TAXONOMIES OF TAIWANESE ABORIGINAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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Abstract

This research aims to discover the indigenous taxonomy systems of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments. This is a cross-cultural investigation providing a panoramic perspective on the musical instruments of Taiwanese aborigines (Austronesians). The term ‘musical instrument’ is used in its broadest sense to refer to all sound-producing instruments in this research. There are many reasons for undertaking this research. For example, until now, few people have known what forms of aboriginal musical instruments have existed throughout the island of Taiwan, and there has been little scholarly discussion about their indigenous names and classifications.

The original contribution of the research is its ethnographic fieldwork component, which results in new information concerning indigenous instruments and taxonomic schemes from the opinion of 48 cultural insiders across 17 different aboriginal groups in Taiwan. The researcher’s approach is based on participant observation - by recording the musical activity in either traditional or contemporary contexts, and by interviewing cultural insiders about their traditional music. Also, the researcher analyses the instrumental form, function and meaning of aboriginal instruments across synchronic and diachronic development.
The findings in this dissertation provide a new understanding of many unknown musical instruments from different aboriginal groups (e.g. Bunun, Kavalan, Pazih-Kahabu, Puyuma, Rukai, Sakizaya, Siraya and Tsou). This investigation also makes original contributions to extend the instrument type and the numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system of musical instrument classification. Moreover, this dissertation provides a link between Taiwanese aboriginal instruments and other Austronesian musical instruments. In summary, the many factors that influence indigenous taxonomies of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments include linguistic factors (onomatopoeia, overlapped radicals, and the verbalising affix), how they are played, the materials used in their construction, their performance contexts, as well as players’ gender, social status and religion.
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*Lancini Jen-hao Cheng*
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Abbreviations

CCA: Council for Cultural Affairs

CYC: The China Youth Corps

DPP: Democratic Progressive Party

FACV: Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village

IEAS: The Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica

KMT: Kuo Min Tang (i.e. the Chinese Nationalist Party)

MOC: The Ministry of Culture

NCFTA: The National Center for Traditional Arts

NTU: National Taiwan University

PRC: The People’s Republic of China

ROC: The Republic of China

TIPCP: Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park

VOC: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e. the Dutch East India Company)
Character List of Key Terms

Bei di yin ge hu: 倍低音革胡 (four-stringed double bass spike fiddle)

Bu dai xi: 布袋戲 (glove puppet show)

Cai cha xi: 採茶戲 (tea gathering opera/Hakka Taiwanese opera)

Chuan tong: 傳統 (tradition)

Chuan tong min yao: 傳統音樂 (traditional folksongs)

Chuan tong xi ju: 傳統戲劇 (traditional opera)

Di yin ge hu: 低音革胡 (four-stringed bass spike fiddle)

Dian nai yin yue: 電腦音樂 (computer music)

Dong yang: 東洋 (Eastern Ocean)

Dong yang liu xing yin yue: 東洋流行音樂 (Japanese popular music)

Er hu: 二胡 (two-stringed spike fiddle)

Ge zai xi: 歌仔戲 (Holo Taiwanese opera)

Gong ting yue: 宮廷樂 (palace music)

Gu dian yin yue: 古典樂 (classical music)

Guo ju/jin ju: 國劇/京劇 (national opera/Beijing opera)

Guo yu ge qu: 國語歌曲 (Mandarin songs)

Guo yue: 國樂 (national music)
Guo yue qi: 國樂器 (national musical instruments)

Han ren yin yue: 漢人音樂 (Han Chinese music)

He luo min yao: 河洛民謠 (Holo Taiwanese folksongs)

Jue shi yue: 爵士樂 (Jazz music)

Ke ja ge qu: 客家歌曲 (Hakka Taiwanese songs)

Ke ja min yao: 客家民謠 (Hakka Taiwanese folksongs)

Kui lei xi: 傀儡戲 (marionette)

Liu xing ge qu: 流行歌曲 (popular songs)

Liu xing yin yue: 流行音樂 (popular music)

Min su yin yue: 民俗音樂 (folk music)

Min zu yin yue: 民族音樂 (ethnological music)

Nei: 内 (inside/native)

Pi ying xi: 皮影戲 (shadow puppet show)

Shang: 上 (superior)

Tai wan chuan tong yin yue: 台灣傳統音樂 (Taiwanese traditional music)

Tai wan ben tu xi ju: 台灣本土戲劇 (Taiwanese native operas)

Tai wan ben tu yin yue: 台灣本土音樂 (Taiwanese native music)

Tai wan liu xing yin yue: 台灣流行音樂 (Taiwanese popular music)

Tai wan min su yin yue: 台灣民俗音樂 (Taiwanese folk music)
Tai yu ge qu: 台語歌曲 (Taiwanese songs)

Wai: 外 (outside/foreign).

Xi yang: 西洋 (Western Ocean, i.e., Western countries)

Xi yang gu dian yin yue: 西洋古典音樂 (Western classical music)

Xi yang liu xing yin yue: 西洋流行音樂 (Western popular music)

Xi yue: 西樂 (Western music)

Xia: 下 (inferior)

Xian dai: 現代 (modernity)

Xian dai wu tai ju: 現代舞台劇 (modern theatre)

Ya yue: 雅樂 (ceremonial music)

Yuan zhu min yin yue: 原住民音樂 (aboriginal music)

Zhong guo gu dian yin yue: 中國古典音樂 (Chinese classical music)

Zhong guo yin yue: 中國音樂 (Chinese music)
Glossary of Taiwanese Aboriginal Instruments

Ao: The wooden stamping pestle of The Tao

Alindan: The single-pipe nose flute; the mouth flute of the Puyuma

Amil: The wrist rattle of the Kavalan

Badongdong: The metal gong of the Puyuma

Bahadodan alam: The bamboo clapper of Kavalan

Bangesan: The wooden stamping pestle of The Tao

Banhir latuk: The five-stringed zither of the Bunun

Bishiya: The whistle for hunting muntjac of the Bunun

Bkia: The ankle rattle of the Kavalan

Bnbn: The bullroarer of the Amis

Bulingau: The Jew’s harp of the Thao

Bulingkau: The four-stringed zither of the Bunun

Cohcoh: The bronze rattle of the Amis

Da dodogan bangen: The wooden slit drum of the Kavalan

Dagang: The bamboo stamping tube of the Thao

Datok: The Jew’s harp of the Amis

Dondong: The individual percussion tube of the Amis
Dong dong: The bamboo slit drum of the Pazih-Kahabu

Duang duang: The bronze gong of the Pazih-Kahabu

Dung dung kaxui zunga: The trunk gong of the Pazih-Kahabu

Durdur: The stamping pestles of Bunun

Euvuvu: The bull-roarer of the Tsou

Fasiyaw: The singing kite of the Amis

Gaugau: The bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp of the Seediq-Truku

Gawngu’: The wood slit drum of the Atayal

Grgr: The whirring disc of the Amis

Kaborbor: The Jew’s harp of the Saisiyat

Kahiyopan: The bone flute of the Saisiyat

Kakeng: The stamping tubes/percussion tubes of the Amis

KameLin: The waist rattle of the Puyuma

Kango’ngo’an: The bamboo slit drum of the Saisiyat

Kapa ae:ae: The anklet rattle of the Saisiyat

Kapae’pae’: The bamboo clapper of the Saisiyat

Kapakpak: The bamboo clapper of the Saisiyat

Ki pah pah: The percussion stick of the Bunun

Kiangkiang: The gong rattle of the Amis
*Kilikili:* The forged bell of the Siraya

*Kokang:* The xylophone of the Amis

*Kringkringan:* The forged bell of the Kavalan

*Kralalu:* The single-pipe mouth flute; the double-pipe mouth of the Paiwan

*Kralralru:* The double-pipe mouth flute; the single-pipe mouth flute of the Rukai

*Kungkung:* The Jew’s harp of the Bunun

*Lalam:* The clapper of the Tao

*Lalingedan:* The nose flute of the Paiwan

*Langi:* The silver-chain jingle of the Puyuma

*Laqlaq:* The bone rattle of the Bunun

*Latan:* The jacket rattle of the Atayal

*Latuk:* The musical bow of the Bunun

*Latuk:* The musical bow of the Thao

*Lebere:* The Jew’s harp of the Rukai

*Ljaljetjukan:* The musical bow of the Paiwan

*Ljaljuveran:* The Jew’s harp of the Paiwan

*Lubu:* The single copper-tongue Jew’s harp of the Seediq-Truku

*Lubug spat qnal:* The four-stringed zither of the Seediq-Truku

*Lubu tgdha:* The double copper-tongue Jew’s harp of the Seediq-Truku
Lubu tgtru: The three-copper-tongue Jew’s harp of the Seediq-Truku

Lubu tgryma: The five-copper-tongue Jew’s harp of the Seediq-Truku

Lubu tgsba: The four-copper-tongue Jew’s harp of the Seediq-Truku

Lubug: The Jew’s harp of the Atayal

Lubuw: The Jew’s harp of the Atayal

Lubuw qhuniq: The wooden xylophone of the Atayal

Lubuw taken ruma’: The bamboo-tube gong of Atayal

Lukus: The jacket rattle of the Atayal

Ma pak wis: The percussion stick of the Bunun

Malhakan a fatu: The stone drum of the Thao

Moengü: The forged bell of the Tsou

The rolled nanel leaf: The individual free reed of the Kavalan

No ngoso’a tipolo: The nose flute of the Amis

Nomodac a tipolo: The membrane flute of the Amis

Papotol: The holy sounding whip of the Saisiyat

Paringit: The nose flute of the Siraya

Piengü no ngaru: The mouth flute of the Tsou

Peingu no ngūcū: The nose flute of the Tsou

Peo’ū: The arm rattle of the Tsou
**Pengao:** The headhunter’s flute of the Atayal

**Peyeyiyupan:** The bamboo trumpet of the Siraya

**Pikongkongan:** The individual percussion tube of the Amis

**Piuk:** The flute or whistle of the Kavalan

**Pulralri:** The double-pipe nose flute of the Rukai

**Pupu:** The flute of the Thao

**Raka-no-mugakai:** The chest pendant rattle of the Tao

**Rarongaton:** The transverse flute of the Bunun

**Ratok:** The musical bow of the Puyuma

**Ruma’:** The percussion tube of the Atayal

**Ruver:** The Jew’s harp of the Puyuma

**Sackig:** The forged bell of the Siraya

**Satongtong:** The individual percussion tube of the Amis

**Shasiusiu:** The long bamboo clapper of the Thao

**Singaiyu:** The toy flute of the Tao

**Sipayatū:** The stamping pestle of the Tsou

**Sizung:** The shield bell of the Puyuma

**Somsom:** The bone rattle of the Bunun

**Sowasan:** The bronze rattle of the Amis
Takan: The bamboo stamping tube of the Thao

Takeling: The forged bell of the Amis

Tangfor: The bronze rattle of the Amis

Taodring: The forged bell of the Rukai

Tapa-ngasan: The hip rattle of the Saisiyat

Tarongat: The nose flute of the Bunun

Tatabuan: The stamping tube of the Siraya

Tatuk: The xylophone of the Seediq-Truku

Taturtur: The wooden stamping pestle of the Thao

Tavelelele: The forged bell of the Amis

Tawtriulr: The forged bell of the Puyuma

Tiftif: The musical bow of the Amis

Tipolo: The pan pipe; the transverse flute of the Amis

Tjaudring: The forged bell of the Paiwan

Toklo: The wood drum of the Bunun

Tongaton: The musical bow of the Rukai

Tubtub: The Jew’s harp of the Kavalan

Tubtub: The bamboo slit drum of the Siraya

Tukkik: The conch trumpet of the Kavalan
Tultul: The stamping pestles of Bunun

Tunun: The dancing stick of the Kavalan

Turanian: The nose flute of the Kavalan

Turin: The percussion pipes of the Atayal

Vurig: The percussion tube of the Siraya

Wubon: The wooden slit drum of the Seediq-Truku

Yub: The bamboo trumpet of the Siraya

Yup: The bamboo trumpet of the Siraya

Yutngotngo: The musical bow of the Tsou

Yuubuku: The Jew’s harp of the Tsou
Chapter 1 Introduction

Background

This is a comprehensive investigation into the musical instruments of Taiwanese aborigines.¹ For the purpose of this research, sound-producing instruments are defined as musical instruments in a broad sense.² I do not intend to construct a new taxonomic scheme of musical instruments; rather, I have undertaken an original exploration of the indigenous taxonomy systems in Taiwan. About 500,000 Taiwanese aborigines live on the island of Taiwan (i.e., Formosa) in the western Pacific Ocean (Figure 1).³ Their languages belong to the Austronesian (i.e., Malay-Polynesian) language family.⁴ However, little attention has been paid to Taiwanese Austronesian music, especially to its musical instruments. For example, Ino Kanori, a Japanese anthropologist, was the first scholar to classify Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments into four categories (i.e., the Jew’s harp,⁵ the nose flute, the musical bow, and the mouth flute) in 1907.⁶ Kurosawa Takatomo was the first ethnomusicologist to

¹ This research defines the term ‘aborigine’ as the indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan.
³ Formosa is the alternative name of Taiwan; “People,” Taiwan.
⁴ Trejaut, “Mitochondrial DNA Provides a Link between Polynesians and Indigenous Taiwanese,” e281.
⁵ In this research, the Jew’s harp does not mean a Jewish instrument. The Jew’s harp is a commonly used term in ethnomusicology to indicate various kinds of plucked idiophones, whose lamellae fixed at one end for flexing and releasing to return to their position of rest. For this reason, here the term ‘Jew’s harp’ is used as a common noun to refer to all types of plucked idiophones (see Appendix B).
⁶ Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gakkii,” 233–41.
lead a team in undertaking large-scale fieldwork among eleven aboriginal groups (e.g., Taya’s [Atayal], Sazeks [Seediq], Saisets [Saisiyat], Vununs [Bunun], Tsos [Tsou], Paiwans, Tsarisens [Rukai], Puyuma, Amis, Yamis [Tao] and Sao [Thao]) in 1943. He classified musical instruments by instrumental types (e.g., mouth harp, musical bow, psaltery, vertical flute, nose flute, cross flute, bells, selfklinger, and sound-producing instrument). Moreover, Ping-chuan Lu was the first Taiwanese ethnomusicologist to undertake large-scale fieldwork concerning aboriginal instruments. Although he recorded the indigenous names for instruments when the data was available, he did not further study their etymology. In this dissertation, I describe some preciously undocumented aboriginal instruments and decodes some indigenous taxonomies through studying the etymology of indigenous instrumental names.

The development of instrumental classification is not immutable. Most Western studies in the late 19th century and the early 20th century have classified non-Western instruments according to Western classification systems. For example, Jaap Kunst imposed Western classification on Javanese instruments and the instruments of Nias that he collected in fieldwork. In the 20th century, some anthropologists began to pay attention to indigenous instrument classification. David Ames and Anthony

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7 Kurosawa, *Taiwan Takasago Zoku no Ongaku*.
King classified Hausa instruments according to the Hornbostel-Sachs classification, even though they collected the indigenous terms and categories regarding musical instruments and music-making from the Hausa people in their fieldwork.\textsuperscript{10} Since the 1960s, an essential trend in organology has been to regard musical instruments as sound-producing objects as a way of understanding the relationships between musical instruments and their social structures (e.g., cultural practice, religion, and social function).\textsuperscript{11} Hans-Peter Reinecke applies the viewpoint of social sciences to explore musical instruments. His fourfold classification (i.e., trumpet, flute, bells and gongs, and strings) correlates with four emotional stereotypes (i.e., awe, life, authority, and order). He prefers to study the function of a phenomenon rather than instrumental structure.\textsuperscript{12} After the 1970s, culture-emerging taxonomy schemes became popular among scholars as culture-emerging taxonomies reflect the broad ideas or identity of their cultural matrices.\textsuperscript{13} Hugo Zemp studies the semantic field of ’Are’are musical instruments to reveal the classification of musical types and instruments.\textsuperscript{14} As Margaret Kartomi states, a culture-emerging classification can sometimes scarcely “be called a scheme”; it is “actually a reconstructed model of an ordering of data in

\textsuperscript{10} Ames and King, \textit{Glossary of Hausa Music}, x.
\textsuperscript{11} Cf. Kartomi, “Upward and Downward Classifications,” 3.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.; Reinecke, “Einige Bemerkungen zur methodologischen Basis instrumentaler Forschung,” 176–79.
\textsuperscript{14} Zemp, “Are’are Classification,” 37–67.
the minds of [cultural insiders].”\textsuperscript{15} Also, Bruno Nettl suggests that “people should consider how the indigenous lay out their world of music, by what principles their taxonomy is formed, and how is the rest of their culture.”\textsuperscript{16} Moreover, he states that, “among the classifications of music used by any society, an essential element is the taxonomy of humans by their place in the musical culture. This might relate to active and passive roles and contain inventive musicians as well as audience, composers, performers, patrons and scholars.”\textsuperscript{17} Instrumental taxonomies reflect the taxonomist’s point of view, culture, and social structure. Furthermore, the classifications could be seen as an abstraction of thoughts and beliefs that carry the social and other functions of the instrument. In some cases, a classification of an instrument might illustrate the distinguishing characteristic of an individual culture and its social structures.\textsuperscript{18} As Kartomi points out:

An examination of a society’s classification schemes and the rationale behind them (where available) can give us not only an insight into the relevant culture itself but also a greater understanding of our own, for the study of contrasting cultures can—paradoxically—be an exercise in self-knowledge or consciousness-raising.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{15} Kartomi, \textit{On Concepts and Classifications}, 13.\textsuperscript{\textit{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{16}} Nettl, \textit{Blackfoot Musical Thought}, 77.\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 82.\textsuperscript{18} Kartomi, \textit{On Concepts and Classifications}, xvi.\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.}
With regard to music ethnography, the objective is to build on the perspectives of the people studied so that ethnomusicologists gain “insider/emic” perspective concerning the music culture studied.\textsuperscript{20} Henry Johnson notes the importance of considering “a cultural insider’s perspective of how and why an instrument is structured as it is, and what the object means to people.”\textsuperscript{21} In addition, I am a native Taiwanese and brings to the research not only Taiwanese insider cultural knowledge, but also a general Taiwanese viewpoint on aboriginal music and culture in Taiwanese society. Different aboriginal groups have, however, different cultural practices in Taiwan. Hence, I work as an outsider and participant observer to interview and to understand aboriginal insiders and their cultures, and will explain to other outsiders the relationship between music and culture posited by ethnomusicological theories.\textsuperscript{22}

The background to this research dates back many years. When I had successfully undertaken postgraduate study in the UK, I found that ethnomusicological, or folkloric study, in Western scholarship contained a more well-rounded approach and ripper analytical criticism than similar scholarly fields in Taiwan. The study of Taiwanese traditional music is still a mostly unfamiliar sphere to the Western world, even though, for example, Indian, Japanese, Indonesian, and

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{20} Kruger, \textit{Ethnography in the Performing Arts}, 50. \\
\textsuperscript{21} Johnson, “Introduction,” 7. \\
\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Barz and Cooley, “The Field,” 46.
\end{flushleft}
Middle Eastern folk music has been widely investigated in other studies. In Taiwan, although many ethnomusicologists have already recorded and transcribed a great deal of folk music in their fieldwork and discovered the original meanings of folk songs (see the Folksongs Collection Movements in Section 2.2 Musical Ethnography at Home), less attention has been given to investigating the form of instruments and their performance, social function, and meaning change. Still, indigenous taxonomic schemes of aboriginal musical instruments throughout Taiwan remain unknown or vague. As such, indigenous taxonomic schemes are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this research.

The objective of this thesis is to introduce the significance associated with aboriginal musical instruments in order to show how the instruments are understood in the Taiwanese aboriginal context, an understanding of which contributes to ethnomusicological scholarship more broadly. This research aims to discover whether the musical practices of Taiwanese aborigines have their own indigenous taxonomy systems of musical instruments, and it will organise the data about aboriginal instruments systematically as a way of comprehending and comparing Taiwanese indigenous cultures (see Chapter 6 and chapter 7). As well as critically discussing secondary literature and archives on various Taiwanese aboriginal instruments across synchronic and diachronic development, this research will provide a panoramic
perspective on Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments by analysing the contemporary form, function, and meaning of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments as identified through first-hand ethnographic field research, as well as through representation through museumification and performance in Taiwan.

When studying for my PhD in New Zealand, I learned much about the blood and linguistic relationship between Taiwanese aborigines and Austronesian peoples. Through examining the evolution of the Austronesian language a research team at Auckland University discovered that Pacific people spread from Taiwan five thousand years ago. A genetic Mitochondrial DNA study helps confirm the theory that Polynesians, who are settled on islands across a vast swathe of ocean, started out in Taiwan. Mitochondrial DNA is passed along almost unchanged from mothers to their children, and provides a kind of genetic clock linking present-day Polynesians to the descendants of aboriginal residents of Taiwan. These findings raise the question of whether there is some common character between Taiwanese aboriginal instruments and Austronesian instruments. As musical instruments are “meaningful objects of material culture,” “they are parts of social and cultural flows” as well as “the epitome of culture” per se. The foregoing motives inspired me to connect Taiwanese

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23 In points of linguistics and culture, Taiwanese (Formosan) aboriginals belong to the Austronesian language family.
25 Trejaut, “Mitochondrial DNA Provides a Link,” e281.
aboriginal instruments with Austronesian instruments in Chapter 6. The connection is indispensable to fill this Pacific Rim/Asian gap in international ethnomusicological research, and Taiwanese aboriginal culture and music can be seen as “a missing link” in Pacific studies. Thus, the outcome of this doctoral dissertation will also contribute to the knowledge of Austronesian music.

I have investigated the nature of musical instruments in the original musical thought of Taiwanese aboriginal groups by questioning cultural insiders: “What is the significance of musical instrument?” “How does a musical instrument function?” “What are the principal categories of musical instruments?” As Nettl states, “looking at early ethnographies, myths, recent interviews, vocabulary, an outsider’s description of events and behaviour” helps ethnomusicologists understand an ethnic culture’s musical thought.

**Methods and Scope of Study**

This research employs the methodologies of organology, ethnomusicology, folklore studies, and ethnography (see also section 2.2 on Musical Ethnography at Home). The original contribution of the research is its ethnographic fieldwork component, which results in new information concerning indigenous instruments and

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28 Ibid.
taxonomic schemes from cultural insiders’ opinions from different aboriginal groups throughout Taiwan (cf. Table 1). My approach is based on participant observation—by recording the musical activity in either traditional or contemporary contexts, and by interviewing cultural insiders about their traditional music. To undertake fieldwork in order to interview Taiwanese aboriginal insiders about their instruments and musical practice, I worked as a participant observer in order to understand the interplay of aboriginal culture, musical practice, and performance contexts. The beliefs, practices, histories, and taxonomy schemes of Taiwanese aboriginal societies have been primarily preserved by oral transmission, and it is important to interview in detail cultural insiders about their aboriginal instruments as a way of decoding their oral traditions. In the case of culture-emerging taxonomies, my task have been to discover semantic domains and ways of organisation, avoiding the imposition of my own predeterminations. The musical thought of Taiwanese aboriginal groups with reference to taxonomy can be gleaned from observing what cultural insiders choose to mention and what they avoid. For the sake of cross-cultural study and the analysis of instrument structure, I have classified Taiwanese aboriginal instruments by using the Dewey decimal system of the Hornbostel-Sachs classification. The Hornbostel-

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31 Taking, as my inspiration, Nettl, Blackfoot Musical Thought, 51.
Sachs classification scheme was chosen because the Dewey decimal system is used globally in organology and ethnomusicology. Nevertheless, it is with the insiders’ perspectives that the instruments are discussed.

Before conducting fieldwork, I always attempted to e-mail or text a message to my interviewees as a way of informing them about the research project as well as noting that I was a visiting student at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica (IEAS) in Taiwan. If e-mail was not possible, I would send them a postcard or directly phone them. Moreover, I prepared business cards to confirm that I was a researcher for this project. Such preparation in the Taiwanese context is helpful for this type of fieldwork since it allows me to gain trust from informants when they meet. During interviewing, I took notes and photos as well as sound/video recordings, which were stored digitally. I always employed a measuring tape to measure instrument dimensions, if instruments were available. The interview questions were focused on inquiring about indigenous instrumental names, meaning, cultural practice, and performance contexts.
Table 1 Fieldwork Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13/1/2008</td>
<td>Taiwan Indigenous Cultural Park, Pintung</td>
<td>Observation, Data collection</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/2009 to 9/2009</td>
<td>Throughout Taiwan</td>
<td>Three-months ethnography, Interview</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/11/2011</td>
<td>Museum of Anthropology, Taipei</td>
<td>Data collection</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/12/2011</td>
<td>Puli, Nantou</td>
<td>The Kahabu New Year</td>
<td>Kahabu, Bunun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/12/2011</td>
<td>Lanyan Museum, Toucheng, Yilan</td>
<td>Data collection</td>
<td>Kavalan, Atayal</td>
</tr>
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<td>Alishan, Chiayi</td>
<td>Ethnography</td>
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<td>Fort Zeelandia, Tainan</td>
<td>Siraya Festival</td>
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<td>27/7/2013</td>
<td>Wanmei village, Nantou</td>
<td>Post-fieldwork</td>
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During the three-month period of fieldwork between July and September 2009, I spent considerable time undertaking participant observation in the eastern part of Taiwan (e.g., Hualian and Taitung), since most Taiwanese aboriginal cultural insiders live there (Figure 1). I also travelled to the northern, western, middle, and southern parts of Taiwan to interview other aboriginal cultural insiders, including Atayal and Saisiyat insiders who live in the north; Thao and Bunun, who live in the central part of Taiwan; Tsou and Plains, who live in the west; and Paiwan and Rukai, who live in
the south. As remote areas have few scheduled buses, I had to drive his car to these places. Sometimes I had to spend around eight hours driving to visit an informant just in one day.33

While in Taiwan, I visited eighteen museums, libraries, and archives to collect information about historical instruments. During library research, I received permission to access data from the IEAS, Taiwan. Hence, I benefited greatly from Academia Sinica due to its abundant collections and equipment. I examined numerous archival pictures and historical literature on Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments from many libraries and museums. In the fieldwork, I came into contact with forty-eight aboriginal insiders. I interviewed thirty-one informants with knowledge of aboriginal instruments, consulting them about their cultural practices and the indigenous names of musical instruments. These cultural insiders come from seventeen different ethnic groups of Taiwanese aborigines: Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kahabu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pazih, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Siraya, Tao, Thao, Truku, and Tsou (Figure 1).34

34 Ibid.
It is fundamental to this study that there is such a thing as an aboriginal musical culture, early and recent, and that it is primarily to be sought in the concepts and indigenous names of musical instruments.\textsuperscript{35} As such, the scope of this research is

particularly ambitious due to the diversity of Taiwanese aboriginal languages and the widespread distribution of Taiwanese aborigines and their remote villages, but the relationship between an instrument, its given name, its musical practice, and its place as a meaningful object of music material culture provides a useful way of undertaking such “cross-cultural” study. Ultimately, the research will help in understanding the development of indigenous instrumental taxonomies and Taiwanese aboriginal musical practices.  

The term “taxonomy” cannot simply be seen as a synonym of the term “classification,” and it is essential to investigate the relationships between a given name of an instrument and its musical practice. As Henry Johnson suggests, “a musical instrument can be seen as a unique signifier of meanings in various contexts.” It is important to understand the given name of an instrument and the reasons for such a given name. Furthermore, study of the many levels of meaning associated with musical instruments is required so that musical instruments can be understood in their cultural context.

It is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by the term “musical instrument.” The concept of an instrument (similar to the concept of music) differs from one culture or period to another depending on the function it is seen to achieve.

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37 Johnson, “A ‘Koto’ by any other Name,” 43.
As Jeremy Montagu suggests, “casual and accidental sounds are not musical. By contrast, music is sound which is intentionally produced to create emotion (e.g., pleasure, awe or fear) by objects that people call ‘musical instruments’.” Also, Hans Fischer states that “tools produce unintentional or secondary sounds (e.g., smith’s hammering) during their use, which are not regarded as sound-producing instruments; and further, sound-producing instruments should be explained as processed or unprocessed objects by virtue of which humans intentionally produce sound.” As Geneviève Dournon points out, “tools, weapons, vessels and other utensils may be used as rhythmical instruments during a festival or a ritual and are then returned to their ordinary use.” Listener’s decisions have great influence on whether casual and accidental sounds are considered musical or not.

As can be seen, sound is produced in numerous ways. Moreover, some scholars catalogue body percussion as “corpophones” in their classified schemes. For example, Kartomi defines sounding body movements (e.g., clapping) as musical instruments. However, the scope of this research does not include corpophones due to the diversity of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments and my limited resources. In addition, as Hornbostel claims,

39 Montagu, Origins and Development of Musical Instruments, 1–2.
40 Fischer, Sound-Producing Instruments in Oceania, 1.
42 Fischer, Sound-Producing Instruments in Oceania, 1.
44 Ibid.
For purposes of research everything must count as a musical instrument with which sound can be produced intentionally and, for this reason, it is advisable to use the term ‘sound-producing instruments.’

Although differences in definitions exist, there appears to be some agreement that the term “musical instrument” refers to an instrument that is deliberately used to produce sound. In this research the term “musical instrument” is used in its broadest sense to refer to all sound-producing instruments. Owing to the fact that the number of sound-producing instruments is large, they have been classified using the Hornbostel and Sachs scheme.

**Chapter Outline**

The overall structure of this PhD dissertation takes the form of seven chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 is a literature review and discusses the theoretical dimensions of the research. Chapter 3 focuses on the concepts of tradition, change, and cultural policy in Taiwanese music. Chapter 4 presents a study of archival sources (representation through museumification). Chapter 5 offers ethnographic case

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studies (representation through performance) of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in festivals and “cultural villages.” Chapter 6 analyses the results of the qualitative interviews that were undertaken as part of the research process, and looks at how indigenous musicians understand their musical practice in self-representation. Finally, the conclusion provides a summary and critique of the findings concerning indigenous taxonomies, and includes a discussion of the implications of the findings for future research into Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments.

There are many reasons for undertaking research on taxonomies of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Firstly, scholars have been unable to ascertain, comprehensively and comparatively, what forms of aboriginal musical instruments have existed throughout the island of Taiwan. Secondly, aboriginal musical instruments have been named in historical Chinese studies, but there has been little discussion about the indigenous given names of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Thirdly, most of the scholarly research on this topic has omitted any detailed descriptions of aboriginal musical instruments (the instruments have been described mostly by text without illustrations). Thus, it is highly possible that confusion has occurred regarding what exactly aboriginal musical instruments look like. Fourthly, no research has organised and classified all the aboriginal instruments existing in Taiwan, nor compared the synchronic and diachronic development of
Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Fifthly, nowadays some specimens of aboriginal instruments that existed on the island are only stored in the Ethnographic Artefacts Exhibition Room of the National Taiwan University and the Museum of the IEAS. They are less known to the general public, and there have been few chances for them to be displayed or accessed by the general public. This research uncovers historical and contemporary aboriginal musical instruments and discusses, when known, the place of the instruments in the social and cultural context of Taiwan.
Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter has been divided into three main parts. The first section, the literature review, has been further subdivided into four parts: 1) a review of historical literature; 2) a review of Tsang-houei Hsu’s section on “Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music” in the New Grove; 3) a review of Chun-bin Chen’s “Voices of Double Marginality: Music, Body and Mind of Taiwanese Aborigines in the Post-Modern Era”; and 4) a review of Chou Chiener’s “Experience and Fieldwork: A Native Researcher’s View.”

To date, there has been little discussion on the influence of historical ethnography on Taiwanese aboriginal music and instruments. Therefore, the second section, titled Musical Ethnography at Home, will discuss the research methods used in this thesis. Additionally, little attention has been paid to study the performance contexts and the appropriation of aboriginal musical instruments. Accordingly, the third section employs authenticity theory to examine Taiwanese aboriginal musical instrument performance.

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Review of Historical Literature

As Yetkin Özer suggests: “the critical analysis of historical development of a musical
instrument could help people scrutinise the socio-cultural contexts that underlie its development.”¹ For this reason, in order to investigate the socio-cultural contexts of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, it was necessary to review the ancient literature, despite difficulties in accessing this information as well as its archaic nature. Since the 17th century, Taiwan has been colonised by several different nations. Its history can be divided into several parts: the Dutch-Spanish period (1624-1662), the period of Prince Zheng Cheng-gong (the last general of the Ming dynasty, 1661-1683), the period of the Qing dynasty (1683-1895), the Japanese period (1895-1945), the Chinese Nationalist period (1945-1987), and the democratic period (1987 - the present).² However, scant information is available on Taiwanese aboriginal music before the period of the Qing dynasty.

The period of the Qing Dynasty (1683-1895)

Qing dynasty literature was all written in classical Chinese, which present-day scholars have found extremely difficult to understand and to translate into English. It is also important to note that the writers of these ancient literary texts were not trained as ethnomusicological fieldworkers. Their records were always ethnocentric, and derogatory towards Taiwanese aborigines. For example, Huang Shu-jing’s “Luo Ren

² Hsu, “Taiwan,” 1.
Cong Xiao Pian” ridiculed Taiwanese aborigines as ‘naked people.’ His attitude is a kind of Chinese chauvinism. Mandarins used the word *fan* (barbarian) to stigmatize Taiwanese aborigines. Yet despite its ethnocentric bias, archaic literature enables us to understand the structure of ancient Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, how they were played, and their social functions.

In 1722, during the Qing dynastic era, Chinese patrol officer Huang Shu-jing visited Taiwan. He wrote an eight-volume book named *Tai Hai Shi Chai Lu Ba Juan* (Envoy’s Official Record of the Taiwan Strait Area, Eight Volumes). This book, which is an important source of information on many Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, contains information about the Jew’s harp, musical bow, nose flute, reed flute, gong, drum, and other instruments.

Several quotations from this book provide evidence of Jew’s harp performance, and the important role it played in courtship among Taiwanese aboriginal groups:

Lovers play the Jew’s harp to seduce each other during courtship. Subsequently, they become husband and wife, if they are pleased with each other. The instrument is made from curved bamboo that is four Chinese inches long. The body of the instrument is hollowed by two

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3 Huang, *Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan*, 8 volumes.
5 One Chinese inch is equal to 1.312 inches in the imperial system.
inches, and a piece of copper is nailed on. In addition, there is a little handle tied on to the
instrument with which to pull and drag as well as to agitate by mouth.⁶

Men and women play the Jew’s harp and sing in an antiphonal style in Piedmont. They are
congenial towards each other when they meet, and copulate immediately.⁷

A grown-up woman who builds a house and lives alone can choose her partner without
inviting a matchmaker. If a barbarian youth likes her, he will play a mouth zither [i.e., musical
bow] to provoke her. The bow is made from bamboo, whose length is about one Chinese foot.⁸
The maker uses a silk thread as a string, and folds a thin reed and loops it at the end of the
bow for pressing close to the end of the string. The player bites the back of the bow and holds
the string in one clawed hand, using the other hand to pluck the string. This sound is called ‘Tu
Rou,’ [and is onomatopoeiac].⁹

A boy does not need his parents to invite a matchmaker. He just plays the Jew’s harp, and
follows and flirts with a girl. Then he gathers a crowd to carry the girl off and marry her by

⁶ Huang, “Bei lu zhu luo fan san” [The barbarian of North Zhu Luo area, third], in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
⁷ Huang, “Nan lu feng shan lang jiao shi ba she san” [The eighteen societies of South Feng Shan Lang
Jiao area, third],” in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
⁸ One Chinese foot is equals to 1.094 feet the imperial system.
⁹ Huang, “Nan lu feng shan fan yi” [The barbarian of South Feng Shan area, first], in Tai hai shi chai
lu ba juan; my translation.
force. The situation is similar to robbery.  

Blowing with the mouth through the crack of the bamboo of the Jew’s harp controls the timbre. 

This importance of the Jew’s harp in courtship is confirmed by Rung-shun Wu, who points out that Jew’s harps were used as a privileged means of communication between aboriginal lovers. The written record also tallies with aboriginal oral tradition (e.g., that of the Atayal, Seediq, Amis, and Truku peoples). For instance, Iki (a Seediq-Truku informant) states that “people can show their affection to someone through playing the lubu [the Jew’s harp].”

Tai Hai Shi Chai Lu Ba Juan also contains a lot of information on the structure of the musical bow, the way of playing this instrument, and the contexts of its performance. As with the Jew’s harp, the musical bow also serves a courtship function. It is important to note, however, that the same musical instrument in different aboriginal groups can have different social functions. For example, a Bunun

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10 Ibid., “Bei lu zhu luo fan qi” [The barbarian of North Zhu Luo area, seventh], in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
11 Ibid., “Luo ren cong xiao pian” [A laughing chapter about a crowd of naked people], in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
12 Wu, Songs of the Atayal Tribe, “Cover Painting Description.”
13 Iki.tadaw, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, digital recording (MIC00001), Taroko, Hualien County, 14 July 2009.
14 Huang, Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan, 8 volumes.
woman can play the Jew’s harp whenever she misses her absent husband (see Subsection 6.3.5). In contrast, Seediq-Truku men play Jew’s harps for courtship (see Subsection 6.11.4).

This text also contains information on other Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, such as the flute: “Players use the breath of their nose to blow a vertical bamboo flute.” The gong is also mentioned: “While the body was not yet interred at the cemetery; the community hit the gong,” and “when a sergeant dies, a blue pennant is hung and a gong summons the community.” It is clear that the gong was primarily used in relation to funerals. The gong is a Taiwanese aboriginal idiophone. It was used by the Plains aborigines (cf. Subsection 6.6.3) and the Amis people (cf. Subsection 6.1.5). Some Taiwanese ethnomusicologists, such as Ping-chuan Lu, have hypothesised that the Plains’ gong was borrowed from the Chinese. However, there is no evidence to prove that the Plains aboriginal gong was borrowed from the Chinese or that the Chinese gong was borrowed from the plains aborigines. The Plains’ gong has almost disappeared since most of the Plains aborigines were assimilated by the Taiwanese.

In 1724 (during the Qing Dynasty), another important record about Taiwanese

\[15\] Ibid., “Luo ren cong xiao pian,” in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
\[16\] Ibid., “Bei lu zhu luo fan si” [The barbarian of North Zhu Luo area, fourth], in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
\[17\] Ibid., “Nan lu feng shan fan yi,” in Tai hai shi chai lu ba juan; my translation.
\[18\] Cf. Lu, Tai wan tu zhu zu zhi yue qi, 19.
\[19\] Hsu, Tai wan yin yue shi chu gao, 13–14.
aboriginal musical instruments was written: Chen Meng-lin’s *Zhu Luo Xian Zhi* (The record of *Zhu Luo County*). In this record, a reed-like blown instrument is mentioned:

A thin thread is wound around half of a one-inch pipe of reed, and the other half is duckbill-like. Cut a piece of bamboo into a six- or seven-inch length and drill three holes in it. [For] the instrument which comprises the reed pipe and a bamboo aperture, the given name is ‘reed flute.’

Significantly, the reed flute does not appear in contemporary ethnographic reports. This historical literature is probably the only record of its existence. However, my ethnographic fieldwork showed that the *piyu* screw pine oboe of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.8) and the rolled *nanel* leaf of the Kavalan (Subsection 6.4.8) are somewhat similar to the reed flute.

In this text, there is also a brief passage describing a performance that resembles the *Chu Ge* (the tune of the stamping pestle) of the Thao:

The mortar is made of a huge piece of wood; it is four feet in diameter and about two feet in

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height. Its bottom is chiselled to be a pot-like concave. The side of the mortar has three or four
apertures, which is convenient when moving it. On both sides people take turns to use the
pestle in the mortar as well as to go around the mortar following the rhythm or singing a song
in response. Just before dawn, the men of the cottages flee eastwards to faraway lands; the
sound seems like a remote bell tolling as well as a lonely rock-beating. The guests suddenly
listen to it, but cannot distinguish what the sound is.\[22\]

In Thao’s New Years Eve celebration (held on the 31\textsuperscript{st} of July),\[23\] a group of eight to
ten females strike differently sized stamping pestles (with different pitches) as well as
two or three big bamboo tubes against the stone floor (cf. Subsection 6.14.2).

\textit{Fan She Cai Fen Tu Kao} (the Research of the Collected Folklores and Pictures
from Barbarian Societies) features forty-eight items and twenty-one paintings.\[24\] The
fifteenth of the forty-eight sections explains the structure of the Jew’s harp, the way it
is performed and its performance context. For example:

\begin{quote}
An instrument is shaped like a zither, whose size resembles a thumb. It is circa four inches

[Chinese inch]\[25\] long, which is hollowed circa two inches in the body of instrument for
\end{quote}

\[22\] Liu, \textit{Fan she cai fen tu kao}; my translation.
\[23\] The Thao people have adopted the Chinese calendar. The 1\textsuperscript{st} of August in the Chinese calendar
marks the Thao’s New Year.
\[24\] Liu, \textit{Fan she cai fen tu kao}; my translation.
\[25\] Four Chinese inches are equal to 5.248 inches in the imperial system.
nailing copper tongue. And there is a handle to tie on the instrument [for pulling]. One hand
keeps the instrument in front of the lips for agitating it. The sound through the copper tongue
seems to talk familiarly on and on towards the girl. *Bata* [young man] is blowing and walking
under the bright moon within his tribe. If the girl is fond of the *bata*, she will play her
instrument to respond to him. [Further], they have a relationship with each other
surreptitiously.26

The above description concerning the structure of the Jew’s harp is identical to the
contemporary Jew’s harps of Taiwan aborigines. The seventeenth of the forty-eight
sections explains the use of gongs in an uxorilocal marriage procession. For example:

The day they got married, the barbarian woman made up herself elaborately to sit on the rafted
palankeen by means of poles resting on the shoulders of four men. People raise colorful
pennants in front of the group. They strike the gong boisterously for gathering crowds to roam
throughout tribe. Relatives and friends all come to offer their congratulations. When the
barbarian woman arrives at her son-in-law’s family, she takes his hand and he returns her to
her home.27

26 Liu, “Kou qin” [The mouth instrument], *Fan she cai fen tu kao*, 5; my translation.
27 Ibid., “Zhui xu” [Son-in-law living at wife's parent's house], *Fan she cai fen tu kao*, 6; my
translation.
Compare this with Subsection 6.6.3 and Figure 4.2.1.7. The aforementioned record helps us to understand the performance context of the gong of the Plains aborigines in the Qing dynasty. The twenty-sixth of the forty-eight sections explains the structure of the nose flute, the way it is performed, and the occasions of its performance.

Cut bamboo and bore four finger-holes into it. The length [of the nose flute] is circa two feet.

Open an orifice on the bamboo joint for blowing by nose. It is entirely the plaything of *bata* [the unmarried young men]. Press [the nose flute] on the nose transversely for blowing. [The nose flute] can play different pitches, tones, volumes and rhythms. It is probably a kind of *dongxiao* [a Chinese flute]. At night, *bata* play it around the tribe. [If] a barbarian girl is listening to the tune and likes it; she will invite him into her house.\(^{28}\)

This historical literature is analogous to the nose flute discussed in Subsection 4.2.1, the *paringit* of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.6), and the *turanian* of the Kavalan (Subsection 6.4.7). Moreover, three out of twenty-one paintings depict the wedding tableau of a groom escorting his bride back to his home, and the drum and wind instrument players leading the way (see Subsection 4.2.1).\(^{29}\)

In 1766, *Shiao Liu Qiu Man Zhi* (the Casual Record of Small Liu Qiu) was

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\(^{28}\) Ibid., “Bi di” [The nose flute], *Fan she cai fen tu kao*, 10; my translation.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., “Ying fu” [Wedding], *Fan she cai fen tu kao*, 34; my translation.
written by Zhu Shi-jie. The record describes a play:

The barbarian women are attired with a wreath on their head when a family has a celebration or wedding. Ten of them, hand in hand, jump together. Otherwise, some of the barbarian children play metal instruments and drums; some sing various barbarian songs. It is similar to a Chinese play.\textsuperscript{30}

In the chapter ‘\textit{Ba You Ji Lve Yun,’ Zhu Shi-jie also notes:

Barbarian music, cymbal striking, small drum beating, two people acting in the play, shaking their heads and hopping on their feet, using their hands in martial contest, and singing \textit{wa wa} [this is onomatopoeiac].\textsuperscript{31}

Through this description we can take a glance at ancient performance practice. It is similar to the Dance of the Bronze Gong of the Pazih-Kahabu people (see Subsection 6.6.3).

In 1836, the record “\textit{Guan An Li She Ta Ge} (the Observation of Jumping Singing in \textit{An Li Society})” in \textit{Zhang Hua Xian Zhi} (the Record of \textit{Zhang Hua County}) was written by \textit{Zhou Xi}. This source mentions the Taiwanese aboriginal Jew’s harp and nose flute:

\textsuperscript{30} Zhu, “Play,” in \textit{Shiao liu qiu man zhi}; my translation. \textit{Shiao Liu Qiu} (Small Li Qiu) is another ancient name for Taiwan.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
While drinking alcohol, people contest in a variety of performance, such as playing the Jew’s harp by mouth and playing the nose flute by nose … After dancing, people jump arm-in-arm and sing songs simultaneously; their sound is weird in which is mingled joy with sorrow.  

The historical literature of the Qing Dynasty discussed above mainly comprises records of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments; the records focus on the central and southern Taiwanese aboriginal peoples. Even though some scholars conjecture that this literature primarily describes the musical records of the Plains aborigines (e.g., the Siraya and the Pazih-Kahabu) of Taiwan, in fact it is impossible to accurately distinguish which instrument belongs to which aboriginal group. Nevertheless, these historical texts allow later generations to take a glance over the types of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, how they were played, and their social function in ancient times.  

The Japanese period (1895-1945)  

In the Japanese period, Japanese anthropologists and ethnomusicologists recorded much important ethnographic data in reference to Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. In this historical period, Japanese scholars were highly ethnocentric, calling Taiwanese aborigines barbarians before 1933. However, finally the Japanese

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32 Zhou, Zhanguan xianzhi; my translation.  
33 Hsu, Tai wan yin yue shi chu gao, 15–20.  
34 See the colonial policy of Dōka (Assimilation 1919-1936) in Section 3.4 Cultural Policy and Aboriginal Musical Instruments.

changed the Taiwanese aborigine’s name to the Takasago people.

In 1907, Ino Kanori’s article “Taiwan Indigenous Barbarian Ballads and Original Musical Instruments” discussed the classification of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Ino pointed out that “the majority of aboriginal men all play vertical flutes. In addition, the Amis, the Puyuma, and the Tsou all have transverse flutes in use.” The vertical flute (the head-hunter’s flute) was used for hunting enemy heads. Aboriginal males played it during hunting heads or celebrating successful head hunting. The custom of hunting enemy heads disappeared after 1930, when the Japanese brutally suppressed the Wushe Rebellion and assumed governance (cf. Chapter 3, Subsection 6.2.8, and Subsection 6.11.10). In 1922, Tanabe Hisao audio-recorded the ethnic music of Southeast Asia, Taiwan and Sakhalin Island, and published a phonograph record in 1978. This phonograph record is the earliest sound recording of Taiwanese aboriginal music.

In 1923, Fu-hsing Chang notated the tune of the stamping pestles and the folk songs of the Thao, and published his transcription in the book “Mizu Sha Ka Ban Teki Kine Oto Wa Kayou” (The Pestle Sound and Ballads of the Reclaimed Barbarian in Water Tribe). The Japanese term ‘Mizu Sha Ka Ban’ (Barbarian in Water Tribe)

35 Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki.”
36 Ibid.
37 Tierney, Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame, 8–9.
38 Tanabe, Nanyou, Taiwan, Karafuto Sho Minzokuteki Ongaku.
indicated the Thao. Nowadays, the Thao live around the Sun-Moon Lake (Nantou County) in the central part of Taiwan (cf. Subsection 6.14.2). Fu-hsing Chang was the first Taiwanese musician to collect Taiwanese aboriginal music.

In 1933, Takenaka Shigeo stated that the double-pipe nose flute was the only polyphonic instrument of the Taiwanese aborigines, and that the single-pipe nose flute was only played in funerals among the *Shi Sha Ban* (Four Tribes Barbarian) community. The name ‘*Shi Sha Ban*’ indicates the Ha’alua sub-tribe of the Tsou at present. In 1936, Takenaka’s article “The Music of the Takasago in Taiwan” recorded that there was a kind of double-pipe nose flute among the community of *Ka Na Bu Ban* (Kanavu Barbarian). This instrument comprised one pipe with three finger-holes and the one pipe with two finger-holes. The nose flute was played from four days after the millet harvest until the end of the harvest season. If the double-pipe nose flute was played at any other time, this incurred a storm and a poor harvest by arousing the anger of the Tsou’s deity. The main uses of the nose flutes were in courtship or for the memorial ritual in funerals (cf. Subsection 6.15.7). The double-pipe nose flute of the Tsou was played within the Kanakanavu community. Owing to its infrequent performance and limited function, eventually this double-pipe nose flute

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39 Chou Fuku Kyou is Chang Fu-hsing’s Japanese pronunciation. Chou, “*Mizu sha ka ban teki kine oto wa kayou*.”
40 Takenaka, “Taiwan banzoku gakki kou,” 162–64.
41 The name ‘*Ka Na Bu Ban*’ indicates the Kanakanavu sub-tribe of the Tsou at present. Takenaka, “*Taiwan takasago zoku teki ongaku*,” 413–14.
failed to be handed down from past generations (see Subsection 6.15.7).

In 1954, Kurosawa Takatomo’s article “The Bunun’s Musical Bow and its Edification to Produce Pentatonic Scales” was published. Kurosawa carried out fieldwork in Taiwan at the end of the Japanese period. He pointed out that nose flutes were not being played anymore among the Atayal, Saisiat, Puyuma and Bunun communities. In 1943, he did fieldwork in the Atayal community. At that time, the Atayal had already abandoned the custom of hunting enemy heads. For this reason, the social function of the Atayal’s vertical flute was transformed from head-hunting into entertainment (see Subsection 6.2.8). Furthermore, the vertical flute was played for expressing good wishes during banquets amongst the Da Pu sub-tribe of the Amis. However, the Tian Pu sub-tribe of the Amis were still blowing the vertical flute while hunting enemy heads at that time. In 1973, Takatomo’s book “The Music of Takasago Tribe in Formosa” recorded a great deal of information about Taiwanese aboriginal vertical flutes (e.g., those of the Atayal, Saisiat, Seediq, Bunun, Tsou, Paiwan, Rukai, Puyuma, and Amis) and nose flutes (e.g., those of the Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Paiwan, Rukai, and Puyuma). Through the Japanese records we can see what types of musical instruments were played by Taiwanese aborigines at the

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42 Kurosawa, “Musical Bow of the Vunun Tribe,” 83–84; Japanese called Bunun people ‘Vunun’ at that time.
44 Kurosawa, The Music of the Takasago Tribe in Formosa.
time, and their performance practice. The vertical flutes (i.e., the hunters’ flutes) were played in the different sub-tribes of the Amis. The instrument therefore had a variety of performance contexts, functions and meanings.

Chinese Nationalist period (1945-1987)

In 1947, the Chinese Nationalist government ordered all organisations to call Taiwanese aborigines “Shan Di Tong Bao” (mountain compatriot) instead of stigmatising names (e.g., Gao Shan Zu [high mountain people], Gao Sha Zu [Takasago] or Fan Zu [barbarian people]) to respect the social status of Taiwanese aborigines and to foster harmony amongst different ethnic groups.\(^{45}\) In this period, Li Hwei, Ling Mary and Fr. Joseph Lenherr all contributed to the body of knowledge on Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Li Hwei and Ling Mary were both research fellows at the IEAS, and Fr. Joseph Lenherr was a visiting scholar there at the time.

In 1956, Hwei Li published her article “A Comparative Study of the Jew’s Harps among the Aborigines of Formosa and East Asia.”\(^{46}\) The objective of Li’s article is to compare the Taiwanese Jew’s harp with other East-Asian Jew’s harps in order to discover the instrument’s origins. In her article, Li systematically researched museum displays, existing ethnographic data, and the relevant literature concerning

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\(^{46}\) Li, “Comparative Study of the Jew’s Harp.”
Taiwanese aboriginal Jew’s harps. She analysed the physical structures of 25 specimens of Taiwanese Jew’s harps held at Taiwan Museum, Taiwan University, and Academia Sinica. She then put the 25 Jew’s harps into two categories according to their physical features: the bamboo-frame Jew’s harp and the metal-frame Jew’s harp. The bamboo-frame Jew’s harps are further subdivided into the metal-tongue Jew’s harps and the bamboo-tongue Jew’s harps. In particular, Li recorded the structure of the metal-frame Jew harps of Taiwan. She also illustrated some types of Jew’s harps that are hard to find amongst contemporary aboriginal societies; such as the metal-frame Jew’s harps in an arrow-like shape from the Paiwan and Amis (cf. Subsections 6.5.2 and 6.1.6), and the bamboo-frame Jew’s harp with a metal tongue in a fish-like shape from the Tsou. In addition, this article features different indigenous names for the Jew’s harp within the same aboriginal group. Li was conscientious and careful about her research, and hence her article is a vital reference for current research on the Taiwanese Jew’s harp.

In 1961, Mary Ling’s article “The Musical instruments of the Amis Tribe” made a significant contribution to the study of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Ling and her colleagues from the Institute of Ethnology conducted research on the musical instruments of the Vataan sub-tribe of the Middle Amis

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47 Ibid.
48 Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi.”
between 1958 and 1959. She mainly focused her research on their clothing, ornaments, weaving and musical instruments. Afterward, she collected data about musical instruments among the Northern and Southern Amis. She also recorded the indigenous names of Amis instruments and illustrated her research with photographs from her ethnographic fieldwork. In her article, Ling combined the historical literature and the ethnographic data of the Amis instruments into a coherent whole. This article is widely regarded as an indispensable reference for the study of Amis instruments, because no-one studied these instruments during the Chinese Nationalist period. Ling found many rare instruments of the Amis (e.g., the nose whistle, the nose flute, the membrane flute and other instruments) between 1958 and 1959. Now these valued instruments are difficult to find among the Amis community.\footnote{Cf. Ling, “The Musical instruments of the Amis Tribe”; 185-220.}

In 1967, Fr. Joseph Lenherr, a visiting scholar of Academia Sinica as well as an American Catholic Father and ethnomusicologist, published his English-language article titled “\textit{The Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines.}”\footnote{Lenherr, “The Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines.”} Lenherr worried that someday aboriginal instruments would cease to be handed down from generation to generation. Hence, he aimed to represent aboriginal musical culture and study their instruments. The data for his article was derived primarily from his eight-month period of fieldwork in Sun Moon Lake and Taitung County in 1965, as well as from
Kurosawa Takatomo, Li Hwei, and Ling Mary. Lenherr remarked that the stamping board had been in use among the Plains aborigines in the 17th century according to Candidius’ report of a burial ritual. Thus, he provided vital information about a rare aboriginal instrument that had existed on the island of Taiwan. Lenherr was the first Western scholar to take an organological approach to the analysis of aboriginal musical instruments in Taiwan. He hypothesised that Taiwanese aboriginal culture had a close relationship with Indonesian culture due to similarities in the physical structure of musical instruments. Lenherr also provided a brief overview of the musico-instrumental culture of the Taiwanese aborigines. Through this article, Taiwanese musical instruments had an opportunity to be understood by ethnomusicologists elsewhere in the world.

In 1974, Ping-chuan Lu’s article “The Musical Instruments of the Formosan Aborigines,” illustrated with a numerous black and white photographs from his ethnographic fieldwork, reviewed the literature concerning aboriginal instruments. Lu graduated from Tokyo University in 1973, and was the first Taiwanese to have a PhD degree in ethnomusicology. He classified aboriginal instruments by structural types. He also compared the physical structure and function of similar instruments among different ethnic groups. Additionally, he recorded the indigenous names of

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51 Candidius, “1732. A short account of the island of Formosa in the Indies, situated near the coast of China; and of the manners, customs, and religions of its inhabitants.”
52 Cf. Lenherr, “The Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines.”
instruments when the data was available, albeit he did not further study their etymology. Lu did much fieldwork in Taiwan. In his article, Lu took a photograph of a ritual rattle that is now hard to find in the Paiwan community. The ritual rattle, which was made of a bamboo dustpan and a string of seashells, was used by Pulingau (female priests). In addition, his study of the Pazih gong was pioneering. The record he created has historical value and benefit to later researchers.\textsuperscript{53}

The Democratic Period (1987-now)

In 1987, President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted martial law; henceforward Taiwan moved into the democratic period. After the Japanese period, it was difficult to find the nose flute in the Paiwan community. In 1995, Tai-li Hu conducted large-scale fieldwork searching for the nose flute and the end-blown flute of the Paiwan, which was commissioned by Council for Cultural Affairs. Hu is a researcher in the IEAS. She interviewed thirty players of the nose flute or the end-blown flute in total. In 1997, the National Center for Traditional Arts funded Hu’s visual ethnography for preserving the skill of selected players of the nose flute and the end-blown flute. In her project “The Biography of the Paiwan Flute Player, Musical Notation, and the Record of Making Method,” she had two co-ordinators, Prof. Shan-hua Qian and Rev. Chao-cai

\textsuperscript{53} Cf. Lu, “Tai wan tu zhu zu zhi yue qi.”
Lai, notate the melodies of the Paiwan flutes. She succeeded in interviewing many elderly flute players about the oral tradition, cultural practice, social function and performance context of the nose flute and end-blown flute, as well as recording the method of making instruments. Owing to governmental commission, Hu dispatched official documents to various Presbyterian and Catholic Churches, seeking help in searching for the flute players of Paiwan.\(^\text{54}\) In her visual ethnography, she represented the flute players’ oral tradition faithfully through video recording. Hu also asked the master players whether they were inclined to teach students and to pass down the art of the Paiwan flute from generation to generation. Through reading her books, people can understand the traditional method of making the Paiwan flutes.\(^\text{55}\)

Another important literary work written in the democratic period of Taiwan is Dr. Ke-hao Liu’s dissertation “The Jew’s Harp Study of Taiwanese Indigenous people.” Liu is an ethnomusicological PhD graduate of National Taiwan Normal University.\(^\text{56}\) In Liu’s literature review, he did not just study literature on the Jew’s harp of Taiwanese aborigines, but literature on the Jew’s harp around the world (especially ancient Chinese literature). In this dissertation, Liu devoted his attention to exploring the Jew’s harp playing method and how Taiwanese aborigines played the

\(^{54}\) The majority of the Paiwan people in Taiwan are Presbyterian or Catholic.  
\(^{56}\) Liu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min zu kou huang qin yan ji.”
Jew’s harp to communicate with each other. Liu’s finding derived from his three-month fieldwork and literature review. In his fieldwork, Liu took some photographs of Jew’s harps from the Atayal, Amis, Bunun, Rukai and Saisiat peoples. He also found a Bunun Jew’s harp with an aluminium frame and a Rulai Jew’s harp with a copper frame in his fieldwork. Such types of Jew’s harp are very rare in Taiwan. In addition, he found that onomatopoeia had a great influence on communication in playing the Jew’s harp.

2.1.2 A Review of Tsang-houei Hsu’s Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music in the New Grove

Professor Tsang-houei Hsu (1929-2001), an outstanding Taiwanese scholar and composer, was one of the founders of the ethnomusicological study in Taiwan. He graduated from the Graduate School of Musicology, University of Paris, having studied on composition, music history, and music analysis. He wrote many books (e.g., The First Draft of Taiwan’s Music History, Essays on Music History, and Taiwan: Music of the Taiwan Aborigines) with reference to aboriginal music. Many students have benefitted from these textbooks. Because of his academic standing, the Garland Encyclopedia of World Music invited Hsu to introduce the section “Taiwan:

59 Hsu, Tai wan yin yue shi chu gao; Ibid., Ethnomusicological Essays I; Ibid., Ethnomusicological Essays IV; Ibid., “Taiwan: Music of the Taiwan Aborigines.”
Music of the Taiwan Aborigines” in East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea (Vol. 7). Also, the New Grove invited Hsu (along with Yu-hsiu Lu) to write the introduction and the section on Taiwanese aboriginal music in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (Vol. 25). This review aims to revise and update Hsu’s contribution to The New Grove, and to also propose some suggestions concerning the future development of Taiwanese ethnomusicology.

In the section on Taiwanese aboriginal music in The New Grove, Hsu states:

The earliest inhabitants of Taiwan can be divided into two groups, consisting of ten plains (pingpu) tribes and nine mountain (gaoshan) tribes. The plains people (Ketagalan, Luilang, Kavalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraya and Thao) live along the West Coast, on the plains and around the mountains. They have been assimilated into Han Chinese society for over 300 years and can hardly be distinguished from the Han Chinese people today. The mountain peoples (Atayal [Tayal], Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami and Yami) live scattered in the high mountains along the east coast and in the Lanyu Islet.

The aforementioned classification of “ten plains (pingpu) tribes and nine mountain (gaoshan) tribes” is no longer relevant. Nowadays, fourteen Taiwanese aboriginal

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60 Hsu, “Taiwan,” in East Asia.
61 Hsu, “Taiwan,” 1.
groups are officially recognised as ‘indigenous people’ by the Taiwan government, namely the Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Amis, Paiwan, Rukai, Puyuma, Yami (Tao), Tsou, Truku, Thao, Kavalan, Sakizaya, and Seediq. The Truku and the Seediq are separated from the Atayal due to their different ethnic identity (cf. Section 6.11). The Sakizaya are separated from the Amis because the Sakizaya took refuge under the Amis’ protection to escape from the attack of the Qing army in 1878 (cf. Section 6.10); originally, the language of the Sakizaya was different from the Amis’. The Kavalan were originally classified as Plains aborigines and lived in the west of Taiwan, but they moved to the east coast of Taiwan in order to escape from the invasion of Han Taiwanese in the 19th century; therefore, they still keep their own language and have not yet been totally assimilated by Han Taiwanese. The name ‘Hoanya’ should be deleted from the catalogue of the Plains aborigines because Ying-hai Pan verified that ‘Foanya’ was mistaken as “Hoanya” by Utsurikawa Nenozo (the Japanese colonial scholar) from an archaic Dutch document.\footnote{Pan, \textit{Festival of Austronesian Cultures}, 393.} ‘Foanya’ means barbarian (\textit{fan}) in Han Taiwanese. Therefore, Utsurikawa Nenozo accidentally created a new Taiwanese aboriginal group that does not actually exist.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Yami people, who mainly live in the Lanyu Islet, want to change their name to ‘Tao’, so I have put the word ‘Tao’ into parentheses to show respect for their

\footnote{Pan, \textit{Festival of Austronesian Cultures}, 393.} \footnote{Ibid.}
wishes, even though the Taiwan government has not yet agreed to them doing so.

In addition, I suggest that the term ‘tribe’ not be used to describe Taiwanese indigenous people. The term ‘tribe’ was used by Japanese scholars during the Japanese colonial period; these scholars borrowed the term from the American Indian tribes. In fact, Taiwanese aborigines and Han Taiwanese have no equivalent concept to ‘tribe’ in their traditional languages. I therefore suggest replacing ‘tribe’ with ‘aboriginal group’, ‘indigenous people’ or ‘ethnic/minority group.’

The photographs used in Hsu’s *New Grove* entry provide evidence of instruments’ appearance and playing methods. There are five figures (including one map and four photos) in the section on Taiwan’s aboriginal music in *The New Grove*. Figure 3, with its accompanying caption, is reproduced below as Figure 2.1.2.1.

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The caption above mentions a group of women playing wooden stamping pestles and bamboo tubes. If a reader checks this photo with the caption carefully, then he/she will find there are no bamboo tubes in this photo. Additionally, Hsu did not mention where this photo was taken or the names of those shown in it. It is possible that Hsu mistakenly believed this photo was related to the ‘Chu Ge (the tune of stamping pestles)’ of the Thao. While the Thao people perform the song of stamping pestles, they are used to having bamboo tubes to accompany the stamping pestles playing. In fact, I have personally seen the same photo in many books and articles in Taiwan. Lenherr’s article, “The Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” contains this photo with the following caption: “Bunun girl playing the Jew’s harp by indirect
method, i.e., by means of a string (Jap. photo).”

It is worth further examining the origin of this photograph. I have identified that the girl playing the Jew’s harp in the photo belongs to the Sado sub-tribe of the Seediq in Nantou County. This photo was taken by Japanese anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke on his expedition in January 1915. It is evident that contemporary Taiwanese ethnomusicologists remain extremely reliant on the information and materials from Japanese scholars’ researches and fieldwork dating from the Japanese colonial period. Although an old photograph could work as a showcase to observe the diachronic change in aboriginal musical instruments, it is also important to provide a contemporary photo to compare the synchronic development of aboriginal organology. With all due respect to Prof. Hsu, I research suggest that The New Grove correct the photo’s caption.

In the section on Taiwanese instrumental music in the New Grove, Hsu notes, “All of the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan except the Yami play instruments as well as performing vocal music.” Do the Yami (Tao) people really have no musical instruments? Hsu’s point of view can be challenged. If the definition of a musical instrument is “an object used to intentionally create sound,” then the pounding

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65 See figure 11 in Lenherr’s article; Lenherr, “Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” 126.
66 See Mori, Sheng fán xìng jiào, 119.
67 Ibid.
68 Hsu, “Taiwan,” 5.
69 Montagu, Origins and Development of Musical Instruments, 1–2.
pestle must be considered a Yami (Tao) musical instrument. Chang-rue Yuan and Young-yu Lee relate

[During the Yami (Tao) Harvest Festival,] the elders arriving first start to pound millet in the mortar. These elders circle around the wooden mortar; each takes turns one-by-one to pound the millet in an exaggerated way, bends down, withdraws back to the crowd, and continues to circle around . . . the activity of pounding millet is inaugurated at a not fast but regular pace . . . during the process of pounding millet, people sometimes utter the “he ho” short sound to add to the fun, singing one or two lyrics once in a while. It is said that this activity of pounding millet, in the age when collective farming still existed, was led by the elder, who guided all members to pray first and sing the harvest song jointly.70

If the Thao and Bunun stamping pestles are considered a form of musical instrument, then the Tao pounding pestle should also be considered a kind of musical instrument (cf. Subsection 6.13.1).

Furthermore, in the section in The New Grove, Hsu claims that:

The stamping pestle and the Jew's harp are the most common instruments; other idiophones

70 Yuan and Lee, Tai dong xian yuan zhu ming wen hua tu lu, 181; My translation.
include a few gongs and rattles. Although accounts of gongs occur from the Qing dynasty, the instruments have disappeared since the early 20th century.\textsuperscript{71}

Hsu has ignored some musical instruments (e.g., the \textit{tawriulr} forged bell of the Puyuma), and failed to acknowledge that the \textit{duang duang} gong of the Kahabu still exists in aboriginal life. Also, Hsu points out that “Xylophones of wood or bamboo may come from Indonesia or the Philippines.”\textsuperscript{72} This hypothesis is doubtful since there is no certain evidence to prove that the Ami bamboo/wood xylophone was borrowed from Indonesia or the Philippines. Perhaps the Indonesia and Philippino xylophones were borrowed from the Taiwanese aborigines. I have read research articles on the origin of Austronesian peoples. For example, in 2005, a genetic Mitochondrial DNA study confirmed a theory that Polynesians, who are settled in islands across a vast swath of ocean, originated Taiwan.\textsuperscript{73} In 2009, research also found that gut bacteria samples taken from contemporary aborigines in Taiwan, Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia and New Guinea reveal a common, 5,000-year-old Taiwanese ancestor, which varied as human populations took their stomach bugs to the Philippines 3,000 years ago and then, several hundred years after that, to Western Polynesia and New Zealand. I conjecture that Hsu may have borrowed this hypothesis

\textsuperscript{71} Hsu, “Taiwan,” 6.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} Trejaut, “Mitochondrial DNA Provides a Link,” e281.
from Lenherr’s study in which Lenherr insists “[That] the xylophones of the Amis, not found elsewhere on Taiwan, did not take a place of public importance suggests an early stage of connection with the Indonesian cultural area.” In the era of Lenherr and Hsu (i.e., the 1960s), ethnomusicologists in Taiwan liked to investigate the distribution of particular musical instruments, and paid relatively little attention to musical instruments in their local contexts. Hsu also ignored the fact that xylophones are still played among the Seediq-Truku and the Atayal at present (see Subsection 6.2.1 and Subsection 6.11.1). There is another important omission in the chordophones section of The New Grove, where Hsu did not include the four-string zither of the Seediq-Truku (see also the lubug spat gnawal four-string zither discussed in Subsection 6.11.9).

In summary, there are some inaccuracies and omissions in Hsu’s contribution on Taiwanese aboriginal instruments in The New Grove. This text therefore needs to be revised and updated. Hsu’s task was admittedly a difficult one: to summarise a great deal of information about Taiwan’s aboriginal vocal and instrumental music in a way that is intelligible to a wide readership. His contribution is significant, despite the criticisms I have leveled at him in this study.

74 Lenherr, “The Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” 123.
75 Hsu, “Taiwan,” 6.
2.1.3 A Review of Chun-bin Chen’s “Voices of Double Marginality: Music, Body, and Mind of Taiwanese Aborigines in the Post-Modern Era”

Chun-bin Chen’s research was inspired by the Amis song appropriated by Enigma’s *Return to Innocence*, and the use of Enigma’s version of the song in the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games.\(^76\) He examines the role music plays in shaping the emic and etic images of Taiwanese aborigines within and without aboriginal societies.\(^77\) According to Taiwanese scholars such as Hsu, ‘traditional aboriginal music’ means a form of music little contaminated by foreign influences,\(^78\) and so for them ‘non-traditional aboriginal music (i.e., popular aboriginal music)’ means non-aboriginal music. Chen argues that such categorisations of traditional aboriginal music are an academic construction, which usually relate to nationalism.\(^79\) He wants to demonstrate that boundaries between the inside and the outside of aboriginal music are not as fixed as one might imagine, and that external forces may be an integral part of the formation of aboriginal music.\(^80\)

Chen also discusses the body and mind of Taiwanese aborigines as being doubly marginalised\(^81\) at both the local and national level. At the local level, he explains how the aborigines express their bodily feelings during village musical

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\(^{76}\) Chen, “Voices of Double Marginality,” xii.

\(^{77}\) Ibid., iii.

\(^{78}\) Hsu, *Ethnomusicological Essays III*, 5.

\(^{79}\) Chen, “Voices of Double Marginality,” xvi.

\(^{80}\) Ibid.

\(^{81}\) Here ‘marginality’ indicates that aboriginal people feel their social status is isolated and unimportant.
events. At the national level, he demonstrates how political and commercial forces appropriate body images of the aborigines, and how the nation-state imbues propaganda into the minds of the aborigines through censoring and constructing representations of aboriginal bodies. Chen borrows Bourdieu’s formulation of “habitus,”\(^2\) which is deposited in the aboriginal bodies. There are two forms of habitus in aboriginal bodies: one is ‘durable habitus,’ which the aborigines possess through participating in village events, and which is mainly based upon the ideology of ancestral spirits; another is ‘imposed habitus,’ which is bestowed by inculcation through education, mass media, and government-sponsored events.\(^3\) Chen asserts that Taiwanese aborigines are doubly marginal (i.e., domestically and globally) in both economic and political terms.

Taiwanese aborigines have also been ‘doubly-conscious’ in their doubly marginal position; they have been used, or have been forced, to look at themselves through the eyes of non-aborigines.\(^4\) In fact, Taiwanese aborigines might have multi-identity or multi-consciousness in Taiwan. For example, the Chinese are constructed as ‘other’ by the West.\(^5\) Han Taiwanese are constructed as ‘other’ by the Chinese; the Taiwanese aborigines are constructed as ‘other’ by the Han Taiwanese; and the Plains

\(^2\) Wacquant, “Habitus as topic and tool,”\(^8\) Wacquant states that “human agents are historical animals who carry within their bodies acquired sensibilities and categories that are the sedimented products of their past social experiences.”

\(^3\) Chen, “Voices of Double Marginality,” xvii-xviii.

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) Cf. Said, Orientalism, 1 and 6.
aborigines are constructed as ‘other’ by the Taiwanese aborigines and the Taiwan government due to the limited aboriginal budget of the Taiwan government.\textsuperscript{86} Chen, however, seems to simplify it and puts it into his classification of double marginality. In the post-modern era, the music and societies of Taiwanese aborigines are scarcely static and homogeneous.\textsuperscript{87} Owing to the intervention of political forces and Christian churches, almost all traditional rituals in aboriginal villages have become more festive and less religious.\textsuperscript{88} Furthermore, Chen adopts Bourdieu’s concept of social class.\textsuperscript{89} He aims to explain how aborigines (as social agents) divide and come together in really ordinary practices, and how they mobilise themselves, or are mobilised by and for individual, or collective political action by means of their musical practice.\textsuperscript{90}

Chen’s object of study is Puyuma and Amis music, especially that of Puyuma. The contexts of performance are not restricted to traditional ones, as Chen discusses performances and recordings in cultural villages, museums, pubs, concert halls, city hall squares, food courts, and record stores.\textsuperscript{91} Chen’s dissertation mainly focuses on musical practice, but not musical works. He pays attention to the interplay between groups of social agents who are involved in the making of aboriginal music.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{86} The Plains aborigines are still unrecognised by the central government in Taiwan.
\textsuperscript{87} Chen, “Voices of Double Marginality,” xx.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{89} Bourdieu, \textit{Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste.}
\textsuperscript{90} Chen, “Voices of Double Marginality,” xvii.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., xv.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., xvi.
first chapter compares the performance of Taiwanese aborigines in the Festival of Austronesian Culture with the Annual Ritual of the Puyuma held separately by outsiders (government, or other social groups) or by the aborigines. The Festival of Austronesian Culture is a government-sponsored event, which happens in the vicinity of the National Museum of Prehistory. This festival emphasises the hypothesis that the island of Taiwan is the homeland of all Austronesian-speaking peoples. For this reason, the central government has been willing to participate in the event, in part because the festival implies a shift in Taiwan’s position from the peripheries of East Asia and Southeast Asia to the centre of the Austronesian world. In addition, the local government designs this festival as a tourist attraction, targeting tourists from the cities of western Taiwan.

The Annual Ritual is the most important ritual of the Puyuma. This ritual allows them to distinguish their villages from the neighbouring Amis and Paiwan villages. In addition, Chen distinguishes that the Puyuma people have two forms of musical practice. The traditional one is ‘the inherited practice’: whenever the Puyuma people sing the ritual song with ‘durable habitus’ (the ideology of ancestral spirits), they avoid singing at a wrong context (It is a taboo to sing ritual songs for entertainment), and avoid making any mistakes in the singing of the lyrics. They still

93 Ibid., 1.
94 Ibid., 4.
believe that mistakes in singing will cause misfortune, and that music performs the
function of communicating with supernatural beings.\textsuperscript{95}

The other is ‘the oriental practice,’ which constructs the Taiwanese aborigines
as a music-making ‘other’. For example, the purpose of the Festival of Austronesian
Culture is not simply to make money from tourism. As Dru C. Gladney points out:
“the exoticisation of the minorities provides the state with economic and symbolic
capitals…the nationalisation and modernisation project is to homogenise the majority
at the expense of the exoticised minority.”\textsuperscript{96} The Festival of Austronesian Culture
emphasises pan-Austronesian-ness, which would imply a tendency toward de-
Sinicisation. The Democratic Progressive Party (the ruling party of Taiwan between
2000 and 2008) claims that the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) is a colonial power.
So the Festival of Austronesian Culture is a government-sponsored event that could be
viewed as an arena of political competition.\textsuperscript{97} The China Youth Corps (CYC) is an
organisation that was founded by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT). The CYC was
once the only legal agent for arranging students’ extramural activities before the
martial law was lifted in 1987. Now the CYC remains extremely influential in
Taitung. For instance, all performances of the Taiwanese aborigines in the Festival of
Austronesian Culture were organised by the CYC. The CYC has played a role in

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., 52.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 53.
shaping a contemporary form of aboriginal music and dance.\textsuperscript{98} It plays a role in KMT’s competition for social capital.\textsuperscript{99} The CYC is influencing the construction of images of the aborigines through the performances at its cheerleading-like or Boy-Scout-like activities. In other words, that is a form of ‘imposed habitus’ from the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) to construct the Taiwanese aborigines, who represent themselves as a passionate and happy-go-lucky ethnic group through the CYC’s influence.\textsuperscript{100}

The aboriginal musicians show a strategy of participation in the aforementioned activities, which lets them express their identity to the outside world by combining their musical heritage with modern musical forms. Aborigines accept outside influences in order to adapt to changes in the world. They refuse to be absorbed by any external force; they show resistance to non-aborigines, but do not reject the outside world. By participating in music-making and in the socio-political drama in Taiwan, aboriginal musicians share their emotions with their audience, and create their history by taking part in making the history of Taiwanese music.\textsuperscript{101}

In the second chapter, Chen uses the term ‘Orientalist representation’ to discuss the racial construction of the aborigines made by Han Taiwanese, Japanese,

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 35–36.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 53.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 55.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 246.
\end{flushleft}
and Westerners. Chen deconstructed the images of the aborigines as ‘timeless’ and ‘isolated’ imposed on the aborigines by these groups.\textsuperscript{102} He juxtaposed and compared the accounts of Oriental studies scholars, travellers, and colonial administrations (Chinese, Japanese, and Western) under his classification of “double marginality.” Through this, he outlined the Taiwanese aboriginal position in diachronic construction by outsiders. For example, Chinese constructed the aborigines as ‘other’ due to their different culture (cultural essentialism); Westerners constructed two forms of ‘otherness’ (i.e. Han Taiwanese and aboriginal) due to difference in linguistics, somatic features, and origin (racial essentialism).\textsuperscript{103}

In the third chapter, Chen divides aboriginal music into “ritual music” and “non-ritual music” rather than sacred music and secular music due to the fact that the ideology of ancestral spirits permeates every aspect of it. The aborigines used ritual music with “inherited practice” within their society; in contrast, they used non-ritual music (the vocable songs) with “reactive practices” outside their society.\textsuperscript{104} In the fourth chapter, Chen used historical musicology to analyse the diachronic development of aboriginal popular music in which the aboriginal musical elements were appropriated by political and commercial forces.\textsuperscript{105} In the fifth chapter, Chen

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 57.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 63–69.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 108-11.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 148–94.
coined two labels to describe the local and national markets for aboriginal popular music: “Naluwan music” and “Haiyan music.” This has made it easier for us to distinguish their musical development and property.¹⁰⁶

In the introduction, he condemns the festivals held by National Museum of Prehistory for being always less authentic than the rituals held in Puyuma villages. He looks down on the way the National Museum of Prehistory has gone about preserving aboriginal culture without providing any suggested improvement. In fact, the National Museum of Prehistory deserves some credit. In 2008 and 2009, I visited the museum. There were systematic displays and information introducing Taiwanese aboriginal culture to outsiders. The museum also had workshops allowing people to experience the life of the ancient aborigines. Recently, the museum has obtained many Pacific artefacts and musical instruments from the donation of Japanese collectors. Perhaps Chen’s criticism stems from his wish to simply emphasise Taiwanese aborigines’ status of double marginality. Moreover, when Chen introduced the background of Taiwan and its various people, he ignored the historical fact that a large percentage of Taiwanese have aboriginal blood because men could immigrate to Taiwan at certain times during the Qing dynasty period. They could only marry aboriginal women if they wanted to get married. Even so, apparently the aboriginal population is small in

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 195–240.
Taiwan.

Chen’s fieldwork was mainly located in the Puyuma villages of Taitung city, Taitung County. He conducted participant-observation of traditional Puyuma rituals, and interviewed two insiders of the Amis. In my opinion, the title of Chen’s dissertation should be changed to “Voices of Double Marginality: Music, Body and Mind of Taiwanese Puyuma Aborigines in the Post-Modern Area” to more accurately reflect the research focus. Chen’s research focused on the Puyuma aborigines, although he also did some interviews with Amis aborigines. Additionally, musical practice, belief systems and cultural taboos are diverse among Taiwanese aboriginal groups. It is incautious simply to use the result of research amongst the Puyuma/Amis aborigines to cover all Taiwanese aborigines. For example, Chen finds that the Puyuma sing the vocable songs (non-ritual music) with “reactive practices” for entertainment outside their society.107 By contrast, Cheng’s dissertation noted that some of the Bunun aboriginal vocables-centric songs were sung for ritual or for their deity, but not sung for entertainment.108 Besides, Chen showed great ambition in researching both the traditional and popular music of Taiwanese aborigines. In Taiwan, there are few people who study popular music, to say nothing of aboriginal popular music.

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107 Ibid., 108–11.
This dissertation is a significant contribution to knowledge of Taiwanese aboriginal music. Chen argues that the merit of a music study of indigenous people in the post-modern era lies in not estimating how pure and intact that kind of music may be; rather, its merit lies in presenting how Taiwanese aboriginal culture can be flexible and adaptable despite a stubborn insistence on certain values. One of Chen’s contributions is his drawing attention to the website ‘FORMOSA,’ which was founded by the Reed Institution, U.S.A. This digital library gathers together a great deal of mainly Westerners’ images of the island of Formosa and its diversity of peoples recorded by foreign visitors in the 19th century. The website includes literature, maps, and linguistic data originally published in European and North American books and journals during the 19th century. Most of these are not easily accessible today. These Western texts and images can bridge the gap between Chinese and Japanese historical literatures about Taiwan because the literature reviews in most of the books and theses in Taiwan mainly focus on Chinese and Japanese records. Chen’s original contribution is his use of sociological theory and perspective to scrutinise the social organization and musical practice of Puyuma aborigines. Even though there are already many scholars who have applied sociological theory in the ethnomusicological field, there are still few people doing so in Taiwan. Finally, one of

110 Reed Institute, “Formosa,”
his important observations is that “the meaning of the Puyuma vocables-centric song is not communicated through the lyrics, but the aborigines grasp and create meaning by singing, listening to, and talking about it. They relate the song to their status in age groups, gender groups, and families; and they connect themselves to their past through the song.”

2.1.4 The Review of Chou Chiener’s Experience and Fieldwork: A Native Researcher’s View

This section reviews Dr. Chou Chiener’s article “Experience and Fieldwork: A Native Researcher’s View.” Chou is a Taiwanese scholar at the University of Sheffield, U.K. Her rationale for the article was that native researchers’ perspectives were still comparatively neglected in the field of ethnomusicology; even in the field of folklore, there was a lack of distinguishing between fieldwork methodology and experience in relation to native and someone else’s musical lives. She thought it was inevitable to study a researchers’ own music culture. As reported by Chou, interviewers should not merely focus on the key performers and knowledge bearers; they should also include beginners of nanguan (or nanyin) and its audiences. She conducted her research by

113 nanguan or nanyin is a type of Chinese classical music that originates from the Fujian Province of China. It is also popular in Taiwan.
interviewing people from all three of these categories. In her viewpoint, the key interviewees might sometimes feel that she has looked down on them due to treating all three of these categories alike. Chou thinks that, as a researcher, she is able to ask more technical questions and receive more detailed responses from skilled *nanguan* musicians, in contrast to her apprenticeship in her youth. According to Chou, native researchers face more complicated relationships than foreign researchers do by undergoing fieldwork. For example, her family’s social activities frequently interrupt her fieldwork. Her position as a native researcher as well as a *nanguan* musician means interviewees refuse to allow Chou to make sound recordings because they are afraid that their repertoire will be stolen by other *nanguan* groups. Even though she modestly qualifies herself as an immature *nanguan* musician, Chou regards herself as a cultural informant through her three-year apprenticeship in *nanguan* performance.

Chou’s article is based on personal experience in her apprenticeship and her interviews in the field. In addition, this article discusses *nanguan* theory, its social background, and her reminiscences. Chou mainly obtains her research data from her experience learning *nanguan* in her school days and conducting a three-month period of ethnomusicological fieldwork for her PhD dissertation. This article is derived from

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114 Chou, “Experience and Fieldwork,” 467.
115 Ibid., 470.
chapter 5 of her PhD dissertation.\textsuperscript{117} Chou objectively describes the social background in Taiwan during martial law (1949-87). In this period, the Chinese nationalist government stressed Chinese culture from mainland China and comparatively disregarded the local Taiwanese culture through imposing educational restrictions and censoring the mass media. At that time the development of nanguan was mainly self-cultivating.\textsuperscript{118} That explains why Chou entered into the field of nanguan with a strong Taiwanese consciousness. Chou suggests that an ethnographer should not treat himself or herself as a native merely due to his or her shared ethnicity; direct cultural contact is also important.\textsuperscript{119} This is true. She claims, in spite of their Taiwanese nationality, certain researchers who have lived overseas for many decades lack first-hand contact with indigenous culture. Their ‘authenticity’ should be questioned. In this case, the best way to describe their views is not as insiders or native researchers, but rather as outsiders.\textsuperscript{120}

Chou discusses both her fieldwork experience as well as her personal learning experience of nanguan in school, and uses different narrative voices for each role/persona: researcher and apprentice. Chou’s recognition of her different subject positions is evident in her change of article title from “Experiencing Fieldwork: A

\textsuperscript{117} Chou, “Nanguan in Contemporary Taiwan.”
\textsuperscript{118} Chou, “Experience and Fieldwork,” 462.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 458.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
According to Chou, native researchers should contact members of the culture they are studying directly. It is obvious, then, that native researchers do not include those who have lived outside the cultural context for many decades. A good fieldworker usually needs to record the interview and transcribe it. Otherwise, a fieldworker should provide at least a field note or fieldwork log. Chou, however, explains that she just expected to “pick up the insight without writing a field note” as a nanguan learner. For this reason, she is not able to cite any detailed observations from her apprenticeship.122 As a matter of fact, Chou began to learn nanguan as an undergraduate in her junior year at Shanyun (a nanguan group in Taipei) after school. At that time she was not an ethnomusicologist or native researcher. She majored in the pipa (the four-stringed plucked lute) at the Chinese Music Department of the Chinese Culture University. Therefore, I do not know whether she wrote a field note or not during her apprenticeship of nanguan. Jonathan Stock calls such an experience “pre-fieldwork.”123 However, pre-fieldwork is still not a real fieldwork even though people could learn local music as a part of their fieldwork.124

121 Chou, “Nanguan in Contemporary Taiwan”; Chou, “Experience and Fieldwork.”
In addition, Chou’s article\textsuperscript{125} and others\textsuperscript{126} published by international ethnomusicology societies, all label \textit{nanguan} as “an amateur music.” Many either misunderstand the musical practice of \textit{nanguan} or are unfamiliar with its historical development. This inevitably resulted in constructing and interpreting \textit{nanguan} using western definition to indicate a person who engages on an unpaid job as an amateur. In my opinion, the statement “\textit{nanguan} is amateur music” is an erroneous and unsuitable description, which could be an insult to \textit{nanguan} musicians because “amateur” means non-professional, unskilful, layperson, and so on. In ancient China, entertainers, especially courtesans, generally were looked down upon because most of them played music or sang songs to earn a living for money by amusing people, and the whole society valued studying Confucian’s books and public service higher. No wonder that, consequently, the social status of musical entertainers was quite low. In the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, the majority of Han Chinese emigrated from southeastern coastal China to Taiwan. People of similar cultural background normally brought wasteland under cultivation together and formed a village. Moreover, they defended their farms and properties together against other villagers or Taiwanese aborigines due to limited agricultural lands. Taoist temples were established and functioned as religious,  

\textsuperscript{125} Chou, “Experience and Fieldwork,” 458.  
educational and political centres. The local elites formed a *nanguan* ensemble club to service temple rituals and to entertain themselves in leisure time. The local people all highly respected these *nanguan* musicians. Most of these musicians were elderly, male, and genteel, from wealthy families, and had legitimate, sometimes prestigious careers. Some of them were literati whose expertise was in music and tones. Despite the fact that they were not paid by money, *nanguan* musicians earned a prestigious reputation and respect (social capital).

In light of musical folklore, *nanguan* ensemble clubs could be seen as “community music clubs,” “ritual music clubs,” and “oral traditional music clubs.”

Folklore is a group of people (community) who share at least a common factor (e.g., *nanguan*); community members all have a responsibility to maintain this common tradition. *Nanguan* has a strong social function; it is not just for self-entertainment. It services various rites of passage from cradle to grave in its community-oriented context. *Nanguan* is mainly transmitted by oral tradition through the master-apprentice relationship. As an apprentice who is learning every aspect of life, the technique and musicality of *nanguan*, which is not enscribed in books, can only be perceived by learning from the master. Additionally, the *gongceipo* (a Chinese

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notational system) of nanguan merely functions as commonplace, and could mean nothing without the master’s instruction.130

Chou’s article is valuable in many respects. She expounds clearly the cultural practice of nanguan and its social background in Taiwan. As regards original contribution, Chou successfully reflects that cultural informants have different attitudes and treatments towards an apprentice and a researcher, or a native fieldworker and a foreign fieldworker. Hers is one of few articles that tackle nanguan from a Taiwanese native fieldworker’s perspective.

2.2 MUSICAL ETHNOGRAPHY AT HOME

In this section, I discuss historically musical ethnography at home with reference to Taiwanese aboriginal music in particular. Through studying these ethnography, I can trace the indigenous name and form of aboriginal instruments as well as the interplay between ethnography and cultural policy on aboriginal instruments.

Ethnography in Taiwan, as we know it today, began during the Japanese period (1895-1945). Before this, the majority of historical literatures about Taiwanese aboriginal music belong to official records or tour diaries. After Sino-Japanese War I

130 “Chapter 2 Music as Social Practice” in Chou, “Nanguan in Contemporary Taiwan,” 70.
(1894-1895), according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Qing Empire ceded Taiwan to Japan. Taiwan then became an ethnological laboratory for Japan. Ino Kanori was the first anthropologist to do fieldwork in Taiwan. In 1895, during the Japanese occupation, Ino voluntarily came to Taiwan to work as an employee within the Office of the Governor-General. He spent ten years in Taiwan between 1895 and 1906. During this period, he did much ethnographic fieldwork (see *Taiwan Banjin Jiyo* [Taiwan Barbarian Affairs] and *Taiwan doban no koyoo yo koyuu gaki* [Taiwan Indigenous Barbarian Ballads and Original Musical Instruments]) among aboriginal communities, and he was the first scholar to classify Taiwanese aboriginal groups. Ino’s objective was to understand the ethnicity of Taiwanese aboriginal groups by means of distinguishing their physical features, customs, thinking, and languages. Hence, Ino classified Taiwanese aboriginal groups into eight ethnic groups, namely: Atayal, Amis, Bunun, Tsou, Saisiat, Paiwan, Puyuma, and Plains. He further classified the Plains peoples into ten ethnic groups, namely: Makattao, Siraya, Lloa, Babuza, Arikun, Popora, Pazih, Taokas, Ketagalan, and Kavalan. The main motive underpinning Ino’s research and ethnographic fieldwork was the establishment of aboriginal education under Japanese colonial policy. By understanding aboriginal cultures, the Japanese could tailor their educational programs and rule Taiwanese

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131 Ino and Awano, *Taiwan Banjin Jiyo*; Ino, “Taiwan doban no koyoo yo koyuu gaki.” [Taiwan doban no koyoo yo koyuu gaki].

132 Ino, *Ping pu zu diao cha lv xing*, 251–52.
aborigines efficiently.

Table 2.2.1 The indigenous given names of aboriginal musical instruments recorded by Ino Kanori\textsuperscript{133}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument Type</th>
<th>Ataiyal\textsuperscript{134}</th>
<th>Vonum\textsuperscript{135}</th>
<th>Tsarisen\textsuperscript{137}</th>
<th>Pyuma\textsuperscript{138}</th>
<th>Amie\textsuperscript{139}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruvō (single tongue)</td>
<td>Honhon (single tongue)</td>
<td>Yuivuhu</td>
<td>Roval</td>
<td>Rattok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaiunawal (double tongues)</td>
<td>Vurenkau (double/triple tongues)</td>
<td>Peiyong-no-</td>
<td>Ratokk</td>
<td>Tivutrai-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngitsi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rattok</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tungotu-ngo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peiyong-no-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngaru</td>
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<td>Pparengit</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pokoral</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parigaro-gan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anglo</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In his ethnographic fieldwork, Ino rarely recorded the indigenous given names of musical instruments used amongst Taiwanese aboriginal groups (i.e. the Atayal, \textsuperscript{133} Ibid.\textsuperscript{132} \textsuperscript{133} Ataiyal is a different spelling of Atayal. \textsuperscript{134} Vonum is a different spelling of Bunun. \textsuperscript{136} Tso’o is a different spelling of Tsou. \textsuperscript{137} In the Japanese period, the Tsarisen included the Rukai people, the Raval sub-tribe of the Paiwan, and the Butsul sub-tribe of the Paiwan. \textsuperscript{138} Pyuma is a different spelling of the Puyuma. \textsuperscript{139} Amie is a different spelling of the Amis.}
Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, and Amis). Particularly, he spelled the indigenous names of aboriginal instruments using in the Roman alphabet (see Table 2.2.1).\textsuperscript{140} This precious ethnographic data could be used to help present-day researchers compare the indigenous given names of musical instruments among contemporary aboriginal societies with those of the past. Additionally, Ino grouped the most common musical instruments of Taiwanese aborigines into four categories: the Jew’s harp, the nose flute, the musical bow, and the mouth flute (see Table 2.2.1).\textsuperscript{141} Obviously, this was a form of scholar-imposed classification for the systematic study of aboriginal musical instruments.

It is also worth mentioning that the Japanese employed ethnographies to construct Taiwanese aborigines as “backward primitive others” during the Japanese-British London Exhibition of 1910.\textsuperscript{142} In this exhibition, the Formosa Pavilion was divided into two parts: one part showed how backward and primitive aboriginal life was before the Japanese ruled Taiwan; the second part displayed a better and more progressive aboriginal life after the Japanese colonised Taiwan.\textsuperscript{144} An analogous situation happened at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition (1893):

In extension of the Anthropology Building in the White City, livings humans – Natives

\textsuperscript{140} Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki,” 239–40.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Hu, “Great Exhibition,” 3.
\textsuperscript{143} Formosa is another name of Taiwan.
Americans, Africans, Pacific islanders, Middle Easterners, and Southeast Asians – were displayed to a buying public in ethnological zoos and widely perceived as representing various lower stages of ascending human social evolution.  

During the Japanese-British London Exhibition (1910), twenty-four Paiwan peoples (one of Taiwanese aborigines) were presented as “live specimens” to live in the zoo-like Formosan Aboriginal Village of the Formosan Pavilion. This occurred in order to highlight Japanese imperial civilisation and progress by means of belittling the indigenous others. For example, the Japanese introduced Western musical instruments to young Taiwanese aborigines for demonstrating the Japanese up-to-date lifestyle and suppressing aboriginal instruments (cf. Chapter 3.4).

Moreover, Japanese historians were eager to trace Japanese origins in the 1890s. There were three schools of thought about Japanese origins: one advocated that the Japanese originated from the Austronesian family; another advocated that the Japanese originated from the Altaic family; the third believed the Japanese had a mixed origin from both the Altaic and the Austronesian families. Such theories remained popular in Japan until the early 1940s. Furthermore, the Japanese Empire used these theories to advance assumptions of “Asia is One” and “the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” which provided the empire with an excuse to invade

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149 Hosokawa, “In Search of the Sound of Empire”; Kim, “Nationalism and Colonialism.”
Southeast Asia and other Asian countries.

At that time, Taiwan was the first colony of Japan. The Japanese tried to carry out the policy of assimilation and thereby oppress aboriginal culture. The Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan banned head-hunting in 1910. Hence, the head-hunter’s flute could not be played by Taiwanese aborigines. In 1920, the Saramaw sub-tribe of the Atayal rebelled against Japanese colonial rule. The rebel aborigines hunted Japanese heads. Japanese colonialists made use of the strategy of controlling aborigines by aborigines for vengeance; namely, the Japanese lifted the ban on head-hunting to entice other aboriginal groups to join the punitive army. Many sub-tribes of the Atayal, Seediq and Truku could not withstand Japanese intimidation and bribery, reviving the head-hunting ritual and head-hunter’s pride to join the Japanese punitive army to attack the Saramaw sub-tribe of the Atayal.150 At that time, the Saramaw incident provided the main chance for Tanabe Hisao to observe the hunters’ flute playing and the head-hunting ritual. Tanabe was the first Japanese musical ethnographer in Taiwan. He went on an expedition in 1922 to explore Taiwanese music. Tanabe’s musical ethnography was subsidised by the Nippon Keimei Kai Foundation (a private foundation for colonial study) to do fieldwork in Taiwan, Korea, China, Okinawa, Sakhalin, and other Japanese Isles.151 Tanabe believed that,

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150 Lin, “Wu she shi jian ying xiang san qun zu qun guan xi yan yiu,” 93–94.
151 Hosokawa, “In search of the sound of empire,” 5-19.
Musicology… should exist for the construction of Greater East Asian Culture.152

As can be seen, the duty of Japanese ethnomusicologists was not merely to study traditional Japanese music, but also to investigate a variety of Asian music under the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere before World War II.153

After Japan lost World War II (1939-1945), the Chinese Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan due to their failure in the Civil War (1927-1950). Since then, Taiwan’s ethnographers shifted their lens from the Japanese imperial perspective to the great Han chauvinist [Chinese] perspective, even though most of them were native ethnographers.

Folksong was a vital source of the musical expression of nationalism. For example, in the early 1900s, Béla Bartok preferred to collect Hungarian folksongs and to carry out synthesis of the folk idiom in art music.154 Similarly, in the mid-1960s during a wave of musical nationalism, two young composers, Dr. Tsang-houei Hsu and Dr. Wei-liang Shi, drew on the ideas put forward by Bartók to launch the Folksongs Collected Movement in Taiwan.155 In that era, there were few professionally trained ethnomusicologists or anthropologists. Most were college students, music teachers, amateur ethnographers, and self-educated.

152 Ibid, 17.
153 Cf. ibid.
ethnomusicologists who spent their free time collecting musical data. The heyday of the Folksongs Collected Movement was “The Folksongs Collected Team Summer Vacation,” which did around twelve days of fieldwork between 21\textsuperscript{st} July and 1\textsuperscript{st} August 1967. This team was divided into the East team and the West team. The East team focused on collecting folksongs among different ethnic groups of Taiwanese aborigines in Eastern Taiwan, and the West team focused on collecting folksongs among the communities of the Holo Taiwanese, the Hakka Taiwanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese aborigines in Western Taiwan. Their field research approach was short-term, and involved scattering researchers over a wide area.

The Chinese Folksongs Competition also collected folksongs from various ethnic groups in Taiwan. At that time, the folksong collectors did not know that traditional songs stripped from their traditional contexts of performance would lose their original meaning. The folksong collectors just wanted to record music, but they did not want to understand musical practices and traditional performing contexts from a cultural insider’s perspective.\textsuperscript{156} They wanted to develop China’s national music through folksong collecting and analytical study. At that time, the folksong collectors’ approach was to interview high profile informants. Their position was believed to be superior to that of cultural informants because they worked in colleges.

\textsuperscript{156} Cooley, “Casting Shadows in the Field,” 3–19.
Some established professors employed their academic, political, and commercial connections to do fieldwork. For example, on behalf of professors, universities issued official documents to regional governments and churches to invite them to help search for specific musical cultural insiders.

After Taiwan’s economic growth and the performance of Enigma’s “Return To Innocence” at the 1996 Olympic Summer Games, the relationship between ethnographers and informants has changed. Now aboriginal people cherish their cultural intellectual property rights; it is difficult to get their agreement to interview them or record their music. Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes’s article “The native anthropologist” mentions that she obtained the recognition and trust of local people by using different clothing, posture and tone of voice, and by learning the local language.157 Further, ethnographers try to obtain the trust of aboriginal people through wearing humble low-profile clothing, participating in indigenous traditional festivals, joining their churches, living in aboriginal guesthouses, and attending aboriginal workshops, etc.158

On the other hand, people could ascertain the motive and the state social context behind any public activity, and try to find out who is behind the operation of interest groups. For example, the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition was held in

158 Ibid.
the midst of a financial panic in a big immigrant city. The activity enacted by the
American elite represented a “search for order” in the industrial triumph over labour
turmoil and the celebration of cultural and hi-tech progress.\textsuperscript{159} Moreover, in \textit{Exotics At Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity}, Micaela di Leonardo pointed
out that American anti-modernists constructed “noble savages” for their personal
salvation; such noble savages proved Western modernity’s superiority and legitimised
western white dominance.\textsuperscript{160} Similarly, Chinese nationalists also constructed
Taiwanese aborigines as “naive savages,” and thereby validated the Nationalist
regime’s superiority and legitimised Chinese domination in Taiwan before the

Until the period of Taiwan’s economic growth between 1950s and 1990s,
Taiwan’s political activists fought for democracy, conducting labour strikes in the
struggle for better pay and working conditions. In such a turbulent social atmosphere,
Taiwanese people sought “a new order.” After Taiwan’s economic growth in the
1980s, there were already a steadily growing number of bourgeois in Taiwan’s society.
At that time, many educated and Westernised (Americanised) bourgeois could afford
to go aboard and to have a taste of exotic cultures and Romanticism around the world.
In the meantime, some Taiwanese Aboriginal Culture Villages (e.g., the Nine

\textsuperscript{159} Di Leonardo, \textit{Exotics At Home}, 4.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 3.
Aboriginal Tribes Culture Village) were built in non-governmental circles, where Taiwanese aboriginal cultures, as ‘others,’ filled this gap in the exotic cultural market in Taiwan’s domestic tourism. Although Taiwan’s aboriginal culture villages are somewhat like di Leonardo’s aforementioned “ethnological zoos,”¹⁶¹ they provide a performing stage for Taiwanese aborigines; they keep aboriginal music and culture alive, especially aboriginal musical instruments.

2.3 Authenticity

In this section, I employ authenticity theory to examine the performance contexts and appropriation of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Gilbert and Pearson note: “musicians must speak the truth of their own and others’ (absent or present) situations.”¹⁶² Here, the definition of authenticity is to contextualise music as cultural expression since “honesty (truth to cultural expression) becomes the validating criterion of musical value.”¹⁶³ Also, authenticity is guaranteed by the presence of a specific type of instrumentation (e.g., the wood slit drum) in which the performers’ crucial role is to represent the culture from where he/she comes.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, authenticity is a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 6.
“this is what is really significant about this music,” and “this is the music that makes us distinct from other people.”165 In this section, rather than ask what makes Taiwanese aborigines different from other people (cf. Chapter 6), we ask: what is significant about aboriginal musical instruments?

Taiwanese scholars used to prefer to assume that Taiwanese aboriginal musical cultures have remained in a pure state.166 Michael Pickering claims that authenticity is a relative concept, but that it is generally used in absolutist terms.167 Relatively speaking, the Taiwanese Austronesian cultures (i.e. Taiwanese aborigines) are possibly more authentic than the Southeast Asian Austronesian cultures since the latter area has experienced many cultural invasions over many centuries. Buddhism and Hinduism were both diffused into Indonesia and Malaysia respectively in the 1st century, and Islam was introduced into the same area in the 17th century. Catholicism was introduced into the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period (the 16th century).168

However, Taiwanese aboriginal music faces the encroachment of Sinicisation, Westernisation, popularisation, and commercialisation year in year out. In the light of the law of perpetual mutation,169 living folk music is keeping up-to-date either

165 Stokes, Ethnicity, Identity and Music, 7.
166 Hsu, Ethnomusicological Essays IV, 91.
168 Hsu, Ethnomusicological Essays IV, 91.
synchronically or diachronically. It is hard to find out the original of folk music.\textsuperscript{170}

Thus, the significant thing is to respect all versions and variants of the folk music along with preserving the oral tradition. As Pickering points out, “the meanings of songs are never stable, but change that depend on social variables characterising particular performers and audiences and according to the historical, cultural and social context.”\textsuperscript{171}

Appropriation is part of the process vital to the authentication of authenticity. The appropriation of musical material is inevitably everywhere in the post-modern world.\textsuperscript{172} There are different perspectives on non-aboriginal Taiwanese appropriating Taiwanese aboriginal music. Firstly, Westernised Han Taiwanese admire that Taiwanese aborigines still keep their own costumes, music, and cultural practices vibrant, even though Taiwanese aboriginal people took compulsory education with Han Taiwanese for many decades and, as a result, came closer to Han Taiwanese cultural norms. Many Han Taiwanese therefore have an appreciative attitude towards Taiwanese aboriginal cultures.

Secondly, in recent decades, studies\textsuperscript{173} discovered that many Han Taiwanese have Taiwanese aboriginal (Austronesian) blood due to intermarrying with the Plains

\textsuperscript{170} Greig, “Folk Song in Buchan,” 38.
\textsuperscript{171} Pickering, “Song and Social Context,” 74.
\textsuperscript{172} Moore, “Authenticity as authentication,” 210.
\textsuperscript{173} Cf. Liu and Li, Ren shi ping pu zu qun di di n zhong fan fa; cf. Friedman, “Learning ‘Local’ Languages,” 64.
peoples (Pingpu) over hundreds of years.\textsuperscript{174} And the identity of Taiwanese aborigines perhaps exists along with Taiwanese or Chinese identity in Taiwan. Aboriginal folk music is incredibly popular in Taiwan. This shows that Han Taiwanese accept Taiwanese aboriginal music. Taiwanese aboriginal music is therefore analogous to the Highlander’s kilt, bagpipe, and games that have been appropriated as a part of Lowlands Scots culture.\textsuperscript{175} This is an obvious appropriation of distinct Taiwanese aboriginal culture by Han Taiwanese.

Thirdly, music was a vital arm, and not just a reflection of, state cultural policy.\textsuperscript{176} Taiwanese aboriginal cultures are unique in the world. They can work as “a lethal weapon” to distinguish Taiwanese culture from Chinese culture and to resist the oppression of the People's Republic of China in the international society. This idea is similar to “folk music as a weapon in class conflict,”\textsuperscript{177} although here we can apply the idea to “national conflict” rather than class conflict. Because of this, appreciating Taiwanese aboriginal music offers Taiwanese a sense of cultural identity and “a place of belonging as centredness”\textsuperscript{178} in an unstable and unfriendly international environment. Centredness provides Taiwanese with a certainty, a cultural identity in the face of accelerating international social change.\textsuperscript{179} As Toelken claims:

\begin{flushright}
\texttt{174 Ibid.}
\texttt{175 Porter, “Folklore of Northern Scotland.”}
\texttt{176 Stokes, Ethnicity, Identity and Music, 11.}
\texttt{177 Cf. Eyerman and Barretta, “From the 30s to the 60s,” 501–54.}
\texttt{178 Moore, “Authenticity as authentication,” 219.}
\texttt{179 Moore, “Constructing Authenticity in Rock.”}
\end{flushright}
“The tune itself can trigger a wave of nostalgia, emotional commitment, personal experience, and intimate recollection.”

For instance, Taiwanese aboriginal music could transform socially cruel real life into a romantic imaginative world. After listening to their music, the milieu was unchanged, yet Han Taiwanese felt better to meet the real world.

In addition, this is a good opportunity to examine the typology of authenticity (i.e. first person, second person and third person authenticity) apropos Taiwanese aboriginal music. Using Allan Moore’s notion of “third person authenticity,” people can see that Taiwanese aboriginal performers succeed in communicating the impression of accurately communicating the expression of their ancestors through traditionally aboriginal instruments. Such “authenticity of execution” suggests “this is what it was like to be Taiwanese aborigine.”

As regards first person authenticity, “authenticity of expression” appears when an originator succeeds in conveying the impression the performer’s utterance or aboriginal instrumental sound is one of integrity, which represents an attempt to deliver sounds in an unmediated form with their audiences. For example, the wood slit drums (e.g., Figure 6.2.3.1. gowngu’, Figure 6.1.2.4. tatotokan and Figure

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183 Moore, “Constructing Authenticity in Rock.”
184 Ibid.
6.11.2.1. *wubon*) are the must-have musical instruments among various aboriginal festivals (see Chapter 5.1.1. and Chapter 5.1.3.) for showing this is what it is like to be aboriginal music in Taiwan.

As per my participant observation, throughout their lives Taiwanese aborigines are unconsciously influenced by what they constantly hear or see in relation to their own traditional music culture. Then “Authenticity” is rooted (constructed) in Taiwanese aborigines through their “traditional music as catalyst” to be decrypted. As Pickering states, “the genesis of a song’s meaning is rooted in the text itself. Sometimes song meaning is not purely inherent in a text; it awaits people to extract its meaning.”\(^ {185} \) According to the definition of second person authenticity,Authenticity of experience occurs when a performance succeeds in conveying the impression to a listener that that listener’s experience of life is being validated, that the music is ‘telling it like it is’ for them.\(^ {186} \)

Aboriginal listeners have second person authenticity because of their common aboriginal life experience and cultural expression (cf. Chapter 5.1.1. and Chapter 5.1.3.). To listen to aboriginal music is like touching a rich, deep layer of aboriginal tradition that is rooted in their musical heritage. People thirst for their cultural value and the ‘old beautiful day’ that is embodied in Taiwanese aboriginal music. While

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\(^ {185} \) Pickering, “Song and Social Context,” 75.
\(^ {186} \) Moore, “Constructing Authenticity in Rock.”
aboriginal performers are playing their traditional instruments, that music is not simply “telling it like it is”\(^\text{187}\) for audiences, but also for the musicians themselves. This lets audiences participate in sharing a secure feeling to vent their emotions and maintain their group identity. The distinction between singers and audiences is unclear.\(^\text{188}\) For Han Taiwanese audiences, by contrast, aboriginal performers need to construct “authenticity of experience”\(^\text{189}\) for them through telling a short story or providing some aboriginal background knowledge in advance. The abovementioned status quo of authenticity concerning Taiwanese aboriginal music derives from my ethnography. People can further examine aboriginal music in the light of authenticity theory amongst various festivals and cultural villages in Chapter 5 (Ethnographic Case Studies: Representation through Performance).

\(^{187}\) Moore, “Constructing Authenticity in Rock.”

\(^{188}\) Cf. Munro, *Folk Music Revival in Scotland*, 17.

\(^{189}\) Moore, “Constructing Authenticity in Rock.”
Chapter 3 Tradition, Change, and Cultural Policy

This chapter discusses tradition, change, and cultural policy of Taiwanese aboriginal music and musical instruments. Firstly, the discussion gives particular attention to studying the multi-dichotomous phenomenon of Taiwanese music genres. This concept derives from the contact of different cultural flows in synchrony and diachrony in Taiwan. This research draws on ideas put forward by Henry Johnson and Margaret Kartomi to discover through a semantic approach what the distinction is between traditional music and modern music of Taiwan.¹

In order for people to understand the musical practice of Taiwanese aborigines, we need to have some sense of the aboriginal milieu, as well as Taiwanese musical culture more broadly. Taiwan is a multicultural country. Its music is also diverse. Most Taiwanese people have a sense of multi-consciousness or multi-cultural identity. As a result of this diversity, there are many music genres in Taiwan. Taiwanese people are used to classifying music into guo yue (national music), xi yue (Western music), min su yin yue (folk music), zhong guo gu dian yin yue (Chinese classical music), xi yang gu dian yin yue (Western classical music), min zu yin yue (ethnological music), han ren yin

yue (Han Chinese music), yuan zhu min yin yue (aboriginal music), guo yu ge qu (Mandarin songs), tai yu ge qu (Taiwanese songs), he luo min yao (Holo Taiwanese folksongs), ke ja min yao (Hakka Taiwanese folksongs), tai wan liu xing yin yue (Taiwanese popular music), xi yang liu xing yin yue (Western popular music), dong yang liu xing yin yue (Japanese popular music), jue shi yue (Jazz music), and other music.

