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The Soundscapes and Messages Delivered by Formosan *Sackig* 臺灣薩鼓宜傳遞的音景與信息

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摘要

薩鼓宜是臺灣原住民族特有，用來傳遞信息的一種鍛造鐵鈴。西拉雅人稱這種鍛鈴為“*sackig*”，它的叮鈴噹啷一直存在於臺灣的歷史音景長河中，但長期被人們遺忘。筆者在臺灣田野調查期間，發現有些部落仍在使用薩鼓宜。清代文獻有描述平埔族薩鼓宜的結構和社會功能。薩鼓宜的另一個名稱叫“卓機輪”。筆者發現“卓機輪”的正確發音是 *tókilli*（虎尾壟語）。另外，噶瑪蘭語“*sakuri*”類似“薩鼓宜”的發音，意指去執行指派的工作。

薩鼓宜並不是憑空出世，史前蔦松遺址出土的陶製鳥頭狀器是它的前身。收集歷代和當代音景中的表現情境脈絡，可解釋為什麼薩鼓宜被呈現在特定情況下來滿足特定需求。通過觀察表演的情境脈絡來發現鍛鈴的功能、信息和意義變化。音景是由表演者、聽眾和事件中的環境構成，在其中產生、控制和協商含義。此研究的學術貢獻是其田野調查部分，運用語言學來分析薩鼓宜在各

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族語中的名稱與涵義，以及用 Hornbostel-Sachs 分類系統來分析鍛鈴的結構。

樂器的擁有能被限定於某種社會地位，並且該樂器能成爲這種地位的標誌。臺灣鍛鈴是社會地位的標誌，與年齡階層相關，各種臺灣鍛鈴與其持有人、使用者和音景之間的聯繫，可以被認爲是與物件、文化體制和象徵的信息相關的表演形式。分析此類表演向當代人傳達信息非常重要，無論是在臺灣原住民音景的內部還是外部。通過表演，我們可以看到薩鼓宜的功能，以及臺灣原住民如何通過鈴鐺表達他們的自我認同。史前鳥松文化遺址出土的鳥頭狀陶鈴，是 *sackig* 鍛鈴的前身，陶器較易碎且不耐用，相對而言鍛鐵更堅固耐用，隨著科技的進步，從陶鈴轉爲鍛鈴是必然趨勢。我們需要傳達的信息是，鳥頭陶鈴和薩鼓宜鍛鈴都不是無聲樂器，臺灣薩鼓宜不只韻響鏗鏘地傳遞信息，也復興延續了臺灣原住民的文化音景。

關鍵詞：薩鼓宜

Abstract

Sackig is a form of the forged iron bell that is unique to Formosan aborigines for delivering messages. Siraya people call the forging bell “*sackig*”. Its jingle and tingle have always existed in Formosan historical soundscapes, but they have long been forgotten by people. During the author’s fieldwork in Taiwan, he discovered that some tribes are still using *sackig*. The Qing documents describe the structure and social function of the Pingpu *sackig*. The other name of *sackig* is “tokelin”. The author found that the correct pronunciation of “tokelin” is *tókilli* (Favorlang language). In addition, the Kavalan word “*sakuri*” is similar to the pronunciation of “Saguyi”, which means to run errands. *Sackig* was not come out of thin air; the bird-head pottery unearthed at the prehistoric Niaosong Culture relic was its predecessor. Collecting the context of representation in diachrony and synchrony is to explain why Formosan aboriginal forged bells are represented in a particular situation to meet a particular need. Through observing the context of the performance, discover the changes in the function, message, and meaning of the forged bell. Soundscape is composed of performers, listeners, and the environment in the event, in which meanings are generated, controlled, and negotiated. The original contribution of the research is its ethnographic fieldwork component; also applies linguistics to analyze the name and meaning of *sackig* in various aboriginal languages. For the sake of the analysis of instrumental structure, the author of this research will classify various Formosan forged bells in the Dewey decimal system of the Hornbostel-Sachs classification scheme. The possession of an instrument can be restricted to those of a certain social status, and the instrument can be an emblem of that status (La Rue 1994: 189). Formosan *sackig* delivers messages with sonorous rhythm, revives and sustains the cultural soundscape of Formosan aborigines.

