In recent years, Yushan (玉山, Jade Mountain)—the highest mountain in North East Asia—has been promoted by the Taiwanese government as the ‘sacred mountain (shengshan 聖山)’, symbolising Taiwan’s nationalist spirit. It all started in 1997, a Yushan movement was launched by the New Idea Magazine. According its publisher, Kuo Cheng-feng (郭承豐), the original idea evolved from a worry for the rampant disorder and alarming chaos in Taiwanese society at that time. He sensed a desperate need for spiritual guidance to rectify this social anarchy. Hence, he used his magazine New Idea to promote Yushan as the spiritual symbol, providing comfort, guidance and belonging for the Taiwanese. Combining Yushan’s name and symbolic meanings, a slogan was raised: “xin qing ru yu, yi zhong ru shan 心清如玉,義重如山 (Heart is as pure as Jade; Righteousness is held as weighty as the mountains).”

In order to make the greatest impact, New Idea tried to bring official and non-governmental organisations together and get all political parties involved, including: the Yushan National Park (YNP, 玉山國家公園), the China Youth Corps (中國青年救國團), Formosa Television station(民視), and various local governments.

Since 1997, New Idea had organised the movement for five years, with five different themes. Despite of magazine articles, concerts, events, climbing activities were also

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2 Kuo Cheng-feng, (1997b), “Yushan Mood, Wishing for the Winter to End” p.15. This slogan was later accepted by the Yushan National Park and was inscribed in the stone tablet at the top of Yushan.
organised. Originally, the movement was designed to rectify the decadent and corrupted social atmosphere, to promote a healthy lifestyle of pursuing nature, and to foster environmental awareness, even though there was a tendency of deifying Yushan because of Kuo’s own religious belief. The language that the movement used tended to promote a spiritual enhancement and encourage a healthy youth culture. For example, New Idea focused on ‘learning from nature’, took climbing Yushan as a ‘physical and spiritual challenge’, and promoted an awareness of environmental issues. However, these original appeals of ‘enjoying the nature and purifying spirit’ had out-fashioned by another wave of thinking.

By 2001, this movement ran out of steam and sponsorship. Instead, the Taiwan Provincial Branch of the National Cultural Association (NCA文化總會) took over and transformed Yushan Movement into a discourse: Yushanxue (玉山學 Study of Yushan). According to Chen Yen-pin, the Executive of NCA Taiwan

3 They included: “Reaching Spiritual High—‘Coming to Age’ ceremony at the top of Yushan and climbing mountains to love Taiwan (心靈登高—登頂慶成年，登高愛台灣)” in 1997; “God Bless Taiwan, Wish for World Peace (天佑台灣，世界和平)” in 1998; “Yushan Culture – Beauty and Energy of New Taiwan, Leaping New Nantou (玉山文化—美力新台灣，飛躍新南投) in 1999; “Love and Peace – Climbing the Peace (愛與和平—為和平而登高) in 2000; and “Pledging Love on Yushan (情定玉山)” in 2001. The first year, New Idea invited musicians to Yushan and held concert to praise its beauty and significance for the Taiwanese. Moreover, the co-organiser China Youth Corps encouraged the involvement of the younger generation and invented a ‘coming of age’ ceremony on the top of the mountain for young climbers who is just reaching 18. The second year, because of generous funding from a Buddhist sect, the whole event focused on blessing and praying for peace. The third year, the event was sponsored by Nantou County government, where the jurisdiction of Yushan falls into. In 1999, because of September 21 Earthquake, many performances were transformed to charity activities. The only remaining event in 1999 was climbing the mountain. In 2000, a marathon was held to pay tribute to Yushan. In 2001, the event targeted at young couples. Six newly-wed couples climbed the mountains together to pledge their love. Several Bunun elders were invited to endorse these couples at the top of Yushan. It was five years into this movement that the aborigines were finally brought into the pictures, even though as minor a role as they were given.

7 The NCA was an institution set up by Lee Teng-hui to replace the Chinese Cultural Restoration Committee(CCRC，中華文化復興委員會) in March 1991, and Lee was elected NCA President. Before Lee’s political power was finally stabilised, the NCA constantly played the role as Lee’s mouthpiece to elaborate his political and cultural ideas. Since that time, the NCA has always had close links with the President.
Provincial Branch, the whole idea of Yushanxue was a totally different concept from merely climbing mountains.

At first, writers, poets, and artists have been invited to visit Yushan, and have produced a body of work about the experience. Then, organised pilgrimages to Yushan were arranged. *Yushanxue* courses⁸, combining lessons with a highlight of climbing, are now regularly offered by the YNP. Lessons about Yushan’s geographical, biological, and historical perspectives are taught as a subject matter. Moreover, politicians have also used Yushan to assert their loyalty to Taiwan, proving their love for the island by climbing the mountain⁹. Yushan has been portrayed as the ‘spiritual homeland of Taiwan (台灣的心靈故鄉)’.

Chen Yen-pin 陳彥斌 admitted frankly, *Yushanxue* was a movement to promote ‘Taiwanese identity’. He said,

> “Just as important as the Mount Fuji in Japan, Taiwan also needs a sacred mountain to represent Taiwan. Among all mountains, what better than Taiwan’s highest peak--Yushan… In order to construct the mountain as a holy symbol, we decided to allow more people to get close to it and approach Yushan with more understanding.” ¹⁰

The historical, geographical, and cultural importance of Yushan has been theorised and canonised to create an unquestionable sacred status.

