in a material and immaterial sense, can be developed for further comprehension.

The Continuation of Culture

When local people struggle with denominational conflicts, according to Jebens (2005:xv), 'tradition' and 'Christianity' are frequently used as "resources or rhetorical figures". Their relationship in the Melanesian context is revealed as a field of mutual influences. "While the resulting constructions of 'tradition' may be shaped by Christianity, the reverse is also true, and constructions of 'Christianity' may be shaped by tradition" (Jebens, 2005:xv). In the current debates in anthropology, though the notion of 'rupture' is usually applied by scholars to describe Christian practice (especially that of Pentecostals) which rejects the past, it has been challenged by some ethnographic cases in which this dominant conceptual approach is inapplicable, and even problematic. In Chua's (2012) research in Malaysian Borneo, for example, local Christians portray their old ritual practice and Christianity "as one of sameness, or at least compatibility" (2012:511). Rather than disconnecting themselves from their pre-Christian adat-based model of morality, a continuation has been found as "the gist of Christian morality in Bidayah life" (ibid: 518).

Christianity offered a foreign worldview to the Truku. In response, Truku people formulated a discursive field in the gap between their old and new cosmologies, through which adherents developed ideas to make sense of their relationship. Going onto different trajectories, however, Presbyterians take a positive analogical framework whereas Pentecostals use a negative framework to establish their viewpoint. Yet, though being constructed by distinct Christian denominations, these two trajectories drew from the same context of the older traditional belief that featured a dualism of good and bad. This characteristic facilitated different possibilities when Truku cosmology encountered other religions. By either locating *utux* in Christian doctrines as Presbyterians do, or rejecting it outright as Pentecostals' do, new configurations of Christian worldview have been formulated between traditional and Christian cosmologies.

In the case of Truku Presbyterians, the notion of 'rupture' does not describe their attitude to their 'culture'. Quite the contrary, Presbyterians intertwined 'Truku culture' with their Christian ideology. 'Christianity' and 'tradition' are seen as coexisting in harmony. In their day-to-day

context, in other words, Presbyterian efforts have contributed to a continuation of dimensions of Truku people's traditional culture. For Pentecostals, on the other hand, their 'rejection' does not amount to an annulment of their past. Despite presenting a style of 'rupture', it is the action of 'rejection' that makes their new Christian status meaningful. Incorporating their past negatively into their Pentecostal Christian worldview provides the linkage enabling people to sense their past in a continuation of their 'culture'.

Ethics and 'Capital'

Weber (1992[1930]) offers us good insight in his book '*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*'. The Protestants in Weber's work, however, were grounded in a western context before the 19th century. His approach is too limiting to interpret the current circumstances of Protestantism, especially Pentecostalism which emerged in the 20th century and has become prevalent in the 21st century.

In Selka's (2010) investigation looking at two evangelical Christian groups in a similar socioeconomic community in Candomblé Brazil, it was the locals' competing moral discourses that distinguished people's religious practice. In the case of the Truku, local people collectively converted to Christianity – first to Presbyterianism, then subsequently to Pentecostalism – around the 1930s. Initially the Truku were living in relatively homogenous conditions in the mountains. Their separate Christian conversion, however, offered divergent ethical approaches for practitioners to respond to the challenges of modernity. Whether their two stages of conversion were simply coincidental or because of small cracks opening in the social fabric between local sub-groups who settled in different neighbourhoods, the two Christian denominations successfully attracted followers. This once homogenous community began a process of separation slowly and subtly through the decades. With the asymmetric ethical orders constructed by Presbyterianism and Pentecostalism, divergent socialities have formed. Paralleling the development of 'Truku' ethnicity through time in particular, their social separation is becoming wider.

In terms of the acquisition of 'capital', in Bourdieuan terms, Truku Presbyterians take a synthetic approach, becoming involved in the wider society, which comes along with the accumulation of worldly capital and material success in this-life. Truku Pentecostals, however, tend to reduce the complexity of social life and bypass power relations. Seeing *moral* capital as more worthy of accumulation, Pentecostals disavow the value of pursuing worldly matters. In contrast to the ways in which other forms of secular 'capital' are accumulated, theirs is a *world-rejecting* ethos.