Keyword: *sackig*, *saguyi*, *tókilli*

Introduction

Sackig is a form of the forged iron bell that is unique to Formosan aborigines for delivering messages. Siraya people call the forging bell “*sackig*” (Macapili, 2008: 667). Its jingle and tingle have always existed in Formosan historical soundscapes, but they have long been forgotten by people. During author’s fieldwork in Taiwan, he finds forged bells whose social function and music practice is still something of working among the Puyuma, Rukai, Paiwan, Amis and Tsou peoples (the southeast and southwest of Taiwan) as well as he collects numerous historical archives and literature in regard to Formosan aboriginal forged bells in library research (e.g. the Siraya, Favorlang, and Kavalan). Since the eighteen century, there were many Qing travel records and documents described the structure and social function of Formosan aboriginal forged bells. The great part of such literature mentioned about Formosan Pingpu forged bells. Thus it can be seen that forged bells have been diffused throughout Taiwan, besides the north of Taiwan. Also, it is worth noting that archaeologists unearthed many bird head pottery belonging to the prehistoric Niasong Culture in Tainan and Kaohsiung. National Museum of Prehistory believes that bird head pottery is a ritual-related utensil.¹ Further, Ke-hong Liu infers that the bird head pottery is a decoration on the roof of the Pingpu *kuwa* menshouse (Huang, 2012: 81-91).

It is vital to study the meaning of Formosan *sackig* and its use in and to the community and the musical instrument player (Wilgus, 1986: 3). Collecting the context of representation in diachrony and synchrony is to explain why Formosan aboriginal forged bells are represented in a particular situation to meet a particular need (Dundes, 1964: 24). Through observing the context of the performance, discover the changes in the function, message, and meaning of the forged bell. Soundscape is composed of performers, listeners, and the environment in the event, in which meanings are generated, controlled, and negotiated. Aboriginal people communicate

1 (Bird head pottery), Collections Culture,

https://collections.culture.tw/nmp_collectionsweb/collection.aspx?GID=MQM2MBMNME, 2021/7/26.

with each other in particular contexts, such communication is a form of representation for some reasons that have meaning to the members of aboriginal group and community (cf. Sims and Stephens, 2005: 133).

Bell is an undeniable sound-producing instrument. Formosan aboriginal forged bells belong to a kind of concussion bell which is made of wrought iron. In diachronic context, there is a great deal of historical literature with reference to Formosan aboriginal forged bells, the Qing Empire especially. Since the 18th Century, there were many Qing travel records and documents described the structure and social function of Formosan aboriginal forged bells. The great part of such literature mentioned about Formosan Pingpu forged bells. It can be seen that forged bells have been diffused throughout Taiwan. And the majority of musical reference books and prints mention that such kinds of forged bells are extremely difficult to find them among various Formosan aboriginal communities (Chen, 1996: 839-847). However, during the author's fieldwork in Taiwan, he does not only collect numerous historical archives and literature in regard to Formosan aboriginal forged bells in library research. Also, he finds forged bells whose social function and cultural practice is still something of working among the Rukai, Puyuma, Amis, Paiwan, and Tsou peoples, who mainly located in the southeast and southwest of Taiwan.

In 1956, Jen's article "A Study on Men's House" in which he only mentioned the Rukai forged bell as a wooden board with a bell for delivering orders (Jen, 1956: 160). In 1967, Lenherr (1967: 113-114) pointed out that forged bells function as "status symbol" with high social function amongst Formosan aborigines. Furthermore, Lu in 1974 added detail about the way that Puyuma men placed the handle of bells into their belts so that the bell hung from the belt behind them, and used this prior to the harvest festival to deliver messages to other villages. However, the aforementioned literature does not explain how the types of bells were distinguished, and how they relate to ranks, hierarchies, and specific functions.

Accordingly, it is vital to study survival of the forged bells amongst different Formosan community, and the survival of practice besides music and performance

(Nettl, 1992: 384) as well as the meaning of the forged bells and its use in and to the community and the bell bearers (Toelken, 1986: 1). There has been almost no other ethnomusicological study considering forged bells amongst Formosan aborigines. Further, the author tries to give a panoramic perspective for Formosan forged bells through analyzing and organizing the data of ethnographic fieldwork and related literature about various representations of forged bells across the development of synchronic and diachronic soundscapes.