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⁸ Six lessons include: Introduction of Yushan National Park, Yushan’s ecological resources, Environment and preservation in Yushan, Landscape and sceneries, Aborigines, and Preparation for climbing.

⁹ In 2003, the Taiwan Solidarity Union (台灣團結聯盟) Legislators formed ‘Reaching Yushan Team玉山攻頂團’. After reaching the peak, they declared “Climb Yushan, Love Taiwan statement (「登玉山、愛台灣」宣言)”. Moreover, the Ketagalan School(凱達格蘭學校), which was founded by Chen Shui-bian in 2003 and funded by Chen’s Formosa Foundation (福爾摩沙文教基金會), included Yushanxue in their curriculum, describing the trip to climb Yushan as the ‘journey of Taiwanese spirit (台獨精神之旅). Cheng Chin-hsing,(2005), “Climbing Mountains to Foster Vision, Yushanxue is in Vogue” ¹⁰ ibid.
With official budget, the professional support of the YNP, administrative convenience and politicians’ endorsement, *Yushanxue* has clearly been designed and promoted as a nation-building discourse.

In *Yushanxue* discourse, Taiwan is first emphasised as a unique place, renowned for its mountainous geographic characters and natural beauty, and Yushan is then emphasised as the epitome of such beauty and uniqueness. Mountains over 1000 meters occupy 32% of Taiwan’s total area and 200 mountains exceeding 3000 meters in height. Among 5 major mountain ranges in Taiwan, Yushan is the highest peak and soars to a height of 3,952 meters above sea level. Yushan locates at the centre of the island and the whole area is a crucial watershed for eight rivers, including the major river systems of the central, southern, and eastern Taiwan\(^1\) which provide three quarters of Taiwan’s water supply\(^2\). Hence, in the construction of *Yushanxue* discourse, ‘Taiwan’ is in fact the real protagonist.

Instead of emphasising of ‘purifying spirits and encouraging healthy lifestyle’, the focus was shifted to the concept of *deng yushan ai Taiwan* (*登玉山愛台灣*\(^3\)). This statement had once been raised by *New Idea*, however, it has become the core spirit of the *Yushanxue* discourse. Because of this transition, the way of viewing Yushan has been transformed from enjoying its natural beauty and spiritual inspiration to treating it as a sacred landscape and the newly discovered homeland. For example, Vice President Lu Hsiu-lien expressed a similar concept in an exhibition opening speech in

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\(^1\) The rivers that originated from Yushan include: Chuoshui Stream, Gaoping Stream, Hsiuguluan Stream, Chenyoulan Stream, Jyunda Stream, Nanzaisian Stream, Laonong Stream, and Laku Laku Stream. See YNP (2005b).


She said that: “If we regard all the major rivers as the mother of all Taiwanese, then, Yushan is the Father.”

As W. J. T. Mitchell puts it, landscape should be understood not just as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but “as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed.” What we have seen, heard, and learned about Yushan from this discourse is not all the objective and absolute facts. Rather, the vision of Yushan that we are seeing and knowing in the 21st century is a nationalised, Han-centric, institutionalised version. Our understanding of Yushan has been architecturally portrayed, designed and constructed to signify a quintessential ‘Taiwanese-ness’. As to what this Taiwanese-ness would be, well, it depends on the ‘architect’.

In order to understand Yushan’s historical position and mythical significance, we need to look back in history. The Tsou (鄒) and Bunun (布農) tribes had lived around the Yushan region for centuries after being forced out of the western plains by the Han immigrants. Yushan has held a mythical significance for both the Tsou and Bunun people. In Tsou’s myth, God Hamo created human at the top of Yushan; and in Bunun’s myth, Yushan was also regarded as the place of their tribe’s origin. Among all the aboriginal myths, Yushan generally appears to be important in the creation of men and symbolises a holy refuge from natural disasters. A most commonly known myth of Yushan was its role in a serious flood. The myths of the Tsou and Bunun related to Yushan are extremely similar, describing how human took refuge in Yushan during a long period of flooding, and were rescued from hunger by the help of

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16 See Wang Song-shan, (2004), Tsou Tribe(鄒族); Husluman’ Vava, (1996), Life and Spirit of Yushan; Also see: Database of the Aborigines, (2000), “Chronicles of Important Aboriginal Events in Taiwan”
animals. Their stories were not just seeking safe heaven in Yushan, but also emphasised the harmonious alliance with animals\textsuperscript{17}.

Before the mass immigration of the Hans in the late 17\textsuperscript{th} century, it seemed that Yushan had already been known to the Chinese. For example, the 乾坤萬國全圖 (Cosmic World Map) which was published in 1593 (明萬曆 21 年), Taiwan was drawn as a group of islets. In the middle of them, there was a mountain recorded as 白峰 (White Peak)\textsuperscript{18}. Although Taiwan was not correctly mapped out in the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century, the fact that a high mountain with snow-capped peak in the middle of the island(s) was already known to the Chinese at that time.