Chapter 3 is composed of four themed sections: 3.1 Chuan Tong (傳統 Tradition) vis-à-vis Xian Dai (現代 Modernity), 3.2 Nei (內 Inside/Native) vis-à-vis Wai (外 Outside/Foreign), 3.3 Shang (上 superior) vis-à-vis Xia (下 inferior) and 3.4 Cultural Policy and Aboriginal Musical Instruments. In fact, the dichotomous phenomenon of musical culture in Taiwan is not merely confined to chuan tong (tradition) vis-à-vis xian dai (modernity), but also applies to the social status of music (i.e., nei [inside/native] vis-à-vis wai [outside/foreign] and shang [superior] vis-à-vis xia [inferior]). These genres reveal a striking variety of music in a multi-dichotomous musical culture. Such categories (Sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3) help explain the different levels of cultural meaning in Taiwan. As regards Section 3.4, it is concerned with the influence of cultural policy on aboriginal music, as well as the preservation and reconstruction of aboriginal instruments.

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3.1 *Chuan Tong* (傳統 Tradition) vis-à-vis *Xian Dai* (現代 Modernity)

In this section, the dichotomy of *chuan tong* (傳統 tradition) and *xian dai* (現代 modernity) in Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments exists not merely in physical structures and performance contexts, but also in musical practices.

Before discussing the dichotomy of tradition and modernity in Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, it is firstly necessary to define “tradition” and “modernity.” Martha C. Sims and Martine Stephens suggest that “‘tradition’ implies a sense of continuity and of shared customs, and expressions that continue to be practiced within and among certain groups; something that creates and confirms identity.”

Another reference from the International Folk Music Council (founded in 1947) at the IFMC conference in São Paolo (1955) then defined folk music as “the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission.” The concept embraced only that music within a community that has not been influenced by “popular” and “art” music.

Regarding a definition of modernity, the term relates to the present time, something that is new and involves the latest ideas or equipment. It is used to describe styles of art, dance, music, and architecture that have developed in recent times, in contrast to classical styles. People are sometimes described as

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“modern” when they have opinions or ways of behaviour that have not yet been accepted by most people in a society.⁴

The following is an explanation of Taiwan’s main music genres. (1) *Guo yue* (national music) was established by the government. The term implies the traditional music of a country. *Guo yue* stands for Chinese traditional music, which includes various vocal music and instrumental music, whether solo or ensemble. Generally, the performing forms, repertoires, and musical instruments of *guo yue* are viewed as being more traditional, formal, and authentic than other types of Chinese local music, and they have mainly been censored and constructed by government and academic scholars. Furthermore, there are large numbers of repertoires and instruments of *guo yue* which originate from ancient Chinese *ya yue* (ceremonial music) and *gong ting yue* (palace music). (2) *Liu xing yin yue* (popular music) is not obviously different from Western popular music except it uses Chinese lyrics and frequently a pentatonic scale (i.e., C-D-E-G-A). (3) *Gu dian yin yue* (classical music) has come to refer to both Western classical music and Chinese classical music. (4) *Dian naoi yin yue* (computer music) is a term which covers not only computer music but also the field of music technology, electrical acoustics, and related fields. (5) *Chuan tong min yao*

(traditional folksongs) include *he luo min yao* (Holo Taiwanese folksongs), *ke ja min yao* (Hakka Taiwanese folksongs), Mandarin/Chinese folksongs, and aboriginal folksongs in Taiwan. (6) *Liu xing ge qu* (popular songs) is the same as Western popular songs, but they are sung in Chinese, English, Japanese, Holo Taiwanese, Hakka Taiwanese, or aboriginal languages. (7) *Chuan tong xi ju* (traditional opera) includes *tai wan ben tu xi ju* (Taiwanese native operas) (e.g., *ge zai xi* [Holo Taiwanese opera] and *cai cha xi* [tea gathering opera/Hakka Taiwanese opera]) as well as various local opera styles from mainland China (e.g., *guo ju/jin ju* [national opera/Beijing opera]). (8) *Xian dai wu tai ju* (modern theatre) is affected by modernism and post-modernism, which typically reject the traditional values and techniques of the theatre and instead emphasise the importance of individual experience. This genre mixes styles, ideas, and references to modern society, often in an ironic way.

Table 3.1.1 shows the dichotomy of music genres between *chuan tong* (i.e., tradition) and *xian dai* (i.e., modernity) in Taiwan. The notion of the dichotomous music genres of *chuan tong* and *xian dai* are derived from my lifelong observation of this research, as well as observations during ethnographic and semantic research in Taiwan.

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5 Hsu, *Duo cai duo zi di min su yin yue*, 36–37.
Table 3.1.1 Dichotomy of music genres between *chuan tong* (tradition) and *xian dai* (modernity) (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Chuan tong</strong> (傳統 tradition)</th>
<th><strong>Xian dai</strong> (現代 modernity)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Guo yue</em> (national music)</td>
<td><em>Liu xing yin yue</em> (popular music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gu dian yin yue</em> (classical music)</td>
<td><em>Dian naoi yin yue</em> (computer music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chuan tong min yao</em> (traditional folksongs)</td>
<td><em>Liu xing ge qu</em> (popular songs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chuan tong xi ju</em> (traditional opera)</td>
<td><em>Xian dai wu tai ju</em> (modern theatre)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Guo yue* (national music) was constructed and founded by the government of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), which lost the Chinese Civil War (1940s) and then retreated to Taiwan. The term means the representative music of China or the Chinese nation. The Chinese nation states that all ethnic minorities should be included with Han Chinese (the ethnic majority) to form one nation. In fact, the KMT wants all minorities to be assimilated into Han Chinese. Before the Republic of China was founded in 1911, *guo yue* gave service to the Chinese Emperor in many contexts (e.g., celebrations, pageantry, rituals, and other occasions). For example, every year, the Emperor offered a sacrifice and reported on his official work to Heaven as a way of asking Heaven to look kindly upon the Chinese people. Nowadays, the Republic regime no longer needs such ritual, and, in most of the official
celebrations and state banquets, xi yue (Western music) is used instead of guo yue (national music).

In contemporary culture, guo yue is definitely a form of “invented tradition,” because so-called guo yue qi (national musical instruments) comprises various tones and musical ranges of ethnological instruments from different ethnic groups in China under the organisation of Western orchestral instrumentation. Additionally, because Chinese musical instruments lack bass instruments, scholars have needed to transform the er hu (two-stringed spike fiddle) into the di yin ge hu (four-stringed bass spike fiddle) and the bei di yin ge hu (four-stringed double bass spike fiddle). The fingerings of the di yin ge hu and bei di yin ge hu are both identical with the violincello and double bass of Western orchestra, thus the guo yu competes with the Western symphony orchestra in terms of instruments and sounds.

In doing so, this new type of orchestra seems just to meet the musical needs of audiences and the standard of Western orchestral instrumentation since “the educated folks’ ears” of Taiwanese are used to hear the learned sound; that is, Westernised Taiwanese like having bass in music. As can be seen, the above-mentioned example entirely tallies with the suggestion of Eric Hobsbawm:

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6 Hobsbawm and Ranger, Invention of Tradition.
7 Munro, Folk Music Revival in Scotland, 14–15.
“‘Traditions’ which claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.”

3.2 *Nei* (內 Inside/Native) *vis-à-vis Wai* (外 Outside/Foreign)

In the dichotomy of Taiwanese music genres, the categories *nei* (內 inside/native) and *wai* (外 outside/foreign) offer a relative viewpoint. That is, in Taiwan, different people probably have different viewpoints on this dichotomy. The nuance of this dichotomous viewpoint depends on an observers’ ethnic background. For example, aboriginal people may regard *han ren yin yue* (Han Chinese music) as one of the *wai* (outside/foreign) music genres, whereas Han Taiwanese people may regard *yuan zhu min yin yue* (aboriginal music) as one of the *wai* (outside/foreign) music genres.

The following is an explanation of music genres based on the dichotomy between *nei* (inside/native) and *wai* (outside/foreign). (1) "*Zhong guo yin yue* (Chinese music) includes classical Chinese music and folk music in which the major portion of music came from mainland China and a smaller portion from Taiwan. (2) The notion of *han ren yin yue* (Han Chinese music) includes Holo Taiwanese music, Hakka Taiwanese music, and the music of Chinese immigrants.

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after the 1940s. (3) *Dong yang liu xing yin yue* (Japanese popular music): *dong yang* (Eastern Ocean) refers to Japanese music as located in the Eastern ocean of China. The term is the opposite of *xi yang* (Western Ocean, i.e., Western countries). Taiwan was once a Japanese colony (1895–1945), and, as a consequence of this, Japanese popular music is still popular to a certain extent in Taiwan. Also, a group of old Taiwanese popular songs were actually translations of Japanese popular songs. (4) *Tai wan min su yin yue* (Taiwanese folk music) is the opposite of Chinese or foreign folk music because Taiwanese people are more familiar with their own local music. This notion comprises ritual music, *beiguan, nanguan*, folksongs, *pi ying xi* (shadow puppet show), *bu dai xi* (glove puppet show), *ge zai xi* (Holo Taiwanese opera), *cai cha xi* (Hakka Taiwanese opera), instrumental music, and some other music. The term can be regarded as *tai wan chuan tong yin yue* (Taiwanese traditional music). Although some of the above-mentioned terms are similar, their range is different. They have different levels of meanings that also depend on which genre they are compared with.
Table 3.2.1 Dichotomy of music genres between *nei* (inside) and *wai* (outside) (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nei ( внутри native)</th>
<th>Wai ( вне foreign)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Guo yue</em> (national music)</td>
<td><em>Xi yue</em> (Western music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yuan zhu min yin yue</em></td>
<td><em>Han ren yin yue</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(aboriginal music)</td>
<td>(Han Chinese music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Zhong guo gu dian yin yue</em></td>
<td><em>Xi yang gu dian yin yue</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chinese classical music)</td>
<td>(Western classical music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tai wan ben tu yin yue</em></td>
<td><em>Zhong guo yin yue</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Taiwanese native music)</td>
<td>(Chinese music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tai wan min su yin yue</em></td>
<td><em>Guo yue</em> (national music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Taiwanese folk music)</td>
<td><em>Liu xing yin yue</em> (popular music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tai wan liu xing yin yue</em></td>
<td><em>Xi yang liu xing yin yue</em> (Western popular music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Taiwanese popular music)</td>
<td><em>Dong yang liu xing yin yue</em> (Japanese popular music)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2.1 shows the dichotomy of music genres between *nei* (inside/native) and *wai* (outside/foreign) in Taiwan. It depends on the genre and the context of comparison, whether any genre is inside or outside. *Xi yue* (Western music) came from Western countries; it is an opposite notion to *guo yue* (national music).
Sometimes *guo yue* is a synonym of *zhong guo yin yue* (Chinese music),
especially if it is compared with *tai wan ben tu yin yue* ( Taiwanese native music).

Also, Chinese music is not considered native to Taiwanese people, even though
traditional Chinese music is taught in compulsory education (the national
curriculum) through the political imposition of the Chinese Nationalist Party. To
Taiwanese aborigines, Holo Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese are both Han
Chinese. Notwithstanding, some Taiwanese regard themselves as belonging to
Han Taiwanese even though their ancestors immigrated to Taiwan about three
hundred years ago and many have intermarried with Taiwanese aborigines.

**3.3 Shang (上 Superior) vis-à-vis Xia (下 Inferior)**

In the dichotomy of Taiwanese music genres, *shang* (上 superior) and *xia* (下 inferior) are also relative notions. This division existed in Taiwan before
President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted martial law in 1987. This dichotomous
viewpoint of music genres between *shang* and *xia* was derived from the
development of governmental cultural policy and related to the proportion of the
national budget allocated to supporting music by way of my lifelong observation
in Taiwan.

The following is an explanation of music genres connected to the Taiwanese
dichotomy of *shang* (superior) and *xia* (inferior) in Table 3.3.1. *Guo ju* (national
opera) was originally one of the local operas of China, namely, Beijing opera.

Sung in Mandarin, it uses the official language of the Republic of China, and Beijing opera has been performed since early times for Chinese royal use. So Beijing opera was promoted as national opera (i.e., state opera) and “high culture.” Part of this process was to help popularise the national language (Mandarin) and to compete with Italian opera in order to prevent Western culture from becoming too popular in Taiwan. *Taiwan ben tu xi ju* (Taiwanese native opera) includes, for example, *ge zai xi* (Holo Taiwanese opera), *cai cha xi* (tea gathering opera/Hakka Taiwanese opera), *pi ying xi* (shadow puppet show), *bu dai xi* (glove puppet show), and *kui lei xi* (marionette). *Ge zai xi* and *cai cha xi* were formed and developed in Taiwan rather than being assimilated from China or another country. The dominance of politics, culture, and economics and the size of the ethnic population affect the social status of a music genre. In spite of the fact that *yuan zhu min yin yue* (aboriginal music) is Taiwan’s indigenous musical genre, the social status of Taiwanese aborigines has always been at the bottom of the social scale.\(^9\) Before the Chinese Nationalist Government abandoned martial law in 1987, Taiwanese aboriginal cultures were constructed as primitive, backward, and low-class by mass media and the education system.

It seems that if aboriginal people abandoned their culture, they would be

\(^9\) Cf. Hsieh, *Ren tong di wu ming*. 
assimilated into the Chinese nation and then have an equal and successful future.

Thus, yuan zhu min yin yue (aboriginal music) is opposite and inferior (xia) to han ren yin yue (Han Chinese music).

Table 3.3.1 Dichotomy of music genres between shang (superior) and xia (inferior)
(Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shang (上 superior)</th>
<th>Xia (下 inferior)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guo yue (national music)</td>
<td>Tai wan min su yin yue (Taiwanese folk music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han ren yin yue (Han Chinese music)</td>
<td>Yuan zhu min yin yue (aboriginal music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guo yu ge qu (Mandarin/national language songs)</td>
<td>Tai yu ge qu (Taiwanese songs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke ja ge qu (Hakka Taiwanese songs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guo ju (national opera)</td>
<td>Tai wan ben tu xi ju (Taiwanese native opera)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the musical elements of tai wan min su yin yue (Taiwanese folk music) belong to the music genres of Holo Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese. At least sixty-five percent of Taiwan’s population is Holo Taiwanese, and about fifteen percent of Taiwan’s population is Hakka Taiwanese. Both ethnic groups
(Holo and Hakka) are superior populations in Taiwan’s society, but Chinese mainlanders have most of the political, media, and economic power, even though they make up only ten percent of Taiwan’s population. Also, Holo and Hakka Taiwanese have been politically and socially constructed in the media as peasants and having backward dialects that were forbidden in schools. If their languages were used, Holo and Hakka speakers were fined or punished in other ways during the Taiwanese martial law period (before 1987). A minority language should only be spoken by a minority of a population in a given area. Here, we are using the term differently, in the sense of a language quite widely spoken but subordinated to a dominant language, namely, Mandarin. However, people have needed to distinguish between its declared status and its actual use among the mass of population.\textsuperscript{10} In addition, \textit{tai yu ge qu} (Holo Taiwanese songs) and \textit{ke ja ge qu} (Hakka Taiwanese songs) were both limited in terms of their frequency in mass media broadcasts. Therefore, \textit{guo yue} (national music) and \textit{guo yu ge qu} (Mandarin/national language songs) were viewed as superior to other Taiwanese musical genres before the lifting of martial law in 1987.

The phenomenon of multi-dichotomous musical culture, multiple-identities, and multi-consciousness in Taiwan society is a by-product of the interplay of social hierarchy, Westernisation, localisation, Sinicisation, cultural

\textsuperscript{10} Cf. Leith, \textit{Social History of English}, 154–82.
construction, and political imposition. The dichotomy of Taiwanese music genres between shang (superior) and xia (inferior) sometimes reverses when there is a change in ruling parties (between the Democratic Progressive Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party). For instance, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) regards itself as the guardian of legitimate Chinese culture and promotes guo yue (national music) as high culture, as they aim to unify Taiwan with Mainland China one day. Therefore, the KMT allocates a high proportion of the budget to guo yue, guo ju (national opera), and other music genres from mainland China.

By contrast, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) would rather offer more of the budget to music genres of indigenous Taiwan because the DPP advocates a spirit of Taiwanese nationalism. Since 2008, the KMT has become the ruling party again, and the size of the budget dedicated to indigenous culture has once more been reduced. However, the dichotomy of Taiwanese music genres between shang (superior) and xia (inferior) may eventually fade away, as the democratic system of Taiwan matures.
3.4 Cultural Policy and Aboriginal Musical Instruments

This section is a discussion of aboriginal musical instruments in connection with the political context in which cultural policy is made. Cultural policy can cover education policy, social policy, language policy, and cultural movements, and is not simply limited to arts education, cultural schemes, arts funding, and cultural events.\textsuperscript{11}

Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments are meaningful objects of Taiwanese aboriginal material culture. As such, the revival of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments has resulted in the convergence of government cultural policy, the development of cultural tourism, a sense of aboriginal self-awareness, and the prevalence of liberalism. As a way of exploring these phenomena, the discussion now examines the diachronic development of Taiwanese aboriginal cultural policy in connection with aboriginal musical instruments.

3.4.1 The Development of Cultural Policy

This part of the discussion examines the development of cultural policy with regard to Taiwanese aborigines in the different periods of Taiwanese history. This includes the period of Dutch rule (1624–1662), the period of Prince Cheng’s

\textsuperscript{11} Chang, “From Taiwanisation to De-sinification.”
rule (1662–1683), the period of Qing Empire rule (1683–1895), the period of Japanese Empire rule (1895–1945), and the period of post-war Taiwan (1945–present).

The period of Dutch rule (1624–1662)

During Dutch colonial rule, Formosa Island (Taiwan) was controlled by the Dutch East India Company (VOC, i.e., Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie). The Dutch government’s administration was mainly based on mercantilism, and the Dutch governor was not really interested in territorial expansion. The purpose was to trade with China and Japan, gaining profit in buying and selling goods as well as disrupting Spanish and Portuguese trade in this area.\(^{12}\)

Originally, the Dutch East India Company wanted Taiwanese aborigines to farm rice and sugarcane for export. Apart from hunting animals, most Taiwanese aboriginal males refused to do such toil because farming was traditionally a female chore from the aboriginal perspective. Instead of employing Taiwanese aborigines, the VOC employed a large number of Chinese immigrants to farm rice and sugarcane because of their agricultural knowledge and technology. Most Chinese immigrants came from Fujian or Guangdong province (southeast China), places with limited agricultural land and dense

\(^{12}\) Cheng, *VOC en Formosa*, ix.
populations. At that time, every Chinese tenant had to pay “head tax” to the
VOC; this formed an important source of revenue for the Dutch colonial
government in Formosa.13

In connection with “Indias” or “ Blacks” (the old names for Taiwanese
aborigines in Dutch Formosa),14 the VOC hoped that all aboriginal groups
would submit themselves to Dutch dominion rule and form a military alliance,
therefore assisting the Dutch to attack disloyal Taiwanese aborigines and to
suppress Chinese rebellion. If the aborigines did not form such an alliance, they
would be subject to punishment through the destruction of villages or through
forced labour.15 Moreover, Dutch missionaries created Sin Gang Wen
(Romanised script) for Taiwanese aborigines who lacked a written language.

Around eighty years after the Dutch colonial period ended (i.e., 1740), the
Romanised Sin Gang Wen script was still being used by Taiwanese aborigines to
sign title deeds when Taiwan was under Qing Empire rule (1683–1895). Also, at
this time, aboriginal young people and children were required to attend church
and would be punished if they were absent.16

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13 Ts’ao, Tai wan zao qi lis hi yan jiu, 28.
14 Cf. Teng, Taiwan’s Imagined Geography.
15 Yang, Taiwan History, 71–120.
16 Sin Gang is one of the aboriginal villages of Plains aborigines in southwest Taiwan. Cheng,
VOC en Formosa, 1.
It is extremely difficult to find any reference to any form of cultural policy in connection with aboriginal music during the Dutch colonial period. However, it should be noted that Gilbertus Happart (n.d.–1653), a Dutch missionary to Formosa, mentioned in his *Dictionary* several now unknown indigenous names for Favorlang musical instruments (discussed in Chapter 4).\(^\text{17}\)

Happart was stationed in the village of Favorlang and wrote a dictionary of the indigenous Favorlang (i.e., the Babuza) language between 1649 and 1652.\(^\text{18}\) In 1724, a Dutch Calvinist minister, François Valentijn (1666–1727), said, in his book (see Chapter 4), that during the Dutch colonial period a drum used to accompany dancing and drinking during the burial ritual of the Siraya people.\(^\text{19}\)

In the seventeenth century, Dutch missionaries converted many Taiwanese aboriginal people to Christianity, something that had a profound effect on Taiwanese aboriginal culture. *Sin Gang Wen* (Romanised script) preserves a great deal of the vocabulary of Plains aborigines, which offers a glimpse into this extinct language.

\(^{17}\) Happart, *Dictionary of the Favorlangh Dialect*.

\(^{18}\) Ibid.

\(^{19}\) Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*. 
The period of Prince Cheng’s rule (1662–1683)

The Qing dynasty (1644–1911) is a period of Chinese history dating from when Manchuria invaded China. Prior to this, the Han people ruled China during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). However, during the Qing dynasty, there was a resistant force led by Prince Cheng Cheng-gong (1624–1662) the last general of the Ming dynasty) along the Fujian coast. He ousted the Dutch from Taiwan in 1662, and hoped to use the island as a military base to recover Mainland China for the Ming dynasty.

When Prince Cheng Cheng-gong occupied Taiwan, he brought in a large number of Chinese emigrants to farm wasteland. Consequently, there were many disputes between Chinese emigrants and Taiwanese aborigines concerning land. In order to remove Christianity, Prince Cheng Cheng-gong remodelled Dutch churches into Confucian temples, and aboriginal community schools (She Xue) taught Confucianism and Chinese instead of the Bible and Sin Gang Wen (Romanised script).20

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20 Zhuang, Taiwan Cultural Theory, 197–250.
The period of Qing Empire rule (1683–1895)

After Prince Cheng Ke-shuang (1670–1707; the grandson of Prince Cheng Cheng-gong) surrendered to the Qing Empire, his family and army were sent back to China because the Qing did not want Prince Cheng’s forces to rise again in Taiwan.21 However, the Qing Empire still maintained the aboriginal cultural policies of Prince Cheng and required aborigines to pay tax and the aboriginal militia to help the Qing suppress any rebellions. The Qing Empire divided Taiwanese aborigines into three groups (i.e., “cooked barbarians,” “naturalised barbarians,” and “raw barbarians”). “Cooked barbarians” (e.g., the Siraya and the Kavalan) indicates those aborigines who paid tax, upheld military obligations, and were considered to have been gradually assimilated into Chinese culture.

“Naturalised barbarians” (e.g., the Thao and the Saisiat) indicates those aborigines who did not need to pay tax and maintain military obligations; they simply submitted themselves to the Qing Empire. As for “raw barbarians” (e.g., the Atayal and the Bunun), this category referred to aborigines who had not yet been conquered.22 In the Qing dynasty, the ethnocentrism of mandarins thought that the cultural status of “raw barbarians” was between human and animal, and it was not considered cruel to kill a “raw barbarian.”23

22 “Chronology of Aboriginal Culture.”
The Qing Empire followed Prince Cheng’s cultural policy to build Confucian community schools (*She Xue*) in aboriginal villages as a way of helping the assimilation of Taiwanese aborigines into the dominant culture of Taiwan. In this period, many Sinicised aboriginal intellectuals would recite Chinese poems and read the analects of Confucius and other classical scholars in Chinese literature. Also, numerous “cooked barbarians” (i.e., Plains aborigines) were granted a Chinese name. Therefore, the Plains aborigines assimilated gradually into Han culture as it was found in Taiwan.24 Furthermore, the Qing Empire did not want to spend money on the army in order to solve the conflict between Chinese emigrants and “raw barbarians,” so they built many fences and erected stone stelae strategically as a way of separating the two ethnic groups.25 From the Qing’s official perspective, Taiwan was a wasteland where “birds did not sing and flowers were not fragrant” and there was “every three years an uprising; every five years a rebellion.”26 This was the reason why the Qing Empire ceded Taiwan to the Japanese Empire in the Treaty of Shimonoseki (17 April 1895) after the Qing Empire was defeated in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895).27

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24 Ibid., 197–230.
25 “Chronology of Aboriginal Culture.”
26 This is Li Hong-zhang’s opinion about Taiwan. Li Hong-zhang (1823–1901) was a minister, general, and diplomat in the late Qing Empire.
The period of Japanese Empire rule (1895–1945)

The Qing Empire ceded Taiwan to the Japanese Empire in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The Japanese colonial government aimed to assimilate Taiwanese aborigines into Japanese society through a dual policy of suppression and education. In 1900, anthropologists from Japan classified Taiwanese aborigines into the Pingpu (the Plains aborigines as “cooked aborigines”) and the Takasagozoku (the unassimilated aborigines as “raw aborigines”).²⁸ The Japanese colonial government set up a compulsory education system for Han Taiwanese children as well as for aboriginal children between the ages of eight and fourteen. The school curriculum included shōka (singing), dokusho (reading), and shūshin (morals). Japanese music teachers frequently employed Western musical theory on Taiwanese aboriginal music by harmonising the melody of aboriginal folksongs in an art song style. Such musical arrangement meant that Taiwanese aboriginal music was printed, although it was not an authentic representation. These educational measures are related to the colonial policies of Dōka (Assimilation, 1919–1936) and Kōminika (Japanisation, 1937–1945), which considered Taiwan an extension of the Japanese homeland and

sought for Taiwan to be based on “Japanisation, industrialisation, and southward-base construction.”

The ethnographic diary of Kurosawa Takatomo and his book *The Music of Taiwanese Takasagozoku* both recorded that it had been forbidden to play aboriginal musical instruments and sing aboriginal folksongs around 1914. Owing to the fact that aboriginal musical instruments were sometimes used as instruments of war, Japanese police officers believed that aboriginal music would inspire Taiwanese aboriginal people to hunt the heads of the imperial rulers. The Japanese Empire intended to build Taiwan as a showcase “model colony” since Taiwan was the first Japanese overseas colony. The Japanese introduced Western music, radio, the phonograph, and the harmonium to young aboriginal people and taught them to sing Japanese popular songs and military songs in order to de-Taiwanise and impose Japanisation.

Japanese colonial ethnographers notwithstanding documented a great deal about precious Taiwanese aboriginal instruments, including many photographs. These photographs do not entirely reveal the real stories of the traditional performing contexts, and the photographers were protected by the Japanese

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29 “Colonization and Modernization under Japanese Rule.”
31 Ibid.
military preventing aboriginal headhunting. For instance, Figure 2.1.2.1 is a showcase-like photograph which includes the stamping pestles and the Jew’s harp of the Bunun. However, it is unknown whether or not the stamping pestles and the Jew’s harp were played in an ensemble in the traditional context of the Bunun. Nevertheless, from such images, researchers can understand the form of musical instruments that were being played by the Bunun people in Taiwan under Japanese rule.

Figure 3.4.1.1 shows Tsou respectively play the yuubuku Jew’s harp, the yutngotngo musical bow, and the peingu no ngūcū double nose flute. (Reproduced from Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki,” 240.)

Figure 3.4.1.1 shows Tsou playing the yuubuku Jew’s harp, the peingu no ngūcū double nose flute, and the yutngotngo musical bow (cf. Subsection 6.15).

Through this display-like photograph, one can be sure that such aboriginal
instruments were played during the Japanese colonial period. However, it is not known if the Tsou actually had a trio in their traditional performing contexts.

Also, Japanese colonial officers invented “the bamboo trap dance” of the Tao as a way of welcoming senior Japanese officials to Orchid Island. The motives behind this were nothing more than trying to increase the exotic amusement for the visiting Japanese senior officials.

The period of post-war Taiwan (1945–present)

The Chinese Nationalist Government took over Taiwan when Japan surrendered at the end of World War II (1945). From the viewpoint of the Chinese nationalist, the Taiwanese had a Japanese-like manner following fifty years of Japanese rule. The new government’s cultural policy focused on de-Japanisation and Sinicisation at the same time. In 1949, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) lost the Chinese Civil War to the Communist Party. At that time Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) decided to retreat with his government, troops, and 1.3 million Chinese Mainlanders from Mainland China to Taiwan. In the 1950s, the cultural policy of the Chinese Nationalist government was focused on anti-communist principles and censoring cultural expression in mass media and

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34 “Bamboo trap dance” programme note from Taiwan Indigenous Culture Park.
print. Because Taiwan was their last territory, they felt they could not lose it. In
1967, mainland China underwent “the Chinese Cultural Revolution.” The
response of the Chinese Nationalist government to this event was to launch “the
Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement,” and the government founded the
Committee of Chinese Cultural Renaissance to manage state cultural policy.36 At
that time, the Chinese Nationalist government considered itself to be the guardian
of Chinese culture, and Chinese traditional music was used in anti-communist
propaganda. For this reason, the KMT government promoted Chinese musical
traditions as high culture, and looked down on aboriginal musical tradition and
local Taiwanese musical tradition as low culture.

This was a period of Taiwanese cultural awakening, demand for political
reform, the end of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and the international
isolation of the ROC, before the establishment of the CCA in the 1970s. It was
pointless to counter-attack Mainland China, so the Chinese Nationalist
Government had no choice but to operate in Taiwan. In 1981, President Chiang
Ching-kuo set up the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA), which was in charge of
cultural policy, instead of the Committee of Chinese Cultural Renaissance.
Taiwanese culture was promoted alongside Chinese culture for the first time.37

36 Chang, “From Taiwanisation to De-sinification,” 438.
37 Ibid., 438.
In 1988, Dr. Lee Teng-hui (1923–present) was the first Taiwanese to be elected President of the Republic of China as well as being chairman of the Chinese Nationalist Party. He promoted the Taiwanisation of the Chinese Nationalist Government in order to construct Taiwan as the “new homeland” of Chinese emigrants. The Chinese Nationalist Government had used Taiwanisation to legitimise KMT’s rule in Taiwan and to hold on to its political power, but KMT never gave up the cultural connection with China.38

The Rename Movement of Taiwanese aborigines appeared in 1987 (after the lifting of martial law). Before this time, some Han Taiwanese had a bias against Taiwanese aborigines because they considered aboriginal people strong, lazy, and alcoholics. For this reason, the unemployment rate of Taiwanese aborigines was generally higher than that of Han Taiwanese.39 Accordingly, the “stigmatised identity” of Taiwanese aborigines influenced their social capital and economic capital in Taiwanese society. It was imperative to allow the ethnicity of Taiwanese aborigines to be recognised by the ROC government at that time.40 Thereby, the Chinese Nationalist Government changed the name Shan Di Tong Bao (Mountain Compatriot) to Tai Wan Yuan Zhu Min (Taiwanese aborigines) in 1995. Moreover, aboriginal people were not permitted to use aboriginal names on

38 Ibid.
their official identification cards until a 1995 amendment to the Personal Names Act.\textsuperscript{41} In 1996, the Committee of Aboriginal Affairs (CAA) was founded to be responsible for Taiwanese aboriginal cultural policy. In 1997, the tenth amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of China (Taiwan’s official name) recognised the ethnicity of Taiwanese aborigines. This amendment stipulated that the government would protect and preserve Taiwanese aboriginal cultures and languages and encourage aboriginal people to participate in politics.\textsuperscript{42}

Taiwanese aboriginal tradition involves a great number of musical rituals in everyday life. Many Taiwanese aborigines are talented singers, particularly in pop music. For example, A-Mei (Chang Hui-mei, b. 1972), a Puyuma popular singer, is a superstar not just in Taiwan, but also in East Asia and Southeast Asia, and her success has improved the image of aboriginal people among Han Taiwanese. Taiwanese aboriginal culture and music is an exotic culture at home, and supplied the need of domestic tourism in Taiwan during the expansion of the middle-class (in the 1980s).\textsuperscript{43}

The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the Presidential election in 2000. President Chen Shui-bian carried out not only Taiwanisation but also de-
Sinification. For example, Taiwanese aboriginal people could now learn their own language in the “Native Language Curriculum” from primary school to junior high school. President Chen promoted Taiwan’s indigenous cultures and emphasized the unique mixture of Taiwanese hybrid culture to distinguish it from Chinese culture.\textsuperscript{44} In recent decades, several Taiwanese aboriginal groups have engaged in the tourism and eco-tourism industries as a way of achieving economic self-reliance from the government.\textsuperscript{45} Since the Democratic Progressive Party took over the reins of government, it proclaimed “cultural industries as sunrise/future-oriented industries” by taking European countries as examples, and instead of focusing on “high culture” as the Chinese Nationalist Party used to do.\textsuperscript{46} In 2002, the Council for Cultural Affairs launched a “Local Culture House Programme,” in which the CCA urged that local culture should be the vehicle to develop tourism and raise employment opportunities.\textsuperscript{47}

The multicultural policies of the Democratic Progressive Party have contributed to ethnic pride amongst Taiwanese aboriginal groups.\textsuperscript{48} Notwithstanding, it has been suggested that the government makes use of aboriginal people as political symbols.\textsuperscript{49}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{44} Chang, “From Taiwanisation to De-sinification,” 438.
\textsuperscript{45} Anderson, “New Austronesian Voyaging,” 283–90.
\textsuperscript{46} Chang, “From Taiwanisation to De-sinification,” 438.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Wang, “Multiculturalism in Taiwan,” 301–8.
\textsuperscript{49} Gumai, “Examination of the DPP’s Aboriginal Policy,” 1.
\end{footnotesize}
awakening, indigenous peoples have strived, not only for recognition of ethnicity
and ethnic pride, but also for their own budgets from the government.\textsuperscript{50} The
revival of Taiwanese aboriginal rituals and musical instruments as a political
weapon has helped increase ethnic pride and earn income from tourism and
election campaigns.\textsuperscript{51}

The Chinese Nationalist Party again became the ruling party in Taiwan.
The KMT continuously won the Presidential election in 2008 and 2012. On 20
May 2012, President Ma Ying-jeou established the Ministry of Culture (MOC) to
take the place of the Council for Cultural Affairs. As part of Ma’s presidency, the
cultural policy of the KMT government again favoured subsidising performing
groups that originated from Mainland China as a way of guarding the orthodox
arts of great Chinese culture (see Section 3.3).\textsuperscript{52} For example, in 2012, the
Ministry of Culture funded the Guo Guang Opera Company, the Taiwan Bangzi
Opera Company, and the National Chinese Orchestra under the management of
the National Center for Traditional Arts.\textsuperscript{53} These patronages caused the KMT
government to reduce the funding of aboriginal music and other indigenous
music of Taiwan. Also, the MOC did not mention a word on promoting or

\textsuperscript{50} Rudolph, “Nativism, Ethnic Revival, and the Reappearance of Indigenous Religions.”
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52} Cf. “2012 Target of the Ministry of Culture.”
\textsuperscript{53} The Guo Guang Opera Company is a performing group of Beijing opera, and Bangzi Opera is a form of local opera from the Henan Province of China.
funding the traditional arts of Taiwanese aborigines in the “2012 Target of the MOC” document. Thus, the aboriginal issue was totally neglected by the MOC.54

3.4.2 The Preservation of Aboriginal Instruments

The preservation of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments is a parallel development in governmental and non-governmental circles.

**Governmental circles**

The National Center for Traditional Arts (NCFTA) is a subsidiary body under the Council for Cultural Affairs.55 In 1999, 282 traditional arts groups applied to the government for a subsidy from the Center for Traditional Arts, and eleven Taiwanese aboriginal arts groups gained a subsidy (3.9 per cent). These included one Atayal xylophone education scheme, two Paiwan nose flutes education schemes, two aboriginal music conferences, one aboriginal music ethnographic project, two aboriginal education schemes, two aboriginal dancing groups, and one aboriginal music group. In 2001, 139 traditional arts groups received a government subsidy from the NCFTA, whereas merely four Taiwanese aboriginal arts groups received a subsidy (2.8 per cent), which included one aboriginal...

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54 Cf. “About Us.”
55 The Council for Cultural Affairs was promoted to the Ministry of Culture on 20 May 2012.
musical group, two aboriginal music ethnographic projects, and two aboriginal education schemes.\textsuperscript{56} In 2007, the NCFTA ran “The Subsidy Scheme for Taiwanese Aboriginal Music Collection” to fund each applicant to a maximum sum of NT$180,000. In order to be eligible for a subsidy, applicants had to be skilled aboriginal speakers or experienced aboriginal music ethnographers. Also, topics had to focus on “aboriginal elders’ folksongs on the verge of disappearing,” “ritual music,” “the performance of traditional aboriginal musical instruments,” and “other distinctive music materials related to aborigines.”\textsuperscript{57}

Another form of preservation is the “isolated preservation” of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. It is to preserve aboriginal instruments in a restricted museum-like environment. The best examples are specimens of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments in the Ethnographic Artefacts Exhibition Room of the National Taiwan University and the Museum of the IEAS. In so doing, musical instruments have departed from their original ecosystem and are stored or displayed in museums in a process that regards aboriginal instruments “as something belonging to the past” or “as a musical ideal” for special purposes.\textsuperscript{58}

The Ethnographic Artefacts Exhibition Room of the National Taiwan University was founded in the period of Japanese Empire rule. Such specimens of

\textsuperscript{56} “Calendar Year to Apply for Grants.”
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Nettl, \textit{Study of Ethnomusicology}, 351.
Taiwanese aboriginal instruments may be regarded as a showcase of war trophies. The Museum of the IEAS was founded after the KMT government retreated to Taiwan. This museum preserves not only the instruments of Taiwanese aborigines but also the instruments of other Chinese ethnic minorities. It implies that the KMT never gave up counter-attacking Mainland China.

Non-governmental circles

In the case of the Seediq people, “The Preservative and Symbiotic Scheme of the Ke Le Community” of 2004 was organised by Guhong Sipang (a Seediq chieftain), chairman of the Tluwan Truku Cultural and Tourism Association (Sioulin Township, Hualian); it gained funding from the Forestry Bureau, Council of Agriculture. During the three-day workshop, the programme discussed how to conserve the natural ecology of forests and how to find musical instrumental materials in the local forest. The programme also taught local aborigines how to make Jew’s harps and xylophones and how to tune these instruments (cf. Section 6.11).

The Ke Le Community of the Seediq is a successful aboriginal example. Its chieftain, Mr. Guhong Sipang, is a retired policeman. He has a strong “desire” and “musical energy” to push his preservation scheme because he knows how to apply for patronage from various organisations through his strong political,
academic, and social networks. After his endeavour, the Seediq became the fourteenth recognised Taiwanese aboriginal group of the ROC on 30 April 2008.

The Seediq were recognised by the DPP government because the DPP possibly intends to destroy the patronage network system of the KMT (cf. Figure 6.11.1). The majority of Taiwanese aboriginal people are traditionally KMT supporters because the KMT maintain a high degree of political and economic power in aboriginal districts. After the DPP won the presidential election in 2000, the Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, and Seediq were recognised by the DPP government in 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007, and 2008 respectively.

3.4.3 The Reconstruction of Aboriginal Instruments

The reconstruction of aboriginal instruments meets the need for cultural distinction, livelihood, and the recognition of ethnicity for Taiwanese aboriginal people. The majority of aboriginal instrumental reconstructions are spontaneously made by aboriginal people. Owing to the fact that materials used in making aboriginal instruments were easily obtained from local sources, instruments were usually made immediately before performance. Hence Taiwanese aboriginal people did not preserve their instruments very well in the

past. Before the revival of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments from 1999, many instruments simply existed in the memories of aboriginal elders.\(^{60}\)

Nowadays, the world is a “global village,” and Western musical culture overwhelmingly accompanies its “technology and economic power” throughout the earth.\(^{61}\) For this reason, Taiwanese aborigines inevitably more or less reconstruct their traditional music through the lens of modernisation and Westernisation.

**Westernisation**

Nettl defines the “Westernisation” of non-Western traditional musical culture as the adoption of central elements, such as functional harmony, the prominence of the large ensemble, an emphasis on the composed piece performed more or less unchanged and simple but stable metric rhythm.\(^{62}\) For example, many contemporary aboriginal percussion bands have adopted the performing style of Western orchestration (cf. Subsection 5.2.2). The Westernisation of Taiwanese aboriginal musical behaviour also includes “concerts, paid musical professionalism, records and radio, sitting on chairs to perform, and clapping after a performance.”\(^{63}\)

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\(^{62}\) Ibid., 351.

\(^{63}\) Ibid.
Modernisation

As for “modernisation,” non-central elements of traditional music have been adopted (e.g., scales have been slightly adjusted, concert situations altered, notation introduced, and patronage systems changed). The modernisation process of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments is to adopt Western technology as a way of improving the scale and physical structure of aboriginal instruments, such as supplementing the Amis bamboo pan pipes or the stands of the Amis xylophone (see 6.1.1 Kokang). Additionally, while the original social function of the Jew’s harp was that it was played during courtship. As stated earlier, Taiwanese aboriginal lovers communicate nowadays using mobile phones instead of playing the Jew’s harp. Also, in the contemporary era, aboriginal people play the Jew’s harp for amusement and tourism (cf. Figure 5.2.1.3).

Motivations and desires

Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments are the best weapon in social struggles. For example, the reconstruction of the headhunter’s flute is a form of “reverse symbolic violence” in circles of aboriginal elites, showing aboriginal

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64 Cf. ibid., 353–54.
dissatisfaction or demands (see 6.2.8 Pengao and 6.11.10 Mgagu). Nowadays, the headhunter’s flutes sound in hunting social capital (e.g., ethnic pride, the recognition of ethnicity) and economic capital (e.g., livelihood, government funds) instead of human heads. These motivations and desires drive aboriginal people to change their musical tradition for various reasons (e.g., developing tourism, distinguishing aboriginal identity, recovering ethnic pride, and seeking government funds).

In the case of the Siraya, the people are one of Taiwan’s Plains aborigines. The majority of Taiwanese consider the Siraya to be assimilated into Han Taiwanese culture. However, in recent years the Siraya people have endeavoured to seek from the government recognition of their ethnicity by means of reviving their language and traditional musical instruments. They have formed an Onini Bamboo Instrumental Group (onini means “sound”), which is visibly one of the Siraya’s cultural distinctions and is in high demand (see Subsection 6.12).

Another example is the Amis Kakeng Musical Group, which was founded in 1999. It is a good example of the “reintroduction” of musical instruments. The founder of the Amis kakeng band is Mr. Sawtoy Saytay, who originally trained as an aboriginal journalist on Taiwan’s public TV station. After many

67 Ibid., 352.
interviews with Amis elders in Amis villages, he was inspired to set up the Amis Kakeng Musical Group. He found different aboriginal instruments that were still preserved in Amis villages. Before World War II, materials for making Amis musical instruments (e.g., the musical bow, the Jew’s harp, and the nose flute) were easily obtained from local sources (e.g., bamboo or wood), and the Amis people merely made and played their instruments for self-amusement and they did not intend to preserve them. Saytay reconstructed Amis musical instruments according to oral tradition and the memories of Amis elders, as well as consulting historical instruments, pictures, and archives in the IEAS. Moreover, he reintroduced various Amis aboriginal instruments from different villages to form his aboriginal band. It is clear that Saytay desires to enhance Amis ethnic pride and develop his enterprise (see Section 6.1).

In sum, the presentation and social function of Taiwanese traditional musical instruments has contributed to various schemes of preservation, reconstruction, and cultural policy. In aboriginal culture, aboriginal instruments have traditionally been played for self-entertainment, in courtship, bird scaring, and signalling. Then the performing form was simply solo or duet. It was almost impossible to have an instrumental trio.

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People have an opportunity to observe Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments as “meaningful objects” of Taiwanese aboriginal material culture. Aboriginal instruments are part of Taiwan’s “social and cultural flows” and are characteristically social objects in terms of their connection with and the movements of Taiwanese.\textsuperscript{69} Adopting some Western performing styles and conceptual elements could be construed as “enrichment” in the development of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. For example, the Amis people have borrowed Western musical thought to form aboriginal percussion bands. It is important to investigate the “motivations” and “desires” of Taiwanese aboriginal musical behaviour.\textsuperscript{70} People should not simply consider such changes as “cultural pollution.” Nettl suggests that many of the changes can be interpreted as “strategies for survival” in order to save cultural essence. Also, such strategies give “musical energy” for musical activity and creativity in a culture.\textsuperscript{71} For instance, Taiwanese aborigines keep the cultural core of aboriginal traditional values without great change; simultaneously, they try hard to adapt their traditional music to new social conditions. If they are not willing to make some adaptations, some aboriginal musical traditions would be totally abandoned, such


\textsuperscript{70} Cf. Nettl, \textit{Study of Ethnomusicology}, 347.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 348.
as the performing contexts of the headhunters’ flutes (see Section 6.2 and Section 6.11).

Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments are not just the best weapon in the struggle for aboriginal people’s rights and to meet the demands of contemporary society. The Japanese Empire had borrowed this weapon as their war trophies. Then the KMT government borrowed this weapon to build the dream of great China. Lastly, the DPP government borrowed this weapon for Taiwanisation and de-Sinification. The change in Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments mirrors the attempt by Taiwanese aboriginal people to maintain their musical tradition in a modern society harmonious with Western-derived social, economic, and political institutions, and the desire to enter the Han-Taiwanese cultural system without entirely giving up aboriginal musical tradition.\footnote{Cf. ibid., 353.}
Chapter 4 Archival Sources: Representation through Museumification

Archival sources contain the significant accumulation of historical records with reference to aboriginal instruments. ‘Museumification’ is a process that transforms objects into cultural heritage by preserving the past; it is manifested with reconstruction and recreation.¹ Chapter 4 is composed of two themed sections; namely, 4.1 Museums and Archives and 4.2 Historical Print and Literature source.

4.1 Museums and Archives

As Johnson points out, “Museums are sites of meaning in connection with the ways they classify instruments, the ways they display instruments, and the ways the instruments are understood by the viewer.”² Section 4.1 has been divided into two main parts: subsection 4.1.1 discusses the antique bronze pellet bell in museums, and subsection 4.1.2 is concerned with the indigenous names of the Favorlang musical instruments located in archives.

4.1.1 The Antique Bronze Pellet Bell in Museums

During fieldwork in Taiwan, I collected data with reference to the antique bronze pellet bell from different museums. In the National Museum of Prehistory, two antique bronze pellet bells (or rattles) are preserved inside glass jars, and displayed in the Prehistory of Taiwan Exhibition Hall. These are archaeological remains from the Baisangan Relic in Taitung. These bells are circa 6 cm in diameter, and belong to the Jingpu Culture in prehistory about 1,000 to 500 BP.\(^3\) As far as we know, they are the oldest surviving musical instruments of the Taiwanese aborigines.

![Image of the antique bronze pellet bell]

Figure 4.1.1.1. The antique bronze pellet bell. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

In an archaeologist’s eyes, the two antique bronze pellet bells might just be

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\(^3\) Tsang, “Recent Advances in the Iron Age Archaeology,” 156.
considered archaeological remains from the Baisangan Relic. Aside from myself, no scholars of Taiwanese music have taken an interest in such bells, perhaps because they are widely considered a type of rattle. The bell might be regarded as a product of cultural processes that are based on their actual or implied use in any context of representation as well as a part of a unique tradition that is utilised in rituals and musical practices which are formed by bell bearers’ experience, ideas, ability, needs, and desires.⁴

Many metals and ironware appeared in Taiwan approximately 2,000 years ago. This not only indicates that people had the ability to produce new instruments

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⁴ Ibid., 7; Dawe, “Cultural Study of Musical Instruments,” 277.
with new technologies, but also symbolised Taiwan stepping into a new age. Thus bronze pellet bells, a product of cultural processes, appeared in the Jingpu Culture of the Iron Age, which meant that the Jingpu culture passed through the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and then the Iron Age. The crockery style of the Jingpu Culture is extremely similar to contemporary Amis crockery, thus resulting in some scholars naming it “the Amis culture of Taiwan’s Iron Age.”

At the same time, overseas ironware culture influenced Taiwan. Iron gradually replaced stone as a material for musical instrument manufacture; and bronze, silver, gold, glass and agate replaced jade in the fashioning of ornaments. Archaeologists suggest that most of these implements were not made in Taiwan. This reveals that Taiwan had regular overseas trade at that time. Iron Age Jingpu cultural artifacts have been excavated from the Jingpu Culture Relic and the Baisanga Relic along the east coast of Taiwan (i.e., Hualian and Taitung Counties). Since the geographical distribution and material culture of the Amis people almost coincides with the prehistoric Jingpu Culture, the people of the Jingpu Culture are probably the ancestors of the Amis people. People can easily find similar types of bronze pellet bells among the Amis community. For example, Amis wear the tangfor leg pellet rattle (Figure 6.1.6.4) and the tangfor waist pellet rattle (Figure 6.1.6.3) to

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5 “Ching-pu culture.” Ching-pu is the homophone of Jingpu.

6 Tsang, “Recent Advances in the Iron Age Archaeology,” 156.
dance in their harvest festival.

In addition, Kurosawa, Lu and Ling’s articles all mentioned that the bronze pellet bells of Taiwanese aborigines were transmitted from the Han people.⁷ Owing to the fact that many bronze pellet bells are decorated with Chinese characters on their surface, many Taiwanese scholars believe that those aboriginal bronze pellet bells were bought from the Han people.⁸ While people may think that Taiwanese aborigines borrowed the Han people’s pellet bells to use in aboriginal tradition, my work offers new insights. Nowadays, exploring who was the first to create this instrument is less important than what bronze pellet bells mean to the bell bearer and community, and how and why they gained that meaning.

The two pre-historic bells were made of bronze from 1000 BP to 500 BP in radiocarbon years.⁹ In contrast, contemporary aboriginal pellet bells are made of brass. Brass has strong abrasion resistance with a brighter sound than bronze. The production cost of brass is also lower than bronze, resulting in the majority of pellet bells being made of brass nowadays. This type of pellet bell is still in use in various Taiwanese aboriginal groups, especially the Amis (see Subsection 6.1.6) and Puyuma peoples (see Subsection 6.7.5). For this reason, the pellet bell should be looked at as a

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⁹ “20110400043”; Tsang, “Recent Advances in the Iron Age Archaeology,” 156.
meaningful object. It is also worth comparing the development of the bronze pellet bell in diachrony with the musical practice of aboriginal bronze pellet bells in their synchronic context. For example, both Amis and Puyuma utilise this kind of pellet bell (see, for example, Figure 6.1.6.4 showing the tangfor leg pellet rattle and Figure 6.7.5.1 depicting the kameLin waist rattle) in their traditional rituals. Among the Amis people, a priest is a person who is believed to have powers to heal sick people or to remove evil spirits from them by means of shaking the pellet bell. The Puyuma people shake the pellet bell against the hand to call ancestral spirits.

I gained permission to measure the antique bronze pellet bells housed in the Museum of the IEAS. Especially, there are some antique bronze pellet bells of the Amis (Figure 4.1.1.3), whose surface is decorated with human-face-like and cartwheel-like patterns. Each antique bronze pellet bell is circa 3cm in diameter. Five pellet bells are mounted together as a waist rattle for shaking and striking against each other. The human-face-like pattern is probably a kind of ancestral totem, which bears certain cultural meanings. The Paiwan, the Puyuma and the Amis all had similar bronze pellet bells in ancient times.

10 Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 185–220.
Moreover, a necklace strung with agate and copper pellet bells (Figure 4.1.1.4) is displayed in the National Taiwan Museum; this originated from the Kakinaoan tribe of the Ketagalan people between the late 19th and early 20th century. This kind of necklace functioned as an audible treasure to dignify the bearer’s social status at that time. Clearly, the sound of the pellet bell is audible and boisterous, drawing the attention of people and ancestral spirits.
The antique bronze pellet bells of the Prehistory Museum are significant proof that Taiwanese aborigines (especially the Amis ancestors) had already used them from 1000 BP to 500 BP in radiocarbon years. Through examining those antique bronze pellet bells (see Figures 4.1.1.1, 4.1.1.2 and 4.1.1.3), I infer that Taiwanese aborigines initially made their own pellet bells, since there were copper mines and iron technology in Taiwan during the Iron Age.\textsuperscript{13} Afterwards, they perhaps obtained ready-made pellet bells through overseas commerce from other ethnic groups. Whether the bronze bell was imported from overseas or made by Taiwanese aborigines themselves, this indicates the bronze bell has existed in aboriginal cultural practice for a long time. From ancient times to the present, the pellet bell does not simply function as a rattle to produce a boisterous sound in dancing, but is also the

\textsuperscript{13} Cf. Tsang, “Recent advances in the Iron Age archaeology of Taiwan,” 157.
marker of high social status.

4.1.2 The Indigenous Names of the Favorlang Musical Instruments in Archives

Favorlang is the spelling of Babuza during the Period of Dutch Rule (1624-1662).14 The Babuza people are one of the Plains aborigines, who primarily live around the western part of Taiwan's Central Basin and in Changhua County (see Figure 1). At present, the Babuza people are Sinicized into the Holo Taiwanese; the Babuza (i.e., Favorlang) language is extinct.

However, I accidentally found some archival sources concerning the indigenous names of the Favorlang musical instruments in his library research. For example, firstly the thesis “Favorlang-Pazeh-Saisiat: A Putative Formosan Subgroup” was found in the library storage of Otago University.15 Secondly, I found two books, “Dictionary of the Favorlang dialect of the Formosan language” and “The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan Dutch and English from Vertrecht’s Manuscript of 1650: with Psalmanazar’s Dialogue between a Japanese and a Formosan and Happart’s Favorlang Vocabulary” 16 regarding the indigenous names of Favorlang musical instruments on the Internet Archive of USA.17 Thirdly,

15 Marsh, “Favorlang-Pazeh-Saisiat.”
16 Happart, Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect; Campbell, Articles of Christian Instruction.
17 “Internet Archive.”
the original Dutch version “Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal, waarin het Favorlangs voor, het Duits achter gestelt is [Dictionary of the Favorlang language in which Favorlang precedes Dutch]”\(^{18}\) was found using Google Books.\(^{19}\) A positive effect of museumification is that an object that was ‘dead’ can possibly become ‘alive’ through special Internet archives.\(^{20}\)

This section provides a comparative study of the indigenous names of Favorlang musical instruments, using historical literature and the existing musical instruments of Taiwanese aborigines. The Favorlang descendants still live in Taiwan, although they have lost their language and are Sinicized. This research will enable people to decode and to understand the original form of the Favorlang/Babuza musical instruments. Before this research, people only knew that the forged bells of the Plains peoples were called ‘saguyi’ in Mandarin, or ‘tokilun’ in Holo Taiwanese, through studying historical literature (see Subsection 4.2.2) and Lu’s Tai wan tu zhu zu zhi yue qi [The musical instruments of the Formosan aborigines].\(^{21}\) Hoppart’s Favorlang vocabulary will aid understanding of the correct spelling and pronunciation of the forged bells among the Plains peoples.

The following Favorlang vocabulary concerns musical instruments.

\(^{18}\) Hoppart and Hoëvell, Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal.
\(^{19}\) “Books.” Google.
\(^{21}\) Lu, Tai wan tu zhu zu zhi yue qi, 19.
Babennonno (the gong)

Babennonno means the gong.\textsuperscript{22} Chang Hua Xian Zhi (the Record of Chang Hua County) mentioned there were two bossed gongs in different sizes with different tones.\textsuperscript{23} In Taiwan, most of the aboriginal gongs are flat bronze gongs. This is the first account concerning the bossed gong of the Taiwanese aborigines.

Kinkin (the little bell)

Kinkin means ‘the little bell.’ Makinkin means to ring as little bells.\textsuperscript{24} Kumminkin, kinkinna and kinkinnen mean to clink as with small bells. Pakinkin and kakinkin both mean ‘clinking.’\textsuperscript{25}

Orrum (the Jew’s harp)

I find that Medhurst’s English translation concerning “orrum” is not faithful to Happart’s (the original Dutch version). For example, “Orrum, een tuig daer de vrijers met de mond op spelen, de tromp niet ongelijk” in Dutch means ‘a rig for suitors to play with mouth, not unlike the trumpet.’\textsuperscript{26} However, Medhurst translated and

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{22} Campbell, Articles of Christian Instruction, s.v. “babennonno.”
\textsuperscript{23} Zhou, Zhanghua xianzhi, 301; my translation.
\textsuperscript{24} Campbell, Articles of Christian Instruction, s.v. “makinkin.”
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., s.v. “kumminkin.”
\textsuperscript{26} Happart and Hoëvell, Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal, s.v. “orrum”; my translation.
\end{flushright}
interpreted it as “orrum, a wind instrument wherewith they play; not unlike the
trumpet.”\textsuperscript{27} The cause of Medhurst’s interpretation could be that he had never seen
the Jew’s harp of the Taiwanese aborigines before, and just knew that orrum was a
wind instrument. Hence, orrum means the Jew’s harp. The derivative word
“masiorrum” means to play on the Jew’s harp.\textsuperscript{28}

In 1836, the historical literature “Chang Hua Xian Zhi (the Record of Chang
Hua County)” recorded the structure of the Jew’s harp of the Plains aborigine; that is,

Bamboo was pared as an instrument, which has thumb-like size and zither-like shape. The
instrument is four Chinese inches long.\textsuperscript{29} The body of the instrument is hollowed by two
inches, and a piece of copper is nailed on. In addition, there is a little handle to tie on the
instrument with which to pull and drag as well as to agitate by mouth.\textsuperscript{30}

The above quotation (cf. Subsection 2.1.1) probably describes the orrum of the
Favorlang (Babuza) people, owing to the fact that Chang Hua County is the
traditional territory of the Favorlang people.

The numerical entry for the orrum Jew’s harp, according to the Hornbostel-

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Cf. Campbell, Articles of Christian Instruction, s.v. “masiorrum.”
\textsuperscript{29} One Chinese inch equals to 1.312 inch.
\textsuperscript{30} Zhou, Zhanghua xianzhi, 301; my translation.
Sachs system, is 121.22, and means *heteroglot guimbarde* (a lamella attached to a frame).\(^{31}\)

**Tókkilli (the forged bell)**

*Tókkilli* means jingles worn by young men.\(^{32}\) The *tókkilli* forged bell was played for delivering messages. *Tókkilli* closely resembles the pronunciation of the “*tokilun*” forged bell in Holo Taiwanese.\(^{33}\) Furthermore, compared *tókkilli* with Xi Zhou’s *Zhanghua xianzhi* (The record of Changhua County),\(^{34}\) I find that “*tokilun*” is actually a slang corruption of *tókkilli* (see Section 4.2.2).

**Badda (the bearer of the *tókkilli* forged bell)**

*Badda* means a bachelor.\(^{35}\) *Badda* is the player of the *tókkilli* forged bell. In addition, *ma-ababas* means a messenger, one who brings tidings.\(^{36}\)

**Arro and callaba (the beaters of the *tókkilli* forged bell)**

*Arro* means an arm ring of iron or copper, and *callaba* means the ring of round copper

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\(^{31}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,”16.  
^{34}\) Zhou, *Zhang hua xian zhi*.  
^{35}\) Campbell, *Articles of Christian Instruction*, s.v. “badda.**  
^{36}\) Ibid., s.v. “ma-ababas.”
wire on the forepart of the arm.\textsuperscript{37} In ancient times, \textit{badda} wore a pair of iron bracelets on their hands and hung the forged bell on the back of the hand side. The bracelet and forged bell struck against each other with a heavy clang while the foot and hand were moving.\textsuperscript{38}

\textit{Pasisse} (to rattle)

\textit{Pasisse} means to rattle, as with a broken gong or a bell.\textsuperscript{39}

\textit{Pakillekille} (to rattle)

\textit{Pakillekille} also means to rattle, but so that a ringing is heard like that of the arm rings.\textsuperscript{40} In contrast, \textit{paseerseer} means to rattle without noise.\textsuperscript{41} The \textit{badda} (bachelor) of the men’s house could make the \textit{tókkilli} forged bell rattle loudly or to rattle without noise, as he delivered messages.

\textit{Sorro} (the stamping pestle)

\textit{Sorro} means a pestle, with which people beat paddy out of the stalk.\textsuperscript{42}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., s.v. “arro.”
\textsuperscript{38} Cf. Zhou, “Qi wu,” 302; my translation.
\textsuperscript{39} Campbell, \textit{Articles of Christian Instruction}, s.v. “pasisse.”
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., s.v. “pakillekille.”
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., s.v. “paseerseer.”
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., s.v. “sorro.”
\end{flushright}
Oos (the drum)

Oos means the drum. Unfortunately, there is only a single mention in Dutch concerning oos, which appears in Happart’s Favorlang vocabulary: “čen trommel” (i.e., a drum).

Tattok (knocking)

Tattok means a knocking. tattok a oos means the beat of a drum, and tattoksayan means the moment when the gong is beaten as well as the place where people beat.

The pronunciation of tattok is similar to the lexeme “tatuk” of the Seedig-Truku people (Subsection 6.11.1).

Sarratok (the musical bow)

Sarratok is an instrument like a bow [the musical bow]. The derivative “masisarratok” means to play on the musical bow. The stem ‘ratok’ is similar to the latuk of the Thao people (Subsection 6.14.5).

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43 Ibid., s.v. “oos.”
44 Happart and Hoëvell, Woord-boek der Favorlang sche taal.
45 Campbell, Articles of Christian Instruction, s.v. “tummok.”
46 Cf. ibid., s.v. “masisarratok.”
Daukirrap (the double-pipe nose flute)

Daukirrap means the double flute that people play with their nostrils.\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “daukirrap.”} The derivative word “masidaukirrap” means to play on the double flute with both nostrils.\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “masidaukirrap.”}

Klau (the single-pipe nose flute)

Klau means the flute blown through the nose,\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “klau.”} and masiklau means to play vertically on the flute.\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “masiklau.”} The derivative “ma-asiklau” means the klau player.\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “ma-asiklau.”}

Tósarri (the flute)

Tósarri means a sort of flute,\footnote{Cf. ibid., s.v. “tósarri.”} and tósarri o a gorro means a sort of long flute.\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “tósarri o a gorro.”}

To-o (the conch)

To-o means the sea-horn.\footnote{Ibid., s.v. “to-o.”} The intonation of to-o is similar to the tukkik conch trumpet of the Kavalan people (Subsection 6.4.10).
Tábillo (the reed flute)

Again, there is difference between Medhurst’s translation and Happart’s. For example, Happart describes “tábillo” as “een schalmeij, of trompet” in Dutch, which means ‘a shawm, or trumpet.’ By contrast, Medhurst’s English translation is “tábillo, a bagpipe or trumpet.” However, Taiwanese aborigines have no bagpipe. Tábillo possibly is the reed flute. Chang Hua Xian Zhi (the Record of Chang Hua County) recorded:

A thin thread is wound around half of a one-inch pipe of reed, and the other half is duckbill-like. Cut a piece of bamboo into a six- or seven-inch length and drill three holes in it. [For] the instrument which comprises the reed pipe and a bamboo aperture, the given name is ‘reed flute.’

Comparing tábillo with the reed flute discussed in Subsection 2.1.1, I speculate that both are the same musical instrument because the tábillo and the reed flute were both used in Changhua County. In the light of organology, the reed flute is similar to the double-reed instrument or the single-reed instrument. Therefore, “tábillo” means the

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55 Happart and Hoëvell, Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal, s.v. “tábillo”; my translation.
56 Happart, Dictionary of the Favorlang Dialect, s.v. “orrum.”
57 Zhou, Zhanghua xianzhi, 301; my translation.
reed flute.\textsuperscript{58} The derivative “masitábillo” means to blow on the reed flute,\textsuperscript{59} and “ma-asitábillo” means a trumpeter.\textsuperscript{60}

\textit{Piop (to blow)}

\textit{Piop, piniop, papiop} and \textit{ioppa} all mean to blow up.\textsuperscript{61} For instance, \textit{piop o tabillo} means to blow the reed flute.\textsuperscript{62} The pronunciation of \textit{piop} is similar to the lexeme “\textit{yup}” of the Siraya people (Subsection 6.12.6) and the stem “\textit{hiyop}” of the Saisiyat people (Subsection 6.9.7).

Through this investigation, people can understand what musical instrument the Favorlang people had in the past. I find that some indigenous names of the Favorlang musical instruments are similar to those used by neighbouring aboriginal groups. The findings demonstrate the benefit of the comparative study of aboriginal musical instruments in Taiwan.

\textsuperscript{58} Cf. Campbell, \textit{Articles of Christian Instruction}, s.v. “tabillo.”
\textsuperscript{59} Cf. ibid., s.v. “masitábillo.”
\textsuperscript{60} Cf. ibid., s.v. “ma-asitábillo.”
\textsuperscript{61} Cf. ibid., s.v. “piop.”
4.2 Historical Print and Literature Sources

Besides ethnographic fieldwork, I found a great deal of data concerning Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in historical print and literature sources during his library research in Taiwan. These sources reveal the contrast between historical instruments and contemporary instruments, and provide valuable data about these instruments’ historical performance contexts, structure, and their players’ posture.

Section 4.2 comprises two sections. The first part, subsection 4.2.1, explores historical iconographies apropos Taiwanese aboriginal instruments, while subsection 4.2.2 discusses the historical development and social function of the forged bells.

4.2.1 Musical Iconography

I found many historic paintings of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in official records, travel records, and ethnography. Even though there are many available historical iconographies, little research concerning Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments iconography exists. This thesis undertakes iconographic analysis, which explains the “picture” as an emblem and the epitome of a given culture.63

In the period of the Qing Empire (1644–1911), there were almost no photographs of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Therefore, historic paintings have

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63 Seebass, “Iconography,” 239.
recorded some Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. This is helpful in
developing the musical iconography of Taiwanese aboriginal people. Previous
iconographic study focused mainly on employing historical or artistic perspectives in
analysing and interpreting historic paintings. Musical iconography is the research of
artworks with reference to musical subject matter. Musical iconography investigates
visual evidence, that is, the pictorial documentation of music. It is indispensable to
have an ethno-organologist who is extremely familiar with Taiwanese aboriginal
musical instruments and culture for interpreting Taiwanese aboriginal musical
iconography.

In this research, I employed “ACDSee Pro Photo Manager” software and
“Windows Picture and Fax Viewer” to magnify historical paintings while attempting
to find aboriginal musical instruments in them. It is lucky that most historical
paintings and drawings in the Qing Empire (1683–1895) had title headnotes or side-
notes affixed to them. In light of the theory of “texture, text and context,” paintings
and their headnotes are significant “texts” in this research. The title and headnote of a
painting help researchers understand the cultural background of aboriginal musical
instruments. In Imperial China, officials utilised paintings to record the practice and
folklore of various countries and ethnic groups who had contact with China. At the

64 Ibid., 238.
65 Cf. Dundes, “Texture, Text, and Context.”
same time, notes were written with regard to the geography and local specialty of various places. These two methods helped the Chinese to understand foreign ethnic groups outside or within China.66 Section 4.2.1, Musical Iconography, is composed of five themed subsections: The nose flute, the slit drum, the bronze gong, the forged bell, and the stamping pestle.

The nose flute

There is a single-pipe nose flute in Hsieh Sui’s painting “Zhu luo xian xiao long deng she shu fan.” Hsieh Sui worked as a palace painter between 1736 and 1796 in the Qing dynasty period. The second volume of his Zhi gong tu (The picture album of subordinate peoples of the Qing Empire)67 includes precious figure paintings with reference to Taiwanese aborigines. In the fourteenth picture in this volume, “Zhu luo xian xiao long deng she shu fan” [The tame barbarians from Xiao Long and other tribes of Zhu Luo County (i.e., the Siraya people)] (see Figure 4.2.1.1), two Siraya people are painted, and the male figure plays a single-pipe nose flute. The headnote is recorded in both Chinese and Manchurian. It describes “The tame barbarians from Xiao Long and other tribes of Zhu Luo County who could make bamboo into the two- or three-foot flutes in order to blow by nose.”68 This description can be compared

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67 Hsieh, Zhi gong tu.
68 Ibid., 29; my translation.
with the *paringit* nose flute of the Siraya people described in Section 6.12.6. The posture of playing in the painting tallies with that of current Siraya players.

Figure 4.2.1.1. The single-pipe nose flute in Hsieh Sui’s painting “Zhu luo xian xiao long deng she shu fan” in *Zhi gong tu*. (Reproduced from Feng, *Li ming zhi chu*, 29.)
Figure 4.2.1.2. The single-pipe nose flute in the painting “Ju yin, bi xiao.” (Reproduced from Shiao, Dao min, feng su, hua, 288.)

Moreover, there are two single-pipe nose flutes in the painting “Ju yin, bi xiao” (The gathering drinking, the nose flute) (Figure 4.2.1.2). It originates from the Dong Ning version of Fan she cai fen tu.\(^69\) Originally, Liu Shi Qi completed his Fan she cai fen tu (Research on collected folklore and pictures from barbarian societies) around 1746.\(^70\) The author of the Dong Ning version of Fan she cai fen tu is probably Chen Bi-chen,\(^71\) who was a Taiwanese painter who improved Liu Shi Qi’s Fan she cai fen tu possibly between 1770 and 1780. The Dong Ning version is preserved in

\(^{69}\) Chen, Dong ning chen shi fan su tu.
\(^{70}\) Liu, Fan she cai fen tu kao.
\(^{71}\) Cheng, “Fan she cai fen tu.”
the National Museum of Chinese History in Beijing. In the painting “Ju yin, bixiao” (Figure 4.2.1.2) of the Ding Ning version, whose side-note is as follows:

The length of the nose flute is around two or three feet. Cut bamboo and make four finger-holes in it. And open an orifice on the bamboo joint to blow by nose. It is entirely the plaything of bata [young unmarried men].

Compare this with the paringit single-pipe nose flute of the Siraya described in Subsection 6.12.6. The paringit is the same, having four finger-holes.

In addition, the painting “Liao wang,” in the Academia Sinica’s version of Liu Shi Qi’s Fan she cai feng tu, also depicts the single-pipe nose flute (see Figures 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.1.4). The Academia Sinica’s version is preserved in the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica in Taiwan. Liao wang means “lookout” in Chinese. Liu Shi Qi explains the painting “Liao wang” in his Fan she cai fen tu kao; in it, the Plains peoples (Sinicised aborigines) utilise bamboo and wood to build a watchtower outside their village in order to prevent their crops from being stolen by non-Sinicised aborigines.

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72 Ibid.
73 Shiao, Dao min, feng su, hua, 288.
74 Tu, The Genre Painting of Taiwan’s Aboriginal Society and Culture.
75 Liu, Fan she cai fen tu kao.
During the season of the harvest, a tribe dispatches *bata* to watch around the watchtower.\(^76\) At that time, *bata* amused themselves on patrol by playing the long single-pipe nose flute. For *bata*, playing the nose flute was a fundamental skill in courtship as stated in Subsection 2.1.1.\(^77\)

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\(^76\) Cf. Liu, *Fan she cai fen tu kao*, 3.

\(^77\) Cf. Cheng-sheng Tu’s interpretation; Liu, “Fan she cai fen tu.”
The slit drum

The painting “Liao wang zhi tuo” (Figure 4.2.1.5) of the Dong Ning version of Fan she cai fen tu depicts two slit drums. The meaning of “Liao wang zhi tuo” is:

Assigning people with slit drums to keep watch on the watchtower and patrol the surroundings to prevent an enemy coming.

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78 Chen, Dong ning chen shi fan su tu.
Here the painter used the Chinese term *tuo* to describe the slit drum of the Taiwanese aborigines. In ancient China, *tuo* was a watchman’s knocker (a sound-producing device). In the original size of this painting, the slit drums are not easily recognised by observers, who may think they are weapons. In the magnified painting, it is easier to see one person with a beater and slit drum, and another person with a slit drum. Whenever they found an enemy coming, they would knock the slit drum to signal others.
In the precious study Islander, Folklore, Painting: Formosan Aboriginal Life Pictures in the Eighteenth Century, Qiong-rui Shiao employs a Han-Chinese perspective to interpret Taiwanese aboriginal material in the painting “Liao wang zhi tuo.” He maintains that the aboriginal tuo is a form of warning knocker that is similar to the Chinese bang. However, he seems unfamiliar with the structure of the musical instrument. According to the Hornbostel-Sachs system, the numerical entry for the Chinese bang is 111.11, “concussion sticks or stick clappers.” In contrast, the numerical entry for the slit drum (Figure 4.2.1.6) is 111.231, “(individual) percussion

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79 Shiao, Dao min, feng su, hua.
80 Ibid., 308.
151 tubes.” The slit drum is possibly made of bamboo or wood (see Subsection 6.6.1 and Subsection 6.12.3).

The bronze gong

Figure 4.2.1.7. The bronze gong in the painting “Fan Xi.” (Reproduced from Shiao, Dao min, feng su, hua, Fig. 22.)

There is a bronze gong in the painting “Fan xi” (Figure 4.2.1.7) of the Dong Ning version of Fan she cai fen tu. Fan xi originally meant “the barbarian play” and

82 Chen, Dong ning chen shi fan su tu.
indicated the activities of the aboriginal harvest festival. The side-note of the painting describes the scene:

Aboriginal women play; it is so-called *zeu tzan* [i.e., farming in Holo Taiwanese]. Their beautiful costumes are decorated with jewellery and flowers. To lead the rhythm of the dance, one elder sounds the bronze gong; another elder holds a banner to wave. All people are drinking alcohol and have red faces: hand in hand in a circle they sing and dance simultaneously. The steps of the dance exactly match the rhythm of the stroke of the bronze gong. The official interpreters sit in a row in front of the men’s house. [At that time,] there is much rejoicing and good-natured banter among tribesmen.\(^{83}\)

Currently, the Pazih-Kahabu people still use the bronze gong to celebrate their New Year (i.e., the harvest festival), to attract people’s attention and to co-ordinate dance steps. The bronze gong dance is also used in other traditional festivals (see Subsection 6.6.1).

\(^{83}\) Cf. Shiao, *Dao min, feng su, hua*, 290; my translation.
The forged bell

The painting “Dou Jie” (Figure 4.2.1.8) of *Fan she cai fen tu kao* depicts the traditional performance context of the *saguyi* forged bell. In *Fan she cai fen tu kao*, the side-note of the painting “Dou Jie” (runing races) says:

Unmarried men are called *bata*. *Bata* stuck pheasant’s tails on their heads while they delivered official notes. They strode by flapping their feet as quick as blowing sand in running the race. *Bata* tied *saguyi* [forged bells] on the back of the hand side. A *saguyi* is made of iron in a pillar-lotus-like shape and is around 3 inches in length. People can hear the tinkle ten miles away, when the *bata*’s bracelet knocks against the *saguyi*. At that time, the winner of the running race was quite popular among aboriginal women. A woman liked to invite the winner of the running race to be her *kang ciu*, that is, her husband.”

Nowadays the Pazih-Kahabu and the Siraya still keep the practice of a running race, even though their forged bell has already disappeared (see Subsection 6.12.5).

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84 Liu, *Fan she cai fen tu kao*.
85 Shiao, *Dao min, feng su, hua*, 283–88; cf. section 4.2.2.
The stamping pestle

The painting “Shou zhu” (Store) illustrates aboriginal people using stamping pestles to husk millet (Figure 4.2.1.9). It also originates from the Dong Ning version of Fan she cai fen tu. Aborigines store millet in a barn after removing the husk with stamping pestles. Originally, the stamping pestle was a farm tool. The pestle tune was the by-product of stamping millet. (see Subsection 6.14.2 and Subsection 6.3.2).

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86 Chen, Dong ning chen shi fan su tu.
4.2.2 Forged Bells in Historical Literature

Since the eighteenth century, many Chinese travel records and documents have described the structure and social function of Taiwanese aboriginal forged bells. Most of this literature is about Plains aboriginal forged bells (i.e., bells of the Pingpu peoples in the west and south of Taiwan). Forged bells have diffused throughout Taiwan. Most music reference books and prints say that forged bells are extremely difficult to find in various Taiwanese aboriginal communities.87 However, during my fieldwork in Taiwan, I not only collected archival material and literature in regard to Taiwanese aboriginal forged bells in his library research, but I also found forged bells

(Table 4.2.2.1) whose social function and music practice are still working among the Rukai (Subsection 6.8.1), Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.2 and Subsection 5.1.2), Amis (Subsection 6.1.3), Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.1), and Tsou peoples (Subsection 6.15.2), who are mainly located in the southeast and southwest of Taiwan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rukai</td>
<td>taudring</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>alarm, monitor</td>
<td>surviving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paiwan</td>
<td>tjaudring</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>brings messages</td>
<td>surviving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puyuma</td>
<td>tawlriulr, sizung</td>
<td>A, C, D</td>
<td>brings messages, status marker</td>
<td>still functioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsou</td>
<td>moengū</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>guiding direction signal</td>
<td>surviving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amis</td>
<td>takeling/taveleve</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>brings messages, dance</td>
<td>surviving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plains</td>
<td>saguyi/tókkilli</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>brings messages</td>
<td>bell has disappeared, but the practice is surviving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far, there has been little discussion about the forged bells of Taiwanese aborigines in ethnomusicological studies. Accordingly, it is vital to study the survival of forged bells amongst different Taiwanese aboriginal communities and the survival of practices besides music and performance. It is also important to examine the meaning of forged bells to the bell bearers, and their use in the community. Further,

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I try to give a panoramic perspective of Taiwanese aboriginal forged bells by analysing and organising the ethnographic fieldwork data (see Chapter 6) and related literature about representations of forged bells in synchronic and diachronic contexts.

In the diachronic context, there is a great deal of historical literature with reference to Taiwanese aboriginal forged bells and their cultural practice, especially in Qing dynasty Imperial China. In the Qing dynasty, Zhong-xuan Zhou’s *Zhu luo xian zhi* (The Zhuluo County record, 1717) and Xi Zhou’s *Zhanghua xianzhi* (The record of Changhua County, 1836) both contain the same record with regard to the forged bell:

The bamboo-like iron tube is around three [Chinese] inches long. It is cut into an oblique half, which is hollowed out and its end is tapered. Its name is *sagoyi* [pronunciation in Holo Taiwanese] or *saguyi* [pronunciation in Mandarin], and it is called *tokilun*. A barbarian wore a pair of iron bracelets on his wrists and hung the top of the forged bell on the back-of-the-hand side. The bracelet and forged bell struck against each other with a heavy clang while the feet and hands were moving, or an additional iron clapper was tied in the slit of the forged bell and the bell was hung below the navel. The clang sounded like a phoenix singing when the bell bearer stepped slowly forward. If the bell bearer ran quickly, the iron clapper and forged bell
knocked against each other with an awesome clang.\textsuperscript{89}

In 1766, Shi-jie Zhu’s \textit{Shiao liu qiu man zhi} (The travel account of little Liouciou) contains a similar record, except a new sentence concerning the forged bell has been appended to it: “Young barbarians utilised the forged bell while they ran errands.”\textsuperscript{90}

In 1744, Liu Shi Qi’s \textit{Fan she cai fen tu kao} (Research on collected folklore and pictures from barbarian societies) recorded the performance context of the forged bell:

\begin{quote}
In barbarian custom, people run a race with each other from childhood. When they grow up, the practice is made perfect and they run more than three hundred miles a day; even a flying horse could not go beyond them. They deliver documents express at night, even if the route is muddy or flooded. A messenger wears a pair of iron bracelets around his wrists, and he holds a brass tile and uses it to knock his iron bracelet to sound like a ringing bell while he is running.

Each step knocks its sound neither rapidly nor slowly. People can hear that sound a mile off.”\textsuperscript{91}
\end{quote}

Compare aforementioned historical literature with modern research on Taiwanese aboriginal forged bells. For example, in 1956, Shien-min Jen’s article “A


\textsuperscript{90} Zhu, \textit{Shiao liu qiu man zhi}; my translation.

\textsuperscript{91} Liu, \textit{Fan she cai fen tu kao}. 

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Study on [the] Men’s House of Tanan” mentioned that the Rukai forged bell was a wooden board with bell used for delivering orders.92 This is to run errands, which is identical to the description of Shi-jie Zhu’s Shiao liu qiu man zhi. In 1967, Lenherr suggested that forged bells function as a “status symbol” amongst Taiwanese aboriginal people.93 This is Lenherr’s findings, which are not described in the above historical literature. Furthermore, in 1974, Lu added details about the way Puyuma men placed the handle of their bells into their belts so that the bell hung from the belt behind them, and how they used the bell prior to the harvest festival to deliver messages to other villages.94 Lu’s record is similar to the description of Zhu luo xian zhi and Zhanghua xianzhi; namely, to hang the bell around the waist. However, the aforementioned literature does not explain how types of bells were distinguished and how they relate to ranks, hierarchies, and specific functions (see also Subsection 5.1.2 and Subsection 4.1.2). The forged bell of the Favorlang (one of the Plains peoples) was called tókkilli, which was recorded in the Roman alphabet by Dutch Reformed missionaries during the Dutch period (1624–1661).95 As regards the correct pronunciation of saguyi, it is difficult to find a similar lexeme in aboriginal linguistic data. One word, sakuri, in Kavalan is similar to the pronunciation of saguyi. Sakuri

94 Lu, “Tai wan tu zhu zu zhi yue qi,” 126 and 151; cf. section 4.2.1.
95 Marsh, “Favorlang-Pazeh-Saisiat,” 137.
means “to work” in Kavalan.\textsuperscript{96} The word sakuri probably indicates the forged bell bearers doing their work of delivering messages.

Different names are used for the forged bell amongst Taiwanese aboriginal groups. (1) \textit{Moengū} is the name of the Tsou forged bell (see Subsection 6.15.2).\textsuperscript{97} (2) The name of the Rukai forged bell is \textit{taudring} or \textit{dauden} (see Subsection 6.8.1).\textsuperscript{98}

\textit{Dauden} is possibly a corruption of \textit{taudring}. (3) \textit{Tawliulru} is the name for the Puyuma forged bell (see Subsection 6.7.2 and Subsection 5.1.2). Another form of forged bell is called \textit{sizung} (i.e., shield bell). (4) The Amis people call the forged bell \textit{takeling} or \textit{tavelele} (see Subsection 6.1.4).\textsuperscript{99} (5) The Paiwan forged bell is the \textit{tjaudring}; this is called the “hip bell” among the Eastern Paiwan community of Taitung (see Subsection 6.5.1).

Furthermore, the following subsection examines literature concerning the forged bells of different ethnic groups.

\textbf{Tsou}

\textit{Moengū} is the forged bell of the Tsou, which means a clear, loud and sweet sound.\textsuperscript{100}

\textsuperscript{96} Li and Tsuchida, \textit{Kavalan Dictionary}, s.v. “sa.”
\textsuperscript{97} Prof. Wang Ming-Hui, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 September 2009, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University.
\textsuperscript{98} Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16–17 July 2009, tape/digital recording, Taromak Community (Da Nan Tribe), Taitung.
\textsuperscript{99} Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 208.
\textsuperscript{100} Wang, interview.
It comprises a rattan ring (for hanging) and an iron-forged bell with a long clapper. All Tsou warriors originally hung it from their right arms; the clangs notified the Tsou god of war when warriors prayed for triumph during headhunting and battle.\textsuperscript{101} Moengū made a guiding signal for each Tsou clan during such events.\textsuperscript{102} In the Japanese period, Japanese colonial officers banned headhunting, thus altering the moengū’s performance context from mayasvi (the Tsou war ceremony) to homeyaya (the Tsou millet ceremony).\textsuperscript{103} Only a successful headhunter was eligible to hang a moengū from his right arm during the ceremonial dance.\textsuperscript{104} The Tsou people hung moengū in the ritual house (emoo no peisia) when it was not used on ordinary days. An influential Tsou man could build a ritual house on his estate.

\textbf{Puyuma}

In the Japanese period, the forged bell was played to deliver messages to inform villagers that an important ritual was coming or that an emergency had occurred. Also, youths bore forged bells when dancing.\textsuperscript{105} The historical literature is in accordance with the status quo of the tawlriulr forged bell in Puyuma society. In fact, the Puyuma employ the tawlriulr forged bell in various traditional rituals. The

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{101} Boyizhenu, \textit{Tai wan zou zu sheng huo zhi hui}, 129.  \\
\textsuperscript{102} Pu and Pu, \textit{Zou zu wu zhi wen hua diao cha ya yan jiu}, 54.  \\
\textsuperscript{103} Yuasa, \textit{Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi}, 98.  \\
\textsuperscript{104} Lenherr, “Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” 113–14.  \\
\end{flushright}
*tawlriulr* forged bell is a marker of culture as well as social status (see Subsection 6.7.2). The *tawlriulr* is the rank marker of *valisen* (quasi-youth) in the Puyuma age hierarchy (see Subsection 5.1.2). It was hung behind the short skirt of a *valisen* during dances in traditional ceremonies. The *tawlriulr* is also a part of the *sizung*. The *sizung* is a forged bell with a clapper suspended behind a wooden shield (see Subsection 6.7.4).

**Amis**

In the Japanese period, the conical iron-tube of the forged bell was around 30 to 40 cm in length and 10 cm in diameter. A rope was attached to the tube and carried in the left hand, and the player’s right hand held a thin iron stick for knocking the forged bell.\(^{106}\) The Amis people call the forged bell *takeling* or *tavelele*.\(^{107}\) Its main function is to transmit messages amid the Amis community.\(^{108}\) The boisterous clanging animates the atmosphere of ceremonial dance.\(^{109}\)

**The Plains peoples**

In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the literature on *saguyi* (Mandarin pronunciation) is

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106 Cf. *Ban zoku kanshu-chousahoukoku kaki*.
108 Ibid.
related to the Plains aboriginal forged bell. As has already been shown the Plains
(Pingpu) peoples include the Ketagalan, Kavalan, Pazeh, Siraya, Taokas, and other
aboriginal groups, who lived mainly on the plains along the west and southwest coasts
of Taiwan. Although most of the Plains peoples have been assimilated into Han
Taiwanese, some of them still maintain their musical instruments, or practices that
originally featured instrumental performance. For example, the Pazih and the Siraya
people still keep the traditional practice of *Dou zou* (running races) in their New Year
ceremony, even though the Pazih forged bell has failed to be handed down from past
generations (cf. Subsection 6.12.5).

In Qing literature, the practice of *dou zou* (running races) was mainly used to
deliver messages with forged bells. In the contemporary Plains community, the same
forged bell - derived practice is called *zau bio* (pronunciation in Holo Taiwanese); its
function has shifted from bringing a message to sending ancestral souls back in
Ancestral Soul Worship or for use in their New Year Festival. *Zau bio* (running races)
is a kind of survival practice in the Plains men’s house (see Subsection 4.2.1) In
ancient times, *bata* (young unmarried males) employed the clang of the forged bell to
inform villagers that a traditional ceremony was coming, while they were running on
the streets. *Bata* had to do chores (e.g., errands and the labour service) during
traditional ceremonies.\textsuperscript{110}

**Rukai**

In Kurosawa’s record, the males of the men’s house bore forged bells when running an errand.\textsuperscript{111} At present, the Taromak tribe and the Shenshan tribe of the Rukai still have the *taodring* forged bell. In the Taromak tribe, the *taodring* is mainly used in the *alokuwa* (men’s house). The men’s house orders the *balisen* (young men) to deliver messages in various rituals (see Subsection 6.8.1).

**Paiwan**

In the Japanese period, Djumulje (Jomoru) villagers called the forged bell *ho-ogan*, and Ka-aloon (Ka-arowa) villagers called it *cha-ure*.\textsuperscript{112} Nowadays, people can find the Paiwan forged bell in Laliba Tu Ban Village (Da Ren Township) and Lalaulan (Xiang Lan Village, Tai Ma Li Township). Laliba Village called the forged bell *tjaudring*. The name *tjaudring* in the east Paiwan community is almost the same as the name *taudring* in the Rukai community. Both cultures share an almost identical name for the forged bell, possibly because they have geographical contact and

\textsuperscript{110} Cf. Da-zou Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 20 September 2009, digital recording (MIC0004), Liyutan Village, Sanyi, Miaoli County.
\textsuperscript{111} Kurosawa, *Music of the Takasago Tribe*, 444–45.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 441–44.
relationships of intermarriage. In the past, the noble classes of the Rukai and Paiwan intermarried to maintain their noble status.\(^{113}\) Moreover, the diffusion of the forged bell was related to the *tawlrialr* of the Puyuma since the Puyuma, at their peak between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century, ruled seventy-two aboriginal communities throughout the eastern part of Taiwan.\(^{114}\) In Kurosawa’s record, the forged bell had different names (e.g., *hoogan*, *chaure*, and *rimurin*) among different sub-tribes in the Japanese period (see Subsection 6.5.1). At that time, the forged bell of the Paiwan was used to deliver messages informing people of someone’s death or an emergency.\(^{115}\)

Additionally, there are four forms of iron-forged bells in Taiwan. Through examining related literature and ethnographic data, I categorise various forged bells into four types. Type A (Figure 5.1.2.1) is an iron-forged tube with an inner clapper; it is attached to a wooden hanger, which passes through the player’s waist belt. Type B (Figure 6.15.2.1) is a forged bell with an inner clapper without a wooden hanger. Type C (Figure 4.2.2.1) is the clapperless ‘hand’ forged bell, played with a separate beater. In ancient times, the player wore a pair of iron bracelets (as a beater) and hung the forged bell on the back of the hand side, and the bell and bracelet knocked against each other (see the discussion on *arro* in Section 4.1.2). In contrast, at present, the

\(^{113}\) Wu, *Tai wan yuan zhu min yin yue*.


\(^{115}\) Kurosawa, *Music of the Takasago Tribe*, 441–44.
Type B forged bell is played with a wooden beater. Type D (Figure 6.7.4) is a Type B forged bell suspended from a wooden shield.

Through scrutinising the aforementioned literature, Plains forged bells (i.e., *saguyi*) belong to Type C. The only difference is that the Plains people utilised iron bracelets, instead of a wooden stick, to knock against the forged bells without clappers (Type C) to bring a message.

In summary, I have provided a detailed description of Taiwanese aboriginal forged bells. All relevant historical literature, modern research and ethnographic data have been utilised to generate insights into the development of forged bells in Taiwan. I have described instrumental types and the indigenous names of the forged bells, as
well as their social function amongst different aboriginal groups. For further information on forged bells, please see Chapter 6.
Chapter 5 Ethnographic Case Studies: Representation through Performance

Festivals and cultural villages are important contexts as performance sites of Taiwanese aboriginal music. They are both ideal contexts for the negotiation between history, ethnic relationships, and group identity, where they provide opportunities for aboriginal people to define and refresh their indigenous culture.1 Such sites are significant stages for the survival, maintenance, and revival of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in contemporary Taiwanese society.

In Taiwan, the general public generally believes that aboriginal musical culture has been maintained in a pure and static status.2 However, aboriginal musical culture is dynamic and still developing, and there has been little discussion concerning the performance form and change of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in the milieu of festivals and cultural villages. Such performance sites are deeply influenced by aboriginal consciousness, Westernisation, tourism, globalisation, and other factors. In the light of post-colonial theory, both festivals and cultural villages are as “contact zones.” As Dan Bendrups suggests, “festivals as dynamic contact zones” provide an opportunity for cultural analysis.3

1 Harnish, Bridge to the Ancestors, 2.
2 Hsu, Ethnomusicological Essays IV, 91.
This research presents first-hand information with reference to the performance contexts of Taiwanese musical instruments in contemporary Taiwan. The first section, 5.1 Festivals, will examine four different genres of aboriginal festivals with reference to Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. There are four genres of aboriginal festivals in section 5.1: subsection 5.1.1 The A Da Wang United Harvest Festival, subsection 5.1.2 Puyuma Millet Harvest Ceremony, subsection 5.1.3 Indigenous Day Festival in Taipei and subsection 5.1.4 The Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area. Section 5.2, Cultural Villages, discusses three different cultural villages concerning the performance of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Three different performance sites are discussed: subsection 5.2.1 Taroko National Park, subsection 5.2.2 Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park, and subsection 5.2.3 Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village.

5.1 Festivals

In Taiwan, almost every aboriginal village has its own annual harvest festival for holding traditional rituals and performing musical practices, depending on the time of harvest. In general, harvest festivals are held during the Taiwanese aboriginal New Year. As well as these traditional harvest festivals, there are some official united aboriginal festivals that are held annually and hosted by the regional governments of
Taiwan in order to help develop tourism. These official festivals invite various performance groups from different aboriginal groups and aboriginal schools to perform their traditional culture and music. Thus, aboriginal people have additional opportunities for practising their musical traditions and earning extra income. In recent decades, festivals have been welcoming tourists participation as a way of helping to benefit tribal economic development.

The four genres of aboriginal festivals discussed in section 5.1, Festivals, are The A Da Wang United Harvest Festival, which is an official festival; Puyuma Millet Harvest Ceremony, which is traditionally a tribal festival; Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day) Festival in Taipei, which is an officially urban festival; and The Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area, which is an officially themed festival.

5.1.1 The A Da Wang United Harvest Festival

In contemporary society, the survival environment of traditional Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments is dynamic but not in an ideal and static context. The aboriginal ‘harvest festival’ (feng nian jie 豐年節) is one of the main stages for Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. In the Amis language, a da wang means a watchtower for guarding a homestead and helping each other, and its extended meaning is to
ascend a height which has a wide field of vision and to develop breadth of mind with foresight. Moreover, each aboriginal group holds a harvest festival based on the local harvest time in summer between July and September. The A Da Wang United Harvest Festival has been organised by Hualien County every year since 2004. The united harvest festival enables tourists to enjoy various aboriginal rituals and performances. Hualien County attracts thousands of tourists from other counties and cities; the large-scale activity promotes the development of the tourist industry (e.g., hotels, bed and breakfasts, and local specialty shops).

However, insiders and scholars often condemn such harvest festivals as inauthentic activities.4 In recent decades, many young aboriginal people have found jobs or studied in cities far away from their villages. Because of short holidays, most traditional harvest festivals have shortened their rituals and rescheduled them at weekends. For example, in earlier times, the great hunting ritual of the Puyuma people could last for months, but at present it simply takes place over three days at one location due to the employment requirements of young aboriginal people.5 Also, the Paiwan people referred to their harvest festival in terms of “Ancestral Spirit Worship” because it was a time to thank their ancestors for giving a plentiful harvest. This traditional ritual was crucial to the fortune or misfortune, riches or poverty, of the

4 Liu, “A mai zu zhi wu zhi wen hua yu she hui zu zhi,” 928–35.
5 Yuan and Lee, Tai dong xian yuan zhu ming wen hua tu lu, 68.
Paiwan people in a year. After World War II, they changed the name to “harvest festival” because Christian churches regarded ancestral worship as a form of heretical belief. Certain scholars think that the harvest festivals of Taiwanese aborigines are tending towards performance-like activities, official harvest festivals especially; as a result, official harvest festivals serve the purposes of tourism and politics instead of the nature of traditional ceremony.

With this background, it is worth investigating the interplay between the changing context, musical instruments, and cultural practice. In previous studies, few people have paid attention to discovering the performance context and significance of musical instruments in Taiwanese aboriginal harvest festivals. The different performing contexts of aboriginal instruments are easily seen at official harvest festivals. By observing the contexts of performance to discover the function and meaning of and the change in aboriginal musical instruments, those contexts are seen to be meaningfully constructed by performers, audiences, and the media, where meanings are generated, controlled, and negotiated.

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6 Ibid., 106.
7 Ke, “A mai zu di qi yuan chuan shuo ji shi yi zhu sheng huo,” 910.
Method

My approach is based on participant observation, by recording musical activity in the Hualien United Harvest Festival 10–12 July 2009. To undertake fieldwork in order to collect the performance context of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments and explain why a particular aboriginal musical instrument is represented in the A Da Wang United Harvest Festival, I worked as a participant observer to understand the interplay of musical instruments, musical practice, and performance contexts. In other words, I did not merely observe during fieldwork, but also sang and danced together with performers and audience members as a way of experiencing the moment of the festival.

The A Da Wang was a three-night festival. It took place at Mei Lun Playground with a large attendance (Figure 5.1.1.1). Everyday had varied programmes, which were performed by different aboriginal groups. Each programme lasted at least ten minutes. There was always to have an assembly dance between performances for inviting audience’s participation. The music performed had a high enough volume to penetrate the whole playground. For this reason, the players and singers had to perform behind a microphone, and their music was amplified.

However, many performance groups simply played ‘canned music’ as background

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music while they performed at the centre of the playground in this United Harvest Festival. The live performance of musical instruments seemed auxiliary. The performance landscape inevitably divided performance into two parts: most of the performers danced in the centre of the playground; and the leading singer or player performed on the musical platform beside the playground (see Figure 5.1.1.1).

Because of this division, some groups did not sing and merely did the action in the centre of the playground. Some groups just played a tape recording to accompany their dance without any live musical instrument or singer. The soundscape of the Hualien United Harvest Festival mingled live music with stereo sound. This kind of performance context is totally different from the traditional harvest festival, in which
most aboriginal people sing and dance simultaneously. Also, there were many
aboriginal handicrafts, textiles, and snacks booths beside the centre of the playground
(Figure 5.1.1.1). This kind of aboriginal fair under the harvest festival allowed
audiences to appreciate aboriginal material culture and to taste exotic foods and
promoted aboriginal merchandise. In other words, the A Da Wang Festival provided
participants with full entertainment to their hearts’ content.

Findings and discussion

Mgagu (the headhunter’s flute)

Many aboriginal musical instruments are sold as a form of souvenir in aboriginal
festivals, hence I always sought musical instruments in the aboriginal handicraft
booths in the A Da Wang festival (see Figure 5.1.1.1). I found mgagu (the
headhunter’s flute) in one of the booths. The vertical flute belongs to the Seediq-
Truku people. It is very rare in Taiwan.
Mgagu (the headhunter’s flute) is made of makino bamboo. The bamboo pipe is around 2 cm in diameter and 31.5 cm in length (Figure 5.1.1.2). The internal duct of the flute is formed by a natural bamboo node. Its edge mouth-hole is plain, without a notch. The front of the long tube has four finger-holes. The air stream is directed through a narrow duct against the sharp edge of a chamfered orifice that opens in the
back wall of the bamboo tube. In the Hornbostel-Sachs classification of musical instruments, *mgagu* (the headhunter’s flute) is numbered 421.221.12. Open flutes with internal duct and finger-holes. Originally, *mgagu* functioned as a musical instrument in headhunting rituals. Nowadays there is no headhunting, and the flute functions as a symbol of Seediq-Truku culture and as an ethnic commodity around Taroko area in Hualien. Before World War II, *mgagu* (the headhunter’s flute) was played before headhunting activities to frighten the enemy. It was also played after successful headhunting in worshipping the soul of the human head. As stated, preciously headhunting has been banned since the Japanese colonial period. However, in the 1990s, *mgagu* was revived to symbolise the revival of Seediq-Truku culture. The Seediq-Truku people eagerly sought a new stage for *mgagu* (the headhunter’s flute), such as in musical performance and commercialisation. If they had not altered the performance context of the headhunting flute, this traditional musical instrument would have been totally abandoned (see also Subsection 6.11.10).

*Lubu (the idioglot Jew’s harp)*

At the festival, I found idioglot *lubu* (Jew’s harps) exhibited for sale in aboriginal handicrafts booths. This type of Jew’s harp is uncommon in Taiwan. By chatting with

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the booth owner, I found that the *lubu* are imported from Southeast Asia. The structure of the foreign idioglot *lubu* is made of bamboo. It is around 15 cm long and 2 cm wide (Figure 5.1.1.3). The tongue of the idioglot *lubu* is made from the same piece of bamboo frame; it is plucked directly with the finger on the end of the body. In the Hornbostel-Sachs classification of musical instruments, the number and type of idioglot *lubu* is 121.21, Idioglot guimbardes (the lamella is carved in the frame itself, its base remaining joined to the frame). The traditional social function of the Taiwanese aboriginal *lubu* was that it was played during courtship. However, the alien idioglot *lubu* functions as an exotic souvenir for tourists. In addition, the selling speed of the aboriginal *lubu* is always faster than the speed of making because making a *lubu* is very time-consuming, thus aboriginal businessmen cannot resist the temptation of globalised goods; that is, businessmen introduce goods from low cost areas to enhance their profit. This practice confuses the public, so ordinary people may think that the imported instrument is a Taiwanese aboriginal instrument. It is dangerous to import musical instruments from other cultures, as it damages the development of indigenous musical instruments.

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Figure 5.1.1.3. *Lubu* (the idioglot Jew’s harp) from Southeast Asia. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Figure 5.1.1.4. *Wubon* (the wood slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
**Wubon (the wood slit drum)**

The weaving trough functions as a wood slit drum to accompany dance in contemporary aboriginal performance (Figure 5.1.1.4). *Wubon* is the indigenous name for the wood slit drum of the Seediq-Truku people. The performing group Number One (an aboriginal pop band) employs a *wubon*, instead of a jazz drum, with electric guitars to play popular music. In the *malaliki* (i.e., harvest festival) performance by Hai Xing Senior High School, they invented a wooden box (the white box in Figure 5.1.1.5) to play with a *wubon* (the wood slit drum) to intensify the bass.

The structure of *wubon* is made of wood. The best material is the trunk of a tree, which is gouged out with a long slit, although some wood slit drums are made up
from several thick planks. The wood slit drum is around 100 cm long and 40 cm high.

The width is 15 cm on the side with the slit and 25 cm on the opposite side (Figure 5.1.1.6). The length of the pair of beaters is approximately 120 cm. In the Hornbostel-Sachs classification of musical instruments, the number and type of wood slit drum is 111.231 Individual percussion tubes.¹³

In historical context, the wood slit drum originally functioned as a weaving trough. The weaving trough was played as a slit drum to accompany aboriginal music and dance. For example, a wood slit drum supplies ostinato and accent to stabilise dancers’ steps in the A Da Wang United Harvest Festival. The weaving trough as a wood slit drum originated from the wubon of the Seediq-Truku (cf. Subsection 6.11.2) or the gawngu’ of the Atayal (cf. Subsection 6.2.3). People treated the weaving trough as a wood slit drum; this musical practice probably began in the Japanese period (cf. Subsection 6.1.2).¹⁴ Later, textile machinery gradually took the place of traditional aboriginal weaving troughs. Ergo, aboriginal people shifted its stage from textile work to musical performance. The wubon is prevalent in contemporary Taiwanese aboriginal performance, probably because of its durable structure and a ready-made weaving trough is accessible to everyone. Furthermore, nowadays wubon are indispensable in contemporary aboriginal music. In other words, the presence of

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¹³ Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 564.
¹⁴ Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 455.
wubon offers authenticity to various aboriginal performance groups in the A Da Wang United Harvest Festival, where performers represent the culture from where he/she comes (cf. Section 2.3).\textsuperscript{15}

Figure 5.1.6. The structure of wubon (the wood slit drum). (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. Moore, “Authenticity as Authentication,” 209.
Durdur (the stamping pestle)

Durdur (the stamping pestle) was not actually played in the performance. Historically, durdur were used to crush grain in a mortar or on the floor. Taiwanese aborigines (e.g., Thao, Bunun, and Tsou) play durdur (stamping pestles) of different lengths in ensemble, making a rhythm and different pitches (cf. Subsection 6.14.2 and 6.3.2); or they simply play durdur of the same size in mortars to make a rhythm (cf. Subsection 6.13.1). The structure of durdur is a long wooden bar with weights on both ends, in a double bottle-headed shape; nowadays, it is used for making sound. It is around 160 cm in length. Durdur are about 12 cm in diameter (Figure 5.1.1.7). In organological
terminology, the *durdur* is a percussion idiophone, which is struck against the non-sonorous ground or mortar. In the Hornbostel-Sachs classification of musical instruments, the number and type of the stamping pestle is 111.21 Percussion sticks.\(^\text{16}\)

Before World War II, *durdur* functioned primarily as a farm tool for stamping crops. The sound and rhythm were just by-products of stamping the crop. In contemporary use, a set of *durdur* in different lengths (pitches) can produce a melody and clear rhythm. Two *durdur* appeared in performances at the Hualien United Harvest Festival. But the performers were not really playing the instrument; they utilised *durdur* in their performance to symbolise a plentiful harvest. This is also a case of employing aboriginal instruments to authenticate their performance.

*The invented concussion sticks and bamboo rods*

Concussion sticks and bamboo rods function as invented traditional objects that are used during performance in the festival. The performance “Playing and Singing with Bamboo Rods” of the Hualien Agriculture Vocational High School employed many concussion sticks and bamboo rods in rhythmic dancing. The group did not really sing; they just used a CD player. These instruments are not really traditional aboriginal instruments in Taiwan. For this reason, they have no aboriginal names. A

\(^{16}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 564.
A pair of concussion sticks is made of wood; they are around 30 cm in length and 3 cm in diameter (Figure 5.1.1.8). As for the bamboo rods, they are around 200 cm in length and 7 cm in diameter (Figure 5.1.1.8). Using organological terminology, concussion sticks and bamboo rods are both concussion idiophones: two complementary sonorous parts strike against each other. In the Hornbostel-Sachs classification of musical instruments, the number and type of concussion sticks and bamboo rods is 111.11 Concussion sticks or stick clappers.  

The function of concussion sticks and bamboo rods is to highlight the accent and rhythm for coordinating dance steps. The Bamboo Rods Dance is not a form of authentic Taiwanese aboriginal dance. Mr. Sheng-shiong Bao, the Music Director of Taiwanese Indigenous Park, believes that the Bamboo Rods Dance originated from the Philippines. He is afraid that Taiwan’s Bamboo Rods Dance compares unfavourably with that of the Philippines. It is clear that Taiwan’s performance group imitates the Philippines’ Bamboo Rods Dance to intensify a taste of exoticism to attract tourists.

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Leg rattles and waist rattles are used to make boisterous sounds in the festival. Leg rattles and waist rattles are found in various aboriginal harvest festivals, but these sound-producing instruments are ignored by the majority of people, who are
accustomed to understanding leg rattles and waist rattles as Taiwanese aboriginal adornments. Both instruments are made out of bronze or brass. Using organological terminology, leg rattles and waist rattles are both comprised of several pellet bells in rows on a belt. Each of the pellet bells encloses a rattling metal pellet which strikes against the wall of the vessel. Sometimes pellet bells strike against each other. In the Hornbostel-Sachs classification of musical instruments, the number and type of leg and waist rattles is 112.13 Vessel rattles.\(^\text{19}\) The Amis call their leg and waist rattles *tangfor* in the Malan area and *tsoh-tsoh* in the Vataan area.\(^\text{20}\) As far as I know, only the Amis wear the bronze bells on their right lower leg; the young people who serve in the men’s house especially wear the leg rattle (cf. Subsection 6.1.6). The boisterous tinkles of *tangfor* warmed up the atmosphere of the *A Da Wang* festival. The instruments intensify the rhythm of dances and steady dance steps.

*Feng nian ji* (the harvest ceremony) vis-à-vis *Feng nian jie* (the harvest festival)

In the Mandarin idiom of the public, the harvest festival is *feng nian ji* 丰年祭 (harvest ceremony), but the organiser of Hualien United Harvest Festival prefers to use the term *feng nian jie* 丰年節 (harvest festival). It is worth examining the difference in meaning between *ji 祭* and *jie 節*. *Ji* indicates ritual, and *jie* implies

\(^{19}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 566.
\(^{20}\) Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 209; Sun, “Polyphony Songs Study,” 41.
holiday or festival. Most of the performances in the Hualien United Harvest Festival focus on providing secular and entertaining performances to attract tourists.

Aboriginal traditional rituals lasted no more than ten minutes in the Hualien United Harvest Festival. Thus, the name tallies with the reality of the festival, and this can explain why the organiser uses *feng nian jie* (harvest festival) instead of *feng nian ji* (harvest ceremony).

Furthermore, there is another reason to employ the term *feng nian jie* instead of *feng nian ji*; that is, the Christian church. Most Taiwanese aboriginal people converted from primitive religion to Christianity after World War II. In former times, the Presbyterian Church boycotted *feng nian ji* (the traditional harvest ceremony), regarding it as a relic of heterodox beliefs since it includes ancestral worship, traditional rituals, and drinking activities. Hence, most villages gradually changed the name to *feng nian jie* (harvest festival) and excluded ancestral worship, traditional rituals, and drinking activities. This is one reason why contemporary aboriginal harvest festivals tend towards secularisation.

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Evaluation

For local officials, holding a great aboriginal united harvest festival is the best way to display the achievement of the Government’s cultural policy as well as to develop tourism. In other words, it is a great way to accomplish something once and for all. However, as Ke suggests, an activity-organiser should have a smattering of aboriginal knowledge with reference to the traditional harvest ceremony, otherwise he or she could hasten the collapse of aboriginal culture, even if his or her initial intention was to help maintain aboriginal culture. Also, the secularised A Da Wang United Harvest festival successfully employs Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments to function as granting authenticity to the A Da Wang activities. Furthermore, the Taiwanese government has an obligation to support and assist Taiwanese aborigines in establishing their own aboriginal craft souvenir industry instead of importing foreign goods.

The atmosphere of the Hualien United Harvest Festival seemed to display Hualien’s cultural diversity and pan-aboriginal identity. In post-war Taiwan, the official harvest festivals became the main stage for wubon (the wood slit drum) and other aboriginal instruments. Festival organisers, performers, and the mass media intentionally or unintentionally constructed wubon as a symbol of pan-aboriginal

22 Ke, “A mai zu di qi yuan chuan shuo ji shi yi zhu sheng huo,” 910.
identity. As a result, *wubon* gradually became an inevitable musical instrument to accompany dance and singing in contemporary aboriginal performance. In addition, *wubon* is not just used to create rhythm for aboriginal music; it seems to strike people that aboriginal culture is still living, thus it forms aboriginal group identity and cultural self-awareness. These musical instruments have become the cultural emblem of Taiwanese aboriginal people.

During the Hualien United Harvest Festival, all aboriginal groups shared a pan-aboriginal group identity, which is relative to non-aboriginal people. Ordinary Han-Taiwanese are unable to distinguish cultural differences among Taiwanese aboriginal groups. Public opinion, the festival organiser, and the mass media intentionally or unintentionally construct pan-aboriginal identity for Taiwanese aborigines. In contrast to pan-aboriginal identity, each ethnic group confirmed its own culture and distinguished cultural differences with each other in the *A Da Wang* festival. Furthermore, most aboriginal people wore their traditional costumes, showing that they were part of an ethnic group and understood its cultural practice; they may also have implied a certain social status through their garments.\(^{23}\)

In general, aboriginal people invite the audience to dance hand in hand in order to help create a sense of community. The audience could engage in aboriginal

\(^{23}\) Sims and Stephens, *Living Folklore*, 127.
activity, while aboriginal people allowed the audience to share the traditions, values, and beliefs of their aboriginal group. Singing the same theme or pitch, utilising the same levels of accent, and sharing regular behaviour in a song can augment the solidarity of a group and enhance a sense of community. Through this united harvest festival, different ethnic groups had an opportunity to communicate with and understand each other as well to maintain their ethnic identity and distinguish cultural difference.