Related literature

In 1717 (the Qing Empire), Zhong-xuan Zhou's *Zhu luo xian zhi* (*The Zhuluo County Record*) and Xi Zhou's *Chang hua xian zhi* (*The Changhua County Record*, 1830) both had the same following record with regard to forged bell:

“The bamboo-like iron tube had around three inches. To cut it into an oblique half in which was hollowed out inside and shaped its end into taper. Its name is *sagoyi* (pronunciation in Holo-Taiwanese) or *saguyi* (pronunciation in Mandarin), and it is so-called *tokilun*. Barbarian wore iron a pair of bracelets on his hands and handed up the top of forged bell at the back of hand. The bracelet and forged bell struck against each other with a heavy clang while the foot and hand were moving. Or it was to tie an additional iron clapper in the slit of forged bell and handed up such forged bell below the navel. The clang sounded as phoenix singing when bell bearer stepped slowly forward. If bell bearer ran quickly, the iron clapper and forged bell knock against each other with an awesome clang” (Zhou, 1983 (orig. 1717)).²

In 1766, Shi-jie Zhu's *Xiao liu qiu man zhi* (*The Little Liuqiu Travel Record*) had similar record with *The Zhuluo County Record* and *The Zhanghua County Record* except a new sentence concerning the forged bell was appended to it by Shi-Jie Zhu, namely:

“Young barbarians utilised forged bell while they ran errands” (Zhu, 1984 (orig. 1766)).

2 The following literatures are translated by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng.

In 1744, Liu Shi Qi's *Fan She Cai Fen Tu Kao (the Research of the Collected Folklores and Pictures from Barbarian Societies)* recorded the performance context of the forged bell:

“In barbarian custom, people practice ran a race with each other since childhood. When they grew up the practice made perfect to run more than three hundred miles a day, even though the flying horse could not beyond them. They could deliver documents express at night whether the route was muddy or flooded. Messenger wore a pair of iron bracelets around his wrists when he held a brass tile as well as using the brass tile knocked his iron bracelet to sound as a ringing bell while he was running. Each step knocked its sound neither rapidly nor slowly. People could hear that sound a mile off” (Liu, 1996 (orig. 1744)).

By contrast, here back to modern researches with regard to Formosan aboriginal forged bells. In 1956, Jen's article “A Study on Men's House”, he only mentioned the Rukai forged bell as a wooden board with bell for delivering orders (Jen, 1956: 160). In 1967, Lenherr pointed out that forged bells function as “status symbol” with high social function amongst Formosan aboriginal people (Lenherr, 1967: 113-114). But he did not go further to discuss too much detail about what, how and why forged bells symbol social status.

In addition, the prehistoric Niaosong Culture (1800-500 BP) was widely distributed across the southern plains of Taiwan. The Niaosong pottery is mainly reddish brown in color and plain in style. However, special exceptions from this period, such as human-faced figurines and bird-head pottery, were once discovered. Most archaeologists believe that the Niaosong Culture is associated with the Silaya people (Huang, 2012: 81-91).

Method

The original contribution of the research is its ethnographic fieldwork component; also applies linguistics to analyze the name and meaning of *sackig* in various aboriginal languages. For the sake of the analysis of instrumental structure, the author

of this research will classify various Formosan forged bells in the Dewey decimal system of the Hornbostel-Sachs classification scheme.

In this research, the author will employ the comparative approach in seeking to understand traditional Formosan aboriginal forged bells. The aim of the comparative method is to construct an authentic diachrony of Formosan forged bells for explaining the variant forms of forged bells as they are known to us. In this sense, we must collect all the variants of Formosan forged bells if possible to compare all these variants impartially as well as keep an eye on the time and the locale of each variant forged bell (Wilgus, 1986: 6).

As we can see, there are some instruments that have their own voices, and these voices may carry a message. Bells convey other messages, too. For example: that it's time to come to the men's house; or, with a slower tolling, that someone has died; or that this is an occasion for ceremony and emergency (Montagu, 2007: 180).