Yushan’s appearance in Yu Yung-ho’s 裨海紀遊 (pihai jiyou, Journey of the Tiny Sea) was the first existing written record, which was published in 1697. In Pihai Jiyou’s appended article 番境補遺 (fanjing buyi, Addendum of the Barbarian Territory), Yushan was fondly recorded:

「玉山在萬山之中…白色如銀, 遠望如太白積雪, 四面攢峰環繞, 可望不可即; 皆言此山渾然美玉, 番人既不知寶, 外人又畏野番, 莫敢向邇。每遇晴霽，在郡城望之，不啻天上白雲也。」

Yushan remained to be ‘可望不可及(in sight but inaccessible)’, as the Han intellectuals

\textsuperscript{17} Husluman Vava, (1996), Life and Spirit of Yushan; Frazer, Sir James G. Folk-Lore in the Old Testament (1919).
\textsuperscript{18} Wang Tsun-li & Hu Wen-ching (eds.), (2002), Ancient Maps of Taiwan: Ming and Qing Dynasties pp. 60-62.
described it¹⁹ for another 200 years. During this period, a Chinese official Di Hao wrote in an article 玉山記 in his memoir Taiyang Biji 臺陽筆記 in 1806, describing the difficulties of reaching Yushan and the awe and mysteries that felt by the Hans. Interestingly, Di Hao rejoiced at the fact that Yushan’s inaccessibility had prevented human’s exploitation.²⁰

In 1837, Ko Pei-yuan 柯培元, another Qing official, carried out fieldworks in that area. He sent several aborigines into Yushan and recorded their accounts of the journey. In his book Kemalan Record (噶瑪蘭志略), he said:

“There were thick forests and deep bamboo bushes all the way [to Yushan]. Venomous serpents spat fire at us. There was a long stream running from the top to the foot of the mountain. The stream was so clear that the bottom could be seen. It was full of huge loaches, as long as three four metres.²¹ The water was so cold and the loaches were twining around that we had to come back half way across the stream. Looking up at Yushan which was around three four miles away, there were three peaks, floating in the sky. People felt dizzy by its fogginess and haziness. There were times strange birds and rare beasts appeared in the woods, and it was not suitable for habitation. They (aborigines) picked up five six stones to prove their visits. I examined these stones, they had triangle shape, just like crystal formation. When I broke them, there was muddy sand inside. Aborigines also said that all the stones in the mountains were like this. When they looked up at the peaks, there was a cave in-between as a gate, with mist shooting out and bright lights dazzling. It was so cold that the chill penetrated hair and skin, that they decided to come back. By their account, it seems that all the stones in Yushan are all crystal formation! (「一路深林密箐，蛇虺向人噴火，山上下一長溪，清徹見底，中多泥鰍，大可丈餘，水嚴冷，渡至半，鰍纏繞不得行，隔岸望山，約三四里，三峰疊巖空際，靑靄非煙，令人目眩，時有怪鳥異獸，出沒林間，不能久住，拾地上小石五六枚，返以為證，視其石，三角形，如水晶，破之，中含泥沙，且云，其山上石盡如此形狀，仰視峰間一圓洞如門，白氣騰空，精光射目，寒中髮膚，乃循故道而返，據此則玉山石盡水晶矣。」)

¹⁹ Ho Jin-Shiun, (2004), “Yushan in the Eyes of Writers during the Ch’ing Dynasty.”
²¹ The traditional unit of length zhang丈 is roughly 3 & 1/3 metres.
The earliest Western record of Yushan dated around the mid-19th century. W. Morrison, the captain of the American freighter U.S.S. Alexander, caught the sight of Yushan while the ship was leaving Anping Harbor [present-day Tainan] in 1857 and recorded this mountain in his naval log. Subsequently, Yushan is known as Mt. Morrison in the West.

For the aborigines, Yushan has always been the safe heaven and the ultimate homeland. In contrast to this mythical significance, Yushan continued to be a wild and dangerous place for the Han Chinese. This distant relationship reflected on Qing’s passive policy on Taiwan and the aborigines, which was 封山令 (Sealing Mountain Order) 22.

This passive attitude towards Taiwan was challenged in the late 19th century. The Mudan She Incident (牡丹社事件) 23 was a wake-up call. Japan’s military venture to

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22 Because Taiwan had been used as a base for pirates and rebels in the early Qing rule period, a 防台而治台 (preventing rebellions in Taiwan by ruling Taiwan) policy was decided. Subsequently, 封山令 & 禁海令 (Restriction to the Sea Order) were imposed. The former was designed to stop mingling between the Hans and the aborigines (to avoid possible disputes and armed conflicts), and the latter was imposed to restrict the mainland immigrants crossing the sea (in order to tightly control such a remote island). It was not until 1874, when Shen Baozhen 沈葆楨 was sent to develop Taiwan and reinforce its military stability, that these restrictions were finally lifted.