Being engaged with different forms of 'capital' in an asymmetric order, as I have argued, Truku Christians have been oriented by the two kinds of Christian ethics to divergent modes of acquisition of 'capital'. This has also contributed to distinct tendencies of accumulating wealth and material success. Unlike the Presbyterian ethic which follows the principle of 'the spirit of capitalism', the Pentecostal ethic presents a spirit of '*anti-capitalism*'.

The Making of Powerful Modern Subjects

For evangelical Protestants in Southeast Asia, conversion draws the ethnic minority populations into transnational religious networks, as Salemink (2009:53) has noted, "ethnic minorities become members of the same religious community as [a] more cosmopolitan, urbanized and de-ethnicized moral community". The two Truku Protestant groups, likewise, have developed distinct approaches to being drawn into a larger conceptual community, through which local practitioners cope with the problems of confronting the modern world in divergent ways, over such issues as ethnicity, political inequality, economic disadvantage and a marginalized social position. In line with their religious practice of being good Christians, moreover, Truku practitioners have been able to envision themselves as more 'powerful' subjects living in modern society.

Presbyterian religiosity, having incorporated Truku traditional belief into Christianity in positive ways, unites with secular action and engagement in the wider society. This enables practitioners to take a synthetic approach in social life to practice their role as good Christians. By stating that 'we are Truku', Presbyterians create a sense of ethnic boundary. They actively construct 'Truku' ethnicity in order to differentiate themselves from the Han majority. On the one hand, this has challenged and changed power structures in mainstream society, where the relevant resources of worldly capital have been re-allocated in a way those claiming Truku identity can easily share. On the other hand, the autonomy of the 'Truku' ethnicity has strengthened the subjectivity of being 'Truku' in secular settings. Presbyterian personhood is constructed in a synthetic fashion, which synthesises Presbyterian Truku identity with broader social categories, such as being cultural workers, speaking Truku dialect and so on. Through their secular engagement with the wider society, Presbyterian practice is tied up with worldly capital in the form of economics, education, social networks and morality.

By emphasizing the Holy Spirit, Truku Pentecostals raise themselves to a transcendent spiritual level where secular issues, such as ethnicity and social class, are of little import. Truku Pentecostals' sense of ethnic boundaries with the Han majority, for instance, was deconstructed by taking the position that 'we are *not* Truku'. They regard adherents elsewhere (who are in the same spiritual condition) as the same community, between which no secular boundaries mark distinction. Having little involvement in power relations constructed by the external social

environment, Truku Pentecostals' sense of 'group' has become part of a larger entity at a global level, where they explicitly reject concerns about how others in this secular world might view them.

Instead of highlighting one's social position within a set of the power relations that are constructed by other factors which go beyond the scope of individuality, such as national conflicts or international tension, Pentecostalism reconfigures the locus of power through the mechanism of the individual's physical regime. The realm of an individual's physical body is seen as the central location in which power relations are formulated and where power is manifested. Through everyday diligence and commitment, power is accumulated through individual effort, and is represented by health, rather than wealth, which itself is the representation of worldly capital. Focusing on the physical regime of individuality with an inwardly focused tendency, Pentecostal practitioners are able to enlarge their sense of subjectivity and autonomy. They limit their outward sense of self as well as collectivity to that constructed from the basis of one's individual physicality, which is essentially defined by the True Jesus Church. By accumulating capital through an individual's time and labour, Pentecostal practitioners gain better control of this configuration of power relations.

Bridging the 'Awkward' Relationship

A recent trend in anthropology has been to attempt to open a 'dialogue' with theologians. Due to an "awkward relationship" (Robbins, 2006 and 2013b) between the two disciplines, however, the actual content remains obscure and creates challenges for scholars. The definition of 'theology', for example, was discussed and questioned by anthropologists such as Fountain and Lau (2013:227-234) regarding its secular context in which local ways of practicing a religion can be understood intellectually.