In the light of etymology, many Qing historically travel records and documents mentioned that '*saguyi*' (in Mandarin) or '*tokilun*' (in Holo-Taiwanese) are the indigenous name of the forged bells amongst the Pingpu peoples. But the pronunciation is not entirely the same with the aboriginal pronunciation due to spelling in Holo-Taiwanese or Mandarin. After painstaking research among various aboriginal linguistic data, the author finds that the correct pronunciation of '*tokilun*' is *tókilli*. The forged bell of the Favorlang (one of the Pingpu peoples) was called *tókilli*, which was recorded in the Roman alphabet by the Dutch Reformed missionaries during the Dutch period (1624-1661) (Marsh, 1977: 137). As regards the correct pronunciation of '*saguyi*', it is difficult to find similar lexeme among aboriginal linguistic data. The one word '*sakuri*' from the Kavalan is similar to the pronunciation of '*saguyi*.' '*sakuri*' means to run errands in the Kavalan language. The word '*sakuri*' probably indicates the forged bell bearers to do their work for delivering messages.

Here we move to investigate the different names of the forged bell amongst Formosan aborigines. First, *tókilli* is the name of the Favorlang forged bell. Secondly,

sackig and *kilikili* are the names of the Siraya forged bell. Thirdly, *kringkringan* is the name of the Kavalan forged bell. Fourthly, *tawlrulr* is the name of the Puyuma forged bell. And another form of forged bell is called *sizung* (i.e. shield bell). Fifthly, the Amis people called the forged bell *takeling* or *tavelevele*. Sixthly, the name of the Rukai forged bell is *taudring*. Seventhly, *tjaudring* is the name of the Paiwan forged bell. Eighthly, *moengū* is the name of the Tsou forged bell. Please check the details in the following sections.

Results/ Findings

There are many bird-head pottery and the pottery bell with a human-face figure unearthed from the prehistoric Niasong Culture relics. In light of organology, the numerical entry for the bird-head pottery bell (Figure 1) according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122 and means clapper bells (a striker is attached inside the bell) (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). A second type of the bird head pottery bell has a separate striker and the forged bell; whose number is 111.242.121 and means suspended bells struck from the outside (no striker is attached inside the bell, there being a separate beater) (Ibid.: 15).

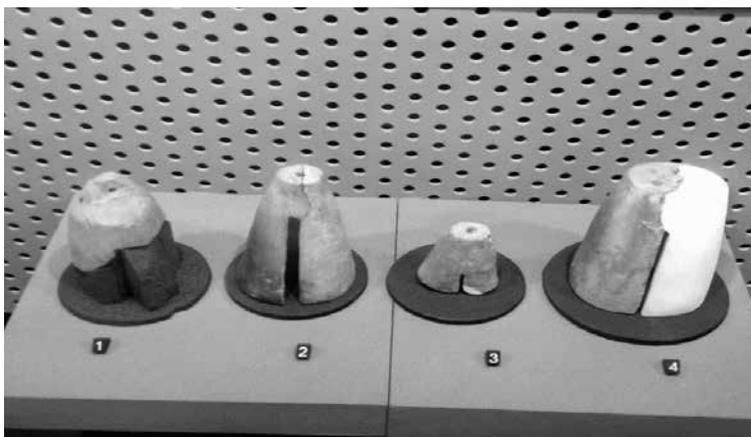


Figure 1 The bird-head pottery bell

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

There are drill holes above the bird's head pottery bell to make it easier to thread and hang the rope. People can also use drill holes to tie a striker inside the bird-head pottery bell. Otherwise, the bell bearer can use a separate striker to hit the bell for delivering messages. This bird-head pottery bell is carved with human-face design (Figure 2). The human-face design of the pottery bell may indicate ancestral souls and the high social status of the bell bearer.



Figure 2 The human-face pottery bell

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

A forged bell (physical property) is certainly real text. But forged bell varies depending on the bell bearer, the background, the region, and the aboriginal group in which they are shared. A researcher can collect forged bells of related variants in order to compare how different aboriginal groups shape and express similar musical instruments. Analysing representation in diachronic and synchronic contexts enables us to see how and why aboriginal groups shape and share their traditional forged bells (cf. Sims and Stephens, 2005: 134).

The following literature concerning forged bells is examined under different ethnic groups.

The Pingpu peoples

In the Qing Empire (1644-1911), the majority of historical literature with reference to *saguyi* (Mandarin pronunciation) belongs to the Pingpu forged bell. The Pingpu peoples include Ketagalan, Kavalan, Pazeh, Siraya, Taokas and other aboriginal groups, whom live mainly on the plains along the west and southwest coasts in Taiwan. Although most of the Pingpu peoples have been assimilated into Han-Taiwanese people, some of them still maintain the survival of musical instruments or practice. For example, the Pazih people still keep the traditional practice of Run a Race (*dou zou*) in Pazih New Year, even though the Pazih forged bell fails to be handed down from past generations.