23 In 1871, 66 sailors from a Miyako Island (宮古島, in Ryukyu Archipelago) vessel landed Bayaowan 八瑤灣 (now Taitung 台東) and 54 of them were killed by nearby Paiwan tribe in Mudan She (牡丹社) and Kaoshifo She (高士佛社). This incident became an excuse for the Japanese to invade Taiwan. The Japanese soon lodged an official protest with the Qing court. The Qing explained that the Chinese could not be responsible for these aborigines in those areas, whom they termed as Shengfan (生蕃, uncivilised barbarians). The Qing court explained that in those areas that inhabited by the Shoufan (熟番) was ruled and administrated by the Qing court. However, the Shengfan lived a life outside of the pale of civilisation, and hence, the Qing would not involved in their affairs. (「熟番」之地清廷「置府而治之」, 而生蕃「置於化外，甚不理也。」) Hence, the Qing could not hold responsible for what happened in Shengfan areas. Because of Qing’s evasive attitude and the assertion of ‘barbarian-land anarchy theory (蕃地無主論)’ raised by American Consul to Amoy, Charles W. Le Gendre, Japan sent troops to invade Taiwan. On May 7th 1894, under the command of Lt. General Saigo Tsugumichi 西郷從道, Japanese armies landed at Sheliao 社寮 (today’s Sheliao 射寮 village in 屏東縣東港鎮), took Shimen (石門), and besieged Mudan She (牡丹社). Mudan She aborigines resisted for a long time and finally surrendered in July. By this time, the Japanese intended to set up permanent settlement. However, it did not go as smooth as the Japanese wished. Although only a dozen Japanese soldiers died in the combats, more than 550 Japanese soldiers died of subtropical diseases during five months of
Taiwan served as a warning sign. The Qing court realised the strategic importance of Taiwan in the East Asia-Pacific region and the growing interests of foreign powers to encroach the island. The Minister for Fujian Coastal Defence (福建海防大臣) Shen Baozhen 沈葆楨 was appointed the “Inspector-General (欽差大臣)”, and sent to reform Taiwan's administrative system and reinforce control. Shen Baozhen changed the passive policy ‘封山令’ to ‘開山撫番(Developing Mountains and Pacifying the Barbarians)’24. In order to encourage the Hans to move to the east of Taiwan, Qing general Wu Guangliang 吳光亮 was sent in 1875 to clear a cross-island route in the middle of Taiwan, from Liqipu 林圮埔 (today’s Chushan 竹山 in Nantou 南投) crossing Yushan mountain range to Pushige 璞石閣 (today’s Yuli 玉里 in Hualian 花蓮). This path was roughly two metres wide25 and 152 Kilometres long, and took the Qing troupe eleven months to complete, linking the east and the west of the island by cutting through the Yushan region.

The Tsou people referred to Yushan as “Pattonkan”, and the nearby mountain range as “Patton Kuanu,” meaning the "Glowing Mountain(s)" or "Quartz Mountain(s)." Borrowing from Tsou’s language, the route that Wu Guangliang built was therefore named ‘Batongguan (八通關) Path.’26 Since the opening of the route and the more

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25 The width of the route Pattonkan was 6 chi (尺). A chi is approximately 0.333 metres.

26 Unfortunately, the path was abandoned in 20 years, because of the geographic barriers and constant aboriginal attacks. CCA, (2003), Introduction to Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan, pp.16-17; Also see: Construction and Planning Administration (Ministry of Interior), (2004a), “Yushan National Park”.
aggressive engagement of Qing administration expanding to the East, the once distant 可望不可及 (in sight but inaccessible) relationship between the Hans and the aborigines, between the nature and the state power started to change. Twenty years later, when the Japanese took over Taiwan, the impact of state control was intensified.

Because of the determination to dominate and control, the Japanese carried out meticulous surveys of Taiwan’s natural resources, land usage, customs and island-wide census\textsuperscript{27}. Based on the principle of "biological colonial management(生物學政治)"\textsuperscript{28} proposed by the fourth civil administrator of Taiwan Goto Shinpei (後藤新平), various kinds of investigations and studies were undertaken thoroughly and scientifically.

To begin with, the “Taiwan Land Register Regulations” and “Taiwan Land Investigation Regulations” were promulgated, and the “Temporary Taiwan Land Investigation Bureau" was established in 1898. The Japanese spent 1,670,000 work forces and 5,250,000 yens in six years to investigate Taiwan’s land usage, and discovered that there were 300,000 \textit{jia} (甲)\textsuperscript{29} extra arable land that could be taxed. All "open territory" was declared ‘national property’ and some of them were sold to retired Japanese officers and enterprises at a cheaper price to encourage settlement.


\textsuperscript{28} The principle of ‘biological colonial management’ was proposed by Goto Shinpei (後藤新平), borrowing the same concept from biology. According to Hsu Chieh-Lin (2005), Goto’s idea of ‘biological colonial management’ was to treat the colonised islanders as animals, divided as lamb and beast. The way to treat tamed lambs was to keep them for their wool, but the beasts should be trapped, captured or used for experiments. Hence, various kinds of exploratory studies were carried out. Before transplanting Japanese culture into Taiwan, the Japanese examined the climate, lifestyles, resources, and customs of Taiwan. Hsu Chieh-Lin (2005), “The Historical Rupture and Continuity in Taiwan in the Last Hundred Years”; Also see Lin, C. J. & Keating, J. F., (2002), Island in the Stream.

\textsuperscript{29} 9,700 square feet is a jia (甲). Therefore, 300,000 \textit{jia} was roughly equivalent to 2,910,000,000 square feet (or 66,804 acres).
and investment in Taiwan. As to the mountain regions, a limited region of ‘fanren suoyao di’ (meaning ‘the land necessary for the barbarians to settle’) was drawn up for the aborigines to use without ownership. Furthermore, detailed anthropological research was carried out, mapping their kinship, customs, religious beliefs, cultures, and ethnology.

The purpose of all these investigations, surveys, appropriation was not simply to achieve the total political control or just for thorough economic exploitation, but more importantly, a conscious act to construct a colonial mapping. Such actions (such as census, surveys) are purposeful to ‘keep track’ of what the colony could offer, both in economic surplus and arm-able manpower. For example, a nationwide census was not carried out in Japan until 1920, while the first census in Taiwan was completed in 1905, which entitled "survey of national strength" including surveys on land, industries, management and other levels. The impacts of such careful counting of the ‘objects’, as Benedict Anderson points out, “The new demographic topography put down deep social and institutional roots as the colonial state multiplied its size and functions.” (Anderson, 1991: 168-69) Hence, the whole business of cataloguing and categorising was not just to do with gaining control, or showing off state power, but more significantly, mapping the empire.