5.1.2 Puyuma Millet Harvest Ceremony

In this research, I found that the Katratripulr tribe of the Puyuma people used many bells in its 2009 millet harvest festival. Through my ethnographic fieldwork in Taiwan, I found various bells whose social function and music practice are still existent in Puyuma culture (in southeast and southwest Taiwan, Figure 1). The social function and musical practice of various Puyuma bells can be examined by observing the Katratripulr millet harvest ceremony. As Hélène La Rue suggested,
Musical instruments can be markers of culture, as well as social status. The ownership of an instrument may be limited to those of high social status and these instruments may become insignia of that status in turn.²⁷

In Taiwan, Puyuma bells are markers of social status and related to age hierarchies. The Puyuma are an aboriginal or indigenous group numbering approximately 10,000. They speak an Austronesian language and the majority live in Beinan Township, Taitung County, and Taitung City. There are two origin myths of the Puyuma. In one story, the Puyuma sub-tribe, the Katratripulr, are thought to have been born from stone. This myth is shared by other sub-tribes, including the Katratripulr, Kasavakan, Likavong, Damalakao, and ULivuLivuk, all of which have a chieftain, ancestral spirits house, and houses for men and boys. In the second myth, the Nanwang sub-tribe are thought to have been born from bamboo. This myth is shared by other sub-tribes including the Pinaseki and ApapoLo. The Puyuma follow institutions of matriarchy, age hierarchy, and men’s and boys’ houses. In the past, they were known for bravery and fighting, with strict warrior training in a society based on age hierarchy. At their peak between the 17th century and the 19th century, they ruled seventy-two aboriginal communities in the eastern part of Taiwan. The Puyuma have maintained good relationships with successive governments (i.e., the Qing empire, the

²⁷ La Rue, “Music, Literature and Etiquette,” 189.
Japan empire, and the Republic of China) in Taiwan, and so, compared to other aboriginal groups, they have largely been left alone to preserve their traditional way of life.\textsuperscript{28}

Marriages in Puyuma culture are traditionally based on an uxorilocal system, where a man marries into a wife’s family and goes to live with her. He becomes a son-in-law, assumes the role of a son, and works for his wife’s family. Children take the maternal family name. The eldest daughter inherits the property and has to take care of other siblings. Before marriage, a man must live in the men’s house. In general, Puyuma sub-tribes have male assembly halls; the takuvan boys’ house is for juveniles, and the palakuwan is the men’s house for youths and adult men (see Figure 5.1.2.6). Children and women are not allowed to enter either house. The takuvan is where juveniles are educated, while the palakuwan is where men take responsibility for defence and political matters. Puyuma men train like Spartans, developing such skills as fighting and hunting.\textsuperscript{29} The age hierarchy in the palakuwan is divided into quasi-youth valisen (15–17 years old; Figure 5.1.2.2), early youth venagesangesar (18–20 years), youth vangesaran (21–23 years; Figure 5.1.2.3), young adult kavangesaranan

\textsuperscript{28} Yuan, \textit{Catalogue of Indigenous Culture}, 37.
\textsuperscript{29} Chen, “Puyuma Music,” 861–66.
(24–26 years; Figure 5.1.2.6), adult *musavasavak* (27–35 years; Figure 5.1.2.6), and elder *ma’izangan* (36–55 years).

During my fieldwork, particularly during the 2009 millet harvest festival of the Katratripulr tribe in Chiben, Taitung City, I found that bells used in Puyuma society still have social functions. The following is an overview of Puyuma bells, analysing ethnographic data and historical and archival information in order to give an overview of both synchronic and diachronic contexts. There are four distinct forms of bells: the *tawlriulr*, where a carved hanger in the form of a head is attached to a forged bell and clapper (Figure 5.1.2.1); the *kameLin* brass waist-rattle (Figure 5.1.2.3); the *langi* jingles with a silver chain (Figure 5.1.2.4); and the *sizung* bell shaped like a shield (Figure 5.1.2.5). They belong respectively to different age ranks (see Figure 7.10). The *tawlriulr* is the marker of *Valisen* (quasi-youth). The *kameLin* is the marker of *Vangesaran* (youth). The *langi* are the markers of the leader and co-leader of the palakuwan men’s house. The *Sizung* is a honourable emblem of a successful headhunter or high achiever. Two types of bells are used to guide others in traditional rituals: the *badongdong* (Figure 5.1.2.6), made of cast or forged iron with a wheel rim, and the hand-held clapperless *tawlriulr* that uses a separate beater. This last bell is not used exclusively by men; women use it to keep time in street parades.

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30 Through my observation, the garments of young adult *kavangesaran* and adult *musavasavak* have no obvious difference, but those present all know each other and who is senior or junior.
during misa 'ur weeding ceremonies, muhamud ceremonies marking the end of
weeding, and pa 'udalr ceremonies where they pray for rain.

Other researchers have focused on Puyuma folksongs, and, in this early
research, Puyuma instruments are inaccurately referred to as being similar to those of
Amis, a different aboriginal group with a different rank system. In 1967, Lenherr
pointed out that bells functioned as status symbols with high social function amongst
Formosan aborigines, but provided scant details and failed to explain how they had
come to be symbols of status. 31 In 1974, Lu, a Taiwanese ethnomusicologist, claimed
to have collected a Puyuma forged bell, providing a picture and offering a brief
reference to the Puyuma people. 32 There have been almost no other
ethnomusicological studies on bells in Taiwanese aboriginal groups. However, from
the eighteenth century onwards, Chinese Qing travel records and other documents
described bells, including information on their structure and social functions. From
the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, covering the time when
Taiwan was a colony of Japan (1895–1945), some Japanese ethnographies recorded
the use of various bells in different aboriginal groups (see Chapter 4 for a discussion
of this literature). Most ethnographies have ignored the interplay between Puyuma
bells, cultural practice, and performance contexts.

On 10 August 2009, I interviewed the co-leader of the Katratripulr *palakuwan*, Sanpuy, in his flat in Shulin. He is a popular singer who can make and play various Puyuma instruments, such as the end-blown and nose flutes, the musical bow, and the Jew’s harp. Sanpuy showed me how *palakuwan* members make their own *tawliulr* forged bells, carving the wooden handle to resemble a human head, hammering an iron plate into a conical shape, and attaching a clapper inside the bell (Figure 5.1.2.1).

![Figure 5.1.2.1. *Tawliulr* (the forged bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)](image)
Figure 5.1.2.2. Valisen (quasi-youth) wear tawliulr in dancing the muwarak warrior-spirited dance. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Figure 5.1.2.3. Vangesaran (youth) wear kameLin (the waist bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)
Figure 5.1.2.4. The leader and co-leader wear *langi* (the silver-chain jingle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Figure 5.1.2.5. *Sizung* (the shield bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)
As Nettl argues, an ethnomusicologist should attempt to understand whether traditional musical instruments are shared broadly throughout an aboriginal group or maintained only by a small group of specialists.\textsuperscript{33} Benefitting from this viewpoint, I found that people from different age hierarchies wear different forms of bells. Jeremy Montagu defines a bell as a vessel struck either with an internal or external clapper or with a separate striker. Some bells are held, and some are hung from objects, animals, or humans. The edge or rim of the bell is where it vibrates strongly, while the vertex

\textsuperscript{33} Nettl, \textit{Folk and Traditional Music}, 26–27.
has only weak vibration. Hence, bells may have a handle or be hung at the vertex without impairing the sound.\footnote{Montagu, \textit{Origins and Development of Musical Instruments}, 14–23.}

On the basis of my interviews and observations, it was observed that the \textit{tawlriulr} is a forged concussion conical bell made of wrought iron that functions as a warning bell to deliver emergency messages. The bell I measured had a diameter of about 6 cm at the top and 8 cm at the bottom, with a 1 cm slit from top to bottom where the vibration is strongest. The conical bell is a 20 cm long forged tube, and a 4 cm long metal clapper is attached inside by wire. The wooden hanger is carved and is attached to the bell with steel wire or a leather cord. The hanger passes through the player’s waist belt behind their back (Figure 5.1.2.2). It sounds in response to body movement. The \textit{tawlriulr} is the rank marker of the quasi-youth \textit{valisen}, and was once used in any ceremony. In the Hornbostel and Sachs instrument classification system, the \textit{tawlriulr} would be classified as 111.242.122, Clapper bells with the clapper attached inside the bell.\footnote{Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 565.} A second type of forged concussion bell is the clapperless “hand” \textit{tawlriulr}, played with a separate beater and lacking the hanging mechanism. It is used as a guiding bell to keep time in street parades during traditional ceremonies, and is sounded by striking with the player’s beater, which is made of hard wood. The
beater is about 35 cm long and 2 cm in diameter. In the Hornbostel and Sachs system, this bell would be 111.242.121 (Suspended bells struck from the outside).\textsuperscript{36}

The \textit{kameLin} (Figure 5.1.2.3) consists of seven to nine pellet bells attached to a cloth waist belt. In Taiwan, the public regard it as a type of small bell; however, it is regarded as a vessel rattle in organology. In the Hornbostel and Sachs system, this bell would be classified as 112.13 (Vessel rattles), where a rattling object (a metal pellet) enclosed in a vessel strikes against the wall of the vessel.\textsuperscript{37} In the past, \textit{kameLin} bells were made of bronze, but nowadays the majority are brass, a metal thought to produce a nicer and brighter sound. The diameter of each vessel is about 2.8 cm. The slit in each vessel is about 3 cm in length and 0.4 cm in width. The internal metal pellet of each vessel is around 0.6 cm in diameter. It is cast as a tiger’s face with Chinese characters (e.g., “great” and “king”) to prevent evil. The cloth waist belt is about 45 cm in length and 15 cm in width. The \textit{kameLin} sounds in response to body movement.

Puyuma youth, \textit{vangesaran}, use the \textit{kameLin} to create a boisterous atmosphere in ceremonies. A related bell used by the Nanwang sub-tribe, the \textit{sinsingan}, is smaller.

A further cluster of jingles hang from silver chains and are known as \textit{langi}.

These are precious and are therefore worn by leaders and co-leaders (Figure 5.1.2.4). The \textit{langi} sounds in response to body movement. In the Hornbostel and Sachs system,

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 566.
they would be classified as 112.11 (Suspension rattles), consisting of perforated idiophones mounted together and shaken to strike against each other.\(^{38}\)

The *sizung* (Figure 5.1.2.5) depicts a bell suspended from a wooden shield. The shield is about 70 cm in length and 48 cm in width. In the Hornbostel and Sachs system, the *sizung* would be classified as 112.121 (Pendant rattles): rattling objects hung from a frame (shield) against which they strike. The bell structure is generally that of the *tawliulr*, with clapper (111.242.122), but in some cases smaller *kameLin* bells (112.13) are used due to their lighter weight. Both types sound in response to body movement. The face of the shield is carved, typically with a human face and possibly denoting an ancestor or a successful headhunter. Indeed, it is said that *sizung* were once only used by headhunters.

Finally, the *badongdong* (Figure 5.1.2.6) is a complex and large structure made from cast metal, forged iron, and the rim of a wheel. The numerical entry for the *badongdong* metal gong according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.24 and means percussion vessel (the instrument is struck with a non-sonorous striker).\(^{39}\) The *badongdong* is about 100 cm in height. Its shape resembles a warrior in a dancing posture. A big iron hammer functions as a beater to strike against the *badongdong* to make sound. The *badongdong* is used to assemble people during

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 565.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 564.
traditional ceremonies, and to provide a rhythmic foundation for palakuwan members who perform the warrior-spirited dance to show their masculine pride during the millet harvest ceremony.

At the beginning of the 2009 millet harvest festival of the Katratripulr, the palakuwan sent out a group of youths wearing tawliulr to inform everybody that the festival was about to begin. At noon, the elders of the village gathered with elders from elsewhere and invited politicians. They had lunch in the plaza in front of the men’s house. Having eaten and drunk, a priest performed a ritual and prayed for the festival. Then the young adult kavangesaranan and adult musavasavak struck the badongdong to announce the parade. As the badongdong provided the rhythm, two co-leaders wearing silver-chain langi guided all the members of the palakuwan in the warrior-spirited dance as they danced from house to house.

The festival illustrated how different bells reflect social status and mark the performance of different duties. Between twelve and fourteen years of age, Puyuma boys enter the takuvan boys’ house to learn hunting, survival, and fighting skills. They are ranked into junior malanakan and senior malatawan groups, and the latter are allowed to wear kameLin suspended waist bells. Between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, they pass from being juveniles to become youths, entering the palakuwan men’s house and joining the quasi-youth valisen rank. They are given a short blue
skirt, with a *tawlriulr* hung from the back. As the bell can be heard whenever they move, it is the most observable marker of being a *valisen* during the three or more years they spend working for the village. During this time, they carry heavy objects for elders and cook food for hunting rituals. In olden times, the quasi-youth *valisen* rank was the main rank of military service. The *valisen* are separated from the routines associated with their earlier life in an austere and controlled way. The separation goes along with depersonalisation. For instance, the *valisen* leave their families and former status behind, and dress in identical short blue skirts with heavy *tawlriulr*. Old bells and garments are exchanged for new ones. This change in dress denotes the changes in responsibility and the heavy duty of the *valise* to safeguard their homeland. The aforementioned steps help to kill the old personality and to achieve a new social status and identity through liminality.\(^{40}\) When the *valisen* move up to the early youth rank of *venagesangesar*, they are allowed to keep their *tawlriulr* but are given another bell as a marker, the waist rattle *kameLin*, and a new costume consisting of black pants and a long-sleeved, black shirt. Through this passage, the *venagesangesar* experience a symbolic rebirth from the quasi-youth *valisen* rank. When young men become *vangesaran*, they become eligible for marriage. They retain

\(^{40}\) Liminality is the transitional period of a rite of passage, in which the participants lack social status and personality to show their obedience and modesty, and follow prescribed forms of garment and responsibility. Cf. Harris and Johnson, *Cultural Anthropology*, 279–80.
the *kameLin* but add leg coverings of colorful woven cloth. The leader and co-leader are from the ranks of adult *musavasavak* or young adult *kavangesaranan*. Only the leader and co-leader of the *palakuwan* men’s house are eligible to wear the silver-chained *langi*. Bells thus mark rites of passage between different age hierarchies, and follow the three characteristic stages of pre-liminal (separation), liminal (transition), and post-liminal (reincorporation) as proposed by Sims and Stephens.  

The pre-liminal and post-liminal stages indicate the break from and reintegration in the old and new age hierarchies. Each age hierarchy is a liminal stage between a Puyuma ending his old social status and re-joining tribal society in a higher social status with a new bell (or rattle) and new responsibility.

The highest status bell is the shield bell, *sizung*. This is considered to have originated with the ULivuLivuk sub-tribe in Chulu Village, who follow the Katratripulr origin myth. Legend has it that the warrior, Salrevaw, took the head of an enemy in battle. He put the head in front of the ancestor house, but it went unremarked until everyone danced in celebration of victory. Salrevaw grabbed a wooden stool and roared “po-po,” after which an elder commended his feat.  

This dance became the Puyuma shield dance. The legend explains why in the past only a successful headhunter or a great contributor to a village was privileged to bear the

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41 Sims and Stephens, *Living Folklore*, 111.
sizung. Nowadays, a Puyuma with a rank beyond that of early youth *venagesangesar* can dance with it. The relatively heavy weight means that only a few men can keep dancing without regular rest, and these, according to my interview with Sanpuy, win respect from the whole community.

Bells are not used exclusively by men. Puyuma women use bells to lead parades. For example, the Katratripulr sub-tribe generally holds a rain praying ceremony between April and August, when dry weather threatens the growth of crops. Women form the core of the team who wear the waist rattle *kameLin* to pray for rain, and are led in procession by two elderly women with *tawlriulr* forged bells from ancestral spirits houses to the place of the Puyuma founder, Ruvuwa’a. They parade to the village’s water source then return to the village. The *palakuwan* men’s house sends several members to follow the women and carry bamboo vessels to collect water. The traditional belief is that anybody soaked with water will have good fortune, which is why Puyuma and visiting tourists fight with the men carrying the water-filled vessels.

From contemporary practice, it is possible to reassess the historical literature. The structure and social function of the *tawlriulr* is identical to the discussion in Qing literature (cf. Chapter 4). Its use, mainly to deliver messages or commands, is the same. However, the instrument design with the internal clapper and the hanger shaped
like a head is different. In Kurosawa’s account, the name Puyuma is spelt in different ways.43 In his account, taoryoru, tauryurru, and taorioru are all different renderings of the Puyuma tawlriulr, the forged bell, all of which have the function of delivering messages or commands.44 Kurosawa’s camryn, hamlin, and kanmurin are all renderings of the Puyuma kameLin,45 indicating that, at least in the twentieth century, its use did not change much, although, in an interview, Sanpuy told me that Puyuma priests and others also use it, shaking it against the hand to call ancestral spirits.

Kurosawa also mentions the use of small metal bells known as tahiresu or tahirisu, made from copper, silver, or other metals and alloys, with a diameter of less than an inch.46 I have not found anything akin to these names amongst contemporary Puyuma, although these may be related to the Nanwang sub-tribe’s name for small kameLin-type bells, sinsingan. When Kurosawa was reporting, the karoganyun cowbell was seldom found. Today, Taiwanese people often mistakenly think of the kameLin as a form of cowbell.47

Recently, the performance contexts in which bells are used have changed. The sizung shield bell has become a cultural emblem of the Puyuma because of its use in specific dances and its popularity amongst tourists. Outside curiosity stimulates both

44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
the invention of Puyuma ethnicity and cultural commodification through tourism. In fact, the change reflects outsiders, who see in the shield bell something exotic and something that can bring economic benefits as its use shifts from a social function to a symbol of ethnicity and cultural identity.

The loud and sweet sound of the tawlriulr forged bell has meant that it has been adopted by the Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village for performance. Women slit drummers in Puyuma costumes will, for example, take tawlriulr in their left hands, striking them with beaters held in their right hands, and run around the plaza announcing the beginning of a welcome ceremony for tourists. The women then use beaters to play slit drums. Clearly, the traditional practice of using the tawlriulr to bring messages is retained, although the performance context has changed. Today, the use of Puyuma bells in performance mixes tradition with tourism. In the traditional context, Puyuma men still wear different garments and use different bells according to their rank within the age hierarchy. The rules governing hierarchy no longer apply outside these traditional contexts however, and bells will be used by Puyuma and others. For example, at a recent Austronesian Cultural Festival, the sizung dance was performed by a group of children wearing adult Puyuma costumes, while the Puyuma

themselves will perform at festivals and elsewhere, distinguishing their cultural otherness through bells.

The connections between the various Puyuma bells and their bearers and users can be thought of as forms of performance relating to objects, practices, and symbolic meanings. It is important to analyse what such performances communicate to contemporary people, both within and beyond the Puyuma community. Through performance, we can see how Puyuma bells function and how the Puyuma express their identity through bells.\textsuperscript{49} At the Katratriplur millet harvest festival, the Puyuma communicate with each other in ways that have deep meaning to members of the tribe; people wear their costumes and show by their actions that they are Puyuma and understand Puyuma cultural practice, not least in the use of different bells linked to different ranks in the age hierarchy. The Puyuma mingle with the dominant Chinese and other aboriginal people in Taitung City. They normally dress like others, but in festivals and on ceremonial occasions they don their traditional costumes with their exclusive bells, and parade the streets celebrating their cultural difference and maintaining their group identity.

Puyuma bells are sounded during prayer. They sound, not simply to promote good harvests, but to ensure a better future. The Katratriplur millet harvest festival re-

\textsuperscript{49} Taking as my inspiration, Sims and Stephens, \textit{Living Folklore}, 135–36.
enacts the cosmos and the social relationships of the Puyuma, as the whole community returns to a mythical past and an ideal social order.\textsuperscript{50} At the millet harvest festival, the Puyuma gain a sense of security as they pass down traditional cultural values, but their audience has changed from the ancestral spirits of the past to the Puyuma of today. The warrior-spirited dance constitutes a characteristic representation of the Puyuma. Since the middle of the twentieth century, many Puyuma youths have moved from local villages to urban centres in search of good jobs. They return to their villages for ceremonial occasions, where they dance the warrior-spirited dance and carry Puyuma bells. Hence, the sound of Puyuma bells produces waves of recollection, emotional commitment, and nostalgia. They allow the Puyuma to distinguish themselves from both the dominant Chinese in Taiwan and other aboriginal groups. Ethnic identity, tribal cooperation, and blood relationships are reaffirmed through these bells.\textsuperscript{51}

5.1.3 Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day) Festival in Taipei

The Indigenous Peoples Commission of Taipei City Government held a Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day) Festival around the musical platform in Da-An Forest Park on 1 August 2009. The day is celebrated because the ethnicity of Taiwanese aboriginal

\textsuperscript{50} Taking as my inspiration, Harnish, \textit{Bridge to the Ancestors}, 17.

\textsuperscript{51} Cheng, “Sacred Singing,” 91.
peoples was recognised by the national constitution on 1 August 2005. This _Yuan Min Ri_ (Indigenous Day) Festival was a kind of music festival. The performance groups comprised the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus, Amis Kakeng Musical Group, and Malang Chanting Group. The Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus is the local chorus in Taipei. Malang Chanting Group is a folksong group from the Malang Tribe of the Amis people in Taitung. Amis Kakeng Musical Group is a famous Amis instrumental ensemble also from Taitung.

The objectives of the research were to determine why a particular musical instrument was played in the Indigenous Day Festival, and to examine the context of performance.52 My approach was based on participant observation: by observing and analysing the musical activity in _Yuan Min Ri_ (Indigenous Day) Festival on 1 August 2009. In order to collect data on the contemporary context of performance of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, which can explain why a particular instrument was represented in an Indigenous Day Festival to meet a particular need, I worked as a participant observer to understand the interplay between musical instruments, musical practice, and performance contexts.53 The data was primarily gathered from an _Yuan Min Ri_ Festival in Taipei. On 1 August 2009, I undertook

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53 Ibid.
participant observation of the musical festival around the musical platform in Da-An Forest Park in Taipei City (Figure 5.1.3.1).

![Image of the festival](image)

**Figure 5.1.3.1. Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus in Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day) Festival. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)**

*Yuan Min Ri* (Indigenous Day) Festival was run by the Indigenous Peoples Commission of Taipei City Government. The musical festival of *Yuan Min Ri* was a theatre-like concert that was divided into six Acts: Act One, Origin; Act Two, Lead; Act Three, Growth; Act Four, Broken Cocoon; Act Five, Expectations; and Act Six, Future (see Table 5.1.3.1). Indigenous Day Festival was presented with postmodern gimmicks, such as playing videos through a projector to introduce the next
performance group when an interlude separated the Acts. The following is the festival programme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Performance Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act One: Origin</td>
<td>Taipei Aboriginal Youth &amp; Children’s Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act Two: Lead</td>
<td>Taipei Aboriginal Youth &amp; Children’s Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amis Kakeng Musical Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act Three: Growth</td>
<td>Taipei Aboriginal Children’s Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act Four: Broken Cocoon</td>
<td>Malang Chanting Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act Five: Expectations</td>
<td>Taipei Aboriginal Youth &amp; Children’s Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act Six: Future</td>
<td>Taipei Aboriginal Youth &amp; Children’s Chorus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indigenous Day Festival is a government-funded musical activity; hence, officials and Members of Parliament are introduced by the master of ceremonies at the beginning of the festival.

In Act One, Yuan qi (Origin), a documentary video was played on a screen blessing Difang. Difang Duana (1921–2002) and his wife Igay Duana (1922–2002)
were both famous Amis folk singers and founders of the Malang Chanting Group.\textsuperscript{54} Their “Elders’ Drinking Song” was plagiarised by Enigma as “Return to Innocence” (EMI), which was used to promote the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta (cf. Subsection 2.1.3). The documentary video on the memory of Difang signified that aboriginal culture will follow Difang’s footsteps and succeed in the future just as he did.

After this multimedia introduction, the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus came on stage in various aboriginal costumes as their mosaic formation. The Chorus presented their repertoire in pan-aboriginal style as they sang folksongs from different groups of Taiwanese aborigines. In Act One, the folksongs were accompanied on the piano and \textit{wubon} (the wood slit drum; see Subsection 6.11.2). The \textit{wubon} functioned as \textit{basso ostinato} (persistent bass) while the piano supported the tune and harmony. A duet was also played by \textit{tatuk} (the xylophone of the Seediq-Truku, see Subsection 6.11.1) and the conga. The \textit{tatuk} (the xylophone) played the melody, and the conga emphasised the accent.

In Act Two, \textit{Ying ling} (Lead), a multimedia video was firstly played to introduce the formation of Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus. The members of the Chorus are from various Taiwanese aboriginal groups and Han

\textsuperscript{54} Difang Duana’s Mandarin name is Kuo Ying-nan, and Igay Duana’s Mandarin name is Kuo Hsiu-chu.
Taiwanese, and their parents mostly come from eastern and south-eastern Taiwan to sojourn in Taipei City to earn their livelihood. The theme *Ying ling* means being ahead and looking forward to a bright future. In Act Two, one of the folksongs (i.e., the Paiwan welcoming song) was sung by the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus and accompanied by the piano and conga. After their performance, the parents of the chorus members encouraged their children with thunderous applause. The performance groups in Act Two included the Amis Kakeng Musical Group. After the performance of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus, the Kakeng group followed an introductory video with a series of performances. The introductory video of the Amis Kakeng Musical Group briefly described how the percussion band recovered and invented traditional musical instruments of the Amis people through archives and the knowledge of elders. Some in the audience, Han Taiwanese especially, had never seen such an ensemble of all kinds of Amis musical instruments (e.g., *kakeng*, the nose flute, and the slit drum).

In a video interview in Act Three, *Cheng zhang* (Growth), the mother of a chorus member insisted that her child had benefited from the lyrics of aboriginal folksongs because the lyrics encode tribal consciousness. Besides folksongs, the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus teaches children to sing some foreign languages. In this Act, the Chorus’s repertoire changed entirely from aboriginal
folk songs to world-famous Mandarin and Chinese choruses. It was implied that aboriginal children singing non-aboriginal songs was a kind of growth.

In Act Four, *Po jian* (Broken Cocoon), a multimedia video showed that the second daughter of Difan Duana now leads the Malang Chanting Group. Although Difang and his wife Igay Duana have died, three original members are still part of the group. The theme of Act Four was Broken Cocoon, which indicates the metamorphosis of aboriginal folk songs from local music into world music. At the beginning, their chanting was sung in the traditional way (i.e., it was unaccompanied). Their following songs were accompanied on multimedia MIDI. The locale of the festival meant that a large number of Amis were in the audience, and they were quite familiar with Amis folk songs. Consequently, the majority of the aboriginal audience could not help singing with the Malang Chanting Group, relieving their nostalgia. The accompanying music was extremely karaoke-like in style, which is the most popular entertainment in contemporary Taiwanese aboriginal communities.

In Act Five, *Qi pan* (Expectations), Hu De-fu (a Puyuma-Paiwan creative singer) appeared on a multimedia video, giving a great deal of encouragement to aboriginal children while his music played loudly in the background. Hu De-fu’s encouragement to aboriginal children was constructed by the organiser as a symbolic gimmick of Indigenous Day Festival. I could not hear clearly what Hu De-fu was
saying because his voice was covered by the music. As regards the performance of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus in Act Five, their repertoire comprised various world-famous choruses, sung entirely in foreign languages (e.g., English and Italian). The piano was the sole musical instrument. Singing world-famous choruses met the theme of “Expectation” by broadening the international view of aboriginal children. The performance was somewhat irrelevant to an Indigenous Day Festival: those foreign songs had no resonance with and special meaning for the audience. It distanced the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus from its audience.

In Act Six, Future, one of Hu De-fu’s songs was again played on multimedia, without mentioning anything about it. Amongst the musical performances, the folksong “Warrior Song” of the Seediq-Truku people was accompanied on the piano and conga.

After the Chorus sang some aboriginal songs, the Mayor of Taipei City, Hau Lung-pin, graced the occasion with his presence. Taipei City Mayor Hau arrived at the venue at the end of the festival as a mysterious guest. First he greeted the audience in Mandarin and then in Amis. The following is a summary of his speech:

_Nga’ay ho? [How are you? (Amis)]_ The purpose of this activity is to commemorate the Legislative Yuan approving the constitutional revision to change the official name of
Taiwanese aboriginal peoples from *Shan di tong bao* (Mountain Compatriot) to *Yuan zhu min* (aboriginal/indigenous peoples) on 1 August 2005. For this reason, we celebrate 1 August as *Yuan Min Ri* (Indigenous Day) every year. This shows our respect for Taiwanese aboriginal peoples; it also recognises the great contribution Taiwanese aborigines make to Taiwan. So today we use various musical performances to celebrate this special day and our having harmonious ethnic relationships in our society. Listening to the beautiful songs of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus manifests the esteem Taipei City has for the education of the mother tongue. You see these members of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus. One day, one of them will become an A-Mei-like superstar in popular music.\(^5\) I hope that all ethnic groups can learn their mother tongue. Only by searching our roots and identifying with this land will we gain power, and all ethnic groups will gain balanced development. This is our vision. I will endeavour to construct Taipei City as the new hometown of aboriginal people, and Taipei City is also the lovely hometown of all Taipei citizens.\(^6\)

\(^{5}\) A-Mei (Chang Hui Mei) is a successful and famous female pop singer in Asia. She is a Puyuma and comes from Taitung, Taiwan.

\(^{6}\) Mayor Hau’s speech on 1 August 2009 in Da-An Forest Park, Taipei City; my translation.
After Taipei City Mayor delivered his speech, the aboriginal MP Kong Wen-ji made a speech. Finally, a hostess invited all three performance groups to come on stage to sing “Goodbye” (an Amis song).

In the following section, I analyse the musical instruments played in the musical festival of Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day). In Act One, folksongs were accompanied on the piano and wubon (the wood slit drum), with wubon functioning as basso ostinato (persistent bass) and the piano supporting the tune and harmony. Originally, the wubon functioned as a weaving trough. In the festival, the wubon provided basso ostinato due to its clear and loud tone. It was placed in a central location on the stage, which seemed to imply to the audience that this festival was a Taiwanese aboriginal music festival. A duet was played by tatuk (the Seediq-Truku xylophone) and conga; the tatuk played the melody, and the conga emphasised the accent.

Before this Yuan Min Ri Festival, the press release of the Indigenous Peoples Commission of Taipei City Government announced the aspiration of aboriginal children:
We want to tell the world that we are proud of being Taiwanese aboriginal people. Through our beautiful singing with the most innocent, natural, and sincere of hearts, love may fly around the world conveying infinite courage and power.  

As can be seen in this quotation, the Indigenous Peoples Commission constructed aboriginal children as “innocent, natural and sincere” in its press release.

Moreover, the title of this particular Yuan Min Ri Festival is “The Dialogue between Mountains and Sea: The Sound of the Aboriginal Homeland and the Heart of the City.” By interpreting the subtitle word by word, it is easy to understand that “The Sound of the Aboriginal Homeland” indicates the music of the Amis Kakeng Musical Group and Malang Chanting Group, who both come from one aboriginal homeland, that is, the east of Taiwan. “The Heart of the City” implies the performance of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus. However, it is uncertain who is the “Mountain” and who is the “Sea,” and perhaps the organiser of this Indigenous Day Festival is playing with language.

The organiser of this Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day) Festival utilised multimedia technology to play documentary videos about the performance groups in the interlude between Acts when performance groups had to go offstage or onstage.

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58 Ibid.
This also allowed stagehands time to change musical instruments and equipment. At the beginning of Act One, three juveniles on the central stage wore costumes in the style of American Indians, as can be seen in the Figure, accompanying the chorus singing the Amis “Joyous Song” with piano, *wubon* (the slit drum), and conga as accompaniment. The organiser of the Festival seemingly thought that American Indian costumes were more exotic than traditional Taiwanese aboriginal costumes for attracting the attention of the audience.

At least a third of the festival audience was made up of aboriginal people. Some of them were related to members of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus. In fact, around 12,791 aboriginal people live in Taipei, and more than half of these are Amis and Paiwan. Many aboriginal people have moved to Taipei from eastern and southeastern Taiwan to seek employment.

As stated earlier, in past decades, Taiwanese aboriginal people were thought to be lazy workers, alcoholics, and prostitutes, especially by Han Taiwanese in the 1980s. Therefore, Taiwanese aborigines usually keep a low profile, not revealing their “stigmatised identity” in Taipei. However, *Yuan Min Ri* Festival provides a venue and opportunity for aboriginal people to share their folk music and to show

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their aboriginal identity. Most of the aboriginal audience interacts well with
performers in the festival. Barre Toelken’s argument that a tune can kindle the flow of
nostalgia, sentimental commitment, individual experience, and familiar recollection is
convincing in this context.\(^{62}\) In Act Four, Broken Cocoon, most of the urban
aborigines could not help singing aloud with the Malang Chanting Group. Obviously,
the audience’s thirst for the values and beauty of the old days are embodied in the
image of the folksong. Aboriginal songs transform socially one’s real life into a
romantic imaginative world. After listening to their songs, the cultural milieu does not
change, yet people feel better about facing the real world.\(^{63}\)

The Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus was founded around 2001; it was the first aboriginal chorus in the metropolitan area. The conductor of the chorus constructs the aboriginal repertoire in the style of art songs, and with a pan-aboriginal view. The conductor has a background in Western classical music and is Han Taiwanese. These factors have a considerable influence on his arrangement and instrumentation of aboriginal folksongs. For instance, aboriginal folksongs are arranged primarily to harmonise the tune for the Chorus accompanied by the piano. The children are trained in bel canto and to read musical notation instead of learning through oral tradition in the tribe. In addition, members of the Chorus come from

\(^{62}\) Toelken, “Ballads and Folksongs,” 169.
\(^{63}\) Pickering, “Song and Social Context,” 83.
various Taiwanese aboriginal groups. Therefore, it is not difficult to see why

traditional aboriginal folksongs are interpreted as art-song-like aboriginal songs with a

pan-aboriginal view. The conductor adopted alien conga in this Indigenous Day

Festival to enrich the tone of the choral performance and to give a sense of otherness

and the exotic. The conga is a membranophone; it is derived from Afro-Cuban

music.64 Through globalisation, the Afro-Cuban conga is used in Taiwan to fill a gap,
as there is no skin-drum amongst traditional Taiwanese aboriginal musical

instruments. The conductor seems unfamiliar with Taiwanese aboriginal musical

instruments; and the traditional bamboo slit drum has an analogous tone and can

easily be used instead of the conga.

In Act Three, Growth, and Act Four, Broken Cocoon, the organiser of the

Indigenous Day Festival constructed the idea that aboriginal youth learn and sing

foreign songs as a form of growth and regeneration. This implies that, having a rooted

foothold in their own culture, aboriginal youths can make progress with a broad

worldview and an ability to compete internationally. This idea tallied coincidentally

with the vision of the Taipei City Mayor: that ambitious people benefited greatly from

identifying with their roots and homeland in the first instance.

64 Warden, “History of the Conga Drum.”
At the end of the festival, Mayor Hau Lung-pin gave the audience his promise to construct Taipei City as the new hometown of aboriginal people. This idea seems to ignore the history of Taipei City. The original indigenous people of Taipei City were Plains aborigines (i.e., Ketagalan and Basay people). The majority of these people were integrated into Han Taiwanese, and it is almost impossible to distinguish between the Plains aborigines and Han Taiwanese. But aboriginal people are still the indigenous people and the original landowners of Taipei City. Ergo Taipei City does not need to be constructed by Mayor Hau as the new hometown of aboriginal people. Moreover, the Mayor expected that one day a member of the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus would succeed as an A-Mei-like superstar in popular music. The ability of aboriginal people to achieve is by no means restricted to a particular occupation (e.g., popular music or sports). Indeed, Taiwanese aboriginal people have been intentionally or unintentionally constructed by mass media and non-aboriginal people such as pop singers or athletes over a long period of time.

Taiwanese aboriginal folksongs and aboriginal musical instruments have been taken away from their traditional performance contexts. As a result, aboriginal music is continually changing its nature in an urban milieu and under the impact of the West. For example, aboriginal folksongs in the festival were harmonised and accompanied by the piano, wubon (the slit drum), tatuk (the xylophone), and conga.
Nettl suggests that harmonised folksongs, large ensembles, and simple but steady metres are all characteristics of Westernisation.65 The change to a concert situation is an indication of modernisation. There was an ambiguous demarcation between performer and audience in traditional aboriginal ceremonies; however, the performers had a superior position on stage in the Indigenous Day Festival.66 People could listen to folksongs from different aboriginal groups in this musical festival; and this a sign of syncretism. This phenomenon mirrors the pan-aboriginal identity of urban Taiwanese aborigines on account of the fact that urban aborigines come from different parts of Taiwan.67

In summary, this Yuan Min Ri (Indigenous Day) Festival was a win-win activity in which everyone met his or her need; and the festival had different meanings for different people. For the politicians and the organisers of the festival, this activity attached great importance to Taiwanese aboriginal affairs and displayed the achievements of aboriginal cultural policy. For the Taipei Aboriginal Youth & Children’s Chorus, it was a show time to display their choral accomplishments, and the use of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments granted a degree of aboriginal authenticity to the Chorus for showing what it was like to be Taiwanese aborigine (cf.

66 Ibid., 353–54.
67 Ibid., 353.
Section 2.3). The festival helped the reputation of the Amis Kakeng Musical Group and Malang Chanting Group and gave them economic capital. For non-aboriginal audience members, it was a rare chance to appreciate exotica, that is, Taiwanese aboriginal music in an urban area. For aboriginal audience members, it was a precious chance to sing loudly together their beautiful old folksongs, to show proudly that they are Taiwanese aborigines, and to understand their culture.  

5.1.4 *E Hua Pian Xiang Cheng Guo Zhan (The Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area): Dien Guan Percussion Band a Trip to Taipei*

The aboriginal school band is a musical form and performance unit in which Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments exist in contemporary society in Taiwan. The Dien Guan Percussion Band is the aboriginal school band of Dien Guan Primary School in Guan Shan Township in Taitung (the Southeast of Taiwan). The purpose of my research in this context was to explore the kinds of instrumentation and repertoire that meet the need of the Dien Guan Percussion Band in a contemporary context, as well as to examine the meaning involved in *E Hua Pian Xiang Cheng Guo Zhan* (the Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital opportunity for Rural Area). The exhibition was a sort of themed festival, which combined a variety of educational,  

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tourist and commercial activities. Notwithstanding, the theme of the festival was to display the educational achievements of digital centres from different rural areas, and each centre promoted its local foods, handicrafts and tourism.

*E Hua Pian Xiang* (Creative Digital opportunity for Rural Area)\(^{69}\) was set up in 2006 by Taiwan’s Ministry of Education, which aimed to bridge the digital divide (computer-literate ability) between urban students and rural students. Owing to the fact that rural students find it difficult to access the Internet without adequate computer equipment and without an ability to use relevant information. To prevent an increasing expansion of the digital divide between urban students and suburban students, the Ministry of Education set up 300 digital opportunity centres among 168 rural areas in Taiwan. The majority of the digital opportunity centres were primarily set up in schools, tribes, cultural centers, libraries, and community centers. Each digital opportunity centre must cooperate with local culture, education and speciality industries (e.g., agriculture, handicraft, tourism, and performing arts). Also, the Ministry of Education invited 2,000 university students to be volunteers for teaching rural students to use computers in digital opportunity centres. In addition, many private companies sponsored computer software and hardware for digital opportunity centres for helping students’ learning. Therefore, the scheme comprised various

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governmental and non-governmental resources to enhance the computer-literate ability of rural students.

Dien Guan Primary School is located within the Ka’ada’adaan sub-tribe of the Amis people in Guan Shan Township, Taitung. There are around forty students in total in Dien Guan Primary School. At least two thirds of students are Amis people in Dien Guan Primary School. In Taiwan, each primary school must develop its own sectional curriculum, which is based on underlying local culture and folklore in accordance with Education Act for Indigenous Peoples. The law provides that the government should supply Taiwanese aboriginal students with the opportunity to learn their own language, history and culture.\(^{70}\) Hence, Dien Guan Primary School hires two music teachers from the well-known Kakeng Musical Group for teaching students how to play Amis musical instruments in ensemble on every Wednesday afternoon. Such a strategy is to develop school’s characteristic for seeking the survival of Dien Guan Primary School.

In Taiwan’s education policy, the government will normally close a school with a small number of pupils. In contemporary society, many parents do not want to have a baby due to the high living cost and high educational budget. The low birth rate has a considerable influence on the number of new pupils coming to primary education.

\(^{70}\) Ministry of Justice, “Education Act for Indigenous Peoples.”

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school. Dien Guan Primary School employs the Amis musical instruments to form the Dien Guan Percussion Band as the best instruments for developing the characteristics of Dien Guan Primary School. Ergo, Dien Guan Primary School won the Top Ten Characteristic School of Taiwan. Also, the school has a close cooperation with the local Ka’ ada’ adaan sub-tribe (one of the Amis sub-tribes). Thence, Dien Guan Primary School becomes the collecting and distributing centre of aboriginal musical culture in Guan Shan Township, Taitung. Furthermore, Dien Guan Primary School opens and shares its campus on holidays for the pupils from other urban schools to experience aboriginal music and culture.

Originally I wanted to visit the Dien Guan Percussion Band at Dien Guan Primary School, Guan Shan Township, Taitung County, but Principal Gao said that the band would have a trip to Taipei to perform for the Ministry of Education and the Achievemen

Hua Pian Xiang Cheng Guo Zhan (the Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area). Ergo, Principal Gao invited me to come along with the band for the performance in front of the Minister of Education on 9 July 2009.

Performance in Ministry of Education

The following is the repertoire at the Ministry of Education on 9 July 2009. Ci tong
*hua kai* (coral tree in bloom) is creative aboriginal music. And *wang chun feng* (expecting spring breeze) is a classic Holo-Taiwanese popular song since 1933. Also, *zheng fu* (conquest) and *zhan zai gao gang shang* (stand on a high mound) both are contemporary Mandarin popular songs. As can be seen from the aforementioned sentences, *ci tong hua kai* (coral tree in bloom) is the only one aboriginal song among the repertoire of Dien Guan Percussion Band (i.e., the performer) due to the fact that the majority of the audience was non-aboriginal (i.e., Han Taiwanese). In doing so, the band seemed to trigger the familiar experience and recollection of the audience in order to narrow the distance between performer and audience through performing non-aboriginal music. After the performance, Minister of Education Cheng Rueycherng said:

> The hometown education of Dien Guan Primary School is very successful. I am grateful to have such teachers endeavour on their teaching position in Dien Guan Primary School. Thanks for your performance. And you are all welcome to the Minister of Education.

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After the welcoming speech, Minister Cheng gave prizes to each student of the Dien Guan Percussion band. Minister Cheng asked a student whether she could make her own panpipe during the prizes giving. And he asked students to show and teach him how to play *kakeng* (the bamboo-pipe gong) and *satongtong* (the bamboo slit drum). At the same time, Minister Cheng cracked a joke about the shape of the plastic beaters of *kakeng*, noting that they are similar to slippers.\(^{73}\)

In addition, when a group of journalist interviewed Principal Gao, he said:

> A small school (i.e., Dien Guan Primary School) must find a way that the public can accept its

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\(^{73}\) The Performance of Dien Guan, video recording.
survival. Let small schools become the collecting and distributing centre of culture. And I will try my best to develop Dien Guan Primary School into a beautiful and top-class small school.

Whilst our society is facing westernisation, I attempt to revive Amis musical instruments among the tribal community.74

Obviously, Dien Guan Primary School advances its distinguishing characteristic through developing aboriginal percussion band for maintaining school’s existence.

E Hua Pian Xiang Cheng Guo Zhan (the Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area)

On 10 July 2009, it was a sunny and sultry summer day. The atmosphere of the achievement exhibition was boisterous, which seemed a kind of bazaar or trade fair. Each booth stands for a different aboriginal culture and regional Digital Opportunity Centre.

74 The Performance of Dien Guan, video recording; my translation.
Figure 5.1.4.2. Each booth stands for a different cultural and digital centres. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 5.1.4.3. The performance of Dien Guan Percussion Band. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
On the stage of the festival, Principal Gao Jin-qin introduced Amis musical instruments to the audience of the exhibition before Dien Guan Percussion Band’s performance. The following is his introduction:

Kakeng is made of several bamboo pipes, in which each inner tube has different depth.

There is a tuning ruler whereby we can measure the pitch of bamboo tubes. Bamboo drums [the bamboo slit drum] are made of Gigantic Bamboo. Gigantic Bamboo, Taiwan Giant Reed and Thorny Bamboo all are good material for making Amis musical instruments. These Amis musical instruments are almost extinct, and are made by the elders of Amis people in Taitung for handing down from one generation to another. The first tune of Dien Guan Percussion Band is *ci tong hua kai* (*ci tong flower in bloom*). The second tune is *Yi Wan song* (the praise of *Yi Wan* area). And the third tune is *ma lan gu niang* (*ma lan girl*). The final tune is *can lan ri zi de* (glorious day)” said Principal Gao Jin-qin.\(^75\)

The first piece, *ci tong hua kai* (coral tree in bloom), is a creative aboriginal song, which was the first song on the first day. The second piece, *Yi Wan song* (the praise of *Yi Wan* area), is a traditional aboriginal song from *Sa’aniwan* sub-tribe. Yi Wang (i.e.,

\(^75\) The Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area record by Jen-hao Cheng, digital video recording (MVI-0006.AVI and MVI-0007.AVI), the Square of Jiang Jie-Shi Memorial Hall, Taipei, 10 July 2009; my translation.
Sa’aniwan) is an Amis sub-tribe located in the far north of Taitung County. The third piece, *ma lan gu niang* (*ma lan* girl), is an Amis folksong which originates from the *Falangao* tribe (i.e., *Ma lan* in Mandarin) in Taitung County. The fourth piece, *can lan de ri zi* (glorious day), is also an Amis folksong.

For the first piece, *ci tong hua ka* (coral tree in bloom), five students sang and other students accompanied them on *kakeng* (percussion bamboo tubes) and *satongtong* (bamboo slit drums). Then *kakeng* (percussion bamboo tubes) supported the main melody with harmony (cf. Subsection 6.1.3). *Satongtong* (bamboo slit drums) mainly supported the bridge between two musical phrases (cf. Subsection 6.1.2). As regards the human voice, there were five students using their shouting voice to loudly sing “*Ila kapah! Shryizhi ren,*” which means “young people keep up the good work.”

In the second piece, *Yi Wan song* (the praise of Yi Wan area), there was an instrumental trio (i.e., the panpipe, the percussion bamboo tube and the bamboo slit drum) in ensemble. In the performance, there were five students in front of the band to blow the main melody. Percussion bamboo tubes supported with distinct resonance, and then bamboo slit drums supported with a lively rhythm. In *Ma Lan Gu Niang* (*Ma Lan* girl), panpipes functioned as a prelude to lead the singing. At first, 5 students

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76 Creative Digital Opportunity, video recording.
77 Ibid.
played the prelude on panpipes, then four of them turned to singing the lyric along with the main melody. Then these singers were accompanied on percussion bamboo tubes and bamboo slit drum by other students.

Musical instruments

There were only three kinds of musical instruments (i.e., tipolo (panpipes), kakeng (percussion bamboo tubes) and satongtong (bamboo slit drums) in the Dien Guan Percussion Band at the festival. Firstly, kakeng (percussion bamboo tubes) is a type of multi-tube percussion idiophone, which is struck with a non-sonorous object (a pair of plastic beaters). The player carries out the action of striking. The player can decide to strike a tube with a pair of plastic beaters (cf. Subsection 6.1.3). In ancient times, when an Amis man was married to a woman, the members of woman’s family respectively held different lengths of bamboo tubes striking on the ground to produce rhythmic tune for delivering a wedding message to the whole village and inviting villagers to come (see Figure 6.1.3.1). In contemporary performance, by contrast, the innovated kakeng (percussion bamboo tubes) can play in either solo or ensemble (see Figure 6.1.3.2). It also functions as the giver of harmony and rhythm in ensemble. Traditionally, the kakeng needed several people to play in ensemble for delivering a message. However, nowadays a bunch of percussion bamboo tubes only needs one
performer to play it in musical performance (see Figure 5.1.4.1 and 5.1.4.3). The change of performance context and instrumental structure is the effect of “modernisation”. As regards the functional harmony and large ensemble, it implies the effect of “Westernisation.”

Secondly, satongtong (the bamboo slit drum, Figure 5.1.4.4) is a percussion idiophone, which is struck with both hands (non-sonorous object) (cf. Subsection 6.1.2). Satongtong originally functioned as boar scarers at camping sites, and nowadays function to provide ostinato in order to create a steady rhythm in musical performance. In ancient times, satongtong were usually hung on a tree or put on a player’s legs to play it. Nowadays satongtong are fixed on a metal stands due to advanced manufacturing technology that modernises the traditional instruments. Also, the audience of satongtong shifts from animal to human. Thus, the change of the performance context affects the function and significance of the bamboo slit drum. Moreover, the instrumental “modernization” and the alternative performance context can be interpreted as “strategies” for seeking the “musical energy” of survival.

Figure 5.1.4.4. *Satongtong* (the bamboo slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 5.1.4.5. *Tipolo* (the panpipe). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Thirdly, *tipolo* (the panpipe, Figure 5.1.4.5) is a wind instrument proper. The *tipolo* of Dien Guan Percussion Band belongs to the innovated panpipe of the Amis people (cf. Subsection 6.1.1). The traditional function of *tipolo* was to signal as Amis were pasturing their cattle or hunting animals. By contrast, nowadays the panpipe is primarily created for musical performance. It functions as the main melody in Dien Guan Percussion Band. As Nettl suggests, non-Western traditional musical property has been adopted and shows prominence in the large ensemble, and the change of central elements is “Westerisation.” For example, the supplementary pipes of the *Amis* bamboo are the phenomenon of “Westerisation”. Also, the change of concert situations and patronage systems is “modernisation”. For instance, the performance context of the Amis panpipe shifted from signal making in pasture and hunting to displaying the musical features of Amis people in exhibitions, and the patronage system shifted to the Ministry of Education. Both of these phenomena are examples of “modernisation”.

Bendrups suggests that festivals are a dynamic contract zone due to the fact that culture is on display. Here, I borrow the idea developed by Bendrups for identifying

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82 Ibid.
“four types of contact”: “international contact”, “intra-national contact”, “inter-clan contact”, and “intergenerational contact.”\textsuperscript{84} This helps to decode the meaning involved in the festival. \textit{E Hua Pian Xiang Cheng Guo Zhan} (the contact zone of the Achievement Exhibition of Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area) has four levels of contexts (three level of meaning); namely, domestic context, inter-aboriginal groups context, intra-Amis context, and inter-generational context.

In sum, the scheme of \textit{E Hua Pian Xiang} (Creative Digital Opportunity for Rural Area) is the best strategy for the Amis people. The Amis students learn computer skills to store and present their own culture online to the world; and they exploit the budget of the digital scheme to revive the Amis traditional instruments, even though some of them are invented traditional instruments of the Amis people. This strategy can be regarded as getting “musical energy” to fit the Amis Musical tradition in contemporary society.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 17–21.  
5.2 Cultural Villages

Cultural villages take Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments from their traditional performance contexts to contemporary tourist contexts that have even invented traditions. Cultural villages have changed the way aboriginal musical instruments are performed nowadays, benefited economic development in local areas, established and further developed the musical tradition of Taiwanese aborigines within Taiwan, and given the Taiwanese public an opportunity to understand aboriginal culture.

This section is composed of three parts: 5.2.1 Taroko National Park, 5.2.2 Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park, and 5.2.3 Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village.

Subsection 5.2.1 examines the performance context of the Seediq-Truku musical instruments in Taroko National Park. And subsection 5.2.2 discusses how Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park to recontextualise various musical instruments from different aboriginal groups in their performances. As regards subsection 5.2.3, it analyses the development of aboriginal instruments in tourist context within Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village.

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86 Taking, as my inspiration, Hobsbawm, Invention of Tradition, 1.
5.2.1 Taroko National Park

Most Truku (a sub-tribe of the Seediq people) live around or in the Taroko National Park (located in the north east of Taiwan). For this reason, Taroko National Park conserves not only the natural ecology of the Taroko area, but it also preserves the culture of the Truku people. For instance, the Buluowan of Taroko National Park includes an exhibition hall, where Truku arts and crafts are displayed, and multimedia presentations to introduce viewers to the natural ecology of Taroko Park and Truku history and culture. The National Park hires Truku musical groups to sing their folksongs and to play gaugau Jew’s harps (cf. Subsection 6.11.3) and tatuk xylophones (cf. Subsection 6.11.1) in the plaza in front of the visitor centre every even weekend. The Park frequently holds workshops to teach local aborigines how to make gaugau Jew’s harps for preservation and for sale to tourists as souvenirs. But the National Park is double-edged, conserving the natural ecology but preventing aboriginal people from hunting animals and cutting down trees. Therefore, Taroko National Park has an obligation to offer job training and job opportunities for local Truku people.

The aim of this subsection of this study is to examine the representation of Truku musical instruments (cf. Section 6.11) through performance in Taroko National Park. The main ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken from 10 July to 20 August.
2009. First-hand data was obtained by ethnographic observation and by
photographing and video recording. In recent years, there has been increasing interest
in practical performance contexts of musical instruments in ethnomusicological
scholarship. In past decades, most Taiwanese scholars have preferred studying the
performance contexts of the unchanged musical tradition to studying the practical
performance contexts of aboriginal musical instruments. Little attention has been paid
to practical performance contexts of aboriginal instruments in national parks.
Understanding practical performance contexts is more helpful for knowing how to
maintain the survival environment of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments.

The name Taroko National Park is not directly related to the cultural village on
the surface. Parts of Taroko National Park function as a cultural village, with Truku
people involved in the displays. It provides a stage for the musical performance of the
Truku people. Musical instruments play an important part in Truku music. Taroko is a
synonym of Truku and close to the Japanese pronunciation. Taroko National Park is
traditionally the cultural habitat of the Truku people. It offers tourists the chance to
experience Truku traditional music and the music of invented tradition. Musical
performances in the Park are entrusted to indigenous musical groups in the Taroko
area (e.g., the Hualien County Tarot Bay Cultural Heritage and Tourism Society, the

88 Ibid.
Ecological Autonomous Association of the Tong-Li Sub-tribe, Ketusan Music Studio, and the Ji-Wang Church Chorus).

Taroko National Park is one of the main tourist destinations in Taiwan, especially for Taipei dwellers. For example, I have visited Taroko National Park at least twenty times now. The distance between Taipei and Taroko is approximately 141 km. People take around 4 hours to drive from Taipei to Taroko Park via National Highway No. 5 and Su-Hua Highway. The road of the Su-Hua Highway is particularly winding and dangerous.

When I first arrived at Taroko National Park, I visited the Taroko Visitor Centre to collect information. Within the gallery-like visitor centre, displays were divided into geography, ecology, history, and other topics for introducing information on the Taroko area. Then I decided to visit the historical site in Taroko National Park, that is, Buluowan. Buluowan is a kind of Truku cultural park; its location is separate from the main domestic culture area (i.e., the Han-Taiwanese culture). The distance between the Taroko Visitor Centre and Buluowan is approximately 7.5 km; people can drive or walk there. Taroko National Park has the phenomenon of cultural display. Buluowan contains quasi-aboriginal buildings and displays of Truku artefacts. Truku women demonstrate traditional weaving skills and explain their culture. The souvenir shop offers various commodities of the Truku people (e.g., folk music CDs, aboriginal
jewellery, cell phone pockets, and so on). In addition, I found that gaugau Jew’s harps were sold as souvenirs too.

After observation at Buluowan, I drove my car back to the visitor centre so I could appreciate the musical performance of the Truku people. The outside of the visitor centre is the Taroko Terrace, which functions as a platform for musical performances, attracting and entertaining tourists. A musical concert is held every second Saturday from 15:30 to 16:20, especially during the summer vacation between July and September. If the weather forecast is bad or a typhoon is coming, few tourists will come to Taroko National Park and the concert will be cancelled.

The first performance was a Truku wedding, in which a Truku wedding play was acted. The play was accompanied on the tatuk xylophone in ensemble (Example 5.2.1.1). The distinct rhythm of the tatuk indicates the action of the players. The tatuk xylophone comprises a set of four stiff wooden bars of graduated length, a pair of beaters, and a pair of wooden stands, which are all made of Rhus javanica, Fagara ailanthoides, or Aluerites Fordii. The tatuk xylophone is a kind of percussion idiophone; its bars are struck with a pair of non-sonorous beaters. 89 Several percussion sticks of different pitch are combined to form a single instrument. 90

Example 5.2.1.1. The tune “The Truku Wedding” on the tatuk. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Moderato

![Music notation]

Figure 5.2.1.1. Tatuk (the xylophone). (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

The Ji-Wang Church Chorus was the second performance group. It adopted tunes from Christian music to sing in Truku. Then it employed the Western guitar to accompany its singing (Figure 5.2.1.2). This scene surprised me very much. In light of
Austronesian culture, the adoption of the guitar as a popular musical instrument is part of a Westernised trend in Polynesian and Micronesian music. But the interesting thing was that the chorus did not use the guitar to accompany traditional Truku music.

The third performance was the “Warrior Song” (Example 5.2.1.2). Four tatuk xylophones were together in ensemble, and the players knelt on the grass. While they were playing the tatuk xylophones, tourists were allowed to take photographs beside the tatuk players at a short distance.

Figure 5.2.1.2. The performance of the Ji-Wang Church Chorus. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

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91 Borrow, *Traditional and Modern Music of the Maori*, 34.
92 The symbol in Example 5.2.1.2 means a pair of beaters to strike against each other.
Example 5.2.1.2. The tune “Warrior Song” on the tatuk ensemble. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Allegro
Before World War II, the main function of the tatuk xylophone was to signal in hunting or fighting. Truku lovers employed the tatuk to deliver secret messages. Also, the Truku people frequently accompanied their dancing and folksongs on the tatuk xylophone. In Truku traditional practice, a successful hunter shared the meat of the animal with the whole village. Therefore, a successful hunter would play the tatuk xylophone to inform his family about his survival and to invite villagers to share the meat. Nowadays the tatuk functions entirely as a musical instrument to accompany folksongs and dance for amusement and performance. In addition, the tatuk xylophone mediates the oral transmission of folksongs and traditional values. The tune of the tatuk encodes a pedagogical device because it shares the same tune as Truku folksongs, and Truku folksongs mention ancestral instructions. Thereby people can understand the Truku culture as they can play the tatuk (cf. Subsection 6.11.1).

The final performance was the famous Jew’s harp dance. Seven people performed the dance on the Taroko Terrace music platform. One of them was the real gaugau Jew’s harp player, who stood behind two microphones accompanying the dancers on her gaugau Jew’s harp (Example 5.2.1.3). The other six performers (three boys and three girls) formed three couples to dance the Jew’s harp dance. Each dancer held a gaugau Jew’s harp and pretended to play and dance at the same time. In the past, only a skilled Jew’s harp player could play and dance simultaneously.
Taroko National Park invited local handicraft workshops of the Truku people to display and sell their commodities around the Taroko Terrace. In addition, they sold traditional Truku foods, giving tourists an opportunity to taste different foods. Thus, it can be seen that Taroko National Park provides multi-sensory enjoyment to attract and entertain tourists, such as picturesque scenery (visual), fresh air (smell), Truku music (hearing), and Truku food (taste and smell).

Figure 5.2.1.3. Gaugau (the Jew’s harp) in Taroko Park. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

In the Jew’s harp dance, the gaugau Jew’s harps used by the performers are idioglot guimbardes (i.e., Jew’s harps with a tongue cut out of a frame). The gaugau is made of a bamboo called Phyllostachys bambusoides. The traditional function of

the *gaugau* Jew’s harp was that it was played in courtship and for self-amusement.

Both men and women could play the *gaugau*. The Jew’s harp dance is a duet dance for lovers taking a series of rhythmical steps and pulling the *gaugau* simultaneously (Figure 5.2.1.4 and Example 5.2.1.3). In the past, aboriginal lovers used it to make secret conversation. Aboriginal people played the Jew’s harp for self-amusement whenever they felt lonely. Now the Jew’s harp functions as an ethnic musical instrument and ethnic souvenir (Figure 5.2.1.3). In Taroko National Park, the *gaugau* Jew’s harp is played to entertain tourists. Before the popularisation of the postal service and telephone, aboriginal lovers employed the Jew’s harp to create onomatopoeic tunes or their own special rhythm for conversing secretly with each other during courtship.

In the Japanese period (1895–1945), the colonial government regarded aboriginal musical instruments as instruments of war that would inspire aboriginal people to rebel against Japanese rule. Therefore, the Jew’s harp was banned in some aboriginal communities, and the Japanese introduced the harmonica to replace the Jew’s harp in aboriginal communities. Then the Japanese introduced Western musical education and Western musical instruments to demonstrate that Japan was a modern country.
In the post-war period (1945–present), early post-war society focused on economic development and paid little attention to aboriginal culture. Since the 1970s, Taiwanese society expanded the middle class, and many middle-class people could afford domestic trips to remote aboriginal villages or cultural villages to appreciate different cultures. Consequently, aboriginal culture functions as exotic commodity, and Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments gradually became a symbol of aboriginal culture. For example, the gaugau Jew’s harp is sold as an ethnic souvenir in Taroko Park (Figure 5.2.1.3), and Taroko National Park employs the Truku Jew’s harp dance to promote the development of tourism (Figure 5.2.1.4 and Example 5.2.1.3).

Figure 5.2.1.4. The Jew’s harp dance. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Example 5.2.1.3. The tune “Jew’s Harp Dance” on the gaugua. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng. 

Moderato

When Taroko National Park was established on 28 November 1986, it was of special significance for the environmental protection movement in Taiwan: it showed that both the public and the government agencies had realised that, against the background of the nation’s four decades of extraordinary economic success, serious damage was being done to its natural resources. According to the National Park Act of the Republic of China (passed in 1972), parks are established to protect the natural scenery, historical relics, and wildlife; to conserve natural resources; and to facilitate scientific research and promote environmental education.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Taroko National Park, “General Information”; my translation.
Article 1: Be it enacted for the purpose of preserving the nation’s unique natural scenery, wild fauna and flora and historic sites and providing public recreation and areas for scientific research, that is hereby created the National Park Law.

Article 8.3: “National Park concession” refers to the operations that provide necessary and appropriate visitor support for recreation and tourism and which adeptly protect the park’s resources.

Article 8.6: “Culture/historic area” refers to the area that is designated for the preservation of important prehistoric sites and monuments of historic value.95

Through the aforementioned Articles, the National Park Act regards Truku culture as a historical relic (i.e., cultural heritage) of Taroko National Park. But the patronage of musical performances at the Park seems to lack a direct relationship to Taroko historical relics. It seems closer to public recreation and tourism.

In the light of “transculturation,” the Truku people suitably arranged their folk music, handicrafts, and food for the particular representation in Taroko National Park.96 Through this arrangement, the Truku people control the tastes of Han Taiwanese in reference to the music, handicrafts, and food in the Park. Before World War II, Japanese rulers introduced Western musical instruments to aboriginal

96 Cf. Pratt, Imperial Eyes.
To suppress the ideology of Taiwanese aboriginal rebels. In post-war Taiwan, the government of the Chinese Nationalist Party used Western music education and Chinese music as an instrument for demonstrating the modernity of the ROC and for uniting diversity under a great China. Between 2000 and 2008, the government of the Democratic Progressive Party emphasised the Austronesian origin of Taiwanese to show cultural differences from China. For this reason, Formosan aboriginal people have many opportunities to self-represent their culture and music. The DPP government continued to conduct Western music education in Taiwan due to globalisation. Nowadays the Truku people exploit Western music theory to arrange their traditional music and to capitalise their culture as commodity to control tourists’ tastes for exoticism and to maintain simultaneously their group identity and livelihood.

As a cultural village functions as a “contact zone” in postcolonial thought, many levels of meaning are involved in the musical performances at Taroko National Park. In the domestic context, Truku people sang songs in their mother tongue and played their distinct musical instruments to entertain tourists, especially Han Taiwanese. Most domestic tourists are Han Taiwanese. The process of the musical performance was not just to satisfy the tourists’ needs, but also to maintain the group

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identity of the Truku people to show their different culture to other Taiwanese. In fact, the music, culture, and language of the Truku people is entirely distinguished from Han Taiwanese and other Formosan aboriginal groups. Moreover, the otherness of the Truku people has been recognised by Taiwan’s Government. The Truku people were originally categorised under the Atayal. But, after 250 years of separation, language differences between the Truku and Atayal make it difficult for them to communicate with each other. Also, the Truku people have a good reputation for their musical tradition, the tatuk xylophone in particular. These factors help the Truku to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups; as a result, the Government recognised the Truku people as the twelfth aboriginal group in Taiwan in January 2004 (cf. Figure 6.11.1).

The folksongs of the Truku people in earlier times were known to be sung solo for self-entertainment. However, to entertain tourists in the contemporary tourist context of Taroko National Park, the folksongs of the Truku people are sung in unison or chorus form. The musical performance at Taroko National Park frequently changes to attract tourists back again in a short time. For instance, owing to the Christian religion of the Truku people, Truku musical groups sometimes appropriate tunes from church music to sing in Truku lyrics to enrich their repertoire. As Nettl suggests, the change of performance context and patronage system is a phenomenon of
“modernisation.” Thus, it can be clearly seen that the traditional performance context and patronage have already changed into a new form. This change could be a disaster for aboriginal music or a win-win situation for the Truku community and Taroko National Park. Admittedly, the musical scheme in Taroko National Park is a good tactic for maintaining the musical tradition of the Truku people, before finding a better strategy, since I see that the Truku people gain a great deal of new “musical energy” from the musical performances at Taroko National Park to survive in contemporary Taiwan society. The Taroko Park scheme not only creates employment opportunities for the Truku people, but it also provides the Truku people with a stage for self-representation, to display their musical tradition and invented tradition.

5.2.2 Tai Wan Yuan Zu Min Wen Hua Yuan Qu (Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park)

Tai Wan Yuan Zu Min Wen Hua Yuan Qu (Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park [TIPCP]) is located in the San Di Men Township of Pingdong County (the far southwest of Taiwan), separate from the main domestic “Han-Taiwanese culture” areas. San Di Men Township is traditionally one of the hometowns of the Paiwan and Rukai people. TIPCP is run by the Taiwan Government and is affiliated to the Council

— Nettl, Study of Ethnomusicology, 353.
of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan. Their exhibitor, choreographer, and
performers are almost all Taiwanese aborigines.

Figure 5.2.2.1. Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Over the last three decades, Taiwanese musical instruments have been re-
contextualised in cultural villages and tourist contexts. While focusing on these
contexts and the processes of musical transformation, a study of Taiwanese aboriginal
musical instruments in cultural villages and tourist contexts can provide insight into
their contemporary meaning.\textsuperscript{99} It is important to understand the existing form of

\textsuperscript{99} Johnson, “Reconceptualising Eisä,” 196.
aboriginal instruments. People who want to maintain aboriginal traditional instruments must understand their contemporary performance contexts.

Since the 1980s, there has been rapid growth in the domestic tourist industry in Taiwan. The mission of TIPCP is to present the authentic culture and musical performances of Taiwanese aboriginal groups and to provide the Taiwanese public with correct aboriginal knowledge. TIPCP claims that their cultural performances (e.g., ritual, music, and dance) all attain the agreement and permission of elders from each Taiwanese aboriginal group.100

The Council of Indigenous People chose San Di Men Township in Pingdong County to construct their cultural village for preserving Taiwanese aboriginal culture and presenting authentic cultural performances to tourists. The cultural park depends on musical performance as a significant element of cultural tourism because it is “an experience in observable form of otherness.”101 To be specific, the aural and visual elements of the aboriginal show provide tourists with a clearly taste of aboriginal music and dance materials. Music, dance, and ritual have been adapted for tourists, despite which cultural performances in Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park are rooted in long-established traditional elements.102 As Peter Dunbar-Hall states,

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100 Sheng-shiong Bao, conversation with author, 4–5 September 2009.
“boundaries and frontiers” are “sites” into which tourists are allowed entry or they are constrained from levels of cultural-insider experience and potential knowledge.\textsuperscript{103}

This conception questions how much cultural knowledge is willingly provided by cultural insiders (performers) and how far tourists are involved in local culture in tourist contexts.

I obtained permission from TIPCP to observe their performance; I did my ethnographic fieldwork in TIPCP on 26 February 2008 and 4–5 September 2009. I interviewed Mr. Sheng-shiong Bao (a Rukai), the art director of TIPCP, about the performance of aboriginal music. I also transcribed Example 6.13.1.1 The music of “Mivachi” of the Tao (see Subsection 6.13.1).

\textsuperscript{103} Dunbar-Hall, “Culture, Tourism and Cultural Tourism,” 174.
There are many civilian houses and speciality shops with aboriginal carvings along the road to TIPCP, albeit they are not part of the cultural park. The scenery seems to indicate to tourists that they are coming into an aboriginal village. After paying the admission fee, they are given a welcome ceremony in the entrance square. In the ceremony, the performers salute the visiting tourists by firing fourteen calcium carbide-bamboo firecrackers. The number of firecrackers stands for the fourteen different aboriginal groups in Taiwan.104

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104 In the nineteenth century, the Dian Guang sub-tribe of the Amis people used the thundering sound of calcium carbide-bamboo firecrackers to frighten invaders away as well as to function as a bird scarer on farms. Calcium carbide is put into a bamboo tube, and then water is dripped upon the carbide to form acetylene gas in the bamboo tube. A thundering bang is triggered when the acetylene gas is ignited.
There is a Culture Exhibition Centre next to the entrance square. The Culture Exhibition Centre preserves and displays numerous aboriginal relics and traditional musical instruments. For example, an archaic yuubuku Jew’s harp of the Tsou is a magnified photograph in the Centre. The archaic yuubuku is a single heteroglot guimbarde; it has a metal lamella attached to a rare fish-like frame (Figure 5.2.2.3 cf. Subsection 6.15.4).\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{105} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16.
Beside the entrance square, there are shuttles, providing tourists with rides to and from the Song and Dance Hall. The performance theme of the Song and Dance Hall on 26 February 2008 was the cultural show of the Tao.

![A symphonic ensemble of aboriginal percussion instruments. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

The preface to the show was a symphonic ensemble of aboriginal percussion instruments (Figure 5.2.2.4). Mr. Bao selected various idiophonic instruments from different aboriginal groups to form a pan-aboriginal percussion ensemble.

Traditionally, aboriginal people do not play musical instruments in large ensembles. Nettl defines the “prominence of the large ensemble” as one of the “Westernisation” features in non-Western traditional musical culture. In the ensemble, a Chinese

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*dagu* (a large drum, Figure 5.2.2.4) was played to enhance the bass range of the aboriginal percussion instruments.

The symphonic percussion ensemble comprised the wood xylophone (cf. Subsection 6.2.1), the wood slit drum (cf. Subsection 6.1.2), the percussion stick, percussion bamboo tubes (cf. Subsection 6.2.5), the Jew’s harp, and the Chinese Dagu. Such symphonic ensembles are actually a form of invented tradition.

Sometimes tourists can be presented with quite new aboriginal musical instruments, which are labelled ‘*chuan tong*’ (traditional). 107

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According to the Hornbostel-Sachs system, the percussion stick (Figure 5.2.2.5) is represented by the numbers 111.211 and means “individual percussion sticks.” The structure of the percussion stick is about 170 cm in length and 12 cm in diameter.

Figure 5.2.2.6. Percussion bamboo tubes. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

The numerical entry for percussion bamboo tubes (Figure 5.2.2.6) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.232 and means “sets of percussion tubes.” Three bamboo tubes were bundled together by rope. Each bamboo tube was about 150 cm long and 10 cm in diameter.

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109 Ibid.
After the aboriginal ensemble, the main performance of the cultural show was the music of “Mivachi” of the Tao people (see Example 6.13.1.1). The song “Mivachi” was sung by the Tao while they used wooden pestles to stamp millet by turn in the millet harvest ceremony (see Subsection 6.13.1). It is worth mentioning that the performers did not sing the song “Mivachi,” instead a sound recording was played through the stereo. They simply focused their attention on the action of pounding (Figure 5.2.2.7). In contrast, the Tao traditionally stamped and sang the song “Mivachi” at the same time.
The final show was the blessing ceremony (Figure 5.2.2.8). The ceremony was created to farewell the audience. It imitated somewhat the Pas-taai ceremony (the Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits) of the Saisiat people. The performers invited all the audience to dance hand in hand in a circle. One performer wielded a long bamboo streamer, symbolically warding off bad luck.

The cultural performances of TIPCP endeavour to attract international tourists (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and American) and present a picture of multicultural or Austronesian country to them. By the same token, the cultural park can show cultural difference to domestic tourists (i.e., Han Taiwanese) who attend the cultural performance or see the show on YouTube.\(^\text{110}\) TIPCP provides choreographed performances of dance, music, and sight with instrumental players to display a distinct

symbol of aboriginal culture that has captured the national and international imagination. Aspects of Taiwanese aboriginal culture are performed not only through musical forms, but also through ones that represent part of the complexity of Taiwanese identity.\textsuperscript{111}

Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park always seeks to present authentic cultural performances to tourists. However, the balance between the needs of tourists and authentic aboriginal performance is problematic.\textsuperscript{112} Sheng-shiong Bao gave an example that “a tourist group left midway through a cultural show in TIPCP due to boring traditional ritual. Therefore, TIPCP had to modify their performance into something more entertaining.”\textsuperscript{113} In the light of the concept of “boundaries and frontiers,” many tourists bought tickets to the park seeking a taste of cultural otherness with entertainment. Therefore, the Park might be unable to meet the needs of tourists if the performers offer cultural performances which are too authentic or too serious. In order to meet the needs of tourists, Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park limited the level of traditional culture in their cultural performances. In other words, the exhibitor and choreographer adapted traditional aboriginal rituals into a

\textsuperscript{111} Cf. Johnson, “Recontextualizing Eisã,” 196.
\textsuperscript{112} Sheng-shiong Bao, conversation with author, 4–5 September 2009.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
condensed representation with vivacious music and dance, stereo, colourful lighting, and eye-catching costuming to cheer up tourists.\textsuperscript{114}

The Council of Indigenous Peoples was founded by the Han-Taiwanese government to show their respect to Taiwanese aboriginal peoples and to protect aboriginal rights. When the Democratic Progressive Party became the ruling party of Taiwan in 2000, the country entered a new era, and the Democratic Progressive Party emphasised multicultural policy in Taiwan. Taiwanese aborigines have many cultural traits that are seen as unique vis-à-vis Han-Taiwanese culture. For instance, the languages of Taiwanese aborigines belong to the Austronesian family. Aboriginal music and instruments distinguish Taiwanese aboriginal culture from other cultures.\textsuperscript{115} Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park has possibly become an instrument to manipulate the “symbolic systems” and “cultural performance” of Taiwanese aboriginal groups for making a statement with reference to Taiwan's multicultural policy. Such manipulation of aboriginal symbols and performance is not one-way from the government or tourist industry: Taiwanese aboriginal peoples employ such manipulation to earn economic and social capital. For instance, the exhibitor, choreographer, and performers of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park are almost all Taiwanese aborigines; they have the opportunity to present images of

\textsuperscript{114} Cf. Dunbar-Hall, “Culture, Tourism and Cultural Tourism,” 175.
\textsuperscript{115} Cf. Johnson, “Recontextualizing Eisä,” 197.
themselves to outsiders by exploiting aboriginal cultural heritage as attraction and commodity.\footnote{116}

5.2.3 Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun (Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village)

\textit{Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun} [Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village (FACV)]\footnote{117} was the first and is the most successful cultural village in Taiwan. FACV constructed ten different aboriginal villages (Atayal, Amis, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Saisiat, Thao, Tsou, Rukai, and Tao) in the theme park. Because of this, tourists can visit different aboriginal villages in FACV without making long and tiresome domestic journeys.

Mr. Jang-i Chang is a private entrepreneur and founder of \textit{Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun} (Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village). He invited Dr. Chijiiwa Suketaro (1897–1991), Dr. Chi-lu Chen, and other people to instruct him on Taiwanese aboriginal architecture when FACV was built between 1983 and 1986. Dr. Chijiiwa was a Japanese specialist who had collected authentic data with reference to the traditional architecture of Taiwanese aboriginal groups between 1925 and 1945 during the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945). His PhD thesis, “The Residence of the Takasago Tribe in Formosa,” became a vital reference book for Taiwanese aboriginal

\footnote{116}{Cf. Cunningham, “Interaction of Cultural Performances, Tourism, and Ethnicity,” 81–85.}
\footnote{117}{Formosa is the alternative name of Taiwan.}
Dr. Chi-lu Chen is a senior Taiwanese anthropologist in reference to Taiwanese aboriginal culture. Therefore, the various aboriginal buildings of *Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun* (Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village) are authentic and exquisite. The varied architecture of FACV gives evidence of industrialisation, manufacturing skills, and civilisation.

Also, FACV provides a rare stage for the musical tradition of Taiwanese aborigines: it is one of the main performance sites of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in contemporary Taiwan. Under the spotlight of tourism, the context enables Taiwanese aboriginal people to maintain, adapt, and invent their traditional musical instruments in contemporary use. In FACV, the show and repertoire change frequently; they supply novel things, offered exclusively in their park. Ergo, this allows a precious opportunity to observe change in the form, function, and meaning of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. The aim of this subsection is to explore the performance context of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in contemporary use.

*$Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun* (Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village) is an ideal place to go with children, a funfair with rides and excitement. However, FACV offers attractions to all age groups, investing vast capital in exotic architecture. Even an

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118 Takasago is the Japanese name for Taiwanese aborigines.
adult tourist would not feel out of place. FACV is separated from areas of the main domestic “Han-Taiwanese culture” by a long drive in central Taiwan. The admission fee is NT$700 for adult and NT$550 for child, which is quite expensive. The entrance ticket has a map to guide tourists through the facilities of the cultural village. At the entrance, a free train trip is provided through a classical European garden to the funfair area. The architecture of the funfair area is in Arabian style: the theme of One Thousand and One Nights (Arabian Nights) provides tourists with a sense of exoticism.\textsuperscript{119}

With the growing impact of globalisation, the consumption of cultural “otherness” is a common phenomenon in Taiwan. FACV displays “ethnic” buildings from Taiwanese and foreign cultures, and some are influenced by foreign cultures. FACV combines influences from different countries. Such cultural tourism may involve not merely foreign countries but also cultural parts of Taiwan. FACV duplicates the traditional architecture of Taiwanese aboriginal groups in elaborate displays.\textsuperscript{120} For example, when tourists come into Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun (FACV), they find that FACV has been divided into three theme areas. The first theme area is “European Garden.” The second theme area is “Formosan Aboriginal Culture.” And the third theme area is “Joyful World.” FACV resembles an aboriginal version of

\textsuperscript{119} Cf. Hendry, Orient Strikes Back, 2.  
\textsuperscript{120} Cf. ibid.
Disneyland in Taiwan. The ‘Disneyfication’ of FACV can be seen as a phenomenon of globalisation and the Americanisation of entertainment.\textsuperscript{121}

\textit{Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun} (Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village) displays the aboriginal peoples and cultures represented; it offers aboriginal food, drink, and goods, advertised as unbeatable elsewhere in Taiwan. The commercialisation of aboriginal materials is extremely obvious. Many shops throughout the place sell a variety of handicrafts and souvenirs. There are also specialist stalls selling ethnic foods in the different aboriginal villages of FACV. FACV attempts to create a space that induces tourists to feel that they have entered a different cultural area. Also, FACV adds atmosphere by employing different groups of Taiwanese aborigines to feature in cultural exhibits and performances.\textsuperscript{122}

Ordinary Taiwanese are curious about others, too. Paul Greenhalgh suggests that

From 1889 to 1914 people brought from all over the world to be put on display for the “gratification and education” of others became one of the predominant features of universal exhibitions . . . characterizes this movement from an interest in objects to an interest in human


\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 20.
beings as the transformation of people into objects.\textsuperscript{123}

The “‘gratification and education’ of others” is also a display feature of FACV. The cultural village seems to treat aboriginal people as a commodity, displaying human beings to visitors.\textsuperscript{124} Human beings were involved in the exhibitions in FACV. The cultural village seeks to create picturesque \textit{tableaux vivant} of daily aboriginal life in various Taiwanese aboriginal villages (i.e., the human showcases of subordinate people). They have carefully built various aboriginal buildings found in Taiwan.\textsuperscript{125} In postmodernism, cultural villages overlap with theme parks and museums, so FACV resembles a living museum and invites visitors to participate in displays or performances instead of “standing in awe” or in “hushed silence” and being in “glass cases.”\textsuperscript{126} For example, there is a DIY area of instrumental experience in FACV’s Bunun village. Tourists are welcome to join an ensemble playing “The Stamping Pestles Tune of the Bunun People.” Owing to the fact that the public have problems recognising the classical musical notation, FACV adopts numbered notation to carve each part of the tune on stones for the tourists’ convenience. The following contrasts numbered notation (Example 5.2.3.1) with musical notation (Example 5.2.3.2).

\textsuperscript{123} Greenhalgh, \textit{Ephemeral Vistas}, 82.
\textsuperscript{125} Cf. Hendry, \textit{Orient Strikes Back}, 51.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 8.
Figure 5.2.3.1. Durdur (stamping pestles). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Example 5.2.3.1. The numbered notation: “The Stamping Pestles Tune of the Bunun People.”
Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

x - / x - / x - / x - /x - / x - / x - /x 0/
Part 2 /0 - /0 - /0x - /0x - /0x - /0x - /0x 0x/0x x0/0x xx/0x x0/ 0x 0x/0x x0/0x xx/0x
x0/
/ 0x 0x/0x x0/0x xx/0x x0/0x 0x/0x xx/0x xx/0x x0/0x 0x/0x x0/0x xx/0x x0/
Part 3 /0 -/0 -/0 -/x0 x0/xx 0/xx x0/xx 0/x0 - /x0 - /x0 x0/xx 0/xx xo/ xx 0/x0 - /x0 -/
x0 x0/xx 0/xx xo/ xx 0/x0 - /x0 -/ x0 x0/xx 0/xx xo/ xx 0/
Part 4 /0 -/0 -/0 -/0 -/0x xx/0x xx/0x x0/0x 0x/0x x0/0x xx/0x x0/0x 0x/0x x0/0x
xx/0x x0/0x 0x/0x x0/0x xx/0x x0/0x 0x/0x x0/
Part 5 /0 - /0 - /0 - /0 - /0x xx/0x 0x//0x xx/0x 0x/0x xx/0x 0x//0x xx/0x 0x/0x xx/0x
0x//0x xx/0x xx/0x xx/0x 0x//0x xx/
Part 6 /0 - /0x - /0x - /0x - /0x - /0x - /0x - /x0 x0/xx - / x0 x0/xx - /x - / x - / x0 x0/xx /x0 x0/xx - / xx - / xx - /x0 x0/xx - /xx x0/ xx - / x - /

Example 5.2.3.2. The musical notation: “The Stamping Pestles Tune of the Bunun People.”
Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

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The *durdur* stamping pestles of the Bunun are percussion idiophones. Wooden stamping pestles are struck against slabs of stone. In the Hornbostel and Sachs instrument system, Bunun stamping pestles would be classified as 111.21, Percussion sticks. The Bunun stamping pestle was originally a farm tool for separating the grain from the chaff. Now it functions as a ritual and musical instrument. Before agro-industrialisation, the stamping pestles tune was just a by-product of stamping grain. After agro-industrialisation, the activity of stamping grain can still be seen in the ritual of the Bunun harvest festival. The stamping pestle became the symbolic instrument of the harvest ritual.

Figure 5.2.3.2. *Taturtur* stamping pestles of the Thao. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

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After visiting the Bunun village, tourists can easily find the Stone Tune theatre between the Tsou and Thao villages. The Stone Tune theatre is a musical platform, where aboriginal instrumental specialists perform and introduce their musical instruments for tourists. I did separate ethnographic fieldwork in Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village on 4 August 2007 and 19 September 2009. In 2007, the interactive zone of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments comprised four instrumental players. In 2009, there were merely two players in the interactive zone. The main reason for the reduction was that the global economic depression impacted on FACV. The cultural village is a private company, and its personnel budget must be controlled. As a result, the instrumental players in the interactive zone were extremely busy performing their aboriginal instruments. For example, one of the players held two wooden stamping pestles of different lengths to perform the taturtur stamping pestles ensemble tune of the Thao people (cf. Subsection 6.14.2). However, in the traditional performance context, each player held only one wooden stamping pestle in the Thao stamping pestles ensemble.

Also, there is a phenomenon of cultural hybridity in the Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village. For instance (Figure 5.2.3.3), a Seediq performer wore a Tsou garment to play a Han-Taiwanese tune “Vang Chun Hong” (Adolescent Longing,
Example 5.2.3.3) on *lalingedan* (the double-pipe nose flute of the Paiwan).

*Lalingedan* comprises a pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes.

A Paiwan noble man played *lalingedan* during courtship. It was used to deliver messages. A player could play *lalingedan* when grieving over someone’s death. Only males and nobles were eligible to play *lalingedan* (the nose flute). For this reason, *lalingedan* was a marker of social status in the Paiwan community (cf. Subsection 6.5.4). Now most Taiwanese regard the nose flute as the unique instrument of the Paiwan people, even though other aboriginal groups have similar musical instruments. Hence, the nose flute has also become a marker of Paiwan ethnicity. By playing a Han-Taiwanese tune on *lalingedan*, FACV attempts to use popular and familiar Han-Taiwanese songs to entertain domestic tourists.
Figure 5.2.3.3. A Seediq plays *lalingedan* (the double-pipe nose flute of the Paiwan).
(Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Example 5.2.3.3. The tune “Vang Chun Hong” on *lalingedan* (the double-pipe nose flute of the Paiwan). Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Moderato

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Example notation here...}
\end{align*}
\]
Example 5.2.3.4. The tune “Gao Shan Ching” of the Tsou on the Balinese-like xylophone.

Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Allegro

\[ \text{Transcription} \]
Finally, moving to another case, there were two kinds of xylophones in the Stone Tune theatre: the invented kokang (the Amis xylophone, cf. Figure 6.1.1.2) and the Balinese-like xylophone. On 19 September 2009, an Amis performer wearing a Thao garment played the invented Tsou tune “Gao Shan Ching” (High Mountains Green, Example 5.2.3.4) on the Balinese-like xylophone. The bamboo xylophone resembles the xylophone of Balinese gamelan (i.e., tinglik). As can be seen, the globalisation of Balinese gamelan has affected the structure of the Taiwanese aboriginal xylophone in FACV. The keys of the created bamboo xylophone are made of pieces of bamboo instead of whole bamboo tubes. In the Hornbostel and Sachs instrument system, the created bamboo xylophone would be classified as 111.212, Sets of percussion sticks: several percussion sticks of different pitch are combined to form a single instrument.\(^{128}\) Nettl’s term “exaggeration” can explain the change in the aboriginal instrument’s structure for feeding tourists’ expectations of exoticism.\(^{129}\)

Not only tourists consume the otherness of Taiwanese aboriginal cultural heritage. Both Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Village (the employer) and aboriginal exhibitors (the employees) are consumers of Taiwanese aboriginal cultural heritage. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett claims, “Heritage is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past . . . Heritage is a “value added” industry . . .

\(^{128}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 564.
Heritage produces the local for export.”\textsuperscript{130} Obviously the theme park is a kind of tourist, cultural, and “value added” industry, where Taiwanese aboriginal culture, ritual, and music are processed and packaged as commodities. Through the transculturation process, subordinated Taiwanese aborigines gain some control in inverting their power situation in contemporary Taiwanese society.\textsuperscript{131} Despite \textit{Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun} (Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village) being a non-aboriginal owned corporation, it provides aboriginal exhibitors with an opportunity to self-represent their own culture and music. It provides many employment opportunities for Taiwanese aboriginal peoples, and it pays tribute to the Taiwanese aboriginal past and sets out a utopian vision for developing an ideal aboriginal tradition.

In the light of globalisation, the past as authentic cultural experience vanishes into a culturally undifferentiated world. As can be seen, the simulation of Taiwanese aboriginal performance and buildings in FACV becomes necessary to feed people’s nostalgia in contemporary society.\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Jiu Zu Wen Hua Cun} (Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village) allows tourists to enter the aboriginal world of yesterday and fantasy to feed tourists’ sense of nostalgia. This process is the ritual of theme parks. FACV separates tourists from the world outside and carries them into a fantasy world,

\textsuperscript{131} Stone, \textit{Theory for Ethnomusicology}, 204.
releasing them from their ordinary pressures.
Chapter 6

Self-Representation: How Indigenous Musicians Understand Their Musical Practice

This chapter presents Taiwanese aboriginal self-representation apropos musical instruments to reveal how indigenous musicians understand their musical practice. The term “self-representation” is used here to refer to the way aboriginal peoples within Taiwanese society choose to represent their musical instruments and musical thought.¹ In this research, the aim is to present the perspectives of Taiwanese aboriginal.² For this reason, I avoid presenting my personal opinion on aboriginal instruments and their musical thought. The data primarily comes from my ethnographic fieldwork. I attempts genuinely to present aboriginal self-representation and musical thought through relating cultural insiders’ opinions, transcribing ethnographic recordings into musical notation, and displaying instrumental photographs or illustrations. In order to present a panoramic perspective concerning Taiwanese aboriginal instruments, this chapter provides secondary literature to make up the deficiency of ethnographic data for helping people to understand the musical practices of Taiwanese aborigines. Furthermore, the purpose of this chapter is not only to study aboriginal instruments and their musical practice, but also to reveal the indigenous taxonomy of aboriginal instruments by means of analysing the etymology of indigenous names and indigenous musicians’ interviews.

¹ Taking, as my inspiration, Thorley, “Self-representation and Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory,” 8.
² Ibid.
Chapter 6 is composed of fifteen sections based on ethnic groups to introduce various aboriginal instruments (i.e., Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pazih-Kahabu, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq-Truku, Siraya, Tao, Thao and Tsou). For the sake of analysing instrumental structures, I have classified Taiwanese aboriginal instruments by using the Dewey decimal system of the Hornbostel-Sachs classification.\(^3\) The size of each section depends on how indigenous musicians understand their musical instruments. For instance, some cultural insiders have a profound knowledge about their instruments and musical practice. By contrast, some informants know a little about their musical instruments due to cultural grey-out. For this reason, some informants were unable to explain why aboriginal instruments have such indigenous names or musical practices. In addition, it is difficult to find references on some newly discovered musical instruments from my first-hand ethnographic fieldwork.

6.1 Amis Musical Instruments

The majority of Amis people traditionally live in Hualien County, Taitung County, and Pingtung County (Figure 1). They are the largest aboriginal group in Taiwan, and their total population numbers about 177,000.\(^4\) Moreover, the Amis is a matrilineal and age-set society. The age-set system of the Amis divides boys into an age hierarchy. Each age group within the hierarchy has its own name; the boys live, work, and receive honour and punishment together. As regards music, there is an abundance of musical instruments in Amis culture. The following subsections are Mr. Sawtoy Saytay’s and Ms. Falahan’s self-


\(^4\) Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Amis.”
representation apropos their musical instruments, who are two of the main culture bearers amongst the Amis people. In particular, Saytay is a famous indigenous musician and musical instrument maker, who founded the Kakeng Musical Group in Taiwan.

6.1.1 Kokang (the xylophone)

Picture

![The traditional kokang (xylophone). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

**Etymology**

*Kokang* is the indigenous name for the xylophone in Amis society. The derivative *mi-kokang* comprises the verbalising prefix *mi-* and the lexeme *kokang*; it means “to play the xylophone.” Moreover, *dodang* and *takingkingan* are both alternative names for the *kokang*. There is no literature concerning the semantic studies of the Amis musical

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instruments. In my opinion, kokang, dodang, and takingkingan are all onomatopoeic. The word ta-kingking-an comprises the prefix ta-, the lexeme kingking, and the suffix -an.

Description

Many aboriginal instruments originally did not function as musical instruments. For instance, the kokang was designed to scare animals and employed by Amis farmers to dissuade animals from eating ripe crops.

Construction

The numerical entry for the kokang xylophone according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.212.7 There are two types of xylophones in Amis society; namely, the traditional kokang and the recently invented kokang. In the Japanese period (1895-1945), several percussion sticks of different materials (i.e., hard wood, soft wood, and bamboo) were combined to form the traditional kokang (xylophone) and to produce distinctive tones.8 The percussion sticks of the traditional kokang in Figure 6.1.1.1 are made of bamboo tubes, which are suspended in mid-air from stands by ropes. Also, slim bamboo is fixed between the ropes to prevent the percussion sticks from clashing with one another. The ends of each tube are closed; each tube is about 8 cm in diameter and 75 cm long. Nowadays the Kakeng Musical Group uses bamboo and wood from the Zanthoxylum ailanthoides and the phoenix tree to make the invented kokang (Figure 6.1.1.2). The percussion sticks are from 6 cm to 10 cm in diameter and at least 90 cm long. They extend the range (i.e., the percussion sticks) of the traditional kokang to

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7 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
8 Cf. Namoh, Amis sapalengaw, 97.
form the invented *kokang*, meeting the needs of contemporary performance. And the Amis makers have improved the *kokang* by fixing all the percussion sticks on a high stand instead of on a suspended stand (Figure 6.1.1.2).

![Figure 6.1.1.2. The recently invented *kokang* (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2008).](image)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Initially, *kokang* was a kind of agricultural implement. In the late 19th century, the primary function of *kokang* was to scare birds, polatouches, monkeys, or wild boars from eating planted arable crops. At that time, farmers squatted to play the traditional *kokang*. The reason for the playing posture is unclear. Farmers possibly squatted to save their energy or to defend themselves from animal attack.

**Current function and contexts of use**

The more recent *kokang* is played for entertainment. Nowadays, the Amis play this type of *kokang* to accompany Amis dancers in various festivals and other performance
contexts. Also, it works as one of the main melodic instruments in contemporary aboriginal percussion bands, and the player stands to play it for performance. According to Nettl, such changes (e.g., changes in the number of percussion sticks, concert situations, and patronage systems) are symptoms of “modernisation.”

Sources where it appears

People can find the traditional kokang in Si-Fu Elementary School, Hualien County. And people have the opportunity to appreciate performances of the invented kokang by the Kakeng Musical Group or others.

Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, only the Amis, the Seediq-Truku, and the Atayal have xylophones. However, the Seediq-Truku and Atayal still have xylophones with the traditional four-percussion sticks. Additionally, there is a related Austronesian xylophone in Madagascar. Malagasy women play the atranatrana xylophone across their laps, accompanying children’s dancing or playing for religious purposes.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) Cf. Subsection 3.4.2 The Preservation of Aboriginal Instruments; Nettl, *Study of Ethnomusicology*, 351.
\(^{10}\) “Atranatrana.”
6.1.2 Satongtong/pikongkongan/dondong (individual percussion tubes)

Picture

Figure 6.1.2.1. Type A: satongtong (the bamboo slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.1.2.2. Type B: pikongkongan (the trunk gong). (Reproduced from Lenherr, “Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” 112.)
Etymology

Individual percussion tubes have different indigenous names in Amis culture. *Kokang* not only means the xylophone; it also means the bamboo slit drum. The derivative *mikokang*
means “to play the bamboo tube gong.”11 Mi- is the verbalising prefix. The lexeme kongkong means “to knock on the drum.” The derivative pi-kongkong-an comprises the lexeme kongkong and the circumfix pi- -an, which means “the drum made from a tree trunk”; the drum used to rouse the village to action.12 The Amis also call the bamboo slit drum “satongtong (in the Torik sub-tribe).”13 Mitotok to’ awol, kokang, kakeng, and pa’ pa are all alternative names for the bamboo slit drum.14 The Amis call the rectangular mortar dodang or lolen.15 Additionally, they call the contemporary wood slit drum tatotokan.16

Description

The Amis people have four types (type A, B, C and D) of individual percussion tubes. Type A is satongtong (the bamboo slit drum); type B is pikongkongan (the trunk gong); type C is dodang (the rectangular mortar). At present, Type B and type C are no longer used. As for type D, tatotokan (the wooden slit drum), it has been used to play in performances since the Japanese period (1895-1945).

Construction

The numerical entry for the four types of individual percussion tubes in Amis society according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system are represented by the number 111.231.17 The

12 Cf. ibid., 99.
14 Lin, “Saparadiw a lalosdan.”
16 Hayu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao,” 167.
17 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
following is an examination of the physical characteristics of the four types of individual percussion tubes.

(1) The satongtong bamboo slit drum (Type A, depicted in Figure 6.1.2.1) is made from a bamboo tube with a slot; the bamboo tube’s ends are closed. It is approximately 50 cm long and 10 cm in diameter.

(2) The pikongkongan trunk gong (Type B, depicted in Figure 6.1.2.2) is made from the hard outer layer of a rotten trunk; its ends are open. The pikongkongan is about 42 cm long and from 34.5 to 37.5 cm in diameter.\(^{18}\)

(3) The dodang rectangular mortar (Type C, depicted in Figure 6.1.2.3) is made from a log, which has a narrow opening chiselled into it. The dodang is around 150 cm long and 40 cm high.

(4) The tatotokan contemporary wood slit drum (Type D, depicted in Figure 6.1.2.4) is made of hard wood (i.e., *Michelia Formosana*) with a slot; its ends are closed. Its size is about 100 cm in length, 40 cm in breadth, and from 15 to 25 cm in height.

In addition, the modern satongtong (Figure 6.1.2.5) is made from a piece of giant bamboo with a narrow slit; the two ends of the bamboo tube are closed. The length of the modern satongtong is approximately 60 cm, and its diameter is approximately 20 cm. The pitch depends on the capacity of the bamboo tube and the thickness of the lip.\(^{19}\) The bamboo slit drum is hung from a metal stand (cf. Figure 5.1.4.4).

\(^{18}\) Taiwan Academy, “Treasure of Taiwan.”
\(^{19}\) Montagu, *Origins and Development of Musical Instruments*, 182.
Figure 6.1.2.5. The structure of the modern *satongtong* bamboo slit drum. (Illustration by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Traditional function and contexts of use

*Satongtong* (the bamboo slit drum), *pikongkongan* (the trunk gong) and *dodang* (the rectangular mortar) traditionally have different functions and contexts of use. Before World War II, the *satongtong* bamboo slit drum (Type A) was usually hung on a tree or was put on the player’s legs to play it; it originally functioned as a boar scarer at a camping site.\(^{20}\) Ling points out that “the main function of the *pikongkongan* in ancient times was to make a signal through the rhythm of drumming to deliver a message (e.g., assembly or emergency) to tribesmen.”\(^{21}\) Furthermore, Lenherr claims that “the

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., 197.
*pikongkongan* trunk gong [Type B] was beaten with sticks to provoke tribesmen before a headhunting expedition.”22 In former days, the rectangular *dodang* (Type C) functioned as a mortar for pounding millet with pestles. The Amis turned the rectangular mortar upside down to drum it with pestles.

**Current function and contexts of use**

*Tatotokan* (the wood slit drum) and *satongtong* (the bamboo slit drum) have new functions and contexts of use in the present day. After World War II, the *tatotokan* wood slit drum (Type D) replaced the *dodang* rectangular mortar due to its portability. The Amis people used the weaving trough of the Seediq-Truku as a wood slit drum to play in various aboriginal festivals. Nowadays the modern *satongtong* bamboo slit drum (Figure 6.1.2.5) is played for entertainment. Particularly, the modern *satongtong* is used to play *ostinati* in order to steady the rhythm in an ensemble of aboriginal instruments.

**Sources where it appears**

The four types of individual percussion tubes in Taiwan can be found in the following settings. The *satongtong* (Type A) pictured in Figure 6.1.2.1 is displayed in the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung County. By contrast, the modern *satongtong* (Figure 6.1.2.5) is used in the Kakeng Musical Group. As regards Type B, a *pikongkongan* trunk gong is preserved in the Museum of the IEAS. As for Type C, people can find the *dodang* rectangular mortar in the Amis community or in museums. The *tatotokan* wood slit drum can be easily found in various aboriginal performances.

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22 Lenherr, “Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” 112.
Similar/related instruments

Many Austronesian instruments are similar to the individual percussion tubes of the Amis people. The *kango ’ngo’an* of the Saisiyat (see section 6.9.2) is similar to the *satongtong* (Type A). The *pikongkongan* trunk gong (Type B) is similar to the *dung dung kaxui zunga* trunk gong of the Pazih-Kahabu (see section 6.6.2). The *dodang* rectangular mortar (Type C) is similar to the *logo* slit drum of Samoa. Samoan people use a heavy stick to beat the *logo* to summon villagers to worship. Nowadays all aboriginal performance groups in Taiwan have a wooden slit drum (Type D).

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6.1.3 Kakeng (stamping tubes/percussion tubes)

Picture

Figure 6.1.3.1. The traditional *kakang*. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

*Kakeng* is the indigenous name for stamping tubes/percussion tubes in Amis society.\(^\text{24}\)

For further information is unavailable.

Description

Sawtoy Saytay (the Amis informant) claims that “musical instruments should be continually developed. In light of contemporary technology, *kakeng* still cannot be played

\(^{24}\) Sawtoy Saytay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 28 July 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taitung City.
in various modes.” Accordingly, the invented *kakeng* is made in different modes to meet the needs of different repertoires.25

**Construction**

The numerical entry for *kakeng* stamping tubes according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the number 111.232.26 The bottom of all the bamboo tubes is blocked off by bamboo nodes. The pitch of the *kakeng* depends on the depth of the bamboo tubes. In other words, the height of the internal nodes influences the pitch of the bamboo tube.27 Traditionally, *kakeng* bamboo stamping tubes are struck against the floor by a group of players. By contrast, the invented *kakeng* (Figure 6.1.3.2) is a bunch of percussion tubes, which are struck with a pair of plastic beaters by a player. The player can decide which pitch (tube) to strike with the beaters. Moreover, the structure of the invented *kakeng* comprises seven giant bamboo tubes. The diameter of each bamboo tube is approximately 10 cm. The height of each bamboo tube is approximately 1 metre. Each bamboo tube has nodes of different heights whereby it can produce an air column of a different length. The player of the invented *kakeng* can utilise a pair of flat beaters to strike and cover the opening of a bamboo tube, and the tubes will produce different pitches. In Figure 6.1.3.2, the invented *kakeng* has seven tubes in a bundle; the hollow central tube functions as a support for the remaining six closed tubes are, which are tuned to a pentatonic scale: C-D-E-G-A-C.

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25 Saytay, interview.
26 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
27 Saytay, interview.
Example 6.1.3.1. A tune of the traditional *kakeng* used in weddings. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

\[
\text{Example 6.1.3.1. A tune of the traditional *kakeng* used in weddings. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.}
\]

Traditional function and contexts of use

Saytay, an indigenous musician from the Torik sub-tribe of the Amis, believes that the *kakeng* originated from the Falangaw tribe of the Amis people in Taitung County. Many elders, particularly those aged in their seventies and eighties, experienced playing the traditional *kakeng* at weddings. Before World War II, both the bride’s and the groom’s families negotiated the marriage. When the negotiation was completed, the bride’s family began to play the *kakeng* to inform the villagers that a wedding was coming.\(^{28}\) Elders pointed out that “there was no fixed tune of traditional *kakeng* in the old days. The primary thing was to play the *kakeng* by improvisation.”\(^{29}\) At the wedding, each member of the bride-to-be’s family held a long bamboo tube to stamp the ground to inform villagers of the wedding feast (see Figure 6.1.3.1 and Example 6.1.3.1). This practice was banned during the Japanese period. In the post-war years, Han neighbours frequently complained about the noise of the *kakeng*. Therefore, the practice gradually fell away due to the change in lifestyle. The practice of playing the *kakeng* is still alive in the memories of older Amis.\(^{30}\)

\(^{28}\) Ibid.
\(^{29}\) Ibid.
\(^{30}\) Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

The invented *kakeng* (Figure 6.1.3.2) is used as a solo instrument or in an ensemble. The invented *kakeng* comprises a bundle of five or six bamboo tubes. This means that one player can play many bamboo tubes at the same time. In contemporary performance, the invented *kakeng* can be played solo or in an ensemble. It provides harmony and rhythm when played in an ensemble (cf. Subsection 5.1.4).

![Image of Kakeng](image_url)

*Figure 6.1.3.2. The invented *kakeng*. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

Sources where it appears

The Kakeng Musical Group is located in Taitung City, and it devised the invented *kakeng*. The group is invited to perform at various aboriginal festivals and concerts.

31 Ibid.
SimilarRELATED instruments

Many Austronesian people have similar stamping tubes/percussion tubes. The *takan* of the Thao (see Subsection 6.14.3) and the *tatabuan* of the Siraya (see Subsection 6.12.4) are both similar to the *kakeng*. The only difference is that *kakeng* stamping bamboo tubes are longer than the others. In addition, the Tongan people used a set of bamboo tubes of different lengths to stamp on the ground when accompanying the *me’elaufola* dance in the old days.\(^{32}\) Also, Fijians hit *derua* (bamboo stamping tubes) on mats on a floor to accompany singers and providing a low drone.\(^{33}\)

6.1.4 Takeling/tavelelele (the forged bell)

Picture

![Figure 6.1.4.1. Takeling (the forged bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

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\(^{32}\) Moyle, *Tongan Music*, 69–70.

**Etymology**

The Amis people call the forged bell “*takeling.*” *Keling* means “the sound of a bell.”\(^{34}\) *Takeling* is tied behind the waist, dangling from the wearer’s side or back.\(^{35}\) *Ta-keling* comprises the verbalising prefix *ta-* and the onomatopoeic lexeme *keling*, which means “to produce the tinkle of a bell.” The alternative name for *takeling* in the Vataan sub-tribe of the Amis is *tavelele*.\(^{36}\) The meaning of *tavelele* is unknown.

**Description**

*Takeling* probably derive from the forged bell of Puyuma. Before World War II, forged bells were easily found throughout Taiwan. In particular, the domination of the Puyuma people between the 17th century and the 19th century possibly influenced the diffusion of the forged bell in Eastern Taiwan (see Subsection 5.1.2 Puyuma Millet Harvest Ceremony).

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *takeling* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the number 111.242.122.\(^{37}\) *Takeling* comprise a wooden hanger and a forged bell. The *takeling* (Figure 6.1.4.1) is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron. The conical forged bell has a diameter of about 6 cm at the top and 8 cm at the bottom, with a 1 cm slit from top to bottom, where the vibration is strongest. The top is attached to a 25 cm long forged tube, and a 12 cm metal clapper is attached inside by

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\(^{34}\) Namoh, *Amis sapalengaw*, 86.

\(^{35}\) Ibid., 239.

\(^{36}\) Cf. Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi.” 208.

\(^{37}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
wire. The wooden hanger is carved and is attached to the bell with steel wire or leather cord.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The social function of takeling was traditionally to deliver messages. The takeling forged bell sounds loudly when people wear it while running or dancing. Its main function is to transmit messages amid the Amis community. For instance, four messengers bore takeling and ran in the streets to inform villagers when a great ceremony was coming. Each Amis man originally wore a magnificent costume with a takeling on his waist to animate the atmosphere of ceremonial dance through the resounding clang.

Current function and contexts of use

Now the takeling is seldom used in Amis society. The Kakeng Musical Group uses the takeling as one of their percussion instruments due to its loud and clear timbre.

Sources where it appears

People can find an example of takeling in the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University. The takeling in Figure 6.1.4.1 is kept by the Kakeng Musical Group in Taitung.

39 Ke, “A mai zu di qi yuan chuan shuo ji yi zhu sheng huo,” 900.
Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, many aboriginal groups have forged bells, such as the *kringkringan* of the Kavalan (see Subsection 6.4.4), the *tjaudring* of the Paiwan (see Subsection 6.5.1), the *tawliulr* of the Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.2), the *taodring* of the Rukai (Subsection 6.8.1), the *kilikili/sackig* of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.5), and the *moengū* of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.2).

6.1.5 Kiangkiang (the gong rattle)

Picture

![Image of Kiangkiang](image_url)

Figure 6.1.5.1. *Kiangkiang* (the bronze gong rattle). (Courtesy of Falahan, Aboriginal Tribe.)
Etymology

*Kiangkiang* is the name for the bronze gong rattle in the Kiwit sub-tribe of the Amis people. The name means “to beat the bronze gong in mourning.” In addition, the lexeme *takongkong-ay* means “the player who beats the gong in mourning.”

Description

In Taiwan, there is no historical literature regarding the *kiangkiang* of the Amis.

Construction

In the Hornbostel and Sachs system, the *kiangkiang* would be classified as 112.121. The *kiangkiang* is made of bronze; its structure is the same as that of a flat gong with a raised rim and boss. Bronze pellet bells are hung from both sides of the bronze gong. The *kiangkiang* bearer himself does not go through the movement of striking the bronze gong. Percussion results indirectly through the bearer’s movement. The *kiangkiang* player aims to yield clusters of sounds or noises and to not let individual strokes be perceived.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The *kiangkiang* does not function as a bronze gong but functioned as a rattle in the *Miadop* (hunting) ceremony and the *Misalifon* (epidemic dispelling) ceremony. In the *Miadop* (hunting) ceremony, young men from the same age hierarchy dug a pit. All of them bore the *kiangkiang* behind their waists to make a clanging sound. Then they

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40 Namoh, *Amis sapalengaw*, 239.
41 Ibid., 92.
42 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
43 Cf. ibid.
formed a circle and chased a boar, to scare it by the sound into falling into the pit.

Whenever their tribe had an epidemic or had suffered one misfortune after another, a cikawasay (wizard) chose by bamboo divination a group of young men from the same age hierarchy to follow him in performing the Misalifon (dispelling epidemic) ceremony. The cikawasay (wizard) wore banana leaves and ginger on his head to lead the Misalifon ceremony. Each young man hung a tinkling kiangkiang from his neck and held a broom to sweep the ground from door to door to dispel evil.44

Current function and contexts of use

The revival of kiangkiang (the bronze gong rattle) also relates to the revival of traditional Amis rituals. From the 1920s, the Japanese colonial government forced the relocation of villages of the Kiwit sub-tribe of the Amis. The majority of Amis people converted to Christianity, which interrupted the Miadop hunting ceremony and the Misalifon dispelling epidemic ceremony. For this reason, the kiangkiang was not used. However, in the early 21st century, an awakening of cultural consciousness has followed the loss of tradition amongst the Amis people. In 2009, the Makuta’ay sub-tribe (the neighbour of the Kiwit sub-tribe) revived the Misalifon epidemic dispelling ceremony, and the Kiwit sub-tribe revived the Miadop (hunting) ceremony in the summer of 2010.45 Amongst the possessions of her uncle’s family, who belong to the Kiwit sub-tribe of the Amis people in Hualien County.

44 “Thinking in the Amis Way.”
45 Ibid.
Similar/related instruments

The kiangkiang is possibly a variant of the forged bell (e.g., the takeling of the Amis, the tawlriulr of the Puyuma, and the taodring of the Rukai) due to similar usage. There is no related literature. In the past, the Amis of the Kiwit sub-tribe bought ready-made bronze gongs from the local market instead of making their own forged bells.