In the Qing literature, the practice of *dou zou* (Run a Race) was mainly to bring messages with the forged bell. In the contemporary Pingpu community, the same forged bell derived practice call *zau bio* (a pronunciation in Holo-Taiwanese) in which shift its function from bringing messages to sending ancestral souls back in the Ancestral Soul Worship or their New Year Festival. *Zau bio* (i.e. Run a Race) is a kind of the survival practice of the Pingpu men's house. In ancient times, *mata* (unmarried young males) employed the clang of forged bell to inform villagers that the traditional ceremony was coming, while they were running on streets. And *mata* must do any chores during their traditional ceremonies.³

Favorlang

Before this research, people only know that the forged bells of the Pingpu peoples are called '*saguyi*' or '*tokilun*' in Mandarin or Holo-Taiwanese pronunciation. Hapart's Favorlang vocabulary will help people to understand the correct spelling and pronunciation of the forged bells among the Pingpu peoples. In etymology, *tókilli* means jingles worn by young men (Campbell, 1896: 189). The *tókilli* forged bell was played for delivering message. Compare *tókilli* with Zhong-xuan Zhou's

3 Da-zou Pan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, digital recording (MIC0004), Liyutan Village, Sanyi, Miaoli County, 20 September 2009.

Zhu luo xian zhi (*The Zhuluo County Record*), the forged bell was called “*tokilun*” in Holo-Taiwanese (Zhou, 1717: 320). The author of this research finds that “*tokilun*” is actually a slang corruption of *tóckilli*.

With regards to the beaters of the *tóckilli* forged bell, *arro* means a native arm ring of iron or copper. And *callaba* means the ring of round copper wire on the forepart of the arm (Campbell, 1896: 124). In ancient times, *badda* wore a pair of iron bracelets on his hands and handed up the top of forged bell at the back of hand. The bracelet and forged bell struck against each other with a heavy clang while the foot and hand were moving (Zhou, 1717: 302). Furthermore, *badda* is the bearer of the *tóckilli* forged bell. *badda* means a bachelor, who is no longer used after marriage (Campbell, 1896: 126). *badda* is the player of the *tóckilli* forged bell. In addition, *ma-ababas* means a messenger, one who brings tidings (Campbell, 1896: 126).



Figure 3 The invented *sackig/ kilikili* (the forged bell).

(Reproduced from Wang, *Tai wan yuan zu min ji dian di sheng hui*, 113.)

Siraya

In etymology, *sackig* and *kilikili* are the indigenous names for the Siraya forged bell (Macapili, 2008: 667). On the basis of *The Gospel of St. Matthew in Formosan (Sinkan Dialect)*, the bell is called *kilikili*, compared to the *tóckilli* forged bell of the Favorlang (cf. Campbell, 1896: 189). Bells are also called *sackig*, compared with the *sagoyi* forged bell of the Plains peoples in *Zhu luo xian zhi* (*The Zhuluo County record*)(Macapili, 2008: 667).

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 and means: 1 (idiophones: the substance of the instrument itself, owing to its solidity and elasticity, yields the sounds without requiring stretched membranes

or strings), 11 (struck idiophones: the instrument is made to vibrate by being struck upon), 111 (idiophones struck directly), 111.2 (percussion idiophones: the instrument is struck either with a non-sonorous object or against a non-sonorous object), 111.24 (percussion vessels), 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), and 111.242.122 (clapper bells: a striker is attached inside the bell) (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). In contrast, 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 (Ibid.). The traditional *kilikili* is the same as the aforementioned instrument structure. However, the invented *kilikili* is made of modern stainless steel (see Figure 3) instead of wrought iron. In the author's 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. The inventor is quite unfamiliar with the instrument structure of the forged bell.

Most Siraya people have been assimilated into the Han-Taiwanese people. Some of them still preserve the practice of the *kilikili* forged bell, namely, *Zau bio* (Run a race). The term *Zau bio* is pronounced in Holo-Taiwanese; its synonym is *Dou zou* (Run a race) in Mandarin. In Qing literature, the practice of *Dou zou* (Run a race) involved a young man with a forged bell delivering a message. The *kilikili* forged bell has probably been extinct for more than one century. Recently, the Ka-vua-shua sub-tribe of the Siraya reinvented their forged bell in the atmosphere of cultural revival (see Figure 3). 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.