In theological terms, Truku Presbyterians have deployed the mission approach of contextualization as their evangelical strategy. They seek to find equivalencies between Christian and local Truku cosmological concepts, through which their church legitimacy can be built on as well as rooted in a local Truku context. In this picture, the two forms of spiritual authority are integrated in a 'synthetic' cosmological order as a Presbyterian worldview. Truku Pentecostals, on the other hand, emphasize the transcendent nature of the Holy Spirit as their spiritual authority, in a comparative sense, they 'decontextualized' the idea of the Christian God from their local setting by rejecting their past. Going beyond the scope of locality, rather, Truku Pentecostals acknowledge the presence of the Holy Spirit materially by way of one's physicality.

The two local Protestant groups, no doubt, both aim to be good Christians, and they embrace the same hope for Salvation. Going onto different trajectories oriented by Presbyterianism and

Pentecostalism, however, the goal of Salvation is approached through distinct ethical models. The locals' moral discourses, in other words, have provided a space in an ethno-theological sense (Scott, 2005), in which anthropologists, theologians and the local "otherness" (Robbins, 2013a and 2013b) can share concerns in dialogue. Through a more intentional examination of biblical and theological material, a better nuanced account of ethnography can be therefore approached in the near future.

Pentecostals exercise a moral absolutism following strict rule-bound principles that only leave room for right or wrong. Taking up the canonical western philosophical distinction between deontology and consequentialism, Robbins (2010a) argues that Pentecostals – as with many other religious adherents – present an ethic that follows a deontological approach. "Moral excellence in this frame is more about what one avoids than about what one accomplishes" (Robbins, 2010a:122). This is distinct from the consequentialists who tend to highlight good results through their ethical principles. Robbins (2010a), however, does not consider a third model called virtue-based (or ontological) ethics which is commonly considered together with these other two models of how people respond to the issue of morality²¹⁴.

Unlike the deontological and consequentialist ethics that are 'act-centred', virtue ethics are 'agent-centred' (Hursthouse, 2013). Also, in this model, an idea of virtue is inherent in the moral agent. Instead of judging things by the characteristics of the act, a person determines the obligation to act based on the moral community he or she belongs to. This belief "is concerned with Being rather than Doing, with good (and bad) character, rather than right (and wrong) action, with the question 'What sort of person should I be' rather than the question 'What should I do'" (Hursthouse, 2013: 645-652).

Here, it is appropriate to address a recent call, proposed by Michael Scott (2012) that "an anthropology of ontologies" needs to be developed, as it enables our interrogation of "how diverse Christians understand and exercise – not so much what it means to be a Christian – but the very nature of Christian being" (ibid:2). Agreeing with this conceptual approach in general, my current ethnography, however, does not have space to develop these relevant debates²¹⁵. At this stage, focusing on an ethnographic thickness as the goal for my thesis, I hope to simply allow

²¹⁴ With a long history in philosophy, these three forms of ethics have been applied in different fields, such as applied ethics and normative ethics. Here I do not want to go further into the details of their philosophical development. I use the three forms of ethics generally.

See <http://www.rit.edu/cla/ethics/resources/cases/newton/dgae2p1.html>. And also another website http://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_deontology.html. This text was originally published by Allyn & Bacon (Needham Heights, MA: 2000). The ISBN is 0-205-30779-5.

²¹⁵ For further theoretical discussion and development, I aim to write single articles with relevant themes in the near future.

my material to speak its voice – highlighting my first encounter with Christianity – within the limited space provided. This is, after all, the spirit of how my informants conveyed their message about Christianity to an outsider like me.