6.1.6 Sowasan/tangfor/cohcoh (the bronze rattle)

Picture

Figure 6.1.6.1. Sowasan (the two-pronged jingle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Figure 6.1.6.2. *Cohcoh* (the head pellet rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.1.6.3. *Tangfor* (the waist pellet rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

Different rattles have different indigenous names. *Sowasan* is the indigenous name of the two-pronged jingle in Amis culture.\(^\text{46}\) The Amis called bronze pellet rattles *tangfor* or *cohcoh*.\(^\text{47}\) *Cohcoh* is pronounced *tsohtsoh*. In the Vataan sub-tribe, people called the leg rattle and the waist rattle *coh-coh*.\(^\text{48}\) In the Malan tribe, people called the leg rattle and the waist rattle *tangfor*.\(^\text{49}\) In addition, *pakarongay* (the early youth) is the *tangfor* bearer. The word *pakarongay* comprises the prefix *pa-*, the lexeme *karong*, and the normalising suffix *-ay*. The lexeme *karong* indicates the errand of delivering messages.\(^\text{50}\) And *pa-karong*

\(^{46}\) Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 204.
\(^{47}\) Yang, “tangfor/cohcoh.”
\(^{48}\) Cf. Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 209.
\(^{49}\) Cf. Sun, “Polyphony Songs Study,” 41.
\(^{50}\) Chang, “Selal.”
indicates “to run an errand to deliver a message.” Moreover, *pa-karong-ay* means “the person who runs an errand to deliver a message.”  

**Description**

The Amis people used various bronze rattles from time immemorial. For example, I can trace the history of *tangfor* (the bronze pellet bell) back to the Jingpu Culture in prehistory from 1000 BP to 500 BP in radiocarbon years (cf. Subsection 4.1.1). As reported by Mary Ling’s record, the Falangaw tribe, the Vataan sub-tribe and the Kiwit sub-tribe of the Amis people still had *sowasan* (the two-pronged jingle) before the 1960s. Additionally, there is no historical literature concerning *cohcoh* (the head pellet rattle).

**Construction**

Different rattles have different numerical entries in the Hornbostel-Sachs classification system. The numerical entry for the *sowasan* according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 112.11. The numerical entry for the *tangfor* waist rattle/leg rattle and the *cohcoh* head pellet rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 112.13. The following examines the physical structure of the various bronze rattles. Firstly, *sowasan* (the two-pronged jingle, Figure 6.1.6.1) is about 4.2 cm long, and the prong of the *sowasan* is about 3 cm long. Secondly, *cohcoh* (the head pellet rattle, Figure 6.1.6.2) comprises

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51 Ibid.
52 “20110400043”; Tsang, “Recent Advances in the Iron Age Archaeology,” 156.
53 Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 204-06.
54 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 565; see Appendix B.
55 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
hundreds of small bronze pellet vessels, which are strung in a row on a cord. Each of the small pellet vessels has an internal metal pellet. Thirdly, *tangfor* (pellet rattles, Figure 6.1.6.4) were made of bronze in the past, but most contemporary *tangfor* (Figure 6.1.6.3) are made of brass for its appearance and durability. The diameter of each vessel is about 3.5 cm. The internal metal pellet in each vessel is about 0.6 cm in diameter. The leg rattle and the waist rattle are both comprised of several pellet bells in a row attached to a belt. Each of the pellet bells encloses a rattling metal pellet which strikes against the walls of the vessel. Sometimes different pellet bells also strike against each other.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Different rattles have different traditional functions and contexts of use. Before World War II, a wizard bore the *sowasan* two-pronged jingle when dancing to cure patients.\(^{56}\) The *cohcoh* head pellet rattle was worn in tribal dancing, making a boisterous sound. As far as I know, only the Amis people wear the bronze pellet rattle on their right lower leg; young people who serve in the men’s house especially wear the *tangfor* leg pellet rattle. I observed that the Amis people of Hualien County prefer to bear the *tangfor* on their right legs. In contrast, the Amis people of Taitung County prefer to bear the *tangfor* on their waists. The *tangfor* is the rank marker of early youth *pakarongay* in Amis age groups. Amongst the Amis, the *tangfor* functions as a warning rattle while the early youth *pakarongay* are delivering messages. Through listening to the tinkle of the *tangfor*, tribal elders can supervise the early youth *pakarongay* to run errands for them (see etymology).\(^{57}\)

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\(^{56}\) Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 206.

\(^{57}\) Cf. Yang, “Tangfor/cohcoh.”
Current function and contexts of use

Bronze rattles have new functions and contexts of use in contemporary society. At present, the sowasan two-pronged jingle and the cohcoh head pellet rattle are both displayed in museums as cultural relics of the Amis people. In respect to the tangfor, the tinkles of the leg rattle and the waist rattle created a boisterous atmosphere in various aboriginal festivals. Rattles sound in response to body movement, which also helped intensify the rhythm of a dance and steady the dance step clearly and tidily.\(^58\) And tangfor (the pellet rattle) is a good substitute for takeling (the forged bell) due to its portability and ease of playing (cf. Subsection 6.1.4).

Sources where it appears

Bronze rattles appear in different places. The sowasan two-pronged jingle is well-preserved in the Museum of the IEAS. The cohcoh head pellet rattle is displayed in the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University. Also, it is easy to find the tangfor in Amis society and aboriginal festivals.

Similar/related instruments

The kameLin waist rattle of the Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.5) is similar to the tangfor waist rattle.

6.1.7 *Datok (the Jew’s harp)*

**Picture**

![Datok](image)

*Figure 6.1.1. *Datok* (the Jew’s harp).* (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

**Etymology**

Jew’s harps have various names in Amis culture. *Datok* is the indigenous name for the Jew’s harp in Amis; it means “to produce sound by mouth.” *Datuk* is another name for the *tiftif* musical bow in the Amis language.\(^{59}\) However, Yang remarks that “toftof is the indigenous name for the Amis Jew’s harp in Hualien County; by contrast, *tiftif* is the indigenous name for the Amis Jew’s harp in Taitung County.”\(^{60}\) In the Austronesian family, only the Amis pronounce the *d*. For example, a song is called *dadiu* (or *ladiw*).

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\(^{59}\) Saytay, interview.

\(^{60}\) Yang, “Toftof/tiftif.”
The lexemes *da* and *du* are frequently used in relation to musical activities. Both *dadiu* and *datok* use the mouth to produce resonance.\(^{61}\)

**Description**

The physical structure of *datok* (the Jew’s harp) is a reflection of Amis society. Linfok states that “the distinguishing feature of the Amis Jew’s harp is that each *datok* has a *kodoh* (bamboo container). This feature reflects the concept of *nanawir* in Amis society, namely, that everything forms a pair for good luck. Hence, the *datok* Jew’s harp and the *kodoh* bamboo container are twinned with each other; this also indicates the masculine *kodoh* (bamboo container) protecting the feminine *datok* (the Jew’s harp).”\(^{62}\)

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *datok* Jew’s harp according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 121.221 for single heteroglot guimbardes. For the *datok* Jew’s harp with several tongues, the numerical entry is 121.222.\(^{63}\) The physical structure of *datok* (the Jew’s harp) and *kodoh* (bamboo container) is now discussed. *Datok* have a pulling string with a bamboo handle, which is held in the right hand; another string is strung with *kodoh*, which is held in the left hand. The bamboo handle and the *kodoh* both help the player to hold the *datok* firmly. Traditionally, every *datok* has had its own container. Different makers have their own way of constructing the case of *datok*. The tongue of *datok* can be made of bamboo.

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\(^{61}\) Saytay, interview.
\(^{62}\) Linfok is the Amis name of Gui-chao Huang, who is a musical informant; Huang and Huang, “Man tan a mei zu di kou qin datok,” 75–88; my translation.
\(^{63}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
or copper. In Figure 6.1.7.1, the tapering tongue of the datok is made from a thin, flat copper sheet, which has been fastened to the bamboo frame of the datok by string. The frame of datok is made of bamboo; this is about 1.5 cm wide and around 14 cm long. Kodoth are about 15 cm long and about 3 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use
The traditional function and the performance context of datok (the Jew’s harp) relates historically to courtship. If a boy adored a girl, he played datok around the girl’s house to express his adoration. If the girl liked the boy, she would go out and talk to him. If the girl did not like the boy, she would ignore him.


Current function and contexts of use
Now, datok are played for amusement (see Example 6.1.7.1). The tunes of datok also provides a sense of nostalgia, recalling the historical days of Amis life.

Sources where it appears
In Taitung (East Taiwan), the Kakeng Musical Group makes datok (the Jew’s harp).

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Cf. Saytay, interview.
Similar/related instruments

There are many similar Jew’s harps among Taiwanese aborigines (e.g., the Atayal, the Bunun, and the Seediq-Truku).

6.1.8 Nomodac a tipolo (the membrane flute)

Picture

Figure 6.1.8.1. Nomodac a tipolo (the membrane flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Nomodac a tipolo is the indigenous name for the membrane flute. Nomodac means “membrane”; and tipolo means “the flute.” In Ling’s record, tipolo to ngaful is the alternative indigenous name for the membrane flute; in this name, to is a predicate in front of the noun.

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65 Saytay, interview.
66 Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 188.
Description
Taiwanese aborigines have membranophones. In Taiwan, many scholars believe that Taiwanese aborigines have no membranophones due to the lack of skin drums in aboriginal societies. Many people misconceive that the *nomodac a tipolo* is a kind of flute. In fact, the *nomodac a tipolo* is a kind of singing membrane.

Construction
The numerical entry for the *nomodac a tipolo* membrane flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 242.67 *Nomodac a tipolo* (the membrane flute) derives from the material culture of the Amis. Amis work closely with bamboo in daily life. During Saytay’s childhood, children could easily pare a bamboo tube with a knife to make their own *nomodac a tipolo* membrane flute. The instrument modifies its player’s humming by way of a vibrating membrane. The tissue-thin membrane is made from the lining of the bamboo tube.

Traditional function and contexts of use
Traditionally, *nomodac a tipolo* (the membrane flute) functioned as a plaything and a hunter’s flute. In the past, children used the *nomodac a tipolo* to hum children’s ballads and folksongs. Furthermore, hunters utilised the *nomodac a tipolo* to mimic the cries of deer, in order to lure and capture the animal.68

Current function and contexts of use

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67 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 17–19; see Appendix B.
68 Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 188.
Nowadays, *nomodac a tipolo* (the membrane flute) function as musical instruments. The Kakeng Musical Group plays the *nomodac a tipolo* as a solo instrument in their concert tours. The *nomodac a tipolo* can produce a dramatic atmosphere in performance since the player can hum any tune loudly without too much skill.

**Sources where it appears**

The Kakeng Musical Group makes *nomodac a tipolo* in Taitung.

**Similar/related instruments**

Taiwanese aborigines possibly have the only membrane flute in Austronesian culture.

### 6.1.9 Tiftif (the musical bow)

**Picture**

![Tiftif (the musical bow)](image)

*Figure 6.1.9.1. Tiftif (the musical bow). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*
Etymology

There are some indigenous terms for the musical bow in Amis culture. The Amis call the musical bow *tiftif*. *Tiftif* indicates the action of pulling. The other name for *tiftif* is *datok*, which means “to produce sound by mouth.”  

69 *Fetik* indicates plucking the string of the musical bow. *Fetir* is an alternative name of *fetik* for the Coastal tribe, the Falangaw tribe and the MisaPalidaw tribe of the Amis people.  

70 Mary Ling records that *fusilli* is the indigenous name for the musical bow of the Amis.  

71 Su-zhen Lin claims that the Nanshih tribe of the Amis called the musical bow *mifetolic*, and the Falangaw tribe of the Amis people called the musical bow *cifocolay datok*. The meanings for *mifetolic* and *cifocolay* are unknown.

Description

Saytay suggests that *tiftif* (the musical bow) was possibly invented while a hunter was repairing his hunting bow.  

Construction

The numerical entry for the traditional *tiftif* musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 311.121.11.  

74 By contrast, the numerical entry for the invented *tiftif* musical bow (see Figure 6.1.9.2) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 311.121.222.  

75 The structure of the traditional *tiftif* comprises a bamboo bow, a loop and a

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69 Saytay, interview.  
70 Namoh, *Amis sapalengaw*, 47.  
71 Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 189.  
72 Lin, “Saparadiw a lalosidan.”  
73 Saytay, interview.  
74 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.  
75 Ibid.
string. The bamboo bow of the *tiftif* is about 1 cm wide and 60 cm long. A loop made from a leaf functions as the bridge of the string instrument. The loop is attached inside at the top of the *tiftif* and fixed under the string.\(^{76}\) Before World War II, the Amis did not intentionally preserve their traditional musical instruments because the local material was easily found and musical instruments were not too difficult to make due to their simple structure. The structure of the traditional musical bow does not meet the needs of contemporary performance due to low volume.\(^{77}\) Saytay, the *tiftif* maker, invented a *tiftif* with a bamboo resonator; hence, the musical bow can produce a resonant sound and high volume (see Figure 6.1.9.2). The bamboo resonator also functions as a handle for holding. The invented *tiftif* is also equipped with a peg, which can adjust the pitch to any tune.\(^{78}\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Before World War II, a man played the *tiftif* musical bow to a woman to express his adoration of her. The player used one hand to hold the musical bow and used his mouth to function as a resonator, then used the other hand to pluck the string. If the woman liked the man, she would go out and talk to him. If the woman did not like the man, she would ignore him. Therefore, only men were eligible to play the *tiftif* musical bow.\(^{79}\)

\(^{76}\) Cf. Lenherr, “Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines,” 118.
\(^{77}\) Cf. Saytay, interview.
\(^{78}\) Ibid.
\(^{79}\) Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

The invented *tiftif* is specifically designed for performance. Saytay has improved the structure of the traditional *tiftif* to make it stronger and more durable, which is suitable for performance.\(^8^0\) Particularly, the invented *tiftif* is used to play in the concert tour of the Kakeng Musical Group.

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\(^8^0\) Ibid.
Sources where it appears

In Taitung (East Taiwan), the Kakeng Musical Group makes the traditional tiftif and the invented tiftif.

Similar/related instruments

There are related musical bows in Taiwan and Hawaii. Before World War II, most Taiwanese aboriginal groups had the musical bow. For example, the latuk of the Bunun people (Subsection 6.3.6), the ljaljetjukan of the Paiwan people (Subsection 6.5.3), the ratok of the Puyuma people (Subsection 6.7.7) are the existing musical bows in Taiwan. Besides, a similar type of musical bow has been found in Hawaii. The 'ūkēkē is the Hawaiian musical bow; it has two or three strings. Hawaiians played it during courtship.
in former times. In addition, the gáwa (double-stringed musical bow) is found among the Huli people of Papua New Guinea. It is played by both men and women during courtship and entertainment.

6.1.10 No ngoso’a tipolo (the nose flute)

Picture

Figure 6.1.10.1. The invented no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute with internal duct. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.1.10.2. The invented no ngoso’a tipolo end-blown nose flute. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

81 Roberts, Ancient Hawaiian Music, 18.
Etymology

There are several Amis words for nose flutes. *No ngoso’a tipolo* means “the flute of the nose.”\(^{83}\) *A* means “of.” *Ngoso* means “nose.” *Tipolo* is the indigenous name of the flute. *No* is an auxiliary word used in front of a noun in the Amis language.

Description

A comparison of the historical instruments of the Amis with the contemporary *no ngoso’a tipolo* will help in understanding how the Amis nose flutes developed. Ling’s article “The Musical Instruments of the Formosa Amis” recorded the nose flute and the nose whistle in the Vataan sub-tribe of the Amis. The only difference between the nose whistle and the nose flute is that the nose whistle has no finger-holes. The ancient function of the nose whistle was to signal for help when the Amis were besieged in war.\(^{84}\)

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\(^{83}\) Saytay, interview.

\(^{84}\) Ling, “Tai wan a mei zu di yue qi,” 185–220.
Construction

At present, there are four types of no ngoso’a tipolo in Amis society; namely, the no ngoso’a tipolo nose whistle, the traditional no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute, the invented no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute with an internal duct, and the invented no ngoso’a tipolo end-blown nose flute. Firstly, the numerical entry for the no ngoso’a tipolo nose whistle (the left one in Figure 6.1.10.3) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 421.222.11.85 Secondly, the numerical entry for the traditional no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute (the right one in Figure 6.1.10.3) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 421.222.12.86 Thirdly, there is no suitable numerical entry for the invented no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute with an internal duct (Figure 6.1.10.1) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system; however, I extend the numerical entry 421.222.13, which means: mixed sets of end-blown flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes.87

No ngoso’a tipolo (the nose flute) has had various physical structures.

Historically, the Amis drilled mouth- and finger-holes in a bamboo pipe to provide a basic structure. The no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute is made out of bamboo. Any kind of bamboo can be used to make the nose flute, but the Amis normally use Bambusa dolichoclada Hayata. The nose flute of the Amis originated from the nose whistle without finger-holes. The structure of the ancestral no ngoso’a tipolo comprises two bamboo pipes, both of which have finger-holes. The traditional nose flute did not have six finger-holes. Initially, the nose flute had three finger-holes, but then developed into four, five, or six finger-

85 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
holes. Saytay improves their structure to sustain their performance. Now he also uses wood to make the *no ngoso’ a tipolo*.\(^{88}\) For example, he made almost one hundred nose flutes to conduct an experiment for adjusting the interval between the finger-holes.

Finally, he used an electronic tuner to help himself tuning the instrument and spanning the finger-holes.\(^{89}\) Additionally, I found much similarity between the invented *no ngoso’ a tipolo* nose flute with an internal duct and the invented *no ngoso’ a tipolo* end-blown nose flute (see Table 6.1.10.1).

### Table 6.1.10.1 The finger assignment of the invented *no ngoso’ a tipolo* nose flute with internal duct (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finger-holes</th>
<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

● = cover finger-hole ○ = uncover finger-hole

\(^{88}\) Cf. Saytay, interview.

\(^{89}\) Ibid.
Traditional function and contexts of use

The following explores the traditional contexts and functions of *no ngoso’ a tipolo* (the nose flute). Historically, the nose whistle was a personal instrument for giving a signal in battle. Saytay states that both men and women could play *no ngoso’ a tipolo* (the nose flute). In his opinion, only males had free time to make the nose flute. In contrast, females had their household duties and farm work; therefore, they had no time to make musical instruments in former days. The *no ngoso’ a tipolo* was played to mimic an animal’s sound. If the animal responded to the sound, the hunter would seek and kill the animal. Also, a hunter used the nose flute for self-entertainment or to console his nostalgia while he was awaiting the prey’s appearance.90

Current function and contexts of use

*No ngoso’ a tipolo* has new functions and contexts in contemporary society. Nowadays, the *no ngoso’ a tipolo* nose whistle and the traditional *no ngoso’ a tipolo* nose flute are both preserved in the museum of the IEAS. The traditional nose flutes are not in use since their physical structures cannot meet the needs of performance. Saytay does not want such instruments to disappear. Accordingly, he delicately improves the structure of the traditional nose flute to sustain this performance tradition. The invented nose flute is played in performance; hence, the structure of the nose flute must meet the needs of performance. The invented nose flute has six finger-holes; it can be played in any repertoire.91

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90 Saytay, interview.
91 Cf. ibid.
Sources where it appears

In Taitung, the Kakeng Musical Group makes *no ngoso’a tipolo* (the nose flute). The Kakeng Musical Group hopes that all their performers learn to make the musical instruments of the Amis. Saytay suggests that “when you play your own homemade musical instrument, you can feel the instrument through the mind.”\(^{92}\) That is to say, a player can play a good tune with ease because they understand instrumental performance.

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\(^{92}\) Ibid.
Similar/related instruments

The structure of both the traditional no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute and the invented no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute with an internal duct is somewhat similar to the headhunters’ flutes of the Atayal (see Subsection 6.2.3) and the Seediq-Truku (see Subsection 6.11.10). Their flutes are all duct flutes. By contrast, the structure of the invented no ngoso’a tipolo end-blown nose flute is quite similar to the double-pipe nose flutes of the Paiwan (see Subsection 6.5.4) and the Rukai (see Subsection 6.8.4).

6.1.11 Tipolo (the pan pipe)

Picture

Figure 6.1.11.1. The invented tipolo (the pan pipe). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

In Amis culture, various flutes are called *tipolo*, so *tipolo* is the common name for all kinds of flutes.\(^93\)

Description

Saytay points out that as older generations of the Amis have gradually died off, fewer Amis people have a profound knowledge of Amis culture. The younger generations have an imperfect knowledge of Amis culture.\(^94\) It is difficult to find historical literature which refers to the *tipolo* pan pipe. Initially, the *tipolo* pan pipe had three or four pipes. Now the invented *tipolo* pan pipe has more than ten pipes.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *tipolo* pan pipe according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 421.112.2.\(^95\) Historically, the traditional *tipolo* had three or four pipes. Saytay suggests that limiting the number of pipes was unnecessary; the *tipolo* was simply played for signalling. If the player used a single pipe to signal, he could only play a long note to mingle with short notes; for example, . The listener might have difficulty understanding the meaning of the signal. If the player had more than two pipes to give a signal, he could give an elaborate signal; for example,

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\(^93\) Saytay, interview.
\(^94\) Ibid.
\(^95\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.
, which means “I am here.” The bamboo pan pipe of the Kakeng Musical Group belongs to the invented *tipolo* of the Amis. The structure of the invented *tipolo* (Figure 6.1.11.1) is a set of twelve bamboo pipes in graduated length; the lower ends of the bamboo tubes are closed and the upper ends are open. The edges of all the mouth-holes are smooth and sloping. The diameter of each pipe is 1 cm. The shortest pipe is approximately 4.7 cm long; its pitch is the highest. The longest pipe is approximately 14 cm long; its pitch is the lowest compared with the other pipes. The gamut of the bamboo pan pipe is A₃-B₃-C₄-D₄-E₄-F₄-G₄-A₄-B₄-C₅-D₅-E₅. The scale is heptatonic. The player blows air into a bamboo tube against the sharp rim of the upper open end, confining a ribbon-shaped stream of vibrating air inside the tube.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The traditional *tipolo* functioned as a signalling instrument. The *tipolo* initially did not function as a pan pipe. The main function of the *tipolo* pan pipe was to give a signal when grazing cattle. Many Amis had experience in playing the *tipolo* during their childhood. Before World War II, boys or young men had a duty: pasturing their cattle. If the cattle were hungry, boys or young men would be punished. At that time, boys played the *tipolo* to give a signal and to communicate with each other; for example,
Traditional music was related to daily life or to self-entertainment and the three-pipe *tipolo* is difficult to play in performance.\textsuperscript{99}

Example 6.1.11.1. A tune of the invented *tipolo* pan pipe. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Moderato

\textsuperscript{99} Saytay, interview.
Current function and contexts of use

The Amis people have extended the gamut of *tipolo* (the pan pipe) for performance. Saytay commented that “Amis people preserve their tradition; simultaneously, Amis people need to invent their musical tradition to meet the needs of performance!” He suggested that the Amis should adapt their tradition to meet the performance contexts of contemporary society. The development of Amis musical instruments is based on Amis tradition. Tradition and invention are both quite important. Nowadays, the Amis have extended the gamut of the *tipolo*. The invented *tipolo* can play the main melody in an ensemble; it is especially suitable for playing the folksongs of the Amis (see Example 6.1.11.1).101

Sources where it appears

The Kakeng Musical Group makes the *tipolo* pan pipe in Taitung (East Taiwan).

Similar/related instruments

Nowadays, only the Amis people traditionally use a pan pipe in Taiwan. Albeit, the Seediq-Truku people had a similar pan pipe that is mentioned in their oral history. However, historical examples and further information are unavailable. Also, the Samoan *fa’a’ili* is similar to the *tipolo* of the Amis. The *fa’a’ili* pan pipe of Samoa is comprised of

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100 Saytay, interview.
101 Ibid.
two to five bamboo pipes. *Fa’a’ili* means “to cause to blow.” It possibly functioned as a child’s plaything in olden times.\(^{102}\)

### 6.1.12 The tipolo transverse flute

**Picture**

![Image of the tipolo transverse flute](image)

*Figure 6.1.12.1. The *tipolo* transverse flute. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Etymology**

The Amis also called the transverse flute *tipolo*.\(^{103}\) Before World War II, people in the Nataoran sub-tribe called the transverse flute *babaraton a libau*.\(^{104}\) The word *libau* means the flute, which is related to the *libau* bamboo flute of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.6).

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\(^{103}\) Cf. Saytay, interview.

\(^{104}\) Kurosawa, *Music of the Takasago Tribe*, 430.
Description
An elder told Saytay (indigenous musician) that the flute originated from a bamboo pipe with a hole. The bamboo pipe with a hole could produce sound whenever wind blew over the bamboo. This discovery was a happy accident that inspired the Amis to create the flute.\textsuperscript{105}

Construction
The numerical entry for the \textit{tipolo} transverse flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 421.121.\textsuperscript{106} The Amis make a transverse flute that is based on the traditional factor before World War II. The flute maker revived the \textit{tipolo} transverse flute based on historical literature. In Kurosawa’s record, the \textit{babaraton a libau} transverse flute of the Nataoran tribe was 1.2 or 1.3 m long and had five finger-holes.\textsuperscript{107}

Traditional function and contexts of use
Literature that mentions the traditional function and contexts of use of the \textit{tipolo} transverse flute is unavailable.

\textsuperscript{105} Cf. Saytay, interview.
\textsuperscript{106} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{107} Kurosawa, \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe}, 430.
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the *tipolo* transverse flute is used as a solo instrument in the performances of the Kakeng Musical Group. In Amis musical thought, there was originally no concept of
tonality, and Amis could distinguish different tone colours by covering and uncovering different finger-holes. Historically, the Amis people used to play tipolo (the flute) improvisation by intuition, but Saytay considers such a way as unsuitable for contemporary musical performance. He suggests that:

Amis ancestors created just half a musical instrument. Now I completes the musical instrument. Such musical instruments will become the tradition of the Amis within fifty to one hundred years. If I do not improve the traditional musical instruments of the Amis, the Amis will be unable to put their feeling into musical instruments in performance. Accordingly, the musical instruments of the Amis will be unable to survive in contemporary society.108

For this reason, Saytay has extended the gamut of the tipolo transverse flute and thereby enabling the tipolo transverse flute to play solo in the performances of the Kakeng Musical Group (see Example 6.1.12.1).

Sources where it appears
Saytay makes tipolo transverse flutes (Figure 6.1.12.1) in the Kakeng Musical Group based in Taitung.

Similar/related instruments
In Taiwan, the Bunun had the rarongaton transverse flute (see Subsection 6.3.10). Furthermore, Māori played the rehu transverse flute to embellish song.109

108 Saytay, interview.
109 Flintoff, Singing Treasures, 71.
6.1.13 Bnbn (the bullroarer)

Picture

![Image of Bnbn (the bullroarer)](image)

Figure 6.1.13.1. *Bnbn* (the bullroarer). (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

**Etymology**

*Bnbn* is the indigenous name for the bullroarer in Amis society. The word *bnbn* is onomatopoeic.

**Description**

Mr. De-rang Sung is reviving *bnbn* (the bullroarer). Sung is the chieftain of the Ciwidiyan/Sibillian sub-tribe of the Amis as well as a primary school teacher; he is engaged in reviving the playthings of the Amis.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *bnbn* bullroarer according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 412.22.\(^{110}\) The *bnbn* maker saws a section of bamboo tube and cuts it into slices. He/she then shaves the rectangular bamboo slice into a slender oval shape, and drills a hole in the top of the bamboo slice through which a cotton string is tied. The wooden *bnbn* in Figure 6.1.13.1 is preserved in the Museum of the IEAS; it is approximately 17.5 cm long and 2.5 cm wide.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Historically, the *bnbn* functioned as a toy or a bird-scarer in order to help protect arable crops.

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the *bnbn* is not simply a toy, but it is an indicator of Amis cultural revival. For Amis elders, playing *bnbn* (the bullroarer) helps invoke childhood memories, and Sung (informant) teaches students to make *bnbn* (the bullroarer) in primary schools and thereby hand down such traditional playthings from generation to generation.

Sources where it appears

People can find the *bnbn* in the Ciwidiyan/Sibillian sub-tribe of the Amis in Hualien County.

\(^{110}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24; see Appendix B.
**Similar/related instruments**

Both the *berber* of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.5) and the *euvuvu* of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.6) are similar to the *bnbn*. Moreover, the Hawaiian *oeoe* has been used as a toy.\(^{111}\) The sound of the Māori *pūrerehua/rangorango* indicates the player’s spirit travelling on the winds and taking his words and dreams to listeners.\(^ {112}\)

### 6.1.14 *Grgr* (the whirring disc)

**Picture**

![Grgr whirring disc](image)

*Figure 6.1.14.1. Grgr whirring disc. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)*

**Etymology**

*Grgr* is the indigenous name for the whirring disc in Amis society. The word *grgr* is onomatopoeic.

**Description**

The *grgr* in Figure 6.1.14.1 is illustrated by me from an example in the Museum of the IEAS.


**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *grgr* whirring disc according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 412.22.\(^{113}\) The *grgr* in Figure 6.1.14.1 is made of a wooden slice, which is about 13 cm long and 2.5 cm wide. The shape of the *grgr* is that of a dual-bladed fan, which has two holes each side of the center. There is a loop of string threaded through the two holes. One end of the loop is held in each hand. The *grgr* is swung like a skipping rope to twist the string. An outward pull by the hands spins the *grgr*, and relaxes the pull instantly for allowing the *grgr* to twist the loop again in the reverse direction. Pulling and releasing the string repeatedly produces a whirring sound.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Before World War II, the *grgr* functioned as a plaything for children.

**Current function and contexts of use**

Now the *grgr* is not only a plaything but also a cultural treasure.

**Sources where it appears**

Mr. De-rang Sung (the chieftain of the Ciwidiyan/Sibillian sub-tribe) can make *grgr* (the whirring disc).

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\(^{113}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24; see Appendix B.
Similar/related instruments

The Sakizaya, Māori and the Amis all have the whirring disc. The *berber* whirring disc of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.5) is similar to the *grgr* of the Amis. And Māori used the *porotiti* in healing.\(^{114}\) Also, Māori accompanied songs with the rhythmic humming of the *porotiti* whirring disc in the old days.\(^ {115}\)

6.1.15 Fasiyaw (the singing kite)

Picture

![Figure 6.1.15.1. Fasiyaw (the singing kite) as a billboard. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

\(^{114}\) Dr. Jennifer Cattermole’s comment.
Etymology

In Amis culture, there are several indigenous names for the singing kite and its parts (the Aeolian musical bow). *Fasiyaw* is the name of the singing kite, whose physical structure comprises a kite and an Aeolian musical bow. As for the indigenous names for the Aeolian musical bow, *wao* is the name in the Tapowaray sub-tribe of the Amis. *Focili* is the name in the Makerahay sub-tribe.\(^{116}\) While *wao* indicates the Aeolian musical bow in the Tapowaray sub-tribe, it indicates the kite in Kelantanese Malay.\(^{117}\) Both the Aeolian musical bow of the Tapowaray sub-tribe of the Amis and the kite of the Kelantanese Malay are called *wao*. A possible reason for this coincidence is that Austronesian people are used to using onomatopoeia (e.g., the lexeme *wao*) to name their instruments.

Description

Several historical ethnographic records show the existence of the Amis kite. Dr. Chi-lu Chen’s ethnography included a sketch of an octagon kite, which originated from the Vataan sub-tribe of the Amis. The shape of the Vataan kite is identical to the *baibai* of the Sakizaya,\(^{118}\) although there was no Aeolian musical bow attached to the kite. I found the *fasiyaw* singing kite (Figure 6.1.15.1) in the Makerahay sub-tribe of the Amis in Taitung County on 18 July 2009.

\(^{116}\) Laway, “Wao = Focili.”
\(^{118}\) Dr. Chi-lu Chen is a famous anthropological academician in Taiwan. Chen, “Cultural Helmsman.”
Construction

The Aeolian musical bow is not classified in the Hornbostel and Sachs instrument system. Hornbostel and Sachs state that:

Stringed instruments [are] distinguished by the nature of the vibrating substance but wind and percussion by the mode of sound—excitation ignoring the fact that there are stringed instruments which are blown, like the Aeolian harp.\(^\text{119}\)

However, the Aeolian instruments are classified as “Sympathetic instruments” within the Montagu and Burton instrument system.\(^\text{120}\)

![Diagram of the Aeolian musical bow of the Amis](image)

**Figure 6.1.5.2. The Aeolian musical bow of the Amis. (Illustration by Jen-hao Cheng.)**

Traditionally, the bow is attached to the head of the kite. The string of the Aeolian musical bow is made of a strip of rattan or bamboo (traditional material). The air current vibrates the rattan string of the Aeolian musical bow to produce sound when the kite is flown in the air.\(^\text{121}\) Recently, however, some Amis people have used plastic tape

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\(^{119}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 6.

\(^{120}\) Montagu and Burton, “Proposed New Classification System,” 61; These instruments make their sound by sympathetic vibration.

\(^{121}\) Miller and Williams, *Garland Handbook of Southeast Asian Music*, 32–33.
(contemporary material) instead of a strip of rattan due to ease of availability (Figure 6.1.15.2).^{122}

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

There is little literature concerning the *fasiyaw*’s function and contexts of use. The main function was to make signals through the shape and different coloured tassels of the singing kite (cf. Subsection 6.10.4).

**Current function and contexts of use**

The contemporary *fasiyaw* of the Amis has become a tribal symbol which functions as a billboard of the Makerahay harvest festival at the tribal gateway in Zhenbing, Taitung County. For example, the attention-getting kite (billboard) in Figure 6.1.15.1 says, “Friends are welcome to participate in the Makerahay harvest festival between 15th July and 19th July.” Its social function is mainly for leisure activities. For instance, the Hualien Government held the Kite Festival in the aboriginal community.

In Taitung County in Eastern Taiwan, every November the local government will hold the Sailfish Festival to promote their seafood and tourism. During the festival, the local Makerahay sub-tribe cooperates with local government to run a kite-flying activity to attract tourists who will consume local goods and services. In this case, the aboriginal singing kite adds cultural value to benefit the local fishing industry and tourism.^{123}

Obviously, the patronage system of the singing kite has changed from tribal patron to the

^{122} Cf. Jin-wen Huang, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 12 July 2009, tape/digital recording, Guo Fu Community of Hualien City; Laway, “Wao = Focili.”

heritage industry (part of tourism). The changes of patronage system and performance context are both signs of the modernisation of traditional musical instruments.\textsuperscript{124}

\textbf{Sources where it appears}

People can find the \textit{fasiyaw} singing kite in the Makerahay sub-tribe of the Amis in Taitung County.

\textbf{Similar/related instruments}

Comparing the Aeolian musical bows of Taiwanese aborigines with those of other Austronesian peoples, the Aeolian musical bow of the \textit{fasiyaw} (the Amis, Figure 6.1.15.2) is as bent as the \textit{bebean} of the Balinese. And the \textit{baibai} singing kite of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.4) is similar to the \textit{fasiyaw}. Furthermore, a kite with an Aeolian musical bow can be found among Southeast Asians, where people attach one or more rattan-strung bows under the kites.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{124} Nettl, \textit{Study of Ethnomusicology}, 345–54.
6.2 Atayal Musical Instruments

Traditionally, the Atayal people live in the northern area of the Central Mountain Range in Taiwan. The Atayal now have a population of around 81,000.

The following subsections are Mr. Pawang Iban’s self-representation concerning their musical instruments. Iban, who can play various Atayal instruments, is an indigenous musician and intellectual from the Chiagalu sub-tribe of the Atayal people in Shinzhu County.

6.2.1 Lubuw qhuniq (the wooden xylophone)

Picture

Figure 6.2.1. Lubuw qhuniq (the wooden xylophone). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

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Etymology

There are several indigenous names for the xylophone of the Atayal. *Lubuw qhuniq* is the indigenous name for the wooden xylophone; *lubuw* means “musical instrument” and *qhuniq* means “wood.”[^127] *Tcingun* is another indigenous name for the Atayal xylophone. In addition, the Atayal called the bamboo xylophone *tatuk ruma.*[^128] The word *tatuk* was probably borrowed from Seediq-Truku; it means “to knock” or “the xylophone” in the Seediq-Truku language (cf. Subsection 6.11.1).[^129]

Description

*Lubuw qhuniq* (the xylophone) might originate from the Seediq-Truku. Iban claims that the tribal elders of Shinzhu County had not seen *lubuw qhuniq* (the xylophone) before 1945. Iban points out that such musical instruments might originate from Eastern Atayal (or the Seediq-Truku).[^130] However, Atayal people usually regard *lubuw qhuniq* (the xylophone) as one of their traditional musical instruments.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *lubuw qhuniq* xylophone according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 111.212.[^131] The wood of the Paulownia tree is suitable for making the

[^127]: Pawang Iban, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 3 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001-2.WAV), Chiagaluo, Shinzhu County.
[^129]: Iki, interview.
[^130]: Iban, interview; Cf. Hayu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao,” 164.
[^131]: Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
lubuw qhuniq. The lubuw qhuniq features a pair of wooden stands and four detachable percussion keys. There are ten bamboo tenons on a pair of wooden stands made for fixing four percussion sticks. The key order from bottom to top (Figure 6.2.1.1) is D4-E4-G4-A4. The D key is about 38 cm long and 5.5 cm in diameter. The E key is about 37.5 cm long and 5 cm in diameter. The G key is around 35 cm long and 5 cm in diameter. The A key is about 35 cm long and 5.5 cm in diameter. The wooden stand is approximately 38 cm long and 5 cm in diameter. The lubuw qhuniq has a pair of beaters made of hard wood; they are about 32 cm long and 1.5 cm in diameter (cf. Figure 5.2.1.1).

Traditional function and contexts of use

There is no historical literature concerning the Atayal xylophone during the Japanese period (1895–1945). The Atayal people probably adopted the Seediq-Truku xylophone as their traditional instrument when the ROC government classified the Seediq-Truku people under the Atayal ethnic group (see Figure 6.11.1) after World War II. Therefore, this helps in understanding the place of the xylophone in historical and contemporary Atayal culture.
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the Atayal mainly play *lubuw qhuniq* (the xylophone). The Atayal people from different areas prefer different repertoires. For example, the local Atayal prefer to create their own repertoire in Yilang County. In contrast, in the Chiagaluo sub-tribe of Shinzhu County, the Atayal teach children to play their traditional folk songs and tribal nursery rhymes on the *lubuw qhuniq* (see Example 6.2.1.1).

Example 6.2.1.1. The tune “Bridge of Soul” on the *lubuw qhuniq*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Moderato
Sources where it appears

The *lubuw qhuniq* in Figure 6.2.1.1 appears in the Chiagaluo sub-tribe of Shinzhu County. People can also see the *lubuw qhuniq* in the Atayal Museum in Wulai Township, New Taipei City.

Similar/related instruments

The *tatuk* of the Seediq-Truku (Subsection 6.11.1) has the same structure as the *lubuw qhuniq*. In the Philippines, the *kulintang, a kayo* xylophone of the Maguindanaon people, also resembles the structure of the *lubuw qhuniq*.132

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132 “Traditional Music of the Southern Philippines.”
6.2.2 *Ruma’* (the percussion tube)

**Picture**

![Image of a percussion tube]

*Figure 6.2.2.1. Ruma’ (the percussion tube). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Etymology**

*Ruma’* is the Atayal name of the percussion tube. *Ruma’* means “bamboo.”

**Description**

There is no known literature regarding *ruma’* (the percussion tube).

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133 Iban, interview.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *ruma’* percussion tube according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 111.231.\(^{134}\) The *ruma’* percussion tube is made of a thick bamboo tube, which is about 90 cm long and 5 cm in diameter. There is no slit in the *ruma’* percussion tube. The double ends of the bamboo tube are closed. The single beater is made of hard wood, and is about 15 cm long and 2 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Before World War II, the *ruma’* percussion tube functioned as a fire alarm. The *ruma’* player struck the *ruma’* percussion tube to warn people to escape when fire broke out in a village. It is played horizontally in the area between bamboo nodes.

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, *ruma’* (the percussion tube) are only found in the Atayal Museum as examples of historical instruments.

\(^{134}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
Sources where it appears

People can find the *ruma’* percussion tube in the Atayal Museum in Wulai Township, New Taipei City.

Similar/related instruments

Similar instruments are found in the Austronesian family. In Taiwan, the *vurig* percussion tube of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.2) has the same structure as the *ruma’* percussion tube. In Hawai‘i, indigenous dancers accompany the hula on *kala‘au* wooden sticks, providing a steady rhythm.¹³⁵

6.2.3 Gawngu’ (the wood slit drum)

Picture

Figure 6.2.3.1. *Gawngu’* (the wood slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

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Etymology

*Gawngu’* is the primary indigenous name of the wood slit drum, which means “the weaving trough of the loom.” Another name is *hon- ngu*.136

Description

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 6.2.3.2.** An aboriginal Japanese soldier plays the *gawngu’* for signalling. (Reproduced from Dai, *Formosa yuan zu min xie zhen & jie shuo ji*, 155.)

In the Japanese period (1895–1945), Japanese colonialists exploited surrendered aborigines, forcing them to assist the Japanese military in attacking disobedient Taiwanese aborigines (cf. Section 2.2). In Figure 6.2.3.2, an aboriginal soldier who

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136 Iban, interview.
came from a surrendered tribe is drumming the gawngu’ for signalling instruction in the Japanese expeditionary force.

Construction

The numerical entry for the gawngu’ slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231.137 The gawngu’ (the wooden slit drum) is made of hard wood, and the beaters are a pair of long sticks. Gawngu’ is circa 100 cm long and 40 cm high. The width is 15 cm on the side with the slit and 25 cm on the opposite side (Figure 6.2.3.1). The length of the pair of beaters is circa 120 cm. In Pawang Iban’s opinion, using long sticks (cf. Figure 5.1.1.4) to beat the gawngu’ is more spirited than using short sticks (Figure 6.2.3.2).

Traditional function and contexts of use

The following are the details of the origin and the traditional function and contexts of use of gawngu’ (the wood slit drum). Before the Japanese period (1895–1945), the gawngu’ functioned merely as the weaving trough of a loom. In the Japanese period, the gawngu’ also functioned as a signalling device for military action and a wood slit drum to accompany people’s singing and dancing.

137 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
Current function and contexts of use

In the present day, the wood slit drum is an indispensable musical instrument amongst various aboriginal cultures (cf. Subsection 5.1.1). The wood slit drum has become a symbol of aboriginal music. As regards the slit of the gawngu' facing outwards or inwards, it depends on the player’s needs. If the player prefers loud drumming, he/she can face the slit of the gawngu’ towards the audience. If the player prefers restrained drumming, he can face the slit of the gawngu’ towards himself. Normally, Iban (the informant) positions the gawngu’ facing inwards in harmony with people’s singing and dancing.\(^{138}\)

Sources where it appears

All Atayal villages have the gawngu’.

Similar/related instruments

The wubon of the Seediq-Truku (Chapter 6.11.2) has the same physical structure as the gawngu’.

\(^{138}\) Cf. Iban, interview.
6.2.4 Lubuw takan ruma’ (the bamboo-tube gong)

Picture

Figure 6.2.4.1. Lubuw takan ruma’ (the bamboo-tube gong). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology
There are several indigenous names for the bamboo-tube gong. Lubuw takan ruma’ means the bamboo-tube musical instrument. Lubuw means musical instrument. Ruma’ means makino bamboo. Lubuw ruma’ means bamboo musical instrument. Takan means tube. 139

Description
Since 2000, the Atayal people have invented lubuw takan ruma’ (the bamboo-tube gong) from their material culture. 140 Takan ruma’ (i.e., makino bamboo tube) is a

139 Iban, interview.
140 Ibid.
material that is easily found in the natural environment around the Atayal in Taiwan.

The Atayal people utilise *takan ruma’* (makino bamboo tube) to make objects such as water containers for daily use.

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *lubuw takan ruma’* bamboo-tube gong according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.232.\(^{141}\) The maker uses *takan ruma’* (makino bamboo tube) and modern techniques to make a *lubuw takan ruma’* (the bamboo-tube gong). Makino bamboo is the best material to make the *lubuw takan ruma’* bamboo-tube gong since this kind of bamboo has a hard and solid structure. If the *lubuw takan ruma’* is made out of Ma bamboo (*Dendrocalamus latiflorus*), its structure could be too loose due to lacking a compact texture.

Furthermore, green bamboo is too weak to make the *lubuw takan ruma’*. All the bamboo tubes of the *lubuw takan ruma’* are unimpeded inside, and both ends are open. The maker, at first, uses a thin, hard wood stick to knock down the inner bamboo nodes without splitting the tubes. He utilises several techniques to protect the *lubuw takan ruma’*. For instance, the maker adds a crashworthy rubber band to the end of the bamboo tube to prevent it from crashing into the floor, and he blackens the

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\(^{141}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
surface of the *lubuw taken ruma*’ by smoke for preservation and artistry in the style of an antique.\(^\text{142}\) The beater of the *lubuw taken ruma*’ consists of an oval rubber on a wooden handle. The player holds a rubber beater to clap at the upper open end of a bamboo tube for producing sound.

The demands of performance determine the tuning of the *lubuw taken ruma*’. The *lubuw taken ruma*’ must have the same tune as other Atayal musical instruments if people would like to have an ensemble. In contrast, it can have its own tune if one player plays just one instrument, or several players play the same-sized instruments together. For example, a small *lubuw taken ruma*’ with its own tune is suitable for kids playing in kindergarten. Hence, the *lubuw taken ruma*’ has no regular size.

Normally, the *lubuw taken ruma*’ has four bamboo tubes; namely, D₄-E₄-G₄-A₄ or G₄-A₄-C₄-D₄, which is the traditional scale of the Atayal. Sometimes the four-tube *lubuw taken ruma*’ cannot meet performance needs due to its short sounding range; therefore, makers have extended the number of bamboo tubes to six or eight. Pawang Iban thought that the range D₄-E₄-G₄-A₄ was too narrow while he was playing. Therefore, he extended the *lubuw taken ruma*’ from four tubes to eight tubes.

Generally, the four-tube *lubuw taken ruma*’ can be found among various tribes of the Atayal. Now only the Chiagaluo sub-tribe of the Atayal has the six- or the eight-tube *lubuw taken ruma*’. The eight-tube *lubuw taken ruma*’ is equipped with a stand and a pair of rubber beaters. It is too heavy to hang on the player’s shoulder; hence, it needs a stand to support it on the ground. This change allows the player to use a pair of beaters to produce harmony. It is thought that the eight-tube *lubuw taken ruma*’

\(^\text{142}\) Iban, interview.
produces nicer tunes, and it is considered ideal if ten people can play the *lubuw takan ruma* together.\textsuperscript{143}

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

*Lubuw takan ruma* is an invented musical instrument in the contemporary performance of the Atayal. The Atayal had no such musical instrument in former days.\textsuperscript{144}

**Current function and contexts of use**

The *lubuw takan ruma* is mainly played for entertainment in Atayal society. In the last twelve years, Iban (cultural insider) and some of his friends have cooperated to develop the musical instrument. Between 1998 and 1999, the musical group of Tai-Yia Primary School began to play the bamboo-tube gong in the Yilang Toys Festival.\textsuperscript{145} Iban currently employs student clubs to teach students to play the *lubuw takan ruma* in local primary schools. Normally, the *lubuw takan ruma* has a strap so the player can hang it from the shoulder; then the player uses the left hand to hold the *lubuw takan ruma* and uses the right hand to hold a beater for beating the tubes of the *lubuw takan ruma*. People stand to play the instrument.\textsuperscript{146} Iban played the following tunes: “Love Song” (Example 6.2.4.1) and “Joy Song” (Example 6.2.4.1) on the *lubuw takan ruma*.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
Example 6.2.4.1. The tune “Love Song” on the *lubuw takan ruma*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

*Moderato*

Example 6.2.4.2. The tune “Joy Song” on the *lubuw takan ruma*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

*Andante*
In addition, the *lubuw takan ruma’* (bamboo-tube gong) and the *lubuw qhuniq* (wooden xylophone) share the same repertoire. The melody is the same, but the tone and the way of playing are totally different. Normally, the pitch of the *lubuw takan*
ruma’ is higher than that of the lubuw qhuniq xylophone, and the two musical instruments can produce harmonies when they play together.\textsuperscript{147}

Sources where it appears
People have opportunities to see the performance of lubuw taken ruma’ (the bamboo-tube gong) among various aboriginal festivals in Shinzhu County.

Similar/related instruments
The lubuw taken ruma’ is quite similar to the kakeng of the Amis (cf. Subsection 6.1.3).

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
6.2.5 Turin (percussion pipes)

Picture

Figure 6.2.5.1. Turin (percussion pipes). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng. Reproduced from “Atayal Antique Digital Archives.”)

Etymology

Turin is the indigenous name for percussion pipes. Originally, the term turin meant “water container” (made of bamboo pipes).\(^{148}\)

\(^{148}\) Cf. Chang, Miao li xian tai ya zu sai xia zu yuan zhu min bu luo ge yao, 74.
Description

Daily tools frequently become aboriginal musical instruments. For instance, the Atayal utilise *turin* (water containers) as percussion pipes when dancing.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *turin* percussion pipes according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.232. The *turin* is made of two slim bamboo pipes. Each bamboo pipe is around 46 cm long and 4 cm in diameter. The two pipes are the same size and tied together.

Traditional function and contexts of use

*Turin* traditionally functioned as water containers. Aboriginal people are good at obtaining material from local sources. The Atayal women use *turin* (bamboo pipes) to contain water. However, there is no historical literature noting when Atayal people employed the *turin* as a musical instrument.

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149 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
150 “Atayal Antique Digital Archives.”
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, turin (bamboo pipes) function as a percussion instruments. Instead of containing water, the Atayal people now carry the turin on their backs and strike it with a bamboo beater to provide rhythm in dance.

Sources where it appears

People have opportunities to see the turin in the Atayal communities of Miaoli County and Taoyuan County.

Similar/related instruments

Fischer stated that, there is a similar instrument; a rattle worn on the body, can be found in Roro Aiara Waima, Papua New Guinea.\textsuperscript{151}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{151} See Fischer, \textit{Sound-Producing Instruments in Oceania}, 172–73 (Plate VII).}
6.2.6 Lukus/latan (the jacket rattle)

Etymology

Lukus and latan are both indigenous names for the jacket rattle in Atayal society.\(^{152}\)

They both are exclusive nouns for the jacket rattle.

\(^{152}\) Youlan, “Lukus/latan.”
Description

The lukus/latan jacket rattle is not available to all Atayal people. Only specialists can wear it.

Construction

The numerical entry for the lukus/latan jacket rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.12.\textsuperscript{153} A lukus/latan (the jacket rattle) comprises a number of small pellet bells, which are all made of bronze. Pellet rattles are attached to a jacket against which they strike. These pellet bells are sewed and fall into lines hanging from the jacket. Each pellet bell is around 1 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, only successful headhunters were eligible to wear jacket rattles. When celebrating successful headhunting, the headhunters wore lukus and danced and played the pingo headhunter’s flute in front of the hunted head to entertain the head’s soul and to show their respect.

\textsuperscript{153} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 565; see Appendix B.
Current function and contexts of use

The *lukus* currently is a family heirloom. Only chieftains, seniors, and successful tribesmen can wear the *lukus* to dance in tribal festivals. Since ancient times, the *lukus*/*latan* jacket rattle is a marker of high social status in Atayal society.

Sources where it appears

People can easily find the *lukus*/*latan* in Shung Ye Museum (Taipei) and the Exhibition Room of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park (Pingtung). However, it is extremely unusual to see *lukus*/*latan* (the jacket rattle) in the Atayal festivals.

Similar/related instruments

The Seediq-Truku people also have a similar jacket rattle. They have almost the same physical structure. The indigenous name is unavailable.
6.2.7 Lubuw/lubug (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

![Lubuw/lubug (the Jew’s harp)](image)

Figure 6.2.7.1. Lubuw/lubug (the Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

There are some indigenous terms for the Jew’s harp of the Atayal. Lubuw/lubug does not only mean “musical instrument,” but it also means “the Jew’s harp.” The Atayal call the Jew’s harp lubuw zzima’. Zzima’ means “tongue.” Iban states that “the Atayal did not have too many musical instruments. We all called musical instruments lubuw.”154 The derivative tlubw means “to play an instrument with the mouth”; for example, “Tlubw saku lubuw” means “I play the Jew’s harp.”155

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154 Iban, interview.
In Li’s research, different age groups within the same language group had different pronunciations of the instrumental name for the Jew’s harp in the Matabalay sub-tribe of the Atayal. Atayal people over sixty years old called the Jew’s harp *lubug*. In contrast, Atayal people over fifty and under sixty years old called the Jew’s harp *lubuw*. Younger speakers created a new phonological rule by changing the word-final from */-g/* to */-w/*. By using a particular pronunciation, an age group shows their difference from other age groups and maintains their group’s identity.\(^{156}\)

**Description**

The Atayal made an impression on the Taiwanese that the Jew’s harp has become emblematic of Atayal culture.

**Construction**

The Atayal have three types of *lubuw*. Firstly, the numerical entry for the bamboo *lubuw* Jew’s harp (the tongue cut out of a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.21.\(^{157}\) Secondly, the numerical entry for the *lubuw* Jew’s harp (one tongue fixed to a frame, Figure 6.2.7.1) according to the

\(^{157}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.\textsuperscript{158} Thirdly, the numerical entry for the \textit{lubuw} Jew’s harp (several tongues fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.222.\textsuperscript{159}

In Figure 6.2.7.1, the single-copper-tongue \textit{lubuw} (the Jew’s harp) is around 1.5 cm wide and 11.5 cm long; it comprises a bamboo frame and a copper tongue. The single-copper-tongue \textit{lubuw} cannot be played quickly. However, its tone vibrates loudly for a long time. The main reason for this is that the \textit{lubuw} has a thick copper tongue. The \textit{lubuw}-maker likes such a tone. In fact, the \textit{lubuw}-maker can tune the tone of the instrument by adjusting the thickness of the copper tongue. A harder tongue vibrates faster. The \textit{lubuw} sometimes has its own bamboo case, but it is not necessary for each Jew’s harp to have a case. It depends on whether or not the player wants a bamboo case to protect his or her \textit{lubuw}.

\textbf{Traditional function and contexts of use}

Traditionally, \textit{lubuw} was the most common musical instrument, and people of all ages and sexes were able to play it. People played \textit{lubuw} for self-entertainment even though it was mainly played during courtship. Only the couple could understand their specific rhythm and the implied meaning. Additionally, lovers played the \textit{lubuw} as a

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{159} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
couple in the mstopaw/myugi (Jew’s harp dance), playing and dancing simultaneously (cf. Figure 5.2.1.4).

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, making and playing the lubuw are regarded as activities of cultural transmission. The Atayal people no longer play the lubuw during courtship and most do not really play the lubuw in the performance of contemporary mstopaw/myugi (Jew’s harp dance). The performers simply mimic the motion of playing the lubuw since it is difficult to play the lubuw and to dance in the same time. The lubuw has become a cultural symbol of the Atayal tradition in the mstopaw/myugi. Iban demonstrated by playing “Bridge of Soul” (Example 6.2.7.1), “Weaving Song” (Example 6.2.7.2) and “The Ballad of Chiagaluo” (Example 6.2.7.3) on the bamboo idioglottic lubuw. He also demonstrated by playing three tunes (i.e., Example 6.2.7.4, Example 6.2.7.5 and Example 6.2.7.6 on three different lubuw (single-copper-tongue Jew’s harps).

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160 Idioglottic indicates lamella and frame cut from a single piece; Wright, “Jew’s harp.”
Example 6.2.7.1. The tune “Bridge of Soul” on the idioglottic lubuw. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Moderato

Example 6.2.7.2. The tune “Weaving Song” on the idioglottic lubuw. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Moderato


Allegro

382
Sources where it appears

It is not difficult to find the *lubuw* in Atayal communities. Sometimes the *lubuw* is sold as a cultural souvenir.

Similar/related instruments

Most Austronesians have related Jew’s harp. For example, Tongan people called their Jew’ harp “ʻūtete,” which was made from coconut leaflet. Young girls and small boys
played ‘ūtete as a plaything in the old days. The ‘ūtete is played by plucking the
tongue with fingers. By contrast, the lubuw of the Atayal is played by jerking a string.

6.2.8 Pengao (the headhunter’s flute)

Etymology

The hunter’s flute has different names in different Atayal communities. In Wulai
(New Taipei City), the Atayal call the hunter’s flute gao. Gao is a loanword from
County), another name for gao is pingo. Pin is a nominalising prefix.162 Pingo is a

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161 McLean, Weavers of Song, 124.
162 Iban, interview.
different spelling of the word pengao. The lexeme gao means “the flute.” The derivative pengao means “to play the flute.”\textsuperscript{163} Tehai and thai are synonyms of gao; they mean “flute” as well as “whistle.”\textsuperscript{164} In Miaoli County, the Atayal had two types of vertical flutes; namely, the penurahoi and the ngangao. The penurahoi was the headhunter’s flute. And the ngangao was an ordinary flute. In addition, go’mgaga is an alternative name for pengao. Mgaga means the activity of headhunting, and go’ mgaga indicates the sound of headhunting.\textsuperscript{165}

Description

In 1914, Japanese colonialists banned aboriginal headhunting activity (including pengao playing). Headhunting was completely abolished by the 1930s (see also 2.1.1 Historical Literature Reviews and 3.4 Cultural Policy and Aboriginal Musical Instruments).\textsuperscript{166}

Construction

The numerical entry for the pengao headhunter’s flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12.\textsuperscript{167} The pengao in Figure 6.2.8.1 is made of a bamboo tube, which is around 20 cm long and 3 cm in

\textsuperscript{163} Ferrell, Atayal Vocabulary, 19.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., 62.
\textsuperscript{165} Cf. Tohui, Tai ya zu yu wen hua jiao cai, 117.
\textsuperscript{166} Cf. Taroko National Park, “Cultural Heritage.”
\textsuperscript{167} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
diameter.\textsuperscript{168} In Miaoli County, the \emph{penurahoi} with four finger-holes was around 30 cm long, and the \emph{ngangao} with four finger-holes was around 15 to 20 cm long. The \emph{penurahoi} and the \emph{ngangao} had the same structure; the difference lay in their size and contexts of use.\textsuperscript{169} The traditional \emph{pengao} is bigger than the contemporary one. For instance, a \emph{pengao} with a high pitch is relatively small in size. Iban recalls that “Minister Jiang gave him a \emph{pengao} which was made in a medium size with a lower pitch and full of atmosphere. And the tune is gloomy; it sounds like an owl’s hoot.”\textsuperscript{170}

Noteworthily, the Atayal \emph{pengao} has little decoration on it; sometimes there is only a simple engraved stripe on the \emph{pengao}. The Atayal care about whether the \emph{pengao} has a solid and satisfying tone. Moreover, the maker can decide his own tune. The chamfered orifice of the \emph{pengao} affects the quality of the tone. When making a \emph{pengao}, the maker always opens the chamfered orifice and the mouthpiece first. If the chamfered orifice and the mouthpiece can produce the maker’s favourite tone, the next step is to drill the finger-holes. Setting the tone is the most difficult part in making a \emph{pengao}. The diameter and the length of the bamboo tube can affect the pitch of the \emph{pengao}. The maker must carefully adjust the position of the finger-holes if he

\textsuperscript{168} Iban, interview.
\textsuperscript{169} Tohui, \textit{Tai ya zu ya wen hua jiao cai}.
\textsuperscript{170} Iban, interview.
intends to play this *pengao* in ensemble with other musical instruments (cf. Figure 5.1.1.2).^{171}

Traditional function and contexts of use

The traditional context of use of *pengao* (the headhunter’s flute) was related to headhunting activities. The *pengao* was played in front of the head after successful headhunting (Example 6.2.8.1). The headhunter played the gloomy tune of the *pengao* to soothe the soul of the head, hoping that the soul of the head would become a part of their ancestral soul. The headhunter prayed that the soul of the head would strengthen and protect the headhunter’s village, that is, that the soul of the head would strengthen the *gaga* (i.e., *mana*) of the headhunter’s village. The Atayal called this practice *gaga*, which is the rules regulated by the Atayal ancestors. It is similar to the Seediq-Truku’s *gaya*.

Iban’s grandfather experienced headhunting when he was young. After headhunting, a tribal elder ordered Iban’s grandfather to drink a cup of blood from the head; he thereby became a brave. Before World War II, a successful headhunter could have a tattoo on his forehead and chin. In the later period, all participants in headhunting were eligible to have tattoos on their foreheads and chins. In ancient

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^{171} Ibid.
times, only a headhunter could have his own *pengao*. Other people were not allowed to touch his *pengao*, otherwise it would cause bad fortune for the headhunter.\(^{172}\)

**Example 6.2.8.1. The tune “Head Worship” on the *pengao*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

![Example 6.2.8.1. The tune “Head Worship” on the *pengao*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.](image)

| Table 6.2.8.1 *Penurahoi* (Traditional) vs. *Ngangao* (Contemporary) (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng) |
|---|---|---|
| Flute name | *Penurahoi* | *Ngangao* |
| Function | Soothing souls | Amusement/ Courtship |
| Context | Headhunting activities | Performance |
| Size | 30 cm | 15-20 cm |
| Tone | Gloomy | Sonorous |

**Current function and contexts of use**

At present, *pengaos* (the head hunter’s flute) is mainly played for amusement. Since the 1930s, headhunting activities were completely abolished by Japanese officers. In Miaoli County, the local Atayal had adapted to such change. They changed the indigenous name of their headhunter’s flute from *penurahoi* to *ngangao* for satisfying tribesmen’s the need of amusement and performance (Table 6.2.8.1). And they made the flute smaller in size (i.e., *ngangao*) to produce sonorous sound for men playing in

\(^{172}\) Ibid.
courtship or self-amusement.\textsuperscript{173} As Nettl suggests that concert situations altered is a kind of “modernisation.”\textsuperscript{174}

Nowadays, most of the old \textit{pengaos} (the headhunter’s flute) have been cast aside. Some tribal elders have had the experience of hunting heads; they have heard the tune of the \textit{pengao}, but not all of them can play the \textit{pengao}.\textsuperscript{175} Iban played “Dancing Song” (Example 6.2.8.2) and “The Atayal Folksong” on the \textit{pengao}.

\textbf{Example 6.2.8.2. The tune “Dancing Song” on the \textit{pengao}. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.}

\begin{center}
\begin{figure}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example.png}
\end{figure}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{173} Chang, \textit{Miao li xian tai ya zu sai xia zu yuan zhu min bu luo ge yao}, 27.
\textsuperscript{174} Nettl, \textit{Study of Ethnomusicology}, 353–54.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.

Sources where it appears

It is not difficult to find pengao in the performance groups and the cultural associations of the Atayal.

Similar/related instruments

The physical structure of the pengao is similar to the traditional no ngoso’a tipolo nose flute with an internal duct (Figure 6.1.10.3) of the Amis. The only difference is that the pengao of the Atayal is a single-pipe flute.
6.3 Bunun Musical Instruments

The Bunun people live, in particular, in Nantou County, Kaohsiung County (e.g., Namasia Township), Hualien County (e.g., Wanrong and Zhuoxi Township), and Taitung County (e.g., Haiduang Township), at heights of about 1,000 to 2,300 metres. The Bunun people number about 50,000.¹⁷⁷ The following subsections include indigenous musicians’ knowledge of Bunun musical instruments. Three indigenous musicians (Madam Ying-hua Li, Madam Bao-shi Jiang, and Madam Shiang-lan Ma) come from the Takivatan clan in Hualien County, and two indigenous musicians (Mr. Chen-fu Gu and Mr. Bahin Lu) come from the Takitoto clan in Nantou County.

6.3.1 Ma pak wis/ki pah pah (the percussion stick)

Picture

Figure 6.3.1.1. Ma pak wis/ki pah pah (the percussion stick). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2011.)

¹⁷⁷ Council of Indigenous Peoples, “Bunun.”
Etymology

Both *ma pak wis* and *ki pah pah* are indigenous names for the percussion stick in the Bunun language. Bao-shi Jiang and Shiang-lan Ma state that people in the Kumuan sub-clan of the Takivatan clan called the percussion stick *ma pak wis*, which means “to pray to our ancestors.”  

Description

As regards the way of playing, the *ma pak wis/ki pah pah* (the percussion stick) player traditionally puts a long cuboid wood stick on his shoulder; then he turns the stick from side to side by one hand and uses a beater in the other hand to knock the different sides of the percussion stick, producing different sounds.  

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178 Ying-hua Li, Bao-shi Jiang, and Shiang-lan Ma, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 30 July 2009, digital recording (RHP001WAV), Ma Yuan Village (vahudan), Hualien County.

179 Cf. Hayu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao,” 166.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *ma pak wis* percussion stick according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.211.\(^{180}\) The *ma pak wis* (the percussion stick) has a simple physical structure. Normally, the *ma pak wis* is just a thick cuboid wooden plank. Any kind of wooden stick is able to be used as the beater of the *ma pak wis*. The double-headed *ma pak wis* in Figures 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.2 is elaborately made, and has decorative carvings without specific meaning. It is around 120 cm long. The tapering shape and the handle of the *ma pak wis* are Bahin’s creative design, which is not a common style in the Bunun society.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The *ma pak wis/ki pah pah* percussion stick is played primarily to signal for different purposes. Before hunting, hunters struck the *ma pak wis* to pray to their ancestors to give them a good bag.\(^{181}\) Bahin points out that it is a taboo for the Bunun to call a companion’s name (e.g., father’s name) while working or hunting in the mountains. Calling the name would arouse the anger of ancestral spirits or mountain spirits and cause misfortune. Using the *ki pah pah* to signal instead, people can know “what time it is” and “where their companions are.”\(^{182}\) Different hunters have varied rhythms (i.e. secret codes). Only their companions can understand the implied meanings.

\(^{180}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
\(^{181}\) Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
\(^{182}\) Bahin Lu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 10 December 2011, digital video recording (MVI_0012), Li Yu Pool, Nantou County.
Current function and contexts of use

The elaborate double-headed *ma pak wis* in Figures 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.2 is specially made for performance. People can accompany singing and dancing on the double-headed *ma pak wis*. The structure of the *ma pak wis* affects the way of playing. The way of playing the contemporary *ma pak wis* (Figure 6.3.1.1) is not always to put it on the shoulder, but it can be held in the hand and turned from side to side.

Sources where it appears

People have the opportunity to see *ma pak wis/ki pah pah* (the percussion stick) in various aboriginal festivals (e.g., the *Malachtia* ear-shooting festival) in Bunun society.

Similar/related instruments

There are related instruments in other aboriginal groups, such as the *vurig* percussion tube of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.2) and the *takan* percussion tube of the Atayal (Subsection 6.2.2). In New Zealand, the structure of the *pākuru* struck stick is similar to the *ma pak wis*. However, the way of playing the *pākuru* is totally different. Māori hold the *pākuru* rectangular rod between the teeth by one hand, and the other hand uses a short rod to tap the *pākuru* while dancing and singing.  

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183 Ibid.
6.3.2 Durdur/tultul (stamping pestles)

Etymology

There are several indigenous terms for stamping pestles in the Bunun language. *Durdur* means “wooden pestle” and is onomatopoeic.\(^{185}\) *Dur* only indicates the stamping pestle. *Tultul* and *toto* are heterographs of *durdur*.\(^{186}\) The performance of *durdur* is called *ma*-durdur; in it, many pestles of different lengths are pounded on the floor in turn. *Ma*-durdur means “playing the *durdur*”; *ma-* is a verbalising prefix.\(^{187}\) In Nirira’s *Bunun Vocabulary*, *tultul* means “pestle for pounding.” *Ma*-tultul or *ma*-bado means “to pound

\(^{185}\) Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.

\(^{186}\) Heterographs are words that sound the same as other words, but they have different spellings; Nirira, *Bunun Vocabulary*, s.v. “tultul.”

\(^{187}\) Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
millet on a stone-plate.” *Tultul-an* indicates the stone-plate on which millet is pounded.\textsuperscript{188} In addition, *latoto* is a synonym of *ma-bado*; it means “to pound” in Southern Bunun.\textsuperscript{189}

**Description**

In ancient times, the Bunun used a set of *durdur* stamping pestles to pound millet on the ground, separating the millet from the chaff, whenever the tribe had a festival or wedding coming. Then tribesmen used the millet to make wine. At that time, the tune of the *durdur* stamping pestles was the by-product of *ma-durdur*.\textsuperscript{190}

**Construction**

The numerical entry for *durdur* stamping pestles according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.212.\textsuperscript{191} The *durdur* (stamping pestles) stamping pestles are made of wood from the cypress tree; each pestle is a long wooden bar with a bottle-head-shaped weight on each end for stamping grain and making sound. The length of the six stamping pestles is between 150 cm and 170 cm. The diameter of the pestle head is between 12 cm and 15 cm. The thin part of the pestle is between 5 cm and 8 cm in diameter. The length and diameter of the stamping pestles determines the tone. A thick, long pestle produces a low pitch; in contrast, a thin, short pestle produces a high pitch.

\textsuperscript{188} Nirira, *Bunun Vocabulary*, s.v. “tultul.”
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., s.v. “latoto.”
\textsuperscript{190} Bima, *Tai wan bu nong zu feng su tu zhi*, 168–69.
\textsuperscript{191} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the Bunun used the ma-durdur to separate the millet from the chaff. At that time, the durdur pestle was a farm tool. When the Bunun found that different sizes and lengths of durdur determined the pitch, they began to use the durdur as a musical instrument. Normally, the ma-durdur has six to ten pestles in different sizes and lengths to stamp in ensemble. Example 6.3.2.1 shows the traditional tune of the ma-durdur that is crooned by Madam Shiang-lan Ma. The tune of the ma-durdur is purely instrumental music.

Example 6.3.2.1. The tune of the ma-durdur of the Bunun. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Current function and contexts of use

Durdur (stamping pestles) function as musical instruments as well as being symbolic of the harvest in contemporary Bunun society. Before agro-industrialisation, the stamping pestles tune was just the by-product of stamping grain. After agro-industrialisation, the activity of stamping grain can still be seen in the ritual of Minsala (the millet harvest festival). The durdur has become the symbolic instrument of the harvest, which indicates to have a good harvest in the coming year. At present, ma-durdur (playing stamping pestles) are an indispensable part of Bunun musical activities in Bunun society and cultural villages (see Figure 5.2.3.1 and Example 5.2.3.2).
Sources where it appears

People can appreciate the ma-durdur in Wang Hsiang Bunun Holiday Village (Nantou County) and various tribal festivals (e.g., the Minsala millet harvest festival) of the Bunun.

Similar/related instruments

Other Taiwanese aboriginal groups have similar instruments. The taturday, the stamping pestle of the Thao (Subsection 6.14.2), and the sipayatū, the stamping pestle of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.1), are similar to the durdur.

6.3.3 Toklo (the wood drum)

Picture

Figure 6.3.3.1. Toklo (the wood drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

Toklo originally described the wood trough of a loom in Bunun society. It is now the indigenous name of the Bunun wood drum.

Description

Unknown.

Construction

The numerical entry for the toklo wood drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. The toklo in Figure 6.3.3.1 is a hollow cuboid, which has open ends. The toklo is made of wood from the red cypress tree (i.e., Chamaecyparis formosensis). It is around 20 cm in height and 90 cm long.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the toklo functions as the weaving trough of a loom (the right one on Figure 6.3.3.1) in Bunun society.

Current function and contexts of use

Since the Japanese period, the Amis, the Atayal, and the Seediq-Truku have played their weaving troughs as slit drums for meeting the needs of performance and exotic display in cultural tourism (cf. Gawngu’ in Subsection 6.2.3 and Figure 6.2.3.2). Nowadays, more Bunun also play the toklo as a wood drum.

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192 Nirira, Bunun Vocabulary, s.v. “toklo.”
193 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
Sources where it appears

People can appreciate the performance of the toklo in the Bunun Cultural and Educational Foundation, Taoyuan Village, Taitung County.

Similar/related instruments

Tokelaun pōkibi (the box drum) is similar to the toklo. In Tokelau, people accompany the fātele dance by drumming on the pōkibi box drum with an open hand.¹⁹⁴

6.3.4 Laqlaq/somsom (the bone rattle)

Picture

Figure 6.3.4.1. Laqlaq/somsom (the bone rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

¹⁹⁴ McLean, Weavers of Song, 199.
Etymology

There are several terms for the bone rattle in the Bunun language. *Laqlaq* and *somsom* are both indigenous names for the bone rattle in Bunun society. Another name for the bone rattle is *qalimuqaimad* or *qalimuqaimat*. The derivative *ma-somsom* or *sosom-un* means “to worship”, “to pray”, “to make incantations for a good harvest.”

Description

The rattle is not simply played for music and dance. It is also an important ritual tool in tribal ceremonies.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *laqlaq* according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.111. There are two types of *laqlaq* bone rattles: The *somsom* is made of the right shoulder bones of pigs connected together with a string; and the *qalimuqaimad* is made out of the upper half of a pig’s thigh-bone.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Historically, the Bunun used the *laqlaq* (the bone rattle) before the millet harvest. Only the experienced *is’aaminan* (i.e., priest) was eligible to use the *laqlaq*. As reported by Nirira, the *somsom* is a ritual tool for incantation. There are two types of *laqlaq*: firstly,

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195 Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
198 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
200 Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
the *somsom* bone rattle is played when praying for the millet harvest; secondly, the *qalimuqaimat* bone rattle is played when praying for the sorghum harvest.\textsuperscript{202} The presiding priest at millet harvest ceremonies or coming-of-age ceremonies shakes the *somsom* when delivering a spell for blessing auspiciousness.\textsuperscript{203}

**Current function and contexts of use**

Nowadays, the *laqlaq* is not used in the millet harvest. People only play it for performance in touristic contexts.\textsuperscript{204} *Laqlaq* (the bone rattle) are also found in museum displays.

**Sources where it appears**

All clans of the Bunun people have the *laqlaq* bone rattle.

**Similar/related instruments**

Easter Islanders’ *kauaha* is similar to the *laqlaq*. In Easter Island, the *kauaha* functions as a rattle; it is made of the jawbone of a horse.\textsuperscript{205}

\textsuperscript{202} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{203} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{204} Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.  
\textsuperscript{205} “Polynesia.”
6.3.5 Kungkung (the Jew’s harp)

Etymology

There are several terms for the Jew’s harp in the Bunun language. In the Takivatan clan (Central Bunun), people call their Jew’s harp kungkung. Other clans of the Bunun call their Jew’s harp honghong. Li points out that kungkung or honghong indicates “to pull.” In Nirira’s record, bulingkau also means the bamboo Jew’s harp in Northern Bunun.207

Description

The Bunun people have a legend regarding the Jew’s harp. In the legend, the husband of an expectant mother called Adian went hunting for about one month. One day, Adian was

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206 Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
207 Nirira, Bunun Vocabulary, s.v. “buliGkau.”
working at her millet farm. A giant wanted to hunt her head, but he found that she was a beautiful woman, and so he kidnapped her and made her his wife. During the kidnapping, she secretly made many marks on trees to prepare for her escape. Afterwards, she gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew into a youngster, the giant recognised that the boy was not his own flesh and blood. Therefore, the giant routinely maltreated the boy. The boy told such things to his mother, and then his mother told him the truth. One day, the boy and his mother took the opportunity to escape from the giant’s village while the giant went out hunting. They tracked the marks on the trees and found their way back to the Bunun village. When they had almost returned home, Adian began to play her kungkung. Her husband recognised the tune of the kungkung that was played by his wife. Accordingly, her husband went out to welcome them home.208

Construction

The numerical entry for the kungkung Jew’s harp according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.209 Most kungkung (the Jew’s harp) players make the instrument themselves. Li, Jiang, and Ma state that, before World War II, the Bunun used a kind of local bamboo called daluna to make the kungkung, whose sound was deep. Unfortunately, the daluna bamboo are dying out around Ma Yuan village. Nowadays, locals use Makino bamboo to make the kungkung; its sound is sharp and loud. The kungkung in Figure 6.3.5.1 is made out of daluna; it is around 11 cm long and 1.5 cm wide. The tongue of the kungkung is made of copper; it is around 8 cm long.

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208 Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
209 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Li and Jiang played the *kungkung* (the Jew’s harp) when they missed the presence of their husbands when their husbands went hunting. A wife played the *kungkung* while longing for her husband to return home. Ma further states that people could play the *kungkung* whenever they felt sad or missed someone who was no longer with them. While males could also play the *kungkung*, the majority of *kungkung* players were females. The main reason for this was that it was the men’s responsibility to go out hunting; in contrast, women were to stay at home farming. In ancient times, women used to play the *kungkung* in the evening or morning. Only a husband and wife could understand each other’s unique tunes on the *kungkung*; they signalled each other by playing the *kungkung*. The *kungkung* is capable of communicating word-based sounds. Thus the way of playing is similar to speaking by breath.\(^{210}\) Over four decades ago, people had little entertainment. Playing the *kungkung* was a good way to dispel loneliness. There was little opportunity to perform the *kungkung* in public places. The following Example 6.3.5.1 is a tune of the *kungkung* that was demonstrated by Madam Ying-hua Li.\(^{211}\)

Example 6.3.5.1. A tune of the *kungkung* Jew’s harp of the Bunun. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

\[\text{Example 6.3.5.1. A tune of the *kungkung* Jew’s harp of the Bunun. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.}\]

\(^{210}\) Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview; Cf. McLean, *Māori Music*, 173; The way of playing *kungkung* resembles the Māori rōria. The appeal of the instrument lay in its ability to communicate words. Lovers used to sit side by side, each with a Jew’s harp, and hold quiet conversations on the instruments.

\(^{211}\) Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
Current function and contexts of use

Now playing *kungkung* (the Jew’s harp) becomes a kind of cultural skill. Li teaches children to play the *kungkung* at the active centre of Ma Yuan village, handing down her skill. Some of them have already graduated from her teaching and thereby keep the *kungkung* still alive.

Sources where it appears

The *kungkung* in Figure 6.3.5.1 is found within Ma Yuan village (vahudan), Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

Māori called their Jew’s harp “*rōria,*” whose physical structure is different from the Bunun *kungkung*. In the Pre-European period, the *rōria* was made out of supplejack; its nondurable tongue required renewing frequently. Later, the *rōria* was played as a solo instrument during courtship or to accompany *waiata* (songs).\(^{212}\)

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6.3.6 Latuk (the musical bow)

Etymology

Latuk is the indigenous name for the musical bow in the Bunun language. The lexeme la indicates “to pluck” and the lexeme tuk indicates its sound.\textsuperscript{213} In Nirira’s record, pis-latuk means “to play the latuk,” in which pis- is the verbalising prefix.\textsuperscript{214}

Description

Kokichi Segawa’s illustrated ethnography (between 1928 and 1939) recorded a duo for the musical bow and the Jew’s harp of the Bunun. He mentioned that the Bunun people

\textsuperscript{213} Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
\textsuperscript{214} Nirira, \textit{Bunun Vocabulary}, s.v. “latuk.”
play latuk (the musical bow) and kungkung (the Jew’s harp) together in the Lakulaku village of the Is-bukun clan (Guanshan Township, Hualien).²¹⁵

Construction

The numerical entry for the latuk musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 311.121.11.²¹⁶ The latuk (the musical bow) is a bow with a steel string. The bow is made of bamboo; it is around 85 cm long. The higher end of the latuk musical bow combines bracing with a gum loop, which functions as a bridge to transmit the vibration from string to bow to amplify the sound volume. Jiang says that the loop (i.e., bridge) is made out of gum, but now the Bunun use a plastic loop instead of a gum loop. For this reason, the tone of a new-made latuk is poorer than that of an old latuk. New latuk produce an intermittent sound.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Historically, there were few men who played the latuk (the musical bow). All men went out working, and had little time to stay at home. Hence the majority of latuk players were female. Jiang states that “husbands and wives had almost no quarrels with each other because they played the kungkung or the latuk to dispel unhappiness at that time.”²¹⁷ In the Bunun society, the kungkung and the latuk had a similar social function and performance context. People could play the kungkung or the latuk to dispel sorrow when a relative passed away. Jiang imitated her maternal grandmother in playing the latuk. Her

²¹⁵ Yuasa, Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi, 283.
²¹⁶ Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
²¹⁷ Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
maternal grandmother hid the *latuk* to prevent her from learning it. Jiang secretly learnt to play the *latuk*, but she did not learn many tunes. After the death of her maternal grandmother, Jiang took over her grandmother’s *latuk* because other family members did not know how to play it. The following Example 6.3.6.1 is a tune on the *latuk* that was demonstrated by Madam Bao-shi Jiang, who comes from the Takivantan clan. The tune was played in the context of missing her husband when he went out hunting. Another tune (Example 6.3.6.2) was demonstrated by Mr. Chen-fu Gu, who comes from the Takitudu clan. The method of playing is to hold the *latuk* in the mouth (which functions as a resonator) and to use the fingers of the left hand to press the string and the right-hand fingers to pluck the string.²¹⁸

**Example 6.3.6.1. A tune on the *latuk* musical bow of the Bunun. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

![Example 6.3.6.1](image)

**Example 6.3.6.2. A tune on the *latuk* musical bow of the Bunun. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

![Example 6.3.6.2](image)

**Current function and contexts of use**

Nowadays, few *latuk* are used in Bunun society. However, the active centre of Ma Yuan village tries to keep the *latuk* alive by hiring indigenous musicians to teach youngsters.

²¹⁸ Ibid.
Sources where it appears

People can find the *latuk* musical bow in various Bunun festivals and aboriginal museums.

Similar/related instruments

Many Austronesian peoples have similar musical instruments. The Thao also call their musical bow *latuk* (Subsection 6.14.5). The Thao and the Bunun are neighbours. They have a close relationship. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori people have a similar instrument. The musical bow “*te kū*.” *Te kū* is made of springy supplejack and a string. Revivalists tap *te kū* with either a rod or the knuckles while using the mouth cupped over the bow as a modifying resonator.²¹⁹

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6.3.7 Banhir latuk/bulingkau (the four/five-stringed zither)

Picture

Figure 6.3.7.1. Banhir latuk (the five-stringed zither). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

There are several indigenous terms for the five-stringed zither of the Bunun. In the Takivatan clan of the Bunun, people call the five-stringed zither banhir latuk.

_Banhir/ban’hil_ indicates Japanese cypress.\(^{220}\) Hence, _banhir latuk_ indicates that the zither is made out of Japanese cypress. In the Takibakha clan, people call their five-stringed zither _tultul_, but people in the Takibanuad clan call their four-stringed zither _bulingkau_.\(^{221}\) The meaning of _bulingkau_ is unknown. As reported by Nirira, _latuk tultul_ means musical

\(^{220}\) Nirira, _Bunun Vocabulary_, s.v. “ban’hil.”
\(^{221}\) Cf. Wu, _Bu nong zu yin yue zai chuan tong she hui zhong di gong yu jie gou_, 46.
instrument with steel strings.\textsuperscript{222} In contrast, people called the five-stringed zither \textit{toro-toro} in Kurosawa’s record. \textit{Toro-toro} is the heterograph of \textit{tultul}.\textsuperscript{223}

Description

Indigenous musicians Jiang and Ma claim that “the \textit{banhir latuk} belongs to the musical instruments of the Truku; and the Takivatan clan of the Bunun has no such musical instrument. Other clans of the Bunun have the \textit{banhir latuk}.”\textsuperscript{224}

Construction

The numerical entry for the traditional \textit{banhir latuk} five-stringed zither according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 314.11 (or 314.12).\textsuperscript{225} The numerical entry for the invented \textit{banhir latuk} five-stringed zither in Figure 6.3.7.1 according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 312.22.\textsuperscript{226}

In Figure 6.3.7.1, the invented \textit{banhir latuk} (the five-stringed zither) is comprised of a wooden board and half a bamboo tube with five pairs of pegs. The wooden board is around 72 cm long and 25 cm wide. The bamboo tube is around 64 cm long and 12.5 cm wide; it functions as a resonator. There are five pegs at each end of the bamboo tube to adjust the tuning of the strings. An elder told Gu that the strings of the \textit{banhir latuk} were made out of the tendons of cattle before the Japanese period (1895-1945). The cattle-tendon strings could produce a nice sound.\textsuperscript{227} In the Takibanuad clan, their \textit{banhir latuk}

\textsuperscript{222} Nirira, \textit{Bunun Vocabulary}, s.v. “latuk.”
\textsuperscript{223} Kurosawa, \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe}, 831–32.
\textsuperscript{224} Li, Jiang, and Ma, interview.
\textsuperscript{225} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{227} Chen-fu Gu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 17 August 2009, video recording and note-taking, Puli, Nantou County.
only has four strings, whose range is C-D-E-G. In their musical thought, they classify pitch into “mahosngas (G, soprano),” “mandala (E, mezzo soprano),” “mabonbon (D, alto),” and “lagnisgnas (C, bass).”\(^\text{228}\) The \textit{banhir latuk} of the Takibakha clan has five strings, whose range is A-C-D-E-G. They add the string “\textit{diki (A)}” next to the “\textit{madaingan}” string.\(^\text{229}\) The fifth \textit{diki} string has a harmonic function; it is often sounded together with the fourth \textit{madaingan} string.\(^\text{230}\) As regards the way of playing, the Bunun in the Takibakha clan prefer to play the \textit{banhir latuk} with a pair of bamboo strips. The bamboo strips are used to pluck the strings of the \textit{banhir latuk}. In contrast, the Bunun of the Takibanuad clan prefer to play the \textit{banhir latuk} with a single bamboo slip.\(^\text{231}\) The original structure of the \textit{banhir latuk} is a plain wooden board with five strings and without a resonator. Later, the \textit{banhir latuk} players frequently put a metal or wooden box (as a resonator) under the board zither to enhance the volume.\(^\text{232}\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

\textit{Banhir latuk} (the five-stringed zither) were traditionally played for self-entertainment. In Kurosawa’s ethnography of 1943, the \textit{toro-toro} (i.e., the \textit{banhir latuk}) was mainly played for self-entertainment. Men and women are allowed to play the \textit{banhir latuk}. Sometimes the Bunun had a duo for the five-stringed zither and the musical bow.\(^\text{233}\) At that time, people played the \textit{banhir latuk} to relieve the heart of emotions, whether for loneliness or happiness.\(^\text{234}\)

\(^{228}\) Wu, \textit{Bu nong zu yin yue zai chuan tong she hui zhong di gong neng yu jie gou}, 47.  
\(^{229}\) Cf. ibid., 40–41.  
\(^{230}\) Cf. Ibid., 47.  
\(^{231}\) Ibid.  
\(^{232}\) Gu, interview.  
\(^{233}\) Kurosawa. \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe}, 831–32.  
\(^{234}\) “\textit{Banhir latuk}.”
Current function and contexts of use

At present, *banhir latuk* (the five-stringed zither) are mainly played for performance and functions as a symbol of Bunun musical culture. Also, the *banhir latuk* is frequently played in various festivals in Bunun society. Owing to the unusual character of the five-stringed zither, the *banhir latuk* is one of the symbolic markers of Bunun musical culture. Gu states that “the tune of the *banhir latuk* is the same as the tune of the stamping pestles.”\(^{235}\) He does not know why experts and scholars always ask about the pitch of the *banhir latuk*. In other words, when he is playing the instrument by following his instincts, he has no concept of the musical notes of Western culture.\(^{236}\) Example 6.3.7.1, a tune of the *banhir latuk*, was demonstrated by Mr. Chen-fu Gu. Compare Example 6.3.7.1 with Example 6.3.2.1, their tunes are similar.

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Example 6.3.7.1. A tune of the *banhir latuk* five-stringed zither of the Bunun. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

![Musical notation](image)

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Sources where it appears

Mr. Chen-fu Gu is the owner of the *banhir latuk* in Figure 6.3.7.1. He comes from the Takitudu clan in Ren-Ai Township of Nantou County. Now he lives in Puli, Nantou

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\(^{235}\) Gu, interview.

\(^{236}\) Ibid.
County. Gu said that the *banhir latuk* in Figure 6.3.7.1 was designed by him; it was made in the Ming De village of the Isbubukun clan.

**Similar/related instruments**

The *lubug spat qnawal* four-stringed zither of the Seediq-Truku (Subsection 6.11.9) and the *teng gala teng* three-stringed zither of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.9) are both quite similar to the *banhir latuk*.

### 6.3.8 Bishiya (the whistle for hunting muntjac)

**Picture**

Unavailable.

**Etymology**

In Bunun society, a *bishiya* is a kind of whistle that hunters utilise to lure *muntjac* when hunting.

**Description**

Montagu states that “the original inspiration for the flute was the wind whistling across the end of a broken reed … [this] appears in the legends of more than one culture.”

Perhaps *bishiya* (the whistle) also originates from such inspiration.

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Construction

The numerical entry for the bishiya whistle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 412.131. The bishiya whistle is made of dubai bamboo (i.e., Fargesia). Firstly, the maker of the bishiya cuts the top node of the bamboo pipe. The lower end of the bamboo pipe is closed by a natural bamboo node. Secondly, a split is crosscut on the slim bamboo pipe. The bifurcated bamboo pipe is fairly elastic. Sound is produced in the bishiya mainly by applying Bernoulli’s principle of producing plosive sound. The principle is that the airstream quickly passes through the slit on the bamboo pipe. The velocity of the airstream becomes faster and atmospheric pressure diminishes while the bishiya player is blowing. The slit in the bamboo pipe is repeatedly opened and closed by means of the player’s blowing, the elasticity of the bifurcated bamboo pipe, and the change in atmospheric pressure. The player presses the bifurcated bamboo pipe to change the tone.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the player of the bishiya whistle imitates the sound of a muntjac to lure them. Fischer points out that “those sound-producing instruments can produce a different sound to draw prey’s attention and curiosity as well as produce a sound familiar to the female of its prey.” As can be seen, the bishiya whistle can produce a sound familiar to female muntjacs.

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238 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24; see Appendix B.
239 Warren, “Aerodynamics of speech production,” 105-137.
240 Using a source of information from Mr. Nai-yue Hsieh, National Hsinchu Senior High School.
241 Fischer, Sound-Producing Instruments in Oceania, 151–52.
Current function and contexts of use

Currently, *bishiya* (the whistle) functions as a plaything. Now the muntjac is a protected animal in Taiwan; no one is allowed to hunt it. Hence, the *bishiya* whistle is now little used in hunting. However, the Bunun have revived the *bishiya* as a form of plaything to provide people with a sense of nostalgia.

Sources where it appears

People have an opportunity to find the *bishiya* in various workshops producing aboriginal toys in Taiwan.

Similar/related instruments

Mangarevan *vivo* is similar to the *bishiya* whistle. In Mangareva Islands, people called their bamboo whistle *vivo*; it had no tune.\(^{242}\)

\(^{242}\) McLean, *Weavers of Song*, 297.
6.3.9 Tarongat (the nose flute)

Etymology

There are several indigenous terms for the nose flute of the Bunun. In the Takivatan and Takibanuad clans, the Bunun called the single-pipe nose flute tarongat. In the Isbubukun clan, people called their single-pipe nose flute rarungaton.\textsuperscript{243} Their further meanings are unknown. In Nirira’s fieldwork, he found that the lexeme \textit{tu-i’a} means “birds,” “cat,” “oxen,” “crow,” or “cry of war.” The derivative \textit{pa-tu-i’a} means “to play a flute” or “the flute player”; it is composed of the verbalising prefix \textit{pa-} and the lexeme \textit{tu-i’a}. \textit{Pa-tu-i-}

un means “the flute” in Central and Southern Bunun. Also, ma-pa-tu-i’a means “to play a flute” in Southern Bunun.\textsuperscript{244}

**Description**

In the 1930s, Segawa did his illustrated ethnography of plant samples around Taiwan. During this time, he luckily took a unique photograph of the Bunun nose flute (Figure 6.3.9.1) in the Kanaituan sub-clan of the Takivatan clan in Niitaka Prefecture (nowadays Sinyi Township, Nantou County).\textsuperscript{245}

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the tarongat nose flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111.12.\textsuperscript{246} Nose flutes have various physical structures in different Bunun sub-clans. The tarongat nose flute is made of bamboo. In the Robusan sub-clan of the Takibanutad clan (Yuli Township, Hualien County), the tarongat is around 37 cm long with three finger-holes. In contrast, in the Gani and Haisen sub-clans of the Isbubukun clan (Kaohsiung County), the rarungaton is around 45 cm long with five finger-holes.\textsuperscript{247}

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Tarongat (the nose flute) were traditionally played for amusement. In Segawa’s ethnographic photograph, there were the nose flute and the transverse flute to play in a

\textsuperscript{244} Nirira, *Bunun Vocabulary*, s.v. “tu-i’a.”
\textsuperscript{245} Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 283.
\textsuperscript{246} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24–25; see Appendix B.
As stated in Subsection 3.4.1, the photographs of Japanese colonial ethnographers do not wholly reveal the real stories of the traditional performing contexts. It is unknown whether or not the nose flute and the transverse flute were played in a duo in the traditional Bunun contexts. Most players were male. However, both genders were eligible to play the tarongat in the Warabi sub-clan of the Takibaka clan (Sinyi Township). It was taboo to play the tarongat whenever a village had experienced a misfortune or funeral.  

Current function and contexts of use

The tarongat has not been handed down from past generations in Bunun society. Between 1933 and 1940, Japanese officers relocated the Bunun people from Nantou County to Chuohsi and Wanung Townships in Hualien County, and then again on to Haituan and Yenping Townships in Taitung County. As stated precisely, the Japanese introduced Western music, radio, the phonograph, and the harmonium to young aboriginal people (cf. Subsection 3.4.1 The Development of Cultural Policy), and as a result the tarongat (the nose flute) disappeared.

Sources where it appears

Currently, the tarongat merely appears in historical literature.
Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, the *paringit* of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.6), the *turanian* of the Kavalan (Subsection 6.4.7), the *alindan* of the Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.8), and the *tarongat* all belong to the single-pipe nose-flute family.

6.3.10 Rarongaton (the transverse flute)

Picture

![Image of a person playing a flute.](image)

*Figure 6.3.10.1. Rarongaton (the transverse flute). (Reproduced from Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 283.)*

Etymology

The transverse flute has different names among the Bunun clans. In the Isbubukun clan, the Bunun called the transverse flute *rarongaton*, whereas in the Takivatan clan they
called the transverse flute tarongat.253 The meanings for rarongaton and tarongat are unknown.

Description

There is historical literature concerning the transverse flute of the Bunun during the Japanese period (1895–1945). For example, Segawa’s Illustrated Ethnography provides a unique photograph of the Bunun transverse flute.254 Kurosawa’s ethnography provides details about the indigenous names for and the performance context of the Bunun transverse flute.255

Construction

The numerical entry for the rarongaton transverse flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.121.256 The rarongaton transverse flute is made of bamboo; its length is from 30 to 60 cm. It has one to six finger-holes. There is no further literature concerning the distance between the finger-holes and the blowing hole of the rarongaton. The physical structure of rarongaton transverse flutes varies from sub-clan to sub-clan.257

253 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 427.
254 Yuasa, Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi, 283.
255 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 427.
256 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.
257 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 427.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Rarongaton (the transverse flute) were traditionally played for self-amusement. In the Japanese period (1895-1945), it was a taboo to play the rarongaton in seeding season. Instead, it was played in the andaza millet-storing ceremony. Furthermore, when a family member died, a player could dispel loneliness through playing the rarongaton. As regards eligibility, only unmarried men could play the rarongaton except in the Bokurabu sub-clan of the Takibananud clan. The reason for this practice is unknown. In the Bokurabu sub-clan, both genders were eligible to play the rarongaton.258

Current function and contexts of use

The rarongaton has not been handed down from past generations in Bunun society. Again, the aforementioned relocation and the introduction of Western music had a major influence on the disappearance of rarongaton (the transverse flute).259

Sources where it appears

Currently, the rarongaton merely appears in historical literature.260

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258 Ibid.
260 See Yuasa, Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi, 283; Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 427.
Similar/related instruments

The *tipolo* flute of the Amis is similar to the *rarongaton*. In New Zealand, there is the *rehu* side-blown flute with three finger-holes. In past times, Māori blew the *rehu* to summon a meeting.\(^{261}\)

6.4 Kavalan Musical Instruments

The Taiwanese government officially recognised the ethnicity of the Kavalan as the eleventh Taiwanese aboriginal group in 2002. In governmental statistics, the Kavalan now have a population of about 3,000. Their homeland was initially located in the Lanyang Plains (Yilan) of North-eastern Taiwan. The Han people invaded the land of the Kavalan in 1796, and after 1853 many Kavalan people moved southward to Hualien (Eastern Taiwan) and Taitung (South-eastern Taiwan).

The following subsections include information from key-informants Mr. Wen-sheng Li, Mr. Tian-cheng Lin and Mrs. Lin regarding Kavalan musical instruments. Mr. Wen-sheng Li is the deputy chieftain of the Shinshe tribe of the Kavalan people in Hualien County. Mr. Tian-cheng Lin and Mrs. Lin are cultural insiders from the Liu Liu sub-tribe of the Kavalan people in Yilan County. Also, there are many instrument names in the mother tongue of the Kavalan; these are recorded in Paul Jen-kuei Li and Shigeru Tsuchida’s *Kavalan Dictionary.*

6.4.1 Bahadodan alam (the bamboo clapper)

Picture

Unavailable.

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Etymology

There are several indigenous terms for the clapper and its sound. Bahadodan alam is the indigenous name for the bamboo clapper. Bahadodan means “to frighten,” and alam means “bird.” In the Kavalan language, the sound of the bahadodan alam is pronounced qRuqqung or rikriket. The lexeme qRuqqung means “noise.”263 The derivative saqRuqqungsung means “hitting sounds of bamboo”; it is composed of the verbalising prefix sa- and the overlapped qRuqqung to form continuous tense.264 As regards the lexeme riket-, it is a bound root related to noise. Rikriket means “noise,” “sound,” “rustle.” It is composed in radical overlap; for example, “Mai tu rikriket!” (No noise!). The derivative mrikriket means “noise,” “sound,” “rustle” made by people; it is composed of the verbalising prefix m- and the lexeme rikriket.265

Description

The Kavalan are sensitive to distinguishing the nuances of various sounds; hence, they have a detailed taxonomy of sound, as outlined in Figure 7.6.

263 Ibid., s.v. “qRuqqungsung.”
264 Cf. ibid., s.v. “saqRuqqungsung.”
265 Tu is an article. Li and Tsuchida, Kavalan Dictionary, s.v. “riket-.”
Construction

The numerical entry for the *bahadodan alam* clapper according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.14. The structure of the *bahadodan alam* is an elastically bifurcated bamboo tube, both sides of which are complementary sonorous parts that are struck against each other. It is a type of vessel clapper. The *bahadodan alam* is made of a bamboo tube, which is around 80 cm long and 10 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the *bahadodan alam* functioned as a farm tool. Mr. Wen-sheng Li, the deputy chieftain of the Shinshe tribe, recalls using the *bahadodan alam* in his childhood to frighten birds away from his family’s farm where they grew peanuts.

Current function and contexts of use

Currently, the *bahadodan alam* is becoming obsolete.

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266 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.

267 Wen-sheng Li, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shinshe, Hualien County.
Sources where it appears

The bahadodan alam is kept in the memory of the elderly in Shinshe Village, Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

The bird scarer of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.1) and the kapae’pae’ bamboo clapper of the Saisiyat (Subsection 6.9.1) are similar to the bahadodan alam.

6.4.2 Tunun (the dancing stick)

Picture

Figure 6.4.2.1. Tunun (the dancing stick). (Courtesy of Wen-sheng Li.)
Etymology

*Tunun* means “stick” or “pole.” In the Shinshe tribe, the *tunun* is the chieftain’s sceptre.

Description

Hélène La Rue points out that “a musical instrument can be a marker of social status.” Here, the *tunun* functions not simply as a dancing stick but as the chieftain’s sceptre, which is a symbol of high social status.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *tunun* chieftain’s sceptre according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.211. The *tunun* is a long stick, which is made of hard wood. It is circa 20 cm long and 3 cm in diameter. A tuft of loosely hanging tassel, a string of shellfish and a bottle gourd were knotted at the top of the *tunun* for decoration. Also, a coil of red thread was used to wind the *tunun* around its upper half for beautification and to make it easier to grip.

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268 Li, interview.
269 La Rue, “Music, Literature and Etiquette,” 189.
270 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14: see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

In the Shinshe tribe of the Kavalan, the chieftain has to hold his sceptre and wear black clothes during traditional activities (e.g., the Qataban harvest festival). Only the chieftain is eligible to use the tunun as a dancing stick.²⁷¹

Current function and contexts of use

Whenever tribal peoples dance together, the chieftain of the Shinshe tribe uses his sceptre to stamp the floor, thus providing a steady rhythm.²⁷²

Sources where it appears

People could have a look at the chieftain’s sceptre during the Qataban harvest festival.

Similar/related instruments

The Marshallese jobwa dancing stick is similar to the tunun. In the Marshall Islands, chiefs use the jobwa dancing stick to dance. Chiefs can dance the Jobwa Stick Dance with the high chief’s permission.²⁷³ The difference between these instruments is that

²⁷¹ Cf. Li, interview.
²⁷² Cf. ibid.
each Marshallese dancer has a jobwa dancing stick, whereas only the Kavalan chieftain has the tunun dancing stick to lead tribesmen in dance.

6.4.3 Da dodogan bangen (the wooden slit drum)

Etymology

There are several Kavalan terms for the slit drum and drumming. The Kavalan call the wood slit drum da dodogan bangen, in which da dodogan means “drum” and bangen means “wood.”\textsuperscript{274} In the Kavalan language, the sound of a drum is kung na

\textsuperscript{274} Li, interview.
"kukkungan", in which the lexeme *kung* means “sound of knocking.”\textsuperscript{275} The lexeme *kukkungan* means “drum” or “gong” (i.e., the bamboo slit drum); it is composed of the lexeme *kukkung*- and the nominalising suffix -*an*. The derivative *kmukkung* indicates “to knock” or “to beat a drum”; it is composed of the lexeme *kukkung*- and the verbalising infix -*m*.-\textsuperscript{276} Figure 6.4.3.2 below shows the semantic field of the lexemes *kung* and *kukkung*.-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{semantic_field.png}
\caption{The semantic field of the lexemes *kung* and *kukkung*.-}
\end{figure}

**Description**

In ancient times, the majority of Taiwanese aboriginal groups used the bamboo slit drum for signalling. Nowadays, the Kavalan only know the name “*kukkungan*.”

\textsuperscript{275} Li and Tsuchida, *Kavalan Dictionary*, s.v. “kung.”

\textsuperscript{276} Ibid.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *da dodogan bangen* wooden slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. The *da dodogan bangen* in Figure 6.4.2.1 is a ready-made wood slit drum. The wooden slit drum is around 100 cm long and 40 cm high. The width is 12 cm on the side with the slit and 30 cm on the opposite side. The length of the beater is approximately 120 cm.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the Kavalan played *kukkungan* (the bamboo slit drum) as signalling instruments. Using bamboo slit drums was part of Kavalan tradition in ancient times, although *kukkungan* are currently not in use in Kavalan society.

Current function and contexts of use

The *da dodogan bangen* is seemingly unnecessary in the musical activities of contemporary Kavalan. At present, *da dodogan bangen* (the ready-made wooden slit drum) have replaced *kukkungan* (the bamboo slit drum). Occasionally, the Kavalan people accompany their dancing on the *da dodogan bangen*. Li states that the musical group of the Shinshe tribe once brought the *da dodogan bangen* slit drum to perform

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277 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14: see Appendix B.
278 Li, interview.
in Yilan County, but later they did not want to carry the *da dodogan bangen* on their concert tour due to its heaviness. They only wore the *bkia* ankle rattle or the *amil* wrist rattle to perform.\(^{279}\) The Kavalan people occasionally accompany their dance on *da dodogan bangen* (the ready-made wood slit drum). In my opinion, this is possibly due to the influence of the neighbouring Amis people. There are many Amis people to live in the Shinshe tribe (cf. Figure 6.1.2.4).

**Sources where it appears**

The *da dodogan bangen* wooden slit drum is in use in Shin-She Primary School, Hualien County.

**Similar/related instruments**

The *wubon* of the Seediq-Truku (Subsection 6.11.2) and the *gawngu’* of the Atayal (Subsection 6.2.3) both have the same structure as the *da dodogan bangen*. The Tongan *nafa* is similar to the *da dodogan bangen*. The locals accompany their dances (e.g., *me’etu ‘upaki* and *me’elaufola*) on the *nafa* wooden slit drum.\(^{280}\) The difference between them is the playing method. Tongan play the *nafa* by a pair of short beaters.

\(^{279}\) Ibid.

In contrast, the Kavalan play the \textit{da dodogan bangen} with one or two long beaters (see Figure 6.4.3.1).

\textbf{6.4.4 Kringkringan (the forged bell)}

\textbf{Picture}

Unavailable.

\textbf{Etymology}

There are several Kavalan terms for the forged bell and its sound. \textit{Kringkringan} is the indigenous name for the forged bell; it is composed of the lexeme \textit{kringking} and the nominalising suffix \textit{-an}. The lexeme \textit{kring}- is a bound root relative to tinkling (see Figure 6.4.4.1). The lexeme \textit{krikring/kringking} means “sound of a bell”; it is composed in radical overlap.\(^{281}\) The derivative \textit{pakrikring} means “to produce the sound of a bell”; it is composed of the verbalising prefix \textit{pa}- and the lexeme \textit{krikring}.
Description

There are many instrument names in the mother tongue of the Kavalan; these are recorded in Li and Tsuchida’s *Kavalan Dictionary*. It is worth scrutinising these instrument names and musical thought diachronically.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *kringkringan* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.121.\(^\text{283}\) As Li witnessed, the *kringkringan* is made out of metal in a conical shape. It is a hanging forged bell with a separate beater.

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\(^{283}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15: see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

There is no specific literature with reference to the traditional function and performance contexts of the Kavalan forged bell, but there is a lot of historical literature concerning the forged bell of the Plains aborigines (see Subsection 4.2.2).

Current function and contexts of use

*Kringkringan* (the forged bell) became obsolete after the 1970s. Li recalls that around the 1970s a family in the Small Lake area of Shinshe had more than ten children. They struck a hanging metal bell in the shape of an A (a forged bell) to call their children home when dinner was ready. The sound was quite loud.284

Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, many aboriginal groups have a forged bell, such as the *kilikili/sackig* of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.5) and the *tawlriulr* of the Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.2).

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284 Li, interview.
6.4.5 Amil (the wrist rattle) and bkia (the ankle rattle)

Figure 6.4.5.1. Amil (the wrist rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.4.5.2. Bkia (the ankle rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

There are two indigenous names for the Kavalan rattles. Firstly, the *amil* is the rattle worn around women’s wrists while they dance *kisaiz* (a curing ritual for invoking the help of the supreme deities).\(^{285}\) The following is an example from the lyrics of the *kisaiz*, namely, “*Amil sasbadi na kisaiz***” (*Amil is a rattle that one wears while dancing *kisaiz*).\(^{286}\) Secondly, the *bkiat* is a rattle which is worn around women’s ankles while they dance *kisaiz*. There is an example of the *bkiat*, namely, “*Bkiat sasbadi na kisaiz***” (*Bkiat is a rattle that one wears while dancing *kisaiz*).\(^{287}\) In addition, the *amidu* (another spelling of *amil*) was recorded in the first song and the third song of the *kisaiz* suite (which comprises a total of eight songs).

Description

In Montagu’s *Origins and Development of Musical Instruments*, rattles are defined as instruments that are shaken. People attach the rattles to their legs and arms or stitch them to their clothing for use in rituals, dances, and other musical contexts.\(^{288}\)

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\(^{285}\) Li and Tsuchida, *Kavalan Dictionary*, s.v. “*kisaiz***.”

\(^{286}\) Cf. Ibid., s.v. “*amil***.”

\(^{287}\) Li, interview; cf. Li and Tsuchida, *Kavalan Dictionary*, s.vv. “*bkiat***,” “*amil***.”

Construction

The numerical entry for the *amil* wrist rattle and the *bkia* ankle rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.13.\textsuperscript{289} Through my analysis, there are two forms of rattles used in the *kisaiz* curing ritual. Firstly, the *amil* is the wrist rattle. Secondly, the *bkia* is the ankle rattle. In fact, the *amil* and the *bkia* share the same instrumental structure. Each of them contains twenty small pellet bells on a cloth wristlet; these bells are made of metal. The rattles in Figures 6.4.5.1 and 6.4.5.2 are machine-made.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The Kavalan not only use rattles to dance, but also *mtiu* (i.e., the Kavalan female priest) shaken rattles to pray for blessings. By examining the lyrics from the first song and the third song of the *kisaiz* suite, it is possible to understand the performance context of the *amil* and the *bkia*. The following is the lyrics of the third song “Mara tu saray” (The song of taking spiritual thread):

\begin{tabular}{ll}
“Mara tu saray” & “The Song of Taking Spiritual Thread” \\
*siniwawayan-niaq, a hao hei yo a ho wa.* & Our traditional customs \\
*amay qaRpunkus, a hao hei yo a ho wa.* & Never disappear \\
*buratidu babanar, a hao hei yo a ho wa.* & Grass name and arundo donax \\
*amidu saringusing, a hao hei yo a ho wa.* & A large bell is tinkling.\textsuperscript{291}
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{289} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15: see Appendix B.  
\textsuperscript{290} Li and Wu, “Kavalan Folk Songs,” 1211–73.  
\textsuperscript{291} My translation.
Another example is “Bkiat na mqiring nani tu mzukat ti” (Her ankle rattle rang and then [the dead] came out).

As can be seen, both the amil wrist rattle and the bkiat ankle rattle are not simply used to make a boisterous sound when dancing, but also function as ritual tools in the kisaiz curing ritual.

Current function and contexts of use

The amil wrist rattle and the bkiat ankle rattle are both important musical instruments used in dancing for contemporary Kavalan people.

Sources where it appears

People can find the amil and the bkiat in the Shinshe tribe of the Kavalan, Hualien.

Similar/related instruments

In the Vil-Vil Village of Vanuatu, people wear vivangs ankle rattles in the Masks Dances of Malekula; this rattle is made of pangi nuts (Pangium edule seeds).

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292 Cf. Li and Tsuchida, Kavalan Dictionary, s.v. “qiring-.”
293 Cf. “4th Melanesian Festival.”
**6.4.6 Tubtub (the Jew’s harp)**

**Picture**

Unavailable.

**Etymology**

*Tubtub* is the indigenous name of the Jew’s harp in Kavalan society. The derivative *tmubtub* means “to play the Jew’s harp”; for example, “Tubtubi ka!” means “Play the Jew’s harp!”

Figure 6.4.6.1 shows the semantic field of the lexemes *tubtub*.

Another name is *tobu?tobu?*, which is possibly the heterograph of *tubtub*.

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![Semantic field diagram](image)

**Figure 6.4.6.1. The semantic field of the lexeme *tubtub*.**

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295 “Skilful Singing and Dancing of Zhu A-bi.”
Description

The Kavalan are one of the Plains aboriginal groups in Taiwan. There is little literature referring to Kavalan musical instruments, but people can examine the historical literature concerning Plains aboriginal instruments in Subsection 2.1.1.

Construction

Firstly, the numerical entry for the tubtub Jew’s harp (the tongue cut out of a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.21.\textsuperscript{296}

Secondly, the numerical entry for the tubtub Jew’s harp (one tongue fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.\textsuperscript{297}

The physical structure of tubtub (the Jew’s harp) is similar to the Truku lubu. In Paul Jen-kuei Li’s ethnography, Zhu A-bi (the Kavalan informant) claims that she has witnessed a Kavalan elder playing tubtub (the Jew’s harp) in her childhood, which is quite similar to the Truku Jew’s harp. The tubtub is made of a bamboo slice.\textsuperscript{298}

Traditional function and contexts of use

Both males and females were eligible to play the tubtub for entertainment.\textsuperscript{299}

\textsuperscript{296} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16: see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{297} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{298} Cf. “Skilful Singing and Dancing of Zhu A-bi.”
\textsuperscript{299} Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

Unknown.