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30 National Taiwan University Library, (1998),“Survey on the Barbarian Necessary Land, Barbarian Investigation Chart”.
31 Before the Japanese occupation, the Qing’s attitude towards the aborigines was generally lasses-faire, and nonaggression. Detaining Line was set up to mark the Han’s administrative boundaries and limitation, which ran along the eastern edge of the western plain. Han’s contact with the aborigines was mainly for the exchange of camphor extraction. Japanese took a different view on the ruling of the aborigines and started the anthropological fieldwork in 1897, led by the Japanese anthropologist Ino Kanori and Torii Ryuzo. The purpose was clear. Ino believed that understanding the aborigines would make them easier to govern under colonial control.
32 At that time there were 3,040,000 registered people living on the island, 97.8% of whom were Formosan and 1.89% were Japanese; but the statistics were not completely accurate since it was difficult to register both “bandits” and aborigines. See Lin, C. J. & Keating, J. F., (2002), Island in the Stream.
33 Lin Cheng-jung (2001b), “The modernisation of Taiwan”.
Under the circumstances, Yushan was explored, investigated, surveyed and measured\textsuperscript{34}. The Japanese were pleasantly surprised that Yushan was higher than its own highest mountain–Mount Fuji, and renamed Yushan "Niitaka yama”, literally “New High Mountain (新高山)”. Moreover, a Shinto temple was soon erected on the summit to make mark of the ‘Japanese territory’. It was not only because of the rich economic resources in Taiwan’s forests\textsuperscript{35} and a political need to control the ‘unruly’ aborigines within, conquering Yushan symbolised Taiwan’s total subjectivity to Japan; and renaming Yushan was like re-branding Taiwan’s identity, a Japanese colony.\textsuperscript{36}

Moreover, for the Japanese Empire, Yushan’s becoming Japan’s No.1 peak implied something else, apart from its impressive height. Yushan satisfied the imagining of adventurous and ambitious colonial expansion. For example, the signal to the Japanese fleet to attack Pearl Harbour was “Niitaka yama nobore 1208 (climb Niitaka Yama on December 8\textsuperscript{th})”, implying this bombing mission was as ambitious as an ascent of Niitaka yama, and symbolising the goal of conquering another colonial summit for the Japanese Empire.

During the half century of Japanese colonial rule, Yushan was constantly explored, investigated, surveyed, and measured; and the aborigines were repeatedly repressed.

\textsuperscript{34} Although the aborigines have lived in the region for centuries and the Han Chinese had long coveted the possible treasure, there were no written records about ‘reaching Yushan summit’. There have been some disputes about which party was the first to reach Yushan main peak, but most agree that the Japanese anthropologists Torii Ryuzo 鳥居龍藏 and Mori Ushinosuke 森丑之助 were the first to reach the main summit in 1900. It seems that some previous explorers might mistakenly climb the east peak.

\textsuperscript{35} The most important resources in Taiwan’s forests were timber and camphorwood. See Hsu Chieh-Lin (1996), “What Kind of Industrial Heritage Japan had left in Taiwan”; Hsu Chieh-Lin (2005), “The Historical Rupture and Continuity in Taiwan in the Last Hundred Years”.

\textsuperscript{36} This restriction on local people to enter mountainous regions was finally relaxed in the late 1930s. Huang Wen-ching, “The Establishment of Taiwan’s Forest Preservation System”.

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entrapped, bribed, siege, researched and objectified. Both were chosen in many colonial exhibitions and publications as an indication of the absolute power of Japanese Empire. Yushan was employed to represent the island’s steep colonial challenge and to prove Japanese military strength and scientific achievements; while the admission and the display of the aborigines symbolised the total victory and domination over the island. For example, the postcard commemorating the 30th anniversary of Japanese rule used Yushan as the background, and with the contrast between old and new Offices of the Taiwan Governor-General in the front. In this postcard, Yushan was taken as a symbol of the whole island, full of adventure and rich natural resources, representing the colonial expansion of Japanese dominance. In the celebration of the 40th anniversary, the Taiwan Exposition was held. Similar tactics were produced more broadly in postcards, posters, stamps, using Yushan as the symbol of a model colony. See how this colonial administrative centre -- the Office of the Taiwan Governor-General -- was depicted. Even Yushan was the ‘New High Mountain’, the Japanese colonial power was always higher than the unruly, uncivilised and wild colony, implying the modernisation and civilisation that Japan had brought into this barbaric island. Similarly, the aborigines were constantly displayed and paraded as the ‘corrected savages’ and openly exhibited as museum pieces indicating their total submission.