People have a chance to see the *kilikili* forged bell in the Night Worship of Ancestral Souls in the Ka-vua-shua sub-tribe of the Siraya in Jibeishua in Tainan City. In fact, the first type of *kilikili* forged bell is similar to the *moengū* forged bell of the Tsou, 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, 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).

Kavalan

In etymology, *kringkringan* is the Kavalan name of the forged bell, which is composed the lexeme “*kringking*” and the nominalising suffix “*-an*.” The lexeme “*kring-*” is a bound root relative to tinkling. And the lexeme “*krikring/ kringking*” means sound of a bell, which is composed in radical overlap (Li and Shigeru, 2006: 131). The derivative “*pakrikring*” means to produce sound of a bell, which is composed the verbalising prefix “*pa-*” and the lexeme “*krikring*” (see Figure 4) (Ibid.).

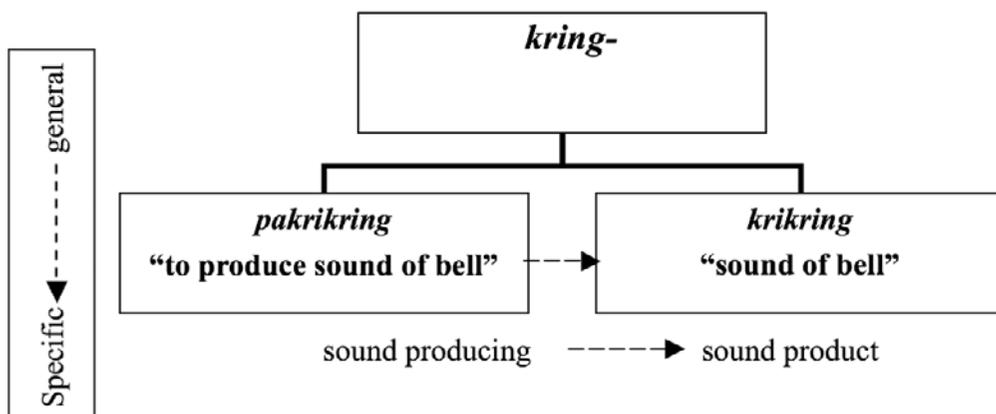


Figure 4 Semantic field of the lexeme *kring-*

Illustration by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

There are many instrumental names in the mother tongue of the Kavalan, which are recorded in Paul Jen-kuei Li and Shigeru Tsuchida’s *Kavalan Dictionary* (2006). Therefore, it is worthy of scrutinising these instrumental names and musical thought in diachrony.

The numerical entry for the *kringkringan* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system 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) (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). As Li witnessed, the *kringkringan* is made out of metal in conical shape. It was a hanging forged bell with a separate beater.

There is no specific literature with reference to the traditional function and contexts of use of the Kavalan forged bell. But there is a lot of historical literature concerning the forged bell of the Plains aborigines. Li recalls that around the 1970s a big family in the Small Lake area of Shinshe had more than ten children. They stroke a hanging metal bell in the shape of A [a forged bell] for calling their children home, whenever dinner was ready. The sound was quite loud.⁴ Maybe one day the *kringkringan* forged bell will appear again.

Puyuma

In the Japanese period, the forged bell was played for delivering messages to inform villagers either an important ritual is coming or an emergency. Also, youths bore forged bells in dance (Kurosawa, 1973: 447-448). The historical literature is in accordance with the status quo of the *tawlrulr* forged bell in the Puyuma society. In fact, the Puyuma employ the *tawlrulr* forged bell in various traditional rituals. The *tawlrulr* forged bell is the marker of culture as well as social status. *tawlrulr* is the rank marker of *valisen* (quasi-youth) in the Puyuma age hierarchy. It was hung behind the short skirt of a *valisen* to dance in traditional ceremonies. *tawlrulr* also is a part of the *sizung*. The structure of *sizung* is a forged bell with a clapper to suspend behind a wood shield.



Figure 5 The *tawlrulr* (the forged bell)

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

The Puyuma people regard “*tawlrulr*” as the warning bell (Zeng, 2005: 83). The numerical entry for the *tawlrulr* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs

4 Wen-sheng Li interview by Jen-hao Cheng, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shinshe, Hualien County, 21 August 2009.

system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122 and means clapper bells (a striker is attached inside the bell) (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). A second type of *tawlriulr* has a separate striker and the forged bell; whose number is 111.242.121 and means suspended bells struck from the outside (no striker is attached inside the bell, there being a separate beater) (Ibid.: 15).