Sources where it appears

Large-scale fieldwork is needed to glean information concerning the *tubtub* Jew’s harp. Some aboriginal instruments disappeared for ages. Sometimes people find them again through fieldwork. For example, I found some newly discovered musical instruments (e.g., the *paringit* of the Siraya and the *takkik* of the Kavalan) during his fieldwork.

Similar/related instruments

The *tubtub* Jew’s harp of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.3) shares the same name as the Kavalan Jew’s harp. The Kavalan were allied with the Sakizaya in the Qing dynasty period (circa 1870s).
6.4.7 Turanian (the nose flute)

Picture

![Image of a nose flute]

Figure 6.4.7.1. Turanian (the nose flute). (Reproduced from “Kavalan and Ketagalan.”)

Etymology

The lexeme turani- is related to the nose flute; for example, “Turani ka!” means “Play the nose flute.” Turanian means “the nose flute”; it is composed of the lexeme turani- and the nominalising suffix -an. The derivative tmurani means “to play the nose flute”; it is composed of the lexeme turani- and the verbalising infix -m.300 Figure 6.4.7.2 below shows the semantic field of the lexemes turani. In addition, tulaniyan is the heterograph of turanian.301

300 Cf. Li and Tsuchida, Kavalan Dictionary, s.v. “turani-.”
301 “Skilful Singing and Dancing of Zhu A-bi.”
Description

In the Qing dynasty (1683–1895), historical literature (e.g. *Fan She Cai Fen Tu Kao*) refers to the nose flute of the Plains aborigines regarding player’s posture, instrumental structure and its performance context (see Subsection 2.1.1 and 4.2.1).

Construction

The numerical entry for the *turanian* nose flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111.12. The *turanian* (the nose flute) is made of a bamboo pipe, which is around 37.6 cm long and 2.7 cm in diameter (Figure 6.4.7.1). The blowhole of the *turanian* is around 0.4 cm in diameter.

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302 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24–25: see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Both males and females were eligible to play the *turanian* for entertainment.

Current function and contexts of use

At present, the *turanian* nose flute is a museum piece in the Anthropological Museum of NTU. The *turanian* on Figure 6.4.7.1 is the only known existing example.

Sources where it appears

The *turanian* nose flute is well preserved in the storeroom of the Anthropological Museum of Taiwan University in Taipei. People can only see the *turanian* in the digital museum of NTU.

Similar/related instruments

The *paringit* of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.6) and the *alindan* of the Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.8) are both single-pipe nose flutes.

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303 “Skilful Singing and Dancing of Zhu A-bi.”
304 “Kavalan and Ketagalan.”
6.4.8 The Rolled Nanel Leaf

Picture

![Image of a person holding a rolled leaf]

Figure 6.4.8.1. The rolled nanel leaf (Alpinia zerumbet). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

In the Kavalan language, nanel means shell ginger (Alpinia zerumbet).

Description

“Leaf instrument” refers to primitive free-reed (unframed reed) instruments, where sound is produced by stretching the leaf between the thumbs and blowing across the leaf (reed) with the mouth.  

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305 “Free-Reed Instrument.”

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Construction

The numerical entry for the rolled *nanel* leaf according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 412.131. Some Kavalan musical instruments were made of the leaves of *nanel* (*Alpinia zerumbet*). People cut leafstalks of *nanel* off and then rolled up the leaves to form a trumpet, which sounded high-pitched. Sometimes, locals rolled up a leave to blow directly.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The rolled *nanel* leaf traditionally functioned as a toy. People played them just for fun.

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the rolled *nanel* leaf not only functions as a plaything, but also has a pedagogic function. The older generations of the Kavalan teach the younger generations to play the rolled *nanel* leaf. Through learning to make such traditional playthings, the rolled *nanel* leaf provides a sense of nostalgia for people.

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306 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 27: see Appendix B.
307 Tian-cheng Lin and his wife, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 1 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Wujie, Yilan County.
Sources where it appears

The older generations of the Kavalan could make the rolled *nanel* leaf.

Similar/related instruments

Many Austronesian peoples have similar instruments. For example, the *piyu* screw pine oboe of the Sakizaya (Subsection 6.10.8) is similar to the rolled *nanel* leaf. In Hawaii, the sound-making *pū lā‘ī* leaf trumpet is made of a rolled *ti* leaf. And, people rolled a banana leaf into a conical tube to function as the *pū* leaf oboe in Marquesas Islands. Also, the Māori *tuarōria* is made of coprosma leaves, and traditionally, Māori folded leaves and blew through them to imitate bird calls.

6.4.9 *Piuk (the flute or whistle)*

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

The lexeme *piuk* means “flute” or “whistle.” The derivative *pmiuk/pumiuk* means “to play a flute” or “to play a whistle”; it is composed of the lexeme *piuk* and the

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308 Moyle, “Polynesia.”
intoning infix -m/um-; for example, “pmiuk a ti iyung” means “Iyung plays a flute or a whistle.” Figure 6.4.9.1 shows the semantic field of the lexemes piuk.

![Figure 6.4.9.1. The semantic field of the lexeme piuk.](image)

**Description**

I am grateful for Professors Paul Jen-Kuei Li and Shigeru Tsuchida’s *Kavalan Dictionary*. They painstakingly recorded the indigenous name for the flute/whistle. 

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *piuk* flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12. By contrast, the numerical entry for the *piuk* whistle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.11. The *piuk* is made of a bamboo pipe, the structure of which is a form of flute with internal duct. The *piuk* flute has finger-holes. There is no further

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312 Ibid.
313 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26: see Appendix B.
information concerning the number of finger-holes. In contrast, the piuk whistle has no finger-holes.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The *piuk* whistle was played for signalling. The *piuk* flute was played for entertainment.

**Current function and contexts of use**

Unknown.

**Sources where it appears**

The *piuk* flute/whistle has possibly disappeared. The *piuk* is particularly rare in Kavalan society.

**Similar/related instruments**

The *no ngoso’ a tipolo* nose whistle of the Amis is similar to the *piuk*. In ancient times, the Amis played the *no ngoso’ a tipolo* nose whistle for signalling in battle.
6.4.10 Tukkik (the conch trumpet)

Figure 6.4.10.1. The way of playing the *tukkik* (the conch trumpet). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.4.10.2. The structure of the *tukkik* (the conch trumpet). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

The lexeme *tukkik* means “conch” as trumpet. The derivative *tmukkik* means “to play a conch”; it is composed of the lexeme *tukkik* and the verbalising infix -*m*-.

Figure 6.4.10.3 shows the semantic field of the lexemes *tukkik*.

![Semantic field of *tukkik* and *tmukkik*](image)

**Figure 6.4.10.3. The semantic field of the lexeme *tukkik*.**

Description

There was no one can play *tukkik* (the conch) in the Shinshe tribe. Mr. Wen-sheng Li (the deputy chieftain) introduced me to interview Mr. Tian-cheng Lin (the *tukkik* player) in the Liu Liu sub-tribe of Yilan County. Lin may be the only person who can play *tukkik* (the conch) and also has cultural background knowledge of its performance in Taiwan.

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314 Li, interview.  
315 Cf. Li and Tsuchida, Kavalan Dictionary, s.v. “tukkik.”
Construction

The numerical entry for the tukkik conch trumpet according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 423.111.1.\(^\text{316}\) The tukkik (the conch) is around 29 cm long. The blowhole of the tukkik is around 2 cm in diameter. The natural end opening is oval in shape; it is about 15 cm long and 8 cm wide.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The tukkik (the conch) was mainly played for signalling before the 1960s. Tukkik (the conch) functioned as a trumpet for gathering tribesmen together to have an important meeting in ancient times. Also, it was used to signal in fishing. Signalling depended on the length of the sound. For example, the captain stood observing weather on a high area of beach. If he saw sea birds diving to catch fish, it meant a shoal of fish was coming, and he blew the conch (see Example 6.4.10.1), to tell the fishermen to hurry up and pull the fishing net into the boat quickly.

Example 6.4.10.1. The tune “Calling to Fish” on the tukkik conch trumpet. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

\(\text{\footnotesize{\(^{316}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 27: see Appendix B.}}\)
If the conch was blown in one long sound and one short sound (see Example 6.4.10.2), it told fishermen who were drying their nets to pack their nets up urgently as it was about to rain.

**Example 6.4.10.2. The tune “To Pack Fishing Nets, Almost Raining” on the tukkik conch trumpet. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng**

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\[ \text{Music notation} \]
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Mr. Tian-cheng Lin points out that the conch was played in the context of a group of people catching fish at a beach by pulling a large fishing net from the sea. Then the tukkik conch trumpet was blown and people could hear it clearly. The fishing technique was to put a large fishing net into the sea in the shape of an arc by boat. Then the sound of the conch directed people on the beach on both sides of the fishing net to pull the net out of the sea. When the conch sounded (see Example 6.4.10.3), it told the people on the left side to pull the net.

**Example 6.4.10.3. The tune “To Pull the Net on the Left” on the tukkik conch trumpet. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

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\[ \text{Music notation} \]
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The conch sounding (see Example 6.4.10.4) told the people on the right side to pull the net.

Example 6.4.10.4. The tune “To Pull the Net on the Right” on the tukkik conch trumpet.
Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Normally, each side of a large fishing net had at least twenty people pulling. Lin participated in pulling in a fishing net during his childhood, thus he knew the way to blow the conch. He made his own conch. In ancient times, the tukkik conch functioned as a trumpet for gathering tribesmen together to have an important meeting in the Kavalan community.

Current function and contexts of use

Currently, tukkik (the conch) are occasionally played in the opening ceremony of Kavalan festivals. Owing to diasporic movement, the Kavalan people live separately in Yilan County and Hualien County. In recent years, the Yilan Kavalan and the Hualien Kavalan occasionally held a reunion festival together. Mr. Tian-cheng Lin played the tukkik conch trumpet to honour the event in such a performance context.

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317 Lin, interview.
318 Li, interview.
Sources where it appears

I interviewed two indigenous people from the Liu Liu sub-tribe of the Kavalan in Yilan County: Mr. Tian-cheng Lin, who can make and play tukkik (the conch), and his wife Mrs. Lin.

Similar/related instruments

In Samoa, the pū conch trumpet functions as a signalling device; it is similar to the tukkik of the Kavalan.319

319 Moyle, Traditional Samoan Music, 47.
6.5 Paiwan Musical Instruments

The traditional territory of the Paiwan is located in the far south and southeast of Taiwan, namely, Pingtung County and Taitung County. The population of the Paiwan is estimated to be 86,000. Paiwan is also a Formosan language of the Austronesian language family. Paiwan society is hierarchical, and it is a primogeniture society. The Paiwan divide their hierarchical system into noble rank, distinguished rank, and commoner rank. Their primogeniture is the first-born child, whether male or female, who inherits the parent’s entire wealth, estate, and title. The following subsections provide insider information concerning Paiwan musical instruments as collected from Mr. Guulhelhe Djakulavu, Djakulavu Snr (chieftain’s son) and Madam Djakulavu.

6.5.1 Tjaudring (the forged bell)

Picture

Figure 6.5.1.1. Tjaudring (the forged bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

320 Cf. “Paiwan.”
Etymology

There are several indigenous terms for the Paiwan forged bell and its sound producing. The Paiwan forged bell is a so-called hip bell among the East Paiwan community. *Tjaudring* is the indigenous name of the Paiwan forged bell. In the Japanese period, Kurosawa recorded different names for the forged bell in Paiwan society. For example, people called the forged bell *Ho-ogan* in Djumulje (Jomoru) Village of Taitung, and people called it *Cha-ure* in Ka-alooan (Ka-arowa) Village of Taitung.\(^{321}\) As regards terms for the sound producing, the lexeme *keling* is onomatopoeic. The derivative *k-alj-eling* means “to have a ringing sound.” Another derivative *pa-k-alj-eling* means “to ring a bell.”\(^{322}\) The lexeme *kingking* is onomatopoeic. Its derivative *k-al-ingking* means “to have a ringing sound.” Another derivative *pa-k-al-ingkingking-en* means “a bell” as well as “to strike with a ringing sound.”\(^{323}\)

Description

There are many historical accounts with reference to the forged bell of Taiwanese aborigines. Refer to Subsection 4.2.2.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *tjaudring* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122.\(^{324}\) The *tjaudring* is a forged


\(^{322}\) Ferrell, *Paiwan Dictionary*, s.v. “*keeling*.”

\(^{323}\) Ibid., “*kingking*.”

\(^{324}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
concussion bell made of wrought iron. The conical bell has a diameter of about 5 cm at the top and 7 cm at the bottom, with a slit from top to bottom. The top is attached to an 18 cm long forged tube, and a 4 cm long metal clapper is attached inside by wire. The wooden hanger is carved into the figure of a human face, and is attached to the bell with steel wire or a leather cord. The hanger passes through the player’s waist belt behind their back. It sounds in response to body movement.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Historically, the *tjaudring* was used as a signalling instrument. When a person died, the chieftain dispatched the young of the men’s house with the *tjaudring* forged bell to deliver an obituary from village to village.325

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, people can find the Paiwan forged bell in Laliba Tu Ban Village of Da Ren Township and Lalaulan of Shiang Lan Village of Tai Ma Li Township in Taitung County. Laliba Village called the forged bell *tjaudring*. On 2 June 2006, the Bureau of Taitung Public Health set up an Emergency Medical Station at the Health Centre of Da Wu Township (the far southeast of Taitung). During its opening ceremony, six Paiwan women from the Laliba Women’s Society of Tu Village of Da Ren Township carried the *tjaudring* (the forged hip bell) with a loud clang to deliver this good news to locals.326 Through this news, we know that the forged bell still exists in the Paiwan community of Da Ren Township. As can be seen, the *tjaudring* is still used as a signalling instrument.

326 Taitung Christian Hospital, “First EMS.”
Additionally, *tjaudring* (the forged bell) is an emblem of tribe. In the 2009 United Harvest Festival of Jin Feng Township, Paiwan participants came from different villages within or outside the Jin Feng Township. Some of them came from the Kayaljuran sub-tribe, which is located on the Xin Yuan Road of Taitung City. When the Kayaljuran contingent marched into the site of the United Harvest Festival, they were led by an armed warrior with a shield and lance. A *tjaudring* forged bell was suspended from his lance (see Figure 6.5.1.2); it clanged loudly. At that time, the *tjaudring* became an emblem of tribal pride.

![Tjaudring (the forged bell)](image.png)

*Figure 6.5.1.2. Tjaudring (the forged bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*
Sources where it appears

In Taitung, people can find the *tjaudring* forged bell in the united Paiwan harvest festival.

Similar/related instruments

Many Taiwanese aboriginal groups (e.g., the Puyuma, the Amis, the Ruai, and the Tsou) have similar forged bells. The name *tjaudring* is almost the same as the name *taudring* of the Rukai and the name *tawlriulr* of the Puyuma. Three cultures share a similarly named forged bell, possibly because they have geographical contact and relationships of intermarriage and politics. The noble classes of the Rukai and Paiwan intermarried to maintain their noble status. Some of the Paiwan sub-tribes had political alliances with the Puyuma in the Qing dynasty period (1683-1895).

6.5.2 *Ljaljuveran* (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

![Ljaljuveran (the Jew’s harp)](image)

Figure 6.5.2.1. *Ljaljuveran* (the Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

There are several indigenous terms for the Paiwan Jew’s harp and its sound. Guulhelhe Djakulavu suggests that *ljaljuveran* is the indigenous name for the Jew’s harp.

*Ljaluveran* indicates both the sound and the way of playing.327 On the basis of Ferrell’s *Paiwan Dictionary*, the lexeme *lja-ljuver-an* means “the Jew’s harp.” Its derivative *lj-m-aljuveran* means “to play the Jew’s harp.”328 The prefix *lja-* means “belonging to a given category.”329 Next, the suffix *-an* is a referent focus, which implies a specific type.330 Moreover, the lexeme *qungqung* is onomatopoeic; it indicates the sound of the Jew’s harp in Western Paiwan. The derivative *qa-qungqung-an* means “the Jew’s harp”; it is composed of the nominalising prefix *qa-* , the lexeme *qungqung*, and the nominalising suffix *-an*.331 The prefix *qa-* is usually used to form part of a noun.332 The suffix *-an* is a

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327 Guulhelhe Djakulavu, Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 24 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001–3.WAV), Sabuyu, Taitung County.
329 Ibid., s.v. “ɬu.”
330 Ibid., s.v. “-an.”
331 Ibid., s.v. “qungqung.”
332 Ibid., s.v. “qa-.”
referent focus; it indicates a specific type.\textsuperscript{333} In addition, Li records the name for the copper heteroglottic Jew’s harp as \textit{dziadziubulang}, and the name for the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp is “\textit{barubaru} in the Seveng sub-tribe of the Paiwan.”\textsuperscript{334} Also, \textit{ljaljuveran} and \textit{dziadziubulang} have a similar pronunciation although different spelling.

**Description**

I asked Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu about the Paiwan name of the Jew’s harp, and they responded that “The Jew’s harp belongs to the Atayal people; by contrast, the nose flute belongs to our Paiwan people.”\textsuperscript{335} Such a response reflects Taiwan’s mass media even though Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu knew that the Paiwan have their traditional \textit{ljaljuveran} (the Jew’ harp). For a long time, the mass media have reported on the Atayal Jew’s harp and the Paiwan nose flute.

**Construction**

In this research, I found three types of \textit{ljaljuveran} during my fieldwork. The numerical entry for the first type of \textit{ljaljuveran} Jew’s harp (the tongue cut out of a bamboo frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.21.\textsuperscript{336} Next, the numerical entry for the second type of \textit{ljaljuveran} Jew’s harp (one tongue fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{333} Ib\textit{id}., s.v. “-an.”
\item \textsuperscript{334} Li, “Comparative Study of the Jew’s Harp,” 96.
\item \textsuperscript{335} Djakulavu, interview.
\item \textsuperscript{336} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
As for the third type of *ljaljuveran* Jew’s harp with several tongues, the numerical entry is 121.222. 337

Guulhelhe claims that “the Paiwan do not have a metal idioglottic Jew’s harp. The Jew’s harps of the Paiwan are all made out of *qua* (bamboo). Only the tongue of the Jew’s harp is made out of metal.” 338 Guulhelhe’s claim is disproved by Kurosawa, who found a metal idioglottic Jew’s harp called *jajiburan* in the Tjakuvukuvulj sub-tribe of the Paiwan during his fieldwork (around 1943). 339 Further, a type of bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp with a jerking string is extremely common among all aboriginal groups in Taiwan. However, Guulhelhe Djakulavu, a Paiwan musician, has a kind of bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp (Figure 6.5.2.1) that is directly plucked by a finger rather than indirectly jerked by a string. This type of Jew’s harp has never been seen before in Taiwan. During the interview, I double-checked and asked Guulhelhe whether this kind of Jew’s harp came from Southeast Asia. Guulhelhe disproved this hypothesis, and instead confirmed that this kind of Jew’s harp originated from Paiwan society. 340

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Traditionally, *ljaljuveran* (the nose flute) were played for self-amusement. As reported by Kurosawa, both genders of the Paiwan were eligible to play the *ljaljuveran* for entertainment. 341 In her fieldwork, Li found that the majority of *ljaljuveran* players were

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338 Djakulavu, interview.
340 Djakulavu, interview.
female. Girls played the Jew’s harp to express their feelings and yearnings. The \textit{ljaljuveran} was already unfashionable at that time (around 1956).\textsuperscript{342}

\textbf{Current function and contexts of use}

Now the \textit{ljaljuveran} functions as an emblematic musical instrument of the Paiwan and an exotic souvenir of the Paiwan in some tourist locations. Many Paiwan people regard the Jew’s harp as the musical instrument of the Atayal, and the nose flute is the emblematic musical instrument of the Paiwan due to its representation in Taiwan’s mass media. Moreover, the \textit{ljaljuveran} is sold as an exotic souvenir in some tourist centres. Normally, these Jew’s harps have a somewhat different decoration from traditional \textit{ljaljuveran} due to considerations of attractiveness, otherness and technology.

\textbf{Sources where it appears}

People can find the \textit{ljaljuveran} Jew’s harp in the Paiwan communities of Kaoshiong, Pintung, and Taitung.

\textbf{Similar/related instruments}

Many Taiwanese aboriginal groups have similar idioglottic and heteroglottic Jew’s harps. As regards the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp, which is directly plucked by a finger, many Austronesian peoples have similar Jew’s harps (e.g., the \textit{mokena} of Tonga and the

\textsuperscript{342} Cf. Li, “Comparative Study of the Jew’s Harp,” 101.
tioro of Marquesas\textsuperscript{343}). The Marquesan tioro and the Taiwanese Jew’s harp both have a speaking function for people’s communication.\textsuperscript{344}

**6.5.3 Ljaljetjukan (the musical bow)**

**Picture**

![Figure 6.5.3.1. Ljaljetjukan (the musical bow). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009).](image)

**Etymology**

There are several Paiwan terms for the musical bow. Djakulavu Snr called the musical bow \textit{penana}.\textsuperscript{345} As reported by Ferrell, the lexeme \textit{ljaljetjukan} means “the musical bow.”

Its derivative \textit{lj-m-aljetjukan} is composed of the verbalising infix \textit{-m-} and the lexeme \textit{ljaljetjukan}, which means “to play the musical bow.”\textsuperscript{346}

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\textsuperscript{343} See Moyle, \textit{Tongan Music}, 75; Moulin, “Exploring Word-Based Performance,” 130–60.

\textsuperscript{344} Cf. Moulin, “Exploring Word-Based Performance,” 130–60.

\textsuperscript{345} Djakulavu, interview.

\textsuperscript{346} Ferrell, \textit{Paiwan Dictionary}, s.v. “la\textsuperscript{̪}etjukan.”
Description

Kurosawa’s ethnographic team recorded many indigenous names for the musical bow in Paiwan society (e.g., ararigiyan in Lower Paiwan, rarigiyan in Wakaba, aougan in Toa, and rarichokan in Ka-rowan). These instrumental names were recorded in Japanese katakana. Hence, the spelling is more or less different from the indigenous pronunciation.

Construction

The numerical entry for the ljaljetjukan musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 311.121.11. The bow of the ljaljetjukan (the musical bow) is made of bamboo, which is around 100 cm long and 2 cm wide. The ljaljetjukan-maker cut a notch at each edge of the top end of the bow for binding the string, and then pierced a hole at the end of the bow for threading the string through the hole, held by a knot. The string of the ljaljetjukan is made of fibre from the beautiful galangal leaf. Steel wire and linen thread are also suitable materials for ljaljetjukan strings. In this research, Guulhelhe utilises nylon line as a string (see Figure 6.5.3.1).

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, Paiwan men played ljaljetjukan (the musical bow) for self-entertainment. In Kurosawa’s record, only males were eligible to play the musical bow in ancient times. The Paiwan men played the ljaljetjukan for self-entertainment, especially on the way to visit girls.

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347 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 369–70.
348 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
349 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 369–70.
350 Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

Some people treat the *ljaljetjukan* as a cultural treasure of the Paiwan, and still play it for fun (i.e., self-entertainment).

Sources where it appears

I found the *ljaljetjukan* in the Sabuyu sub-tribe of the Paiwan, Taitung County.

Similar/related instruments

The Micronesian *belembaotuyan* is different from the Paiwan *ljaljetjukan*. Many Taiwanese aboriginal groups have a musical bow, which uses the mouth as the resonator. In contrast, the *belembaotuyan* musical bow of Guam in the Marianas has a guard attached as its resonator. The *belembaotuyan* is played by tapping it with a stick.\(^{351}\)

6.5.4 Lalingedan (the nose flute)

Etymology

Both *pakulalu* and *lalingedan* are names for the nose flute. In Northern Paiwan, the nose flute is called *lalingedan*. In Eastern Paiwan, the nose flute is called *pakulalu*.

In the light of linguistic analysis, the lexeme *lalingedan* means “the nose flute.” The derivative *l-* *m-* *alingedan* is composed of the verbalising infix *-m-* and the lexeme *lalingedan*, which means “to play the nose flute.” Moreover, the derivative *l-* *m-* *alingelingedan* is composed of the verbalising infix *-m-* and the reduplication of the lexeme *lalingedan*, which means “to be playing the nose flute.”

Additionally, the lexeme *linged* is a synonym of *lalingedan* (the nose flute).

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352 Djakulavu, interview.
354 Ibid., s.v. “linged.”
Description

In former days, there was no flute that was played by the nose in the Sabuyu sub-tribe of the Eastern Paiwan. The name *lalingdan* originates from Kuljaljau, Northern Paiwan.\(^{355}\)

Construction

The *lalingdan* double-pipe nose flute belongs to a kind of end-blown flute, whose structure comprises one pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes. There is no suitable numerical entry for the *lalingdan* nose flute in the Hornbostel-Sachs system; therefore, I extend a numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system, which is 421.113 and means: mixed sets of end-blown flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes.\(^{356}\)

For the Paiwan, many local bamboos (e.g., *lumalumai*, *aumaumak*, and *katseva*) are suitable material for making a *lalingdan* nose flute.\(^{357}\) Both bamboo pipes are around 3.5 cm in diameter and 60 cm long. The *lalingdan* comprises one bamboo pipe with finger-holes and another bamboo pipe without finger-holes. The Paiwan called the pipe with finger-holes *qivuivu*, which means “speaking.” The *qivuivu* functions as *tsemiketsikem* (the main melody). Traditionally, the *qivuivu* of the *lalingdan* has three finger-holes. In recent decades, the flute-makers invented a tradition to extend the finger-holes of the *lalingdan* from three to five (see Table 6.5.4.1). The Paiwan call the pipe without finger-holes *zemangrau*, which indicates “to sound in cooperation.” The structure of the double-pipe *lalingdan* is a reflection of the singing style of the Paiwan, namely, a

\(^{355}\) Djakulavu, interview.

\(^{356}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.

man sings in solo and a group of people sing in drone with different lyrics to harmonise the main melody.\textsuperscript{358}

Table 6.5.4.1 The finger assignment of the \textit{lalingdan} double-pipe nose flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finger-holes</th>
<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

● = cover finger-hole ○ = uncover finger-hole

Traditional function and contexts of use

In the Paiwan tradition, the \textit{lalingdan} was mainly played during courtship. Males of aristocratic blood were eligible to play the \textit{lalingdan}.\textsuperscript{359} A girl would know that a nobleman was wooing her when someone was playing the \textit{lalingdan} around her house.

\textsuperscript{358} Ibid., 20–33.

\textsuperscript{359} Ibid., 22.
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, *lalingdan* (the double-pipe nose flute) are mainly played for performance, and the instrument has become a symbol of Paiwan culture. The performance context of the *lalingdan* is primarily for earning “economic capital” and “social capital” (i.e., respect) from others.\(^{360}\) In other words, professional nose flute players perform in various settings.

\(^{360}\) See Subsection 2.1.3 The Review of Chun-bin Chen’s “Voices of Double Marginality.”
such as aboriginal shows, festivals and workshops. Example 6.5.4.1 is the tune of the invented *lalingedan* with five finger-holes, which was recorded by me at the Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village on 19 September 2012 (see Subsection 5.2.3). The *lalingdan* has become synonymous with Paiwan culture in recent decades as a result of reports in the mass media. For this reason, the *lalingdan* has become the symbol of Paiwan culture, even if other aboriginal groups have similar nose flutes.

**Sources where it appears**

People have an opportunity to appreciate the tune of the *lalingdan* in Pingtung County and Taitung County.

**Similar/related instruments**

The *pulrari* double-pipe nose flute of the Rukai is quite similar to the *lalingdan* in terms of structure and performance context. Many Austronesian peoples have the single-pipe nose flute, such as the Wallisian *fangufangu*, Niuean *kilikibo*, Cook Islander *ko‘e*, Tahitian *vivo*, Mangarevan *pu ko‘e*, Marquesan *ki kobe puru*, Hawaiian *‘obe bano ibu*, Samoan *fa‘aili* and Tongan *fangufangu*.\(^{361}\) However, only Taiwanese aboriginal groups have the double-pipe nose flute.

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6.5.5 Kulalu (the single-pipe mouth flute)

Picture

![Image of Kulalu](image_url)

Figure 6.5.5.1. Kulalu (the single-pipe mouth flute). (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

There are several Paiwan terms for the mouth flute and its sound. The mouth flute is called *pakulalu*. *Pakulalu* has a connection with the mouth. So *pakulalu* indicates that the flute was played by the mouth. In linguistic analysis, the lexeme *kulalu* means “the flute.” There are many derivatives of *kulalu*, such as: *pa-kulalu*, which means “to play the flute”; *k-m-ulalu*, which means “to play the flute”; *k-m-ulalulalu*, which means “to be playing
the flute”; and \textit{s-m-ane-kulalu}, which means “to make the flute.”\textsuperscript{362} In addition, the lexeme \textit{lalu} is a synonym of \textit{kulalu}.\textsuperscript{363}

\section*{Description}

The single-pipe vertical flute is a common musical instrument among Taiwanese aboriginal groups.

\section*{Construction}

The \textit{kulalu} single-pipe mouth flute is a type of vertical flute with an internal duct. Within the Hornbostel and Sachs instrument system, the \textit{kulalu} would be classified as 421.221.12.\textsuperscript{364} The bamboo pipe of the single-pipe \textit{kulalu} is around 2 cm in diameter and 65 cm long. The orifice of the \textit{kulalu} single-pipe mouth flute is chamfered by knife on the back wall of the bamboo pipe. The maker plugs a block into the upper end of the bamboo pipe after shaping it to form its internal duct. The Paiwan call the inserted block \textit{puluk}; it is made of \textit{vus}, a wood which is neither too soft nor too hard.\textsuperscript{365}

\section*{Traditional function and contexts of use}

In ancient times, only successful headhunters were eligible to play the \textit{kulalu} mouth flute. At that time, the \textit{kulalu} player also played it during courtship. It is clear that the \textit{kulalu} allowed successful headhunters the privilege of attracting girls’ attention.\textsuperscript{366}

\textsuperscript{362} Ferrell, \textit{Paiwan Dictionary}, s.v. “kulalu.”
\textsuperscript{363} Ibid., s.v. “lalu.”
\textsuperscript{364} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{365} Hu, \textit{Pai wan zu di bi di yu kou di}, 22.
\textsuperscript{366} Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

Now everyone is eligible to play the kulalu mouth flute; people play it for entertainment. The kulalu also functions as a cultural souvenir of the Paiwan in some tourist attractions.

Sources where it appears

People can find the kulalu in Pingtung County and Taitung County.

Similar/related instruments

The alindan mouth flute of the Puyuma, the gao headhunter’s flute of the Atayal, and the mga

6.5.6 Kulalu (the double-pipe mouth flute)

Picture

![Image of Kulalu](image)

Figure 6.5.6.1. Kulalu (the double-pipe mouth flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

The double-pipe mouth flute is also called kulalu or pakulalu. The double-pipe kulalu is the same as the single-pipe kulalu (refer to Subsection 6.5.5).

Description

In ancient times, the vertical flutes of Taiwanese aboriginal groups were all more or less related to the activity of headhunting.\(^{367}\)

Construction

The kulalu double-pipe mouth flute is a type of flute with an internal duct, whose structure comprises one pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes. There is no suitable numerical entry for the kulalu double-pipe mouth flute in the Hornbostel-Sachs system; hence, I extend a numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system, which is 421.222.13 and means: mixed sets of internal duct flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes).\(^{368}\) Both bamboo pipes are around 3 cm in diameter and 55 cm long. The construction of the double-pipe kulalu is almost the same as the single-pipe kulalu (cf. Subsection 6.5.5). The only difference between them is that the double-pipe kulalu comprises one pipe with finger-holes and the other without finger-holes (Figure 6.5.6.1). Vines were used to bind the dual bamboo pipes at the top and bottom end.

\(^{368}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

The double-pipe kulalu and the single-pipe kulalu had the same traditional function and contexts of use (see 6.5.5). The double-pipe kulalu possibly reflected the lalingdan double-pipe nose flute because Paiwan commoners were not eligible to play the lalingdan due to the social hierarchical system.

Current function and contexts of use

At present, the double-pipe kulalu is mainly played for entertainment. The double-pipe kulalu is quite popular among contemporary performers due to its great volume and easy method of blowing compared with lalingdan (the double-pipe nose flute).

Sources where it appears

People can find the kulalu in Pingtung County and Taitung County.

Similar/related instruments

The invented no ngoso’ a tipolo nose flute with internal duct of the Amis (Figure 6.1.10.1) is similar to the structure of the double-pipe kulalu. The double-pipe duct flute functions as the mouth flute in Paiwan and Rukai societies. In contrast, the double-pipe duct flute functions as the nose flute in Amis society.
6.6 Pazih-Kahabu Musical Instruments

The Pazih (or Pazeh) mainly live in Central Taiwan (e.g., Miaoli, Taichung, and Nantou County). The existing Pazih language comprises two main dialects (i.e., Auran and Kahabu, see Figure 6.6.1). Speakers of these dialects are able to communicate with each other. Ferrell classifies both of them as the Pazeh-Kahabu language. However, Ying-yu Pan (a Kahabu informant) mentions that the Pazih and the Kahabu were hostile to each other in ancient times, while Da-zou Pan (a Pazih informant) insists that the Kahabu are a sub-tribe of the Pazih. For these reasons, I classify the musical instruments of the Pazih and the Kahabu as “Pazih-Kahabu Musical Instruments.” The following subsections concerning Pazih-Kahabu musical instruments contain information that has been gathered from cultural insiders, Chieftain Da-zou Pan and Chieftain Ying-yu Pan.

![Diagram of Pazih-Kahabu dialects]

Figure 6.6.1. The Dialects of the Pazih Language. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

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370 Li and Tsuchida, *Pazih Dictionary*.
372 Ying-yu Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 August 2009, digital recording (RHP006–RHP008), Shoucheng, Puli, Nantou County.
373 Da-zou Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 20 September 2009, digital recording (MIC0004), Liyutan Village, Sanyi, Miaoli County.
6.6.1 Dong dong (the bamboo slit drum)

Picture

![Dong dong (the bamboo slit drum)](image)

*Figure 6.6.1. Dong dong (the bamboo slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

Etymology

*Dong dong* is the indigenous name for the bamboo slit drum. It sounds like someone’s back being beaten. *Dong dong* means the sound of the bamboo slit drum, and is onomatopoeiaic.\(^{374}\)

Description

The Kahabu New Year is on 15 November of the Chinese lunar calendar. The Kahabu get a subsidy from the aboriginal committee of the Nantou county government whenever they hold the Kahabu New Year. However, it is difficult for them to get subsidy from the central government of the ROC because the Pazih-Kahabu are unrecognised by the ROC government since most of them have been assimilated into Han Taiwanese society.\(^{375}\)

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\(^{374}\) Ying-yu Pan, interview.

\(^{375}\) Ibid.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *dong dong* slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. The *dong dong* (the bamboo slit drum) is made of a hard bamboo. Initially, the *dong dong* was a single-tone slit drum. The double-tone bamboo slit drum in Figure 6.6.1.1 was made in Tainan. Mr. Zheng-shiong Wan of the Siraya is a slit drum maker. First, the *dong dong*-maker pares off the bamboo covering around the slits. The slits are incised by a knife. There is a node between the slits, and the double ends of the *dong dong* are closed. Then bamboo sticks are plugged between two slits to prop up the bamboo skin at both ends. The player uses a pair of beaters to strike the bamboo slit drum. The double bamboo slit drum produces a different sound from each side: one side has a bright sound and the other side has a dull sound.

The size of bamboo tube and the thickness of the bamboo covering around the slits have a significant influence on the timbre of the *dong dong*.

Example 6.6.1.1. A tune of the *dong dong*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The Kahabu have used the bamboo slit drum since ancient times. The instrument has been played traditionally to accompany singing, the harvest ceremony and dancing. The

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376 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
377 Ying-yu Pan, interview.
*dong dong* player would normally place the bamboo slit drum on his leg to accompanying singing and dancing by others.\textsuperscript{378}

**Current function and contexts of use**

These are the same as the traditional function and contexts of use. Currently, the *dong dong* is played in tourist and political contexts.\textsuperscript{379}

**Sources where it appears**

The *dong dong* is well preserved in the Kahabu Association in Puli, Nantou County.

**Similar/related instruments**

The Siraya and Vanuatuan people both have similar bamboo slit drums. The *tubtub* bamboo slit drum of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.3) is the same as the *dong dong*. In Melanesia, the northern Vanua Lava group has a similar bamboo slit drum in Ureparapara Island, Vanuatu.\textsuperscript{380}

\textsuperscript{378} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{379} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{380} Speiser, *Ethnology of Vanuatu*, Plate 108.
6.6.2 Dung dung kaxui zunga (the trunk gong)

Figure 6.6.2.1. Dung dung kaxui zunga (the trunk gong). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.6.2.2. Dung dung (the trunk gong). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

*Dung dung kaxui zunga* is the indigenous name for the trunk gong. *Dung dung* means “drum,” *Kaxui* means “tree,” and *zunga* indicates “goat.”

Description

Montagu suggests that there are many factors affecting the pitch of the slit drum, such as the volume of the cavity, the area of the opening, the density of wood, and the thickness of the lip on the slit drum.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *dung dung* trunk gong according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. There is a natural opening on the *dung dung kaxui zunga* trunk gong. Striking different places on the tree gong can produce different sounds. Ying-yu Pan, cultural insider, often uses a pair of beaters to strike different places on the trunk gong. The tree gong weighs more than one hundred jin (1 jin equals 600 grams). Pan chose the trunk of a camphor tree (Figure 6.6.2.1), which can produce a good sound. Camphor can keep bugs away. A good trunk gong is viewed as one that can produce a sustained tone rather than a short tone. The small tree gong (Figure 6.6.2.2) is made out of Chinese juniper cypress. Pan suggests that the trunk gong was made of the trunk of a *linko* (cypress/Chinese Juniper). However, the trunk gong

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381 Ying-yu Pan, interview.
383 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
would have a good sound if it was made of zhuiko (cypress/Chinese Juniper). The people of Sun Moon Lake (the Thao) prefer the zhuiko tree. Its beater is made out of hard wood (e.g., pomegranate, gauzhan, or chialion).\(^{384}\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

Traditionally, the Kahabu used a *dung dung kaxui zunga* (the trunk gong) to deliver messages. It was usually suspended from a tree with a rope, with drummers having different playing postures when playing. Ideally, a player would provide a steady and precise meter and rhythm when accompanying singing and dancing.\(^{385}\)

**Current function and contexts of use**

Currently, the Kahabu play the *dung dung* during various aboriginal festivals. Whenever there is convenient transportation, Pan will bring the *dung dung kaxui zunga* trunk gong to perform. If transportation is not convenient, he will bring the small *dung dung* or the ready-made wooden slit drum (see Subsection 6.11.2).

**Sources where it appears**

The *dung dung* is well preserved in the Kahabu Association in Puli, Nantou County.

**Similar/related instruments**

Many Austronesian peoples have related instruments. For example, the *pahū* of Māori was used for signalling. The *pahū* (the wooden gong) was made of *Podocarpus totara*; its

\(^{384}\) Ying-yu Pan, interview.  
\(^{385}\) Ibid.
structure was a slab with an elliptical hole in the centre. The pahū was suspended by ropes from a ridge-pole built on a high platform. The drumming of the pahū could be heard from six to ten miles away.\textsuperscript{386} Another Māori pahū was a form of trunk gong; one side of the trunk was hollow with a long tongue of wood. In the old days, travellers struck the pahū trunk gong to announce their approach to the village in Kakau. In Te Whaiti, the pahū trunk gong functioned as an alarm gong.\textsuperscript{387}

6.6.3 Duang duang (the bronze gong)

Picture

![Duang duang (the bronze gong)](image)

Figure 6.6.3.1. Duang duang (the bronze gong). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

\textsuperscript{386} Andersen, “Māori Music,” 690–91.
\textsuperscript{387} McLean, \textit{Maori Music}, 166–72.
Etymology
There are several Pazih-Kahabu terms for the bronze gong. Pan points out that the Kahabu language depends on onomatopoeia to name musical instruments, such as the *duang duang*.388 *Duen* and *duin* also mean gong using different spellings.389 *Paduen* means “to strike gong”;390 it is composed of the lexeme *duen* and uses the verbalising prefix *pa*. The derivative *paduenduen* means “to warn people by striking gong.”391

Description
In the old paintings of the Qing Dynasty, there were many portrayals of the gong of the Plains. It is rare and the Kahabu still keep the ancient gong in a good condition. Pan states that the Ailan (i.e., Auran) sub-tribe also had a flat bronze gong, but they now use the bossed gong of the Han Taiwanese.

Construction
The numerical entry for the *duang duang* bronze gong according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.241.1.392 The *duang duang* (the bronze gong) (Figure 6.6.3.1) is around 36 cm in diameter and its rim is about 1.5 cm high. The bronze gong has a large and a small size. The gongs of both the Hakka Taiwanese and the Taoist are bossed in their centres, but the bronze gong of the Kahabu is completely flat. Pan

388 Ying-yu Pan, interview.
390 Ibid., 233.
391 Ibid., 137.
392 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
points out that “Their sounds are also different. The sound of the gongs of the Hakka Taiwanese and the Taoist is simply ‘chian chian chian chian’; the sound of the gong of the Kahabu is ‘duang duang duang duang’ [with a profound echo].”^393 The traditional Kahabu gong was made of bronze, which was flattened by a hammer. Now it is very difficult to find this kind of gong. The old gong (Figure 6.6.3.1) with a carved beater is the survivor of a past age from the Kahabu ancestors. The decoration on the wood beater is carved with flower patterns. The gong is more than one hundred years old. It is an ancestral antique of the Kahabu. Pan mentions that contemporary gongs produce short tones.\textsuperscript{394} When Pan (the Kahabu informant) struck the gong, the sound was prolonged with a great echo, and my body could feel the vibration of the sound wave. The sound resembled a wave increasing quickly and becoming extremely intense, then decreasing again.\textsuperscript{395}

Traditional function and contexts of use
Before World War II, the gong was used in keeping watch, signalling, singing and dancing. The gong was struck particularly at the beginning and at the end of dancing. The Pazih played the gong in the morning of the Pazih New Year to tell all the villagers about the New Year celebration. The main performance context was when hunters secured a good bag of game during the New Year, and they played the gong to invite all the tribesmen to share their meat and have a banquet together. At that time, all the tribesmen

\textsuperscript{393} Ying-yu Pan, interview.  
\textsuperscript{394} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{395} Ibid.
danced together.\textsuperscript{396} In the New Year Festival of the Kahabu, tribesmen played the tree drum or the bamboo slit drum in dancing and played the gong in the finale.

Furthermore, the bronze gong was primarily used to make a warning sound to safeguard the Kahabu of Nantou. Qing empire Chinese regarded the Kahabu as one of the “cooked/tame barbarians” (i.e., the Sinicised Plains aborigines) and used the strategy of controlling aborigines using aborigines. Around 1875, numerous Han people migrated to the Puli basin, and the Kahabu villages functioned as a buffer zone between Han people settlements and “raw barbarians” (i.e., untamed Taiwanese aborigines) for safeguarding the Puli basin (cf. Subsection 3.4.1). For instance, the Atayal, Seediq, and Bunun live near the Kahabu villages in Puli. The Bunun live behind the Veterans’ Hospital of Puli, the Seediq live in Wushe, and the Atayal live behind the opposite mountain. During the Qing dynasty period (1683-1895), these mountain aboriginal peoples sometimes came into the Puli basin to hunt human heads. Watchtowers gave the Kahabu a good view of the area around the Puli basin they were guarding; guards took turns watching. The Kahabu warriors struck the gong as a warning whenever the enemy was coming.

Compare with Subsection 2.1.1, and people will understand the traditional function and performance contexts (e.g., funerals, weddings, and dances) of the gong.

\textbf{Current function and contexts of use}

The bronze gongs of the Pazih-Kahabu are still in use, even though some scholars regard these gongs as lost instruments from the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century (see Subsection 2.1.2). In particular, the \textit{duang duang} bronze gongs are still in use in the New Year Festival of the

\textsuperscript{396} Ibid.
Pazih-Kahabu (Figure 6.6.3.2). In the contemporary era, striking the bronze gong has become an important ritual during the New Year Festival of the Pazih-Kahabu. It is not simply to remind people of the coming of the New Year, but also to reinforce the cultural identity of the Pazih-Kahabu. Nowadays the Pazih buy ready-made gongs from markets. They only accompany dance on the gong. There is no limitation on the number of people who dance the dance of the bronze gong. Only one player strikes the bronze gong to provide the rhythm for the dance.

The Pazih had no dance of the bronze gong in olden times. The contemporary dance of the gong is a dance invented in recent decades. Men and women danced the style of dancing known as *qian-tian* (dancing hand in hand in a big circle). In contrast, only women were eligible to dance the dance of the bronze gong in the Pazih-Kahabu tradition. In addition, the Pazih also played the bronze gong and danced to welcome the visiting chieftain in the old days. The dance of the gong is a kind of welcome dance. Nowadays, only a visitor with high social status can receive such a privilege.  

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397 Ibid.  
398 Da-zou Pan, interview.
Sources where it appears

_Duang duang_ (the bronze gong) can be found in the New Year Festival of the Pazih-Kahabu. Pan’s wife notes: “The bronze gong [in Figure 6.6.3.1] belongs to a neighbour. We were commissioned to keep it.”³⁹⁹ Now the archaic bronze gong is well preserved in the Kahabu Association, and is still in use in the Kahabu New Year Festival in Puli, Nantou. Similarly, the Pazih annually perform the dance of the bronze gong in the Pazih New Year Festival at Liyutan Village of Sanyi, Miaoli County.⁴⁰⁰

Similar/related instruments

The Amis and Filipino have similar gongs. The _kiangkiang_ bronze gong of the Amis is similar to the _duang duang_ of the Pazih-Kahabu. In the Northern Philippines, _gangsa_ gongs are similar to the flat gong of the Pazih-Kahabu; they are popular among the

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³⁹⁹ Ibid.
⁴⁰⁰ Da-Zou Pan, interview.
Ifugao, the Apayao, and the Kalinga. Gangsa gongs are played in dancing, celebrating, and honouring people.\textsuperscript{401}

\textsuperscript{401} Maceda, “Gangsa (i).”
6.7 Puyuma Musical Instruments

In the Chinese Nationalist period (1945–1987), political and social gatherings were banned under martial law and the cultural policy of Sinicisation of the KMT government. These policies interrupted the cultural and musical tradition of the Puyuma before President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted martial law in 1987 (see Sections 3.4 and 2.1.1). In the 1990s, the Katratripulr tribe of the Puyuma people began to revive the locale (i.e., the takuvian boys’ house and the palakuwan men’s house) of traditional rituals and the musical tradition of the Puyuma. The following subsections concerning Puyuma musical instruments have been informed by insider knowledge as gained through interviews with Mr. Sanpuy Katatepan (a co-leader of the palakuwan men’s house). He also is an indigenous musician and instrument maker.

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6.7.1 Badongdong (the metal gong)

Picture

Figure 6.7.1.1. Badongdong (the metal gong). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Badongdong is the indigenous name for a metal gong. Ba-dongdong/pa-dongdon means “to knock” and comprises the prefix pa-/ba- and the onomatopoeic dongdong.\textsuperscript{403} The prefix pa- is a causative verb, which indicates having the sound of dongdöng.\textsuperscript{404}

Description

There is no literature on the badongdong metal gong of the Puyuma.

\textsuperscript{403} Sanpuy Katatepan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 10 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shulin.
Construction

The numerical entry for the badongdong metal gong according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.24. The badongdong (Figure 6.7.1.1) is a complex and large structure made from cast metal, forged iron, and the rim of a wheel. The badongdong is about 100 cm high. Its shape resembles a warrior in a dancing posture. The decoration of the badongdong is a reflection of a Puyuma warrior’s garment. A big iron hammer functions as a beater to strike the rim of the badongdong.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The badongdong’s traditional function and contexts of use were the same as the current function and contexts of use.

Current function and contexts of use

In the millet harvest ceremony, there are many activities held in front of the palakuwan men's house. A group of young people from the palakuwan men’s house dance the muwarak warrior-spirited dance on the streets. Then two men simultaneously carry and strike the badongdong metal gong to guide the muwarak warrior-spirited dance. The badongdong is used to assemble people during traditional ceremonies and to provide a rhythmic foundation for palakuwan members who perform the muwarak warrior-spirited dance to show their masculinity during the millet harvest ceremony.

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405 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
Sources where it appears

The *padongdong* metal gong is in use in the Katratripulr tribe of the Puyuma in Chiben, Taitung City.

Similar/related instruments

It seems to have no related metal gong among other Austronesian groups.

6.7.2 *Tawlriulr* (the forged bell)

Picture

![Image of *Tawlriulr* (the forged bell)](image)

Figure 6.7.2.1. *Tawlriulr* (the forged bell). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

Tawlriulr is the indigenous name for the forged bell in Puyuna culture. The Puyuma people regard the tawlriulr as a warning bell (i.e., delivering urgent messages).\footnote{Sanpuy, interview.}

Description

For further details, refer to the related literature in Subsection 4.1.1 Forged Bells in Archives.

Construction

The numerical entry for the tawlriulr forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122.\footnote{Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.} A second type of tawlriulr has a separate striker and forged bell; its number is 111.242.121.\footnote{Ibid., 15; see Appendix B.} Sanpuy claims that the tawlriulr (the forged bell) was probably made of bamboo in ancient times,\footnote{Zeng, Bei nan zu ka di bu (zhi ben) bu luo wen shi, 83.} although nowadays the tawlriulr is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron. The conical bells of the instruments I have measured have a diameter of about 6 cm at the top and 8 cm at the bottom, with a 1 cm slit from top to bottom where the vibration is strongest.

The conical bell is a 20 cm long forged tube, and a 4 cm metal clapper is attached inside by wire. The wooden hanger is carved and is attached to the bell by a steel wire or a leather cord. The hanger passes through the player’s waist belt behind their back (Figure 6.7.2.1 and cf. Figure 5.1.2.1). A second type of forged concussion bell is the clapperless “hand” tawlriulr, played with a separate beater and lacking the hanging mechanism. It is
used as a leading bell during parades. The sound is made with a player’s beater, which is made of hard wood. The beater is about 35 cm long and 2 cm in diameter.  

Traditional function and contexts of use

Zeng points out that the tawlriul traditionally had three social functions, namely, giving the correct time in the morning and announcing celebratory and commemorative events.  

Current function and contexts of use

Amongst the Puyuma, the tawlriulr does not function merely as a warning bell. Bells are used by different age hierarchies. The tawlriulr is the rank marker of the quasi-youth valise (15–17 years old). In the millet harvest ceremony, many young men wore the forged bells behind their backs. They had just been promoted from the takuvan boy’s house to the palakuwa men’s house. They were the lowest rank of trainees in the men’s house. The tawlriulr was hung behind their hips. By checking their bells, people could recognise their ranks in the age hierarchy of the Puyuma (see Subsection 5.1.2 Puyuma Millet Harvest Ceremony).  

Sources where it appears

People can find the tawlriulr in the palakuwan men’s house of the Katratripulr tribe in Chiben, Taitung City.

411 Zeng, Bei nan zu ka di bu (zhi ben) bu luo wen shi, 83.
412 Cf. Sanpuy, interview.
Similar/related instruments

Many aboriginal groups have similar forged bells, such as the *moengū* of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.2), the *taodring* of the Rukai (Subsection 6.8.1), and the *tjadring* of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.1).

### 6.7.3 Langi (the silver-chain jingle)

**Picture**

![Image of Langi](image)

*Figure 6.7.3.1. Langi (the silver-chain jingle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Etymology**

*Langi* is the indigenous name for the silver-chain jingle.
Description

Montagu states that jingles are rarely used as a single instrument; they are normally attached to parts of dancers’ bodies or costumes and sound in response to body movement.\textsuperscript{413}

Construction

The numerical entry for the $langi$ silver-chain jingle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.11.\textsuperscript{414} The structure of the $langi$ is a silver chain with many silver dollars in it; the tail of the $langi$ has many chains of $sinsicin$ (small pellet bells) and small metal flakes (Figure 6.7.3.1).

Traditional function and contexts of use

Unknown.

Current function and contexts of use

Only the leader and co-leader of the $palakuwan$ men’s house are eligible to bear such a rattle to distinguish their social status among the Puyuma community (see Figure 5.1.2.4). The leader and co-leader with their silver-chain $langi$, who rank from $musavasavak$ (adult) or $kavangesaranan$ (young adult) in the age hierarchy, guide all ranks of the $palakuwan$ to dance the $muwarak$ warrior-spirited dance from house to house, while the $badongdong$ metal gong sets the rhythm for the parade.

\textsuperscript{413} Montagu, \textit{Origins and Development of Musical Instruments}, 18.
\textsuperscript{414} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Systematik der Musikinstrumente,” 565; see Appendix B.
Sources where it appears

The leader and co-leader of the palakuwan men’s house have langi silver-chain jingles in the Katratripur tribe, Chiben, Taitung City.

Similar/related instruments

Similar rattles are found in Saisiyat and New Irelander cultures. The tapa-ngasan hip rattle of the Saisiyat is also a type of suspension rattle (Subsection 6.9.3). In New Ireland, the locals have bundle rattles of gastropod shells.\(^{415}\)

6.7.4 Sizung (the shield bell)

Picture

![Figure 6.7.4.1. Sizung (the shield bell): Type A vs. Type B. (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

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\(^{415}\) Fischer, *Sound-Producing Instruments in Oceania*, 40.
Etymology

Sizung is the indigenous name for the shield bell, which means an object in the shape of a shield.416

Description

The sizung originated from the ULivuLivuk sub-tribe (Chulu Village) of the Katratripur system (born-out-of-stone origin).417

Construction

In the Hornbostel and Sachs system, the sizung would be classified as 112.121.418 The sizung (the shield bell) is shaped like a shield; its structure is a bell suspended from a wooden shield. The wooden shield is about 70 cm long and 48 cm wide.419 The handle and the shield are chiselled from the same log. There are two types of sizung shield bells. The traditional Type A is a tawliulr (with clapper) suspended from a wooden shield. In contrast, the modern Type B is a kamelin suspended from a wooden shield; these are used because of their lighter weight. The maker ties the tawliulr or the kamelin with steel wires under the handle of the shield. The face of the shield is carved, typically with a human face, and possibly denoting an ancestor or a successful headhunter because the sizung was once only used by headhunters.420

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416 Zeng, Bei nan zu ka di bu (zhi ben) bu luo wen shi, 80–81.
418 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
419 Sanpuy, interview.
420 Cheng, “Puyuma Bells,” 68.
Traditional function and contexts of use

The sizung shield bell is the most highly valued Puyuma bell (see Subsection 5.1.2). Before World War II, only a successful headhunter could have the privilege of bearing the sizung.\textsuperscript{421} Therefore, the sizung became the marker of highest achievement in Puyuma society.\textsuperscript{422}

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, only a great contributor to a village or a Puyuma with higher rank than venagesangesar (early youth) in the age hierarchy is allowed to dance with a sizung (see Subsection 5.1.2). Owing to the weight of the sizung, only a few men can keep dancing without regular rest in the millet harvest ceremony.\textsuperscript{423}

Sources where it appears

People have many opportunities to look at the sizung in the different sub-tribes of the Puyuma and at Shung Ye Aboriginal Museum or Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village.

Similar/related instruments

In Fischer’s record, Admiralty Islanders also have a frame rattle.\textsuperscript{424}

\textsuperscript{421} Sanpuy, interview.
\textsuperscript{422} Cf. Cheng, “Puyuma Bells,” 71.
\textsuperscript{423} Cf. Cheng, “Puyuma Bells,” 57–78.
\textsuperscript{424} Fischer, Sound-Producing Instruments in Oceania, 40.
6.7.5 KameLin (the waist rattle)

Picture

![Image of KameLin](image)

Figure 6.7.5.1. *KameLin* (the waist rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Puyuma people call the waist rattle *kameLin*. A related bell used by the Nanwang tribe, the *sinsingan*, is smaller.

Description

From contemporary practice, it is possible to reassess the historical literature. In Kurosawa’s account, the name is spelt in different ways: *camryn*, *hamlin*, and *kanmurin* are all renderings of the Puyuma *kameLin*, indicating that at least in the 20th century its use has not changed much. Kurosawa also mentions the use of small metal bells known

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425 Cf. Sanpuy, interview.
426 Cheng, “Puyuma Bells,” 68.
as *tahiresu* or *tahirisu*, made from copper, silver, or other metals and alloys, with a diameter of less than an inch. I have not found anything akin to these names amongst contemporary Puyuma, although these may also relate to the Nanwang tribe’s name for small *kameLin*-type bells, the *sinsingan*.427

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *kameLin* waist rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.13.428 The *kameLin* (Figure 6.7.5.1) consists of seven to nine pellet bells attached to a cloth waist belt. In Taiwan, the public regard it as a form of small bell. However, in the Hornbostel and Sachs system, this would be classified as a vessel rattle (112.13), where a rattling object (a metal pellet) enclosed in a vessel strikes against the walls of the vessel. Before World War II, *kameLin* were made of bronze, but nowadays the majority are brass, a metal considered to produce a nicer and brighter sound. The diameter of each vessel is about 2.8 cm. The slit in each vessel is about 3 cm long and 0.4 cm wide. The internal metal pellet of each vessel is about 0.6 cm in diameter. Each vessel with an internal pellet is cast in a tiger face with some Chinese characters (e.g., “great” and “king”) to prevent evil. The cloth waist belt is about 45 cm long and 15 cm wide. The *kameLin* sounds in response to body movement. The Puyuma youth, *vangesaran*, use the *kameLin* to create a boisterous atmosphere in ceremonies (cf. Subsection 5.1.2).429

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427 Ibid.
428 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

*KameLin* (the waist rattle) were traditionally markers of social status amongst the Puyuma. *KameLin* were used in delivering orders, dancing, praying for rain, and group working. For instance, the clang animated people’s morale, when men and women farmed together.430 Both genders were conditionally eligible to wear the *kameLin* waist rattle (see pp. 203–6). Traditional ceremonies of the Puyuma illustrate how different bells reflected social status and marked the performance of different duties (see 5.1.2 Puyuma Millet Harvest Ceremony). In the *takuvan* boys’ house, the rank “senior *malatawan*” was allowed to wear *kameLin* waist bells. Moreover, Puyuma men bore the *kameLin* and wore different garments according to the age hierarchy. For example, *venagesangesar* (early youth: 18–20 years old) wore a black long-sleeved short shirt on the upper body and black short pants with *kameLin* on the lower body. *Vangesaran* (youth: 21–23 years old) wore leg-coverings, a colourful, patterned cloth covering the front of the legs, in addition to *KameLin* behind their waists.431 Moreover, Sanpuy points out that Puyuma priests and others also used it, shaking it against the hand to call ancestral spirits.432

Current function and contexts of use

The current function and contexts of use of the *kameLin* are little different from the traditional function and contexts of use. Today, Taiwanese people often mistakenly consider the *kameLin* as a form of cowbell due to the fact that the cowbell is seldom found. The Puyuma call their cowbell *karoganyun*.433

430 Sanpuy, interview.
431 Cheng, “Puyuma Bells,” 70.
433 Ibid.
Sources where it appears

People can find the *kameLin* amongst the sub-tribes of the Puyuma.

Similar/related instruments

The Amis have similar rattles. They call their waist rattle *tsoh-tsoh* or *tangfor* (cf. Figure 6.1.6.3).

6.7.6 Ruver (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

![Picture of Ruver](image)

Figure 6.7.6.1. *Ruver* (the Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

_Ruver_ is the indigenous name for the Jew’s harp in Puyuma society. In Ino’s ethnography, the Puyuma called their Jew’s harp _roval_. In Kurosawa’s account, the Puyuma called their Jew’s harp _ruburu_. _Ruver, roval and ruburu_ all are the same word but with different spellings.

Description

The volume of the _ruver_ is low. Therefore, the _ruver_ player employs his mouth cavity to function as a resonator. The _ruver_ player controls the size of his mouth cavity to determine the pitch and controls the position of his tongue to determine the tone, as well as controlling the strength of his breathing to determine the volume.

Construction

The Puyuma have two types of _ruver_. The numerical entry for the first type of _ruver_ according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221. The bamboo tongue of the idioglottic _ruver_ is carved into the bamboo frame itself, its base remaining joined to the frame. The second type of _ruver_ has the numbers 121.21. The single heteroglottic _ruver_ comprises a bamboo frame and a copper tongue, which are firmly fixed together by string. In addition, the pulling string of the _ruver_ Jew’s harp is made out of flax.

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434 This datum originates from Sanpuy Katatepan (a Puyuma insider).
435 Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki,” 239–40.
437 This information originates from Sanpuy.
438 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
439 Ibid.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Before World War II, the ruver was played during courtship. In the evening, the boy played the ruver in front of the girl’s house to express his adoration.\textsuperscript{440}

Current function and contexts of use

The ruver Jew’s harp is almost obsolete, but there is one important exception. Mr. Sanpuy Katatepa, who comes from the Katratripur tribe of the Puyuma, is a popular singer in Taiwan, and he frequently plays the ruver in his concerts.

Sources where it appears

Mr. Sanpuy Katatepa has ruver Jew’s harps.

Similar/related instruments

Many aboriginal groups have related Jew’s harps. In particular, the lubu of the Seediq-Truku (Subsection 6.11.4) is similar to the physical structure (and pronunciation) of the ruver of the Puyuma.

\textsuperscript{440} This datum originates from Sanpuy.
6.7.7 Ratok (the musical bow)

Picture

Figure 6.7.7.1. Ratok (the musical bow). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.7.7.2. The way of playing ratok (the musical bow). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

The Puyuma call their musical bow ratok. In Ino’s account, the indigenous name for the musical bow is ratokk.\textsuperscript{441} In Kurosawa’s account, the name of the musical bow is ratoku.\textsuperscript{442} In fact, ratok, ratokk and ratoku are the same words but with different spellings.

Description

There is little literature concerning the musical bow of the Puyuma. Only Kurosawa’s \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe in Formosa} briefly mentions it.\textsuperscript{443}

Construction

The numerical entry for the ratok musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 311.121.11.\textsuperscript{444} Before the Japanese period, the string of the ratok (the musical bow) was made out of the fibre of \textit{Alpinia zerumbet} leaves. In the Japanese period, steel wire replaced this fibre due to its durability.\textsuperscript{445} The string shown in Figure 6.7.7.1 is made out of hemp fibre, and the wooden bow is about 90 cm long and 1.6 cm in diameter.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki,” 240.
\item Kurosawa, \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe}, 374–75.
\item Ibid.
\item Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
\item Kurosawa, \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe}, 374–75.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Traditional function and contexts of use

*Ratok* (the musical bow) was traditionally used to play during courtship and times of yearning. In the Katratripulr tribe, single men played the *ratok* during courtship. In the ULivuLivuk sub-tribe, unmarried men and women played the *ratok* for entertainment. In the Nanwang tribe, young men played the *ratok* when they were missing their girlfriends.446

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays the *ratok* musical bow is probably not in use in Puyuma society.

Sources where it appears

Mr. Sanpuy Katatepa can make and play the *ratok*.

Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, there are many aboriginal musical bows with a similar structure, such as the *yutngotngo* of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.5), the *latuk* of the Thao (Subsection 6.14.5), the *tongaton* of the Rukai (Subsection 6.8.3), and the *ljaljetjukan* of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.3). In Eastern Polynesia, Marquesans play the *tita ’apu* mouth bow, and it functions as a speaking instrument.447

446 Ibid.
6.7.8 Alindan (the single-pipe nose flute)

Figure 6.7.8.1. Alindan (the single-pipe nose flute). (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.7.8.2. The way of playing alindan (the nose flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

In the Katratripulr tribe, people call the nose flute *arindan*. People in the Likavong sub-tribe called the nose flute *parigarogan*.448

Description

In Taiwan, many scholars and the mass media have given attention to the double-pipe nose flute of Taiwanese aborigines, and have neglected the existence of the single-pipe nose flute. There is a rare record with reference to the single-pipe nose flute of the Puyuma in Kurosawa’s account. For instance, in the Likavong sub-tribe, only males were allowed to play the *arindan* nose flute. In the Katratripulr tribe, mainly unmarried men were eligible to play the nose flute. The player played the *alindan* to express deep sorrow for someone who had died.449

Construction

The numerical entry for the *alindan* nose flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111.12.450 The *alindan* nose flute is made out of thorny bamboo; the tube is around 42 cm long and 2.5 cm in diameter.451 A tribal elder told Sanpuy that the Puyuma have no specific traditional scale for the *alindan*; the tune depended on the maker of the *alindan* nose flute.452 Sanpuy’s *alindan* has four finger-
holes: one in the rear and three finger-holes in the front (Figure 6.7.8.1). He mentioned that the tribal elder drilled the first finger-hole at a point about three finger-widths from the end of the bamboo tube; the second finger-hole was drilled about two finger-widths from the first finger-hole; the other finger-holes follow the same method. However, I found that “what Sanpuy says” and “what Sanpuy makes” are not identical after double-checking the intervals between finger-holes. The first finger-hole was drilled at a point about five finger-widths from the end of the bamboo tube. The second finger-hole was drilled about one finger-width from the first finger-hole. See Table 6.7.8.1 for the finger assignment of the alindan single-pipe nose flute.

Table 6.7.8.1 The finger assignment of the alindan single-pipe nose flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finger-holes</th>
<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A4</td>
<td>C5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th (rear)</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

● = cover finger-hole  ○ = uncover finger-hole

Traditional function and contexts of use

Alindan (the single-pipe nose flute) was traditionally used to play at times of mourning. The nose flutes of the Paiwan and the Rukai were primarily played during courtship. In contrast, the nose flute of the Puyuma was mainly played in mourning. The tune of the arindan nose flute could summon ancestral souls and soothe deceased warriors.\footnote{This datum originates from Sanpuy.}
following is the tune “Lament” on the *alindan* nose flute played by Mr. Sanpuy Katatepan (Example 6.7.8.1).

**Example 6.7.8.1. The tune “Lament” on the *alindan* (the single-pipe nose flute). Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

![Example 6.7.8.1](image)

**Current function and contexts of use**

Now the *alindan* is seldom used; it is mainly played for entertainment in the performance context. For example, Mr. Sanpuy Katatepan sometimes plays the *alindan* nose flute in his concerts.

**Sources where it appears**

In the Katratripulr tribe of Taitung City, Mr. Sanpuy Katatepan can make and play the *alindan* nose flute.

**Similar/related instruments**

There are several similar nose flutes in Taiwan and Micronesia. In Paiwan, the pronunciation of the *lalingedan* nose flute (Subsection 6.5.4) is quite similar to the
*alindan* of the Puyuma. Both the *paringit* single-pipe nose flute of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.6) and the *turanian* single-pipe nose flute of the Kavalan (Subsection 6.4.7) have a similar structure to the *alindan* of the Puyuma. In addition, people played the *aangún/nikaangún* nose flute during courting in the Chuuk Islands of Micronesia.⁴⁵⁴

6.7.9 *Alindan (the mouth flute)*

Picture

![Alindan](image)

*Figure 6.7.9.1. Alindan (the mouth flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Etymology**

The mouth flute and the nose flute share the same name. In the Katratripulr tribe, people called the mouth flute *alindan*. In the Likavong sub-tribe, people called the mouth flute *rauteupan*.⁴⁵⁵ In the Nanwang tribe, people called the mouth flute *parigarogan*.⁴⁵⁶

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⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.; Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki, 240.
Description

In Kurosawa’s account, the mouth flute of the Puyuma is around 30 cm long with six finger-holes.\[^{457}\]

Construction

The numerical entry for the *alindan* mouth flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12.\[^{458}\] Sanpuy’s *alindan* (the mouth flute) mouth flute is made out of bamboo; it is around 40 cm long and 2.5 cm in diameter. The orifice of the Puyuma mouth flute was chamfered by knife on the front wall of the bamboo tube, and then the rough edges around the chamfered orifice were burned. Next, the maker inserted a block into the upper end of the bamboo tube after shaping it. The *alindan* mouth flute has six finger-holes. Table 6.7.9.1 below shows its finger assignment.

Table 6.7.9.1 The finger assignment of the *alindan* mouth flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finger-holes</th>
<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

● = cover finger-hole ○ = uncover finger-hole

\[^{458}\] Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

The *alindan* mouth flute was traditionally used to play at times of mourning. Coming back from a burial, tribal youths sat around a campfire to play the *alindan* to pacify the deceased soul and his/her family. The following is the tune “Lament” as played on the *alindan* mouth flute by Mr. Sanpuy Katatepan (Example 6.7.9.1). The player blew the *alindan* from dusk till dawn. After this, the *alindan* could not be played anymore. It had to be destroyed or inserted under the eaves of the deceased person’s house.459

Example 6.7.9.1. The tune “Lament” on the *alindan* (the mouth flute). Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

![Music notation for the "Lament" tune on the alindan flute](image)

Current function and contexts of use

At present, the *alindan* mouth flute is becoming obsolete.

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459 This information originates from Sanpuy.
Sources where it appears

In the Katratripulr tribe of Taitung City, Mr. Sanpuy Katatepan can make and play the *alindan* nose flute.

Similar/related instruments

Marquesans and Taiwanese aborigines have similar mouth flutes. The *alindan* duct flute is similar to the *mgagu* headhunter’s flute of the Seediq-Truku (Subsection 6.11.10), the *gao* headhunter’s flute of the Atayal (Subsection 6.2.6), the *kulalu* mouth flute of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.5), and the *kulralru* mouth flute of the Rukai (Subsection 6.8.3). Also, Marquesans have a related instrument, namely, the *pühakahau* mouth flute.\(^{460}\)

6.8 Rukai Musical Instruments

The Rukai is an aboriginal group numbering approximately twelve thousand living in Southern and South-eastern Taiwan as well as speaking an Austronesian language. They had no written word until the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945), when there were some ethnographic accounts about Rukai music. Rukai still have abundant oral history. The first-hand information on Rukai musical instruments presented in this thesis originates from an interview with Mr. Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko (Rukai musician and musical instrument maker)\textsuperscript{461} and with Mr. Sheng-shiong Bao (Rukai musician).

6.8.1 Taodring (the forged bell)

Picture

![Taodring (the forged bell)](image)

Figure 6.8.1.1. Taodring (the forged bell). (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

\textsuperscript{461} Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00002), Taitung City.
Etymology

*Taodring* is the indigenous name for the forged bell. The *taodring* is the so-called “hip bell.” Lra’akaroko states that the *taodring* is used for delivering messages, namely, the message of the forged bell. For instance, the clang sounds like “ta tian ta tia” [tinkle]. Therefore, the term *taodring* is probably onomatopoeic.

Description

In 1945, Jen’s ethnography did not record the indigenous name for the Rukai forged bell. He simply mentioned a “carved wooden board with ‘bell’ attached, carried on the hip by couriers when delivering orders.” Jen regarded the carved wooden board as a token of authority for delivering orders. He seemed to neglect the bell, which is a kind of musical instrument.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *taodring* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122. The *taodring* (the forged bell) is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron. The conical bell has a diameter of...
about 6 cm at the top and 7 cm at the bottom, with a 0.5 cm slit from top to bottom.

The top is attached to a 25 cm long forged tube, and an 8 cm metal clapper is attached inside by a leather cord. The wooden hanger is carved and is attached to the bell by a leather cord. Lra’akaroko states that knife makers of the Rukai probably made the *taodring*. Initially, the handle of the *taodring* was carved with a three-dimensional face, but now the handle simply has a flat carved face due to the decline of traditional crafts and the *alokuwa* men’s house.\(^465\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The main function of the *taodring* (the forged bell) was to bring messages to the Rukai community. In ancient times, each Rukai village had an *alokuwa* (a men’s house). The *alokuwa* men’s house was the military and education centre for *balisen* (young people between fifteen and twenty years old).\(^466\) The clang of the *taodring* was loud enough for older people supervising youth whenever the *balisen* of the *alokuwa* men’s house ran errands for the village. For example, if a Rukai elder ordered a young man to chop firewood on the mountain for the *alokuwa*, the elder could, in the mountain valley, monitor where the youth stopped and where he took a

\(^{465}\) Lra’akaroko, interview.

\(^{466}\) Bima, *Tai wan di yuan zhuan min*, 83.
rest on the mountain through the sound of the taodring.\textsuperscript{467} As regards the way of playing, the taodring bearer swayed his hips to control the clang. A single taodring could produce many sounds. The frequency of the clang signalled an event. The pace of the taodring bearer would control the frequency of the clang. If something was happening in the village, the alokuwa men’s house would dispatch a group of young people with hip bells to deliver the message. If a bearer ran in a hurry, the clang of the bell sounded like an alarm. Then all the villagers would come out from their houses to see what was happening. The clang of the bell sounded at a low frequency informs villagers that a wedding was coming. The clang of the bell sounded in high frequency to indicate that an accident or disaster had happened and all the villagers needed to help each other.\textsuperscript{468}

Current function and contexts of use

At present, the taodring forged bell is still in use in various rituals (e.g., the maisauru weeding ceremony and the becenge millet harvest ceremony) of the Taromak tribe in East Rukai. In Taromak, taodring are normally put in the alokuwa men’s house (Figure 6.8.1.2), but balisen can keep taodring at home. The current function and

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{467} Sheng-shiong Bao, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 4–5 September 2009, tape/digital recording, Formosan Indigenous Park, Pintung. Mr. Sheng-shiong Bao of Shandimen Village has a lot of knowledge concerning the operation and musical practice of the taodring forged bell.

\textsuperscript{468} Lr’a’akaroko, interview.
contexts of use of the *taodring* are becoming more and more culturally symbolic and performance-like. In the Shenshan tribe of the West Rukai, *taodring* are few in use so locals treat them as one of the tribe’s historical artefacts.

*Figure 6.8.1.2. The *taodring* of the *alokuwa* men’s house. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Sources where it appears**

People can find the *taodring* in the *alokuwa* men’s house of the Taromak tribe in Taitung City.
Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, the Puyuma call the forged bell *tawliulr*; it is also played when delivering messages (see Subsection 6.7.2). The Tsou hung the *moengū* forged bell to notify the Tsou Mars by the clang to pray for triumph in battle (see Subsection 6.15.2).

6.8.2 Lebere (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

A picture is available in Liu’s PhD dissertation.\(^{469}\)

Etymology

There are several Rukai terms for the Jew’s harp. *Lebere* is the name for the Jew’s harp in Rukai society. The *lebere* has other names in different tribes of the Rukai.

Kurosawa recorded that people called their Jew’s harp *riburu* in the Takatomo tribe.\(^{470}\)

In the Mantauran tribe of the Rukai, people called the Jew’s harp *lɔwɔra*.\(^{471}\) *Lebere*, *lɔwɔra* and *riburu* are all homonyms. In fact, different fieldworkers might produce different names due to the fieldworkers’ listening comprehension and the way of spelling. In addition, *tongatongo* means “to play the Jew’s harp.”\(^{472}\)

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\(^{469}\) See Liu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min zu kou huang qin yan jiu,” 107.


\(^{471}\) Zeitoun and Kaåalaa, *We should not Forget the Stories of the Mantauran*, 508–10.

\(^{472}\) Ibid., 512.
Description

In the Japanese colonial period, Japanese officers introduced the harmonica to young aboriginal people to show an up-to-date Japan (see Section 3.4). Consequently, the harmonica and the Jew’s harp share the same name in some aboriginal groups. For example, lavara means the harmonica and the Jew’s harp in the Mantauran tribe.\textsuperscript{473}

Construction

The numerical entry for the lebere Jew’s harp (one tongue fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221;\textsuperscript{474} or the numbers 121.21.\textsuperscript{475} The frame of the lebere (the Jew’s harp) is made in the shape of a fish; it is made out of bamboo or copper. The tongue of the lebere heteroglottic Jew’s harp is made out of copper.\textsuperscript{476} In the Japanese colonial period, some frames and tongues of lebere Jew’s harps were made of iron. At that time, the structure of the lebere was that of a single heteroglottic Jew’s harp (a lamella is attached to a frame) or an idioglottic Jew’s harp (a lamella is carved in the frame itself).\textsuperscript{477}

\textsuperscript{473} Ibid., 508-10.
\textsuperscript{474} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{475} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{476} Liu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min zu kou huang qin yan jiu,” 107.
\textsuperscript{477} Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 327–28.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Before World War II, only males were eligible to play the lebere Jew’s harp. They played the lebere to woo girls. Females were not eligible to play the lebere, or even to touch it.478

Current function and contexts of use

Now there are few people who play the lebere Jew’s harp in Rukai society.

Sources where it appears

In Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village, Mr. Zhi-shiong Ke, the Rukai informant, is a skilful Jew’s harp-maker of the Rukai.

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478 Liu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min zu kou huang qin yan jiu,” 107.
6.8.3 Tongaton (the musical bow)

Picture

Figure 6.8.3.1. Tongaton (the musical bow). (Courtesy of Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko.)

Etymology

In the Japanese period, there were many indigenous names for the musical bow in
Rukai society (e.g., the tongaton/tonton in Taromak, the tarabishibishi in Budai and
Radi, the aonaon in Kau, the aonogan in Samohai and Santeiten, and the aougan in
Ikubun).\footnote{479} Many of these names (e.g., tonton, tarabishibishi and aonaon) are
onomatopoeic. The morpheme -an is a nominalising suffix.\footnote{480}

\footnotetext{479}{Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 371–74.}
\footnotetext{480}{Chen, “Aspect and Tense in Rukai,” 70.}
Description

There is little literature concerning the musical bow of the Rukai. In Taiwan, the majority of scholars give their attention to the nose flutes and the mouth flutes of the Rukai as a result of the media gaze.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *tongaton* musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 311.121.11.\(^{481}\) The construction of *tongaton* (the musical bow) consists of a string being tied to the ends of an arched bamboo stick. The string of the *tongaton* was made out of *ramie* or the fibre of *Alpinia zerumbet* leaves until the Japanese colonial period, when steel wire replaced the ramie string.\(^{482}\) On the lower end of the *tongaton*, there is a moveable ring which alters the tension of the string. On the upper end of the *tongaton*, there is a loop (made of bamboo or from a leaf) between the bow and the string which functions as a bridge for transmitting vibration from string to bow and raises the volume.\(^{483}\)

\(^{481}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.

\(^{482}\) Cf. Lra’akaroko, interview.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Tongan were traditionally used to during courtship and entertainment. Lra’akaroko points out that the youngest uncle of his maternal grandmother can play the musical bow. He has an old picture from the Japanese colonial period, in which the player holds the musical bow in his mouth and plucks the string with the thumb and index finger of his right hand. The thumb and index finger of his left hand control the tone by altering the tension of the string (Figure 6.8.3.1).\textsuperscript{484} Men used to play the tongaton while walking at night and at various festivals. Traditionally, the tongaton was primarily played during courtship. A young man played the tongaton to express his adoration to a girl. Moreover, it was taboo to play the tongaton when the tribe had a funeral. Additionally, Kurosawa recorded the case of an aonaon musical bow and a raruburan Jew’s harp being played in ensemble in the Kau sub-tribe, Pingtung.\textsuperscript{485}

Current function and contexts of use

The tongaton musical bow is becoming obsolete.

Sources where it appears

Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko can make togaton in the Taromak tribe, Taitung City.

\textsuperscript{484} Lra’akaroko, interview.
\textsuperscript{485} Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 371–74.
Similar/related instruments

The Paiwan people’s *ljaljetjukan* (Subsection 6.5.3) is similar to the *tongaton*. Most musical bow players are male nobles in Paiwan and Rukai society. Both the Rukai and the Paiwan have an aristocratic class. In contrast, the Bunun and the Tsou both allow women to play the musical bow. The Bunun call the musical bow *latuk* (Subsection 6.3.6), and the Tsou call the musical bow *yutngotngo* (Subsection 6.15.5). The Bunun and the Tsou both have no aristocratic class.
6.8.4 Pulralri (the double-pipe nose flute)

**Picture**

![Image of Pulralri (the double-pipe nose flute)](image)

*Figure 6.8.4.1. Pulralri (the double-pipe nose flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Etymology**

The indigenous names for Rukai flutes provide an insight into Rukai musical thought.

The indigenous name for the nose flute is *pulralri*, and its other name is *pakuralru*.

Lra’akaroko, the informant, told me that *pulralri* means “the nose flute” in Taromak; and *pakuralru* is the common name for the nose flute among different sub-tribes of the Rukai. *Pakuralru* signifies “the bamboo blown by the nose.” *Pulralri* means “the
sound is emitted by the nose.” An old myth portrayed the hundred-pace snake as
liking to play the nose flute at midnight and making the sound “shu-shu.” The nose
flute is a reflection of the hundred-pace snake’s nose. The Rukai and the Paiwan share
this myth. In addition, pakulralru means “the mouth flute” in Paiwan, even
though some flute players say this is the name for the nose flute.

Description

In the Japanese period, there were several ethnographic accounts about the music of
the Tsarisens (the former name for the Rukai). For example, Kurosawa Takatomo
claimed that the pulralri nose flute was used by all the tribes of the Rukai. At that
time, the pulralri was used in headhunting, to assemble tribesmen, and during
courtship. A Rukai girl traditionally stayed indoors (as an audience), while the flute
player was playing outdoors during courtship. Only war heroes were eligible to play
the pulralri. Also, it was a taboo to play the pulralri whenever a village had a harvest
ceremony or an epidemic. In previous studies of the post-World War II era, the
musical instruments of the Rukai people were predicted to die out by some
researchers and the majority of scholarly publications in Taiwan. However, if people

486 Lra’akaroko, interview.
cannot easily catch sight of Rukai musical instruments, this does not mean that they
do not exist. In fact, I found during my ethnographic fieldwork that the nose flutes
and the mouth flutes of the Rukai still survive in Taitung (East Taiwan). The Rukai
still have abundant oral history with reference to their traditional music, and first-hand
information on Rukai flutes, materials, and cultural practice mainly originates from
interviews with Rukai.490

Construction

The instrument type of the pulralri (the double-pipe nose flute) is still not classified in
the Hornbostel-Sachs system of musical instrument classification. Therefore, I extend
an instrument type and a numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system, which is
421.112.13 and means: sets of end-blown flutes mixed end-blown flutes with finger-
holes and without finger-holes.491 The pulralri is a kind of end-blown flute, whose
structure comprises one pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes.
Both bamboo pipes are circa 65 cm long and 2.5 cm in diameter (see Figure 6.8.4.10).

490 Lra’akaroko, interview.
491 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.
Material

Lra’akaroko took me to cut bamboo tubes in the traditional Rukai hunting field for making nose flutes and mouth flutes. Before selecting suitable bamboo, Lra’akaroko put three saviki (betel nuts) on a long leaf as an offering on the ground (Figure 6.8.4.2), and he also chewed some betel nuts into pieces in preparation for worshiping local supernatural beings.492

Figure 6.8.4.2. Saviki (betel nuts) as an offering. (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

During worship, Lra’akaroko took the chewed pieces in his right hand as an offering; he circled the air with them, and then threw them into the grass around bamboo plants while he murmured a prayer to obtain suitable bamboo tubes (Figure 6.8.4.3).

492 Lra’akaroko, interview; Lra’akaroko learnt this traditional practice from his grandmother. She is the tribal priest of the Taromak tribe.
Lra’akaroko said that the best Rukai nose flutes and mouth flutes are made of

*Bambusa dolichomerithalla hay* or *Phyllostachys edulis*, which both grow on the edge of cliffs. This is because such bamboo tubes have a relatively long interval between their joints. The best bamboo is grown in winter, because there are no insects inside bamboo tubes at that time. Only this area grows *Phyllostachys edulis*. Furthermore, it is possible to have water inside the bamboo tubes, whether they are thick bamboo tubes or thin. Having water in the bamboo tube means having supernatural beings inside the bamboo; the water is the supernatural beings’ tears. For this reason, the flute maker does not use such bamboo to make an instrument.

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493 Ibid.
Lra’akaroko selected and cut suitable bamboo tubes (Figure 6.8.4.4). He used his arm to measure the length of the bamboo. Traditionally, the flute maker of the Rukai used his arm and fingers to measure the length of materials instead of a ruler (Figure 6.8.4.5).
Lra’akaroko sawed the bamboo tubes into suitable lengths (Figure 6.8.4.6). In making the double-pipe flutes, the two pipes come from different bamboo tubes, but they both come from the same clump of bamboo in order to have the same timbre.

Figure 1.8.4.6. Sawing the bamboo tubes into suitable lengths. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Before leaving, he offered betel nuts again and lit a cigarette and leaves to express thanks to the local supernatural spirits (Figure 6.8.4.7).
Generally, the bamboo will be boiled in hot water after bringing them back. This can preserve bamboo a long time. It takes about two months to dry the bamboo. After this, the bamboo surface is rubbed to make the pipe smooth to touch. A bamboo flute with a thin wall can produce a good sound. In addition, smoked or painted flutes can be preserved a long time.\footnote{Ibid.}

\textit{Component parts}

The following, subsection examines the component parts of Rukai flutes:

\textit{Open lower end}. A saw is used to get rid of the bamboo node, the lower end of the flute is opened (Figure 6.8.4.8).
Blowhole. A burning screwdriver is used to burn and drill the blowhole at the central point of the bamboo node. Then a knife is used to slowly whittle the periphery of the blowhole off; otherwise the sharp blowhole will hurt the player’s nose and be difficult to blow (Figure 6.8.4.9). A thin blowhole can produce a bright sound. If the blowhole is too thick, the sound is not bright.
Finger-holes. The pulralri of the Rukai traditionally had four finger-holes or six finger-holes. It was therefore different from the three or five finger-holes of the Paiwan nose flute.\(^{495}\) The following is the method used to drill finger-holes in the flute (Figure 6.8.4.10). The first finger-hole is drilled at a point about four finger-widths from the end of the bamboo tube. The second finger-hole is drilled at a point about two finger-widths from the first finger-hole; the other finger-holes follow the same method. The Rukai flute can have up to six finger-holes. It is the same instrumental structure between the mouth flute and the nose flute besides their mouthpiece. The finger-holes of the nose flute are burned and drilled by a burning screwdriver inclined 45 degrees.

The sample finger chart of the nose flute is shown in Table 6.8.4.1. Each flute has a different tuning due to differences in size. Furthermore, the bamboo tube with finger-holes is male; and the bamboo tube without finger-holes is female. The bamboo tube without finger-holes is female due to its passive position; the bamboo tube with finger-holes is male due to its active position. If the male tube and the female tube are blown separately, both of them are unable to produce a harmonious sound. It is only when the male tube marries with the female tube that the double-pipe flute can
produce a harmonious sound.\textsuperscript{496} The male pipe with finger-holes plays the tune; meanwhile, the female pipe without finger-holes plays the \textit{ostinato} and drone. Such anthropomorphism is a reflection of the patrilineal society of the Rukai. The way of playing the double-pipe bamboo flute has a great influence on the singing style of the Rukai. For example, the polyphonic group singing of the Rukai includes two parts: the first part, \textit{aqalai}, is sung in the main melody as a solo; the second part, \textit{zalebuzbu}, is sung in the \textit{ostinato} and drone by the group.\textsuperscript{497}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{The finger assignment of the \textit{pulatri} double-pipe nose flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{finger-holes} & \multicolumn{4}{|c|}{\textbf{pitches}} & \textbf{finger assignment} \\
\hline
 & \textbf{C\#} & \textbf{D\#} & \textbf{F\#} & \textbf{G\#} & & \\
\hline
6th & ● & ● & ● & ● & index & \\
5th & ● & ● & ● & ○ & middle & \\
4th & ● & ● & ● & ● & ring & \\
3rd & ● & ● & ○ & ○ & index & \\
2nd & ● & ● & ○ & ○ & middle & \\
1st & ● & ○ & ○ & ○ & ring & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
● = cover finger-hole ○ = uncover finger-hole
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textit{Decoration}

Musical instruments function as markers of aesthetic and cultural value. Bourdieu states that one’s tastes affect the role of aesthetic choice in reproducing social

\textsuperscript{496} Lra’akaroko, interview.
inequality. Especially, dominant social groups have the authority to define what kind of social rank can have what form of decoration on their flutes. Rukai flutes are quite private objects with a high degree of personal meaning and a strong association with personal identity. The Rukai flutes have a number of visual signifiers in a complex web of non-verbal cultural meaning. Different flutes have been made with different decorations and in different sizes, which often are used as identity markers that help reinforce a sense of identity. In Rukai tradition, the flute player makes his own flutes, transforming them from general bamboo flutes into personalised flutes by means of engraving them with his family’s symbols to manifest his genealogy.

*Hundred-pace snake.* The hundred-pace snake and its patterns are sacred to the Rukai (Figure 6.8.4.11). People regard it as their elder or companion. The Rukai believe that the hundred-pace snake is the incarnation (embodiment) of a nobleman of the spirit world. Therefore, it is a taboo to kill a hundred-pace snake.

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499 Cf. ibid.
500 Ibid.
502 Lra’akaroko, interview.
Ceramic pot. A pot and hundred-pace snake denote nobles’ social status. Only noblemen are eligible to have a ceramic pot. Each aristocratic family has at least one ceramic pot that has been handed down from their ancestors. Accordingly, ceramic pots are regarded as heirlooms. So the pattern of a ceramic pot becomes a token of social status on the flute (Figure 6.8.4.12).\footnote{Ibid.}
The sun. There are two symbols of the sun on the flute (Figure 6.8.4.13). The first sun indicates the newborn son of the sun. The second sun indicates the son of the sun who is grown-up.504

![The sun symbols on the flute](image)

**Figure 6.8.4.13. Patterns of the sun. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)**

The son of the sun. The symbol representing the son of the sun denotes that Lra’akaroko’s family is descended from the sun (Figure 6.8.4.14). The symbols on the nose flute indicate that the sun laid an egg inside the pot and ordered the hundred-pace snake to take care of his son until he grows up. Different flute players have different decorations on their flutes, which totally depend on their social status and family’s origin. Whenever Rukai flutes are played during courtship, the flutes have a number of carved patterns that can help a girl recognise whether the flute player’s genealogy matches her family’s. Furthermore, the privilege of playing the *pulralri*

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504 Ibid.
with engraved family emblems lets noblemen and headhunters have a chance to show off their marvelous feats and dominant social status as well as to confirm the cooperative relationship of tribal hierarchy.

![Image of patterned object]

Figure 6.8.4.14. Pattern of the son of the sun. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

*Performance traditions*

Music can be best seen in interplay with other spheres of culture. The most significant thing about the *pulralri* to the Rukai is its relationship to delivering messages, to social status, to specific rituals, and to the supernatural. Before World War II, the *pulralri* was used in traditional rituals of the Rukai. The following diagram (Figure 6.8.4.15) shows the performance contexts of Rukai instruments used in various rituals. Knowing about the background of various Rukai rituals helps us to figure out the interplay between Rukai flutes and traditional rituals. *Bariangalai* (lily flowers)
have significant cultural meaning in Rukai society. Bearing *bariangalai* is a marker of honourable social status. For Rukai unmarried women, *bariangalai* are the emblem of female virtue (e.g., chastity and thrift); accordingly, if a woman has an illicit relationship with a man, she is ineligible to bear *bariangalai*. For this reason, unmarried women try their best to obtain a licence for bearing *bariangalai* to enhance their social status in the Rukai community. For Rukai men, *bariangalai* are the emblem of an excellent hunter, who has hunted at least five wild boars. However, the tribal chieftain is the patentee of the *marudrange* wedding. Anyone who wants to bear lilies must pay a *sawalupu* (tribute, a form of tax) to the tribal chieftain in advance to obtain a licence for bearing *bariangalai*. The *sawalupu* includes a pig’s neck, millet cake, and a cupful of millet. For unmarried women, there are four ways to obtain a licence for bearing *bariangalai* through holding public rituals—such as the *marudrange* wedding, the *twalrevege* pseudo-wedding, the *kialidrau* lily award, and the *twatalragi* alliance ritual.\(^5\)

The marudrange wedding. If unmarried women come from poor families, their families cannot afford to pay a sawalupu to the chieftain. These women can wait until their wedding day. In the marudrange wedding, a bride bearing bariangalai (lily flowers) is exempt from paying a sawalupu (tribute) to the tribal chieftain. As regards the other rituals, the families of unmarried women all need to pay a sawalupu to the chieftain to obtain a licence for bearing bariangalai. 506

The twalrevege pseudo-wedding. In Rukai, the twalrevege or mwapapalange is a form of children’s wedding, which somewhat resembles the ritual of engagement. The ritual is almost the same as the marudrange wedding. Normally, both of the families are good friends with similar social status. In the twalrevege pseudo-

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506 Lai, “Marudrange.”
wedding, the boy’s family will present the girl’s family with a great deal of gifts (e.g.,
jewellery). If the boy is going to formally marry the girl when they grow up, the boy’s
family will not present betrothal gifts again. Through the twalrevege pseudo-wedding,
the girl can bear bariangalai (lily flowers); but her family must pay a sawalupu
(tribute) to the chieftain.\footnote{Lra’akaro, interview.}

*The twatalragi alliance ritual.* A rich commoner’s family may want to forge
an alliance with a noble family to request the nobleman’s protection and to raise the
social status of the commoner’s family in the local area. In the twatalragi alliance
ritual, the commoner’s family presents many precious gifts to the noble family, and
holds a feast for the glory of the noble family. Meanwhile, the unmarried daughter of
the noble family is allowed to bear bariangalai (lily flowers). But the noble family
needs to pay a sawalupu (tribute) to the tribal chieftain.\footnote{Ibid.; Lai, “Twatalragi.”}

*The kialidrau lily award.* Regardless of age, the parents of unmarried women
choose an auspicious day (usually during the harvest festival) to hold the kialidrau or
malalidrau ritual for allowing their daughters to bear bariangalai (lily flowers) on
their heads as well as for glorifying their families.\footnote{Kialidrau is one family to hold the ritual of lily award. Malalidrau is two families to hold the ritual
of lily award together and to exchange gifts with each other.} Then their families slaughter

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Lra’akaro, interview.}
\item \footnote{Ibid.; Lai, “Twatalragi.”}
\item \footnote{Kialidrau is one family to hold the ritual of lily award. Malalidrau is two families to hold the ritual
of lily award together and to exchange gifts with each other.}
\end{itemize}
pigs, make millet cake, and prepare wine or a square meal for feasting with the tribal people and paying a sawalupu (tribute) to the chieftain.\(^{510}\)

*The lu pacai ku talialalay nobleman’s funeral.* The Rukai used to dress the deceased chieftain in rich attire. They displayed all his glorious treasure, including the nose flute and the mouth flute that showed the high social status and the heroic achievement of the deceased chieftain when tribal people came to express their condolences. Finally, those flutes were buried with the deceased chieftain as funerary objects.\(^{511}\)

These aforementioned rituals are the performance contexts of the nose flute and the mouth flute. The flutes were used in the twalrevege pseudo-wedding, the kialidrau lily award, and the twatalragi alliance ritual to accompany a group of people singing along with the tune of the nose flute or the mouth flute and composing suitably improvised lyrics. The nose flute or the mouth flute was also played solo in the marudrange wedding and the *lu pacai ku talialalay* nobleman’s funeral. In the marudrange wedding, the bride’s admirer (the lovelorn) had the privilege of playing the nose flute or the mouth flute to show his blessing and reluctance. In the *lu pacai ku talialalay* nobleman’s funeral, especially a chieftain’s funeral, people play the nose flute to show their sorrow and to recollect the heroic deeds of the deceased. The tune

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\(^{510}\) Lai, “Kialidrau.”

\(^{511}\) Lra’akaroko, interview; Lai, “Lu pacai ku talialalay.”
of the nose flute functions somewhat as a requiem. Also, playing Rukai flutes seemed to be the medium of communication with supernatural beings. When people play the flute, the spirits of the dead and their ancestors are attracted to the flute tune. Sometimes a flute player would suddenly experience a lot of strange feelings while he was playing. The following is Lra’akaroko’s experience:

I once performed the flute in a harvest festival. . . Initially, I did not intend to play that tune, but suddenly my fingers seemed to lose control of some tunes. I felt so wondrous. . . [After this, a] priest told me that my flute music could bring the souls of the dead back to their home, especially those who died outside their hometown. I felt so sorrowful and uncomfortable after my performance.

This behaviour resembles the phenomenon of spirit possession. Besides, playing the flute is a kind of communication with ancestral spirits. The flute tune functions as a form of requiem to console and to call back the soul of the deceased.

Furthermore, the nose flute and the mouth flute have the social function of courtship. Before World War II, a man could play the nose flute or the mouth flute in front of a girl’s window to show his adoration. Through the flute player’s tune and the

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512 Lra’akaroko, interview.
513 Ibid.
distinctive tone of the flute, the girl would recognise that the tune came from her lover’s flute. For instance, if a couple of lovers lived in the same village, the man could play a lonesome tune to express his love when they were unable to stay together. The flowing tune of the pulralri is “Yearning” (Example 6.8.4.1).

Example 6.8.4.1. The tune “Yearning” on the pulralri (the double-pipe nose flute). Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Adagio

The hundred-pace snake was a nobleman’s safeguard, and the tune of the nose flute was a reflection of the sound of the hundred-pace snake’s nose in Rukai mythology. For this reason, the performance context of the nose flute generally is more sacred than the mouth flute’s. The Ruaki prefer playing the nose flute to the mouth flute if the player or audience is a nobleman.

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514 Ibid.
Performers

In Rukai tradition, a flute player had to make his own flutes. Lra’akaroko states that elders told him that learning to make musical instruments must be done at a slow pace; otherwise the instrument-maker would die early. It easily provokes the jealousy of the evil eye if you are too skilful at something. A good flute player should experience much sorrow (e.g., a failure in love, bad fortune), which enables him to put his soul into the flute. This is very important that the flute player should firstly arouse his sentiment and then play the flute. Yet the nose flute of the Rukai was initially related to the activity of headhunting in ancient times. Only successful headhunters were eligible to play the nose flute and the mouth flute.515 Commoners were ineligible to play the nose flute in ancient times. However, they could buy a playing licence from the tribal chieftain. But commoner players could not have any decoration on their nose flute. They could have a smoky colour on their flutes or keep their plain colour (see Figure 6.8.4.16).

515 The diagram below classifies flutes by social status and instrument structure. Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 401–4.
Musical performance

Rukai music is unstable. The elders point out that “Rukai music has no fixed form; it requires constant innovation of the Rukai traditional tunes.” As can be seen, improvisation is part of the Rukai musical tradition. In the Taromak tribe, the same
tune is sung with different lyrics, which contain oral history about where their ancestors settled and came from. In other word, the ballads are not sung merely for entertainment. They are a significant form of oral tradition for the Rukai. They are also a pedagogic device to admonish the Ruaki about their origin. Hence, a ballad is a cognitive map to the Rukai’s history and culture. Rukai traditional music places emphasis on melody rather than on rhythm. There is no fast rhythm in the tune of the flute, even when the performance contexts are happy events. Thus, the Rukai flute is always slow in rhythm, whether it is played at a wedding or a funeral. Rukai music is dissimilar to Amis music, which is wave-like music with a fast rhythm. In contrast, Rukai music is like a winding river flowing through many mountains and places, and it seems to deliver messages to people. For this reason, the wood slit drum was an unnecessary musical instrument. Singing accompanied by a musical instrument is a contemporary concept. Traditionally, the beauty of song was not its tune but the content of its lyrics. For example, the same song can be sung on different occasions with different ways of singing. The majority of songs are sung in unison without fixed lyrics. The same tune can be used on different occasions with different lyrics, and the content of the lyrics must suit the context. Even though Rukai music has a beautiful winding melody, the Rukai emphasise the depth and meaning of music, and ignore the

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516 Cf. Porter and Gower, Jeannie Robertson, 3–16.
beauty of varied melody. Below is a figure showing the hierarchy of value in Rukai musical thought (Figure 6.8.4.17).  

Rukai music is highly concerned with deep feelings. A good musician has a rich life experience; he can produce an ideal sentimental tune. A flute player must let himself cry first and then his tune is able to move other people. If a flute player is not touched by his own music, other people will not be touched by his music. Rukai elders suggested, “you can produce touching music with sentimental feeling if you experience many sorrows and failure in love.” This is a prerequisite for the style and the culture of the Rukai. Music from a sentimental flute player is totally different

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517 Lra’akaroko, interview.  
518 Ibid.
from music a flute player without sentimental experience. Therefore, the tune of Rukai flutes represents not only the music but also the holistic culture; people have to experience it through careful listening.

When I questioned Lra’akaro (the cultural insider) about traditional Rukai music, he confidently responded, “the Rukai have their own traditional concept, which is not susceptible to external influences.” But, in the interview, Lra’akaro indicated that nowadays much aboriginal music has altered to cater to the taste of Westernised people. Even though the majority of Rukai have strong faith in their traditional music, they are inevitably, more or less, altering their music to suit the non-aboriginal patronage system and Western-derived political, social, and economic institutions.

There are many spirits associated with the Rukai flute. Playing the flute is not only a musical activity, but also a form of communication with Rukai ancestors. Whenever Lra’akaro plays the flute, he touches the flute in order to let it become a part of his body; meanwhile, human and flute merge into a single state of mind. Hence, his playing totally follows his feelings. For example, Lra’akaro claims that he once performed on an occasion where the Rukai flute overwhelmed the other

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519 Ibid.
musical instruments, even though the Rukai flute has no large volume. Accordingly, he believes that there was a strong supernatural power behind the flute.

Moreover, Rukai players have their ideal sound and a unique way of playing the nose flute and the mouth flute. Comparing the Rukai nose flute with that of the Paiwan, the volume of the Paiwan nose flute is relatively soft; the sound of the Rukai nose flute is relatively brighter and deeper. Lra’akaroko, who is also a flute-maker and player, emphasises that the Paiwan do not press the first finger-hole. The Paiwan do not play a low tune; they like to play a high-pitched melody. However, flutes with a high pitch cannot settle the soul down in Rukai musical thought. In contrast, the Rukai like to play a low tune and a high tune (an octave higher) together, which resembles a dialogue between a low tune and a high tune. Another distinguishing feature is that the Rukai flute can produce a sound that lingers longer than others’.

Current function and contexts of use

The contemporary performance context of the pulralri is in various aboriginal festivals which attract tourists and maintain a sense of Rukai ethnicity. Here, people can understand how the bamboo flutes act on the Rukai. For instance, some bamboo tubes contain water (i.e., a spirit’s tear), which indicates that they have a supernatural

521 Lra’akaroko, interview.
522 Ibid.
spirit inside the bamboo. Hence, the Rukai refuse to use such bamboo to make their flutes. Furthermore, the Rukai believe that supernatural beings might come into the bamboo flute to act on the player’s performance. The bamboo flutes are acted upon by the Rukai. They are played by different physical parts (i.e., nose, mouth) of the body, and are given dissimilar designs and decoration underlying the flute owners’ social rank. Flute players engraved unique family emblems on the bamboo flutes to flaunt their aristocratic social status and brave feats.

Sources where it appears

I found the pulralri double-pipe nose flute in the Taromak tribe of the Rukai, Taitung City.

Similar/related instruments

There are several Austrinesian musical instruments that are similar to the pulralri. The lalingedan double-pipe nose flute of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.4) is similar to the pulralri double-pipe nose flute of the Rukai, especially in its physical structure. The only difference is that the lalingedan of the Paiwan has three or five finger-holes. Also, the tipolo double-pipe nose flute of the Amis (Subsection 6.1.10) and the peingu no ngūcū double-pipe nose flute of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.7) are both similar to
the *kulralre* of the Rukai, but their structures are somewhat different in mouthpieces or finger-holes. As regards the nose flutes of other Austronesians, most of them belong to the family of single-pipe nose flutes. It is worth mentioning that the Māori also employ their fingers to measure the spacing between finger-holes when they are making the *koauau* and the *nguru*, Māori end-blown flutes. For example, the flute-maker stretches out his hand and puts the *koauau* into the right-angle created by his thumb. While in this position, the finger-holes fall in line with the knuckle and each forefinger joint.\(^{523}\)

\(^{523}\) Dashper, *He Nguru, He Koauau*, 15.
6.8.5 Kulralru (the double-pipe mouth flute)

Etymology

*Kulralru* is the indigenous name for the double-pipe mouth flute. *Kulralru* signifies that the bamboo is blown by mouth.\(^{524}\)

\(^{524}\) Lra’akaroko, interview.
Description

The origin of the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute (Figure 6.8.5.1) is similar to the origin of the pulralri double-pipe nose flute (see pulralri). In the Japanese period, the literature that refers to the kulralru does not mention whether or not the structure has double pipes or a single pipe.\textsuperscript{525} Through comparing different ethnographic accounts referring to the mouth flute of the Rukai, I find that the majority of double-pipe kulralru players are younger than single-pipe kulralru players by about two decades. Therefore, the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute is possibly the reflection of the pulralri double-pipe nose flute, and the origin of the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute might be later than the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute (Figure 6.8.6.1).

Construction

The kulralru is a type of flute with an internal duct, whose structure comprises one pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes. There is no suitable numerical entry for the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute in the Hornbostel-Sachs system; therefore, I extend the numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system, which is 421.222.13 and means: mixed sets of open flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes.\textsuperscript{526}

\textsuperscript{526} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
The *kulralru* (the double-pipe mouth flute) double-pipe mouth flute is about 48 cm long and 1.5 cm in diameter. It is made out of bamboo (e.g., *Bambusa dolichomerithalla* Hay or *Phyllostachys edulis*). The materials of and way of making the *kulralru* double-pipe mouth flute are almost the same as those of the *pulralri* double-pipe nose flute (see 6.8.4 *Pulralri*).

**Component parts**

The primary difference in physical structure between the *kulralru* and the *pulralri* is their finger-holes and mouthpiece.

**Finger-holes.** The finger-holes of the *kulralru* mouth flute are burned and drilled by a burning screwdriver at an angle of 90 degrees. Table 6.8.5.1 is the finger assignment of the *kulralru* double-pipe mouth flute.

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**Table 6.8.5.1 The finger assignment of the *kulralru* double-pipe mouth flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)**

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<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
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● = cover finger-hole   ○ = uncover finger-hole

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527  Lra’akaroko, interview.
Chamfered orifice and mouthpiece. As for the chamfered orifice of the Rukai mouth flute (Figure 6.8.5.2), the orifice is chamfered by a knife on the back wall of the bamboo tube, and then the rough edges around the chamfered orifice are burned. Next, the maker inserts a block into the upper end of the bamboo tube after shaping it. If the maker finds the tone is poor, he will remove the inserted block and reshape it. Normally, the flute maker spends about one month adjusting the mouthpiece.528

Figure 6.8.5.2. The chamfered orifice of the mouth flute. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Decoration

There are special visual signifiers (i.e., engraved patterns) on the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute for identifying the genealogy and social status of the flute player.

528 Ibid.
Wooden cup. Karuthaili (the double-wooden cup) is a symbol of a chieftain’s privilege (Figure 6.8.5.3). The chieftain is the only person eligible to use the wooden cup, and other nobles cannot use it. Karuthaili denotes that the noble family is respected by all tribesmen. Traditionally, two close friends use the double-wooden cup to share a drink with each other, which means sharing their emotions together. Moreover, the emblem of the double-wooden cup belongs to the Labaljus family, a family of priests, whose men are responsible for the work of priests in Wutai (a sub-tribe of the Rukai).  

Figure 6.8.5.3. Patterns of the double-wooden cup. (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

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529 Ibid.
**Hundred-pace snake.** The engraved pattern of the hundred-pace snake (Figure 6.8.5.4) is a common symbol of Rukai noblemen (see *pulralri*).

![Figure 6.8.5.4. Patterns of the hundred-pace snake. (Photographs by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

**Human head.** A human head denotes that the flute owner is a successful headhunter (Figure 6.8.5.5).\(^{530}\)

![Figure 6.8.5.5. Patterns of the human head. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

\(^{530}\) Ibid.
The leaves of a lily. The leaves of a lily indicate to disperse love through playing the flute (Figure 6.8.5.6). The leaves of a lily indicate to disperse love through playing the flute (Figure 6.8.5.6).\footnote{Ibid.}

![Image of lily leaves](image)

Figure 6.8.5.6. Patterns of the leaves of a lily. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Glass bead. Silu (glass beads) were the traditional jewellery of the Rukai. Only noblemen were eligible to have silu. Silu functioned as an heirloom that was handed down from Rukai ancestors. For this reason, the silu pattern became a form of aristocratic emblem (Figure 6.8.5.7).\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
Whenever Rukai flutes are played during courtship, the flutes have a number of
carved patterns that can help a girl recognise whether the flute player’s genealogy
matches her family’s. Commoners were ineligible to play the mouth flute in ancient
times. However, they could buy a playing licence from the tribal chieftain. But
commoner players could not have any decoration on their mouth flute. They could
have a smoky colour on their flutes or keep their plain colour (see Figure 6.8.4.15).533

Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the kulralru was played mainly during courtship. Lra’akaroko suggests
that “Rukai music shows its integral culture. Accordingly, the music from the Rukai
flute is culture; people could experience Rukai culture through careful listening to its
music.”534 The following story, “Love of the Peacock,” is for lovers. The tune “Love

533 Ibid.
534 Ibid.
of the Peacock” sounds like an eagle hovering over a valley (Example 6.8.5.1). In ancient times, there was a pair of lovers in the Taromak tribe. On both sides, the parents disagreed to their marriage due to their different social status. Finally, the lovers went to a valley. The man played the flute and said: “I hope to turn my love into a peacock. I will hover in the sky to protect you until my wings are broken.” After this, the loving couple committed suicide. The nobles articulated the family’s old story through symbolic patterns on their flutes. It emphasises the lofty social status of the nobles. Accordingly, they like to add colour and emphasis to their heroic story in the lyric and tune while the flute is playing.

**Current function and contexts of use**

Nowadays the *kulralru* is played primarily for amusement and in the performing arts. By listening to the tune of the *kulralru*, people have an opportunity to experience the beauty of Rukai culture.

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535 Ibid.
536 Ibid.
Example 6.8.5.1. The tune “Love of the Peacock” on the *kulralru* (the double-pipe mouth flute).

Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

![Musical notation]

Sources where it appears

In the Taromak Community of Taitung City, Mr. Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko makes and plays the *kulralru* double-pipe mouth flute.

Similar/related instruments

Paiwan and Māori both have similar double-pipe mouth flutes. The *kulalu* of the Paiwan is also a double-pipe mouth flute (Subsection 6.5.6). Besides, Māori have the double *pūtōrino*, which functions as a single-note trumpet for signalling.  

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537 *Music in the Museum.*
6.8.6 Kulralru (the single-pipe mouth flute)

Picture

Figure 6.8.6.1. The kulralru single-pipe mouth flute of the Rukai. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Kulralru is also the indigenous name for the single-pipe mouth flute of the Rukai. The single-pipe mouth flute and the double-pipe mouth flute share the same name kulralru. Kulralru signifies that the bamboo is blown by mouth.\(^{538}\)

\(^{538}\) Lra’akaroko, interview.
Description

The *kulralru* single-pipe mouth (Figure 6.8.6.1) flute might have developed earlier than the *kulralru* double-pipe nose flute, since most Japanese colonial literature makes no mention of the *kulralru* double-pipe nose flute. These two forms of the *kulralru* had the same social function and musical practice (see Subsection 6.8.5).