After WWII, the Chinese Kuomintang (KMT) government took over Taiwan. Generally speaking, it inherited most of the Japanese policies concerning the aborigines and the management of the mountains. In 1947, the name Niitaka yama

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38 The KMT basically inherited most of the Japanese principles of treating all the mountains as ‘national property’ and setting up 山地保留地 (Mountain Reservation) for the aborigines, which was
was changed back to Yushan, and the term for aborigines was changed from "Takasago" to "shanbao (山胞) or "mountain compatriots". Fearing that the poverty-stricken mountain regions might be a haven for future communist sympathisers, the KMT tightened the control of mountain entries for outsiders, and imposed a shandi pingdi hua (山地平地化) policy in 1953 to “make the mountains like the plains” and to “change the customs of the aborigines to act like Han Chinese”. Under the names of ‘maintaining national security and aboriginal people’s interests’, many restrictions were imposed to control the mountainous regions. Yushan’s fate, similar to that of the aborigines, was again cast into the forgotten dark corner. The mountain regions were sealed up under strict control, preventing outsiders to get in and also imposing Han-oriented policies to ‘cultivate’ aborigines within a limited area. After decades of casual timbering and reckless afforestation, the aborigines were forced to accept the so-called well-meaning ‘development’ of the Han government and had lost most of their traditional way of life. Moreover, the restrictions had sealed the mountain regions and separated the aborigines from the outside world for decades.

similar to the Japanese 蕃人所要地 (‘the land necessary for the barbarians to settle). The aborigines have no ownership of their land, and most of the mountains were sealed under the strict restrictions.

39 When the former Emperor Showa visited Taiwan in 1923 as crown prince Hirohiro, he changed the name of aborigines from ‘barbarian’(蕃人) to ‘Takasago Race(高砂族)’.

40 Most of the early post-war policies concerning aborigines and their habitual mountains inherited from the Japanese regulations. They were modified, drawn up and imposed to prevent outsiders entering the mountainous region and imposing so-called ‘advanced cultivation’ in the aboriginal settlements, including: Mountain Preservation Management Measures(山地保留地管理辦法) (1948); Reinforcing Security Measures in Mountain Regions(台灣省山地職警備加強辦法) (1949); Restrictions on Entering Mountains During the Martial Law Period in Taiwan Province (臺灣省戒嚴時期外人進入山地管制辦法) (1951); Measures to improve mountain area management (改進山地管制辦) (1958); and the most important one—Management of Taiwan’s Mountains during Martial Law Period (戒嚴期間臺灣省區山地管理辦法) (1956). It was not until 1976 that a much relaxed principle was added – ‘Controlling the Deep Mountains, and Opening the Near Mountains (深山管制，近山開放)’. In 1993, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Defence jointly announced the Management Regulations on People’s entry into Taiwan’s Restricted Mountains(人民入出台灣地區山地管制區作業規定), allowing controlled visits for climbers. See Chen Yung-lung, “Tourism and Taiwan’s Aborigines”; Yang Chang-chen, (1999), “Land and Colonialism; Database of the Aborigines, (2000), “Chronicles of Important Aboriginal Events in Taiwan”.

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In 1967, the statue of KMT veteran politician Yu You-jen was erected on the summit by the Chinese Youth Mountaineering Association. According to the YNP, the purpose was originally to push the height of Yushan over 4,000 meters above sea level, and also to fulfill Yu’s dying wish to be buried on the top of the mountains to see his homeland in order to see his ‘homeland’. This statue epitomised the KMT mentality of ruling Taiwan: Taking Taiwan as the springboard before leaping back to the mainland. However, this temporary refuge became a permanent settlement.

In the early 1980s, the KMT government finally caught up with the environmental concept to establish National Parks to preserve Taiwan’s rich natural heritage. The restrictions on entering the high mountains (over 3000 meters above sea level) were relaxed in the late 1980s. The Yushan National Park (YNP) Administration was established in April 1985. Although the YNP claimed that it intended to incorporate the aborigines within the national park domain, however, it was all on the YNP’s own terms. Those who inhabited in Yushan regions for centuries were treated as troublesome and uncivilised lodgers. They were given meagre portion of land to farm, and were restricted to hunt, to fish, to timber, and even to extend their housing.

Yu You-jen’s famous poem said: “Bury me on the top of the mountains, let me see my homeland; Homeland can’t be seen, and can never be forgotten; Bury me on the top of the mountains, let me view the mainland; Mainland can’t be seen, and can only be cried for. Sky is grey and the wildness is misty. On the top of the mountain, someone died for his country. 葬我于高山之上兮,望我故乡。故乡不可見兮,永不能忘;葬我于高山之上兮,望我大陆。大陆不可見兮,只有痛哭。天苍苍,野茫茫,山之上,国有一殇). See Chang Tsung-hsing (2005), “Ranwon and Fengjia Viewing from Two Sides”; YNP (Yushan National Park), (2005c), “Introduction of Yushan”. In November 1995, climbers found the head of Yu You-jen’s statue was cut off. By May 20th 1996, the whole statue was pushed down the valley and disappeared. See: Construction and Planning Administration (Ministry of Interior), (2004b), “Chronicles of Events in National Parks”.

See Articles 8-10 of the Measures of Managing and Developing the Aboriginal Preservation Area (原住民保留地開發管理辦法) (promulgated in 1990 and revised in 2003), every aborigine could at most have 1 hectare to farm or 1.5 hectares to afforest. However, they do not have ownership.
If they wanted to work as a Yushan mountain guide, they had to take written tests and held unreasonable qualifications in order to gain official certificate. In other words, the aborigines were stripped off their land, their traditional lifestyle, their dignity and even their identity as hunters and mountaineers.

When the governmental institutions started to promote Yushanxue, neither the environmental issue nor the aboriginal rights have been their concerns. Using Yushan as the icon to construct a ‘Taiwanese identity’ is the true intention.