Sanpuy claims that the *tawlriulr* was probably made of bamboo in the ancient times.⁵ The *tawlriulr* is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron. The conical bell of instruments the author of this research has 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 top is attached to a 20 cm long forged tube, and a 4 cm metal clapper is attached inside by wire. The wooden hanger is carved, and attaches to the bell with steel wire or a leather cord. The hanger passes through the player's waist belt behind their back (Figure 5). A second type of forged concussion bell is the clapperless 'hand' *tawlriulr*, played with a separate beater, but lacking the hanging mechanism. It is used as a guiding bell and a noise is made with a player's beater, which is made of hardwood. The beater is about 35 cm in length and 2 cm in diameter (Cheng, 2012: 57-78).

Zeng points out that the *tawlriul* traditionally has three social functions, namely giving the correct time in morning, announcing an event for celebration, and announcing an even event (2005: 83). Amongst the Puyuma, the *tawlriulr* is not merely to function as a warning bell. Bells are used by different age hierarchies. The *tawlriulr* is the rank marker of the quasi-youth *valise*. On the millet harvest ceremony, many young people wore the forged bells behind their backs. 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. Through checking their bells, people can recognize their ranks in the age hierarchy of the Puyuma.⁶

5 Sanpuy Katatepan, interview by Jen-hao Cheng, digital recording (RHP001.WAV), Shulin, 10 August 2009.

6 Cf. Sanpuy interview by Cheng, 10 August 2009.

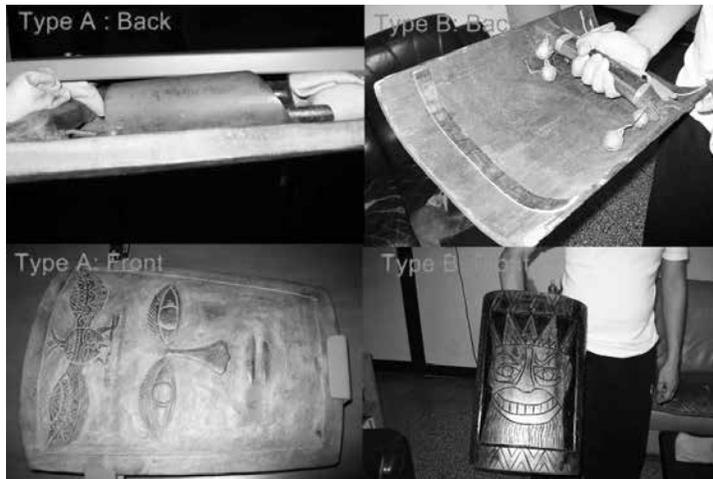


Figure 6 The *sizing* (the shield bell): Type A vs. Type B

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

sizing is the indigenous name of the shield bell, which means an object in the shape of the shield (Zeng, 2005: 80-81). The *sizing* originated from the ULivuLivuk sub-tribe (Chulu Village) of the Katratripulr system (born-out-of-stone origin) (Cheng, 2012: 57-78).

The *sizing* shaped like a shield, whose structure is a bell suspended from a wooden shield. The size of wood shield is about 70 cm in length and 48 cm in width.⁷ There are two types of the *sizing* shield bells. The traditional Type A is the *tawliulr* (with clapper) suspended from a wooden shield. By contrast, the modern Type B is the *kamelin* suspended from a wooden shield, which are used due to their lighter weight. The face of the shield is carved, typically with a human face possibly denoting an ancestor of a successful head-hunter. Indeed, it is said that the *sizing* were once only used by head-hunters (Cheng, 2012: 68).

The top achieved Puyuma bell is the *sizing* shield bell. In the old days, only a successful headhunter could have the privileges to bear the *sizing*.⁸ Therefore, the

7 Sanpuy interview by Cheng, 10 August 2009.

8 Ibid.

sizung became the marker of the top achievement in the Puyuma society (Cheng, 2012: 57-78). Nowadays, a great contributor to the village or a Puyuma with higher rank than *Venagesangesar* (early youth) in age hierarchy are allowed to dance with *sizung*. Only a few men can keep dancing without regular rest on the Millet Harvest Ceremony (Ibid.).