Construction

The *kulralru* is a single-pipe vertical flute with an internal duct. The numerical entry for the *kulralru* single-pipe mouth flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12.\(^{539}\) The way of making and combining parts of the *kulralru* single-pipe mouth flute is the same as for the *kulralru* double-pipe mouth flute (see 6.8.5 *Kulralru*). Normally, the *kulralru* single-pipe mouth flute of the Rukai has four to six finger-holes. Lra’akaro ko made his single-pipe *kulralru* with five finger-holes (Figure 6.8.6.1). The following is the fingering of the *kulralru* single-pipe mouth flute (Table 6.8.6.1).

\(^{539}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
Table 6.8.6.1 The finger assignment of the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

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● = cover finger-hole  ○ = uncover finger-hole

Traditional function and contexts of use

The traditional function and the performance context of the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute were similar to those of the pulralri double-pipe nose flute and the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute (see 6.8.4 Pulralri and 6.8.5 Kulralru). In ancient times, people who had no experience in headhunting could not touch the kulralru, otherwise tribal elders would scold them: “Firstly, hunt a human head, and then you can play the flute.” Only successful headhunters were allowed to play the kulralru, and they also had the privilege of courting a girl. The following (Example 6.8.6.1) is the tune to show the player’s adoration on the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute.

Hu, Pai wan zu di bi di yu kou di, 70.

Current function and contexts of use

The current function of the kulralru is that it is played by Rukai musicians in cultural performances in tourist contexts. In contemporary Rukai, the patronage system of the kulralru has totally changed since Taiwanese aborigines were banned from
headhunting by Japanese colonialists. In some tourist spots, the kulralru is sold as a cultural artefact.

Sources where it appears

I found the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute in the Taromak Community, Taitung City.

Similar/related instruments

The Paiwan, the Seediq-Truku and the Atayal all have similar single-pipe duct flutes. The kulalu of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.5) has a similar structure to the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute of the Rukai. Normally, the kulalu has five to seven finger-holes. In ancient times, a Paiwan commoner with headhunting experience was eligible to play the kulalu single-pipe mouth flute. Moreover, both the Seediq-Truku and the Atayal have similar flutes with an internal duct. The Seediq-Truku call it mgagu (Subsection 6.11.10), and the Atayal call it pengao (Subsection 6.2.8). The mgagu and the pengao were both headhunter’s flutes, which were played in the rituals of headhunting.

6.9 Saisiyat Musical Instruments

The Saisiyat people have a population of 5,300 or so. They traditionally live in Wufong Township in Hsinchu County and Nanjuang and Shrtan Townships in Miaoli County (Northwest Taiwan). The following subsections feature Mr.'Oemaw a ’oebay’s self-representation personal views concerning Saisiyat musical instruments. 'Oemaw is a cultural insider with profound knowledge on Saisiyat language and cultural practice.

6.9.1 Kapae’pae’/kapakpak (the bamboo clapper)

Picture

Figure 6.9.1.1. Kapae’pae’/kapakpak (the bamboo clapper). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Both kapae’pae’ and kapakpak are names for the bamboo clapper (used for scaring birds). Ka- is a kind of verb. Both kapae’pae’ and kapakpak mean “using bamboo to make the sound of clapping.” Pae’pae’ means “the sound of clapping.” Pakpak also

means “the sound of the bamboo clapper.”\textsuperscript{543} In addition, the Saisiyat called another type of bamboo clapper \textit{kakarkar} (for scaring chickens).

\textbf{Description}

The clapper was an instrument used as a bird scarer and for other purposes.\textsuperscript{544}

\textbf{Construction}

The numerical entry for the \textit{kapae’pae’} clapper according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.14.\textsuperscript{545} The \textit{kapae’pae’} was made of bamboo tube, which was around 75 cm long and 8 cm in diameter. The clapper maker crosscut a five-sixth split on the bamboo tube, thereby the bifurcated bamboo tube was fairly elastic for two complementary sonorous parts striking against each other. By contrast, the \textit{kakarkar} chicken scarer was crosscut with two-fifth splits on the bamboo tube, thereby the fringed bamboo tube was fairly elastic for multipronged complementary sonorous parts striking against one another.

\textbf{Traditional function and contexts of use}

The \textit{kapae’pae’} and the \textit{kakarkar} traditionally functioned as farm tools. During a bumper crop, farmers clapped the \textit{kapae’pae’} to scare birds from eating the ripe crops. They used the \textit{kakarkar} to scare chickens.\textsuperscript{546}

\textsuperscript{543} 'Oemaw a ’oebay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Neihu, Taipei.
\textsuperscript{545} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{546} Cf. the interpretive sign in Saisiyat Folk Museum.
Current function and contexts of use

In Saisiyat Folk Museum, the *kapae’pae’* functions as a cultural display. It provides a sense of nostalgia for visitors and the Saisiyat people. Also, the interpretive guide claps the *kapae’pae’* to gain tourists’ attention at the Saisiyat Folk Museum.

Sources where it appears

People can find the *kapae’pae’* clapper in Saisiyat Folk Museum, Nanjhuang, Miaoli County.

Similar/related instruments

The Siraya and Hawaiians both have similar bamboo clappers. The bird scarer of the Siraya (Subsection 6.12.1) is similar to the *kapae’pae’* clapper. Also, in Hawaii, the *pū’ili* fringed bamboo clapper is similar to the *kakarkar* chicken scarer. Hawaiians accompany their hula on the *pū’ili*. The *pū’ili* fringed bamboo clapper is a necessary hula implement; it helps the dancer keep rhythm to the music.  

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6.9.2 Kango’ngo’an (the bamboo slit drum)

Picture

Figure 6.9.2.1. Kango’ngo’an (the bamboo slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

*Kango’ngo’an* is the indigenous name for the bamboo slit drum in Saisiyat. *Kango’ngo’* means “bamboo stick” or “stick.” The Saisiyat add the suffix -*an* after *kango’ngo* that means the instrument of beating. The prefix *ka*- indicates the action of playing in *kango’ngo’. Kango’ngo’ means “holding a bamboo stick by hand.” ‘Oemaw points out that all percussion instruments are called *kango’ngo’an*.548 Also, the nominalising circumfix *ka-* . *an* is an instrument from the verb, which means “the place where the action takes place.”549

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548 ‘Oemaw, interview.
Description

Mr. Sheng-fu Feng of the Saisiyat is the maker of the kango ’ngo’an in Figure 6.9.2.1. Until now, people did not know any maker of the kango ’ngo’an in Saisiyat society.

Construction

The numerical entry for the kango ’ngo’an slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. The kango ’ngo’an slit drum is made of a bamboo tube that is around 6 to 10 cm wide and 45 to 65 cm long. The lip of the kango ’ngo’an (see Figure 6.9.2.1) has been thinned by shaving off one side of the bamboo outer layer. The thin outer layer of the bamboo tube has been cut with two parallel slits, and two bamboo slips have been inserted under the thin outer layer at the two ends of the bamboo slit for good resonance.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Kango ’ngo’an (the bamboo slit drum) traditionally was used for signalling urgent situations. There is almost no historical literature that refers to the kango ’ngo’an bamboo slit drum of the Saisiyat. In Kurosawa’s record, the kagooan wood slit drum of the Saisiyat was used for signalling urgent situations in Baagasan Village and Amin Village of the Say ray’in tribe.551

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550 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
551 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 456.
Current function and contexts of use

Now the kango 'ngo 'an functions as a cultural relic in Saisiyat Folk Museum, Nanjhuang, Miaoli County.

Sources where it appears

People can see the kango 'ngo 'an in Saisiyat Folk Museum, Nanjhuang, Miaoli County.

Similar/related instruments

Samoans have a similar bamboo slit drum. They call it pātē. Samoan people play the pātē to entertain themselves as much as to deliver a signal.\textsuperscript{552}

\textsuperscript{552} Moyle, \textit{Traditional Samoan Music}, 40.
6.9.3 Tapa-ngasan (the hip rattle)

Picture

Figure 6.9.3.1. Tapa-ngasan (the hip rattle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Tapa-ngasan is the indigenous name for the hip rattle. Tapa-ngasan means to make an action which produces the sound ngasan; tapa- is a verb, and ngasan is the sound of a
bamboo rattle.\textsuperscript{553} The prefix \textit{ta-} indicates to do something together.\textsuperscript{554} The lexeme \textit{pa-} is the causative of a dynamic verb.\textsuperscript{555} Also, the prefix \textit{pa-} (or \textit{so-}) indicates “to whip” or “to beat.”\textsuperscript{556}

\textbf{Description}

The hip rattle is a kind of percussion instrument comprising resonant objects strung together; when it is shaken, the parts strike against each other, producing sound. In many aboriginal societies, rattles are connected with the supernatural and accompany religious rituals.\textsuperscript{557}

\textbf{Construction}

The numerical entry for the \textit{tapa-ngasan} hip rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.11.\textsuperscript{558} The \textit{tapa-ngasan} is a shaken instrument (i.e., suspension rattle). At present, most of the \textit{tapa-ngasan} hip rattles are made of clusters of little metal tubes and bronze vessel rattles. 'Oemaw claims that “both the metal tubes and the bronze vessel rattles are modern products, which are used to improve the jingle of the \textit{tapa-ngasan}.”\textsuperscript{559} In ancient times, the \textit{tapa-ngasan} was only made out of clusters of little bamboo tubes. Moreover, the little round mirror on the \textit{tapa-ngasan} is a symbol of the sun.\textsuperscript{560}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{553} 'Oemaw, interview.
  \item \textsuperscript{554} Kaybaybaw, “A Morphological and Semantic Study,” 32.
  \item \textsuperscript{555} Song, \textit{Language and Cognition in Saisiyat}, 5.
  \item \textsuperscript{556} Kaybaybaw, “A Morphological and Semantic Study,” 134.
  \item \textsuperscript{557} \textit{Encyclopædia Britannica Online}, s.v. “rattle.”
  \item \textsuperscript{558} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 11–15; see Appendix B.
  \item \textsuperscript{559} 'Oemaw, interview.
  \item \textsuperscript{560} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Traditional function and contexts of use

Traditionally, the Saisiyat people wear the *tapa-ngasan* hip rattle to celebrate the Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits). The Pas-taai ceremony is held on 15 October or thereabouts in the lunar calendar. Generally, the North Saisiyat people hold the Pas-taai ceremony in Da Ai Village, Wu Feng Township, Hsinchu County. The South Saisiyat people hold the Pas-taai ceremony at Sian Tian Lake, Nanzhuang Township, Miaoli County. During the Pas-taai ceremony, the *tapa-ngasan* functions as an instrument of sound supporting singing and dancing. While both genders are eligible to wear the *tapa-ngasan* hip rattle, the majority of *tapa-ngasan* bearers are female, and the majority of *tapa-ngasan* makers are male. However, a man is not allowed to touch a *tapa-ngasan* if his wife is pregnant.\(^{561}\) The reason for this taboo is unknown. As reported in Saisiyat myth, a tribe of Taai (dwarf Negritos) lived next to the Saisiyat people, who were proficient in agriculture and witchcraft. With the Taai’s help, the Saisiyat had a plentiful harvest. The Saisiyat people invited the Taai to join their harvest festival in appreciation of the Taai’s help. At that time, a Taai raped a Saisyat woman. The incident provoked the Saisiyat people’s anger, and they set a trap and enticed all the Taai people on to a broken tree bridge. The majority of the Taai people died in the fall, except two Taai survivors. The two survivors instructed the Saisiyat periodically to hold the Pas-taai ceremony to worship the spirits of the assassinated dwarfs; otherwise the Saisiyat would have a scanty harvest.\(^{562}\)

\(^{561}\) Ibid.
\(^{562}\) Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, *tapa-ngasan* (the hip rattle) not simply functions as a noisemaker and a talisman in the Pas-taai ceremony, but also it becomes the cultural symbol of the Saisiyat people. The Pas-taai ceremony is the oldest ceremony for the Saisiyat people. Initially, the Pas-taai was an annual ceremony. In the Japanese period, Japanese officers were anxious about aboriginal rebellion and therefore banned large social gatherings. In this context, the Saisiyat people changed their Pas-taai from an annual ceremony to a biennial ceremony. The *tapa-ngasan* is a ritual instrument in the traditional Pas-taai ceremony. The little round mirror on the *tapa-ngasan* is used to drive out evil spirits. Its sacred function is to prevent itself from disappearing in the world. The *tapa-ngasan* is an instrument that can provide accent for arranging dancers’ steps in the correct order in the Pas-taai ceremony. In addition, the hip rattle is a unique instrument amongst Taiwanese aboriginal groups. Therefore, the *tapa-ngasan* acts as a cultural symbol, enabling the Saisiyat to maintain their group identity.

Sources where it appears

People have an opportunity to look at the *tapa-ngasan* hip rattle in the biennial Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits) at Sian Tian Lake (Nanzhuang Township, Miaoli County) or Da Ai Village (Wu Feng Township, Hsinchu County). Also, people can see the *tapa-ngasan* in Saisiyat Folk Museum, Nanjhuang, Miaoli County.

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563 Ibid.
564 Ibid.
Similar/related instruments

The *kameLin* waist rattle of the Puyuma is related to the *tapa-ngasan* of the Saisiyat.

6.9.4 *Kapa ae:aey (the anklet rattle)*

Picture

Figure 6.9.4.1. *Kapa ae:aey (the anklet rattle).* (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

*Kapa ae:aey* is the Saisiyat name for ‘anklet rattle.’ The verbalising prefix *kap-* means “to sound continually.” 565 *Kapa ae:aey* indicates “the rattle sounding continually.” 566

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Description

As reported by the Encyclopaedia Britannica, slung rattles are the earliest musical instruments strung on a string or tied in bunches and attached to a dancer’s body. They were probably made of shells, bones, hooves, or similar objects in prehistoric times.\(^5^6^7\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the \textit{kapa ae:aey} anklet rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.111.\(^5^6^8\) There are forty-three rattling beaded chains strung in rows on a cord to form the \textit{kapa ae:aey} anklet rattle. Each beaded chain has a metal pellet bell on the end. The metal pellet bells are around 0.5 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The Saisiyat dancers wore \textit{kapa ae:aey} on their ankles when dancing in various traditional festivals to provide a boisterous sound.

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the \textit{kapa ae:aey} anklet rattle not only makes a boisterous sound in dance, but it also functions as a Saisiyat cultural display (see Figure 6.9.4.1).

Sources where it appears

People can find the \textit{kapa ae:aey} anklet rattle in Saisiyat Folk Museum, Nanjhuang, Miaoli County.

\(^{567}\) Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, s.v. “rattle.”

\(^{568}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 11–15; see Appendix B.
Similar/related instruments

Hawaiians have a related rattle, namely, the kūpe‘e niho ʻilio. The kūpe‘e niho ʻilio is a kind of anklet rattle, which is made from hundreds of canine teeth. Hula dancers wear the kūpe‘e niho ʻilio anklets to accentuate their dance steps.569

6.9.5 Kaborbôr (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

![Image of Kaborbôr (the Jew’s harp)](image)

Figure 6.9.5.1. Kaborbôr (the Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Kaborbôr is the indigenous name of the Jew’s harp in Saisiyat society. Kaborbôr means to play the instrument that produces the sound “borbor.” Ka- is a form of verb, which means the action of pulling. Borbor is the sound of pulling. Therefore, kaborbor means

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569 Roberts, Ancient Hawaiian Music, 56. Also see “Kupe’e niho’ilio.”
“to produce the sound borb or by pulling.”570 In linguistic terms, the prefix ka- indicates an incomplete action and derives a noun.571 The lexeme borb or is a full reduplication, which indicates to repeat action.572

Description

In Kurosawa’s record, the Saisiyat called the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp gaogao (cf. 6.11.3 gaugau) and the heteroglottic Jew’s harp buruburu. Both genders were eligible to play the Jew’s harp. The tongue of the buruburu was made of brass. The Saisiyat frequently played the buruburu at a feast, in conversation, or in offers of marriage. In contrast, the gaogao was mainly played by a learner of the Jew’s harp.573

Construction

The numerical entry for the karborbor Jew’s harp according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.574 The frame of the single heteroglottic karborbor (Figure 6.9.5.1) is made of bamboo; it is around 2 cm wide and 8 to 12 cm long. The slit of the karborbor is around 0.3 cm wide and 6.7 cm long. The heteroglottic tongue is made of copper in a tapering shape.575

570 'Oemaw, interview.
571 Song, Language and Cognition in Saisiyat, 2.
572 Kaybaybaw, “A Morphological and Semantic Study,” 64.
574 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
575 Cf. the interpretive sign of Saisiyat Folk Museum.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Everyone was eligible to play the *kaborbor*. Particularly, lovers played the *kaborbor* during courtship. Each pair of lovers had their own tune, therefore only they could understand the tune’s implied meaning.\(^{576}\)

Current function and contexts of use

At present, few Saisiyat people can make and play the *kaborbor*. The Saisiyat are possibly failing to hand it down from older to younger generations.

Sources where it appears

People can have a look at the *kaborbor* in Saisiyat Folk Museum, Nanjhuang, Miaoli County.

Similar/related instruments

Many Taiwanese aboriginal groups have related instruments, such as the *datok* of the Amis, the *lubuw* of the Atayal, the *kungkung* of the Bunun, and the *lubu* of the Seediq-Truku.

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\(^{576}\) Kaybaybaw, “A Morphological and Semantic Study,” 64.
6.9.6 Papotol (the holy sounding whip)

Picture

Figure 6.9.6.1. Papotol (the holy sounding whip). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Papotol is the Saisiyat name for the holy sounding whip. 'Oemaw points out that the papotol is a holy whip. Some people call it “Snake Whip.” Pa- is a form of verb. Potol means “whip.” Papotol indicates “to swing the holy whip.” The lexeme pa- is the causative of a dynamic verb. The verbalising prefix pa- (or so-) indicates “to whip” or “to beat.” The prefix pa- also indicates “to suffer” or “to sustain.” Babte: is another name for the holy whip. Babte: is a different spelling of papotol.

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577 'Oemaw, interview.
578 Song, Language and Cognition in Saisiyat, 5.
580 Ibid., 138.
581 Cf. “Babte:.”
Description

The *papotol* holy whip can be regarded as a form of sound producing instrument in the Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits).

Construction

The numerical entry for the *papotol* holy whip according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 411. The *papotol* is made from the bark of the paper mulberry. The handle is around 20 cm long; and the barky rope is about 90 cm long. The *papotol* has a single length of whip made up of two interlaced strands of bark; the male strand and the female strand. In fact, the male strand is the new strand, and the female strand is the old strand. Each year the *papotol* holder makes a new strand and keeps an old strand to form the *papotol*. After the Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits), the old strand of the *papotol* must be cast aside and only the new strand is kept for next time. It is a symbol of transition from the old to the new.

Traditional function and contexts of use

During the Pas-taai ceremony, the priest of Titiyon family whips the *papotol* towards the air to drive out evil spirits or to stop rain. Some patients touch the priest while he is whipping the *papotol* so that they can be healed of their sickness. The holy whip can protect people from evil spirits. Only the southern Saisiyat have the *papotol* holy whip.

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582 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24; see Appendix B.
583 Oemaw, interview.
584 Ibid.
Current function and contexts of use

The current function and contexts of use of the *papotol* holy whip are the same as its traditional function and contexts of use. In the Pas-taai ceremony, the *papotol* are primarily used to make a loud cracking sound to move away evil spirits or rain from the ceremonial locale.⁵⁸⁵

Sources where it appears

People have an opportunity to look at the *papotol* holy whip in the biennial Pas-taai ceremony (Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits) at Sian Tian Lake (Nanzhuang Township, Miaoli County).

Similar/related instruments

The *shashushu* long bamboo clapper (Subsection 6.14.1) of the Thao also has a function of driving out evil spirits.

6.9.7 Kahiyopan (the bone flute)

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

The Saisiyat called the bone flute *kahiyopan*. *Kahiyo-* is a form of verb, which means “to blow.” *Pan* is the sharp sound of the bone flute. ’Oemaw states that the Atayal had a

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.
similar musical instrument. They learnt to play the *kahiyopan* from the Saisiyat.\(^{586}\) The stem *hiyop* means “to blow by mouth.” The derivative *hi-hiyop* indicates “continually blowing something.” It is clear that the lexeme *hi-hiyop* is a partial reduplication of the stem *hiyop*.\(^{587}\)

**Description**

The bone flute is possibly one of the oldest instruments in the world. Nicholas Conard believes that “The ancient flutes are evidence for an early musical tradition that likely helped modern humans communicate and form tighter social bonds.”\(^{588}\)

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *kahiyopan* bone flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111.11 (or 421.111.12).\(^{589}\) Before World War II, the Saisiyat utilised deer bone to make the flute. Other information about the construction of the *kahiyopan* is unknown.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The Saisiyat had the bone flute. However, the bone flute was not played in musical activities. The Saisiyat hunter brought the bone flute with him to hunt in the forest. If the hunter encountered a bear, he could play the bone flute to scare the bear away due to the sharp tone of the flute.

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\(^{586}\) Ibid.


\(^{588}\) Owen, “Bone Flute is Oldest Instrument.”

\(^{589}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.
Current function and contexts of use

The *kahiyopan* bone flute became a part of the cultural memory of the Saisiyat people. It is no longer actively played.

Sources where it appears

The *kahiyopan* bone flute exists in the oral histories of the Saisiyat people.

Similar/related instruments

Māori have similar bone flutes, namely, the bone *kōauau*. In ancient times, the bone *kōauau* was made of the arm bone or thigh bone of an enemy slain in battle. Now Māori use the leg bones of animals (e.g., sheep, cow, and deer) instead of human bone.591

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590 *Kōauau* also made from various kinds of wood and stone.
6.10 Sakizaya Musical Instruments

In the 1870s, many Han immigrants invaded the Cilai Plain of Eastern Taiwan, seeking cultivated land. In the Takobowan Incident (or Kaliyawan Incident, 1878), the Sakizaya people and their ally the Kavalan people were defeated by the Qing army. The Sakizaya survivors were exiled to various tribes of the Amis people and hid their ethnic identity to prevent the Qing army from massacring them. The Sakizaya people were granted official ethnicity from the Taiwan Government on 17 January 2007. The Sakizaya people have a population of at least five thousand. They traditionally live in the north of Hualien County.\textsuperscript{592} The following subsections draw upon Mr. Jin-wen Huang’s knowledge concerning Sakizaya musical instruments.

6.10.1 Farfar (the bamboo clapper)

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

The Sakizaya call the bird scarer farfar. The lexeme farfar is onomatopoeic. Farfar also means ‘the wilted leaf of breadfruit’.\textsuperscript{593}

Description

The bird-scarer is a bamboo clapper, which is also a form of sound-producing instrument.

\textsuperscript{592} Cf. “Sakizaya.”
\textsuperscript{593} Jin-wen Huang, interview by Jen-hao Cheng. 12 July 2009, tape/digital recording, Guo Fu Community, Hualien City.
Construction

The numerical entry for the farfar bamboo clapper, according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system, is 111.14.\textsuperscript{594} The farfar is made from a bamboo pole which is cut into a large number of long thin strips along two-thirds of its length.

Traditional function and contexts of use

In former days, the farfar functioned as a farm tool. The Sakizaya people used to strike the farfar loudly against wood, a wall, or the floor to scare birds.\textsuperscript{595}

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the farfar is seldom used.

Sources where it appears

The farfar exists in old people’s memories in Sakizaya society.

Similar/related instruments

Many Austronesian peoples (e.g., Hawaiians, the Saisiyat, and the Siraya) have the clapper.

\textsuperscript{594} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{595} Huang, interview.
6.10.2 Toktok (the wood slit drum)

Picture

Figure 6.10.2.1. Toktok (the wood slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2008.)

Etymology

Jin-wen Huang suggests that the meaning of toktok possibly mimics the sound of the slit drum due to the repeated sound.\(^{596}\)

Description

In the Takobowan Incident (1878), the Qing army slaughtered and burned the Takobowan tribe of Sakizaya people. Afterwards, the deceased chieftain and chieftain’s wife of the Takobowan tribe were posthumously awarded the god and goddess of fire of

\(^{596}\) Ibid.
the Sakizaya. Furthermore, Sakizaya people hold the Palamal ceremony to commemorate the victims of the Takobowan Incident.597 The toktok is played in the Palamal ceremony.

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the toktok slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231.598 Many contemporary aboriginal groups play a wood slit drum, which is a ready-made weaving trough bought from a market. However, the toktok of the Sakizaya is specially made by the locals. One feature of the toktok slit drum is its octagonal prism shape, which is unique among Taiwanese aboriginal groups. Now, all toktok are handcrafted. In the old days, in the forest, it was best to find wood with a natural opening. This made the sound bright (cf. Subsection 6.6.2). The best toktok slit drums are made out of a bishopwood tree (*Bischofia javanica Blume*), because the wood is hard and durable. If people have difficulty finding bishopwood tree in the woods, camphor wood can be used instead. There was no decoration on the slit drum in former days. The inside of the wood slit drum is usually chiselled into a u-shaped slit. There are two forms of drumsticks (i.e., short and long sticks) in the Sakizaya community. The toktok is played with a pair of long drumsticks to accompany dance, and it is played with a pair of short drumsticks when signalling messages to tribesmen.599

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597 Wulao, “Palamal.”
598 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
599 Cf. Huang, interview.
Traditional function and contexts of use

The toktok traditionally was used to play for delivering messages and accompanying dance in the Palamal ceremony. Over a half century ago, women were not allowed to play the slit drum. The toktok player was appointed by the elders, and he usually had a higher rank in the age hierarchy. People were not eligible to play the toktok if they had received no instruction from the elders. Huang states that the toktok was only played by his grandfather’s generation. During his childhood, he saw and heard his grandfather’s generation drumming the toktok to deliver messages to villagers. Then there were a lot of children mimicking the adults’ drumming.\textsuperscript{600} This was a form of oral transmission, passing knowledge of traditional drumming from one generation to the next. At that time, the Sakizaya people utilised short drumsticks to beat the toktok for signalling and communication around the tribe. Whenever the tribe had important matters to discuss or an upcoming activity, the chieftain gathered all the villagers together by beating the toktok. On ordinary days, the toktok was kept in the men’s house. There was a special signal in the men’s house for convening all the warriors if there was an emergency. Drumming more rapidly indicated an urgent situation. For instance, Example 6.10.2.1 is the rhythm for summoning youths back to the men’s house. Example 6.10.2.2 is the rhythm for calling all the villagers to the men’s house.\textsuperscript{601}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{600} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{601} Ibid.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Example 6.10.2.1. The rhythm for summoning youths back to the men’s house. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Allegro

Example 6.10.2.2. The rhythm for calling all the villagers to the men’s house. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Allegro

Current function and contexts of use

Now the Sakizaya primarily play the toktok to accompany dance. The side of the toktok slit drum lies on the floor, as the standing drummer is drumming with a pair of long drumsticks (see Figure 6.10.2.1). The main function of drumming is to provide a steady rhythm for dancing. The type of rhythm depends on a drummer’s ability and skill, thus the rhythm varies from person to person. For this reason, the Guo Fu community always chooses the best slit drummer to accompany dance. Nowadays the drum is almost never used for signalling since each family has a telephone. Contemporary drummers are few in number and use short drumsticks for signalling.602

Sources where it appears

People can find the toktok slit drum in the Palamal ceremony (Worship of the Fire God).

602 Ibid.
Similar/related instruments

Many Austronesian peoples have related slit drums, such as the *wubon* of the Seedig-Truku (Subsection 6.11.2) and the *gawngu‘* of the Atayal (Subsection 6.2.3). In the Cook Islands, people mainly played slit drums (e.g., *pātē*, *tokere*, *ove*, and *kā’ara*) for signalling in the old days. Currently, drummers accompany Cook Islanders’ dance on these slit drums in the modern percussion ensemble.\(^{603}\)

6.10.3 Tubtub (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

*Tubtub* is the indigenous name of the Jew’s harp in Sakizaya society. *Tubtub* means “the Jew’s harp.” *Mitubtub* means “to play the Jew’s harp.”\(^ {604}\)

Description

There is little literature on the *tubtub* of the Sakizaya in Taiwan.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *tubtub* Jew’s harp (one tongue fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221; or 121.222.\(^ {605}\)

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\(^{603}\) McLean, *Weavers of Song*, 57–60.

\(^{604}\) Tubah, *Sakizaya sapalangaw*, 143–46.

\(^{605}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
*tubtub* is a form of heteroglottic Jew’s harp. The structure of the *tubtub* is a copper lamella attached to a bamboo frame by a string.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

*Tubtub* (the Jew’s harp) was traditionally used to play in courtship and self-entertainment. *Tubtub* players were mainly male. Before World War II, young men played the *tubtub* to girls to express their adoration, or men played it for self-entertainment.606

**Current function and contexts of use**

Now the *tubtub* is seldom used in Sakizaya society.

**Sources where it appears**

The *tubtub* might appear in the different tribes of the Sakizaya in Hualien.

**Similar/related instruments**

The majority of Austronesian peoples have a Jew’s harp. The Kavalan also called the Jew’s harp *tubtub* (Subsection 6.4.6). The Sakizaya and the Kavalan might share a musical tradition due to the fact that the Sakizaya were allied with the Kavalan in the Qing dynasty (circa the 1870s).

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606 “Introduction to Traditional Musical Instruments.”
6.10.4 Baibai (the singing kite)

Picture

![Baibai (the singing kite)](image)

Figure 6.10.4.1. Baibai (the singing kite). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

*Baibai* is the indigenous name for the singing kite. Huang points out that *baibai* means “to float in the wind.” Its sound is similar to whistling. The lexeme *baibai* is onomatopoeic. Another name for the *baibai* is *fasiao*.607

Description

The Aeolian musical bow is a musical instrument that is played by the wind. It is named for Aeolus, the ancient Greek god of the wind. I aim to introduce the Aeolian musical

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607 Huang, interview.
bow of Taiwanese aborigines (especially the baibai of the Sakizaya) to the public. The public may think that the baibai is simply a gigantic aboriginal kite. They neglect the Aeolian musical bow as a form of sound-producing instrument. There are few scholars (e.g., Wu and Ceng) who study the music of the Sakizaya, not to mention the musical instruments of the Sakizaya. Through this study, people have a chance to understand the musical instruments and culture of the Sakizaya and other aboriginal groups. In historical literature, *The Kavalan Governmental Record* (1831–1852) of the Qing Dynasty recorded the aeolian musical bow of the Kavalan as follows:

On the Double Ninth Festival, people also made the bird-like paper kite for amusement. They probably tied bamboo to form an eagle shape and used a strip as the string of the bow. Next, a chicken’s long tail feathers were stuck over it. The kite was sounded by the wind with a leisurely tone, even though it has a heavy structure with the empty tube. It had a lot of fun!”

The kite was called *bnuay* in Kavalan. The traditional territory of the Sakizaya was next to the Kavalan. There was a good relationship between the Kavalan and the Sakizaya since the period of the Qing dynasty (1683-1895). And Huang, the Sakizaya informant, said that sometimes the rope of the baibai was broken by strong wind, and the baibai flew to nearby aboriginal groups. These factors possibly affected the distribution of the Aeolian musical bow (i.e., the singing kite) across aboriginal groups along the east coast of Taiwan. Moreover, in his aerial harp study, Uli Wahl points out that the rattan-string of the Aeolian musical bow vibrates and produces sound whose

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608 Wu and Ceng, *Taiwan yuan zhu min zu sa qi lai ya zu yue wu jiao cai*.
609 Chen, *Kavalan Governmental Record*, the second half of vol. 5.
611 Huang, interview.
tonality varies with the strength of the wind, when exposed to the wind. Some Aeolian musical bows produce a variety of individual notes.\textsuperscript{612}

**Construction**

The Aeolian musical bow is not classified within the Hornbostel and Sachs instrument system. Hornbostel and Sachs state that

Stringed instruments [are] distinguished by the nature of the vibrating substance but wind and percussion by the mode of sound-excitation—ignoring the fact that there are stringed instruments which are blown, like the Aeolian harp.\textsuperscript{613}

Furthermore, Aeolian instruments are classified as “sympathetic instruments” within the Montagu and Burton instrument system.\textsuperscript{614}

The following are the details of the construction of *baibai* (the singing kite). The shape of the kite is a hexadecagon. Before World War II, people scraped off the bark of a camphor tree to make the kite. The bark was processed before it was used. The *baibai* kite was made out of the paste of *Tetrapanax papyrifera* (a grass) and banana leaves or the bark of *Broussonetia papyrifera*.\textsuperscript{615} The hexadecagonal frame of the *baibai* is made out of bamboo; each side of the kite (see Figure 6.10.4.1) is about 90 cm long. The Aeolian musical bow of the singing kite is made of a bamboo rod about 120 cm long. The Sakizaya cut a strip of thin rattan about 2 cm wide as a string and tie it to both ends of the

\textsuperscript{612} Wahl, “Exploring Aerial Harps and Flutes,” 15–16.

\textsuperscript{613} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 6.

\textsuperscript{614} Montagu and Burton, “Proposed New Classification System,” 61.

\textsuperscript{615} This information came from Jen-hao Cheng’s ethnographic data in the Sakizaya Exhibition Room of Qi Lai Ya Winery on 13 July 2009.
bow (see Figure 6.10.4.2); then they attach the musical bow to a kite, and it produces an audible whistling when it is flown in the air.616

![Image of musical bow](image)

**Figure 6.10.4.2. Aeolian musical bow of the Sakizaya. (Illustration by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)**

Comparing the Aeolian musical bows of Taiwanese aborigines with those of other Austronesian peoples, the Aeolian musical bow of the *baibai* (the Sakizaya, Figure 6.10.4.2) is as straight as the *wau bulan* of the Kelantanese Malay.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The Sakizaya people could only fly the kite in their village. If they flew the kite outside a Sakizaya village, they would let the enemy know the people’s whereabouts. Kite-flying was another way of signalling for the Sakizaya people. The Sakizaya kite is a kind of singing kite as well as a form of sound-producing instrument. Its sound is similar to whistling. The *baibai* was used mainly to deliver messages. It easily attracted people’s attention. The Sakizaya people could distinguish the kind of signal, depending on the shape and different coloured tassels of the singing kite. The *baibai* uses the wind and the elasticity of the bow to produce sound. The Sakizaya played the *toktok* slit drum to signal

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616 Huang, interview.
in certain distances. However, the *baibai* was played in longer distances due to its visible appearance. It was clear that the kite signal could be heard and seen across villages. Ergo, villagers hunting in the mountains could recognise what was happening in their village through the singing kite. Huang states that, whenever an enemy was coming on a sneak attack, the *baibai* would be released to call for help and to order all the warriors to return home to fight the enemy.\(^{617}\) It was also employed to request reinforcements from another tribe. Elderly people tell Huang these things. But Huang does not know what the different coloured tassels mean. In ancient times, the Sakizaya people were able to decode the kite signal. For example, the whistling of the *baibai* was very loud; even people in the next village, Ji An Township, could hear it clearly.\(^{618}\)

**Current function and contexts of use**

The contemporary *baibai* functions as a symbol of the Sakizaya culture and its heritage. It is displayed in the Sakizaya Exhibition Room of Qi Lai Ya Winery. Nowadays the *baibai* of the Sakizaya has become a form of Taiwanese aboriginal heritage. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues, “Heritage is a mode of cultural product in the present that has recourse to the past. And heritage is a value added industry . . . Heritage produces the local for export.”\(^{619}\) People can trace the Aeolian musical bow (i.e., the singing kite) from historical literature to contemporary festivals along the east coast of Taiwan across several aboriginal groups. Before World War II, the Kavalan, the Sakizaya, the Amis, and the Puyuma all had the singing kite. However, the singing kite is not in use for delivering

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\(^{617}\) Ibid.

\(^{618}\) Ibid.

messages in modern times due to advances in communication technology and changes in the patronage system. The kite has become an aboriginal toy. In recent decades, Hualien County and Taitung County have exploited the Aeolian musical bow to provide tourists with a sense of exoticism and nostalgia in festivals promoting local commodities and tourism. Accordingly, the Aeolian musical bow is reborn in a new patronage system. This is a win-win situation: the government can promote local business, and aboriginal people can maintain their tradition as well as gain some economic capital.

Sources where it appears

People can go to see the baibai singing kite in the Sakizaya Exhibition Room of Qi Lai Ya Winery, Hualien City.

Similar/related instruments

The Amis, the Kelantanese Malay and the Balinese all have similar singing kites. In the Amis, the singing kite is called fasiyaw. Fasio is the homophone of fasiyaw.\(^{620}\) The homophone is probably an outcome of long-term intermarriage between the Sakizaya and the Amis.\(^{621}\) In the same Austronesian family, the wau bulan is the singing kite of the Kelantanese Malay. Wau means “kite,” and bulan means “moon.” The kite is called wau bulan (moon kite) because the lower sail is in a moon-like crescent shape.\(^{622}\) Another Austronesian singing kite is the bebean of the Balinese. The traditional Balinese kite, called the bebean or janggan, was made of bamboo and cotton. The forty-foot kite had a

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\(^{620}\) Chang, “Sailfish Season.”

\(^{621}\) Cf. information from Jen-hao Cheng’s ethnographic data in the Sakizaya Exhibition Room of Qi Lai Ya Winery on 13 July 2009; Chang, “Sailfish Season.”

pair of eighteen-foot Aeolian musical bows on it, the male bow facing up and the female bow facing down. The Balinese believed that the humming kite could create harmony in the rice field and in the bedroom, when these male and female bows flew together above the rice fields.  

6.10.5 Berber (the bullroarer or the whirling disc)

Picture
Unavailable.

Etymology
The Sakizaya called the bullroarer berber. Huang points out that berber is also the name of the whirling disc.  

Description
The bullroarer is a widespread instrument around the Austronesian world. As to the whirling disc, there are two holes in the centre of the whirling disc, and a loop of string passes through these holes. The player uses his hands to swing the loop of string like a skipping rope, pulling tightly and relaxing the loop of string to and fro to spin the disc and make a murmuring sound.  

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623 “Bali Kite Festival.”
624 Huang, interview.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *berber* bullroarer and the *berber* whirring disc according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 412.22. The *berber* bullroarer is commonly a slender oval in shape. The *berber* whirring disc is made of round slate, wood, or bamboo.

Traditional function and contexts of use

*Berber* (the bullroarer or the whirring disc) functioned as a plaything in Sakizaya tradition. Huang recalls that, during his childhood, he used to tie thin stone slices with a long string, spinning them to produce sound. At that time, children played it just for amusement.

Current function and contexts of use

Some elders have revived the *berber* bullroarer and the *berber* whirring disc to function as playthings in schools and cultural associations.

Sources where it appears

Cultural insiders at the Tiway Sayionan Culture and Art Association can make the *berber*.

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626 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24; see Appendix B.
627 Huang, interview.
Similar/related instruments

The Tsou and Māori have similar instruments. The *euvuvu* of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.6) is similar to the *berber* bullroarer. Moreover, Māori call their bullroarer *pūrerehua*. Māori played it to pray for rain as well as to lure lizards from hiding places. For Māori, the *porotiti* (humming disc) functions as a toy.\(^{628}\) Also, the *porotiti* was used as a form of medicine in the old days. Playing it can help to ease arthritis, colds, and congested chests.\(^{629}\)

**6.10.6 Libau (the bamboo flute)**

**Picture**

Unavailable.

**Etymology**

*Libau* is the Sakizaya name for the bamboo flute. Huang states that the *libau* is a musical instrument; its meaning is “a sound-producing instrument.”\(^{630}\) *Piyu no auk* is also a name for the bamboo flute. *Auk* means “bamboo.” *Piyu* probably indicates “to blow.” *No* means “of.”\(^{631}\)

**Description**

It is difficult to find historical literature referring to the *libau* bamboo flute of the Sakizaya.

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\(^{629}\) Ibid.

\(^{630}\) Huang, interview.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *libau* mouth flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12.\textsuperscript{632} The *libau* is a form of bamboo vertical flute with an internal duct, which has three finger-holes. In ancient times, the old made *libau* out of bamboo.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Elderly people mainly played the *libau* in their leisure time. At parties, everyone played the *libau* or sang songs by turn.

Current function and contexts of use

Currently, aboriginal people are changing their entertainment. When people have their own radio and television, they do not go to traditional congregational parties anymore; thus some traditions (e.g., musical instruments) are dying out.

Sources where it appears

The *libau* bamboo flute is kept in the oral tradition of older generations in Sakizaya society.

\textsuperscript{632} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
**Similar/related instruments**

Many Taiwanese aborigines have similar bamboo flutes, such as the *mgagu* headhunter’s flute of the Seediq-Truku (Subsection 6.11.10) and various *tipolo* bamboo flutes of the Amis (Section 6.1).

**6.10.7 The Wooden Libau Vessel Flute**

**Picture**

Unavailable.

**Etymology**

The wood vessel flute shares the name *libau* with the bamboo flute.

**Description**

There is no literature referring to the vessel flute of Taiwanese aborigines.

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the wooden *libau* according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.42.\(^{633}\) Huang points out that there was another *libau* which was made out of wood. He saw this kind of musical instrument made by the old during his childhood.\(^{634}\) It had become extinct by the time he reached adulthood. The

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\(^{633}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24–26; see Appendix B.

\(^{634}\) Huang, interview.
wooden *libau* is a crab-shaped wooden vessel with four holes on the crab feet; it is possibly a form of ocarina.\(^\text{635}\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

In former times, the wooden *libau* vessel flute functioned as a plaything for self-entertainment. Children played it for fun. I asked Huang if the crab has any special meaning for the Sakizaya people. Huang replied that the Sakizaya people used to catch *kia* (a species of crab) in the Meilun Creek (beside Guo Fu Community, Hualien) in May and June before 1969.\(^\text{636}\) The crab-shaped *libau* is therefore probably a reflection of the Sakizaya material culture.

**Current function and contexts of use**

The wooden *libau* vessel flute disappeared approximately five decades ago.

**Sources where it appears**

The wooden *libau* vessel flute is kept in the elders’ memory.

**Similar/related instruments**

Other Taiwanese aboriginal groups have no vessel flute.

\(^{635}\) Ibid.  
\(^{636}\) Ibid.
6.10.8 Piyu (the screw pine oboe)

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

Piyu is the indigenous name of the screw pine oboe. The lexeme piyu imitates the sound “pi..pi” of the screw pine oboe.\(^{637}\) Also, piyu indicates “to blow.”\(^{638}\)

Description

Mervyn McLean points out that a leaf trumpet is actually a kind of leaf oboe.\(^{639}\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the piyu according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 412.131.\(^{640}\) The piyu is a product of material obtained from local sources (e.g., the leaves of the screw pine). Huang points out that he used to utilise the reverse side of the screw pine pith as a mouthpiece. Further, rolled screw pine leaves become a horn-shaped tube; connecting the mouthpiece to the horn-shaped tube forms an oboe-like instrument. Such an instrument made out of screw pine cannot last long, but material for the piyu was easily found along the banks of rivers and beaches in the early days.\(^{641}\)

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\(^{637}\) Huang, interview.

\(^{638}\) Tubak, *Sakizaya sapalangaw*, 143–46.


\(^{640}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 27; see Appendix B.

\(^{641}\) Huang, interview.
Traditional function and contexts of use

In former days, the Sakizaya employed a leaf to whistle songs for self-entertainment. Children also played the *piyu* for fun.642

Current function and contexts of use

Currently, few people play the *piyu*.

Sources where it appears

The *piyu* is kept in the oral tradition of the Sakizaya.

Similar/related instruments

Many Austronesian peoples have related instruments. The Kavalan called the flute or whistle *piuk* (Subsection 6.4.9). Moreover, Samoans have related leaf oboes (e.g., *pū laufala, pū fa’aii*, and *pū launiu*).643 Māori have the *tētere* flax trumpet. The *tētere* is a temporary instrument which is made of green screw pine leaves. In the old days, the *tētere* did not function simply as a child’s plaything. Māori blew the *tētere* to announce their approach to a village.644 Another related instrument is the Māori *tuarōria*, which is made of coprosma leaves. It is a form of singing leaves.645

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642 Ibid.
6.10.9 Teng gala teng (the three-stringed zither)

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

Teng gala teng is the indigenous name of the three-stringed zither. Gala means “irregular leap.” Teng is the sound of an irregular leap. 646

Description

There is no literature referring to the teng gala teng of the Sakizaya. The literature records the four-stringed zither of the Truku and the five-stringed zither of the Bunun.

Construction

The numerical entry for the teng gala teng three-stringed zither according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 314.12. 647 The teng gala teng had three strings on a wood board. The strings of the teng gala teng were made of steel wires. A bamboo strip functioned as a pick. The index finger of the player wore a short triangular bamboo strip to pluck the strings of the teng gala teng. The best bamboo strip was made out of a branch of bitonay (i.e., thorny bamboo). As regards the way of playing, the player’s left hand presses on the strings, and his right hand plucks the strings. 648

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646 Huang, interview.
647 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
648 Huang, interview.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Before 1957, the *teng gala teng* functioned as a plaything for children’s amusement. 649

Current function and contexts of use

The *teng gala teng* three-stringed zither is not currently in use.

Sources where it appears

Huang saw the *teng gala teng* three-stringed zither in his village (Guo Fu Community) around 1947. It probably disappeared after 1957. 650

Similar/related instruments

The neighbour of the Sakizaya (i.e., the Truku) has the *lubug spat qnawal* four-stringed zither (Subsection 6.11.9). Geographical nearness and cultural contact probably influenced the diffusion of the board zither in Taiwan (see Figure 1).

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649 Ibid.
650 Ibid.
6.11 Seediq-Truku Musical Instruments

Iki Tadaw points out that originally the Truku and the Seediq were in the same big family without any difference between them. In the Hualien area, the Toda group and the Truku group both live together. Later, the Government recognised the ethnicity of the Seediq. The Seediq of Nantou County regard the Truku as a little brother. In the Japanese period (1895–1945), the Seediq, along with the Truku, were classified as Atayal (Figure 6.11.1). The Seediq language comprises three main dialects: Truku, Toda, and Tgdaya (Figure 6.11.2). In the first instance, the Truku population numbers around 24,000. The Truku (also named as Taroko) were officially recognised as Taiwan’s twelfth aboriginal group on 15 January 2004, even though the Truku are actually a sub-tribe (i.e., hapū in Māori) of the Seediq and Truku is a dialect of the Seediq language. The main reasons for this recognition are that the Taroko area in Eastern Taiwan is known for its scenic gorge inhabited by the Truku (see Figure 1), and the Truku have their own group identity. In contrast, the population of the Seediq is about 10,000. Their population is smaller than the Truku’s. Consequently, the Seediq miss the spotlight, but they were officially recognised as Taiwan’s fourteenth indigenous group on 23 April 2008. Owing to the fact that speakers of the Seediq and Truku languages can communicate with each other and they share almost the same musical tradition, I classify their musical instruments in the category “6.11 Seediq-Truku Musical Instruments.” The following

651 Iki Tadaw, interview by Jen-Hao Cheng, 14 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00001), Taroko, Hualien County.
652 Cf. Ino, Ping pu zu diao cha lv xing, 251–52.
subsections draw extensively upon information about Seediq-Truku musical instruments provided by Mr. Iki Tadaw and Mr. Hayu Yudaw

Figure 6.11.1. The scope of ethnic relation. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Figure 6.11.2. The dialects of the Seediq language. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)
6.11.1 Tatuk (the xylophone)

Picture

Figure 6.11.1. Tatuk (the xylophone). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

*Tatuk* is the indigenous name for the wood xylophone. *Tatuk* also means “to knock.”

Description

Jeremy Montagu defines the xylophone as “one or more wooden bars tuned to an acceptable pitch. It should be borne in mind that almost any bar of wood (or any other material) will produce a note of definite pitch.”

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656 Iki, interview.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *tatuk* xylophone according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.212.658 Now all *tatuk* are made of wood. Over three decades ago, the Seediq-Truku also had a bamboo *tatuk*. For instance, Iki’s mother had a bamboo *tatuk* during his childhood. The range of the bamboo *tatuk* and the wooden *tatuk* are both D-E-G-A. The key order of the *tatuk* (Figure 6.11.1) from bottom to top is D-E-G-A. The D key is around 41.5 cm long and 4 cm in diameter. The E key is around 38.5 cm long and 3.8 cm in diameter. The G key is about 38 cm long and 5 cm in diameter. The A key is about 36 cm long and 4.5 cm in diameter. The length of the wood in the stand is around 38 cm and its diameter is 4 cm.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The Seediq-Truku people traditionally played *tatuk* (the xylophone) to deliver messages. Before World War II, the Seediq-Truku used the *tatuk* to assemble tribal people. Each tribe had its own specific rhythm to make a signal. The Seediq-Truku social system had all tribal people share prey together. For example, if a hunter had a good bag of game and wanted to share a feast with tribal people, he would play the *tatuk* to inform households in the distance and to invite them here to have a feast together (see Example 6.11.1). Iki states that he heard tribal elders playing the wood xylophone frequently during his childhood. He once saw an elder playing the wooden *tatuk* on a roof and that made the sound clearer and more audible.659 Sometimes the *tatuk* functioned as a means of communication between two places. The most common situations in which the *tatuk* was

658 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
659 Iki, interview.
played were weddings and after successful hunts. For instance, a groom-to-be went to meet his bride-to-be at her home on the opposite side of the mountain in order to escort her back to his home for the wedding. In the Seediq-Truku tradition, the groom-to-be must utilise a wooden chair to carry his bride-to-be on his back during the escorting trip to his home. The bride-to-be’s feet could not touch the ground, otherwise the marriage could bring unhappiness.660

Example 6.11.1. The tune “Calling People to Share the Prey” on the tatuk. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.  
Allegro

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the Seediq-Truku play the tatuk in various aboriginal festivals and musical performances. Males and females are eligible to play the tatuk. At present, the tatuk is played to make a joyful signal. For example, children play the tatuk in ensemble during the harvest festival, which sounds boisterous and cheerful. Particularly, the Truku people play the tatuk in ensemble to entertain tourists (see 5.2.1 Taroko National Park).661

660 Ibid.  
661 Ibid.
Sources where it appears

People can appreciate a performance of the *tatuk* in Taroko National Park, Hualien.

Similar/related instruments

There are some similar xylophones in Taiwan and New Britain. The *lubuw qhuniq* xylophone of the Atayal and the *tatuk* of the Seediq-Truku have the same physical structure. The Amis call their xylophone *kokang*; it is a kind of suspended xylophone. In New Britain (Melanesia), the Tolai call their xylophone *tinbuk*; it is a leg xylophone with two keys.\(^{662}\)

6.11.2 *Wubon (the wooden slit drum)*

Picture

![Image of Wubon](image)

Figure 6.11.2.1. *Wubon* (the wooden slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

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Etymology

The Seediq-Truku have a wood slit drum whose name is wubon. Wubon originates from the weaving trough of the Seediq-Truku. Wubon originally meant “loom.”

Description

In ancient times, the majority of Taiwanese aboriginal groups had a bamboo slit drum. Since the Japanese period, aboriginal people utilise ready-made weaving troughs as slit drums instead of the bamboo slit drum.

Construction

The numerical entry for the wubon slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. The wubon is made out of the wood of Michelia Formosana. There are many Michelia Formosana trees on nearby mountains. This wood is the highest class of wood in Taiwan. It is heavy; thereby the wubon can be played steadily. The wood slit drum is around 100 cm long and 40 cm high. The width is 15 cm on the side with the slit and 25 cm on the opposite side. The length of the pair of beaters is approximately 120 cm.

Traditional function and contexts of use

In ancient times, the wubon functioned as a loom. The family of a groom-to-be gave a wubon as a gift to the family of the bride-to-be in accordance with Seediq-Truku

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663 Iki, interview.
664 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
marriage custom. The wubon is a precious thing. Since the Japanese period (1895–1945), aboriginal people have played the wubon as wooden slit drums.

**Current function and contexts of use**

Currently, the wubon also functions as a slit drum. The drummer can use long beaters or short beaters to knock the wubon slit drum, depending on the need of performance. Further, the drummer can put the slit of the wubon facing upwards or sideways. Iki, the insider, prefers to put the slit of the wubon facing sideways with a pair long sticks for drumming in standing (cf. Figure 5.1.1.4).

**Sources where it appears**

People can easily find the wubon in various aboriginal festivals.

**Similar/related instruments**

The gawngu' slit drum of the Atayal has the same physical structure as the wubon.
6.11.3 Gaugau (the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp)

Picture

Figure 6.11.3.1. Gaugau (the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Gaugau is the indigenous name for the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp. Gaugau is onomatopoeic; it imitates the sound of playing the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp.

Description

The gaugau is a bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp.

Construction

The numerical entry for the bamboo gaugau Jew’s harp (the tongue cut out of a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.21. The gaugau is made of bamboo; it is around 4 cm wide and 8 cm long. The bamboo tongue of

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665 Ibid.
666 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
the *gaugau* is carved within the bamboo frame itself, its base remaining joined to the bamboo frame. Traditionally, in Taroko, the Jew’s harp has a bamboo tube (instrument case) to protect it. As for decoration, Iki carved some patterns on the *gaugau* to make it look good, but he mentioned those patterns were meaningless.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The traditional function and contexts of use of the *gaugau* were the same as those for *Lubu* (see Subsection 6.11.4).

**Current function and contexts of use**

The current function and contexts of use of the *gaugau* are the same as those described in Subsection 6.11.4 for the *lubu*. Iki demonstrated the tune of the *gaugau* (Example 6.11.3.1).

**Example 6.11.3.1. A tune on the *gaugau*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

![Allegro](image)

**Sources where it appears**

I found the *gaugau* in Taroko, Hualien County.
Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, many aboriginal groups have similar bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harps, such as the *lubuw* of the Atayal (Subsection 6.2.7) and the *ljaljuveran* of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.2).

### 6.11.4 Lubu (the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp)

**Picture**

![Image of Lubu](image)

Figure 6.11.4.1. *Lubu* (the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

**Etymology**

The name for the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp is *lubu*, which means “the Jew’s harp” as well as “musical instrument.” Iki claims that *lubu* means “the Jew’s harp,” “musical instrument,” and “affection” in the Truku language. The extended meaning of *lubu* indicates that lovers can express their affection by playing the *lubu*.667 In Seediq-Truku

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667 Iki, interview.
society, different age groups or tribes have different spellings for the Jew’s harp (e.g.,
lubu and lubug). Please refer to Chapter 7 for further details.

Description
During his childhood, Iki learnt to play the lubu from tribal elders.668

Construction
The numerical entry for the lubu Jew’s harp (one tongue fixed to a frame) according to
the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.669 Lubu (the single
copper-tongue Jew’s harp) comprises one heteroglottic copper tongue. The tongue is
tapering in shape, and is fixed to a bamboo frame. The frame of the single heteroglottic
lubu (Figure 6.11.4.1) is made of bamboo and is around 1.5 cm wide and 10 cm long.

Traditional function and contexts of use
The lubu was used in courtship before World War II. An unmarried man and woman used
the lubu to respond to each other during courtship. Hence, the lubu also means verbal
affection. In other words, people can show their affection to someone by playing the
lubu. Lovers have their specific signal or melody. Only they can understand each other’s
melodic meaning. For example, a man played the lubu in the moonlight near a woman’s
house to express his affection. If the woman was fond of the man, she would play the
lubu to respond to him. If the woman was not fond of the man, she would not play the
lubu. Afterwards they dated frequently. They gave a piece of the lubu’s tassels to each

668 Ibid.
669 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
other on each date. After dating more than a dozen times, the man could go to the woman’s family to propose marriage to her. At that time, the tassels from the woman’s *lubu* functioned as a token of love for the man. In addition, lovers simultaneously played the *lubu* and danced the dance of the Jew’s harp with each other. Iki demonstrated the following tune (Example 6.1.4.1) on the *lubu*.

Example 6.1.4.1. A tune on the *lubu*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng. Allegro

Current function and contexts of use

Now the *lubu* is mainly played for musical performances in tourist or cultural contexts (see 5.2.1 Taroko National Park). The *lubu* also functions as a cultural souvenir in tourist attractions.

Sources where it appears

The *lubu* appears in Taroko, Hualien County.

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670 Iki, interview.
Similar/related instruments

Many Taiwanese aboriginal groups (e.g. Atayal, Amis, Saisiyat, Paiwan and Thao) have similar single copper-tongue Jew’s harps.

6.11.5 Lubu tgdha (the double copper-tongue Jew’s harp)

Etymology

The indigenous name for the double copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgdha; tgdha means “two.”

Seediq-Truku musical instruments are classified by material and structure. Please refer to Chapter 7 for further details.

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Ibid.
Description

See Subsections 6.11.3 and 6.11.4.

Construction

The numerical entry for the lubu tgdha Jew’s harp (several tongues fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.222.672

Lubu tgdha (the double copper-tongue Jew’s harp) consist of two copper tongues fixed to a bamboo frame. The frame of the lubu tgdha is made of bamboo. The lubu tgdha is around 10 cm long and 3 cm wide. The double heteroglottic tongues are made of copper.

Traditional function and contexts of use

See 6.11.4 Lubu.

Current function and contexts of use

See 6.11.4 Lubu. Iki demonstrated a tune (Example 6.11.5.1) on the lubu tgdha.

Example 6.11.5.1. A tune on the lubu tgdha. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Allegro

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672 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
Sources where it appears

People can find the lubu tgdha in Taroko, Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

The Atayal people also have double-heteroglottic-tongue Jew’s harps.

6.11.6 Lubu tgtru (the three-copper-tongue Jew’s harp)

Etymology

The name for the three-copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgtru; tgtru means “three.”
Description

Hayu points out that the Truku traditionally have no lubu with three copper tongues to play music.\textsuperscript{673} In contrast, the Atayal have a three-tongue Jew’s harp.\textsuperscript{674}

Construction

The numerical entry for the lubu tgtru Jew’s harp (several tongues fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.222.\textsuperscript{675} In Figure 6.11.6.1, the structure of the lubu tgtru is made of bamboo. The bamboo frame of the lubu tgtru is around 3 cm wide and 10 cm long. The three tapering tongues of the lubu tgtru are made from a thin, flat copper sheet, and are fastened to the bamboo frame by means of string. The pitches of the three-copper-tongue Jew’s harp are E-G-A (see Example 6.11.6.1).

Traditional function and contexts of use

See 6.11.4 Lubu.

Current function and contexts of use

See 6.11.4 Lubu. Iki demonstrated the Truku’s “Love Song” (Example 6.11.6.1) on the lubu tgtru.

\textsuperscript{673} Hayu Yudaw, interview by Jen-Hao Cheng, 20 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taroko, Hualien County.
\textsuperscript{674} Hayu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao,” 163.
\textsuperscript{675} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
Example 6.11.6.1. The tune “Love Song” on the lubu tgdu. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Sources where it appears

People can find the lubu tgdha in Taroko, Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

The Atayal have a similar heteroglottic-tongue Jew’s harp.

6.11.7. Lubu tgsba (the four-copper-tongue Jew’s harp)

Picture

Etymology

The name for the four-copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgsba; tgsba means “four.”
Description

In my opinion, the metal tone of multi-heteroglot guimbarde sounds like the tone of a guitar.

Construction

The numerical entry for the lubu tgsba Jew’s harp (several tongues fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.222. In Figure 6.11.7.1, the frame of the lubu tgsba is made of bamboo. The bamboo frame of the lubu tgsba is around 3.5 cm wide and 10.5 cm long. The four tapering tongues of the lubu tgsba are made from a thin, flat copper sheet, and are fastened to the bamboo frame by means of string. The pitch of the four-copper-tongue Jew’s harp is D-E-G-A.

Traditional function and contexts of use

See 6.11.4 Lubu.

Current function and contexts of use

The lubu tgsba is mainly played to entertain tourists and give them a sense of exoticism in various aboriginal festivals. In addition, the player must change the angle of the four-copper-tongue lubu to breathe quickly for controlling the pitch and timbre at the same time. Iki mentioned that he frequently felt faint when he played the Jew’s harp in the harvest festival. Iki demonstrated “Joy Song” (Example 6.11.7.1) on the lubu tgsba.

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676 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
Example 6.11.7.1. The tune “Joy Song” on the lubu tgsba. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng. allegro

Sources where it appears

People can find the lubu tgsba in Taroko, Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

The Atayal have a similar heteroglottic-tongue Jew’s harp. Hayu points out that only the Atayal and the Seediq have four-tongue Jew’s harps.677

6.11.8 Lubu tgryma (the five-copper-tongue Jew’s harp)

Picture

Figure 6.11.8.1. Lubu tgryma (the five-copper-tongue Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

677 Hayu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao,” 163.
Etymology
The name for the five-copper-tongue Jew’s harp is *lubu tgryma*; *tgryma* means “five.”

Description
It seems only the Atayal and the Seediq-Truku have five-tongue Jew’s harps in Taiwan.\textsuperscript{678}

Construction
The numerical entry for the *lubu tgryma* Jew’s harp (several tongues fixed to a frame) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.222.\textsuperscript{679} In Figure 6.11.8.1, the frame of the *lubu tgryma* is made of bamboo. The bamboo frame of the *lubu tgryma* is around 4 cm wide and 12 cm long. The five tapering tongues of the *lubu tgryma* are made from a thin, flat copper sheet, and are fastened to the bamboo frame by means of string. The pitch of the five-copper-tongue Jew’s harp is D-E-G-A-D’.

Traditional function and contexts of use
See 6.11.4 *Lubu*.

Current function and contexts of use
See 6.11.7 *Lubu tgsba*. Iki demonstrated “Joy Song” (Example 6.11.8.1) on the *lubu tgryma*.

\textsuperscript{678} Ibid.; Hayu, “Tai wan yuan zhu min yue qi jie shao,” 3.
\textsuperscript{679} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.

Sources where it appears

People can find the lubu tgsba in Taroko, Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

The Atayal have a similar five-copper-tongue Jew’s harp.
6.11.9 Lubug spat qnawal (the four-stringed zither)

Picture

Figure 6.11.9.1. Lubug spat qnawal (the four-stringed zither). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Lubug spat qnawal is the indigenous name for the four-stringed zither of the Seediq-Truku. Here lubug is the homonym of lubu, which means musical instrument (a borrowing from the Jew’s harp, see 6.11.4). Spat means “four.” Next, qnawal denotes the strings of the four-stringed zither. ⁶⁸⁰

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⁶⁸⁰ Cf. Hayu, interview.
Description

Montagu defines the zither as “any instrument simply consists of one or more strings and a string bearer (e.g. a stick, bar, board, or box).”

Construction

The numerical entry for the lubug spat qnawal four-stringed zither according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 314.11 (or 314.12). The following are the details of the physical structure of lubug spat qnawal (the four-stringed zither). In Figure 6.11.9.1, the strings of the lubug spat qnawal are made of nylon. The lubug spat qnawal is around 19.5 cm wide and 29 cm long. In the Japanese period (1895-1945), the strings of the lubug spat qnawal were made of steel wire. The pitch of the lubug spat qnawal from low to high is D-E-G-A. Iki claims that the Truku have a four-stringed zither. A tribal elder once told him that the four-stringed zither was made out of wood and steel strings. In the old days, the Truku exchanged their jewellery for steel strings with other ethnic groups. The Seediq-Truku sometimes put a box under the board of the four-stringed zither which functions as a resonator. The holes on the board function on the resonance of the sound; this is a new addition. The pegs of the lubug spat qnawal are made of chopsticks. Hayu demonstrated “Dance Together” (Example 6.11.9.1) on the lubug spat qnawal.

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682 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
683 Iki, interview.
684 Mr. Hayu Yudaw is the maker of the lubug spat qnawal in Figure 6.11.9.1.

Moderato

Traditional function and contexts of use

Old people played the four-stringed zither for self-entertainment. The lubug spat qnawal was played solo. Traditionally, the Seediq-Truku did not accompany people’s singing on the lubug spat qnawal. There was no limitation on a player’s gender. There were two ways to play the lubug spat qnawal. The first way, the player used a bamboo stick to pluck the strings. The second way, the player held a bamboo stick in each hand to strike the strings (this way of playing resembles that of the dulcimer).685

Current function and contexts of use

Currently, lubug spat qnawal (the four-stringed zither) is mainly used to play in academia (e.g., workshop and seminar). Hayu points out that he uses the method of playing the Seediq-Truku xylophone to play the lubug spat qnawa. He said that he normally puts the

685 Hayu, interview.
lubug spat qnawal on the table to play. The volume of the lubug spat qnawal is quite low. The player can decide to play with or without a resonator. The lubug spat qnawal was not equipped with a resonator until a later period (circa the Japanese period, 1895-1945). According to my observation, the lubug spat qnawal with a resonator can produce stereo sound. If, nowadays, people use the lubug spat qnawal to accompany singing, they need to use a microphone with it. In such a case, the singer would not be allowed to sing loudly. The lubug spat qnawal can be played together with the Seediq-Truku xylophone. However, the xylophone player needs to play quietly with the lubug spat qnawal.

Sources where it appears

In the Japanese period (1895-1945), the Seediq-Truku of Wan-Rong Township had the lubug spat qnawal. Now people can find the lubug spat qnawal in the Taroko area of Hualien County.

Similar/related instruments

The Bunun have the banhir latuk five-stringed zither (see Subsection 6.3.6), which is quite similar to the lubug spat qnawal.

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686 Hayu Yudaw, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 20 August 2009, Taroko, Hualien County.
687 Cf. ibid.
688 Ibid.
6.11.10 *Mgagu (the headhunter’s flute)*

Picture

![Image of Mgagu flute](image)

Figure 6.11.10.1. *Mgagu* (the headhunter’s flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

**Etymology**

*Mgagu* is the indigenous name of the headhunter’s flute in Seediq-Truku society. *Mgagu* indicates the flute used for headhunting activity. Another name for the headhunter’s flute is *pgagu*, which is also the name of a bird. Sometimes people confuse the singing of the *pgagu* bird with the tune of the *pgagu* flute.\(^{689}\)

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\(^{689}\) Iki, interview.
Description

Montagu suggests that duct flutes are universal around the world due to the fact that they are easy to play: people just put the end into their mouths and blow.\textsuperscript{690} In Taiwan, all the duct flutes belong to the class of ‘flute with an internal duct.’ Iki Tadaw is one of the forerunners in the revival of the \textit{mgagu} headhunter’s flute of the Seediq-Truku. Many years ago, Iki found a historical \textit{mgagu} flute in the aboriginal exhibition at the National Palace Museum, and he secretly took pictures of it. He has experienced many failures to make a \textit{mgagu}.

Construction

The numerical entry for the \textit{mgagu} headhunter’s flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12.\textsuperscript{691} The \textit{mgagu} is made of \textit{makino} bamboo. There is much \textit{makino} bamboo around Taroko. Old \textit{makino} bamboo, around three or four years old, is the best material to make the \textit{mgagu}. Generally, old bamboo is drier. After cutting the bamboo, people can use it immediately to make the \textit{mgagu}, if the bamboo tube is not wet inside. If it is wet inside, the bamboo needs to dry in the air for about one month. However, bamboo cannot dry directly in the sun, otherwise it will crack. The \textit{mgagu} headhunter’s flute was not used for many decades because Japanese colonialists banned aboriginal headhunting activity (see section 2.1.1). Iki consulted tribal elders about the structure of the \textit{mgagu}. Tribal elders told him where to drill the holes and to utilise a sharp, thin iron blade to open the chamfered orifice of the \textit{mgagu}. Thereby, he firstly used a knife obliquely to dig a chamfered orifice, and then he used a

\textsuperscript{690} Montagu, \textit{Origins and Development of Musical Instruments}, 48.
\textsuperscript{691} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
utility knife to clean it up, and give it a well-defined and symmetrical shape. Using a ground blade, he pierced a vent in the bamboo node between the mouthpiece and the orifice. He carefully pierced the vent. Iki points out that the length of this mgagu (Figure 6.11.10.1) is just a little shorter than that of the historical one. The mgagu has no regular diameter. There were no carved patterns on the traditional mgagu. Now he decorates the mgagu with carvings. Iki has already made more than twenty mgagu, but only two or three of them are playable. Whenever he found that he had drilled a finger-hole in the wrong place (i.e., it produced a poor tone), he would use a bamboo stick to plug the wrong finger-hole, and then he drilled a new one. The chamfered orifice of the mgagu has no regular size. Iki must chisel the orifice slowly and adjust the tone carefully because the orifice is close to the bamboo node in the upper end of the bamboo tube. The size of the chamfered orifice influences the tone of the mgagu. In addition, he opens a hole at the constricted foot (bamboo node) of the mgagu. As for the finger-holes, Iki claims that the mgagu had five finger-holes in the elders’ memory. However, most contemporary mgagu have four finger-holes. In Iki’s case, he used a bamboo stick to seal the second finger-hole for playing more easily (see Figure 6.11.10.1). 692 The gamut of the mgagu is traditionally D-E-G-A. The following is the finger assignment of the mgagu (Table 6.11.10.1). D is played by stopping the four finger-holes. E is played by stopping two finger-holes. G is played by stopping one finger-hole. A is played by opening all finger-holes. Before drilling any finger-hole, the pitch of the bamboo tube is D. Then, drilling the first two finger-holes, its pitch is E. Iki, the flute maker, depends on his hearing to measure the pitch of the mgagu. He uses a gas burner to burn a thick wire into

692 Iki, interview.
flame and then uses the wire to drill the finger-holes. After burning and drilling the finger-holes, he used a sharp knife to clean them up, and give them a well-defined and symmetrical shape.\textsuperscript{693}

Table 6.11.10.1 The finger assignment of the \textit{mgagu} headhunter’s flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finger-holes</th>
<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D\textsubscript{4}</td>
<td>E\textsubscript{4}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th (back)</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

● = cover finger-hole ○ = uncover finger-hole

Traditional function and contexts of use

\textit{Mgagu} were mainly played by successful headhunters, chieftains, priests, and tribal elders. Only a successful headhunter could have the \textit{mgagu} and a tattoo on his chin. In ancient times, the Tsenawan (i.e., the Amis) liked to steal Truku vine cores to eat; therefore, the Truku hunted their heads frequently. Over three decades ago, Iki’s family had a \textit{mgagu}. His family once had a bamboo stand for setting skulls on in front of their house. Having a skull stand in front of a house was a symbol of bravery at that time. The skull stand disappeared after the Japanese banned headhunting, and Iki’s family put the \textit{mgagu} into a cave. The \textit{mgagu} was involved in the activity of headhunting; therefore, there were spirits on that \textit{mgagu}. It was a taboo to put the \textit{mgagu} in a house. Once Iki went to the cave to have a look at the \textit{mgagu}, then he found the \textit{mgagu} had decayed due to the humid atmosphere in the Taroko area. Thereafter, Iki’s father and uncle frequently

\textsuperscript{693} Ibid.
grasped their hands into a tube-like shape and blew in order to imitate the playing of the *mgagu*, whenever birds were singing. 694 Iki demonstrated the tune (Example 6.11.10.1) of the *mgagu* headhunter’s flute by humming.

**Example 6.11.10.1. The tune of the *mgagu*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

Moderato

Through imitating the bird chirp, the Seediq-Truku watchword could not be caught by the enemy. The tune “Headhunting” was not played in peacetime. Once the Seediq-Truku played the tune, their warriors went to hunt the enemy’s head. In ancient times, the chieftain would play the *mgagu* to inform all villagers whenever something was happening in the village. The elders said that, if a stranger invaded the Seediq-Truku hunting fields or stole their crops, the invader would be warned several times, and the event would be reported to the chieftain. Then the chieftain played the *mgagu* to recruit warriors in order to ambush the enemy on their border. The tune “Headhunting” (Example 6.11.10.2) was played on the chieftain’s *mgagu* to command warriors to hunt an enemy’s head.695

**Example 6.11.10.2. The tune “Headhunting” on the *mgagu*. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

Moderato

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694 Iki, interview.
695 Ibid.
When the enemy appeared, tribesmen hunted a human head and brought it back to their village. The hunted head was put on an altar, and then the *mgagu* was played in front of the head to soothe the soul of the head to ensure that the head did not blame the Seediq-Truku for bringing him to their village and that the head would invite the heads of his family to the headhunter’s village to accompany him. The tune “Head Worship” (Example 6.11.10.3) was used to comfort the hunted head and settle down the soul of the head in the headhunter’s village.

**Example 6.11.10.3. The tune “Head Worship” on the mgagu. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

\[\text{Transcription image}\]

The Seediq-Truku called this practice *gaya*. The soul of the head would strengthen the *mana* of the headhunter’s village. It is similar to the Atayal’s *gaga*. *Gaya* is the rules that were regulated by the Seediq-Truku ancestors.\(^696\)

**Current function and contexts of use**

Nowadays, the *mgagu* (headhunter’s flute) is used to play in musical performances. Iki states that he initially did not have the courage to play the *mgagu* because there was a taboo to play it. The first time Iki played the *mgagu* in public, some tribal people asked

\(^{696}\) Ibid.
him, “Why do you dare to play the mgagu?” He responded, “The tide has turned! I must play the mgagu, otherwise Truku children will not know what the mgagu is.”

For instance, the Truku Cultural Development Association and Iki performed in the Hualien Joint Harvest Festival. Iki has two mgagu. The small one is played for self-amusement and practice. In contrast, the large one is used to play in formal performances, tribal ceremonies and aboriginal festivals (cf. Table 6.2). At the festival, he played his newly composed song on the large mgagu; the translation of the lyrics are as follows: “Calling the Truku descendants, do not hesitate any more. The Sun is rising. And we have to follow the footsteps of the Sun without hesitation. We are the Truku who are a very hard-working people.”

Many aboriginal groups have a taboo on performing traditional ritual songs in performance. The Seediq-Truku are not allowed to sing traditional ritual songs at random in public. Performers will invite misfortune if they break the taboo. However, there is no traditional taboo when people perform newly created music. For this reason, Iki exploits the Seediq-Truku’s traditional gamut (i.e., D-E-G-A) in his creative music. He improvises lyrics to meet the needs of the immediate performance context in the Hualien Joint Harvest Festival. For example, he sang “Happy Together”: “Today is the Harvest Festival, we are happy to be together. No hard thinking! From the old to children, all are happy to be together. You can ask our ancestral spirits, if you want to request a peaceful future.” A lot of tribal people approve of Iki inventing music within traditional Seediq-Truku forms, as they think this is a good way to keep Seediq-Truku music alive.

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697 Ibid.
698 Ibid.
699 Cf. Ibid.
Sources where it appears

People can find the *mgagu* in Taroko of Hualien and Nantou County.

Similar/related instruments

The Atayal have a similar headhunter’s flute (see Subsection 6.2.3 *Pengao*).
6.12 Siraya Musical Instruments

The Siraya people mainly live in the southwest plains of Taiwan. Most of them are assimilated into Han Taiwanese society, but some remain traditional culture bearers. The following subsections feature Mr. Zheng-shiong Wan’s interview data apropos Siraya musical instruments. He is an indigenous musician, musical instrument maker, and founder of the Siraya Cultural Association and Onini Musical Group in Tainan City, Taiwan.

6.12.1 The bird scarer (the clapper)

Picture

Figure 6.12.1.1. The clapper. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

Unknown.

Description

The Siraya are losing their language. In recent years, they have attempted to revive their mother tongue through interviewing the elders, and they have recourse to The Gospel of St. Matthew in Formosan (Sinkan Dialect) from the Dutch period to revive the vocabulary of the Siraya.\textsuperscript{700} This literature contains some indigenous names concerning Siraya musical instruments.

Construction

The numerical entry for the clapper according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.14.\textsuperscript{701} A bamboo tube is split along five-sixths of its length. Thereby the bifurcated bamboo tube is fairly elastic, and two complementary sonorous parts strike against each other. The clapper is around 110 cm long and 10 cm in diameter (see Figure 6.12.1.1).

\textsuperscript{700} Campbell, Gospel of St. Matthew.

\textsuperscript{701} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

In the Japanese period (1895-1945), the bamboo clapper functioned as a bird scarer to frighten birds away from a field where crops were growing.

Current function and contexts of use

Now the bird scarer functions as an idiophone instrument in the Onini Bamboo Music Group. Also, Zheng-shiong Wan, the informant, knocked the bird scarer while the Siraya people were marching in a demonstration.\textsuperscript{702} Wan founded the Onini Bamboo Music Group of the Siraya. He took the music group on tour in Taiwan in order to highlight the distinctive culture of the Siraya.

Sources where it appears

People can find the bird scarer in the Siraya Cultural Association in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

The Saisiyat have a similar clapper called the kapakpak (see 6.9 Saisiyat Musical Instruments).

\textsuperscript{702} The Siraya people are endeavouring to get official recognition of Siraya ethnicity from the central government of Taiwan
6.12.2 Vurig (the percussion tube)

Picture

Figure 6.12.2.1. Vurig (the percussion tube). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Vurig is the indigenous name for the percussion tube in Siraya society. Vurig means “bamboo”; its other name is barig.703

703 Macapili, Siraya Glossary, 652.
Description

Bamboo has a great influence on the material culture of the Siraya. In the Siraya, most daily implements are made out of bamboo.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *vurig* percussion tube according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231. The *vurig* percussion tube is made of a bamboo cane, which is around 100 cm long and 7 cm in diameter. The beater is made of hard wood; it is about 35 cm long and 3 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use

*Vurig* (the percussion tube) was traditionally used to accompany singing for self-entertainment. As regards the *vurig*’s performance context, vendors or farmers used a carrying pole to carry heavy goods over half a century ago. After unloading the heavy goods, people sang working songs for self-entertainment. They used a little wooden stick or a knife to beat their *vurig* (carrying pole) to accompany their song. The rhythm was like the following example.

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704 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
Wan performed the *bo a kua* (old women’s song) as an example. The *bo a kua* song originated from spontaneous singing. Traditionally, aboriginal people are good at improvised singing.\(^{705}\)

**Example 6.12.1. The bo a kua song of the Siraya. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.**

The lyric is the following: *erng zhai*x kui huei ei ban gon a kuang dio ngai yo a* (the *erng zhai*x vegetable blooms, its stem becomes hollow. Whenever I see this, I feel so worried). The *bo a kua* song came from an elderly woman of the Siraya, who has now passed away. The elderly woman earned a livelihood by growing vegetables. She had to gather the *erng zhai*x (*Ipomoea aquatica Forsk*) vegetable before blooming. The lyrics reflect her financial burden – the cause of her worry.

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Current function and contexts of use

People could understand how to accompany working songs on the vurig percussion tube over a half century ago. Currently, although few people use the vurig percussion tube to perform, the vurig and its related songs have a nostalgic and pedagogic function for the present generation.

Sources where it appears

People can find the vurig in the Siraya Cultural Association in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

The Atayal have a similar instrument. In Fiji, women lay a percussion bar across their legs to accompany singing. Fijians call it lali ne meke; it is a female instrument.706 The structure of the lali ne meke is a wooden bar with a resonant hollow in the bottom.707

706 Good, Fijian Meke; In Good’s thesis, She notes that lali ne meke could be played by men or women.
6.12.3 Tubtub (the bamboo slit drum)

Picture

![A photograph of a man playing a bamboo slit drum.](Image)

**Figure 6.12.3.1. Tubtub (the bamboo slit drum). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)**

**Etymology**

*Tubtub* is the Siraya name for the bamboo slit drum. *Tubtub* is onomatopoeic. The derivative *tmubtub/tumubtub* comprises the verbalising infix *-m-* and the lexeme *tubtub*, and means “to knock.”

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Description

In the Qing Empire, the historic painting “Liao wang zhi tuo” has recorded the slit drum of Taiwanese aborigines (see Figure 4.2.1.5).\textsuperscript{709} For further details, please refer to Subsection 4.2.1.

Construction

The numerical entry for the tubtub slit drum according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.231\textsuperscript{710} The slit drum is made of a bamboo tube with a pair of thin wooden beaters. The bamboo slit drum is hollow. The hollow of the slit drum can produce resonance. On the bamboo slit drum, one side of the thick bamboo wall is planed into a thin bamboo wall and two parallel slits were cut in the thin bamboo wall. Further, two bamboo sticks propped up both ends to provide good resonance.\textsuperscript{711} The tubtub slit drum has varied sizes.

Traditional function and contexts of use

In ancient times, the tubtub slit drum functioned as a messaging device. It was hung under a tree. The tubtub player delivered a message by beating a specific rhythm

\textsuperscript{709} Chen, \textit{Dong ning chen shi fan su tu}.
\textsuperscript{710} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{711} Wan, interview.
whenever the chieftain had an important message for all villagers. The further details are unknown. Types of messages and usage fail to be handed down from past generations.

Current function and contexts of use

Whenever the Siraya played the slit drum to accompany people’s dancing, the atmosphere was boisterous. By following the drumming, children could use the correct steps of a dance through listening to the pattern of regular pulses caused in drumming (see Example 6.12.3.1).

Example 6.12.3.1. The rhythm of the tubtub slit drum of the Siraya. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

 Allegro

![Musical notation image](image)


Wan, interview.
Sources where it appears

People can find the *tubtub* in the Siraya Cultural Association in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

The slit drum is a common and popular musical instrument in Taiwanese aboriginal groups and Austronesian peoples. The *dongdong* slit drum of the Pazih-Kahabu (Subsection 6.6.1) and the *kango’ngo’an* slit drum of the Sai Siyat (Subsection 6.9.2) are both similar in structure to the *tubtub*.

6.12.4 Tatabuan (the stamping tube)

Picture

![Tatabuan](image)

Figure 6.12.4.1. *Tatabuan* (the stamping tube). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

*Tatabuan* is the indigenous name for the stamping tube in Siraya society. *Tatabuan* means “bamboo tube.”714

Description

Owing to the material culture, bamboo tubes are easily available and thereby benefit the development of bamboo musical instruments.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *tatabuan* stamping tube according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.232.715 The bamboo tubes all come from local bamboo. Generally, the pitch of a thin bamboo tube is higher than that of a thick one. Wan (the only known *tatabuan* maker) uses a long chisel to get rid of the nodes inside a thick bamboo tube to produce a bass note. In contrast, he does not get rid of the nodes inside a thin bamboo tube to produce a high note.716 Small and short bamboo tubes produce a high sound. The top end of the bamboo tube is open and the bottom end is closed by a node.

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715 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
716 Wan, interview.
Traditional function and contexts of use

There is no literature concerning the traditional function and contexts of use of the *tatabuan*.

Current function and contexts of use

People can directly knock the *tatabuan* on the floor to accompany singing (see Example 6.12.4.1). But Wan prefers knocking the bamboo tubes on a hollow tree trunk to produce resonant drumming with vigour and to have fun (see Example 6.12.4.2).\(^717\)

Sources where it appears

People can find the *tatabuan* in the Siraya Cultural Association in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

Hawaiians and Fijians have similar instruments. In Hawaii, *‘ōhe kā’eke’eke* stamping tubes have different sizes and pitches; they are used to accompany *hula kā’eke*. Each player holds a pair of *‘ōhe kā’eke’eke* to raise and drop on the ground to accompany chanters and dancers.\(^718\) Also, Fijians used *derua* (stamping tubes) upon mats or the ground to provide the rhythms to accompany music and dance.\(^719\)

\(^717\) Ibid.

Example 6.12.4.2. The tune of stamping the tatabuan on a hollow tree trunk. Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.
6.12.5 Kilikili/sackig (the forged bell)

Picture

Figure 6.12.5.1. The invented kilikili/sackig. (Reproduced from Wang, Tai wan yuan zu min ji dian di sheng hui, 113.)

Etymology

*Kilikili* and *sackig* are the indigenous names for the Siraya forged bell. Macapili’s *Siraya Glossary* records the indigenous names (i.e., *kilikili* and *sackig*) for the bell, even though nowadays the Siraya forget the name of the forged bell. On the basis of *The Gospel of St. Matthew in Formosan (Sinkan Dialect)*, the bell is called *kilikili*,

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compared to the *tókkiller* forged bell of the Favorlang. Bells are also called *sackig*,
compared with the *sagoyi* forged bell of the Plains peoples in *Zhu luo xian zhi* (The
Zhuluo County record) (see Chapter 4 Archival Sources). ‘*Sagoyi*’ could be
considered a corruption of ‘*sackig*.’

**Description**

While most Siraya people have been assimilated into the Han-Taiwanese people,
some of them still preserve the practice of the *kilikili* forged bell in connection with
*Zau bio* (i.e., running races).

**Construction**

In ancient times, there were two types of forged bells in Siraya society. The numerical
entry for the first type of *kilikili* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system
is represented by the numbers 111.242.122. The numerical entry for the second
type of *kilikili* forged bell is represented by the numbers 111.242.121 and means
suspended bells struck from the outside. No striker is attached inside the bell, there
being a separate beater (i.e., iron bracelet). In contrast, the numerical entry for the

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723 Hornbostel and Sachs, "Classification of Musical Instruments," 14–15; see Appendix B.
724 Ibid.
invented kilikili according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 112.13.\textsuperscript{725}

The physical structure of the invented kilikili is different from traditional kilikili. Traditionally, the Siraya people had two types of kilikili (forged bell). One type had a striker attached inside the forged bell, and the other had a separate beater. However, the invented kilikili is a metal pellet bell enclosed in a cylinder vessel. The bell strikes against the walls of the vessel. It is made of modern stainless steel (see Figure 6.12.5.1) instead of wrought iron. In my opinion, the physical structure of the invented kilikili is totally different from that of the bells in the historical literature and other aboriginal forged bells in Taiwan. This suggests that the inventor of the modern kilikili was unfamiliar with the physical structure of traditional kilikili.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Kilikili were traditionally worn by men running races (kasiuman) in order to deliver messages. Kasiuman is a term used by the Siraya people; its synonym is Dou zou (‘running races’ in Mandarin). In Qing literature, the practice of Dou zou involved a young man with a forged bell delivering a message (see Chapter 4: Archival Sources). The kilikili forged bell has been extinct for more than one century.

\textsuperscript{725} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
Current function and contexts of use

Recently, the Ka-vua-shua sub-tribe of the Siraya reinvented their forged bell in the atmosphere of cultural revival (see Figure 6.12.5.1). At present, the function of the invented kilikili is not merely to deliver orders or messages about having a ceremony, but also as a visible and audible marker of Sirayan ethnicity.

Sources where it appears

In early September, people have a chance to see the kilikili forged bell in the Night Worship of Ancestral Souls in Jibeishua in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

The first type of kilikili forged bell is similar to the moengū forged bell of the Tsou (see 6.15.2), which has a striker attached inside the forged bell. The second type of kilikili forged bell is similar to the tawlriulr forged bell of the Puyuma (see 6.7.2), which is a suspended bell struck from the outside and which has no striker attached inside the bell; there being a separate beater (i.e., iron bracelet).
6.12.6 Paringit (the nose flute)

Picture

Figure 6.12.6.1. The posture of playing paringit. (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

**Etymology**

*Paringit* is the indigenous name for the nose flute in Siraya society. *Paringit* means “the flute.”\(^{726}\) The flute player or singer is called *mei-paringid/meyparingid*.\(^{727}\) The derivative word *pepa-ri-ingid* means ‘to pipe,’ which is comprised of the causative prefix *pepa-* and the lexeme *ringid*. *Ringid* also means ‘the flute.’\(^{728}\)

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727 Ibid., 1032.
728 Ibid., 424.
Description

In the Qing dynasty (1683–1895), some historical literature recorded the single-pipe nose flute of the Plains peoples (see Chapter 4 Musical Iconography). Wan points out that the nose flute and the bamboo Jew’s harp are the most traditional musical instruments of the Siraya. Other musical instruments (e.g., the clapper, yup and tatabuan) that have developed consist of re-purposed everyday tools made from bamboo.\(^{729}\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the paringit nose flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111.12.\(^{730}\) The paringit is a single-pipe nose flute. The nose flute has four finger-holes, which can produce five notes: A-C-D-E-G (see Table 6.12.6.1). There is an interval of about two finger-widths between each finger-hole. People can improve the tone of the nose flute by adjusting the size of the finger-holes. Wan states that, in his childhood, the nose flute was longer than it is nowadays; therefore, the pitch of the old nose flutes was lower than that of contemporary ones. For example, the old paringit is circa 67–100 cm in length (see

\(^{729}\) Wan, interview.

\(^{730}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24–25; see Appendix B.
Figure 4.2.1.1). In contrast, the contemporary *paringit* is circa 36 cm in length (Figure 6.12.6.2). So the contemporary nose flute is short and has a high tune.\textsuperscript{731}

![Figure 6.12.6.2. *Paringit* (the nose flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)](image)

Table 6.12.6.1 The finger assignment of the *paringit* nose flute (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>finger-holes</th>
<th>pitches</th>
<th>finger assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A\textsubscript{3}</td>
<td>C\textsubscript{4}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th (back)</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

● = cover finger-hole  ○ = uncover finger-hole

\textsuperscript{731} Cf. Wan, interview.
Traditional function and contexts of use

In Siraya oral tradition, a young man played the nose flute during courtship. Before World War II, a boy would play the nose flute around a girl’s house to express his adoration (Example 6.12.6.1). If the girl liked the boy, she would play her Jew’s harp to respond to the boy.\(^732\)

Example 6.12.6.1. The tune of the paringit nose flute of the Siraya.

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, paringit (the nose flute) is used to play in various festivals. Wan frequently plays the paringit solo in aboriginal festivals to highlight the existence of

\(^732\) Ibid.
Siraya culture. The Onini Musical Group sometimes features a duo for nose flute and Jew’s harp in their concerts.\textsuperscript{733}

Sources where it appears

Now only Mr. Zheng-shiong Wan can make and play the \textit{paringit} nose flute. He is the founder of the Siraya Cultural Association in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

The Puyuma have a similar single-pipe nose flute (see 6.7.6 the \textit{alindan} nose flute).

The Kavalan call the single-pipe nose flute \textit{turanian} (see 6.4.8).

\textsuperscript{733} Ibid.
6.12.7 Yub/yup/peyeyiyupan (the bamboo trumpet)

Figure 6.12.7.1. Yup (the bamboo trumpet). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Figure 6.12.7.2. Yup (the slide trumpet). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

There are some Siraya terms concerning the bamboo trumpet and its derivative. *Yub* is a kind of blowing instrument.\textsuperscript{734} *Peyeyiyupan* and *yup* also mean ‘the trumpet.’\textsuperscript{735} The derivative *paiyup* means “to let blow”; it comprises the prefix *pai*- and the lexeme *yup*. The prefix *pai*- is a causative verb. The lexeme *yup* means “to blow.”\textsuperscript{736} For instance, *paiyup ki yub* means “to let blow of a trumpet.”\textsuperscript{737} Hence, the semantic field of the lexeme *yup* develops from sound producing (to blow) to sound producer (sound producer) (see Figure 6.12.7.3).

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node[draw] (yup) {\textit{yup} \ 
  \textnormal{“to blow”}}; \node[draw, right of=yup] (yup1) {\textit{yup} \ 
  \textnormal{“trumpet”}};
  \node[draw, below of=yup] (soundproducing) {\textit{sound producing}}; \node[draw, right of=soundproducing] (soundproducing1) {\textit{sound producer}};
  \draw[dashed, -latex] (yup) -- (yup1);
  \draw[dashed, -latex] (soundproducing) -- (soundproducing1);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Figure 6.12.7.3. The semantic field of the lexeme *yup*.}

\textsuperscript{734} Cf. Macapili, \textit{Siraya Glossary}, 676.  
\textsuperscript{735} Ibid., 1119.  
\textsuperscript{736} Ibid., 676.  
\textsuperscript{737} Ibid.
Description

The bamboo pipe was liberated for musical use when it was no longer fettered by practical use (i.e., blowpipe).\textsuperscript{738}

Construction

The numerical entry for the \textit{yup} bamboo trumpet according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 423.121.11.\textsuperscript{739} By contrast, the numerical entry for the invented \textit{yub} slide trumpet according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 423.22.\textsuperscript{740} The two ends of a bamboo tube are open without bamboo nodes. As regards the invented \textit{yup} slide trumpet, it consists of two or more concentric bamboo tubes in different sizes designed to slide into one another (see Figure 6.12.7.3).\textsuperscript{740}

Traditional function and contexts of use

Initially, the \textit{yup} was a blowpipe, which is a bamboo pipe used to intensify the heat of a flame by blowing air. Obviously, sound was the by-product of blowing the flame.

\textsuperscript{738} Cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger, \textit{Invention of Tradition}, 19.
\textsuperscript{739} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 27; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{740} Ibid., 28; see Appendix B.
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the yup functions as a trumpet. Over a half century ago, a blowpipe was a daily tool. Now the Siraya Cultural Association utilises the bamboo pipe as a trumpet (see Figure 6.12.7.1). This is a kind of “invented tradition.” Wan also created the invented yup slide trumpet (see Figure 6.12.7.2). The player can control the pitch by sliding the telescopic section of bamboo tube. The loud sound of the yup in festival performances can draw people’s attention to the existence of Siraya culture.

Sources where it appears

The yup bamboo trumpet and the invented yup slide trumpet can be found in the Siraya Cultural Association in Tainan City.

Similar/related instruments

In Taiwan, only the Siraya and the Kavalan have the trumpet. The tukkik of the Kavalan is made of conch. In contrast, the yup of the Siraya is made of bamboo tube.

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6.13 Tao Musical Instruments

The ancestral home of the Tao people (i.e., Yami) is the offshore Orchid Island of Southeast Taiwan. Their population numbers about 3,500 (see Figure 1). Some scholars claim that the Tao lack musical instruments, but this is untrue (see Subsection 2.1.2). This section discusses instruments that are still, or were once, in use in Tao society. The following subsections draw upon Ms. Xiu-zhen Lin’s knowledge concerning Tao musical instruments.

6.13.1 Ao/bangesan (the wooden stamping pestle)

Picture

Figure 6.13.1.1. Ao (the wooden stamping pestle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)

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743 Hsu, “Taiwan,” 5.
Etymology

Ao/bangesan are indigenous names for the wooden stamping pestle. In my fieldwork, Xiu-zhen Lin, a cultural insider, stated that the wooden pestle is called bangesan,\textsuperscript{744} however most books record that the Tao called the wooden pestle ao. Osong is the indigenous name for the mortar.\textsuperscript{745}

Description

The Tao people use the ao (stamping pestle) as a farm tool or ritual tool. In Taiwan, some scholars do not regard the ao pestle of the Tao as a musical instrument (cf. Subsection 2.1.2: A Review of Tsang-houei Hsu’s Taiwan’s Aboriginal Music), but the ao pestle is regarded as a kind of sound-producing instrument for the purposes of this research.

Construction

The numerical entry for the ao stamping pestle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is 111.211.\textsuperscript{746} The ao wooden pestle in Figure 6.13.1.1 is 108 cm long and 4 cm in diameter (at both ends); its weight is around 4.4 kg. The ao is made out of hard

\textsuperscript{744} Xiu-zhen Lin, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 22–23 August 2009, ethnographic notes and photograph, Lanyu Island, Taitung County.
\textsuperscript{745} Dong, \textit{Yu mei zu yu ren bu luo sui shi ji yi}, 50.
\textsuperscript{746} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
wood, which includes pazopo (broad-leaved podocarpus), vacinglaw (Diospyros ferrea), kamala (Diospyros discolor), and masiasiaten (Euonymus cochinchinensis Pierre). The osong mortar is made out of cipoo (breadfruit). The osong is chiselled in an hourglass shape. Its size is about 54 cm in height, and 41 cm diameter at the top opening.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

In the traditional performance context, the Tao people sing the song “Mivachi” when praying for a good harvest and good fortune while they use the ao wooden pestles to pound millet by turn in the mipiapiavean millet harvest ceremony (cf. Figure 5.2.2.7). The word mivachi means “perfection” and “increment.” Before holding the mipiapiavean, each man makes his own ao wooden pestle, and all the people make the osong mortar together. The activity of pounding millet generally takes place in front of an elder’s house. In the mipiapiavean, a group of men form a circle around the osong mortar. The order of pounding follows seniority. Each man uses his own ao wooden pestle to pound millet in the osong mortar by turn as well as simultaneously singing the song “Mivachi” to pray for a plentiful harvest in the coming year (see

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747 Dong, Ya mei zu yu ren ren bu luo sui shi ji yi, 51.
Example 6.13.1.1). Traditionally, the activity of pounding millet and singing “Mivachi” is only performed in the mipiapiavean once every year.748

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, ao (the wooden stamping pestle) is not only used to play in the mipiapiavean millet harvest ceremony, but also in aboriginal cultural villages. In the past, people had to take a ferry to the remote Lanyu Island (i.e., Botel Tobago) in the specific season (the first day of the fifth lunar month in the Tao calendar) to participate in the mipiapiavean ceremony. At present, people can easily have the chance to appreciate the performance of “Mivachi” in the Taiwan Indigenous Cultural Park and the Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village. The following example (6.13.1.1) is transcribed from a performance of “Mivachi” in the Taiwan Indigenous Cultural Park.

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748 Ibid.

Andande
Sources where it appears

People can find the *ao* pestle on Lanyu Island and in cultural villages and museums.

**Similar/related instruments**

The Bunun, the Thao and the Tsou all have wooden stamping pestles. Their stamping pestles vary in size and pitch. In contrast, the stamping pestles of the Tao are the same size and have identical pitch.
6.13.2 Lalam (the clapper)

Picture

Figure 6.13.2.1. Lalam (the clapper). (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Etymology

*Lalam* means “toy.”

Description

This record depends on my interview with Lin.\(^{749}\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the *lalam* clapper according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.14.\(^{750}\) The *lalam* clapper is made of the *yamot na*

\(^{749}\) Lin, interview.

\(^{750}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
The aerial root of the Pandanus is a flexible fibre; it is easily available on Lanyu Island. An aerial root is split along three-fourths of its length. The bifurcated aerial root is fairly elastic, and the two complementary sonorous parts strike against each other (Figure 6.13.2.1).

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

There is no historical literature with reference to the *lalam* clapper.

**Current function and contexts of use**

The *lalam* functions as a plaything / children’s toy on Lanyu Island.

**Sources where it appears**

Future study is still needed on the *lalam* clapper. People can further examine whether the *lalam* clapper was a common plaything in Tao society.

**Similar/related instruments**

Many aboriginal groups have bamboo clappers. Only the Tao’s clapper is made of Padanus.
6.13.3 Raka-no-mugakai (the chest pendant rattle)

Figure 6.13.3.1. Raka-no-mugakai (the chest pendant rattle). (Reproduced from Kano, Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines, 94.)
Etymology

*Raka-no-mugakai* is the indigenous name for the chest pendant rattle in the Tao society. *Raka-no-mugakai* is the male breast ornament of the Tao.\(^{751}\)

Description

In Taiwan, some people do not know that a rattle is a kind of idiophone instrument in most musical instrument classifications.\(^{752}\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the *raka-no-mugakai* chest pendant rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.121.\(^{753}\) The *raka-no-mugakai* is made of a crescent-shaped wooden board; many rattling objects (e.g., bullet shells, vessel rattles, spoons, and boars’ tusks) are hung from the board (Figure 6.13.3.1).\(^{754}\)

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\(^{751}\) Kano, *Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines*, 94.


\(^{753}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Tao men wore traditional tariri (a silver helmet and bracelet) on formal occasions.

The senior men sometimes, though not often, decorated their raka-no-mugakai with pendant rattling objects in special ceremonies (e.g., the mapabosbos boat-launching ceremony).\textsuperscript{755}

Current function and contexts of use

The raka-no-mugakai is a household treasure, which is used on special occasions and in ceremonies (e.g., the mivazay festival for celebrating completion of a new dwelling).\textsuperscript{756} For this reason, raka-no-mugakai chest pendant rattles are a marker of social status that is visible and audible. Some rattling objects (e.g., bullet shells and vessel rattles) have come from contact with foreign cultures since the Japanese occupation, yet some raka-no-mugakai have no rattling objects attached to the frame. Such raka-no-mugakai are not rattles.

Sources where it appears

It is now difficult to find raka-no-mugakai with rattles. It is a family heirloom in the Tao society.

\textsuperscript{755} Ibid., 59, 94.
\textsuperscript{756} Ibid.
Similar/related instruments

The Puyuma have a related instrument, namely, the shield rattle (see 6.7.4 Sizung).

6.13.4 Singaiyu (the toy flute)

Picture

Unavailable.

Etymology

Lin called the toy flute singaiyu.757 The meaning of the lexeme singaiyu is unknown.

Description

This record depends on my interview with Lin.758 This research respects the cultural insider’s opinion; hence, I present the singaiyu toy flute in 6.13 Tao Musical Instruments.

757 Lin, interview.
758 Ibid.
Construction

As recorded by Ms. Xiu-zhen Lin’s description, I do not have further information to analyse the instrument type, whether it is the duct flute or the end-blown flute. The numerical entry for the *singaiyu* duct flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221. If the *singaiyu* is the end-blown flute, the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111. The *singaiyu* toy flute is made out of a papaya stalk. Tao children utilise the hollow stalk to make a toy flute.

Traditional function and contexts of use

There is no historical literature with reference to the *singaiyu* toy flute.

Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, the *singaiyu* toy flute is obsolete in the Tao society.

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759 Lin, interview.
760 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
761 Ibid., 24–25.
762 Lin, interview.
Sources where it appears

Future study is still needed on the *singaiyu* toy flute. People can further examine whether the *singaiyu* toy flute was a common plaything in Tao society.

Similar/related instruments

No other aboriginal groups have a similar flute.
6.14 Thao Musical Instruments

The Thao people traditionally live in the Sun Moon Lake area of Nantou County, and their population numbers about 648. The following subsections draw on interview data concerning Thao musical instruments from Mr. Kilash Ihktafatu and Madam Ishul Shinawanan.

6.14.1 Shasiusiu (the long bamboo clapper)

Picture

Figure 6.14.1.1. Shasiusiu (the long bamboo clapper). (Reproduced from Hong and Shi, Shao zu yue wu jiao cai, 200.)

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**Etymology**

*Shasisiu* is the indigenous name for the long bamboo clapper in Thao society.

*Shasisiu/saciuciu* means “to give off sound.”

*Shasisiu* is onomatopoeic and a noun. *Shasisiu* indicates the sound of a long bamboo clapper, which is a tool to drive out evil spirits.

**Description**

In Thao thought, the *shasisiu* is a kind of ritual tool. The clapper is an idiophone according to most musical instrument classifications (e.g. the Mahillon and Hornbostel-Sachs systems).

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *shashushu* long bamboo clapper according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111. The *shasisiu* is made from a long, thin bamboo pole, which is approximately 250 cm long. The lower half of the bamboo pole is cut into projecting sonorous parts; elastic branches fixed on

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766 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
the upper half of the bamboo pole are flexed and then released to return to their position of rest. This mechanical structure helps the projecting sonorous parts of the shasiusiu strike against each other.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The Thao employ the shasiusiu (a long bamboo clapper) to strike the ground for driving out evil spirits during manqatubi (the ritual of anti-evil spirits). The manqatubi ritual is held between 3 August and 10 August. On 10 August, the paruparu (priest) of the Chen family holds the shasiusiu long bamboo clapper and loudly strikes the ground and leads a long line of people to parade in a circle simultaneously. At the end of the line of people, another paruparu (priest) of the Chen family drags a broom behind him, sweeping the ground. The old shasiusiu (the long bamboo clapper) must be cast away. It is a symbol of removing evil spirits. Paruparu must make a new shasiusiu each year for manqatubi (the ritual of anti-evil spirits).

Current function and contexts of use

There is no obvious difference between the traditional function and the current function.
Sources where it appears

*Manqatubi* (the ritual of anti-evil spirits) is held in the De Hua Community (Sun Moon Lake) of Nantou County between 3 August and 10 August.

Similar/related instruments

Many Taiwanese aboriginal groups have similar clappers, but sometimes their social function is totally different. For example, the *shasiusiu* of the Thao is a ritual tool. In contrast, the *lalam* clapper of the Tao functions as plaything (Subsection 6.13.3), while the bamboo clapper of the Siraya functions as a bird scarer (Subsection 6.12.1).
6.14.2 Taturtur (the wooden stamping pestle)

Picture

Figure 6.14.2.1. Taturtur (the wooden stamping pestle). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Etymology

There are indigenous terms concerning the wooden stamping pestles and their performance in Thao society. The wooden pestle is called taturtur, and the performance of the taturtur is called masbabir. Malhakan also indicates an ensemble of taturtur (stamping pestles). The meaning of malhakan is similar to ma-

767 Kilashi Ihktafatu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 15 August 2009, digital recording (RHP005.WAV), Zitun (Sun Moon Lake), Nantou County.
"lhacaq, which means “fall from a height.”"768 Malhakan a fatu is a stone drum used in the traditional malhakan ceremony.769 Fatu means “stone.”770 A is a linking particle.771

Description

In 1724, Meng-lin Chen’s Zhu luo xian zhi (The record of Zhu Luo County) records the activity of stamping pestles (see the period of the Qing dynasty in 2.1.1 Historical Literature Reviews).772

Construction

The numerical entry for taturtur stamping pestles according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.212.773 The taturtur is made of hard wood. At least six taturtur stamping pestles are used to perform malhakan or masbabir. The length of the stamping pestles is between 150 cm and 170 cm. The diameter of the pestle head is between 12 cm and 15 cm. The thin part of the pestle is between 3 cm and 5 cm in diameter. The degree of thickness and length has a great influence on the pitch of the stamping pestle. For example, a thinner and shorter stamping pestle

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768 Blust, Thao Dictionary, 521.
769 Cf. Hong, Shao zu huan nian ji ji qi yin yue, 66.
770 Blust, Thao Dictionary, 377.
771 Ibid., 280.
772 Chen, Zhu luo xian zhi; my translation.
773 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
produces a relatively higher pitch. Conversely, a thicker and longer stamping pestle produces a relatively lower pitch.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The Thao people traditionally use an ensemble of taturtur (stamping pestles) on Thao New Year’s Eve for New Year’s celebration. The tune of taturtur stamping pestles was a by-product of pounding the husk from millet. Takan stamping tubes always accompany the stamping of taturtur in the malhakan or masbabi (see Table 6.14.2.1). In ancient times, only women could play in malhakan on Thao New Year’s Eve. Meanwhile, men compulsorily went out to safeguard their village in strongholds and strategic passes. Initially, Thao females utilised taturtur stamping pestles to make a rhythm to inform Thao males that the New Year was coming, while the males were hunting in the mountains.

774 Ihktafatu and his wife, interview.
775 Cf. Hong and Shi, Shao zu yue wu jiao cai, 18.
Traditionally, the Thao play the *malhakan* in the Chieftain Yuan’s house on New Year’s Eve. The *malhakan* takes place from 7.00 pm to 7.00 am. At the start, people play inside Chieftain Yuan’s house and gradually move outdoors. People play it by turn. Young people have a chance to learn to play in the *malhakan* (see Table 6.14.2.1). There is no *guyash* (singing song) between the two *malhakan*. Chieftain Yuan’s house became a restaurant three decades ago. There is a slate of *malhakan* within the restaurant. The Thao called it *malhakan a fatu*, which is the stone drum for

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776 Ihktafatu and his wife, interview.
the traditional malhakan ceremony (see Table 6.14.2.1).\(^{777}\) In 2009, Chieftain Yuan’s sons divided up the Yuan family property so as to set up separate households. The succeeding Chieftain Yuan Fu-zhi moved the malhakan to his new house, but there was no malhakan a fatu stone drum in his new house in 2009. The locals know how to play the tune of the malhakan. They complained about the tone of taturtur stamping pestles without the malhakan a fatu. Both genders are eligible to play in the malhakan or masbabir. The Thao play in the malhakan on Thao New Year’s Eve, namely, the final day of July in the lunar calendar. People play in the malhakan from the night of New Year’s Eve to the dawn of the New Year. Tribal people play in the malhakan by turn, so it can be played a long time.\(^{778}\) The Thao New Year lasts about one month. There are a lot of dancing activities during the Thao New Year. It finishes about 22 August in the lunar calendar.\(^{779}\)

**Current function and contexts of use**

At present, masbabiar (the Thao pestles ensemble) is used to perform, especially for tourists. In the Thao tradition, the pestles tune is played solely on Thao New Year’s Eve (the end of July in the lunar calendar). In the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945), the Thao people adopted the performance context and musical practice of the

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\(^{777}\) Hong, *Shao zu huan nian ji ji qi yin yue*, 66.

\(^{778}\) Cf. Ihktafatu, interview.

\(^{779}\) Ihktafatu and his wife, interview.
traditional pestles tune to satisfy Japanese officers’ curiosity and the needs of tourism. Therefore, the performance of the Thao pestles tune occurs both in the tourist context and the traditional context (see Table 6.14.2.1). In the traditional context, the Thao pestles ensemble is called *malhakan*, and it is performed on Thao New Year’s Eve. In the tourist context, the Thao pestles ensemble is called *masbabiari*; this is the contemporary performance version of the traditional *malhakan* ceremony for tourists.\(^7\) Owing to the sparse population, Thao people tried hard to adapt their *Malhakan* to the need (e.g., tourism and exoticism) under Japanese rule. Such change can be interpreted as a strategy for survival, attempts to change aspects of the old practice in order to maintain its cultural essence.\(^8\)

The *masbabiari* is primarily played for entertainment and tourism (see Example 6.14.2.1). The Thao can play it at any time. The ensemble of the *masbabiari* includes *taturtur* stamping pestles, the *masbabiari a fatu* stone drum, and *takan* stamping bamboo tubes. There is a *masbabiari quyash* (singing song) between the two *masbabiari*. The players are fixed and skilled. Most of the players are female (see Table 6.14.2.1).

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\(^7\) Ihktafatu, interview.


*Allegro*

\[ \text{Percels} \]

\[ \text{Tubes} \]
Table 6.14.1 *Malhakan* (Traditional) vs. *Masbabiard* (Contemporary) (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ensemble form</th>
<th>Malhakan</th>
<th>Masbabiard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Traditional ritual</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Thao New Year’s Eve</td>
<td>Any time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamping pestles</td>
<td>Taturtur</td>
<td>Taturtur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamping tubes</td>
<td>Takan</td>
<td>Takan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone drum</td>
<td>Malhakan a fatu</td>
<td>Masbabiard a fatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song</td>
<td>Do not sing</td>
<td>Masbabiard quyash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Players</td>
<td>Thao people play by turn</td>
<td>Fixed players</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>No teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>More authentic</td>
<td>More skilful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources where it appears

People can see the *taturtur* stamping wooden pestle at the Sun Moon Lake scenic area of Nantou County.

Similar/related instruments

The *durdur* stamping pestle of the Bunun and the *sipayatū* stamping pestle of the Tsou are both similar to the *taturtur* of the Thao.
6.14.3 Takan/dagang (the bamboo stamping tube)

Picture

Figure 6.14.3.1. Takan (the bamboo stamping tube). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Etymology

There are Thao terms concerning the bamboo stamping tube and its derivatives.

Takan/dagang are the bamboo tubes that follow the large wooden pestles for stamping in ensemble. Takan means “bamboo tube.” The derivative word kumuba-takan means “to play the takan.” Further, the lexeme ku-muba- comprises the verbalising prefix ku- and the verbalising infix -muba-, which indicates the action of stamping on the ground.782

782 Cf. Ihktafatu, interview.
Description

There is almost no historical literature with reference to the stamping bamboo tube before the Japanese period (1895–1945).

Construction

The numerical entry for takan stamping tubes according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.232. Takan vary in size. The length of the stamping tubes is between 50 cm and 90 cm. The diameter of the stamping tubes is between 8 cm and 15 cm. Small and short takan produce a tender sound. Large and long takan produce a bass sound.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The role of the takan is to match the stamping pestles when people play the masbabir/malhakan. The takan must accompany the stamping of the taturtur (see Figures 6.14.2.1 and 6.14.2.3).