Since 2001, the launch of Yushanxue formally declared the logic of ‘climbing Yushan equals loving Taiwan’. After five years of official promotion, now, a modern myth of the Taiwanese sacred mountain has been forged. In Yushanxue promotional literature, Yushan has been depicted as the representation of ‘the highest spirit of Taiwan’. The ideology of Yushanxue seems simple: “we are all ‘children of Yushan’ (玉山的子民)”, “every Taiwanese should climb Yushan at least once in their lifetime (身為台灣人，一生之中必需登頂玉山主峰一次)”, “If you love Taiwan, you will definitely love Yushan”; and “climbing Yushan demonstrates one’s love for Taiwan.”

In this frenzy of declaring ‘love for Taiwan’, a proposal was made to provide easy

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43 The dispute between the state and the aborigines over land ownership and the restrictions imposed after the establishment of national parks has never been solved. Huang Jung-chuan (2002), “Starting from the Land Policy to see Why the Aborigines Lost Their Land; Also see: National Policy Foundation, (2002), “Minutes of the ‘Industrial Policy of Aborigines Forum’.

44 In 1979, the Regulations and Standard for Awarding Mountain Guide 登山嚮導人員甄選標準規定 was drawn up as a guideline for awarding mountain guide certificate. It required the candidates must be under 55 and had been a team leader for climbing clubs for over three times. In 1998, a new regulation -- ‘Certificate-awarding Method for High Mountain Guides 高山嚮導員授證辦法' -- was promulgated. It relaxed the age limit to 65, required the candidates to have plentiful climbing experiences and the backing from any companies, non-profit organisations or climbing clubs. In 2001, ‘Certificate-awarding Method for Mountain Guides 登山嚮導員授證辦法' replaced the previous ones. See in Wen-ho, (2003), “Examining the Management of Non-governmental Involvement in Climbing Service”.

access to Yushan so that the Taiwanese might more easily reach the summit, and hence, be able to declare their love for the nation. To provide greatest convenience and boost visitor numbers, the Council for Economic Planning and Development (CEPD) has proposed to build four cable car lines in the preservation areas within three National Parks—Yushan 玉山、Hsuehshan 雪山、Nanhu Tashan 南湖大山 and Hehuanshan 合歡山. The proposal aims to maximise the opportunities to reach Taiwan’s greatest mountain range, in spite of the environmental impact it may have on the island.

Yushan has become a hot spot for Taiwanese tourism, a political symbol of nationalism, and a mythical origin of the ‘new Taiwanese’. The invention and promotion of *Yushanxue* is a typical example of discourse creation. This Yushan discourse is formulated through landscape and landmark construction to foster Taiwanese nationalism. For example, the winning design of the National Palace Museum Southern Branch\(^46\) was themed around Yushan, and was won by the US architect Antoine Predock in 2004\(^47\). This myth—‘sacred mountain’ and ‘spiritual homeland”—is indeed a modern creation, forged by political will, cultural discourse and economic power. In this case, Yushan is consumed as a commodity, and used as an instrument to construct the discourse of Taiwanese nationalism. Moreover, Yushan is also used as an icon to represent Taiwan’s natural beauty. It has been chosen to be one of the potential ‘World Heritage’ sites in Taiwan\(^48\) and was voted by the Taiwanese to be one of the most fitting iconic images to represent Taiwan\(^49\).

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\(^{46}\) Its mission is different from the main Palace Museum in Taipei, and is designed to be an institution for the promotion of Asian arts and culture.

\(^{47}\)故宮南院競圖 玉山意象奪冠

\(^{48}\) CCA, (2003), Introduction to Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan.

\(^{49}\) The GIO held a “Show Taiwan, Looking For Taiwan Image (尋找台灣意象)” voting in December
In the last few years, the aborigines were ‘incorporated’ into the Yushanxue discourse. An invented ceremony of opening/closing of the mountaineering seasons\(^{50}\) was borrowed from the Japanese Shinto concept\(^{51}\). The aborigines were invited to perform sort of ceremonies to mark the opening and closing of the seasons. In contrast to this modern invention, Yushan’s mythical significance to the aboriginal peoples has been intentionally ignored.

It seems to me that Yushanxue is another form of state intervention, separating the aborigines from their natural habitat, muting their voice, using them as a proof of political correctness, belittling their dignity, and most of all, appropriating their origin and their relationship with the land. This seemingly thoughtful ‘incorporation’ to include aborigines was conducted to gain their endorsement, rather than giving back their land and their identity as the ‘indigenous people’. Looking at the messy tablet and building material on the summit, the crowds and rubbishes generated, I wonder to whom that Yushan is playing sacred mountain for?

\(^{2005}\) Out of ten most popular iconic images of Taiwan, Yushan had got 119,884 votes, second to Taiwan’s puppet show (winning 130285 votes). See GIO, (2006), “President Chen and Premier Su announced the Show Taiwan Image Voting Result”.

\(^{50}\) For example, a series of activities named as “Protection of the Sacred Mountain – 2006 Yushan Mountain Ceremony (聖山守護－2006年玉山山祭)” was held recently to mark the close of climbing season (from Jan. 15\(^{th}\) to March 25\(^{th}\)).