In working with the two Truku Protestant groups, both Presbyterians and Pentecostals act out their obligations in accordance with the principle made by the moral community to which they belong. Presbyterians' obligations of being good Christians are partly constituted by the virtue of 'being Truku'. As for Pentecostals, their action, despite being presented in a rule-bound manner as either right or wrong, is not 'what should I do' that constitutes their Christian status. Rather, in a Pentecostal moral community, practitioners' obligations to be good Christians are governed by the Holy Spirit who dwells within their physical person. It is the Holy Spirit that provides guidance for one's action.

While both aspire to reach Heaven, these two kinds of Truku moral agent have come up with distinct approaches on how to make this hope come true. Truku Presbyterians do so by embracing 'Trukuness'. Seeing it as blessed, Presbyterians construct horizontal social relations around this idea of being good Christians. Truku Pentecostals, by contrast, do so by establishing a vertical relationship with God while limiting their horizontal relationships to those defined by this vertical relationship.

Local ways of understanding a religion in a secular context through ethical models therefore should not be examined according to how people 'act' as in a deontological approach. Rather, how people 'live' in a specific moral community should be understood through a specific ontological model that contributes to adherents' ethical approaches. How a religion is adopted in a secular context, including local ideas of 'God', evangelical mission approaches, moral discourses of 'being good', biblical interpretation and biblical evidences in social life, distinct denominational understanding of prosperity, reflects and depends upon the variety of people's beliefs. This facilitates our comprehension not only of Christianity alone but of different forms of religion in human life more generally.

Thoughts for Further Research

This ethnography marks a point in time in the ongoing development of Christianity and social life – along separating trajectories of religiosity and sociality – among Truku Protestants. Truku people, however, will continue to develop their ideologies and activities. Although we cannot predict 'how far' the two Christian groups will go along their widening trajectories, I would like to propose some questions before I end this conclusion. Using Truku Christianity as an example, I wish to consider four dimensions for ongoing research. In modern anthropology, since researchers generally maintain relationships with informants even after their initial field

research has been completed, I expect that these questions – looking at Pentecostalism, Presbyterianism, the comparison of the two and the general Christian ecumenical worldview – can be developed and answered through time.

Given that there is an *in-and-out* involvement in terms of Pentecostal practice, as well as a moral spectrum between weak and strong members, my first question asks: to what degree might these Pentecostal patterns change over time especially in regard to numbers of weak and strong members?

Secondly, Presbyterians claim local ethnicity to differentiate themselves from the mainstream society. Their differentiation, however, causes tension when they are incorporated into the wider society. Yet, as Presbyterians become more and more integrated into the mainstream society, to what degree might indigeneity continue to gain positive overtones in the wider society, or how long can Presbyterians go on claiming their special ethnic identity? Alternatively, will their ethnic identity exacerbate tensions with the Han majority, or will they find a different solution?

In a global context, what happens when local Christian groups unite with their global Christian fellows? As Christianity is represented in various forms, I ask, in which ways will Christians maintain their sense of locality, or perhaps eliminate it, once they have constructed a broader identity with their fellow Christians at the global level?

Lastly, Christian theology nowadays proposes an ecumenical approach. It suggests that all Christians, regardless of denomination, should be united as 'one'. Yet, since 'Christianity' – even just Protestantism – has so many forms, how can this ecumenical goal be reached practically, while local tensions occur between sub-groups of Christians?

APPENDIX (I): GLOSSARY

The Usage of Terminology in This Thesis

Truku Presbyterians and Presbyterianism: ‘Truku Presbyterians’ are a group of Presbyterians whose ethnicity is ‘Truku’. In this thesis, I use this term to illustrate the practitioners of a local Presbyterian Church named the ‘*Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church*’. The issue of Presbyterianism, in this regard, is embedded in this ethnographic context going beyond its theological meaning.