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783 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
784 Cf. Ihktafatu, interview.
Current function and contexts of use

*Takan* bamboo stamping tubes and *taturtur* stamping pestles are played together in the

*masbabir* (tourist context) or *malhakan* (traditional context).

Sources where it appears

People can see *takan* bamboo stamping tubes at the Sun Moon Lake scenic area of

Nantou County.

Similar/related instruments

On Ontong Java Atoll in the Solomon Islands, *tuki lopu* stamping tubes with other

percussion instruments provide a rhythmic accompaniment to dancing and singing.\(^785\)

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\(^785\) See McLean, *Weavers of Song*, 233–34.


6.14.4 Bulingau (the Jew’s harp)

Etymology

The indigenous name for the Jew’s harp is *bulingau*. Further, *pish-bulingau* means “to play the Jew’s harp.”\(^7\) The verbalising prefix *pish-* means “to blow” or “to play,” which also indicates the action of playing.\(^7\)

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\(^7\) Ihktafatu, interview.

\(^7\) Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, 162.
Description

There is no specific historical literature concerning the bulingau Jew’s harp of the Thao.

Construction

The numerical entry for the bulingau Jew’s harp according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.222. Some bulingau (Jew’s harps) have one metal tongue, while others have two. Traditionally, the tongue of the Jew’s harp is made of copper. A player needs to select a good bulingau. A good bulingau (Jew’s harp) is one that is small in size with a loud volume; they can only be made using the right materials and techniques.

Traditional function and contexts of use

As regards the traditional performance context, the Thao played the bulingau Jew’s harp during courtship in ancient times. Lovers employed the bulingau to communicate with each other. However, the majority of bulingau players were females since males were out working. For instance, a man worked all day long to support his family.

788 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
789 Ihktafatu, interview.
790 Ihktafatu, interview.
After coming off work and having dinner, he went to bed early; therefore, he had no opportunity to play the bulingau.\textsuperscript{791}

**Current function and contexts of use**

There are currently few bulingau in use. Kilashi states that many musical instruments have not been handed down from past generations. He remembered his mother once had two Jew’s harps, and he played the Jew’s harp when he was young. He imitated the way of playing from his mother.\textsuperscript{792}

**Sources where it appears**

In his fieldwork, Guo-sheng Hong still found the bulingau Jew’s harp in the Sun Moon Lake area of Nantou County in 2005.

**Similar/related instruments**

All Taiwanese aboriginal groups have similar Jew’s harps.

\textsuperscript{791} Cf. ibid.
\textsuperscript{792} Ibid.
6.14.5 Latuk (the musical bow)

Etymology

Latuk is the indigenous name for the musical bow in Thao society. Kilashi, a cultural insider, points out that the mouth musical instrument is called latuk. Pish-latuk means “to play the musical bow.”

793 Ihktafatu, interview.
Description

Kilashi played the musical bow in the past. Unfortunately, he lost his musical instruments while building a new house. He has not replaced these as of yet, so he is unable to play.

Construction

The numerical entry for the latuk musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 311.121.11.\textsuperscript{794} Kilashi claims that the latuk is a kind of musical instrument played with the mouth; its structure is bowed shape.\textsuperscript{795} The bow is made of bamboo; its size is about 71 cm long and 2 cm wide. The steel string of the latuk is around 60 cm long.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The social function of the latuk was that it was played during courtship and for self-entertainment. Both genders and all age groups could play the latuk. As regards the way of playing, the latuk player uses his left hand to hold the musical bow and uses his right hand to pluck the string. It depends on the player’s habit, as well as whether

\textsuperscript{794} Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
\textsuperscript{795} Ihktafatu, interview.
they are left- or right-handed. In the Japanese period (1895-1945), the Thao people frequently played a duo with the *latuk* musical bow and the *bulingau* Jew’s harp at banquets.

**Current function and contexts of use**

Nowadays only a few elders remember how to play the *latuk* musical bow.

**Sources where it appears**

Now it is difficult to find the *latuk* musical bow in Thao society. But people can have a look at the *latuk* musical bow in the Museum of Anthropology of Taiwan University.

**Similar/related instruments**

Many Austronesian peoples have similar musical bows, such as the *kauhutul hapa* of Ontong Java and the *ko’e* of Mangaia.

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796 Cf. Ibid.
797 Cf. “3884-2.”
798 McLean, *Weavers of Song*, 236.
799 Ibid., 63.
**6.14.6 Pupu (the flute)**

**Picture**

Unavailable.

**Etymology**

The Thao called the bamboo flute *pupu. Pupu* indicates a kind of bamboo object.

Further, *pish-pupu* means “to play the bamboo flute.” Both the bamboo vertical flute and the bamboo transverse flute are called *pupu.*

**Description**

Before World War II, the Thao also had a bamboo vertical flute and a bamboo transverse flute.

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *pupu* vertical flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12. By contrast, the numerical entry for the *pupu* transverse flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented

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800 Ibid.
801 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
by the numbers 421.121. Both the bamboo vertical flute and the bamboo transverse flute are made out of bamboo. Other details about instrumental structures are unavailable due to cultural grey-out and lack of literature.

Traditional function and contexts of use

Over half a century ago, the Thao played the pupu for their entertainment in the evening. The pupu player did not accompany people’s singing. They simply played the pupu solo.

Current function and contexts of use

The pupu is almost extinct in Thao society.

Sources where it appears

Pupu flutes still exist in Thao elders’ memories and oral tradition.

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802 Ibid., 25; see Appendix B.
803 Ihktafatu, interview.
Similar/related instruments

It is easy to find related flutes among Taiwanese aboriginal groups, such as the

*alindan* of the Puyuma (Subsection 6.7.8), the *tipolo* of the Amis (Subsection 6.1.12)

and the *piengū no ngaru* of the Tsou (Subsection 6.15.8).
6.15 Tsou Musical Instruments

The Tsou people mainly live in Alishan Township of Chiayi County and Sinyi Township in Nantou County. The Kanakanabu sub-tribe of Namasia Township and the Saaroa sub-tribe of Taoyuan Township are both located in Kaohsiung County. They have a population of about 6,500. The following subsections feature interview data from Prof. Tibusungu ’e Vayayana concerning Tsou musical instruments.

6.15.1 Sipayatū (the stamping pestle)

Picture

Figure 6.15.1.1. Sipayatū (the stamping pestle). (Reproduced from Yuasa, Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi, 162.)

**Etymology**

*Sipayatū* is the indigenous name for the stamping pestle. Vayayana suggests that *payatū* means a long pestle that functions as a musical instrument.\(^{805}\) *Si-* is a verb that possibly indicates the action of stamping.\(^{806}\) In fact, *si-* is the verbalising prefix, thus the meaning of *si-payatū* is “to pound the long stamping pestle.” In Tsou, *sipayatū* also means “scale,” as stamping pestles of different lengths can produce different pitches.\(^{807}\)

**Description**

In 1724, Meng-lin Chen’s *Zhu luo xian zhi* (The record of Zhu Luo County) recorded aborigines using stamping pestles in Chiayi County (see 2.1.1 Historical Literature Reviews). However, Taiwanese are still uncertain as to which aboriginal group the record should belong.

**Construction**

The numerical entry for the *sipayatū* stamping pestle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.212.\(^{808}\) The *sipayatū* stamping pestle

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\(^{805}\) Tibusungu ’e Vayayana, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Taiwan Normal University, Taipei.

\(^{806}\) Ibid.

\(^{807}\) Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 162.

\(^{808}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14; see Appendix B.
is made out of *fahei* (i.e., Taiwan red cypress). It is around 2 to 3 m long and 12 to 15 cm in diameter.\(^809\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The *sipayatū* stamping pestle initially was a form of farm implement. In the Japanese period (1895-1945), the Tsou used the *sipayatū* to husk millet. A group of people hold *sipayatū* of different lengths to stamp against the flagstone together, which produces a rhythmical tune.

**Current function and contexts of use**

The ensemble of the *sipayatū* stamping pestle is almost obsolete in Tsou society.

Vayayana points out that it is difficult to find references to Tsou musical instruments in contemporary life.\(^810\) However, I found that the Yuyapas Cultural Tribe of the Tsou has an ensemble of reconstructed *sipayatū* stamping pestles in a newly created tuning.

Clearly, the Tsou people’s revival of *sipayatū* stamping pestles is underway.

\(^{809}\) Cf. Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 162.
\(^{810}\) Vayayana, interview.
Sources where it appears

People can find the *sipayatū* in the Yuyupas Cultural Tribe of the Tsou in the Alishan area, Chiayi County.

Similar/related instruments

The *taturtur* stamping pestle of the Thao (Subsection 6.14.2) and the *durdur* stamping pestle of the Bunun (Subsection 6.3.2) are both similar to the *sipayatū*. Both of these are still in use.
6.15.2 Moengū (the forged bell)

**Etymology**

*Moengū* is a kind of forged bell; it means ‘loud and clear euphony.’

**Description**

The forged bell is a vessel that is struck by an internal clapper attached to the bell.

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811 Vayayana, interview.
Construction

The numerical entry for the *moengū* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122.\(^{813}\) The *moengū* comprises a rattan ring (for hanging) and an iron-forged bell with a long clapper. The *moengū* in Figure 6.15.2.1 is around 12 cm high, 5.5 cm in diameter at the top, and 6 cm in diameter at the bottom. I measured the size of the *moengū* in the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology: this *moengū* is around 12.5 cm high and 6.5 cm in diameter.

Traditional function and contexts of use

In ancient times, *moengū* (the forged bell) functioned as a signal for guiding the direction of warriors in battle. It was also used in tribal rituals (e.g., the *mayasvi* war ceremony and the *homeyaya* millet ceremony). Vayayana points out that the Tsou use the *moengū* in *mayasvi* (war worship).\(^{814}\) All Tsou warriors originally hung *moengū* from their right arms; the clangs notified the Tsou god of war when warriors prayed for triumph during headhunting and battle.\(^{815}\) *Moengū* made signals for guiding each Tsou clan during expedition and battle.\(^{816}\) Only a successful headhunter was eligible

\(^{813}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
\(^{814}\) Vayayana, interview.
\(^{815}\) Boyizhenu, *Tāi wān zou zu shēng huò zhī huī*, 129.
\(^{816}\) Pu and Pu, *Zōu zu wū zhī wēn huà diào chà yu yan jū*, 54.
to hang it from his right arm during the ceremonial dance. The Tsou people hung moengū in the emoo no peisia (the ritual house) when it wasn’t used on ordinary days. Only an influential Tsou man could build an emoo no peisia (ritual house) on his estate.

Current function and contexts of use

Moengū (the forged bell) is still used in tribal rituals. In the Japanese period, Japanese colonial officers banned headhunting and merged mayasvi (the Tsou war ceremony) and homeyaya (the Tsou millet ceremony); therefore, the moengū is also used in the current homeyaya.

Sources where it appears

The moengū is still in use in some rituals (e.g., mayasvi and homeyaya) in the Alishan area of Chiayi County.

Similar/related instruments

There are many similar forged bells among Taiwanese aboriginal groups. For example, the Rukai call the forged bell taudring (Subsection 6.8.1). The Puyuma call

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818 Cf. Yuasa, Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi, 98.
the forged bell *tawlriulr* (Subsection 6.7.2). The Amis call the forged bell *tagelin* (Subsection 6.1.4), and the Paiwan call it *tjaudring* (Subsection 6.5.1). Similar bells in Oceania are the *pangium* bell with bamboo clapper in New Ireland and the fruit shell bell with pig’s tooth clapper in New Britain.\(^{819}\)

6.15.3 *Peo’ū (the arm rattle)*

![Peo’ū (the arm rattle)](image)

Figure 6.15.3.1. *Peo’ū* (the arm rattle). (Reproduced from Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 42.)

Etymology

*Peo’ū* is the Tsou name for the armlet that is made of boar’s tusks. *Peo’ū* means “arm ornament.” *P’ovzonū* is another name for *peo’ū*, which means arm ornament made of wild boar’s tusks.\(^{820}\)

Description

Xin-guang Wu claims that people sound the *peo’ū* arm rattle to announce the beginning of *mayasvi* war worship. The sound of the *peo’ū* arm rattle is a sign of blessing and repelling evil.\(^{822}\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the *peo’ū* arm rattle according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 112.13.\(^{823}\) The following are the details of the physical structure of *peo’ū* (the arm rattle). A pair of boar’s tusks form an arm bracelet, and a bronze pellet bell (vessel rattle) is attached to the tusk bracelet. The bronze pellet bell is around 3.5 cm in diameter and has an internal rattling pellet. The *peo’ū* arm rattle is decorated with *fkuo* (tassels). In earlier times, the *fkuo* tassels were

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\(^{820}\) Nevskij, *Tai wan zou zu zi dian*, s.v. “peo’ū.”
\(^{821}\) Ibid., s.v. “p’ovzonū.”
\(^{822}\) Xin-guang Wu, e-mail message to Jen-hao Cheng, 14 September 2009.
\(^{823}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14–15; see Appendix B.
made of hunted human hair or horse’s mane from Dutch colonial officers. At that
time, only brave headhunters could have this. Later, the fkuo tassels were made out of
the bark of the *Hibiscus taiwanensis*.\(^\text{824}\)

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

*Peo’ū* (the arm rattle) traditionally was the marker of a brave hunter. The Tsou wore
*peo’ū* in *mayasvi* war worship. They wore *peo’ū* on both upper arms. The *peo’ū* arm
rattle was the symbol of a hero. In the northern Tsou, only a hunter who had been
wounded by a wild boar was eligible to wear the *peo’ū* arm rattle. In contrast, a good
wild-boar hunter was eligible to wear the *peo’ū* arm rattle in the Southern Tsou. The
*peo’ū* was also utilised as a talisman and an emblem to drive out ghosts and evil.\(^\text{825}\)

**Current function and contexts of use**

Nowadays, there are few hunters in Tsou society. Fewer and fewer people are eligible
to wear the *peo’ū* arm rattle.

\(^{824}\) Cf. Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 42.
\(^{825}\) Ibid.
Sources where it appears

People can find the peo’ū in the Alishan area of Chiayi County and the Taoyuan Township of Kaohsiung City.

Similar/related instruments

It seems that the peo’ū arm rattle is unique in the Austronesian world.

6.15.4 Yuubuku (the Jew’s harp)

Picture

Figure 6.15.4.1. Yuubuku (the Jew’s harp). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)
Etymology

In the Northern Tsou, people call the Jew’s harp *yuubuku*. In the Kanakanavu sub-tribe of the Southern Tsou, people call the Jew’s harp *tungatunga*.\(^826\)

Description

In the Japanese period, Segawa Koukichi’s ethnography (between 1928 and 1936) included a detailed illustration of the *yuubuku* Jew’s harp.\(^827\) I found that the physical structure of the *yuubuku* on Segawa’s illustration is identical with the contemporary Jew’s harp of the Taiwanese aborigines.

Construction

There are two types of *yuubuku* Jew’s harp. The first type of *yuubuku* has a tongue cut out of a bamboo frame. The second type of *yuubuku* has one or more than two tongues fixed to a frame. The numerical entry for the first type of *yuubuku* Jew’s harp according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.21.\(^828\)

The numerical entry for the second type of *yuubuku* Jew’s harp according to the


\(^{827}\) See Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 205.

\(^{828}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 16; see Appendix B.
Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 121.221.\footnote{Ibid.} The tongue and frame of the \textit{yuubuku} idioglot Jew’s harp are both made out of the same piece of \textit{makino} bamboo. The frame is around 12 cm long and 2 cm wide, and the tongue is about 9.3 cm long and 0.5 cm wide. The frame of the \textit{yuubuk} heteroglot Jew’s harp is also made of \textit{makino} bamboo. The frame is around 10.5 cm long and 1.5 cm wide. But its tapering tongue is made of copper and is about 7.5 cm long. Some \textit{yuubuku} are equipped with a container \cite{Kurosawa830}, which is around 15 cm long and 3.2 cm in diameter. In addition, some \textit{yuubuk} heteroglot Jew’s harps have fish-like shaped frames \cite{Kurosawa830}.

\textbf{Traditional function and contexts of use}

The Tsou traditionally played \textit{yuubuku} (the Jew’s harp) for courtship and self-entertainment. In the traditional performance context, both genders were eligible to play the \textit{yuubuku} Jew’s harp. In Kurosawa’s record, a Tsou boy played the \textit{yuubuku} Jew’s harp to attract a girl’s attention during courtship. Then the girl responded by playing the \textit{yutngotngo} musical bow.\footnote{Kurosawa, \textit{Music of the Takasago Tribe}, 321.} The reason for ‘when/why did women play it then’ is unknown.
Current function and contexts of use

Nowadays, few people can play the *yuubuku* Jew’s harp in Tsou society due to cultural grey-out.

Sources where it appears

The *yuubuku* Jew’s harp of the Tsou is displayed in the National Taiwan Museum, Taipei.

Similar/related instruments

Most Austronesian peoples have similar Jew’s harps.
6.15.5 Yutngotngo (the musical bow)

Picture

Figure 6.15.5.1. Yutngotngo (the musical bow). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

Yutngotngo is the indigenous name for the musical bow. Vayayana states that the prefix yu- possibly means “to produce sound,” and tngotngo possibly means “the sound of the musical bow.”831 Yutngongo also indicates “to play the musical bow.”832

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831 Nevskij, Tai wan zou zu zi dian, s.v. “jutngotngo.”
832 Ibid.
Description

The yutngotngo player uses her lips to hold the upper parts of the musical bow, and utilises her mouth cavity to produce resonance. Also, the player uses her right hand to hold the lower end of the bow and simultaneously uses the thumb and index finger of her right hand to press the string to produce different pitches. The player uses her left-hand thumb and index finger to strum the string.

Construction

The numerical entry for the yutngotngo musical bow according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 311.121.11. The structure of the yutngotngo comprises a bamboo bow and a string. The yutngotngo musical bow is made of makino bamboo, and the string is made out of ngei (ramie i.e., Boehmeria nivea). A loop seems to function as the bridge of the string instrument. The loop is made from the bark of Alpina speciosa (Wendl) K Schum; it is placed on the top end between the bow and the string.

833 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 20–21; see Appendix B.
Traditional function and contexts of use

Yutngotngo (the musical bow) was used to play in courtship and self-amusement. Traditionally, in the Tsou, the yutngotngo was popular among girls. A girl played the yutngotngo musical bow to respond to a boy’s Jew’s harp playing during courtship.834

Current function and contexts of use

At present, people can find the yutngotngo in contemporary performance groups of the Tsou (e.g., Yuyupas musical group) in the Alishan area of Chiayi County.

Sources where it appears

In Li-guo Ming’s fieldwork during 1985, the yutngotngo musical bow could still be found in the Tufuya sub-tribe.835 The yutngotngo sample in Figure 6.15.5.1 is was preserved in the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan; this instrument was collected from the Saviki sub-tribe of the Tsou. I took the photograph when Taiwanese aboriginal instruments from the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan were on tour in the Shung Ye Museum of Taipei in 2009.

834 Kurosawa, Music of the Takasago Tribe, 321.
835 See Ming, Tai wan yuan zu min de ji li, 115.
Similar/related instruments

The *tiftif* of the Amis (Subsection 6.1.9), the *latuk* of the Bunun (Subsection 6.3.6), and the *ljaljetjukan* of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.3) all have a structure similar to the *yutngotngo* musical bow of the Tsou.

6.15.6 Euvuvu (the bull-roarer)

Picture

![Image](image_url)

Figure 6.15.6.1. Euvuvu (the bull-roarer). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2012.)
Etymology

Euvuvu is the Tsou name for the bullroarer. *Euvuvu* is comprised of the prefix *eu-* and the onomatopoeic *vuvu*, in which *vuvu* indicates the sound of the bullroarer.\(^{836}\)

Description

In the light of organology, different peoples around the world use the bullroarer as a ritual instrument as well as a bird-scarer for frightening birds and animals from their crops. Children often were appointed to do the task of scaring birds. Montagu points out that “there is a classic cycle: the progression from ritual through secular to toy.”\(^{837}\) It can explain why Curt Sachs studied and collected musical toys due to their origin in ritual or magic.\(^{838}\)

Construction

The numerical entry for the *euvuvu* bullroarer according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 412.22.\(^{839}\) The *euvuvu* is comprised of the bullroarer, a string, and a bamboo stick. The bullroarer is made of *makino* bamboo or

\(^{836}\) Cf. Vayayana, interview.
\(^{838}\) Ibid.
\(^{839}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24; see Appendix B.
*Miscanthus floridulus.* The *euvuvu* in Figure 6.15 is around 11.5 cm long and 2.5 cm wide. Montagu suggests that the sound of bullroarers varies according to their size, the length of the string, and the speed of rotation.

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**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The *euvuvu* bullroarer traditionally functioned as a signal to inform villagers by means of the echo of valleys that an enemy was coming. The *euvuvu* was also played to pray for rain and to scare birds.

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**Current function and contexts of use**

Now the Tsou play the *euvuvu* to welcome visitors in the opening ceremony of *fona* (the life bean festival); and they sell the *euvuvu* as a bookmark (souvenir) to tourists.

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**Sources where it appears**

People can find the *euvuvu* in the Alishan area of Chiayi County and Tawuyuan Township in Kaohsiung City.

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840 Chinese Folks Arts Foundation, *Qin jin zou zu*, 78.
842 Liu, *Yuan zhu min qi ju zhi ke xue tan jiu yan jiu*, 33–40.
Similar/related instruments

I have found evidence of bullroarers in Amis and Sakizaya communities. The Sakizaya call the bullroarer *berber* (Subsection 6.10.5), and the Amis call it *bn-bn* (Subsection 6.1.13).

6.15.7 *Peingū no ngūcū (the nose flute)*

Picture

Figure 6.15.7.1. *Peingū no ngūcū* (the nose flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)

Etymology

*Peingū no ngūcū* and *yupeingū no ngūcū* are both indigenous names for the nose flute.

*No* means “of.” *Ngūcū* means “nose.” *Peingū* and *yupeingū* are both nouns. *Peingū* possibly indicates “flute” or “pipe.”843 In N. A. Nevskij’s dictionary, *ngūtsū* means

843 Vayayana, interview.
“nose,” and piengū means “the flute.” So piengū no ngūtsū indicates “the flute of the nose.” Yu-piengū means “to play the flute”; this word is comprised of the verbalising prefix yu- and the word piengū (the flute). The Kanakanavu sub-tribe of the Southern Tsou call the nose flute tangenga.

Description

The double-pipe peingū no ngūcū nose flute of the Northern Tsou is a unique nose flute among Taiwanese aborigines, as both of the pipes have finger-holes.

Construction

There are three types of nose flutes in Tsou society. The first instrument type is the single-pipe peingū no ngūcū nose flute. The numerical entry for the single-pipe peingū no ngūcū nose flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.111.12. There is no suitable numerical entry in the Hornbostel-Sachs system for the second type of nose flute, the double-pipe peingū no ngūcū nose flute of the Northern Tsou; therefore, I extend the numerical entry 421.112.12 which means: sets of end-blown flutes with finger-holes. As with the flute described

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844 Nevskij, Tai wan zou zu zi dian, s.v. “ngūtsū.”
845 Ibid., s.v. “piengū.”
846 Ibid., s.v. “piengū-no-ngūtsū.”
847 Cf. Ibid., s.v. “jupiengū.”
848 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 24–25; see Appendix B.
849 Ibid., 25; see Appendix B.
immediately above, there is no suitable numerical entry in the Hornbostel-Sachs system for the third type of instrument, the double-pipe tangenga nose flute of the Kanakanavu sub-tribe (the Southern Tsou); therefore, I extend the numerical entry 421.112.13 which means: sets of end-blown flutes mixed finger-holes and without finger-holes. The pipes of the peingū no ngūcū are around 2.5 cm in diameter. The right pipe with three finger-holes is about 42 cm long, and the left pipe with two finger-holes is about 45 cm long.

**Traditional function and contexts of use**

The Tsou traditionally played the peingū no ngūcū nose flute in homeyaya (the Tsou millet ceremony) when praying for a plentiful harvest. It was a taboo to play the peingū no ngūcū during times of misfortune and when hunting and headhunting. I transcribe the solo of the tangenga nose flute of the Kanakanavu sub-tribe from the 1978 recording by Cuuma Pa’ee (the player). This is the only existing sound recording of the Tsou nose flute (Example 6.15.7.1).

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850 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25; see Appendix B.
851 Cuuma Pa’ee’s recording was made on 24 July 1978. Then Rung-shun Wu collected this historical recording in his album: Songs of Hla’alua and Kanakanavu, Rung-shun Wu, Wind Recordings TCD-1520, 2001, 2 compact discs.
Example 6.15.7.1. The tune of the *tangenga* nose flute of the Kanakanavu sub-tribe.

Transcription by Jen-hao Cheng.

Current function and contexts of use

Owing to the complicated playing technique, almost no one is able to play the double-pipe *peingū no ngūcū* nose flute (both of the pipes have finger-holes). The historical sample (Figure 6.15.7.1) is preserved in good condition in the National Taiwan Museum, Taipei. It functions as a display in the museum. People can find Tsou
performers playing the nose flute of the Paiwan to entertain tourists in Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village and the Yuyupas Cultural Tribe of the Tsou, since the peingū no ngūcū is no longer handed down from past generations. It appears to be a phenomenon of cultural borrowing.

Sources where it appears

At present, it is hard to find the single-pipe peingū no ngūcū nose flute and the double-pipe peingū no ngūcū nose flute of the Northern Tsou in Tsou society. People can find the double-pipe tangenga nose flute of the Southern Tsou in contemporary performance groups of the Tsou (e.g., Yuyupas musical group) in the Alishan area of Chiayi County.

Similar/related instruments

Compare the peingū no ngūcū with other Austronesian nose flutes (e.g., the lalingdan of the Paiwan, the no ngoso’a tipolo of the Amis, and the fangufangu of the Tongans), and people will see the differences in instrumental structure. For example, the lalingdan of the Paiwan is the double-pipe end-blown nose flute (one pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes). The traditional no ngoso’a tipolo of the Amis is the double-pipe duct nose flute (both pipes with finger-
holes). The *fangufangu* of the Tongans is the single-pipe end-blown nose flute with finger-holes.

**6.15.8 Piengū no ngaru (the mouth flute)**

*Picture*

![Picture of Piengū no ngaru](image)

*Figure 6.15.8.1. Piengū no ngaru (the mouth flute). (Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng, 2009.)*

**Etymology**

*Piengū no ngaru* is the Tsou name for the mouth flute. *Piengū* means “the flute.”

The name *piengū no ngaru* was recorded by Ino. *Piengū no ngaru* means “the flute of the mouth.” *No* means “of.” *Ngarū* means “mouth.”

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852 Nevskij, *Tai wan zou zu zi dian*, s.v. “piengū.”

853 Ino, “Taiwan doban no kayoo yo koyuu gaki,” 240. 748
Description

The *piengū no ngaru* mouth flute in Figure 6.15.8.1 originates from the Tapangu sub-tribe of the Northern Tsou.

Construction

The numerical entry for the *piengū no ngaru* mouth flute according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 421.221.12. The *piengū no ngaru* vertical flute is around 42 cm long and 2 cm in diameter. The vertical flute’s internal duct is formed by a natural bamboo node, and its end mouth-hole is plain-edged (i.e., unshaped). The front of the long tube has six finger-holes, and its back has a lateral orifice. The distance between finger-holes is 2 cm or about one finger-width.

Traditional function and contexts of use

The traditional function and contexts of use of *piengū no ngaru* (the mouth flute) are unknown. Kurosawa points out that the vertical flute of the Southern Tsou was mainly played for delivering messages. He presumes that the vertical flute was borrowed from the neighbouring Bunun (cf. Figure 1). Even though the evidence for

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854 Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 25–26; see Appendix B.
Kurosawa’s presumption was unknown, the vertical duct flutes were quite popular throughout Taiwan in Japanese period.\textsuperscript{856}

**Current function and contexts of use**

The *piengū no ngaru* mouth flute is almost obsolete in Tsou society.

**Sources where it appears**

The *piengū no ngaru* sample in Figure 6.15.8.1 is preserved in the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan. I took the photograph when a display of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments from the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan was on tour in the Shung Ye Museum, Taipei in 2009.

**Similar/related instruments**

There are many mouth flutes (e.g., the *alindan* mouth flute of the Puyuma, the *mgagu* headhunter’s flute, the *pingo* headhunter’s flute, the *kulralru* single-pipe mouth flute, and the *kulalu* single-pipe mouth flute) whose physical structure is similar to that of the *piengū no ngaru* of the Tsou. They all belong to the single-pipe duct flute with finger-holes.

\textsuperscript{856} Ibid., 405–8.
Chapter 7 Discussion and Conclusion

This research has been an original exploration of the indigenous taxonomic schemes of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments. Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments (including sound-producing instruments) have been presented in a panoramic perspective by examining their modern structure, function, and meaning, as well as through aboriginal musical self-representation (Chapter 6) and representation through museumification (Chapter 4) and performance (Chapter 5) in Taiwan. I also found some unknown musical instruments in different aboriginal groups, and these findings were gleaned from ethnographic scrutiny during fieldwork.

In Chapter 1, I gave a brief synopsis of the relevant literature with reference to musical instrument classifications, and clarified the significance of this study for developing an understanding of the indigenous taxonomy of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments.

In Chapter 2, I uncovered the cultural practice and the structure of historical aboriginal instruments through reviewing historical literature. I also discussed the theoretical dimensions of the research concerning aboriginal instruments in Section 2.2. In Section 2.3, the examination of the authenticity of aboriginal instruments was a way of talking about music; a way of saying to outsiders as to insiders “this is what is
really significant about this musical instrument” (cf. Subsection 6.8.4), and “this is the instrument that makes us distinct from other people” (cf. Section 6.7).¹

In Chapter 3, I focused on discussing the multi-dichotomous phenomenon of Taiwanese music genres and their change, as well as the influence of the government’s cultural policy on aboriginal instruments.

In Chapter 4, museums, archives, and historical prints and literature were shown to be all be significant sources for understanding the old practice and structure of aboriginal instruments. For instance, I used Happart’s Favorlang Vocabulary to undertake a comparative study of indigenous names for Favorlang musical instruments, historical literature, and existing musical instruments of Taiwanese aborigines.² Also, I found many old paintings concerning Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in official records, travel records, and ethnography, and thereby studied the musical iconography of Taiwanese aboriginal people in the light of ethnomusicology.

In Chapter 5, festivals and cultural villages were performance sites of Taiwanese aboriginal music. I explored the form, function, and meaning of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments in contemporary use and compared this with traditional practice. In Subsection 5.1.1, an aboriginal harvest festival was one of the

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¹ Cf. Stokes, Ethnicity, Identity and Music, 7.
² Happart and Hoëvell, Woord-boek der Favorlangsche Taal.
main stages for Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments. Thus, the 2009 A Da Wang United Harvest Festival was a unique opportunity to investigate the form, function, and meaning of aboriginal musical instruments. In Subsection 5.1.2, I discovered the social function and musical practice of various Puyuma bells through observing the Katratripulr millet harvest ceremony. In Subsection 5.1.3, I examined the practical context of aboriginal music instead of the ideal context.

Chapter 6 studied aboriginal self-representation concerning their musical instruments in different ethnic groups. I analysed the results of qualitative interviews to decode the indigenous taxonomic schemes of aboriginal instruments as well as the musical practice and thought of cultural insiders.

This dissertation was undertaken to discover and evaluate whether the musical practices of Taiwanese aborigines have their own indigenous taxonomic schemes of musical instruments. I explored the taxonomy of aboriginal musical instruments by examining multi-faceted aspects of aboriginal culture. To provide a panoramic perspective on Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments, I also aimed to discover any unknown instruments that have existed in Taiwan. Furthermore, I explored the form of the instruments and their performance, social function, and meaning change. In addition, the objective of this research was to discuss the meaning associated with
aboriginal instruments for the sake of showing how the instruments are comprehended in the aboriginal context.

Returning to the research question posed at the beginning of this dissertation, it is now possible to state that the findings of this research are more or less difficult to tally with the concept of Western instrumental classifications. As Kartomi claims, culture-emerging classifications are actually a reconstructed model of ordering data in the minds of cultural insiders.³ Thus, most of the findings result from systematically analysing the ordering systems in insiders’ thoughts, instrumental nomenclature, cultural practices, and performance contexts. By analysing the semantics of the indigenous given names for aboriginal instruments, I decoded some indigenous taxonomic schemes.

After in-depth searches and observation, I found some unknown aboriginal instruments. Moreover, some aboriginal instruments do not function simply as musical instruments, but are also markers of social status. In the following, I summarises the research findings for each chapter.

Chapter 2

In Section 2.3, I found that aboriginal listeners have “second-person authenticity” because of their common aboriginal life experience by means of observing aboriginal performance in festivals. To listen to aboriginal music is like touching a rich, deep layer of aboriginal tradition that is rooted in their musical heritage. People languish for the values and the beautiful old days that are embodied in Taiwanese aboriginal music.

Chapter 3

Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments are not simply the best tools in the struggle for aboriginal people’s rights and to meet the demands of contemporary society. Different governments have made use of aboriginal culture and music in varying ways. For instance, the Japanese Empire borrowed this tool as one of its war trophies. Then the KMT government borrowed this tool to build the dream of great China. Lastly, the DPP government borrowed this tool for Taiwanisation and de-Sinification. The change in aboriginal musical instruments mirrors the attempt by Taiwanese aborigines to maintain their musical traditions in a modern society harmonious with Western-derived social, economic, and political institutions, and the desire to enter the

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4 Moore, “Constructing Authenticity in Rock.”
Han-Taiwanese cultural system without wholly giving up aboriginal musical traditions.

Chapter 4

As discussed in Subsection 4.1.1, the significance of the antique bronze pellet bells in the Prehistory Museum is that they prove that Taiwanese aborigines (especially the Amis’s ancestors) were using the bronze pellet bells from 1000 BP to 500 BP in radiocarbon years. By investigating the antique bells, as shown in Figures 4.1.1.1, 4.1.1.2, and 4.1.1.3, the research inferred that Taiwanese aborigines initially made their own pellet bells. Later, they possibly obtained ready-made pellet bells from other ethnic groups through overseas trade. This indicates that bronze bells may have existed in aboriginal cultural practice for a long time, whether or not they were imported from overseas or made by aborigines themselves. From time immemorial, bronze pellet bells have functioned, not simply as rattles to produce a boisterous sound while dancing, but also as markers of social status. I presented my findings in sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.2. Specifically with the discussion of the forged bell, called tokilun (pronunciation in Holo Taiwanese), in Zhanghua xianzhi (The record of Changhua County), which is actually a slang corruption of tôkkilli in the Favorlang language (see Subsection 4.1.2). In Subsection 4.2.1, the side-note of the painting “Ju

yin, bi xiao” (The gathering drinking, the nose flute, Figure 4.2.1.2) describes the nose flute as having four finger-holes, which tallies with the results of my ethnographic fieldwork (see Subsection 6.12.6, the paringit single-pipe nose flute of the Siraya).

Chapter 5

In contemporary Taiwanese society, the wood slit drum has become an indispensable musical instrument in various aboriginal musical performances (see Subsection 5.1.1). The wood slit drum is used not simply to provide rhythm for aboriginal music; it seems to awaken people to the fact that aboriginal culture is still living, thus forming aboriginal group identity and cultural self-awareness. The wood slit drum has become the cultural emblem of Taiwanese aboriginal people. Making music using the same themes or pitch, utilising the same levels of accent, and sharing habitual behaviours in aboriginal music can augment the solidarity of the group and enhance a sense of communality. Through aboriginal harvest festivals, different ethnic groups have an opportunity to communicate and know each other and to maintain their ethnic identity and to distinguish cultural difference.

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6 Cf. Lomax, Folk Song Style and Culture, 171.
Chapter 6

I found that there are some commonalities between Taiwanese aboriginal instruments and other Austronesian instruments. Austronesians used boats to migrate to various islands, and it may have been difficult to bring many instruments with them. While some musical instrument may share a common origin, their present-day structure is diverse, varying from island to island. Obviously, Austronesian obtained material from local sources to make their musical instruments, which is one of the commonalities between Taiwanese aborigines and other Austronesian peoples. For example, most Austronesians have a slit drum, a Jew’s harp, a musical bow, and a nose flute. For example, they all have a slit drum for signalling. The Jew’s harps and musical bows are mainly played by lovers to communicate messages to each other. Both instruments are voice modifiers. Players utilise the tune of the Jew’s harps/musical bows to imitate the intonation of the words. Consequently, lovers deliver their whispers through playing the Jew’s harp/musical bows to avoid embarrassment. For instance, the Marquesan tioro and Taiwanese Jew’s harp both have speaking functions for communication.\(^7\) Many Austronesians played the musical bow to breathe their love talk during courtship, and nose flutes are common instruments among Austronesians. In past times, Taiwanese aborigines and Hawaiians sometimes played

\(^7\) Cf. Moulin, “Exploring Word-Based Performance,”135.
nose flutes to their lovers.\textsuperscript{8} Besides these aforementioned instruments, the bull-roarer, 
the conch trumpet, the panpipe, and the leaf oboe are often seen in the Austronesian 
family.

\begin{flushright}
In the following section, the findings of this research are divided into different ethnic groups.
\end{flushright}

\textbf{Amis}

The research found some Amis instruments that have not previous been written about 
in scholarly sources, such as the \textit{kiangkiang} gong rattle (Subsection 6.1.5), the 
\textit{nomodac a tippolo} membrane flute (Subsection 6.1.8), the \textit{tipolo} panpipe (Subsection 
6.1.11), the \textit{bnbn} bull-roarer (Subsection 6.1.13), the \textit{grgr} whirring disc (Subsection 
6.1.14), and the \textit{fasiyaw} Aeolian musical bow (Subsection 6.1.15). These instruments 
are rarely seen among Taiwanese aborigines. Some Taiwanese scholars believe that 
only skin drums are membranophones, and therefore claim that Taiwanese aborigines 
have no membranophones.\textsuperscript{9} Due to a lack of organological knowledge, they do not

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} Roberts, \textit{Ancient Hawaiian Music}, 38.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Cf. Hsu, “Taiwan,” 6.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
know that the *nomodac a tippolo* is a membrane instrument. Also, this research distinguished the difference in structure between the *no ngoso ’ a tipolo* double-pipe nose flute of the Amis (Subsection 6.1.10) and the *lalingedan* double-pipe nose flute of the Paiwan (Subsection 6.5.4). Most Taiwanese scholarship neglects this difference.

![Diagram of contexts of use of Amis musical instruments](Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

This research has shown that there are two types of taxonomic systems in Amis society (cf. Section 6.1). In the first type, Amis musical instruments are classified by contexts of use in tradition (Figure 7.1). For example, the *kakeng* (Subsection 6.1.1) and the *kiangkiang* (Subsection 6.1.5) were both played in
traditional rituals. The \textit{nomodac a tippolo} (Subsection 6.1.8), the \textit{bnbn} (Subsection 6.1.13), and the \textit{grgr} (Subsection 6.1.14) all functioned as children’s playthings. The \textit{kokang} (Subsection 6.1.1) traditionally functioned as a bird scarer. Amis lovers played the \textit{datok} (Subsection 6.1.7) and the \textit{tiftif} (Subsection 6.1.9) to communicate with each other during courtship. Young Amis men played the \textit{takeling} (Subsection 6.1.4) when delivering messages to tribesmen.

![Diagram of parts of the body and their corresponding instruments in Amis](Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

In the second type of taxonomic system, Amis musical instruments are classified by parts of the body; that is, the way of playing an instrument is related to a different part of the body (Figure 7.2). In the Amis language, the letter \textit{d-} or the letter
*l-* indicates that the sound is produced by mouth, such as *datok* (the Jew’s harp) and *ladiw* (song).  

The lexeme *fetik* indicates plucking the string of the *tiftif* musical bow with fingers. Next, the lexeme *ngoso’* means “nose.” Nomodac a tippolo indicates the sound produced by a nose flute.

**Atayal**

During my ethnographic fieldwork, I found the *lubuw takan ruma’* bamboo-tube gong of the Atayal (Subsection 6.2.4), which was recently created to meet the needs of performance and the exotic around 1998.

This research has found that there are three types of instrumental taxonomies in Atayal society (cf. Section 6.2). In the first type of taxonomy, Atayal musical instruments are classified by their material (Figure 7.3).

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12 Saytay, interview.
The Atayal people name their musical instruments by instrument materials. This way reflects the indigenous taxonomy in Atayal society. For example, *lubuw qhuniq* (Subsection 6.2.1) means wooden musical instrument (the xylophone).\(^{13}\) *Lubuw takan ruma’* (Subsection 6.2.4) means bamboo-tube musical instrument.\(^{14}\) *Lubuw zzima’* (Subsection 6.2.5) means the tongue musical instrument (the Jew’s harp).\(^{15}\)

In the second type of taxonomy, Atayal musical instruments are classified by age group (Figure 7.4). Different age groups from the same language group have different pronunciations of the name for the Jew’s harp. Younger speakers create a new phonological rule by changing the word-final /-g/ to /-w/.\(^{16}\) This seems to

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\(^{13}\) Pawang Iban, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 3 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Chiagaluo, Shinzhu County.

\(^{14}\) Ibid.

\(^{15}\) Ibid.

\(^{16}\) Cf. Li, “Linguistic Variations of Different Age Groups,” 1150.
maintain the identity of the same age group by means of using the same pronunciation for showing their difference with other age groups (see Subsection 6.2.5).

![Age Groups (the Atayal)]

*Figure 7.4. Instrument classification by age group. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)*

In the third type of taxonomy, Atayal musical instruments are classified by performance contexts (Table 6.2.8.1). In the traditional context, the *penurahoi* is played during headhunting activities. In the contemporary context, the *ngangao* is played for amusement and courtship. The Atayal of the Miaoli County had adapted the performance context, cultural practice and instrumental structure of the traditional headhunter’s flute to meet tribesmen’s the needs for amusement and courtship since, by the 1930s, headhunting activities were completely abolished by Japanese officers. They changed the indigenous name of their headhunter’s flute from *penurahoi* to *ngangao*, and they made the flute smaller in size (i.e., *ngangao*) to produce a sonorous sound for men playing for amusement and courtship.
Bunun

In Bunun communities, I found some unknown musical instruments, such as the *ma pak wis* percussion sticks (Subsection 6.3.1), the *toklo* wood drum (Subsection 6.3.3), the *banhir latuk* four/five-stringed zither (Subsection 6.3.7), the *tarongat* nose flute (Subsection 6.3.9), and the *rarongaton* transverse flute (Subsection 6.3.10). I recorded the traditional and the innovative forms of the *ma pak wis* percussion stick. The Bunun people employ their traditional *toklo* weaving trough as a wood slit drum in present-day performance. Also, I found an innovative *banhir latuk* five-stringed zither in my fieldwork. Next, I confirmed the indigenous names for and instrument structures of the *tarongat* nose flute and the *rarongaton* transverse flute, even though both instruments have failed to be handed down from past generations.

It was shown that Bunun musical instruments are classified by the verbalising prefixes of the Bunun language and the action of playing the instruments. The verbalising prefixes can be further interpreted as the action of playing the instruments, which reflects the indigenous taxonomy (Figure 7.5). Firstly, the verbalising prefix *pis-* indicates “to play.” For instance, *pis-tava-tava* means “to play,” and *pis-latuk* means “to play the musical bow.”17 Secondly, the verbalising prefix *ma-* indicates “to hit.” For instance, *ma-ludax* means “to hit,” and *ma-tultul* means “to pound the

pestle.”

Thirdly, the verbalising prefix *ki-/kis-* indicates “to knock.” For instance, *ki-tungtung* means “knocking,” and *ki-pahpah* means “to clap percussion sticks.”

Fourthly, the verbalising prefix *pa-* indicates “to blow.” For instance, *pa-tui’a* means “to blow the flute.”

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 7.5.** Classification by verbalising prefixes/the action of playing the instruments. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

*Kavalan*

*Kavalan* society has developed a detailed taxonomic system of sound (including instrument sound) in its language (Figure 7.6). Onomatopoeia and overlapped radicals

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18 Cf. ibid., s.v. “ma-ludax.”
have a great influence on the taxonomy of sound in the Kavalan (see details of etymology in Subsection 6.4.1).

![Taxonomy of Sound](image)

Figure 7.6. The taxonomy of sound in the Kavalan. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

I found some musical instruments in Kavalan society that have previously received no scholarly consideration, such as the *tunun* dancing stick (Subsection 6.4.2), the *amil* wrist rattle, the *bkia* ankle rattle (Subsection 6.4.5), the *turian* nose flute (Subsection 6.4.7), and the *tukkik* conch trumpet (Subsection 6.4.10). Only the
chieftain was eligible to use the *tunun* dancing stick in tribal dance. Although the *amil* and *bkia* are both simply rattles, they bear deep cultural meaning in Kavalan oral tradition (see Subsection 6.4.5). Originally, there was a single-pipe nose flute (Figure 6.4.8, which is one of the photos in the Pinpu digital scheme of Taiwan University),

but few people know the indigenous name for the nose flute. In addition, I found the *tukkik* conch trumpet of the Kavalan, which is the only conch trumpet in Taiwanese aboriginal communities.

**Paiwan**

Three musical instruments of the Paiwan were discovered that to date have not appeared in any scholarly writing, namely, the *tjaudring* forged bell (Subsection 6.5.1), the *ljaljuveran* Jew’s harp (Subsection 6.5.2), and the *ljaljetjukan* musical bow (Subsection 6.5.3). These instruments are rarely seen in Paiwan communities. Today, the *tjaudring* forged bell functions not merely as a messenger, but it also conveys social status (ethnic pride in particular). A form of idioglot guimbarde was examined, one which has never been seen before in pertinent scholarship on Taiwan. This instrument is a kind of bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp (Figure 6.5.2.1) that is directly plucked by the finger without indirectly pulling a string.

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21 “Kavalan and Ketagalan.”
The research has shown that the taxonomy of Paiwan flutes reflects social status in Paiwan society (Figure 7.7). Briefly, noblemen’s mouth flutes and nose flutes are ornamented with carvings (cf. Subsection 6.5.4), whereas commoners are not allowed to have carvings on their flutes.
It was shown that Paiwan musical instruments are classified by the verbalising affixes of the Paiwan language and the action of playing the instruments. The verbalising affixes and verbs reflect of the indigenous taxonomy of the Paiwan (Figure 7.8).

Firstly, the verbalising infix -lja- indicates “to beat.”22 Secondly, the verbalising infix -m- indicates “to play.” For example, k-m-ulalu means “to play the flute.”23 Thirdly, the verbalising prefix pa- indicates “to sound.” For example, pa-tjubtjub means “to sound the horn” or “to sound the conch.”24 Fourthly, the verbalising circumfix pa- al- indicates “to strike.” For example, pa-k-al-kingkingen means “to strike the bell.”25 Lastly, the verbalising circumfix pa- alj- indicates “to ring.” For example, pa-k-alj-eling means “to ring the bell.”26 Sixthly, the verb dj-m-apes indicates “to blow,” which also means “to blow the musical instrument with breath.”27

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22 Cf. Ferrell, Paiwan Dictionary, s.v. “bangbang.”
23 Cf. ibid., s.v. “kulalu.”
24 Ibid., s.v. “tjubtjub.”
25 Ibid., s.v. “kingking.”
26 Ibid., s.v. “keling.”
27 Ibid., s.v. “djapes.”
Pazih-Kahabu

Although the Pazih-Kahabu people have been assimilated into Han Taiwanese culture, they still preserve some of their traditional musical instruments. During field research, three Pazih-Kahabu musical instruments were found: the dong dong bamboo slit drum (Subsection 6.6.1), the dung dung kaxui zunga trunk gong (Subsection 6.6.2), and the duang duang bronze gong (Subsection 6.6.3).

Since the 19th century, the Pazih-Kahabu people have functioned as a buffer between the Han Taiwanese and non-assimilated aboriginal groups. Pazih-Kahabu musical instruments were mainly played to make signals, such as sirens. The dong dong is a traditional form of the aboriginal bamboo slit drum, and dung dung kaxui zunga are possibly the only trunk gongs in existence in Taiwan. The duang duang bronze gong (see Figure 6.6.5) is possibly the oldest aboriginal bronze gong in Taiwan. In contemporary culture, the duang duang bronze gong has become a cultural symbol of Pazih-Kahabu and the Kahabu sub-tribe.

In library research, the indigenous name for the Pazih-Kahabu Jew’s harp was found to be dichotomous: bengebeng in female use, and lalibex in male use (Figure 7.9).
According to Paul Jen-kuei Li, “there are several hypotheses about the sex differentiation of the words used for the instrument. Firstly, they are the result of intermarriage or invasion between different ethnic groups or languages. Secondly, they are the result of taboo. Thirdly, they are the result of a secret language. Fourthly, they are the result of different social attitudes.”

It is suggested here, however, that different social attitudes have had a great influence on gender differentiation in the indigenous names for the Pazih-Kahabu Jew’s harp. In light of the Pazih-Kahabu language, the word *bengebeng* is a homonym of the Jew’s harp (female) and loom. In traditional culture, mature women had the skills to weave. The word *bengebeng* is possibly onomatopoeic of the Jew’s harp playing and weaving. For example, it traditionally was a taboo term for an aboriginal woman to touch a man’s bow, or an aboriginal man to touch a woman’s loom. To violate the taboo would invite misfortune (e.g., failure in weaving or hunting). In former times, the Jew’s harp was

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28 Li, “Types of Lexical Derivation,” 1107.
mainly played during courtship. When a boy was attracted to a girl, he would play the
lalibex Jew’s harp outside the girl’s house to get her attention. If the girl adored the
boy, she would play the bengebeng Jew’s harp in response to the tune of the lalibex.
Later, the girl would invite the boy into her house. If the girl did not adore the boy,
she did not respond to the tune of the lalibex and simply ignored the boy’s
attraction. As can be seen, the role of the lalibex player was more active than the
bengebeng player. However, the Pazih-Kahabu belong to a matriarchal society. The
bengebeng player had the decision-making power to choose whether she would
respond to the seduction of the lalibex player or not.

Puyuma

The research showed that Puyuma rattles are classified by social status and age
hierarchy (Figure 7.10). In the Puyuma, bells are used by different groups in the age
hierarchy (see Subsection 5.1.2). Firstly, the sizung shield bell (Subsection 6.7.4) was
once only used by headhunters. The term sizung denotes a tawliulr forged bell
suspended from a wooden shield. The face of the shield is carved, typically with a
human face and possibly denoting an ancestor or a successful headhunter. Secondly, a
cluster of jingles hanging from silver chains are known as langi; these are expensive

and are therefore worn by leaders and co-leaders (Subsection 6.7.3). Thirdly, Puyuma youth (vangesaran), use the kamelin waist rattle to create a boisterous atmosphere in ceremonies. The kamelin (Subsection 6.7.5) consists of seven to nine pellet bells attached to a cloth waist belt. Fourthly, the tawlriulr (Subsection 6.7.2) is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron that functions as a warning bell. The tawlriulr is a rank marker of the quasi-youth (valise).

Figure 7.10. Classification of Puyuma rattles by social status and age hierarchy. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)
Rukai

Several Rukai musical instruments were observed that to date have not received any scholarly attention: the taodring forged bell (Subsection 6.8.1), the tongaton musical bow (Subsection 6.8.3), the pulrari double-pipe nose flute (Subsection 6.8.4), the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute (Subsection 6.8.5), and the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute (Subsection 6.8.6). These instruments offer several unique examples of instrument function. Firstly, the taodring forged bell is still in use in the alokuwa men’s house; its main social function is to deliver messages. Secondly, Gilragilrao (the Rukai informant) revealed the traditional context and way of playing the tongaton musical bow. Thirdly, the instrument type of the pulrari double-pipe nose flute is an example of an instrument not classified in the Hornbostel-Sachs\textsuperscript{30} system of musical instrument classification. Therefore, this research has extended the numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system to 421.112.13 (mixed end-blown flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes). Fourthly, the kulralru is a type of flute with an internal duct, the structure of which comprises one pipe with finger-holes and another pipe without finger-holes. There is no suitable numerical entry for the kulralru double-pipe mouth flute in the Hornbostel-Sachs system; therefore, the numerical entry of the Hornbostel-Sachs system\textsuperscript{31} has been extended to which is 421.222.13 (mixed sets of


\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 25–26.
open flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes). Fifthly, the kulralru single-pipe mouth flute has been neglected within its indigenous culture for a long time.

Moreover, this research has found that there are two types of taxonomic systems in Rukai society. The first taxonomic system groups Rukai instruments into various ritual activities (see Figure 6.8.4.15). Music can be best seen in interplay with other spheres of culture. The most significant thing about musical instruments to the Rukai is their relationship to delivering messages, to social status, to specific rituals, and to the supernatural. Historically, musical instruments were primarily used in traditional rituals of the Rukai, and Figure 6.8.4.15 classifies Rukai instruments by their performance contexts in various rituals.

The second taxonomic system classifies Rukai flutes by social status (see Figure 6.8.4.16). The nose flute of the Rukai was initially related to the activity of headhunting, and only successful headhunters were allowed to play the nose flute and the mouth flute. Commoners, however, could buy a licence to play the nose flute from the tribal chief, but were still not allowed to have any decoration on their nose flutes. Instead, they could have a smoky colour painted on their flutes, or they would keep the plain colour of the material. Figure 6.8.4.16 classifies Rukai flutes by social status and instrument structure.

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Saisiyat

During the research several Saisiyat musical instruments were examined that have hitherto not received scholarly attention: the kango’ngo’an bamboo slit drum (Subsection 6.9.2), the tapa-ngasan hip rattle (Subsection 6.9.3), the kaborbor Jew’s harp (Subsection 6.9.5), and the papotol holy sounding whip (Subsection 6.9.6).

Regarding these instruments, several observations should be made. Firstly, some kango’ngo’an bamboo slit drums are preserved in the Saisiyat Folk Museum; their traditional instrument structure is rarely seen in contemporary aboriginal groups. Secondly, the tapa-ngasan hip rattle is unique among aboriginal instruments and has profound significance in the Saisiyat culture. The tapa-ngasan has become a cultural symbol of the Saisiyat. Thirdly, this research has offered detailed analysis of the kaborbor Jew’s harp, an instrument few Saisiyat can make or play. Fourthly, the papotol holy sounding whip is a sound-producing instrument and an important ritual instrument for driving out evil spirits in the Pas-taai ceremony (the Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits). It is a kind of displacement free aerophone.
It was shown that the factors of onomatopoeia, verbalising prefixes, and the action of playing the instruments each have great influence on the indigenous taxonomy of Saisiyat musical instruments (Figure 7.11). Firstly, the verbalising prefix *ka-* indicates to repeat an incomplete action and derives a noun.\(^{33}\) For instance, *kaborbor* means “the Jew’s harp” and indicates “to repeat the sound *borbor* by pulling.”\(^ {34}\) Secondly, the prefix *ta-* indicates to do something together.\(^ {35}\) And the prefix *pa-* indicates “to

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\(^{34}\) Cf. ’Oemaw a ’Oebay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001-2.WAV), Neihu, Taipei.

beating.”

The verbalising prefix *tapa-* indicates “to beat together.” For example, *tapa-ngasan* means “to beat together to produce the sound ngasan.”

Thirdly, the verbalising prefix *kap-* indicates “to sound continually.” For example, *kapa ae:ae:* is the name for the anklet rattle, which indicates “the rattle sounding continually.”

Fourthly, the prefix *pa-* is the causative of a dynamic verb and indicates “to beat” or “to whip.” For example, *papotol* indicates “to swing the holy whip.”

Fifthly, the stem *hiyop* means “to blow by mouth.” For instance, the Saisiyat called the bone flute *kahiyopan*.

**Sakizaya**

Sakizaya musical instruments were explored mainly during an interview with Jin-wen Huang (a tribal elder). Most of the instruments are difficult to find in Taiwan, including the *berber* bull-roarer or whirring disc (Subsection 6.10.5), the *libau* bamboo flute (Subsection 6.10.6), the wooden *libau* vessel flute (Subsection 6.10.7), the *piyu* screw pine oboe (Subsection 6.10.8), and the *teng gala teng* three-stringed zither (Subsection 6.10.9). The *toktok* wooden slit drum (Subsection 6.10.2) is still

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36 Ibid., 134.
37 Cf. "Oemaw, interview.
39 Ibid., 134.
40 "Oemaw, interview.
played to accompany singing and dancing in traditional ceremonies. The toktok is specially made by locals; its octagonal prism form is unique. The research clarified how different types of drumming produce different messages to summon people (see Example 6.10.2.1 and Example 6.10.2.2). In addition, an unsung Aeolian musical bow was observed in a private museum, namely, the baibai singing kite (Subsection 6.10.4). This instrument is probably not in use now, and few people can make it.

**Seediq-Truku**

Three musical instruments in Seediq-Truku communities were studied, each of which has thus far not appeared in any other scholarly research: the tatuk xylophone (Subsection 6.11.1), the lubug spat qnawal four-stringed zither (Subsection 6.11.9), and the mgagu headhunter’s flute (Subsection 6.11.10). Several observations about these instruments were made. (1) Through interviewing Seediq-Truku cultural insiders, I observed the traditional function and contexts of use of the tatuk xylophone. (2) Research was undertaken with the only maker and player of the lubug spat qnawal four-stringed zither. (3) The structure, finger assignment, contexts of use, and meanings of the mgagu headhunter’s flute were studied as a result of interviewing different flute makers and players.
This research has found that there are two types of instrument taxonomies in Seediq-Truku society. In the first type of taxonomy (Figure 7.12), Seediq-Truku musical instruments are classified by material and structure. The lubu Jew’s harp is a dichotomy between lubu gaugau (the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp) and lubu hma (the copper-tongue heteroglottic Jew’s harp) on the first level. Gaugau indicates the sound of the bamboo Jew’s harp, and it means the bamboo idioglottic Jew’s harp.\footnote{Hayu Yudaw, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 20 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taroko, Hualien County.} Hma means “tongue,”\footnote{Aboriginal E-dictionary, s.v. “hma.”} and lubu hma means the tongue heteroglottic Jew’s harp.

Further, lubu Jew’s harps are classified on the second level by the number of heteroglottic tongues (materials). In the Seediq-Truku language, lubu burux means the Jew’s harp with the single copper tongue.\footnote{Hayu, interview.} Lubu dha means the Jew’s harp with two copper tongues. Lubu tru means the Jew’s harp with three copper tongues. Lubu spat means the Jew’s harp with four copper tongues. And lubu rima means the Jew’s harp with five copper tongues.\footnote{Iki Tadaw, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 14 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00001), Taroko, Hualien County.}
In the second type of taxonomy, Seediq-Truku musical instruments are classified by age group (Figure 7.13). Different age groups from the same language group have different pronunciations of the name for the Jew’s harp. Younger speakers create a new phonological rule by omitting the word-final /-g/.

\[\text{This pronunciation}\]

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difference seems to maintain the identity of the particular age group and to show their
difference from other age groups.

Siraya

In Taiwan, the existence of Siraya musical instruments is not widely known to the
general public due to the Siraya people’s Sinicisation. I found many Siraya musical
instruments in my fieldwork, including traditional and recently invented instruments.
Zheng-shiong Wan (a Siraya informant) can make and play various Siraya musical
instruments. For example, there are three traditional instruments: the tubtub bamboo
slit drum (Subsection 6.12.3), the kilikili/sackig forged bell (Subsection 6.12.5), and
the paringit nose flute (Subsection 6.12.6). The tubtub bamboo slit drum is still in
use. The performers of the Siraya Cultural Association play the tubtub to accompany
people’s singing and dancing. I found that the Ka-vua-shua sub-tribe of the Siraya
revived their forged bells in the wrong structure (see Figure 6.12.5) in light of
organology. The correct structure of the Siraya forged bell is the same as Figure 4.2.2
and Figure 6.15.2 (cf. Subsection 4.2.2). Also, I found during library research that the
indigenous names for the Siraya forged bell are kilikili and sackig. The name sackig
has a pronunciation similar to the sagoyi forged bell of the Plains peoples in Zhu luo
xian zhi (The Zhuluo County record) (see Subsection 4.2.2). People can compare Subsection 4.2.1 with the paringit nose flute of the Siraya people (Subsection 6.12.6). The posture of playing the flute in the painting tallies with the posture of the current Siraya player. People in Taiwan believe that the nose flutes of the Plains aborigines are no longer in existence. However, I found the indigenous name and the only maker and player of the paringit nose flute (Subsection 6.12.6). I successfully recorded the music of the paringit, and I analysed its structure and discovered the finger assignment of the paringit nose flute. As regards invented instruments, the vurig percussion tube (Subsection 6.12.2), the tatabuan stamping tube (Subsection 6.12.4), and the yub/yup/peyeyiyupan bamboo trumpet (Subsection 6.12.6) were initially farm tools; they recently became musical instruments to meet the needs of performance.

Tao

Some scholars claim that the Tao lack musical instruments. However, I found some instruments (including idiophones and sound-producing instruments): the ao wooden pestle (Subsection 6.13.1), the lalam clapper (Subsection 6.13.2), the raka-no-mugakai chest pendant rattles (Subsection 6.13.3) and the singaiyu toy flute (Subsection 6.13.4). They are still in use or were once in use in Tao society.

47  Macapili, Siraya Glossary, 667.
Thao

The research discovered that the *shasiusiu* (Subsection 6.14.1) is not just a ritual tool, but it is also a long bamboo clapper. It is a kind of concussion idiophone with complementary sonorous parts that strike against each other.\(^{48}\) It was shown that the verbalising prefixes and the action of playing the instruments have a great influence on the indigenous taxonomy of Thao musical instruments (Figure 7.14). Firstly, the verbalising prefix *ta-* indicates “to make” or “to be.”\(^{49}\) For example, *ta-turtur* is to make wooden stamping pestles pound out a rhythm.\(^{50}\) Secondly, the verbalising prefix *ku-* is used with the name of a tool and means “to perform an action with something.”\(^{51}\) For example, *ku-muba-takan* means to perform the action of knocking a bamboo tube against the floor.\(^{52}\) Thirdly, the verbalising prefix *pish-* means “to play something.”\(^{53}\) For example, *pish-latuk* means “to play the musical bow.”\(^{54}\)

\(^{48}\) Hornbostel and Sachs, “Classification of Musical Instruments,” 14.
\(^{50}\) Ibid., 521.
\(^{51}\) Ibid., 105.
\(^{52}\) Kilash Ihktafatu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 15 August 2009, tape/digital recording, De Hua Community, Sun Moon Lake, Nantou.
\(^{53}\) Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, 162.
\(^{54}\) Ihktafatu, interview; Blust, *Thao Dictionary*, 723.
Figure 7.14. Classification by verbalising prefix/the action of playing the instruments in Thao. (Illustrated by Jen-hao Cheng.)

Furthermore, the *taturtur* wooden stamping pestle (Subsection 6.14.2) and the *takan* bamboo stamping tube (Subsection 6.14.3) are traditionally played together by the Thao people. I found that the Thao people had adapted the performance context and musical practice of the traditional *taturtur* and *takan* to satisfy outsiders’ curiosity and the needs of tourism since the time of Japanese occupation (1895–1945).
Therefore, the taxonomy of the *taturtur* ensemble is a dichotomy between the tourist context and the traditional context (Figure 7.15 and see Table 6.14). In the traditional context, the Thao pestles ensemble is called *malhakan*, and it is performed on Thao New Year’s Eve. The instruments include the *taturtur* stamping pestles, the *takan* stamping tubes, and the *malhakan a fatu* stone drum. In the tourist context, the Thao pestles ensemble is called *masbabiar*; this is the contemporary performance version of the traditional *malhakan* ceremony for tourists. The components include the *taturtur* stamping pestles, the *takan* stamping tubes, the *masbabiar a fatu* stone drum, and the *masbabiar quyash* song.

**Tsou**

In this research, I found that various historical Tsou musical instruments are well preserved in the National Taiwan Museum. In Tsou communities, it is difficult to find Tsou musical instruments, and only tribal elders know the indigenous given names for traditional Tsou instruments. By interviewing insiders and analysing instrument structure as well as indigenous names, the research decoded the indigenous taxonomy of Tsou musical instruments (see Subsection 6.15).

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55 Ihktafatu, interview.
It was shown that onomatopoeia, verbalising prefixes, and the action of playing the instruments have a great influence on the indigenous taxonomy of Tsou musical instruments (Figure 7.16). Firstly, the verbalising prefix *eu-* indicates to induce wind.\footnote{Cf. Noachiana, ‘‘Typhoon’’ and ‘Earthquake’’, 34.} For example, *eu-vuvu* means “the bull-roarer.”\footnote{Cf. Tibusungu ’e Vayayana, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Taiwan Normal University, Taipei.} Secondly, the verbalising prefix *yu-* indicates “to play” or “to exhale.”\footnote{Huang, “Tsou is Different,” 174–75.} For example, *yutngongo* indicates “to play the musical bow,”\footnote{Ibid.} and *yu-piengū* means “to play the end-blown flute.”\footnote{Cf. Nevskij, *Taiwan zou zu zizian*, s.v. “juipeingū.”}
Thirdly, the verbalising prefix *si-* indicates “to pound.” For example, *si-payatū* means “to pound the long stamping pestle.”

This research will serve as a base for future studies of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments and taxonomy schemes. The findings in this dissertation provide a new understanding of many unknown musical instruments from different aboriginal groups (e.g., Bunun, Kavalan, Pazih-Kahabu, Puyuma, Rukai, Sakizaya, Siraya, and Tsou). The study has enhanced an understanding of indigenous taxonomies of Taiwanese aboriginal instruments. Among the many factors that influence indigenous taxonomies are: onomatopoeia, overlapped radicals, verbalising affixes, the action of playing the instruments, materials, gender, social status, the body, religion, and performance contexts. Also, the findings from this study make an original contribution to the field of organology, namely, the extension of instrument types and numerical entries in the Hornbostel-Sachs system. Moreover, this dissertation provides a link between Taiwanese aboriginal instruments and other Austronesian

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61 Vayayana, interview.
62 Yuasa, *Lai chuan xiao ji tai wan yuan zhu min ying xiang zhi*, 162.
musical instruments. In addition, the study has contributed towards enhancing knowledge of the musical iconography of Taiwanese aborigines.

In Taiwan, many scholars have misunderstood the place of Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments: they believe that Taiwanese aborigines have no membranophones due to the lack of skin drums in aboriginal societies. However, I found that the Amis have a type of membranophone, namely, the *nomodac a tippolo* (the membrane flute), which is actually a kind of singing membrane. The evidence from this study suggests that Taiwanese aborigines are fond of obtaining material from local sources to make their musical instruments.

The results of this study indicate that many Taiwanese aboriginal instruments were traditionally played as solo instruments, with some used to accompany ritual or dance. With regard to a large ensemble performance context, this is a relatively new conception. In my fieldwork, it was difficult to obtain direct answers when attempting to converse with cultural informants about the concept of aboriginal music. Sometimes I had to provide related examples and ask skilful questions and be patient with the interviewees. For example, I asked a Sakizaya elder, “Do you have musical instruments?” The elder answered, “We have no musical instruments.” But I further asked the elder, “Do you have a wood slit drum?” And the elder answered, “Yes, we have one to drum in the festival.” Afterward the elder said, “I consider that the flute
and the Jew’s harp are musical instruments. But I am not sure whether the wood slit drum is a real musical instrument.” Current investigation was limited by the capacity of a PhD dissertation, the extent of the ethnographic fieldwork, and funding. It is recommended that further research be undertaken in the following areas: the single-pipe nose flute of the Paiwan, the single-pipe nose flute and the transverse flute of the Bunun, and various rattles of Taiwanese aborigines.

This research found that some aboriginal instruments are gradually becoming more scarce. In contrast, many aboriginal elites are endeavouring to revive their traditional musical instruments. Furthermore, some instrument makers invent new aboriginal instruments to meet the needs of performance and to give a sense of otherness. Thus, these invented instruments are still constantly evolving. In other words, Taiwanese aboriginal musical instruments will find their own way. Musical instruments are the epitome of culture, ergo the revival of musical instruments is the renaissance of Taiwanese aboriginal culture as well as ethnic pride. In the Taiwanese aboriginal world, orally transmitted taxonomies have survived according to their language and the given names of instruments. Most of the indigenous taxonomies across different aboriginal groups are deeply affected by onomatopoeia, overlapped radicals, and verbalising affixes in linguistic form. The study of indigenous
taxonomies of musical instruments is one step towards understanding the system of knowledge in Taiwanese aboriginal cultures.
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Appendices: Ethnographic Interviews

1. The Amis*

Sawtoy Saytay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 28 July 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taitung City.

Saytay: The old generations of the Amis have gradually died off. Accordingly, fewer and fewer Amis people have a profound knowledge of Amis culture. The younger generations of the Amis have an imperfect knowledge of Amis culture.

Cheng: I want to explore the indigenous names for Amis musical instruments and their meaning.

Saytay: The Kakeng Musical Group has undertaken many interviews. Therefore, each musical instrument of the Amis has its full story. For example, the *tipolo* initially did not function as the *pan pipe*. The main function of the *tipolo* was to give a signal.

Cheng: How many pipes did the *tipolo* have in ancient times?

Saytay: The *tipolo* was comprised of approximately four bamboo pipes. But

* The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
limiting pipe numbers was unnecessary; the *tipolo* was simply played to give a signal.

If the player used a single pipe to signal, he could only play a long note mingled with a short note to signal. \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{signal}}\) The listener might find it difficult to understand the meaning of the signal. If the player has more than two pipes to give a signal, he can give an elaborate signal. \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{signal2}}\) It means, “I am here.”

Cheng: Why do people need to give a signal? What kind of signal?

Saytay: I had experience in playing the *tipolo* during my childhood. In the old days, boys or young men had a duty pasturing their cattle. If the cattle were hungry, we would be punished. At that time, we played the *tipolo* to give a signal to communicate with each other. \(\text{\includegraphics[width=0.3\textwidth]{signal3}}\) Nowadays we extend the gamut of the *tipolo* as a pan pipe. We preserve our tradition; simultaneously, we need to invent our musical tradition for the needs of performance. The *tipolo* can play the main melody in an ensemble; it is especially suitable to play the folksongs of the Amis.

Cheng: What does *tipolo* mean?

Saytay: In the Amis, various flutes are all called *tipolo*. So *tipolo* is the common name for all kinds of flutes. Traditional music is related to daily life or self-entertainment, and cannot be used in performance. We should create our tradition and adapt to the performance contexts of contemporary society. The development of Amis
musical instruments is based on the tradition of the Amis.

Cheng: Tradition and invention are both quite important.

Saytay: For example, the musical bow was invented when a hunter was repairing his hunting bow. The structure of the traditional musical bow cannot meet the needs of contemporary performance. The structure of the traditional musical bow comprises a bamboo bow and a string. The player uses one hand to hold the musical bow and uses his mouth as a resonant box and uses the other hand to pluck the string. In the old days, the Amis did not intentionally preserve their traditional musical instruments because the local material was easily found and musical instruments were not too difficult to make due to their simple structures.

Now I improve the structure of the musical instrument to make it stronger and more durable. I invented this musical bow with a bamboo resonator; hence, the musical bow can produce a resonant and louder sound. The bamboo resonator also functions as a handle. Now the invented musical bow is equipped with a peg, which can adjust the pitch to any tuning.

Cheng: So the bamboo tube functions as a resonant box.

Saytay: Yes.

Cheng: What was the social function of the musical bow in ancient times?

Saytay: A man played the musical bow to a woman to express his adoration.
Cheng: Did the musical function have the same social function as the Jew’s harp?

Saytay: Yes, exactly.

Cheng: Who could play the musical bow and the Jew’s harp?

Saytay: Only men were eligible to play the musical bow and the Jew’s harp.

Cheng: Why did the Amis call the musical bow *tif*ti*f*?

Saytay: We call it *tif*ti*f* or *datok*.

Cheng: What does *tif*ti*f* mean?

Saytay: *Tif*ti*f* indicates the action of pulling.

Cheng: What does *datok* mean?

Saytay: *Datok* means “to produce sound by mouth.”

[Saytay plays the single-copper-tongue Jew’s harp.]

Cheng: A feature of the Amis Jew’s harp is the end of the pulling string with a bamboo container.

Saytay: Yes. Since ancient times, every Jew’s harp has its own container. Different makers have their own way of making the case of the Jew’s harp.

Cheng: What is the tongue of the Jew’s harp made out of?

Saytay: The tongue of the Jew’s harp could be made of bamboo or copper. These musical instruments are related to life in the old days.

Cheng: So the Jew’s harp is also called a *datok*. 
Saytay: Yes. In the Austronesian family, only the Amis have the d pronunciation. For example, song is called dadui [or ladiw]. The lexemes da and du are frequently used in musical activities.

Cheng: Is there any connection between dadui and datok?

Saytay: Both of them use the mouth to produce resonance. Nowadays, traditional musical instruments cannot meet the needs of performance. For instance, we delicately improve the structure of the traditional nose flute to meet the needs of contemporary performance. In ancient times, the Amis directly drilled mouth and finger-holes into the bamboo pipe, which produced a beautiful sound.

Cheng: How many finger-holes did the traditional nose flute have?

Saytay: The nose flute of the Amis had four or five or six finger-holes. The structure of the traditional nose flute comprises two bamboo pipes; both of them have finger-holes. In ancient times, the nose flute was played for self-entertainment or to give a signal. Now the nose flute is played for performance; hence, the structure of the nose flute must meet the needs of performance. The contemporary nose flute has six finger-holes, which can be played in any repertoire.

Cheng: Did the traditional nose flute originally have six finger-holes?

Saytay: The traditional nose flute did not have six finger-holes.

Cheng: How do you know how to tune the nose flute?
Saytay: Initially, the nose flute had three finger-holes. I made almost one hundred nose flutes as an experiment. Finally, I found a way of tuning and spanning the finger-holes. [Saytay uses the nose flute to play “Amazing Grace.”]

Cheng: What is the nose flute made out of?

Saytay: Any kind of bamboo can be used to make the nose flute. But the size of the bamboo pipe cannot be too big. We normally use *Bambusa dolichoclada Hayata* to make the nose flute. [20:48]

Cheng: I saw the historical nose whistle without finger-holes in the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.

Saytay: In the old days, the nose whistle was a personal instrument for giving a signal or for self-entertainment. I do not want such instruments to disappear. Accordingly, I improve the instruments’ structure to extend their life in the world. Now I also use wood to make the nose flute.

Cheng: Can only males play the nose flute?

Saytay: Both genders can play it. In my opinion, only males had free time to make the nose flute. By contrast, females had their household duties and farm work; therefore, they did not have too much time to make musical instruments in the old days.

Cheng: Was the nose flute played during courtship?
Saytay: The nose flute was not played during courtship. If a boy adored a girl, he could play the tiftif or the datok around the girl’s house to express his adoration. If the girl liked the boy, she would go out and talk to him. If the girl did not like the boy, she would ignore him. In my opinion, the nose flute was played to mimic an animal’s sound. If the animal responded to the sound, a hunter would seek and kill the animal. Also, the hunter used the nose flute for self-entertainment or to console his nostalgia, while he was waiting for the prey’s appearance. We recorded the oral tradition of the elders. Each musical instrument has its own story. In addition, the Amis were closely related to bamboo in daily life. During my childhood, children could easily pare a bamboo tube with a knife to make their own nomodac a tippolo [the membrane flute].

Cheng: So you had many failed experiments in making the musical instruments of the Amis.

Saytay: I do not see these experiments as failed experience. Owing to their incomplete experience, they complete today’s achievement. When making a musical instrument, each step is an important process. For example, if I drilled a finger-hole at the wrong point, I then used a chopstick to fill it and re-drilled it. After such experiments, I found the correct points to drill finger-holes, which can sound the exact pitch.

Cheng: Do you use a tuner to check the pitch?
Saytay: Of course, our musical instruments must have a pitch identical with the piano. Accordingly, we must use a tuner to check the pitch. Otherwise different musical instruments cannot play together in contemporary performance. Each instrument must have a standard during making. [27:50]

Saytay: We make this transverse flute that is based on the traditional factor in the old days.

Cheng: Did the Amis have a transverse flute in ancient times?

Saytay: Yes, we had a transverse flute in ancient times. An elder told me that the flute originated from a bamboo pipe with a hole. The bamboo pipe with a hole could produce sound whenever the wind blew over the bamboo. This discovery was a happy accident that inspired the Amis to create the flute. In my opinion, the ancestors created just half a musical instrument. Now we complete the whole musical instrument. Such musical instruments will become the tradition of the Amis within fifty to one hundred years. If I do not improve the traditional musical instruments of the Amis, we will be unable to put our feeling into musical instruments in performance. Accordingly, the musical instruments of the Amis will be unable to survive in contemporary society. [00:30]

Cheng: Various flutes are called tipolo.

Saytay: *No ngoso’ a tippolo* means “the flute of the nose.” In addition, the Kakeng
Musical Group hopes that all performers learn how to make the musical instruments of the Amis.

Cheng: When you play your own homemade musical instrument, you can feel the instrument through the mind.

Saytay: Yes, exactly. Practice makes perfect. Now I know the technology to blacken the bamboo flute by smoke to preserve and beautify the instrument.

Cheng: Did you blacken it on an open fire?

Saytay: No. I used a flame gun to blacken it.

Cheng: Are all musical instruments handmade?

Saytay: Our musical instruments are totally handmade. We also have a wooden pan pipe. The holes of the wooden pan pipe are not made by a drill. We open the holes by getting rid of the grain of wood.

Cheng: I know you have a trumpet-like instrument.

Saytay: It is the nomodac a tippolo [the membrane flute]. The nomodac a tippolo is good for improvisation in performance. [41:07] I once performed the nomodac a tippolo in the Presidential Palace of Taiwan. It sounds like a trumpet. Also, I have made the nomodac a tippolo with a clarinet-like shape. I use a knife carefully to shave off the fibre of the bamboo until the bamboo membrane appears. The bamboo membrane cannot be broken, otherwise, it cannot produce a sound.
Cheng: How do you play it?

Saytay: The player uses his voice to control the sound of the nomodac a tippolo.

Cheng: You also add a long trumpet-like tube on the nomodac a tippolo.

Saytay: The trumpet-like tube functions as a loudspeaker. Most children like to play it. By the way, the player must put his feeling into the bamboo musical instrument, and then the instrument would be a living object to produce a nice sound.

Cheng: Does any kind of bamboo have a membrane inside the tube?

Saytay: Not all bamboo has a membrane inside the tube. Makino bamboo and Bambusa bamboo both have membranes inside the bamboo tubes. The nomodac a tippolo can be quickly made and instantly played on the spot.

Cheng: What does nomodac a tippolo mean?

Saytay: Dac is also related to the mouth. Nomodac a tippolo means “the flute of the bamboo membrane.” Some species of wood have membranes, which can also be made into the nomodac a tippolo.

We could not have today’s achievement if our ancestors did not create these traditional musical instruments. Now our technology can make tiny datok and tippolo.

Cheng: Do the Amis have a dancing cane?

Saytay: In the old days, we used a dancing cane to strike the floor to accompany people’s dancing. Now we add a rattle on it. Traditionally, the Amis bear a cattle bell
to accompany people’s singing and dancing.

Cheng: I thought that the quality of historical rattles is better than the contemporary ones.

Saytay: The antique bells are made out of bronze.

Cheng: That is also a kind of musical instrument in organology.

Saytay: Musical instruments should be continually developed. In the light of contemporary technology, the kakeng bamboo tube still cannot be played in various modes. Accordingly, the kakeng bamboo tube is made in different modes to meet the needs of different repertoire.

Cheng: Are the bamboo tubes hollow inside?

Saytay: The bottoms of the bamboo tubes are all closed.

Cheng: What kind of factor decides the pitch?

Saytay: It depends on the depth of the bamboo tube. In other words, the height of the internal nodes influences the pitch of a bamboo tube.

Cheng: What is the original form of the kakeng?

Saytay: At a wedding, each member of the bride-to-be’s family held a long bamboo tube to stamp the ground to inform villagers of the wedding feast. [00:53]

Elders pointed out that there was no fixed tune of traditional kakeng in the old days. The primary thing was to play the kakeng in improvisation. The contemporary
kakeng comprises a bundle of five or six bamboo tubes. Accordingly, only one player can play many bamboo tubes at the same time. After this, we do not need too many people to play the kakeng simultaneously.

Cheng: Where do you come from in the Amis?

Saytay: I come from the Torik tribe of the Amis. I think the kakeng originated from the Falangao tribe of the Amis. Many elders have experience in playing the traditional kakeng at their weddings, particularly those who are aged in their seventies and eighties. [57:43] In the old days, both the bride’s and the groom’s families negotiated a marriage. When the meeting was done, the bride’s family began to play the kakeng to inform all the villagers that a wedding was coming. This practice was banned during the Japanese colonial period. In the postwar years, Han neighbours frequently complained about the noise of the kakeng. Therefore, the practice gradually fell away due to the change in lifestyle. The practice of playing the kakeng is still kept in the memories of those aged in their seventies and eighties. [57:52]
2. The Atayal†

Pawang Iban, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 3 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Chiagaluo, Shinzhu County.

RHP001.WAV

Cheng: Your bamboo-tube gong is so special. This is my first time seeing such a musical instrument.

Iban: About twelve years ago, some friends and I cooperated to develop such a musical instrument. Between 1998 and 1999, the musical group of Tai-Yia Primary School began to play the bamboo-tube gong in the Yilang Toys Festival.

Cheng: Is Tai-Yia Primary School located in Nanau Township, Yilan County?

Iban: Yes. That is right. This is a kind of invented tradition. Minister Ming-Chin Jiang founded a musical group to do some performances. I am quite fascinated with it. I had known Minister Ming-Chin Jiang. Later, I invited him to our school from Yilan to form a xylophone group. He also taught us how to make musical instruments. Through these activities, I gradually understand the musical instruments of the Atayal. Some instruments are contemporary musical instruments. Some instruments are traditional musical instruments.

Cheng: The bamboo-tube gong is similar to the kakeng of the Amis. Its shape also looks like a pan pipe.

Iban: Yes. That is right.

Cheng: What is the Atayal name for the bamboo-tube gong?

† The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Iban: *Lubuw ruma*. In fact, the bamboo-tube gong has no formal name yet.

Cheng: It is OK. What does *lubuw* mean?

Iban: *Lubuw* means “musical instrument.” *Ruma*’ means makino “bamboo.”

*Lubuw ruma*’ means “bamboo musical instrument.” *Lubuw takan ruma*’ means “the bamboo-tube musical instrument.” *Takan* means “tube.”

Cheng: How do you tune the pitch of the bamboo tube?

Iban: The *lubuw takan ruma*’ must have the same tuning as other musical instruments if they would like to have an ensemble. It can have its own tuning if the *lubuw takan ruma*’ is played in solo or only the same *lubuw takan ruma*’ play together. For example, the small *lubuw takan ruma*’ with its own tuning is suitable for children in kindergarten.

Cheng: Does it have any bamboo nodes inside the bamboo tube?

Iban: Both ends of the bamboo tube are open. The inside of the bamboo tube is unimpeded. [8:33]

[Iban plays “Love Song” on the *lubuw takan ruma*.]

Cheng: How many bamboo tubes does the *lubuw takan ruma*’ normally have?

Iban: Normally, the *lubuw takan ruma*’ has four bamboo tubes, namely, Re-Mi-So-La [D-E-G-A]. Re-Mi-So-La [D-E-G-A] is our traditional scale. The *lubuw takan ruma*’ can extend its range from four bamboo tubes to eight bamboo tubes. In Yilang, most of the *lubuw takan ruma*’ have four bamboo tubes (Re-Mi-So-La or So-La-Do-Re). Sometimes the four-tube *lubuw takan ruma*’ cannot meet our needs in performance; therefore, we extend its bamboo tubes from six to eight.

RHP002.WAV
Iban’s friend Mr. Liao collects a lot of Jew’s harps. Here Iban demonstrates the single-copper-tongue lubu w (MVI_0004).

Iban: The most important thing when I am making a lubuw is that the lubuw has a nice tone. [Iban demonstrates the bamboo-tongue lubuw (MVI_0006).]

[Iban demonstrates the single-bamboo-tongue lubuw (MVI_0007).]

Cheng: Did you just play the bamboo-tongue lubuw? What is the name of the song?

Iban: Yes. The songs are “Bridge of Soul” and “Weaving Song.”

Cheng: Does each Jew’s harp normally have its own bamboo case? [3:20]

Iban: Each Jew’s harp does not necessarily have a bamboo case. It depends on the player’s need if he/she wants a bamboo case to protect his/her Jew’s harp.

[Iban demonstrates another single-copper-tongue lubuw (MVI_0008).] [3:47]

Cheng: Why cannot this Jew’s harp play quickly? But its tone vibrates loudly in long duration.

Iban: Yes. This is the single-copper-tongue lubuw. The main reason is that this lubuw has a thick copper tongue. Perhaps the lubuw-maker likes this specific tone. In fact, the lubuw-maker can tune the tone of the lubuw by adjusting the thickness of the copper tongue. The copper tongue of the lubuw which is harder can vibrate faster.

Cheng: [Talking to Mr. Liao.] Did you make this lubuw?

Mr. Liao: This lubuw was made by a tribal elder.

Cheng: The lubuw has beautiful decoration.

[Iban demonstrates an additional single-copper-tongue lubuw (MVI_0017).]

Cheng: Do you hold the lubuw taken ruma’ on your left side or right side? [7:03]
Iban: Normally, the lubuw taken ruma’ has a strap that the player can hang from his shoulder; and then the player uses his left hand to hold the lubuw taken ruma’ and uses his right hand to hold a beater for beating the tubes of the lubuw taken ruma’.

Cheng: Do you stand to play the lubuw taken ruma’?

Iban: Normally, we stand to play the lubuw taken ruma’.

Cheng: Does the lubuw taken ruma’ have a regular size? [9:41]

Iban: No. This lubuw taken ruma’ was specially made in a small size for kids’ to play.

[Iban plays “Joy Song” on the lubuw taken ruma’ (MVI_0018).] [10:18]

I thought that the range Re-Mi-So-La [D-E-G-A] was too narrow while I was playing. Therefore, I extended it from four tubes to eight tubes.

Cheng: Is the repertoire of the lubuw taken ruma’ the same as the xylophone?

Iban: Yes. The repertoire of the lubuw taken ruma’ is totally the same as the xylophone. The melody is the same, but the tone and the way of playing are totally different. Normally, the pitch of the lubuw taken ruma’ is higher than the xylophone. The two musical instruments can produce harmonies when they play together.

Cheng: The lubuw taken ruma’ develops its range from four tubes to eight tubes.

Iban: Generally, the four-tube lubuw taken ruma’ can be found among various tribes of the Atayal. Now, only our tribe [the Chiagaluo tribe of the Atayal] has the six-tube lubuw taken ruma’ or the eight-tube lubuw taken ruma’.

Cheng: What is the social function of the lubuw taken ruma’?

Iban: I think that the lubuw taken ruma’ is mainly played for entertainment in life. Cheng: Did the lubuw taken ruma’ accompany people’s dancing in the past?

Iban: I am not sure because the tribal elders of Shizhu County have not seen the lubuw taken ruma’ and the xylophone before. These two musical instruments might
originate from Eastern Atayal [or the Seediq-Truku]. There is abundant makino bamboo around our tribe. We can use bamboo to make many musical instruments.

Cheng: You have the headhunting flute.

Iban: This is the hunter’s flute. I think that the most outstanding musical instrument is the lubuw because it is quite complicated to make the lubuw.

Cheng: So now such musical instruments are used to accompany people singing and dancing. Did they play together in the old days?

Iban: I think most of the musical instruments were played in separation. Some musical instruments initially were not played for entertainment. For example, the hunter’s flute is related to the activities of headhunting. [14:54]

Cheng: Is the hunter’s flute related to the gaga of the Atayal?

Iban: Yes. It is related to the gaga of the Atayal. Hence, it was impossible to play the hunter’s flute with other musical instruments in ancient times. As for the lubuw, it is the most common musical instrument that people of all ages and both sexes are eligible to play.

Cheng: That is right. The lubuw was also played during courtship. Is the Jew’s harp also called lubuw?

Iban: Yes. Lubuw also means the Jew’s harp. In our tribe, the lubuw taken ruma’ is made out of makino bamboo, whose quality is good. If the lubuw taken ruma’ is made out of ma bamboo [Dendrocalamus latiflorus], its structure could be too loose, and the structure of green bamboo is also too weak. Only makino bamboo is hard enough to make the lubuw taken ruma’.
Cheng: How do you get rid of the nodes inside the bamboo tube?

Iban: I use a hard wood stick to knock down the bamboo nodes.

Cheng: Does the bamboo tube ever split after knocking?

Iban: No. It is easy to get rid of the bamboo nodes by means of a thin wood stick.

We utilise some techniques to protect the lubuw takan ruma’. For instance, I add a rubber band around the end of the bamboo tube to prevent it from crashing into the floor. And I blacken the surface of the lubuw takan ruma’ by smoke for preservation and artistry.

Cheng: Does the eight-tube lubuw takan ruma’ have a stand?

Iban: The eight-tube lubuw takan ruma’ is heavy so it has a stand to support it. As the eight-tube lubuw takan ruma’ stands on the floor, a player can have a pair of beaters for playing. Using two beaters can produce harmony. It also produces nicer tunes. By the way, it would be awesome if ten people would play the lubuw takan ruma’ together.

Cheng: What time do the students practise the lubuw takan ruma’ in the primary school?

Iban: We use student clubs to practise it.

Cheng: What is the Atayal name for the hunter’s flute?

Iban: Gao.

Cheng: What does gao mean?
Iban: *Gao* is a loanword from Japanese. *Gao* means “music” in Japanese. In Chiagaluo, another name for *gao* is *pingo*.

Cheng: Is *pin* an article?

Iban: *Pin* is a nominalising prefix.

Liao: Did the hunter’s flute have an indigenous name before the Japanese colonial period?

Iban: The Atayal did not have too many musical instruments. We called all musical instruments *lubuw*. For example, we called the Jew’s harp *lubuw zzima’*.

Cheng: What does *zzima’* mean?

Iban: *Zzima’* means “tongue.”

Cheng: Does the *pingo* have a regular size?

Iban: I think that the traditional *pingo* was bigger than the contemporary one. For example, this *pingo* is small in size with a high pitch. [24:00]

[Iban plays “The Headhunting” on the *pingo* (MVI_0024.AVI).]

Iban: I had another *pingo* that Minister Jiang gave me. It was made in middle size with a lower pitch and full of atmosphere.

Cheng: The tune is amuck.

Iban: The tune is gloomy. It sounds like an owl’s hoot.

[Iban plays “Dancing Song” on the *pingo* (MVI_0026.AVI).]

Iban: I made a *pingo* whose chamfered orifice was opened too big; therefore, it affected the quality of the tone. When making a *pingo*, I always open the chamfered orifice and the mouthpiece first. If the chamfered orifice and the mouthpiece can produce the right tone, the next step is to drill the finger holes.

Cheng: How do you set the tone?
Iban: For me, setting tone is the most difficult part in making the pingo. The diameter and the length of the bamboo tube can affect the pitch of the pingo. You must carefully adjust the position of the finger-holes if you intend to play a pingo in ensemble with other musical instruments.

Liao: Are old pingo still available now?

Iban: Most old pingo were cast aside. Some tribal elders had the experience of hunting heads; they have heard the tune of the pingo. But, not all of them can play the pingo.

Iban: The Atayal pingo is different from the Paiwan nose flute. The Atayal pingo has little decoration on it; there are only some simple engraved stripes on the pingo. The Atayal care about whether the pingo has a solid and satisfying tone. [30:21]

[Iban demonstrates the pingo (MVI_0028.AVI).]

Cheng: Do you know if the pingo was played before headhunting or after headhunting?

Iban: The headhunter played the pingo to worship the soul of the head.

Cheng: The headhunter prayed that the soul of the head would strengthen and protect the headhunter’s village.

Iban: Yes. That is right. I thought that the pingo was played in front of the head after successful headhunting. The headhunter applied the gloomy tune of the pingo to soothe the soul of the head, hoping that the soul of the head would become part of the ancestral soul. My grandfather has experienced headhunting when he was young. After headhunting, a tribal elder ordered my grandfather to drink a cup of blood from the head and thereby became a brave.

Cheng: Could a successful headhunter have a tattoo on his face?
Iban: Yes. A successful headhunter could have a tattoo on his forehead and chin in the old days. Originally, only a successful headhunter could have a tattoo on his face. In the later period, all participants in headhunting were eligible to have a tattoo on the forehead and chin.

Cheng: What is your tribal name?
Iban: I am a half blood of Chiagaluo tribe and a half blood of Bailan tribe. [34:28]
[Iban plays “Bridge of Soul” on the lubuw ghuniq (MVI_0030.AVI).]
The xylophone with a pair of beaters requires more playing skill. People are taught a creative repertoire in Yilang County. In contrast, here I intentionally teach children to play traditional Atayal folksongs and tribal nursery rhymes on the xylophone.

Cheng: What is the Atayal name for the xylophone?
Iban: Lubuw ghuniq. Ghuniq means “wood.”
Cheng: How do you drill the finger-holes in the pingo?
Iban: I use an electric drill to drill the finger-holes in the pingo.
Cheng: Who is the player?
Iban: In the old days, only a headhunter could have his own pingo. Other people were not allowed to touch his pingo otherwise it would cause the headhunter bad fortune. As for the lubuw, both genders can play it during courtship. Only the couple can understand the implied meaning. As regards the lubuw ghuniq and the lubuw taken ruma’, these two musical instruments were introduced from Eastern Atayal in recent decades. Hence, I am not sure about the gender issue with them.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the wood slit drum?
Iban: Gawngu’.
Cheng: What kind of beaters do you prefer? Long sticks or short beaters?
Iban: It depends on what you need. In my opinion, using long sticks to knock the gawngu’ is more spirited.

Cheng: Does the slit of the gawngu’ face outwards or inwards?

Iban: It also depends on what you need. If you prefer loud drumming, you can face the slit of the gawngu’ towards the audience. If you prefer restrained drumming, you can face the slit of the gawngu’ towards the drummer. Normally, I face the gawngu’ inwards.

Cheng: What does gawngu’ mean?

Iban: Gawngu’ means “the weaving trough of a loom.”

Liao: Can the gawngu’ deliver messages?

Iban: I think that the gawngu’ can also function as a signaller.
Cheng: May I have your name?

Li: My name is Li Ying-Hua.

Cheng: What musical instrument do you play?

Li: I can play the Jew’s harp.

Cheng: Did you call the Jew’s harp hong hong?

Li: We call the Jew’s harp kang kang in Take-vatan [Central Bunun].

Ma: We belong to the Take-vatan [sub-group] of the Bunun.

Cheng: What does kang kang or hong hong mean in the Bunun language?

Li and Jiang: I played the kang kang when I missed the presence of my husband when he went from home hunting.

Cheng: A wife plays the kang kang when longing for her husband to return home.

Ma: You can also play the kang kang whenever you feel sad or miss someone who

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1 The interviews were in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interviews into English.
is no longer with you. [2:29]

Cheng: Could I have a look at your kang kang?

Li: Yes, of course. The kang kang is made out of daluna [bamboo]. And the tongue of the Jew’s harp is made of copper.

Cheng: The button on the cord of the kang kang has a skid-proof function. Is that right?

Li: Yes, that is right. [4:34]

Cheng: Could you play a tune?

Li: [MVI_0007]

In legend, an expectant mother was called Adian; her husband went from home hunting about one month. Traditionally, women farmed millet for a living in a village. One day Adian worked at her farm. A giant originally wanted to hunt her head. But the giant found she was a beautiful woman, and then kidnapped her as his wife.

During the kidnapping, she secretly made many marks on the trees, preparing for her escape. Afterwards, she gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew into a youngster, the giant recognised that the boy was not his own flesh and blood. Therefore, the giant routinely maltreated the boy. The boy told this to his mom, and then his mom told him the truth. One day, the boy and his mom took the opportunity to escape from the giant’s village while the giant went out hunting. They tracked the marks on the trees
and found their way back to the Bunun village. When they had almost reached home, Adian began to play her kang kang. Her husband recognised that the tune of the kang kang was played by his wife. Accordingly, her husband went out to welcome them home. [14:22]

Cheng: Did males and females play the kang kang in the old days?

Li: Males could also play the kang kang. But, the majority of kang kang players were females. The main reason was that it was the men’s responsibility to go hunting; in contrast, women were to stay at home farming. In ancient times, women used to play the kang kang in the evening or morning when they were missing their husbands.

Cheng: In ancient times, people had little entertainment. Playing the kang kang was a good way of dispelling loneliness.

Li: Yes, that is right. Also there were few opportunities for performing the kang kang in the old days.

Cheng: What does kang kang or hong hong mean in the Bunun language?

Li: Kang kang or hong hong means “to pull.” The way of playing is similar to speaking by breath.

Cheng: Only a husband and wife could understand each other’s tunes on the kang kang. They could signal each other by playing the kang kang.

Li: Yes, that is right.
Cheng: Did you teach children to play the kang kang?

Li: I teach children to play the kang kang at the focal pint of Ma Yuan Village. Some of them have already graduated from here. [18:00]

Cheng: Can you make the kang kang?

Li: We all made kang kang by ourselves.

Cheng: What kind of bamboo is the kang kang made out of?

Li, Jiang, and Ma: In the old days, the Bunun used a kind of local bamboo called daluna to make the kang kang; its sound was deep. Now we use makino bamboo to make the kang kang; its sound is sharp and loud. [19:07]

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the musical bow? [20:19]

Jiang: Latuk.

Cheng: Does latuk comprise one word or two words?

Jiang and Li: La means “to pluck,” and tuk indicates its sound.

Jiang:

The tune of the latuk of the Bunun

Ma: The tone of the new latuk is poorer than the old latuk. The new one produces intermittent sound.

Cheng: What is the name of the tune of the latuk?

Jiang and Ma: The tune was played in the context of a wife missing her husband when he went hunting.
Jiang: My maternal grandmother hid the latuk to prevent me from learning the latuk. Therefore, I did not learn many tunes. At that time, I just secretly learnt to play the latuk. After the death of my maternal grandmother, I took over her latuk because other family members did not know how to play it.

Cheng: How old are you?

Jiang: Seventy-six years old.

Cheng: How old are you?

Li: Seventy-two years old.

Cheng: Were most latuk players female in ancient times?

Jiang, Li, and Ma: The majority of latuk players were female. There were few men who played the latuk at that time.

Cheng: All men went out working.

Li: Men had little time to stay at home.

Jiang and Ma: In the old days, a husband and wife had almost no quarrels with each other because they played the kang kang or the latuk to dispel unhappiness. Also, you could play the kang kang or the latuk to dispel sorrow when a relative passed away.

Cheng: So the kang kang or the latuk was mainly played at home. Did people play them in harvest festivals?
Jiang: In the old days, we did not play the *kang kang* or the *latuk* in harvest festivals.

Cheng: Did the players of the *kang kang* and the *latuk* accompany people singing?

Jiang, Li, and Ma: We only played them at home without public performance.

Cheng: Did you have the *ki pah pah*?

Jiang, Li, and Ma: In the old days, we had the *ki pah pah*. A hunter struck the *ki pah pah* when praying to our ancestors before hunting to give us a good bag. Here we call it *ma pak wis*.

Cheng: What does *ma pak wis* mean?

Jiang and Ma: “To pray to our ancestors.”

Cheng: Did you also have the *lah lah*?

Jiang and Ma: People used the *lah lah* while they harvested millet.

Ma: In the old days, we used the *lah lah* before the millet harvest.

Cheng: Is the *lah lah* still used in the millet harvest.

Ma: Now, the *lah lah* is not used in the millet harvest. We only use it in the context of performance. In the old days, only an experienced witch was eligible to use it.

Cheng: Did you also have the *dur dur*?

Jiang and Ma: We used to call *ma dur dur*, which means already playing the *dur dur*. 
Cheng: What does *ma* mean?

Jiang and Ma: *Ma* means verb. *Ma* indicates already in action. *Dur dur* only indicates the stamping pestle. *Ma dur dur* means “playing the *dur dur*.” We used *ma dur dur* to separate the millet from the chaff.

Cheng: What does *dur dur* mean?

Ma: *Dur dur* means “the pestle.” The performance of *dur dur* is called *ma dur dur*; in it, many pestles of different lengths pound the floor by turn.

Cheng: Did you also have the *banhir latuk*?

Jiang and Ma: The Take-vatan [sub-group] of the Bunun have no such musical instrument. Other sub-groups of the Bunun have the *banhir latuk*.

Cheng: Do you know a flute was played in hunting muntjac?

Jiang and Ma: The flute is called *bishiya*. Hunters used the tune of the *bishiya* to lure muntjac when hunting.

Cheng: What does *bishiya* mean?

Ma: To play the flute imitates the sound of muntjac to lure their appearance.
Chen-fu Gu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 17 August 2009, video recording and note-taking, Puli, Nantou County.

Cheng: What is the origin of your family?

Gu: My family originates from the take toto clan in Ren-Ai Township, Nantou County.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the bamboo tube?

Gu: We called the bamboo tube dungdung.

Cheng: What does dungdung mean?

Gu: Dungdung possibly indicates the sound of action.

Cheng: What was the social function of the dungdung stamping tube?

Gu: In the old days, people stamped the dungdung on the ground to make a signal during hunting. In addition, the big dungdung produced a thick sound. Moreover, there is another way to play the dungdung.

Cheng: How do people play the dungdung?

Gu: People hold the dungdung under their arm, and the other hand claps the open top of the dungdung.

Cheng: Is this the traditional way of playing the dungdung?

Gu: During my childhood, my grandfather taught me this way of playing. We used a thick rope to tie three bamboo tubes into a bundle, and then held it and tapped it by
hands.

Cheng: What is the performance context of the dungdung?

Gu: The dungdung was played simply for self-entertainment in the generation of my grandfather. As you know, most folksongs in the take toto clan of the Bunun are working songs. Such songs are not suitable for entertainment.

Cheng: Did the Bunun accompany songs on the dungdung?

Gu: No, the dungdung was only played in solo for self-entertainment.

My grandfather also taught me to play the bamboo slit drum. Now I play the bamboo slit drum together with the dungdung. [MVI-0005]

This is the latuk of the Bunun. [MVI-0006]

Cheng: What is the pitch of the bulingkau five-stringed zither? [MVI-0016]

Gu: The pitch of the bulingkau is the same as the pitch of the stamping pestles. I do not know why experts and scholars always ask about the pitch of the bulingkau.

Cheng: How do you play it?

Gu: We pluck it with different timing.

Cheng: Do you hold the bulingkau in your hand to play it?

Gu: We use a bamboo slip to pluck it.

Cheng: What is the string of string of the bulingkau made out of?

Gu: An elder told me that the strings of the bulingkau were made out of cattle’s
tendons in the old days. Cattle’s tendons as the strings of the bulingkau could produce a nice sound.

Cheng: Did the Bunun put a box under the bulingkau as a resonator? [MVI-0018]

Gu: The original structure of the bulingkau was a plain wooden board with five strings without a resonator. Later, people put a metal or wooden box under the bulingkau as a resonator.

Cheng: Who made this bulingkau?

Gu: My friend [in Ming-De Village of the take banua clan] made this invented bulingkau for me. He used a semicircular bamboo tube as a resonator instead of the plain wooden board.

Bahin Lu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 10 December 2011, digital video recording (MVI_0012), Li Yu Pool, Nantou County.

Cheng: What is the performance context of the ki pah pah percussion stick?

Bahin: It is a taboo for the Bunun to call a companion’s name (e.g., father’s name) while working or hunting in the mountains. Calling the name would arouse the anger of ancestral spirits or mountain spirits and cause misfortune. Using the ki pah pah to signal instead, people can know “what time it is” and “where their companions are.”
Li: We just finished our performance at the National Taiwan Museum in Taipei on 14 August.

Cheng: I am studying Formosan aboriginal musical instruments.

Li: We have a wood slit drum in Sin-She Primary School. We once brought a wood slit drum to perform in Ilan County. But, later, we felt that it was very inconvenient carrying it to perform due to its heaviness. [4:30]

Cheng: Is playing the wood slit drum part of Kavalan tradition?

Li: In the old days, the Kavalan used a wood slit drum.

Cheng: Does the weaving trough function as the wood drum?

Li: The Kavalan’s loom is made of a big bamboo tube.

Cheng: Is this kind of loom still available nowadays?

Li: I have one.
Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the wood drum? [8:50]

Li: We called it da dodogan Bangen. **Da dodogan means “drum.”** Bangen means “wood.”

Cheng: Did the Kavalan have a bamboo drum?

Li: Now we have no bamboo drum. Our loom is called *ka sishan*.

Cheng: Did the Kavalan knock the bamboo tube of the loom?

Li: We used the bamboo tube for weaving. But the Truku use their weaving trough for drumming.

Cheng: What do you call the chieftain’s sceptre?

Li: **Tunun. Tunun** means “a walking stick.” The chieftain had to hold his sceptre and wear black clothes. The chieftain also wore a wide-brimmed hat with a decoration of coral flowers. The muntjac head of the wide-brimmed hat signified that the Kavalan like hunting. The blooming coral flowers signified the beginning of the flying fish fishing season, accordingly the Kavalan pay much attention to coral flowers.

Cheng: Is the Kavalan costume at Taiwanese Indigenous Park the same as the traditional costume of the Kavalan?

Li: The Kavalan dance at Taiwanese Indigenous Park was taught by our chieftain and witch. Taiwanese Indigenous Park invented the male hat of the Kavalan. The cup
on the chieftain’s necklace was for toasting while he was visiting tribal families.

Cheng: When do you wear the formal traditional costume?

Li: The Harvest Ceremony, Sea Worship Ceremony, and Eliminating Evil Ceremony.

Cheng: Do you have any rattles on the traditional costume?

Li: We have a rattle. My wife has one. I forget whether it is worn on the ankle or on the wrist.

Cheng: Do men wear rattles?

Li: No. Only women wear rattles.

Cheng: What is the name for the rattle in Kavalan?

Li: I will phone a Kavalan music teacher to ask her what the name is. . . . [After the phone call] The rattle is called bkiat. The head decoration of women is called sili, but there is no rattle on it.

Cheng: Do you have a bird rattle?

Li: During my childhood, my family grew peanuts, then we used a bamboo bahadodan alam to frighten birds. Bahadodan means “to frighten,” and alam means “bird.” [33:00]

In fact, some Kavalan musical instruments were made of the leaves of the nanel [alpinia zerumbet]. We cut off the leafstalks of the nanel and then rolled up the leaves
to form a trumpet, which sounded nice. Sometimes we rolled up a leaf to blow
directly.

Cheng: Did they have specific functions?

Li: People played them just for fun. A Kavalan elder said that the conch functioned
as a trumpet for gathering tribesmen together to have an important meeting in ancient
times.

Cheng: What is the name for the conch in Kavalan?

Li: *Tukkik*. Now the Kavalan descendents of Ilan County still have someone who
can play the conch. The sound of the conch is quite loud; it must be blown by a skilful
player. In the Liu Liu sub-tribe, Dong Shan He of Ilan County, Mr. Tian-Cheng Lin
(the boss of Tree House B & B) can speak some Kavalan, and he collects many
antiques of the Kavalan.

Cheng: Did you use a pestle and mortar when singing and dancing?

Li: We did not take any musical instruments with us when we went to perform
singing and dancing. We only brought rattles to performances because we never saw
any musical instruments before.

Cheng: I saw the chieftain knock his sceptre against the floor to support accents
while the Kavalan were dancing. [1:01:00]

Li: Our Kavalan seem to have few musical instruments. For example, we have the
conch and the musical instruments made of leaves. [1:25:00]

In the past, a big family in the Small Lake area of Shinshe had more than ten children. They struck a hanging metal bell in the shape of an A [a forged bell] to call their children home whenever they had dinner. The sound was quite loud.

Tian-Cheng Lin and his wife, interview by Jen-Hao Cheng, 1 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Wujie, Yilan County.††

Cheng: Wen-Sheng Li, the deputy chieftain of Shinshe, suggested that I should visit you. He said that you have collected various Kavalan artefacts.

Mrs. Lin: There are many cultural relics of the Kavalan here in Yilan, but they have been forgotten by the locals!

Cheng: The Kavalan language is maintained well in Shinshe, Hualien County. But people still can find some artefacts of the Kavalan in Yilan County, even though the Kavalan of Yilan have lost their language.

Mrs. Lin: We knew that we were Kavalan descendants more than ten years ago. My mom is a local; my dad is a Han-Taiwanese from the next village. Later, our family moved to Jian Township of Hualien. At that time, I felt familiar with the local

†† Mr. Tian-Cheng Lin runs the Tree House B & B at the ancestral homeplace of the Liu Liu sub-tribe of the Kavalan, Wujie, Yilan County. Mrs. Lin is a former Kavalan representative in the Indigenous Peoples Affairs Office of Yilan County.
aborigines. I remembered I was sneered at, “You are the Penpo,” by neighbours in my childhood. Then I had no idea what “Penpo” meant because no one dared admit he was a Penpo in that era. My husband has a lot of Kavalan knowledge from his childhood. Through reading a lot of books and having conversations with visiting scholars, I got Kavalan knowledge from ten years ago. In 2002, Taiwan’s government formally recognised the ethnicity of the Kavalan. Accordingly, a lot of the Kavalan descendants of Yilan tried to persuade the government to allow them to register as Kavalan between 2003 and 2004. The government did not allow us to register as Kavalan, even though our family was registered as “tame barbarian” on the old document of household registration and thousands of Kavalan descendants passed the DNA blood test. Perhaps this issue is greatly involved with the government budget and political rights. In recent years, the government tackled this matter by leaving it unsettled. I was once the Kavalan representative in the Indigenous Peoples Affairs Office of Yilan County. In the meetings, the Atayal representative was very worried that the Kavalan of Yilan would edge the Atayal out of the expected aboriginal budget. Another reason is that a lot of Kavalan descendants have steady economic status; they do not need the aboriginal benefit of the government. Therefore, they are reluctant to change their ethnicity. I frequently get phone calls from the elders of towns (e.g., Dongau, Nanau, and Nanfanau) along the coast of Yialan County who are
more interested in recovering Kavalan ethnicity. Most of them were old fishermen with poor economic status; their children all went to work in the cities. [11:44]

Cheng: In the Kavalan of Shinshe (Hualien), some people also have no formal aboriginal ethnicity.

Mrs. Lin: Some people changed their status into Han people to seek better jobs outside their hometowns. [13.05] The legislators of Yilan make little effort to strive for the political rights of Kavalan descendants. At the outset, Shi-Kun You was the premier of the Executive Yuan who made great efforts to allow the Taiwanese government to recognise formally the ethnicity of the Kavalan. The former premier You is also a Kavalan descendant.

Cheng: Now many Plains peoples (e.g., the Pazih and Siraya) are seeking government recognition.

Mrs. Lin: The important thing is to let the government know which traditional rituals are still functional. The most important thing is to prove that the mother tongue is alive. It can be imagined that approximately sixty to seventy percent of the Yilan people have a blood relationship with the Kavalan. If these people all gain a formal ethnicity of aborigine, it will have a great influence on the government’s budget. We need to form an association to lead our endeavour. Until now the Kavalan descendants have not formed an organised association, it is difficult to hold any activity and to
apply for any subsidy from the government. For instance, there are five households around this area. They all think that it has no benefit to recover the status of the Kavalan. In addition, it is difficult to have a successful community activity if any political party is involved too much in it.