\(^{51}\) Egenter, Nold (1984), “Fujisan: The Master of the 10,000 mountains”.
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千元券正面的地球儀與背面的玉山，以及五百元券背面的大霸尖山，則應為電腦掃繪圖的結果。也因爲這個緣故，央行不小心把地球儀的左右邊弄顛倒了，小朋友通通成了一手寫地圖的左撇子。不過央行並不承認這個疏失。

過去新台幣都是以人像為圖案，現在則改為台灣本土圖像，它標志著台灣向“台獨”方向又邁進了一步。7月3日“央行”發行的新版新台幣千元券，背景以玉山為圖案，並有台灣特種鳥類帝雉，7月4日，“央行”發行局長吳紹起召開臨時記者會詳細講述了新版新台幣的出爐過程。他說，新版新台幣早在1998年就开始設計了，其间經過多次修正後再報請“央行”理監事會議通過，然後於1999年3月5日報請“行政院”核定發行。吳紹起說，“央行”主要是由專業人才規劃設計新版鈔券。新版鈔券除了要加強防僞功能外，更重要的是它凸顯了台灣本土文化，“我們也有自己的理念”。票面上的風景有玉山和大霸尖山。

During the promotion period, artists, writers, poets, were mobilised to climb Yushan, and produced a body of works—including prose, poems and paintings. Yushanxu courses were organised by the Yushan National Park, introducing its geographical, biological, and historical knowledge; Yushan song and symphony were commissioned and performed. Organised pilgrimages to Yushan are arranged every year. Politicians also used Yushan to declare their loyalty to Taiwan. Even in the international competition for the design of the Palace Museum, southern branch, a design themed ‘Jade Mountain’ by American architect Antoine Predock has won the competition. In this frenzy of declaring ‘love for Taiwan’, a proposal of providing all Taiwanese with ‘equal’ opportunities to ‘get close to’ Yushan was made. In order to provide convenience and maximise visitor number, the Council for Economic Planning and Development (CEPD) has proposed to build 4 cable car lines in 4 major mountains—Yushan, Xueshan, Nanhu dashan, and Hehuanshan—in the preservation areas within the National Parks, in spite of the environmentalist protests. The purpose was to offer Taiwanese the chance to climb Taiwan’s greatest mountain range.

Landscape is far from naïve and ‘neutral’ as generally perceived. Rather, it can be seen as a cultural and social construction through the intervention of human activities and cultural interpretation. As Mitchell puts it, landscape should be understood not just as an object to be

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52 In 2003, the Taiwan Solidarity Union (台灣團結聯盟) Legislators form ‘Reaching Yushan Team玉山攻頂團’ climbed Yushan and declared “Climb Yushan, Love Taiwan” statement (「登玉山，愛台灣」宣言). Moreover, the Ketagalan School(凱達格蘭學校), which was founded by Chen Shui-bian in 2003, also included Yushanxue in their curriculum, describing the trip to climb Yushan as the ‘journey of Taiwanese spirit (台灣精神之旅)’. 22
seen or a text to be read, but “as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed.”53 The invention and promotion of *Yushanxue* is a political intervention of create a discourse. This discourse is constructed to foster nationalism through landscape and landmarks. This myth—‘sacred mountain’, ‘spiritual homeland’—is indeed a modern creation, forged by political will, cultural discourse and resourceful budget. In contrast to this modern myth, Yushan’s mythical significance to the aboriginal peoples (including Bunung & Tsou peoples) has been intentionally ignored. Now, Yushan is a hot spot for Taiwanese tourism, a political symbol of nationalism, and a mythical origin of the Taiwanese. This paper examines the formation of *Yushanxue* discourse, and untangles the creation of a nationalist myth.

Landscape and State – Jade Mountain and Taiwanese identity

After the 228 incident, seven aboriginal chiefs dedicated flags and swords to Chiang Kai-shek to show their loyalty.

In DPP President Chen Shui-bian’s 2000 Presidential Inauguration ceremony, a newly composed ‘Yushan Symphony’ was performed; Politicians; 2000 年 5 月 20 日新任總統就職大典中，演奏國際知名作曲家蕭泰然的「玉山頌交響詩」樂曲

My research interest focuses on the politics of culture and how power is exercised through the construction of culture and discourse. I have just finished a project on the culture construction in post-war Taiwan, examining the relationship between cultural politics and identity. This proposed research intends to extend to a spatial aspect of ‘culture construction’.

Landscape is far from naïve and ‘neutral’ as generally perceived. As Mitchell puts it, landscape should be understood “not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed.”\textsuperscript{54} In this research, I wish to examine the development of Taiwan as a ‘place’ to be discovered, marked, portrayed and visited. My intention is to see the interplay between cultural geography and politics. Applying cultural geography, this research aims to not only see how Taiwanese landscape is constructed in history, but also what it does in the process of identity formation.

土地、人口、舊慣的調查，把握全島的實情來做成稅收等的基本資料。其次是沒收土地為公有，然後實施放領給日本企業，讓三菱、三井等大財閥進入台灣

台南延平郡王祠的幾對聯語：（1）
開萬古得未曾有之奇，洪荒留此山川，作遺民世界。

極一生無可如何之遇，缺陷還諸天地，是創格完人！（同治甲戌冬月榖旦，巡臺使者沈葆楨敬書）（2）
生為遺臣，歿為正神，
獨有千古，今受大名，
昔受賜姓，諒哉完人！（光緒元年臘月榖旦，新會張其光敬書）

開萬古得未曾有之奇，洪荒留此山川，作遺民世界。「極一生無可如何之遇，缺陷還諸天地，是創格完人