Truku Pentecostals and Pentecostalism: ‘Truku Pentecostals’ refer to a group of local Truku people who are members of the True Jesus Church, which is an independent Chinese church related to the global Pentecostal movement of the 19th century. I developed concerns and discussions about issues on Pentecostalism based on this ethnographic context. One might argue that, to a degree, some characteristics of Truku Pentecostals (such as reading the Mandarin Bible) are not shared by other Pentecostals elsewhere; this however should not impede us receiving significant messages about Pentecostalism from this ethnographic example. Regarding the terminology of Pentecostalism, since the concept of Pentecostalism is still under debate in today’s academic usage, there is no ‘one type’ of Pentecostalism configured in this terminology to begin with. Using this term does not suggest a generalization of all styles of Pentecostal practice or theories. Readers, too, should not expect to see a standardized form of Pentecostalism in my analysis. In terms of my usage of ‘Pentecostalism’ in this thesis, it should be highlighted its inseparable ethnographic context in relation to Truku Pentecostals.

Fushi community: Having a long and narrow shape, Fushi community, despite being an administrative unit, can be divided into three parts: lower, middle and upper. Lower-Fushi, also called Kele, is dominated by the Pentecostal True Jesus Church, which is distinguished from middle and upper Fushi where Presbyterians are the majority. The *Ciwang Memorial Presbyterian Church* is the biggest Presbyterian Church with the longest history in this area.

Truku, Sediq and Atayal: These three indigenous ethnic groups have a complex relation in history. Both Truku and Sediq used to be classified as sub-groups of Atayal for approximately a century, under the colonial power of the Japanese and Chinese governments. A campaign of ‘Name Ratification’ however occurred in the 1990s. It led to the official resignification of both the Truku ethnic group (2004) and the Sediq group (2008).

Colonization: Generally speaking, the concept of colonization is not often addressed in a contemporary context. In this thesis, however, I describe both the Han-Chinese government (1945 till today) and the precedent Japanese occupation (1895-1945) as the colonial authorities to the indigenous Taiwanese. Although this kind of conceptual usage is not commonly approached by two groups of readers: the majority of Taiwanese and western readers (as they have little knowledge about the political history of Taiwan such as the Japanese occupation), I use the concept of ‘colonization’ not only in a political sense, but also social and cultural impacts while Truku Christians encounter the wider Taiwanese society. In this thesis, focusing on the theme of Christianity – which was oppressed during the Japanese period and was strongly influenced by cultural policies made by the Han-Taiwanese government (such as language and education) – I use this term to highlight its social and cultural meaning in which the Truku people are forced to be subject to government power without negotiation.

Local Truku terms

Utux and Gaya: The core norms of Truku traditional worldview before the local’s conversion to Christianity. *Utux* represents a general concept of spirituality in terms of animism. *Gaya* refers to the customary law which governed their society based on the principle constructed by *utux*. This old

worldview has been incorporated into local people's understanding of Christianity. Presbyterians developed a positive relationship between their old and new cosmologies. *Utux* has been reconfigured with a new meaning under Presbyterian worldview. Pentecostals, however, interpret *utux* as evil spirits, they understand their relationship with Christianity in a negative manner.

Utux rudan: A pre-Christian Truku term refers to ancestral spirits.

Utux baraw: Truku Presbyterians' term for the Christian God. Jesus is regarded as more powerful than their traditional deity of *utux*.

Powda gaya: A pre-Christian ritual of pig sacrifice that generally occurred to celebrate weddings or to solve tension between humans and spirits when people violated their customary law such as having sex out-of-wedlock.

Mgay Bari: The name of Truku people's 'traditional ritual' in the contemporary context which involved in a process of cultural revitalization.

Alang: Within the traditional Truku cosmology of *utux/gaya*, '*alang*' is a concept of boundary, as well as space, in which people who live together are considered as the same group. Truku people distinguished each other from different *alang*. Each *alang* has its own group identity.

Hakaw utux: A Truku pre-Christian idea of 'rainbow-bridge'. It was believed that when people pass away, they would across the 'rainbow-bridge' to the other side to reunite with their late ancestors. This term is applied into Presbyterian cosmology and becomes one symbolic element of the Truku Bible.

Koka gaya: A Christian interpretation of Christian Ten Commandments.

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