Cheng: Does the school teach the Kavalan language here?

Mrs. Lin: Seaside Zhuang-Wei Primary School has taught the Kavalan language due to the high percentage of Kavalan descendants. Many Kavalan lessons were closed because of the long distance from the hometown [Shinshe of Hualien] of native Kavalan speakers, low pay, and the lack of patronage.

Cheng: Have you held activities together with the Kavalan of Shinshe?

Mrs. Lin: Yes, it was very nice to hold activities together. But, without a budget, we suspended the activities. Also, Yilan locals are unwilling to participate, and young Yilan people lack interest in it.

Cheng: For example, the Siraya Association formed the Bamboo Musical Group to make a concert tour around Southern Taiwan to catch the public’s eye, thus allowing many people to be aware of the existence of the Siraya culture.

Mrs. Lin: Contrary to general thought, I think that it is unimportant to be officially recognised as an ethnic group. The most significant thing is for locals to form a cultural identity. Although sixty to seventy percent of the Yilan people have a blood
relationship with the Kavalan, most locals ignore the existence of Kavalan culture. If
the Kavalan descendants of Yilan do not care for their culture and do not have group
solidarity, then who cares? Maybe most Kavalan descendants of Yilan are already
assimilated into the Han-Taiwanese; hence, they do not want to touch this problem.

Cheng: Wen-Sheng Li, the deputy chieftain, told me that you could play the conch.

[32:03]

Lin: The old conch was cast away. But now we make a new one.

Cheng: It is OK. Most contemporary aboriginal instruments are new instruments.

Mrs. Lin: I found that other aboriginal instruments are new when I visited the
Yilan Traditional Arts Centre. It was rare to have old ones.

Cheng: Actually, many aboriginal musical instruments were made of bamboo; they
were easily broken. If you can make a new aboriginal instrument, this means that your
heritage is still there.

Lin: The conch was played in the context in which a group of people caught fish at
a beach by pulling a large fishing net from the sea. Then the conch was blown on
board a boat, and people could hear clearly. [32:43]

Cheng: Did the conch have any specific function? [32:58]

Lin: To make a signal depends on the length of the sound. For example, the captain
stood on a high place on a beach to observe. If he saw sea birds diving to catch fish
over the sea, it meant a shoal of fish was coming. Meanwhile, the captain blew the
conch, “doooododododo,” which told the fishermen to hurry up and catch fish
because a shoal of fish was coming. If the conch was blown in one long sound and
one short sound, this told fishermen who were drying their nets to pack up their
fishing nets urgently as rain was coming. The way of fishing was to use a boat to put a
large fishing net into the sea in an arc. And then using the sound of the conch, people
on both sides of the fishing net were directed to pull the net out of the sea. When the
conch sounded “dodo,” this told the people on the left side to pull the net. And when
the conch sounded “do,” this told the people on the right side to pull the net.
Normally, at least twenty people were pulling on each side of a large fishing net. I
participated in pulling in a fishing net in my childhood, thus I knew the way to blow
the conch.

Cheng: Could you show me how to play the conch?

Lin: “Doooododododo.” [He used the muscles of his waist and mouth to control
the vibration of sound. The player had to have a full volume of vital capacity.] It
indicated hurry up everyone and put a fishing net into the boat for fishing on the sea
since a shoal of fish was coming. Generally, a fishing net was stored in a hut beside
the sea. [37:34]

Cheng: Why can you make the conch? Who taught you? [39:27]

Lin: I observed adults playing. Also I tried to make a new conch by myself.

Cheng: You know how to make a conch. It is phenomenal.

Mrs. Lin: Does Shinshe still have a conch?

Cheng: Wen-Sheng Li, the deputy chieftain, told me that the conch has already disappeared in Shinshe of Hualien. But he still remembered that the indigenous name for the conch was tukkik. So he suggested that I see you.

Mrs. Lin: It is sad that the old generations are gradually dying. We do not try our best to record their oral tradition.

Cheng: Inō Kanori, the Japanese colonial ethnographer, recorded that the Kavalan had a conch.

Lin: Whenever the conch was blown from the watchtower, it meant the arrival of a merchant vessel.

Mrs. Lin: In Lizi of Yilan, there was a watchtower beside the commercial port; whenever a merchant vessel arrived, then the conch always sounded loudly.
5. The Paiwan‡‡

Guulhelhe Djakulavu, Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 24 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001–3.WAV), Sabuyu, Taitung County.

RHP003.WAV

Cheng: Is the nose flute called lalindan or pakulalu?

Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu: Both pakulalu and lalindan are the nose flute. Here we call the nose flute pakulalu; other Paiwan call the nose flute lalindan.

Cheng: Do the Paiwan have a Jew’s harp?

Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu: The Jew’s harp belongs to the Atayal people; by contrast, the nose flute belongs to our Paiwan people.”

RHP001.WAV

Cheng: What does pakulalu mean?

Gulele: Pakulalu means “the nose flute.”

Djakulavu Snr: In Northern Paiwan, the nose flute is called lalindan. In Eastern

‡‡ The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Paiwan, the nose flute is called *pakulalu*.

Cheng: What is the name for the mouth flute?

Gulele: The mouth flute is also called *pakulalu*. The name is different between Northern Paiwan and Eastern Paiwan.

Cheng: What is the name for the musical bow?

Djakulavu Snr: The musical bow is called *penana*.

Cheng: What is the name for the Jew’s harp?

Gulele: Is it called *ljaljuveran*?

Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu: Yes. That is called *ljaljuveran*.

Cheng: What does *ljaljuveran* mean?

Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu: *Ljaljuveran* indicates the sound and the way of playing simultaneously.

Cheng: What does *pakulalu* mean?

Gulele: Does it have any connection with the mouth or nose?

Djakulavu Snr and Madam Djakulavu: *Pakulalu* has connection with the mouth.

Gulele: So *pakulalu* indicates that the mouth flute was played by the mouth.

Cheng: What does *lalindan* mean?

Gulele: Does it have any connection with the nose?

Madam Djakulavu: In the old days, there was no flute played by the nose.
Gulele: Then people still did not know how to use the nose to play the flute. The name lalindan originates from Kuljaljau, Northern Paiwan.

Cheng: Did the Paiwan have any Jew’s harp made out of metal?

Gulele: We have no Jew’s harp made out of metal. Only the tongue of the Jew’s harp is made out of metal.

Cheng: I once saw a metal Jew’s harp in Wulai, Taipei County. The shopkeeper told me that the Jew’s harp came from the Paiwan. But I doubted it; it perhaps came from Southeast Asia.

Gulele: I also agree that that kind of Jew’s harp possibly comes from Southeast Asia. Is it possible to make a Jew’s harp out of metal?

Madam Djakulavu: The Jew’s harps of the Paiwan are all made out of qua [bamboo].

Cheng: Did you have a wood slit drum?

Gulele: The wood slit drum is a recent product of invented tradition. In ancient times, the Paiwan had no such instrument. In the past, we emphasised melodious sound. Then it was impossible to have a wood slit drum. The wood slit drum originates from the Atayal. It is not our traditional musical instrument. But now we all use it for dancing.
Cheng: Do the Paiwan have both the bamboo-slip Jew’s harp and the Jew’s harp with a string?

Gulele: The Paiwan have the bamboo-slip Jew’s harp [idioglot guimbardes], the one tongue Jew’s harp with a plucking string [heteroglot guimbardes], and the two-tongue Jew’s harp with a plucking string.
Cheng: I know that there is literature on the gong of the Pazih in the Qing dynasty.

Pan: Yes, we have the dance of the gong.

Cheng: When do the Pazih dance the dance of the gong?

Pan: In the old days, the Pazih played the gong on the morning of the Pazih New Year to inform all the villagers of the celebration of the New Year. The main performance context was when hunters secured a good bag during the New Year, then they played the gong to invite all the tribemen to share the meat and have a banquet together. At that time, all the tribemen danced together.

Cheng: How many people dance the dance of the gong?

Pan: There is no limit on number. All people are welcome to dance.

Cheng: How many players play the gong?

Pan: Only one player plays the bronze gong to provide the rhythm of the dance. In ancient times, the Pazih had no dance of the gong. At that time, the Pazih merely

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6. The Pazih

Da-zou Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 20 September 2009, digital recording (MIC0004), Liyutan Village, Sanyi, Miaoli County.

Cheng: I know that there is literature on the gong of the Pazih in the Qing dynasty.

Pan: Yes, we have the dance of the gong.

Cheng: When do the Pazih dance the dance of the gong?

Pan: In the old days, the Pazih played the gong on the morning of the Pazih New Year to inform all the villagers of the celebration of the New Year. The main performance context was when hunters secured a good bag during the New Year, then they played the gong to invite all the tribemen to share the meat and have a banquet together. At that time, all the tribemen danced together.

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**Note:** The interview was in Holo Taiwanese and Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
danced the qian-tian [people dance hand in hand in a big circle]. The contemporary
dance of the gong is an invented dance of the Pazih in recent decades. In addition, the
Pazih also played the gong and danced to welcome a visiting chieftain in the old days.

Cheng: The dance of the gong is also a kind of welcome dance.

Pan: Only a visitor of fairly high rank can have such a privilege.

Cheng: Do the Pazih live separately in Auran, Sanyi, and Shoucheng?

Pan: Do you know what kahabu means?

Cheng: No. I do not know.

Pan: Kahabu means four villages in Pazih. Kahabu and Auran both belong to a
sub-tribe of the Pazih. Our languages can all communicate with each other.

Cheng: Where does the gong come from?

Pan: We bought the ready-made gong from a market.

Cheng: Did the Pazih accompany singing on the gong?

Pan: No. The Pazih only accompanied dance on the gong. During the qian-tian
dance, old and young danced and drank together in a big circle. Our ancestors used
the opportunity of the qian-tian dance to teach the younger generation how to hunt,
guard, and fight. [27:20]

Cheng: Who were eligible to dance the dance of the gong?

Pan: Only females were eligible to dance the dance of the gong. In contrast, both
genders are eligible to dance the *qian-tian* dance.

Cheng: Do you sing in the *qian-tian* dance?

Pan: We sing the *ayan* song in the *qian-tian* dance. *Ayan* is a kind of song to recall the memory of the Pazih ancestors.
7. The Kahabu***

Ying-Yu Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 August 2009, digital recording
(RHP006–RHP008), Shoucheng, Puli, Nantou County.

RHP006

Cheng: I have read some articles about the flat circular bronze gong of the Plains.

[8:25]

Pan: The gong has a large and a small size. In light of the instrument’s feature, both the gongs of the Hakka-Taiwanese and the Taoist are bossed in their central part. But, the gong of the Kahabu is completely flat. Their sounds are also different. The sound of the gongs of the Hakka-Taiwanese and the Taoist are simply “chian chian chian chian”; the sound of the gong of the Kahabu is “duang duang duang duang.”

Cheng: Is the Kahabu gong flat?

Pan: Yes, the whole gong is flat.

Cheng: Is it made of bronze? Is it made by casting or forging?

Pan: The gong was made of bronze, which was flattened by a hammer. Now it is very difficult to find this kind of gong.

*** The interview was in Holo Taiwanese. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Cheng: Do you know someone who can still make it?

Pan: I don’t know. The old gong is a survivor of a past age.

Cheng: I saw a high tower as I came into the village.

Pan: It is a watchtower. The Atayal, Seediq, and Bunun live nearby. The Bunun live behind the Veterans Hospital. The Seediq live in Wushe. And the Atayal live behind the opposite mountain. In the past, these mountain aboriginal people sometimes came into the Puli basin to hunt human heads. A watchtower gave the Kahabu a good view of the area they were guarding around the Puli basin.

Cheng: Is your language Kahabu? 

Pan: Our original language was called Gaghabu. In order for contemporary people to pronounce it easily, we altered the name to Kahabu.

Cheng: What does Kahabu mean?

Pan: It means people.

Cheng: Is Auran village the same aboriginal group as the Kahabu?

Pan: We are different aboriginal groups.

Cheng: Can the languages of Auran and Kahabu communicate with each other?

Pan: The languages of Auran and Kahabu can communicate with each other. Also, the Kahabu can understand part of the Seediq language. In fact, all Austronesian languages could more or less communicate with each other. If you don’t understand,
you can guess it.

Cheng: Some books portray that the guard struck the gong when he saw an enemy coming.

Pan: We struck the gong whenever an enemy was coming. On ordinary days, the guards always had a gong when on watch by turn on the watchtower.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the Kahabu gong? [12:25]

Pan: Our language depends on onomatopoeia to name the musical instruments; such as duang duang.

Cheng: Many aboriginal groups use onomatopoeic words to name their musical instruments.

Pan: In light of music/singing, ma duain means “singing” [in Kahabu, “singing” seems to be synonymous with “music”]; such as di dou means “clock.”

Cheng: You told me on the telephone that the Kahabu have a bamboo slit drum.

Pan: Just a moment, I will guide you to see it.

Cheng: Would you firstly tell me its indigenous name?

Pan: Dong dong. It sounds like beating someone’s back in fighting. Dong dong means “the sound of the bamboo slit drum.”

Cheng: When do you use the dong dong? [15:30]

Pan: We have used the bamboo slit drum since ancient times. We played the
bamboo slit drum when singing, in the harvest ceremony, and when dancing.

Moreover, the gong was used in keeping watch, singing, and dancing. The gong was struck at the beginning and the end of dancing particularly. This is the beater of the gong from our ancestors.

Cheng: Do you know what the decorative patterns on this wood beater are?

Pan: I cannot explain it.

Pan’s wife: That gong is more than one hundred years old.

Cheng: It is an ancestral antique.

Pan’s wife: The gong belongs to other people. We were commissioned to keep it.

RHP007

[Pan guides Cheng to the showroom of the Kahabu Association.]

Pan: This is the bamboo slit drum.

On the bamboo slit drum, the thin bamboo covering was planed between two long slits and was propped up with bamboo sticks at both ends.

Cheng: How many beaters does the bamboo slit drum have?

Pan: A pair of beaters.

Cheng: Does the double bamboo slit drum have different sounds on both sides?
Pan: On the double bamboo slit drum, one side has a bright sound and the other side has a dull sound.

In addition, this is a tree drum.

Cheng: Did you chisel the opening of the tree drum?

Pan: There is a natural opening on the tree drum.

Cheng: Do different places on the tree drum produce different sounds?

Pan: Yes, that is right. I often use a pair of beaters to strike different places on the tree drum. I take this tree drum to perform as there is convenient transportation. It weighs more than one hundred jin [1 jin equals 600 grams].

Cheng: How do you choose the material of the tree drum?

Pan: I chose camphor tree, which can produce good sound.

Cheng: Camphor can keep bugs away. What is this small tree drum made out of? Chinese juniper cypress?

Pan: That tree drum was made of the trunk of a linko [cypress/Chinese Juniper].

However, a tree drum would have a good sound if it was made of zhuko [cypress/Chinese Juniper]. The people of Sun Moon Lake [the Thao] prefer the zhuko tree. By the way, I initially put the bamboo slit drum on my leg for playing.

Cheng: Did you pare off the bamboo covering around the slit first?

Pan: That is right. And then bamboo sticks were plugged between the two slits to
prop up the bamboo skin at both ends.

Cheng: Is it made of a harder bamboo?

Pan: Yes, a harder bamboo. This double-tone bamboo slit drum is made in Tainan.

In the past, our bamboo drum was a single-tone slit drum.

Cheng: Is the bamboo slit drum possibly played by hands?

Pan: You must thin out the bamboo tube if you use hands to hit the bamboo slit drum. Otherwise, it would be difficult to produce a sound.

Cheng: Is the mortar called lu zung?

Pan: Yes, lu zung. In the past, we used mortars to stamp rice. Now we use mortars for performance.

Cheng: Does lu zung also signify the sound of the mortar?

Pan: The nature of the sound is based on the wood material. Lu zung is the sound of a softer wood. “Dong dong dong dong” is the sound of a harder wood.

Cheng: What is your playing posture to play the tree drum?

Pan: Different people have different playing postures. But, a player must provide steady and precise drumming.

Cheng: Does this small gong have any differences from the one in your home?

Pan: This small gong is a Taoist gong. It was made by a lathe.

Cheng: I find that the Kahabu gong is thinner, lighter, and more durable than the
Taoist gong. Is the gong also called *ta tu ru*?

Pan: Yes, that is right.

One hundred years ago, the Kahabu still had the custom of hunting heads. This is a picture of Sizhuan [place name], which was photographed by a Dutchman (IMG_0033). We got this copy from a French museum. [12:04]

Cheng: Are these pictures of Shoucheng [place name]?

Pan: These are pictures of Wugonglun [place name] and Shoucheng. [13:19] The earthen houses in the picture belong to Wugonglun (IMG_0035). By the way, a Japanese colonial officer gave the copper pot as a present to Formosan aborigines for cooking food. After a long time, Formosan aborigines are gradually decreasing in number.

Cheng: The copper pot produces toxic materials in cooking.

Do the Kahabu have a fixed decorative pattern on their costume?

Pan: No. The main colour of the Kahabu costume was red; its pattern imitated the river shrimp of the mountain.

Cheng: The river shrimp of the mountain.

Pan: The river shrimp of the mountain is red. The tie of the costume is a reflection of the shrimp’s feet.

Cheng: What does *dung dung kaxui zunga* mean?
Pan: *Dung dung* means “drum.” *Kaxui* means “tree.” *Zunga* means “goat.” In the past, we had a form of *dung dung* [tree drum] with a string; it was hung under a tree for drumming. A good tree drum can produce a sustained tone, instead of a short tone.

We used these drums in the Kahabu New Year.

Cheng: When is the Kahabu New Year?

Pan: The Kahabu New Year is on 15 November of the lunar calendar. We get more or less a subsidy from the government whenever we hold the Kahabu New Year.

Cheng: The subsidy is more and less helpful.

Pan: Until now, the Kahabu are not recognised by the Taiwan government; accordingly, it is more difficult to apply for any subsidy. Our subsidies mainly come from the aboriginal committee of the Nantou County government.

Cheng: What kind of hard wood is the beater made out of?

Pan: Pomegranate tree, *gauzhan*, and *chialion*.

**RHP008**

Pan: The small tree gong is not good looking; the large one is better. The instrument maker can decide whether his tree drum is high pitched or low pitched.

[1:24]

The tree drum was already here in my childhood. [5:00]
Cheng: In the old paintings of the Qing dynasty, there are many portrayals of the gong of the Plains. Now the Kahabu still keep the ancient gong in good condition; it is wonderful.

Pan: The Auran also had a flat bronze gong initially. Recently, they use the bossed gong of the Han-Taiwanese instead of the original flat gong. The Kahabu ancient gong was made of bronze by hammering. A good gong can produce a sustained sound. We played the tree drum or the bamboo slit drum when dancing and played the gong in the final.

Cheng: Could you show me what the gong sounds like?

Pan: OK. No problem. “Dung duang” [the sound is prolonged a long time with a great echo, even my body can feel the vibration of the sound wave].

Cheng: The sound resembles a wave that increases quickly and becomes extremely intense, and then decreases again.

Pan: The contemporary-made gongs sound small, short, and lack a far-reaching tone.

By the way, the Kahabu had an extinct dance which resembled the hair dance of the Tao. The Kahabu originally belonged to mountain aborigines, who also lived nearby in the mountain area of the Atayal in ancient times.

Cheng: Can the languages of the Kahabu and the Siraya communicate with each
Pan: We can’t do it because it is a long distance between Southern Taiwan and Central Taiwan.

Cheng: Can the languages of the Kahabu and the Thao communicate with each other?

Pan: We can communicate with each other. But, the Thao more easily understand our language.

Originally the Kahabu lived in Ren-Ai Township. Ten years after moving to Puli, the English missioners came here; and then all the Kahabu were converted to Christianity. After all, the majority of the Kahabu were converted into Tao, as the Han-Taiwanese moved into Puli.
8. The Puyuma

Katatepan Sanpuy, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 10 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shulin.

Sanpuy: Where are you studying?
Cheng: New Zealand.
Sanpuy: What is your major?
Cheng: I specialise in the study of aboriginal musical instruments.
Sanpuy: New Zealand Maori have what kind of musical instruments?
Cheng: For example, a bull-roarer was swung by a string.
Sanpuy: Our Puyuma children also play a similar instrument.
Cheng: Is it a piece of thin bamboo with a string and then tied to a bamboo stick?
Sanpuy: That was a toy during our childhood. Can it be regarded as a musical instrument?
Cheng: Most scholars around the world regard and classify it as a musical instrument. Many Pacific Austronesian people have a similar musical instrument.

Today, I visited the Academia Sinica Digital Archives where I found that Amis

††† The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
people had a similar instrument, but it was classified as a “toy.”

Sanpuy: Yes. That is right. We [Puyuma] also classify it [the bull-roarer] as a toy.

Cheng: It is classified as a musical instrument in the West. In the millet harvest ceremony, I found some people wear forged bells behind their backs. What is its name?

Sanpuy: It is tawlriulr; that is, warning bell.

Cheng: In Taromak, they call it Dauden.

Sanpuy: The Puyuma had a great influence on the Rukai of Taromak.

Cheng: Does it include the neighbour Paiwan?

Sanpuy: Their [Rukai and Paiwan] men’s house systems are deeply influenced by the Puyuma.

Cheng: This time, Taimali and Chiben were damaged in the Morak typhoon.

Sanpuy: We have many relatives who live in Chiben.

Have you ever participated in the Kartartipul millet harvest ceremony?

Cheng: Yes, I have. I decided not to bother you when I saw the young people of the men’s house were busy serving guests having lunch. By the way, there are very few records about Puyuma instruments in the publications of Taiwan.

Sanpuy: Well, really!

Cheng: Some books say that Puyuma instruments are extinct. But, I do not think so
because I have found that some people can still play Puyuma instruments.

Sanpuy: That is right!

Cheng: Sometimes I think the Taiwanese make no effort to study Formosan aboriginal musical instruments.

Sanpuy: Can we start the questions right now?

Cheng: What does palakuwan mean?

Sanpuy: The men’s house.

Cheng: What is the name of the boy’s house?

Sanpuy: Takuvan.

Cheng: There is a notice, “Women and children are not allowed to enter,” hanging outside both buildings. Which building is the palakuwan? Which building is the takuvan?

Sanpuy: Females and non-promoted boys are not allowed to enter these buildings. The building with stairs is the takuvan. In the millet harvest ceremony, there were many activities in front of the palakuwan.

Cheng: At that time, there was a group of young people from the palakuwan men’s house dancing the warrior-spirited dance on the streets. Then there were two men carrying and knocking a large bell simultaneously, guiding the warrior-spirited dance.

What is the name of the guide bell?
Sanpuy: *Ba Dong Dong*.

Cheng: Is *Ba Dong Dong* one word or two words? What does it mean?

Sanpuy: It is one word, which means “knock.”

Cheng: I found that the *Ba Dong Dong* is made out of forged iron with a wheel rim. What was the *Ba Dong Dong* made out of during your childhood?

Sanpuy: There is no change since.

Cheng: In the millet harvest ceremony, I saw many young people busy serving guests having lunch. Do they belong to the *takuvan* or *palakuwan*?

Sanpuy: They were just promoted from the *takuvan* boy’s house to the *palakuwa* men’s house. They are the lowest rank of trainees in the men’s house. The *tawlriulr* was hung behind their hips. By checking their bells, people can recognise their ranks in the age hierarchy of the Puyuma.

Cheng: I saw a young man of a low rank who carried a bamboo tube. Was it drink or water?

Sanpuy: That bamboo tube is called *badukun*. The thin bamboo tube is filled with drink. The thick bamboo tube is filled with water.

Cheng: That is the responsibility of the low ranker, to serve water and drink.

Sanpuy: Yes, that is right.

Cheng: I also saw people wearing a waist brass rattle. Do they have a more senior
Sanpuy: The age hierarchy within the *palakuwan* is divided into the quasi-youth
*valisen* (15–17 years old), early youth *venagesangesar* (18–20), youth *vangesaran* (21–23), young adult *kavangesaran* (24–26), adult *musavasavak* (27–35), and elder
*ma’izangan* (36–55).

Cheng: The *tawlriulr* is made of forged iron. Did you make it yourself?

Sanpuy: We carved the head-like wooden handle ourselves.

Cheng: Did you heat the iron and then knock it?

Sanpuy: No, we did not. We bought iron plates and then knocked them into a cylinder with a hammer. Now the instrument-making material is different from ancient times.

Cheng: What was the *tawlriulr* of ancient times made out of?

Sanpuy: Then the *tawlriulr* was probably made of bamboo.

Cheng: Is the *kameLin* made of cast iron?

Sanpuy: The *kameLin* was possibly made of bamboo in ancient times, too.

Cheng: Do Nanwng and all the other sub-tribes have such bells?

Sanpuy: They all have.

Cheng: Do the Puyuma have two origin myths? Some books say that there are two origin myths of the Puyuma: the Katratripur—born from stone—and the Nanwang—
born from bamboo.

Sanpuy: That depends on the dichotomy of traditional myths. Everything became stone from the same soil and then became human beings.

Our ancestors originally lived on a small island between Orchid Island and Green Island. In the flood era, our ancestors drifted to the coast near Chihpen. At that time, one of our ancestors became the sun, and another ancestor became the moon. When other ancestors went ashore, one of them used his cane to hew down bamboo. And then a human jumped out from the bamboo. Just like that.
Gilragilrao Lra’akaroko, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 July 2009, digital recording (MIC00002), Taitung City.

Cheng: Is your tribe just preparing for the annual harvest ceremony?

Giligiljau: Now they are busy setting up a big swing.

Cheng: Is the swing used to marry a bride in a wedding?

Giligiljau: This time is different. Our chieftain ordered the men to make a big swing for all the tribal girls to play on.

Cheng: Do men help the girls to swing?

Giligiljau: Two men stand on both sides under the swing to pull the ropes.

Cheng: And each girl stands on the swing.

Giligiljau: The girl who is able to swing the highest is more attractive to catch the boys’ eyes.

Cheng: Does this mean that the girl has a healthier body?

Giligiljau: That is right. The swing is swung upwards by the girl’s strength from feet and waist. The height of the swing is equivalent to a four-storey building.

*** The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Cheng: It is so terrifying.

Giligiljau: While setting up a swing, the men must climb up to the top of a bamboo pole to tie all the bamboo poles together.

Cheng: Is this ceremony the Rukai New Year?

Giligiljau: This is our millet harvest ceremony, in which we prepare to worship the ancestral spirit of the Rukai. [2:16]

The day before yesterday, I went to participate in the harvest ceremony of the Dulan [a sub-tribe of the Amis] to popularise my nose flute and mouth flute. After listening to my performance, an anthropology professor was surprised at my music and said, “Paiwan music is more rigid; by contrast, only Rukai music shows its integral culture.” Accordingly, the music from the Rukai flute is all culture; people must experience it through listening carefully. [9:00]

Cheng: Besides, the nose flute was used during courtship and at nobles’ funerals and weddings; was the nose flute used to accompany singing?

Giligiljau: The nose flute was primarily used in solo. Or it was used in the twalrevege pseudo-marriage ceremony [i.e., the ceremony of forging an alliance] with people singing along to the tune of the nose flute.

Cheng: Did the twalrevege pseudo-marriage ceremony originate in ancient times or contemporary?
Giligiljau: The twalrevege pseudo-marriage ceremony originated in ancient times.

My family has had the experience of a twalrevege pseudo-marriage ceremony. It is similar to the engagement of the Han people; then a lily was conferred on the girl.

Cheng: Does the twalrevege signify the girl’s engagement?

Giligiljau: It signifies the children’s engagement.

Cheng: Do they marry after growing up? [10:33]

Giligiljau: In fact, he may not marry her. The fiancé’s family will send a lot of presents to the fiancée’s family at the very beginning. If the fiancé finds that the fiancée does not really want to marry him, the fiancé’s family will not send any presents to the fiancée’s family after the fiancé’s family meeting. By the way, I once interviewed an elder who was over eighty years old. She could sing along with the tune of my flute. I asked why she could sing in such a way. The elder said, “In my young age, all Misses could sing along to the tune of the flute.”

Cheng: Is the content of the lyrics fixed?

Giligiljau: The content of Rukai music is unstable.

Cheng: Is improvisation part of the tradition in Rukai singing?

Giligiljau: That is right. We do it this way.

Cheng: Have you ever seen an elder playing the nose flute? [12:02]

Giligiljau: I have never seen anyone playing the nose flute before because flutes
have not been seen for a long time in the Danan [a sub-tribe of the Rukai].

Cheng: Did you go to visit elders in Shenshan and Wutai [sub-tribes of the Rukai]?

Gilgiljau: The elders told me the oral tradition of the Rukai. They cannot tell me Rukai culture in a complete form because the flutes had all been buried with deceased fathers and elders.

Cheng: It only depends on the elders’ memories.

Gilgiljau: I played my teacher’s creative tune on the nose flute at home since I came back from Wutai and Dawu. And then my maternal grandmother came to ask me, “Why can you play this?” I said, “Someone gave me the nose flute.” My maternal grandmother said that her uncle can also play it. My maternal grandmother had heard the playing of the nose flute and the mouth flute. My maternal grandmother’s family once had a bamboo flute. [13:30]

Cheng: So you play in front of your maternal grandmother to check whether your playing is correct or not. Is your grandmother’s uncle still alive?

Gilgiljau: My maternal grandmother’s uncle had already died. A few days later, my paternal grandmother came to see me and said that our paternal family has an elder who can play the flute. He was a good flute-maker, who had many different kinds of flutes. Torii Ryûzô said, “In the Japanese colonial period, there were five thousand young people playing the single-pipe flute as well as around five hundred
young people playing the double-pipe flute in the Danan.”

Cheng: So many people!

Giligiljau: The flute players had a great decrease in population since the Japanese introduced the harmonica to the Danan.

Cheng: At that time, the popularisation of the radio might have also had a great influence on the decrease in Rukai flutes. How did you find the traditional sound and the old tunes of the Rukai flutes? [14:30]

Giligiljau: Before I reconstructed the mouth flute and the nose flute of the Rukai, I checked related literature, pictures, and recordings from the Japanese colonial period. I particularly magnified the old pictures to understand the structure of the musical instruments. I also imitated a recording of the Rukai nose flute by Torii Ryûzô. After I duplicated the Rukai traditional mouth flute and nose flute, I played the flutes in front of my grandmother to see whether they were correct or not. My grandmother said that it was the same as she had heard in the past.

Cheng: You are so brilliant!

Giligiljau: Later on, I met an elder, and he said, “You should experience much sorrow, which enables you to put your soul into the flute.” [16:00]

Cheng: This is very important that you should get your feeling first and then play the flute.
Giligiljau: You must let yourself cry first and then you are enabled to move other people. If you are not touched by your music, other people will not be touched by your music. You can produce touching music with sentimental feeling if you experience many sorrows and failure in love. This is a prerequisite for the style and the culture of the Rukai. The music from a sentimental flute player is totally different from a flute player without sentimental experience.

Cheng: Do you prefer the nose flute or the mouth flute? [17:13]

Giligiljau: I like both. Whenever I have a performance, I will choose flutes with different tones. This tune sounds like an eagle hovering over a valley. [He plays a double-pipe-mouth flute with five finger-holes. The tune’s name is “The Love of the Peacock.” MVI_0004.AVI]

Cheng: What song is this?

Giligiljau: “The Love of the Peacock.” In the past, there was a pair of lovers in the Danan. Parents on both sides disagreed with their marriage due to the difference in social status. Finally, the lovers went to a valley. The man played the flute and said, “I hope to turn my love into a peacock. I will hover in the sky, protecting you until my wings are broken.” [20:05]

Cheng: In the past, a man would play the nose flute in front of a girl’s window to show his adoration. But marriage was still decided by their parents.
Gilgiljau: In the past, the Rukai had no marital autonomy. If a noble woman was married to a man whose family’s social rank was lower than her family’s, their child would become a commoner.

Cheng: For example, if a noble marries a commoner as his wife, can their children still use the noble family’s name?

Gilgiljau: Their children can use the noble family’s name and still have the privilege of wearing a lily and Hodgson’s Hawk-eagle’s feather; but their social rank was demoted. [21:13]

Cheng: Do mouth flutes and nose flutes generally have any decoration?

Gilgiljau: Every noble family has their unique emblem on their nose flute and mouth flute.

Cheng: What does the human head and the pot mean? [22:00]

Gilgiljau: The human head denotes that the flute owner is a successful headhunter. The pot and the hundred-pace snake denote a nobles’ social status. A wood cup denotes a chieftain’s privilege. The leaves of a lily indicate the tune of the flute with love dispersing like the leaves of a lily.

Cheng: What is used to tie the double pipes?

Gilgiljau: I use rattan to tie the double pipes.

Cheng: What kind of bamboo is the flute made of?
Gilgiljau: *Bambusa dolichomerithalla Hay* and *Phyllostachys edulis* both grow on the edge of a cliff. A flute that is made of these bamboos is the best, because these bamboo tubes have a relatively long distance between their bamboo joints.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the double-pipe-mouth flute in the Rukai?

Gilgiljau: **Kulralru.**

Cheng: What does *kulralru* mean?

Gilgiljau: *Kulralru* signifies that the bamboo is blown by mouth. The indigenous name for the nose flute is **pulralri,** and its other name is **pakulralru.**

Cheng: What does *pulralri* mean?

Gilgiljau: In Danan, *pulralri* means “the nose flute.” *Pakulralru* is the common name for the nose flute among different sub-tribes of the Rukai.

Cheng: Does *pakulralu* signify that the bamboo is blown by the nose?

Gilgiljau: That is right. *Pulralri* means “the sound is emitted by the nose.” It is said that “The hundred-pace snake likes to play the nose flute at midnight and sounds ‘shu-shu,’ that is, the hundred-pace snake’s nose is the nose flute. This myth is shared by the Rukai and the Paiwan.

According to the traditional method, the volume of the Paiwan nose flute is relatively small; the sound of the Rukai nose flute is relatively brighter and deeper.

[He plays a double-pipe-nose flute with six finger-holes. The tune’s name is “Miss.”]
Cheng: You told me that the nose flute can be performed at happy events or funerals. At funerals, the tone of the nose flute resembles the sound of crying. Does the nose flute have a faster rhythm at happy events?

Giligiljau: At happy events, there is no fast rhythm in the tune of the nose flute. The Rukai flute is always slow in rhythm whether playing at a wedding or a funeral. At a wedding, the bride’s admirer can play the nose flute to show his blessing and reluctance.

Cheng: Isn’t it very obvious?

Giligiljau: Yes. But a bridegroom cannot oppose anyone playing the nose flute at a wedding because this is the privilege of the lovelorn. People can play the nose flute to show sorrow at a funeral. Also a person can play the nose flute to show his blessing and reluctance. In addition, now I play a tune for a girl. [He plays a single-pipe-mouth flute with five finger-holes. The tune is for showing adoration. MVI_0007.AVI]

Cheng: What is the name of this tune?

Giligiljau: The tune is without a name; it only represents a kind of feeling. [31:18]

Cheng: How do you know the tonality of the flute?

Giligiljau: I am touching the flute, let it become a part of my body. [Human and flute merge into a single whole in a state of mind.]
Cheng: So, your playing totally follows what you feel [your mindscape].

Giligiljau: Yes, that is right. The following is the method for drilling finger-holes in the flute. The first finger-hole is drilled at a point about four finger-widths from the end of the bamboo tube. The second finger-hole is drilled at a point about two finger-widths from the first finger-hole; the other finger-holes follow the same method.

Cheng: How many finger-holes on the flute?

Giligiljau: The Rukai flute can have up to five finger-holes, and the Paiwan flute can have up to seven finger-holes. The Paiwan do not press the first finger-hole. The Paiwan do not play a low tune; they like to play a high-pitched melody. In contrast, the Rukai like to play a low tune and a high tune [an octave higher] together, in what resembles a dialogue between the low tune and the high tune.

Cheng: Is there any difference in instrument structure between the mouth flute and the nose flute besides their mouthpiece?

Giligiljau: They are different. The finger-holes of the nose flute are burned and drilled by a burning screwdriver which is inclined 45 degrees.

Cheng: What kind of wood is the inserted block of the mouth flute made of?

Giligiljau: It is made out of camphor tree for anti-corrosion.

Cheng: Did you burn the bamboo nodes out?

Giligiljau: I always try my best to find bamboo without nodes inside the tube. Have
you heard the flute of the Kakeng Musical Group before? Their sound is broken.

Their flutes cannot produce a lingering sound longer than mine.

Cheng: Did you burn the chamfered orifice of the mouth flute?

Giligiljau: Firstly, I used a knife to chamfer the orifice, and then I burned the thread at the edge of the chamfered orifice. Next, I inserted the plug into the upper bamboo tube after shaping it. If I find that the flute’s tone is poor, I will unplug the inserted block and reshape it. Normally, I spend about one month adjusting it. [35:07]

Cheng: Why do you add an additional fingerplate on the single-pipe-mouth flute [with five finger-holes]?

Giligiljau: The fingerplate came from a different piece of bamboo. I find that some flutes lack a bright sound, so I add a fingerplate to them.

Cheng: This piece is made out of different bamboo. Isn’t it?

Giligiljau: Yes, it is different in thickness.

Cheng: You stick the additional fingerplate to the flute. I have seen a flute with a metal fingerplate before.

Giligiljau: Also, some flutes are made of water pipe. Plastic water pipe is easily bent.

Cheng: Is every flute the same size?

Giligiljau: It depends on your method and the kind of sound you need.
Cheng: What would happen if two flutes had the same length and diameter, but a different distance between the finger-holes?

Giligiljau: Their tonality will be totally different. Moreover, the thickness of the bamboo tube has a great influence on the tone and the pitch of the flute. [36:28]

Cheng: Did you dry the bamboo before making the flute?

Giligiljau: I use bamboo which grows in winter. There are no insects in the bamboo tubes in winter especially. Furthermore, if there is water in the bamboo tube, you cannot use the bamboo to make a flute.

Cheng: Why cannot you use it to make a flute?

Giligiljau: Having water in a bamboo tube means having the soul inside the bamboo; the water is the soul’s tear. For this reason, we do not use such bamboo to make instruments.

Cheng: What does the male portrait on the double-pipe-nose flute mean?

Giligiljau: This is our family’s image. It is called Labaljus, which means “the most precious bead” or “priest.”

Cheng: You just said that the name Gilragilrao means “chieftain’s hat.” This name comes from your father’s family. Does the name have another meaning?

Giligiljau: It also means “glass beads.”

Cheng: Can someone still make glass beads now?
Giligiljau: I think someone can still make them.

Cheng: What meaning do glass beads have for your family?

Giligiljau: My grandfather and grandmother both have glass beads that represent their respected social status; they come from an awesome family.

Cheng: Does the symbol represent the son of the sun?

Giligiljau: Yes, this is the son of the sun. The symbol denotes that my family is the descendant of the sun. The symbol on the nose flute indicates that the sun required the hundred-pace snake to protect his son until he grew up. That is, the sun laid an egg inside the pot and ordered the hundred-pace snake to take care of his son. [39:06]

Cheng: Do both pipes of the nose-flute come from the same bamboo tube?

Giligiljau: The pipes come from different bamboo tubes, but they both come from the same clump of bamboo.

Cheng: To find two bamboo pipes with a similar appearance.

Giligiljau: When I am making ten pairs of nose flutes, only one or two pairs of the nose flute are done. The others are scrapped. [40:00] The Paiwan cannot use a knife to chamfer the orifice of the mouth flute.

Cheng: Do you use sandpaper to polish the blowhole of the nose flute?

Giligiljau: No, I slowly use a knife to whittle away the periphery of the blowhole; otherwise a sharp blowhole will hurt your nose and no point in it.
Cheng: Do you burn and drill the blowhole of the nose flute?

Giligiljau: Yes, I do.

Cheng: How do you burn it?

Giligiljau: I burn the blowhole at the central point of a bamboo node. A thin blowhole can produce a bright sound. If the blowhole is too thick, the sound is not nice and not bright. [41:02]

Cheng: The decorative symbols on the flute depend on the player’s social status and family. Is that right?

Giligiljau: Yes, that is right.

Cheng: You said that a commoner could play the blackened nose flute with the permission of the nobles. Is that right?

Giligiljau: Commoners’ nose flutes were blackened by fire and without any decoration.

Cheng: Was there any other alternative for the commoners?

Giligiljau: Commoners could have no smoked colour on their nose flutes, but they still could not have any decoration on their nose flutes. [41:58]

Cheng: Would you rub the bamboo surface or paint lacquer on it?

Giligiljau: I used to rub the bamboo surface to make it smoother. But I do not intentionally paint lacquer on the flute. Generally, I will boil bamboo after cutting it
back. This can preserve bamboo a long time after boiling.

Cheng: Is it possible to have more water in the bamboo after boiling?

Giligiljau: You must dry them. It takes about two months to dry the bamboo.

Cheng: Do you need a big pot to boil bamboo?

Giligiljau: I specially made a big metal barrel.

Cheng: Is the shape of the bamboo deformed after boiling?

Giligiljau: Bamboo does not bend too much in its shape. Making a flute needs a lot of time. For example, if I burn a finger-hole in the wrong place, I throw the whole flute away.

Cheng: I have seen a flute-maker in another aboriginal group who used a bamboo chopstick to plug the wrong finger-hole. And then he drilled a new finger-hole.

Giligiljau: I think that the person was reluctant to throw the flute away. If a flute was made this way, the flute would have a poor tone. I prefer to rub the bamboo surface to make the bamboo tube have a nice tone, because the thickness of the bamboo tube has a great influence on the flute’s tone. After this, I paint the flute.

[44:00]

Cheng: Why have two symbols of the sun on the flute?

Giligiljau: The first sun indicates the newborn son of the sun. The second sun indicates the son of the sun who has grown-up. There are many pots with the
decoration of the hundred-pace snake in the Rukai.

Cheng: Can only the pot of nobles have the decoration of the hundred-pace snake?

Giligiljau: Only the Sun family is eligible to use the decoration of the hundred-pace snake on the pot.

Cheng: In Taiwan, only the Rukai and the Paiwan have patterns carved on their musical instruments. Many other aboriginal instruments used to have no or few patterns carved on them.

Giligiljau: The smoked or painted flutes can be preserved a long time. Nobles articulated family stories through the symbolic patterns on the flutes.

Cheng: Are the engraved strips on the double-pipe-mouth flute the markings of the hundred-pace snake?

Giligiljau: They are the side markings of the hundred-pace snake.

Cheng: The double wood cup is for drinking. Isn’t it?

Giligiljau: The symbol of the double wood cup denotes that the noble family is respected by all tribesmen.

Cheng: On what kind of occasion is the double wood cup used?

Giligiljau: The double wood cup represents a friendly relationship. Two good friends use the same double wood cup to drink together, which means sharing their emotions together as a unit.
Cheng: Which family does the symbol belong to?

Giligiljau: The Labaljus family.

Cheng: What does Labaljus mean?

Giligiljau: Labaljus means “precious beads”; the social status of the Labaljus family is as precious as beads. In the Wuyai [a sub-tribe of the Rukai], the Labaljus family is a priestly family, whose men are all responsible for the work of priests.

[50:00]

The main function of this nose flute is to send the human soul back to its home.

The tune of the nose flute is a form of requiem.

Cheng: So, the tone of the flute determines which flute is played on what occasion, such as a requiem. [50:40]

Giligiljau: Some flutes with a high pitch cannot settle the soul down.

Cheng: As can be seen, Rukai music is highly concerned about the feeling from deep inside. Do the Rukai believe that the gods and ancestral spirits are always present in human daily life? Are supernatural powers also associated with the flute?

Giligiljau: When you play the flute, the spirits of the dead and the ancestors will be attracted to your flute. Sometimes a lot of strange feelings suddenly emerge while I am playing.

Cheng: Is it a kind of communication with your ancestors?
Giligiljau: Yes, that is right. Initially, I did not intend to play that tune, but
suddenly my fingers seem to lose control of some tunes. I feel so wondrous. [52:11]

I once performed the flute in a harvest festival. A wizard told me that my flute
music can bring the souls of the dead back to their home, especially those who died
outside their hometown. I felt so sorrowful and uncomfortable after my performance.

Cheng: Thus your elders consider that playing the flute is not only a musical
activity, but also a form of communication with Rukai ancestors.

Giligiljau: That is right. Our elders said that there are always many spirits present
over the flute.

Cheng: Do the Rukai have a concept of “music” and “musical instrument”?

Giligiljau: Yes. The Rukai has its own traditional concept, which is not susceptible
to external influences.

Cheng: Do the Rukai have a wood slit drum?

Giligiljau: The singing of the Rukai does not emphasise the rhythm.

Cheng: The melody of Rukai songs is very winding.

Giligiljau: That is right. Singing accompanied on a musical instrument is a
contemporary concept. For example, when young people used pestles to stamp sticky
rice cake, they found a nice rhythm suitable to accompany songs. Sometimes they
started singing after stamping millet a long time. The Bunun have some work songs,
which enable workers to adjust their breathing and pace while lifting heavy stuff. In our aboriginal songs, it is not necessary to have a musical instrument to accompany each song.

Cheng: Did you attach many bells on the Rukai costume?

Giligiljau: No, we didn’t. But we have a lot of patterns on our clothes.

Cheng: I have seen a Rukai boy with a bell on his back in the newspaper and on a website. What is it? [59:50]

Giligiljau: Do you mean a bell with a human-face carving hanging behind the boy’s back? This bell is for delivering messages.

Cheng: What do you call the bell?

Giligiljau: Hip bell [in Mandarin]. I have one in my home. The bell can carry a message. A single bell can produce many sounds. The frequency of the clang signals an event.

Cheng: Can you control the frequency of the clang?

Giligiljau: Your pace can control it. If you run in a hurry, the clang of the bell sounds like an alarm. Then all the villagers will come out of their houses to see what is happening. The clang of the bell sounds in low frequency to inform villagers that a wedding is coming. The clang of the bell sounding in high frequency indicates that an accident or disaster has happened and that all the villagers need to help each other.
Then the *alokuwa* men’s house dispatches a group of young people with hip bells to deliver such a message.

Cheng: How old are those who enter the *alokuwa* men’s house?

Gilgiljau: About fifteen years old.

Cheng: Do different age hierarchies have different bells?

Gilgiljau: No, there are not different bells among the age hierarchies. The hip bell is a kind of alarm bell.

Cheng: What do you call the bell in Rukai?

Gilgiljau: *Dauden* [or *taodring*].

Cheng: Where do you put the *dauden*?

Gilgiljau: It is OK to put the bell either in the *alokuwa* men’s house or your home. You can take care of the *dauden* yourself. Initially, the handle of the *dauden* was carved with a three-dimensional face, but now the handle of the *dauden* simply has a flat carved face.

Aboriginal folksongs deliver many messages if you understand the aboriginal language. In the Danan, the same tune is sung with different lyrics; those lyrics contain oral history about where our ancestors settled and came from. Both Rukai music and Paiwan music are ethnocentric and emphasise hometowns in their lyrics.

Cheng: Is it possibly affected by the aristocratic system?
Gilgiljau: It emphasises the lofty social status of the nobles. Accordingly, they like to add colour and emphasis to their heroic story in the lyrics while they are singing.

Rukai music is dissimilar to Amis music, which is wave-like with a fast rhythm.

Rukai music, like a winding river flowing through many mountains and places, seems to deliver messages to people.

Cheng: What does dauden mean?

Gilgiljau: It means “message”—the message of a bell. The clang sounds like “da dian da dia.” The dauden bearer sways his hips to control the clang.

Cheng: Is the dauden made of forged iron?

Gilgiljau: Yes.

Cheng: Does someone still make dauden?

Gilgiljau: The knife-maker can probably make it.

Cheng: Do the Rukai have a Jew’s harp?

Gilgiljau: We have a musical bow.

Cheng: What does it look like?

Gilgiljau: The ends of an arched bamboo stick are tied with ramie string. In the Japanese colonial period, the steel string replaced the ramie string. The youngest uncle of my maternal grandmother can play the musical bow. I have his old picture from the Japanese colonial period, in which his mouth holds the musical bow and his
right hand plucks the string.

Elders told me that learning to make musical instruments must be done at a slow pace; otherwise the instrument-maker will die early. It easily provokes the jealousy of the evil eye if you are too skilful at something.

Cheng: Is the double-pipe flute divided into a male bamboo tube and a female bamboo tube?

Giligiljau: The bamboo tube with the finger-holes is male; and the bamboo tube without finger-holes is female.

Cheng: Why?

Giligiljau: The Rukai is a patrilineal society. The bamboo tube without finger-holes is female due to its passive position; the bamboo tube with finger-holes is male due to its active position.

Cheng: Only men can play the flute. Women can sing songs following the flute’s tune. Giligiljau: If the male tube and the female tube are blown separately, they cannot produce a nice sound. Only when the male tube marries with the female tube, then the double-pipe flute can produce a nice sound. You should experience much sorrow and worry, and then you are able to blow a beautiful tune.

A lot of aboriginal music has altered to cater to the taste of Westernised people. The elders point out that “Rukai music has no fixed form; you need to innovate in
Rukai traditional tunes.”

Cheng: Is this kind of innovation part of your tradition?

Giligiljau: Yes, that is right. This is traditional innovation. You must improve tradition.

Cheng: You probably need to communicate with ancestral spirits and to move people deeply; accordingly you innovate the tune constantly.

Giligiljau: The Rukai flute initially had no large volume. I once performed on an occasion in which the Rukai flute overwhelmed the other musical instruments. It can be seen that there is a strong power behind the flute.
10. The Saisiyat

'Oemaw a 'Oebay, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 16 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Neihu, Taipei.

'Oemaw: Have you ever visited Nanzhuang [the hometown of the Saisiyat]?

Cheng: Before I came here, I already visited the Saisiyat Museum in Nanzhuang. I saw that there was a Jew’s harp, a bamboo slit drum, and a hip rattle in the museum.

Could I ask you about the Saisiyat names for musical instruments and their meaning?

Why the Jew’s harp was called kaborbor?

'Oemaw: kaborbor means the sound “borbor” producing instrument.

Cheng: Is ka- a verb?

'Oemaw: Yes. Ka- is a verb.

Cheng: What does ka- mean?

'Oemaw: Ka- is the action of pulling.

Cheng: What does borbor mean?

'Oemaw: Borbor is the sound of pulling. Therefore, kaborbor means “to produce the sound ‘borbor’ by pulling.”

§§§ The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Cheng: What is the Saisiyat name for the bamboo slit drum?

'Oemaw: The Saisiyat name for the bamboo slit drum is *kango’ngo’an*.

Cheng: Why did the Saisiyat add -an after *kango’ngo’*?

'Oemaw: *Kango’ngo’* means “bamboo stick” or “stick.” To add -an after *kango’ngo’* means “the beating instrument.”

Cheng: What does the *ka-* mean in *kango’ngo’*?

'Oemaw: The *ka-* means “the action of playing” in *kango’ngo’*. And *kango’ngo’* means “holding the bamboo stick by hand.”

Cheng: What does *tapangasan* mean?

'Oemaw: *Tapa-ngasan* is the hip rattle. *Tapa-* is a verb. *Ngasan* is the sound. *Tapa-ngasan* means “to make the action to produce the sound ngasan.” *Ngasan* is the sound of the bamboo rattle. [13:40]

Cheng: In the Museum, I found some *tapa-ngasan* made out of a cluster of little metal tubes and bronze vessel rattles.

'Oemaw: Both the metal tubes and the bronze vessel rattles are modern products, which are used to improve the jingle of the *tapa-ngasan*. The Saisiyat maybe got these things after the Han people came to Taiwan. In ancient times, the *tapa-ngasan* was only made out of a cluster of little bamboo tubes.

Cheng: Why does each *tapa-ngasan* have a little round mirror on it?
'Oemaw: The little round mirror is a symbol of the sun. The mirror is used to drive out evil spirits.

Cheng: What do kapae’pae’ and kapakpak mean?

'Oemaw: Both kapae’pae’ and kapakpak are names for the bamboo clapper [for scaring birds]. Again, ka- is a kind of verb. Both kapae’pae’ and kapakpak mean “using bamboo to make the sound of clapping.” Pae’pae’ means “the sound of clapping.” Pakpak means “the sound of the bamboo clapper.”

Cheng: What are the Saisiyat names for the mortar and pestle?

'Oemaw: The mortar is called lohong. And the pestle is called ’aeSo’.

Cheng: Do the Saisiyat use lohong and lohong in singing and dancing?

'Oemaw: We do not use lohong and lohong in dancing. In the old days, we regarded lohong and lohong as part of traditional ritual.

Cheng: What did the tapangasan do in the Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits [Pas-taai]?

'Oemaw: During the Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits, the tapangasan functioned as an instrument of sound supporting the singing and dancing. The tapangasan is a shaking instrument [suspension rattle].

Cheng: The tapangasan can provide accent in the rhythm of dancing. The papotol holy whip is also a form of sound-producing musical instrument.

'Oemaw: Papotol is a holy whip. Some people call it “Snake Whip.” During the
Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits, the priest of the Titiyon family whipped the papotol towards the air to drive out evil spirits or to stop rain.

Cheng: What does papotol mean?

'Oemaw: Pa- is a verb. Potol means “whip.” Papotol means “holy whip.”

Cheng: I know that some patients touched the priest of the Titiyon family to heal their sickness, while he was whipping the papotol.

'Oemaw: Yes. The papotol could protect people from evil spirits.

Cheng: Is the papotol composed of a male strand and a female strand?

'Oemaw: Yes, that is right. The papotol is a single length of whip made up of two interlaced strands of bark. In fact, the male strand and the female strand indicate the new strand and the old strand. Each year the papotol holder makes a new strand and keeps an old strand to form the papotol. After the Worship of Dwarfs’ Spirits, the old strand of the papotol must be cast aside and only the new strand is kept for next time.

Cheng: It is a kind of transition from the old to the new.

'Oemaw: Yes, that is right. The papotol is made out of the bark of the paper mulberry.

Cheng: What does kappa Sket mean?

'Oemaw: Kappa Sket means “headdress.” Kappa is a noun which means “in use over head.” Sket is also a noun which means “tightness.”
Cheng: What does *lalawir* mean?

'Oemaw: *Lalawir* are female earrings. *Lalawir* means “the swing of hanging earrings.”

Cheng: What does *kapa ae:aey* mean?

'Oemaw: *Kapa ae:aey* is a bangle; it means “the binding ring of the foot.”

Cheng: What does *siloe’* mean?

'Oemaw: *Siloe’* means “the beads of shellfish.”

Cheng: What is the Saisiyat name for the wood slit drum?

'Oemaw: All percussion instruments are called *kango’ngo’an*.

Cheng: Who can play the *kaborbor*?

'Oemaw: There is no limitation on playing the *kaborbor*.

Cheng: Did lovers play the *kaborbor* during courtship?

'Oemaw: Lovers had their own tune. Only they could understand the implied meaning of the tune.

Cheng: Did the Saisiyat have any flute in the old days?

'Oemaw: Yes, we had a bone flute. In ancient times, we used the bone of a deer to make the flute. However, the bone flute was not played in musical activities. A Saisiyat hunter brought the bone flute with him to hunt in the forest. If the hunter was attacked by a bear, he could play the bone flute to scare the bear away due to the
sharp tone of the flute.

Cheng: What is the Saisiyat name for the bone flute?

'Oemaw: *Kahiyopan. Kahiyo-* is a verb which means “to blow.” *Pan* is the sharp sound of the bone flute. The Atayal also had a similar musical instrument. They learnt to play the *kahiyopan* from the Saisiyat.

Cheng: What is the Saisiyat name for the dance hat?

'Oemaw: *Kilakin*. In the old days, the *kilakin* hat was small and light; it was made of leaves of plants. Now the *kilakin* hat is too big and too heavy; we put it on our shoulders.
Cheng: What is the name for the slit drum in Sakizaya?

Huang: *Tok tok*.

Cheng: What does it mean?

Huang: The meaning of *tok tok* is possibly mimicking the sound of the slit drum due to the repeated sound.

Cheng: Is the drumstick long or short?

Huang: Short.

Cheng: Does the slit drum have a stand?

Huang: No. In fact, there are two forms of drumsticks in the Sakizaya community. A slit drum with a pair of long drumsticks is used to accompany dance.

Cheng: Is it an oval cuboid with a slit?

Huang: Yes. Now all slit drums are artificial. In the past, it was best to find wood with a natural opening in the forest whose sound is clearer.

**** The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Cheng: What kind of wood is a slit drum generally made out of?

Huang: The best slit drum is made out of a la wai because it is hard and durable.

Cheng: Why do people use short drumsticks to beat a slit drum?

Huang: In the past, the Sakizaya people used short drumsticks to beat a slit drum to signal and communicate in the tribe.

Cheng: Do people play it on the floor or on a stand?

Huang: On the floor. The slit drum’s side lies on the floor. Whenever our tribe had important matters to discuss or any activity, all the villagers would be gathered together by means of beating the slit drum.

Cheng: Was the slit drum put in the men’s house?

Huang: Yes. There is a specialist signalling in the men’s house to convene all warriors together if there is an emergency. More rapid drumming indicates an urgent situation.

Cheng: Can women play the slit drum?

Huang: Women were not allowed to play the slit drum.

Cheng: Do they have an age limitation?

Huang: A slit drum player is appointed by the elders, and he usually has a higher rank in the age hierarchy. Ordinary people cannot play the slit drum at random without the instruction of the elder people.
Cheng: Although many instruments are now non-existent, do you remember the Sakizaya people having particular kinds of musical instruments in the early days? Or do you have any names for musical instruments in Sakizaya?

Huang: *Li bau* is a musical instrument; its meaning is a sound-producing instrument.

Cheng: For example, a bird scarer is also a form of sound-producing instrument.

Huang: In Sakizaya, the bird scarer is called *far far*. The structure of the *far far* is a bamboo pole which is cut along two-thirds of its length into a large number of long thin strips. The Sakizaya people used to strike the *far far* against wood, a wall, or the floor to scare birds. *Far far* is a homonym which also means “the wilted leaf of breadfruit.”

Cheng: Do you have any photos of the musical instrument?

Huang: It has scarcely any photos.

Cheng: It is OK. Is there any decoration on the slit drum?

Huang: There was no decoration on the slit drum in the past. The inside of the wood slit drum is usually chiselled into a u-shaped slit. *A la wai* wood is the best material.

Cheng: A slit drum with a pair of long drumsticks is for accompanying dance. Is it also made out of *a la wai*?
Huang: Yes. If people cannot find a *a la wai* in the woods, *la li de ts* can be used instead.

Cheng: Who is your slit drum teacher? How do you learn it?

Huang: The slit drum was only played in my grandfather’s generation. I saw and heard my grandfather’s generation drumming the slit drum to make signals during my childhood. Then there were a lot of children mimicking the adult’s way of drumming [a form of oral transmission].

In the past, the old made *li bau* out of bamboo. *Li bau* is a form of bamboo vertical flute with three finger-holes.

Cheng: Was there a wooden *li bau*?

Huang: Also, there was another *li bau* which was made out of wood. I saw this kind of musical instrument made by the old during my childhood. When I grew up, it was extinct. The wooden *li Bau* is a crab-shaped wooden vessel with four holes on the crab feet [it is possibly a form of ocarina].

Cheng: Was it similar to an ocarina?

Huang: It could be.

Cheng: Recently, other Formosan aboriginal groups have done a lot of aboriginal instrument revival. Is it possible to replicate this kind of musical instrument?

Huang: I am willing to do it by old memories if I have an opportunity. But,
unfortunately, most li bau players have passed away from this world.

Cheng: What was the performance context of the li bau?

Huang: Elderly people mainly played it in leisure time. At a party, everyone played the li bau or sang songs by turn.

Cheng: Why was the li bau made into a crab shape? Does the crab have any special meaning for the Sakizaya people?

Huang: I am not sure. The only thing I know is that Sakizaya people caught kia [a species of crab] in the Meilun Creek [beside Guo Fu Community, Hualien] in May and June before 1969.

Cheng: Elder. What was the main function of the slit drum when it accompanied dance?

Huang: The main function was to provide a steady rhythm for dancing.

Cheng: Does drumming have a fixed or an improvised rhythm? Or are all Sakizaya people familiar with the rhythm?

Huang: It depends on the drummer’s ability and skill; as a result, the rhythm of the drumming varies from person to person. For this reason, our community always chooses the best slit drummer to accompany dance.

Cheng: Do you remember how the slit drum made a signal?

Huang: For example, the signal indicated that all young
people should come to the male assembly hall. And the signal indicated that all villagers should congregate in the male assembly hall.

Cheng: Does such signalling still work in traditional festivals?

Huang: Now using the telephone is more convenient than signalling with the slit drum.

Cheng: Only the old generations know how to make signals.

Huang: Sakizaya people have another way of signalling, namely, kite-flying. The Sakizaya kite is a kind of **singing kite** [a form of sound-producing instrument]. Its sound is similar to whistling. Thin rattan, about 2 cm wide, is tied as a string to the ends of a bow; then the musical bow is attached above a kite and can produce an audible whistling when it is flown in the air.

Cheng: What shape is the kite?

Huang: It is a hexagon.

Cheng: Why did the Sakizaya make such a kite? What does it mean?

Huang: It was mainly to deliver messages. The kite easily got the attention of the tribal people. Sakizaya people could distinguish the signal from the shape of and the different coloured tassels on the singing kite. The principle for producing sound is the use of the wind and the elasticity of the bow.
Cheng: In what context was the slit drum used? And in what context was the singing kite used?

Huang: The slit drum was used for certain distances. However, the singing kite was used for longer distances due to its visible appearance. The kite signal was across villages.

Cheng: So if villagers were hunting in the mountains, they could recognise what was happening in their village through the kite.

Huang: Yes, definitely true. For instance, whenever there was an enemy sneak attack, the tribe would release kites to call for help and to order all the warriors to return home against the enemy.

Cheng: Was it also employed in requesting reinforcements from another tribe?

Huang: Yes. The old told me these things. But I am not sure what different meanings different coloured tassels had?

Cheng: Could only Sakizya people decode the kite signal in the past?

Huang: Yes. The whistling of the kite was very loud, even people in the next village, Ji An Township, could hear it very clearly.

Cheng: Other Formosan aboriginal groups could also hear and see the singing kite, but they did not know its exact meaning.

Huang: Yes. In the past, people scraped bark to make the kite.
Cheng: What kind of bark?

Huang: A camphor tree. The bark must be processed before use.

Cheng: In the past, people were so clever at utilising various materials from the natural environment.

Huang: Yes. But new technology changes everything in the aboriginal community.

Cheng: Formosan aboriginal people have also changed their entertainment.

Huang: Yes. When people have their own radio and television, they do not go to traditional congregational parties anymore. As a result, some tradition, e.g., musical instruments, died out.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the singing kite?

Huang: It is called *bai bai*.

Cheng: What does it mean?

Huang: *Bai bai* means “to float in the wind.” People can only fly the kite in their village. If you fly the kite outside your village, doing so will let the enemy know your whereabouts. [40:42]

Cheng: Sakizaya people used to fly a kite to signal. However, Tsou people used to spin a bamboo slice [bull-roarer] to signal. Do the Sakizaya have a similar instrument?

Huang: Yes. We used to tie a long string to a thin stone slice and spin it to produce
sound during my childhood. The thinnest stone made the loudest sound.

Cheng: Did it have a specific function?

Huang: Children played it just for amusement [it functioned as a toy].

Cheng: What is its name in Sakizaya?

Huang: We called it ber ber.

Cheng: Some sound-producing instruments are also included in musical instruments. Through this interview, I find that the Sakizaya have a lot of musical instruments.

Huang: Another form is a thin round stone with a chiseled slit around the stone, which allowed a player to pull the ends of string through this circle-like slit to produce sound.

Cheng: Is it similar to a yo-yo?

Huang: Yes. It is similar to a yo-yo. We also used the reverse side of a screw pine pith to roll as a mouthpiece. Further, the leaves of the screw pine were rolled into horn-shaped tubes, and then the mouthpiece was connected to the horn-shaped tube to form a trumpet-like instrument.

Cheng: So this is the screw pine trumpet.

Huang: This instrument is called piyu.

Cheng: What does it mean?
Huang: It probably imitates the sound “pi . . . pi” of the instrument.

Cheng: Does it break very quickly?

Huang: Yes. This instrument made out of screw pine cannot last in use. But the material of piyu was easily found along the banks of rivers and beaches in the early days. We also employed leaves whistle songs.

Cheng: Do the Sakizaya have any stringed instrument?

Huang: I remember that the aged people played a stringed instrument called the

\textit{teng gala teng}.

Cheng: Do you know the meaning of the name?

Huang: Gala means “irregular leap.” Teng is its sound.

Cheng: How many strings did it have?

Huang: Three strings on a wooden board.

Cheng: Oh! This is a form of three stringed zither. How was it played?

Huang: The left hand pressed the strings, and the right hand plucked the strings. The player wore a short triangular bamboo strip on his index finger to pluck the strings. The best bamboo strip was made out of a branch of \textit{ci zhu} 刺竹.

Cheng: How many years ago did you still have this instrument?

Huang: I saw this instrument in our village around 1947. It probably disappeared after 1957.
12. The Seediq-Truku††††

Iki Tadaw, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 14 July 2009, digital recording

(MIC00001), Taroko, Hualien County.

Cheng: I am a postgraduate studying aboriginal musical instruments. May I ask you some questions about the headhunting flute? What is its indigenous name in Truku?

Iki: Some people call the flute mgagu; some people call the flute pgagu.

Cheng: When did the Truku use it?

Iki: The elders said that when a stranger invaded our hunting fields or someone stole the crops we grew. After warning them several times, we reported such an event to the chieftain. Then the chieftain played the mgagu to recruit warriors in order to ambush on our border. When the enemy appeared, we hunted the human head and brought it back to our village.

Cheng: Did people also play the mgagu after bringing the head back?

Iki: After bringing the head back, the head was put on an altar, and then the mgagu was played in front of the head to soothe the soul of the head; thereby hoping that the

†††† The interviews were in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interviews into English.
head did not blame us for bringing him/her to our village, also hoping that the head
would invite the heads of his family to our village to accompany him/her.

Cheng: Is this practice similar to the Atayal’s gaga? The soul of the head would
 strengthen the mana of the headhunter’s village.

Iki: Yes, that is right. Gaya are the rules that were regulated by our ancestors.

Cheng: What is the name of the tune that was played by the chieftain’s mgagu for
commanding warriors to hunt head?

Iki: Few Truku played this tune. Once we played the tune, Truku warriors had to
go and hunt the enemy’s head.

Cheng: Were the tunes before and after headhunting different? What is the name of
the tune before headhunting?

Iki: The tune’s name is “Headhunting.” [Humming.]

Cheng: What tune was played after headhunting?

Iki: The tune is “The Head Worship.” The tune was used to comfort the hunted
head, to settle down the soul of the head in our village. The skull and hair were put on
a bamboo stand, which signified that the soul was there. If people encountered an
unfortunate event, they could tell the soul.

Cheng: What do mgagu and pgagu mean in the Truku language?

Iki: Mgagu indicates the flute for headhunting. Pgagu is also a kind of bird’s name.
Sometimes people confused the singing of the *pgagu* bird with the tune of the *pgagu* flute. Villagers possibly mistook that something was happening in their village, while the *pgagu* bird was singing.

Cheng: Perhaps this was the reason why the tune of the *pgagu* flute was difficult to recognise for the enemy.

Iki: In ancient times, a chieftain would play the *mgagu* to inform all the villagers whenever something was happening in the village.

Cheng: Labai Tiemu told me that you are the best *mgagu* player around this area.

Iki: In the past, I had no courage to play the *mgagu* because there was a taboo to play it. [9:08] During my childhood, my family had a *mgagu*; I was always curious about it. Afterward, the *mgagu* was put into a cave.

Cheng: Did your family preserve the *mgagu* in the cave?

Iki: Once I went to the cave to have a look at the *mgagu*, then I found the *mgagu* had decayed due to the humid atmosphere in the Taroko area. At that time, my family also had a bamboo skull stand in front of the house since it was a taboo to put a skull within a house. Later, the skull stand disappeared after the Japanese came.

Cheng: The practice of headhunting was banned in the Japanese colonial period.

Iki: In my father’s generation, people used to have a skull stand in front of their houses.
Cheng: Did the skull stand signify bravery?

Iki: Yes, that is right.

Cheng: Why can you play the mgagu?

Iki: During my childhood, my father and uncle frequently grasped their hands into a tube-like shape and blew it in order to imitate the playing of the mgagu whenever birds were singing. By imitating the birds’ chirps, the enemy could not possibly catch our watchword.

Cheng: Did you reproduce a mgagu afterward?

Iki: When I was a child, I asked, “My father, where is our mgagu?” He said that the mgagu had been involved in the activity of headhunting; therefore, there were spirits on that mgagu, and it was a taboo to put the mgagu in a house. For this reason, my father put the mgagu in a cave. Later, I secretly went to see the skulls weathered out, and the mgagu was gone. In the past, the Truku used to attach hair from a hunted head as a tassel on the mgagu as well as as a tassel on a knife.

Many years ago, I found a historical mgagu flute in the aboriginal exhibition in the National Palace Museum, and then I secretly took pictures of it home. [15:00]

I have made many mgagu. This mgagu took me a long time to make.

Cheng: May I measure the size of the mgagu?

Iki: The length of this mgagu is just a little shorter than the original one.
Cheng: What does the carving on the mgagu mean?

Iki: I carved some patterns on the mgagu. There was no carving on the original one.

Cheng: Can you make your own mgagu?

Iki: I have already made more than twenty mgagu, but only two or three of them are playable. [15:57] Whenever I found that I had drilled a finger-hole in the wrong place or with poor tone, I would use a bamboo stick to plug the wrong finger-hole and then drill a new one.

Cheng: Does the chamfered orifice of the mgagu have a regular size?

Iki: The chamfered orifice has no regular size. I must chisel the chamfered orifice of the mgagu slowly and adjust the tone carefully because the chamfered orifice is close to the bamboo node in the upper bamboo tube. The size of the chamfered orifice influences the tone of the mgagu. Also, I open an orifice at the constricted foot [bamboo node] of the mgagu.

Cheng: Are there three finger-holes on the mgagu?

Iki: Originally, the mgagu had five finger-holes.

Cheng: How many finger-holes are there in the elders’ memories?

Iki: There were also five finger-holes.

Cheng: Why does the mgagu now just have three finger-holes?
Iki: I decided it [for playing the instrument more easily and conveniently]. Re [D] is to stop all the finger-holes. Mi [E] is to stop two finger-holes. So [G] is to stop one finger-hole. La [A] is to open all finger-holes. [17:49] The pitch is the same as the Truku xylophone [i.e., D-E-G-A].

Cheng: How do you decide the pitch of the mgagu? Which finger-hole do you drill first?

Iki: Before drilling any finger-hole, the pitch of the bamboo tube is Re [D]. And then after drilling the first two finger-holes, its pitch is Mi [E].

Cheng: Does the mgagu have a regular diameter?

Iki: No.

Cheng: Do you use any device to measure the pitch of the mgagu?

Iki: It all depends on my hearing.

Cheng: What tool do you use to drill the finger-holes?

Iki: I use a gas burner to heat a thick wire in the flame and then use the heated wire to drill the finger-holes. [21:23] After burning and drilling the finger-holes, I use a sharp knife to repair them. In addition, I have a large mgagu for use in performances.

Cheng: Does the large mgagu have the same pitch?

Iki: Yes, it is the same as this mgagu.

Cheng: What is the mgagu made out of? [22:53]
Iki: The *mgagu* is made of makino bamboo.

Cheng: Does Taroko have much makino bamboo?

Iki: There is much makino bamboo around here.

Cheng: How old is the bamboo which is the best material to make *mgagu*?

Iki: Old makino bamboo around three or four years old is the best.

Cheng: Do you dry the bamboo?

Iki: Generally, old bamboo is drier. After cutting the bamboo, we can use it immediately to make a *mgagu* if the bamboo tube is not wet inside. In contrast, the bamboo needs to dry in the air about one month if the bamboo tube is wet inside.

However, bamboo cannot dry directly in the sun, otherwise the bamboo will crack.

Cheng: You began to reproduce the *mgagu* after taking photos in the National Palace Museum. Did you consult tribal elders about whether your *mgagu* has the same structure as before?

Iki: Yes, tribal elders told me where to drill the holes and how to utilise a sharp and thin iron blade to open the chamfered orifice of the *mgagu*. Therefore, I first use a knife obliquely to dig a chamfered orifice, and then I use a utility knife to repair it. And using a ground blade, I pierce a vent in the bamboo node between the mouthpiece and the chamfered orifice. The vent in the bamboo node cannot be pierced too carefully inside or outside. The first time I played the *mgagu* in public,
some tribal people asked me, “Why do you dare to play the mgagu?” I responded,

“The tide has turned! I must play the mgagu, otherwise Truku children will not know what the mgagu is?”

Cheng: The mgagu could disappear if no one plays it. Did you teach your kids to play the mgagu?

Iki: No, I just taught them to play the Jew’s harp. Also, I made some Truku Jew’s harps.

Cheng: Does the Jew’s-harp tube [case] originate from Truku tradition?

Iki: Yes, the Jew’s-harp tube originates from Truku tradition.

Cheng: Does the decoration on the Jew’s-harp tube also originate from Truku tradition?

Iki: I carved decorations on it so it would look good. The Truku have a single bamboo-tongue Jew’s harp in the early form, the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp, and Jew’s harps from two copper tongues to five copper tongues.

[Iki performs the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp.]

[Iki performs the single bamboo-tongue Jew’s harp.]

[Iki performs the double copper-tongue Jew’s harp.]

[Iki uses the three copper-tongue Jew’s harp to play “Love Song.”]

[Iki uses the four copper-tongue Jew’s harp to play “Joy Song.”] [27:40]
The pitch of the four copper-tongue Jew’s harp is Re-Mi-So-La [D-E-G-A]. I frequently felt faint, when I play the Jew’s harp in the harvest festival. The pitch of the five copper-tongue Jew’s harp is Re-Mi-So-La-Re’ [D-E-G-A-D’].

[Iki performs the double copper-tongue Jew’s harp.]

Cheng: Did you make these Jews harps?

Iki: These Jew’s harps are all made by me. We once had a Jew’s harp with eight copper tongues, which has not been used since Japanese colonial officers introduced the Western harmonica into Formosan aboriginal communities. For this reason, many elders like to play the harmonica.

Cheng: Did the Jew’s harp accompany people’s singing?

Iki: We used to dance to a Jew’s-harp accompaniment. Sometimes people dance and play the Jew’s harp simultaneously.

Cheng: Did you find your own way of making Jew’s harps or learn from tribal elders?

Iki: Ancient Jew’s harps are preserved in good condition; these have been handed down from tribal elders. [30:00]

Cheng: How did people get copper in the past?

Iki: I have heard that there has been copper since the Dutch came to Taiwan.

Cheng: Is it possible to use other metals to make the tongue of the Jew’s harp?
Iki: Copper tongues can produce a better sound. In the Dutch [Japanese actually] colonial period, each family was given a copper pot as a gift, thereby expecting to have a good relationship with tribal people.

Cheng: Do you know when the Truku invented the single bamboo-tongue Jew’s harp?

Iki: We have had the single bamboo-tongue Jew’s harp since our ancestral times. The single bamboo-tongue is as old as Truku history.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the single bamboo-tongue Jew’s harp?

Iki: We call it gaugau.

Cheng: What does gaugau mean?

Iki: The tone of the single bamboo-tongue Jew’s harp sounds like gaugau. And the name for the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu.


Iki: Lubu means “musical instrument” as well as “the Jew’s harp.”

Cheng: So lubu indicates the single copper-tongue Jew’s harp.

Iki: The name for the double copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgdha; tgdha means “two.” The name for the three copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgtru; tgtru means “three.” The name for the four copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgsba; tgsba means “four.” The name for the five copper-tongue Jew’s harp is lubu tgryma; tgryma
means “five.”

Cheng: What is the spelling system of the Truku?

Iki: We use the Roman alphabet in our church. In the Japanese colonial period, if the Japanese found we spoke in Truku, they would punish us.

Cheng: Did people play the lubu when dating in the past?

Iki: The lubu was used during courtship.

Cheng: Did a man and woman use the lubu to respond to each other?

Iki: Yes, that is right. Lubu also means “verbal affection”; that is, people can show their affection to someone through playing the lubu.

Cheng: Did they have a specific signal or melody?

Iki: Only they could understand the melodic meaning of each other. For example, a man played the lubu in the moonlight near a woman’s house to express his affection. If the woman was fond of the man, she would play the lubu to respond to him. If the woman was not fond of the man, she would not play the lubu to respond to him.

Afterwards, they dated frequently. They gave a piece of the tassels of the lubu to each other in each date. After dating more than a dozen times, the man could go to the woman’s family to propose marriage to her. At that time, the woman’s tassels functioned as a token of love for the man.

Cheng: Does lubu mean “affection” in the Truku language? [39:03]
Iki: In the Truku language, *lubu* means “the Jew’s harp,” “musical instrument,” and “affection.” The extended meaning of *lubu* indicates that lovers can express their affection through playing the *lubu*.

Cheng: The Truku play the *lubu* to accompany singing and dancing. Do you know whether this practice originated from modern times or tradition? [39:35]

Iki: This practice originates from tradition.

Cheng: Do the Truku have a wood slit drum?

Iki: Yes, the Truku have a wood slit drum, whose name is *wubon*. The *wubon* originates from the weaving trough of the Truku. *Wubon* originally meant “loom.” In addition, we call the wooden xylophone *tatuk*.

Cheng: Do you use long beaters or short beaters to knock the *wubon*?

Iki: It depends on what you need.

Cheng: Do you know whether the slit of the *wubon* faces up or sideways?

Iki: It also depends on what a player needs. I prefer to put the slit of the *wubon* facing sideways. You can find your own way to beat it.

Cheng: Is your ethnic group close to the Truku or the Seediq?

Iki: We are all Truku. Originally, we were in the same big family without difference between the Truku and the Seediq. In the Hualien area, the Toda group and the Truku group both lived together. Later, the Government recognized the ethnicity
of the Seediq. The Seediq of Nantou County regard the Truku as his little brother.

Cheng: Did you learn to play the lubu during childhood?

Iki: At first, I learnt to play the lubu from tribal elders. During my childhood, I heard tribal elders playing the wooden xylophone frequently. And I once saw an elder playing the wooden xylophone on the roof.

Cheng: Why did he play the wooden xylophone on the roof?

Iki: This way made the sound go farther and clearer.

Cheng: Did he deliver any signal?

Iki: Playing the xylophone also delivered signals. At that time, I was so curious about why the elder played the xylophone and sang songs at the same time.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the wooden xylophone?

Iki: Tatuk.

Cheng: Did you ever see someone making a signal?

Iki: In the old days, the Truku used the tatuk to assemble the tribal people. At that time, our social system was all tribal people shared prey together. For example, if a hunter had a good bag and wanted to share a feast with the tribal people, he would play the tatuk to inform households in the distance, inviting them here to have a feast together. Sometimes the tatuk functioned as a means of communication between two places.
Cheng: Does the *tatuk* have a regular rhythm?

Iki: A tune is called “The Tune of Calling People to Share the Prey” in the Truku. I think that each tribe has its own specific rhythm to make a signal.

Cheng: What are the most common performance contexts to play the *tatuk*?

Iki: The most common situations of playing the *tatuk* are weddings and successful hunts. For instance, a groom-to-be went to meet the bride-to-be at her home on the opposite mountain in order to escort her back to his home for the wedding. In Truku tradition, the groom-to-be utilised a wooden chair to carry the bride-to-be on his back during the escorting trip to the groom-to-be’s home. During the trip, the bride-to-be’s feet could not touch the ground, otherwise the marriage could bring unhappiness.

Cheng: I heard that the Truku have a four-stringed zither. Is this true?

Iki: Yes, that is true. The Truku have a four-stringed zither. A tribal elder once told me that the four-stringed zither was made out of wood and steel strings.

Cheng: Were steel strings available in the early period?

Iki: In the old days, we took our jewellery to exchange for steel strings with other ethnic groups.

Cheng: Do you still have the four-stringed zither nowadays?

Iki: I have heard of the four-stringed zither, but I forget what it looks like? [46:33]

Cheng: I have read about the four-stringed zither of the Truku in Hayoyodau’s
Iki: He seemed to make his own four-stringed zither.

Cheng: Do you know the indigenous name for the four-stringed zither?

Iki: The four-stringed zither is also called lubu.

Cheng: Did the Truku play the four-stringed lubu for entertainment?

Iki: The four-stringed lubu was mainly played for entertainment. And the lubu [the Jew’s harp] was played during courtship. As for the tatuk, it was played to signal or to make joyful signals. For example, during the harvest festival, children played the tatuk in ensemble, which sounded very spectacular.

Cheng: Can males and females play the tatuk?

Iki: Both males and females can play the tatuk. The mgagu was mainly played by a successful headhunter, chieftain, priest, and tribal elders. And only a successful headhunter could have a tattoo on his chin. In ancient times, the Tsenawan [the Amis] liked to steal our vine cores to eat; therefore, the Truku frequently hunted their heads.

Cheng: I saw that the family of a groom-to-be gave a wubon as a gift to the family of the bride-to-be in the Truku wedding. Is this ritual part of Truku tradition?

Iki: In tradition, the wubon is a precious thing.

Cheng: I saw an old woman weave cloth in Bruwan, Taroko Park. What is the wubon made out of?
Iki: The wubon is made out of the wood of the *Michelia Formosana*. There are many *Michelia Formosana* trees on nearby mountains. The wood of the *Michelia Formosana* is the highest class of wood in Taiwan. The wood of the *Michelia Formosana* is very heavy; thereby the wubon can weave in steadiness.

In the old days, the Truku also had a bamboo tatuk.

Cheng: Is the range of the bamboo xylophone also Re-Mi-So-La [D-E-G-A]? Is it also called tatuk?

Iki: Yes, that is right. Both the wooden xylophone and the bamboo xylophone are called tatuk. In the past, my mom had a bamboo tatuk. *Tatuk* means “to knock.”

Cheng: Do the Truku have their own classification of musical instruments in specific use?

Iki: Our attitude is more casual and without mandatory rules.

The Truku Cultural Development Association and I performed in the Hualien Joint Harvest Festival. My performance was the first item of the first day’s programme in the Hualien Joint Harvest Festival. Then I played my creative song on the mgagu; its lyrics are the following: “Calling the Truku descendants, do not hesitate any more. The Sun is rising. And we have to follow the footsteps of the Sun without hesitation. We are the Truku who are a very hard-working people.”

Cheng: There is relatively no traditional taboo while people perform creative
music. I know that many aboriginal groups have a taboo to perform traditional ritual songs in performance.

Iki: We are also not allowed to sing traditional ritual songs at random in public.

Cheng: Is the range of your creative music also Re-Mi-So-La [D-E-G-A]?

Iki: Yes, that is right. But I use a contemporary way of singing. For example, when I sang “Happy Together,” I sang, “Today is the Harvest Festival, we are happy to be together. No hard thinking! From the old to children, all are happy to be together. You can ask our ancestral spirits, if you want to request a peaceful future.” [Improvised lyrics meet the needs of the immediate performance context at that time.] This is my creative song. A lot of tribal people think that I am brilliant to invent music within the traditional form of the Truku.

Cheng: Labai Tiemu told me that you are the winner of Golden Music Awards in Taiwan.

Iki: I am also the bronze winner of the Chinese International Vocal Competition 2008 in New York. By the way, it is a must-do to promote Formosan aboriginal music to highlight the characteristics of Taiwanese culture.
Hayu Yudaw, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 20 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001), Taroko, Hualien County.

Cheng: How do you place the four-stringed zither to play it?

Yudaw: Normally, I put the four-stringed zither on a table to play it.

Cheng: What is the function of the holes in the board of the four-stringed zither?

Yudaw: The holes in the board of the four-stringed zither have a good function on the resonance of the sound. We traditionally put a box under the board of the four-stringed zither which functions as a resonator.

Cheng: Player can decide to play with a resonator or without a resonator?

Yudaw: Yes, that is right. [33:40] This four-stringed zither is plucked by a bamboo slip.


D dd e ee g ed ee e. dd gg d- g ed e ee. dd g- dd g- dd g- ed ee e. dd a- dd g- ed ee e.dd g- dd g- dd g- ed ee e. gg d- gg ed e-. g- a- gg ad ee e-. gg ee gg dd g- ed ee e-. g-

e- g- e- gg ee gg e- gg ed ee e-. gg ee gg e- g- ed ee e-.

Cheng: It sounds like the Chinese zither.

Yudaw: Yes, exactly.

Cheng: What is the performance context of the four-stringed zither?
Yudaw: Old people played the four-stringed zither for self-entertainment. [29:45]

Cheng: Did the Truku accompany people’s singing on the four-stringed zither?

Yudaw: No, the four-stringed zither was played in solo.

Cheng: Were both genders eligible to play the four-stringed zither?

Yudaw: There was no limitation on a player’s gender.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the four-stringed zither?

Yudaw: The four-stringed zither is called lubug spat qnawal. Qnawal means “string.” Spat means “four.” And Lubug means “musical instrument.”

Cheng: The volume of the lubug spat qnawal is quite low. If nowadays people use the lubug spat qnawal to accompany singing, they need to equip it with a microphone. In this case, a singer would not be allowed to sing up.

Yudaw: Yes, that is right.

Cheng: Did the Truku traditionally used a bamboo slip to pluck the lubug spat qnawal?

Yudaw: Yes, we traditionally use a bamboo slip to pluck the lubug spat qnawal. In contrast, now we employ a pair of chopsticks to play the lubug spat qnawal.

Cheng: It sounds like the dulcimer.

Yudaw: Yes. In fact, we use the method of the Truku xylophone to play the lubug spat qnawa. It could be played together with the Truku xylophone.
Cheng: I guess that a xylophone player needs to play quietly with the *lubug spat qnawal*.

Yudaw: Yes, exactly.

Cheng: Was the *lubug spat qnawal* initially equipped with a resonator?

Yudaw: People equipped the *lubug spat qnawal* with a resonant box later.

Cheng: What is the *lubug spat qnawal* made out of?

Yudaw: The board of the *lubug spat qnawal* is made out of hard wood.

Cheng: Do the Truku of Wan-Rong Township also have the *lubug spat qnawal*?

Yudaw: In the old days, the Truku of Wan-Rong Township had the *lubug spat qnawal*.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the headhunter’s flute?

Yudaw: The headhunter’s flute is called *pgagu*.

Cheng: What does *pgagu* mean?

Yudaw: *Pgagu* is the name of a bird, which is a kind of green bird. G A- DGE-.

The flute and the bird share the same name. G-A GA GA G-. We called the name for the flute *pgagu*.

Cheng: Is the headhunter’s flute a reflection of the *pgagu*?

Yudaw: I am not sure.

Cheng: Is the range of the *pgagu* also D-E-G-A?
Yudaw: I have read related literature. The range of the *pgagu* is not exactly D-E-G-A. The *pgagu* has four finger-holes.

Cheng: When did a headhunter play the *pgagu* in ancient times?

Yudaw: In ancient times, a headhunter played the *pgagu* midway on his way home after a successful headhunting.

Cheng: So successful headhunters are eligible to play the *pgagu*.

Yudaw: Yes.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the xylophone?

Yudaw: The xylophone is called *tatuk* or *lubug tatuk*.

Cheng: What does *tatuk* mean?

Yudaw: *Tatuk* means “knock.” *Lubug tatuk* means “the musical instrument of the knock.”

Cheng: What is the origin of the *tatuk*?

Yudaw: The *tatuk* is handed down from ancient times. A hunter played the *tatuk* to notify the villagers that he had a good bag in hunting. Or people played the *tatuk* for self-entertainment after coming off work.

Cheng: Who can play the *tatuk*?

Yudaw: The majority of players are male.

Cheng: Why?
Yudaw: As far as I know, most musical instruments were played by males.

Cheng: Perhaps females needed to weave cloth.

Yudaw: Yes, that is right.

Cheng: What is the social function of the Jew’s harp?

Yudaw: Males played the Jew’s harp to transmit his affection. In contrast, females played the Jew’s harp for self-entertainment.

Cheng: The Jew’s harp is called lubug. Is that right?

Yudaw: Yes, that is right. The Jew’s harp is also called lubug palai.

Cheng: What does lubug palai mean?

Yudaw: Lubug palai means “real musical instrument.”

Cheng: What is the tongue of the lubug made out of?

Yudaw: Some tongues of lubug are made out of copper. Some tongues of lubug are made out of bamboo.

Cheng: What kinds of lubug are popular in the Truku?

Yudaw: The lubug with a bamboo tongue and the lubug with four copper tongues are both popular in the Truku.

Cheng: How many tongues can a lubug possibly have?

Yudaw: The lubug can be made with five copper tongues at the most.

Cheng: The copper tongue is attached to the frame of a bamboo lubug.
Yudaw: Yes, exactly.

Cheng: Do you know that the Paiwan have a kind of Jew’s harp which is entirely made of metal?

Yudaw: I see that the Paiwan have a kind of Jew’s harp which is entirely made of metal.

Cheng: Do the Truku have a lubug with three copper tongues?

Yudaw: No. The Truku traditionally have no lubug with three copper tongues to play music.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the lubug with five tongues?

Yudaw: The lubug with five tongues is called lubug lima. The lubug with four tongues is called lubug spat. The lubug with two tongues is called lubug dha. The lubug with one tongue is called lubug burux. Burux means “single.”

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the lubug with a bamboo tongue?

Yudaw: The lubug with a bamboo tongue is called lubug qauqau.

Cheng: What does qauqau mean?

Yudaw: Qauqau means “the sound of the bamboo lubug.”

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Cheng: Does the size of the lubug affect the volume of the lubug?
Yudaw: No. The volume of the *lubug* is affected by the maker’s technology. And the dynamics of pulling the *lubug* affects the volume of the *lubug*. Also, the player’s oral cavity affects the resonance of the *lubug*. 
13. The Siraya


Cheng: Do you have a nose flute?

Wan: The nose flute is a more traditional musical instrument of the Siraya.

Cheng: What kind of instruments are the most traditional musical instruments of the Siraya?

Wan: The nose flute and the bamboo Jew’s harp are the most traditional musical instruments of the Siraya. Such traditional musical instruments are based on the material culture of bamboo in the Siraya.

Cheng: What kind of traditional musical instruments do the Siraya still have?

Wan: The aforementioned nose flute and the bamboo Jew’s harp are more authentic. Other musical instruments are somewhat invented musical instruments, which originally were daily tools.

Cheng: What is the finger assignment on the nose flute?

Wan: The nose flute has four finger-holes, which can produce A-C-D-E-G, five

The interview was in Holo Taiwanese, The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Cheng: How do you do the tuning of the nose flute?

Wan: There is an interval of about two finger-widths between two finger-holes. We can improve the tone of the nose flute by adjusting the size of the finger-holes.

Cheng: What is the name of the tune of the nose flute?

Wan: The nose flute has just five notes, which makes it difficult to play a song. In our oral tradition, a young man played the nose flute during courtship. In the old days, a boy would play the nose flute around a girl’s house to express his adoration. If the girl liked the boy, she would play her Jew’s harp to respond to the boy.

Cheng: Did the Siraya play the nose flute to accompany people’s singing?

Wan: Few people played the nose flute in such a context. Nowadays, we play the nose flute and the Jew’s harp together in various performances. In the old days, the length of the nose flute was longer than the contemporary one; therefore, the pitch of the old nose flute was lower than the contemporary one. The contemporary nose flute is short and with a high tune.

Cheng: What is the performance context of the wooden slit drum?

Wan: Whenever we played the wooden slit drum to accompany people’s dancing, the atmosphere was boisterous. By following the drumming, children would have the correct dance steps.
Cheng: What is the slit drum made out of?

Wan: The slit drum is made of bamboo. The bamboo slit drum is hollow.

Cheng: The hollow of the bamboo drum can produce resonance. What are the thin covering and bamboo sticks for?

Wan: On the bamboo slit drum, the thick outer layer of bamboo was planed into a thin covering, and two parallel slits were cut in the thin covering. Further, two bamboo sticks propped up both ends to have good resonance.

Cheng: Where did you get the bamboo tubes?

Wan: These bamboo tubes all come from local bamboo. [16:29]

Cheng: Did you get rid of the nodes inside the bamboo tubes?

Wan: I only got rid of the nodes inside thick bamboo tubes for knocking a bass note. However, I did not get rid of the nodes inside thin bamboo tubes for knocking a high note.

Cheng: The pitch of the thin bamboo tube is higher than the thick one. How did you play it?

Wan: In fact, I can directly knock the bamboo tubes on the floor to accompany singing. But I prefer knocking the bamboo tubes on a hollow tree trunk to produce resonant drumming with vigor and to have fun. [17:38]

Cheng: What is the performance context of the percussion tube?
Wan: In the old days, vendors or farmers used a carrying pole to carry heavy stuff. After unloading heavy stuff, people sang working songs for self-entertainment; simultaneously, they used a little wooden stick or knife to beat their carrying pole to accompany their singing. Have you heard *bo a kua* [old women’s song] before?

Cheng: No.

Wan: The *bo a kua* song originated from spontaneous singing. Traditionally, aboriginal people are good at improvised singing. The *bo a kua* song came from an elderly woman of the Siraya, who has already passed away.

And this is the bird scarer.

Cheng: What is its context of use?

Wan: In the old days, the bamboo clapper functioned as a bird scarer. I was knocking the bird scarer while the Siraya people were marching in a demonstration.
The Tao


Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the pestle?

Lin: The pestle is called bangesan.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the mortar?

Lin: The mortar is called osong.

Cheng: Are there any traditional musical instruments in the Tao?

Lin: During my childhood, we drilled holes in the stem of a papaya as a toy flute.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the flute?

Lin: We called it singaiyu. Tao children also used the roots of screw pine to make a toy clapper.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the clapper?

Lin: We called it lalam.

The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Kilashi Ihktafatu and Ishul Shinawanan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng.

Cheng, 1 August 2009, digital recording (RHP005.WAV), Zitun (Sun Moon Lake), Nantou County.

Cheng: What does takan mean?

Kilashi: Dagang are the bamboo tubes which follow the large wooden pestles for stamping in ensemble. Dagang means “bamboo tube.” The role of dagang is to match the stamping pestles when people play the masbabir.

Cheng: What does masbabir mean?

Kilashi: Masbabir indicates “to play the tune of the stamping pestles.” Masbabir means “to knock” in Thao.

Cheng: Do the Thao still have a musical bow?

Kilashi: It is a kind of mouth musical instrument.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the mouth musical instrument?

***** The interview was in Holo Taiwanese, The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Kilashi: The mouth musical instrument is called *latuk*. The structure of the *latuk* is bow shaped.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the Jew’s harp?

Kilashi: The Jew’s harp is called *bulingau*. *Pish-bulingau* means “to play the Jew’s harp.” By the same token, *bish-latuk* means “to play the musical bow.”

Cheng: What does *bish* mean?

Kilashi: *Bish-* indicates the action of playing.

Cheng: How do you say “to play the *dagang*”?

Kilashi: *Kumuba-dagan* means “to play the *dagang*.”

Cheng: What does *kumuba-* mean?

Kilashi: *Kumuba-* indicates the action of stamping on the ground.

Cheng: Could I put *kumuba-* in front of *masbabir*?

Kilashi: No. The wooden pestle is called *taturtur*. The performance of the *taturtur* is called *masbabir*.

Kilashi: I see that there is a singing activity between two *masbabir*.

Kilashi: Yes.

Cheng: Are *bish-bulingau* and *bish-latuk* related to any singing activity?
Kilashi: No. The Thao just play *bish-bulingau* and *bish-latuk* individually.

Cheng: Must the *dagang* accompany the stamping of the *taturtur*?

Kilashi: Yes. The playing of the *dagang* must match the stamping of the *taturtur*.

Cheng: Do *dagang* vary in size?

Kilashi: Yes. A small and short *dagang* produces a tender sound. A large and long *dagang* produces an old sound.

Cheng: Did the Thao play a wooden slit drum in the old days?

Kilashi: In the old days, we had no wooden slit drum. Our females used it as the trough of a loom. Now the Thao use the wooden slit drum in contemporary performance.

Cheng: Are males and females both eligible to play *masbabir*?

Kilashi: The two genders are eligible to *masbabir*. People know the tune of *masbabir*, all who are eligible to play *masbabir*.

Cheng: So the two genders and all age groups can play all the musical instruments of the Thao.

Kilashi: Yes, exactly.
Cheng: I saw each dancer clap a pair of bamboo sticks while they were
dancing. Did the Thao have such percussion sticks in the old days?

Kilashi: Dancers exploit the sound of the bamboo sticks to enhance a
boisterous atmosphere to entertain tourists. This can lengthen the
programme of performance; otherwise the show would be too short.

Cheng: When do people play *masbabir*?

Kilashi: The Thao play *masbabir* on the Thao New Year’s Eve,
namely, the final day of July in the lunar calendar. People play *masbabir*
from the night of New Year’s Eve to the dawn of the New Year. Tribal
people are used to playing *masbabir* by turn, so it can be played a long
time. In my opinion, the Government should officially recognise the
ethnicity of the Plains aborigines. This can increase the strength of the
Taiwanese aboriginal population. It also can raise the aboriginal seats in
parliament. [39:47] We should not divide aboriginal peoples into
mountain aborigines and lowland aborigines. Each aboriginal group
should have its own member of parliament.

Cheng: Do you know someone who can still play the musical bow
and the Jew’s harp?
Kilashi: I played the musical bow and the Jew’s harp in the past. Unfortunately, I lost the musical instruments when building a house, so I could not play them now. Some Jew’s harps have one metal tongue; some Jew’s harps have two metal tongues. Traditionally, the tongue of the Jew’s harp is made out of copper.

Cheng: How do you play the musical bow?

Kilashi: The player uses his left hand to hold the musical bow and uses his right hand to pluck the string. It depends on the player’s custom. In the old days, the Thao also had a bamboo vertical flute and a bamboo transverse flute.

Cheng: What is the indigenous name for the bamboo flute?

Kilashi: We called the bamboo flute pupu.

Cheng: What does pupu mean?

Kilashi: Pupu indicates a kind of bamboo object. Bish-pupu means “to play the bamboo flute.” [31:08] Both the bamboo vertical flute and the bamboo transverse flute are called pupu.

Cheng: What was the performance context of the pupu?

Kilashi: In the old days, the Thao played the pupu for their entertainment in the evening.
Cheng: Did a *pupu* player accompany people’s singing?

Kilashi: No, the *pupu* was only played in solo. [29:21] Now many musical instruments have failed to be handed down from past generations. I remembered my mother once had two Jew’s harps. And I played the Jew’s harp when I was young. I imitated the way of playing from my mother. A player needs to select a good Jew’s harp. A good Jew’s harp is small in size with a loud volume. It depends on the maker’s technology.

Cheng: What was the traditional performance context of the *bulingau*?

Kilashi: The Thao played the *bulingau* Jew’s harp during courtship in ancient times. Lovers employed the *bulingau* to communicate with each other. However, most *bulingau* players were females since males were out working. [27:48] I worked all day long to raise a group of children. After coming off work and having dinner, I went to bed early; therefore, I had no opportunity to play the *bulingau*. [25:09] Our ancestors initially lived in the location of the Isle of La Lu. During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese changed the Thao’s residence to the present location to build a waterpower station in 1934.
The Plains aborigines should invent their tradition to adapt their culture to contemporary society in Taiwan. For example, aboriginal people can hold various festivals in different seasons to draw the attention of the Government to seek official recognition of ethnicity.

Kilashi Ihktafatu, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 1 August 2009, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Zitun (Sun Moon Lake), Nantou County.

Cheng: Today is the Thao New Year’s Eve. Is that right?

Kilashi: Yes, exactly.

Cheng: Where do people play masbabir tonight?

Kilashi: Masbabi will take place in the dance house.

Cheng: Did the Thao originally play masbabir indoors?

Kilashi: Yes, the Thao originally played masbabir indoors. The main reason is that the indoor space is too narrow, so we moved masbabir to the dance house to invite more people to participate in it.

Cheng: How long does the Thao New Year take place?
Kilashi: The Thao New Year will be taking place for about one month.

There are a lot of dancing activities during the Thao New Year. It will finish about 22 August in the lunar calendar.

Cheng: I know that the Thao employ a long bamboo clapper to strike the ground during the ritual of anti-evil spirits.

Ishul: It is to drive out evil spirits. [7:41]

Kilashi: The ritual of anti-evil spirits is held between 3 August and 10 August. On 10 August, the priest of the Chen family holds a long bamboo clapper to strike loudly on the ground and to lead a long line of people to parade in a circle simultaneously. At the end of the line of people, another priest of the Chen family drags a broom behind him to sweep the ground.

Cheng: What is the name of the long bamboo clapper?

Kilashi: It is called shasiusiu.

Cheng: What does shasiusiu mean?

Kilashi: Shasiusiu indicates the sound of the long bamboo clapper, which is a tool to drive out evil spirits. [5:04]

Cheng: Both the long bamboo clapper and the broom are called shasiusiu. Is that right?

Kilashi: Yes, that is right.
Ishul: It is bad to play *masbabir* at the dance house.

Cheng: Traditionally, the Thao play *masbabir* in the house of the Yuan chieftain on New Year’s Eve.

Kilashi: Yes, that is right. Now the house of the Yuan chieftain has become a restaurant.

Cheng: I know there is a slate of *masbabir* in the restaurant.

Kilashi: Now, the Yuan family moves *masbabir* to the house of the old brother [Yuan Fu-zhi]. [4:43]

Cheng: When will *masbabir* take place on Thao New Year’s Eve?

Kilashi: Traditionally, *masbabir* takes place from 7:00 pm to 07:00 am.

Cheng: Is *shasiusiu* a noun or a verb? Is *shasiusiu* one word or two words?

Kilashi: *shasiusiu* is one word and a noun.

Cheng: Do the priests re-use the *shasiusiu* every year?

Kilashi: The old *shasiusiu* must be cast away. The priest must make new *shasiusiu* each year for the ritual of anti-evil spirits.
16. The Tsou††††

Tibusungu ’e Vayayana, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, 21 September 2009, digital recording (RHP001–2.WAV), Taiwan Normal University, Taipei.

Cheng: What does euvuvu mean?

Vayayana: Eu- is a verb, which possibly means “to swing.” Vuvu indicates the sound of the bullroarer. And moengū [the forged bell] means “loud and clear euphony.”

Cheng: Yutngotngo is the musical bow. What does yutngotngo mean?

Vayayana: Yu- possibly means “to produce sound.” Tngotngo possibly means “the sound of the musical bow.”

Cheng: What is the name for the armlet that is made of a boar’s tusks?

Vayayana: Peo’ū.

Cheng: Is the peo’ū worn on the left arm?

Vayayana: Sometimes people wear peo’ū on both upper arms.

Cheng: A lot of instrument names were spelled in Japanese. Their pronunciations are slightly different from the original pronunciations.

†††† The interview was in Mandarin. The researcher directly translated and transcribed the interview into English.
Vayayana: These musical instruments cannot be found in contemporary life.

Cheng: In the National Taiwan Museum, many historical musical instruments of the Tsou are preserved in good condition. In addition, Shun-I Museum borrowed many Formosan aboriginal musical instruments from the National Museum of Ethnology (Japan), including the musical bow and the bamboo flute of the Tsou.

Vayayana: These displays all lack the indigenous names for the musical instruments.

Cheng: In my research, I want to understand the meaning of instrument names to explore whether the Tsou have an indigenous classification of musical instruments.

Vayayana: Contemporary people know very little about such things. Peingu no ngūcū is the double-pipe nose flute. Yupeingu no ngūcū is the single-pipe nose flute. No means “of.” Ngūcū means “nose.” Peingu and yupeingu are both something in a noun that we do not know. Peingu possibly indicates “flute” or “pipe.” So now you want to ascertain these words. Is that right?

Cheng: Yes. The given names of musical instruments mirror Tsou culture, which involves much cultural meaning.

Vayayana: Normally, Tsou words are not written in capitals. Eu- and yu- both mean “to produce sound.” I suggest you change eu- into yu-. For example, euvuvu becomes yuvuvu.
Cheng: What does sipayatū mean?

Vayayana: Payatū means “long pestle” that functions as a musical instrument. Si- is a verb that possibly indicates the action of stamping.

Cheng: Do people wear moengū or peo’ū in mayasvi war worship?

Vayayana: Moengū and peo’ū can both be used in mayasvi war worship. [24:43]
Appendix B: The Hornbostel–Sachs numbers and Instrument types*

111 Idiophones struck directly (the player himself executes the movement of striking)
111.1 Concussion idiophones or clappers (two or more complementary sonorous parts are struck against each other)
111.14 Concussion vessels or vessel clappers (even a slight hollow in the surface of a board counts as a vessel)
111.2 Percussion idiophones (the instrument is struck with a non-sonorous object)
111.21 Percussion sticks
111.211 Individual percussion sticks
111.212 Sets of percussion sticks (several percussion sticks of different pitch are combined to form a single instrument; all xylophones as long as their sounding components are not in two different planes)
111.23 Percussion tubes
111.231 Individual percussion tubes
111.232 Sets of percussion tubes
111.24 Percussion vessels
111.241 Gongs (the vibration is strongest near the vertex)
111.241.1 Individual gongs
111.242 Bells (the vibration is weakest near the vertex)
111.242.1 Individual bells
111.242.12 Suspended bells (the bell is suspended from the apex)
111.242.121 Suspended bells struck from the outside (no striker is attached inside the bell, there being a separate beater)
111.242.122 Clapper bells (a striker is attached inside the bell)
112 Indirectly struck idiophones (the player himself does not go through the movement of striking; percussion results indirectly through some other movement by the player. The intention of the instrument is to yield clusters of sounds or noises, and not to let individual strokes be perceived)
112.1 Shaken idiophones or rattles: the player executes a shaking motion)
112.11 Suspension rattles (perforated idiophones mounted together and shaken to strike against each other)
112.111 Strung rattles (rattling objects are strung in rows on a cord)
112.12 Frame rattles (rattling objects are attached to a carrier against which they strike)

* The following Hornbostel–Sachs numbers and instrument types are quoted from Hornbostel and Sachs’ “Systematik der Musikinstrumente” and “Classification of Musical Instruments.”
112.121 Pendant rattles (rattling objects hung from a frame [here a gong] against which they strike)
112.13 Vessel rattles (a rattling object, a metal pellet, enclosed in a vessel strikes against the walls of the vessel)
12 Plucked idiophones (lamellae, i.e., elastic plaques fixed at one end, are flexed and then released to return to their position of rest)
121 In the form of a frame (the lamella vibrates within a frame or hoop)
121.2 Guimbardes/Jews’ harps (the lamella is mounted in a rod- or plaque-shaped frame and depends on the player’s mouth cavity for resonance)
121.21 Idioglot guimbarde (the lamella is carved in the frame itself, its base remaining joined to the frame)
121.22 Heteroglot guimbarde (a lamella is attached to a frame)
121.221 Single heteroglot guimbardes
121.222 Sets of heteroglot guimbardes (several heteroglot guimbardes of different pitches are combined to form a single instrument)
242 Tube- or vessel-kazoos (the membrane is placed inside a tube or box)
3 Chordophones (one or more strings are stretched between fixed points)
31 Simple chordophones or zithers (the instrument consists solely of a string bearer or of a string bearer with a resonator which is not integral and can be detached without destroying the sound-producing apparatus)
311.1 Musical bows (the string bearer is flexible and curved)
311.12 Heterochord musical bows (the string is of separate material from the bearer)
311.121 Mono-heterochord musical bows (the bow has one heterochord string only)
311.121.1 Without resonator (the human mouth is not to be taken into account as a resonator)
311.121.11 Without tuning noose
311.121.2 With resonator
311.121.22 With resonator attached
311.121.222 With tuning noose
312 Tube zithers (the string bearer is a vaulted surface)
312.2 Half-tube zithers (the strings are stretched along the convex surface of a gutter)
312.22 Heterochord half-tube zithers
314 Board zithers (the string bearer is a board)
314.1 True board zithers (the plane of the strings is parallel with that of the string bearer)
314.11 Without resonator
314.12 With resonator
4 Aerophones (the air itself is the vibrator in the primary sense)
41 Free aerophones (the vibrating air is not confined by the instrument)

411 Displacement free aerophones (the air-stream meets a sharp edge, or a sharp edge is moved through the air; in either case, according to more recent views, a periodic displacement of air occurs to alternate flanks of the edge)

412 Interruptive free aerophones (the air-stream is interrupted periodically)
412.1 Idiophonic interruptive aerophones or reeds (the air-stream is directed against a lamella, setting it in periodic vibration to interrupt the stream intermittently; in this group also belong reeds with a “cover,” i.e., a tube in which the air vibrates only in a secondary sense, not producing the sound but simply adding roundness and timbre to the sound made by the reed’s vibration; generally recognisable by the absence of finger-holes)

412.11 Concussion reeds (two lamellae make a gap which closes periodically during their vibration)

412.13 Free reeds (the lamella vibrates through a closely fitting slot)

412.131 Individual free reeds

412.22 Whirling aerophones (the interruptive agent turns on its axis)

42 Wind instruments proper (the vibrating air is confined within the instrument itself)

421 Edge instruments or flutes (a narrow stream of air is directed against an edge)

421.11 End-blown flutes (the player blows against the sharp rim at the upper open end of a tube)

421.111 Single end-blown flutes

421.111.1 Open single end-blown flutes (the lower end of the flute is open)

421.111.12 With finger-holes

421.112 Sets of end-blown flutes/pan pipes (several end-blown flutes/pan pipes of different pitch are combined to form a single instrument)

421.112.13 Mixed sets of end-blown flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes (the extended numerical entry)

421.112.2 Stopped pan pipes

421.12 Side-blown flutes (the player blows against the sharp rim of a hole in the side of the tube)

421.121 Single side-blown flutes

421.13 Free reeds (the lamella vibrates through a closely fitting slot)

421.131 Individual free reeds

421.2 Flutes with duct or duct flutes (a narrow duct directs the air stream against the sharp edge of a lateral orifice)

421.22 Flutes with internal duct (the duct is inside the tube; this group includes flutes
with the duct formed by an internal baffle and an exterior tied-on cover

421.221 Single flutes with internal duct
421.221.1 Open flutes with internal duct
421.221.11 Without finger-holes
421.221.12 With finger-holes
421.221.4 Vessel flutes with duct
421.221.42 With finger-holes
421.222 Sets of flutes with internal duct
421.222.1 Sets of open flutes with internal duct
421.222.11 Without finger-holes
421.222.12 With finger-holes
421.222.13 Mixed sets of open flutes with finger-holes and without finger-holes (the extended numerical entry)

423 Trumpets (the air-stream passes through the player’s vibrating lips, so gaining intermittent access to the air column which is made to vibrate)

423.1 Natural trumpets (without extra devices to alter pitch)
423.11 Conches (a conch shell serves as trumpet)
423.111 End-blown
423.111.1 Without mouthpiece
423.12 Tubular trumpets
423.121 End-blown trumpets (the mouth-hole faces the axis of the trumpet)
423.121.1 End-blown straight trumpets (the tube is neither curved nor folded)
423.121.11 Without mouthpiece
423.2 Chromatic trumpets (with extra devices to modify the pitch)
423.22 Slide trumpets (the tube can be lengthened by extending a telescopic section of the instrument)