People can find the *tawliulr* in the *palakuwan* men's house of the Katratripulr tribe in Chiben, Taitung City. Also, people have many chances to look the *sizung* among the different sub-tribes of the Puyuma, and Shun-I Aboriginal Museum or Formosa Aboriginal Cultural Village. In Fischer's record, Admiralty Islander also has the frame rattle (Fischer, 1986: 40).

Amis

In etymology, *keling* means the sound of a bell (Namoh, 2010: 86). And *takeling* is the forged bell of the Amis, which tied behind the waist dangling from the side or back (Figure 7) (Ibid., 239). Furthermore, *ta-keling* comprises the verbalising prefix “*ta-*” and the onomatopoeic lexeme “*keling*,” which indicates to produce the tinkle of bell. The alternative name of *takeling* is “*tavelevele*” in the Vataan sub-tribe of the Amis (cf. Ling, 1961: 208).



Figure 7 *takeling/ tavelevele*
Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

The numerical entry for the *takeling* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122 and means clapper bells (a striker is attached inside the bell) (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). The *takeling* 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 wire. The wooden hanger is carved, and attaches to the bell with steel wire or a leather cord.

The *takeling* forged bell sounds loudly when people bear it to run or dance. Its main function is transmitting message amid the Amis community. For instance, having four messengers bore the *takeling* to run on streets for informing villagers when a great ceremony was coming (cf. Ling, 1961: 208). Each Amis man wore originally magnificent costume with *takeling* on his waist for animating the atmosphere of ceremonial dance through the resounding clang (Ke, 1996: 900).

In ancient times, the forged bells were easily found throughout Taiwan. The domination of the Puyuma people possibly influenced the diffusion of the forged bell in the Eastern Taiwan. Now the *takeling* is few in use in the Amis society. The Kakeng Musical Group uses the *takeling* as one of the percussion instruments. People can find the historical *takeling* within the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University. And the *takeling* on Figure 7 is kept in the Kakeng Musical Group in Taitung.

Rukai

The *taodring* is the so-called ‘hip bell.’ And ‘*taodring*’ is the indigenous name of the forged bell. Gilragilrao claims that ‘*taodring*’ is for delivering messages, namely the message of the forged bell. For instance, the clang sounds like ‘ta tian ta tia.’⁹ Therefore, ‘*taodring*’ probably is onomatopoeia.

The numerical entry for the *taodring* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122 and means clapper bells (a striker is attached inside the bell) (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). The *taodring*

9 Giligijau is Lra’akaroko. Gilragilrao’s short name.

Lra’akaroko. Gilragilrao (Rukai), interview by Jen-hao Cheng, digital recording (MIC00002), Taitung City, 16 July 2009.

is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron. The conical bell of instrument 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 attaches to the bell with a leather cord. Gilgiljau states that the knife maker of the Rukai probably can make the *taodring*. Initially, the handle of the *taodring* was carved with a three-dimensional face (Figure 8), but now the handle of the *taodring* has a simply flat carved face (Figure 9).¹⁰ In 1945, Jen's ethnography did not record the indigenous name of the Rukai forged bell. He simply mentioned that

“Carved wooden board with “bell” attached, carried on the hip by couriers when delivering orders”
(Jen, 1956: XXXIII).

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.



Figure 8 The *taodring* (the forged bell)

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

10 Gilragilrao interview by Cheng, Taitung City, 16 July 2009.

In Takatomo's record, the male of the men's house bore the forged bell to run an errand (1973: 444-445). 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 message among various rituals. The main function of the *taodring* is bringing message to the Rukai community. In the ancient times, each Rukai village has traditionally an *alokuwa* (the men's house). The *alokuwa* men's house is the military and education centre for *balisen* (young peoples between fifteen and twenty years old) (Bima, 2002: 83). The clang of *taodring* is loud enough for supervising youth by elder people, whenever the *balisen* of the *alokuwa* men's house runs errands for village. For example, a Rukai elder ordered a young guy to chop firewood in a mountain for the *alokuwa*. Then the elder can, at mountain valley, monitor where the guy was stop and where the guy took a rest in the mountain through the sound of *taodring*.¹¹ As regards the way of playing, the *taodring* bearer swayed his hips to control the clang. The single *taodring* can produce many sounds. The frequency of the clang signals an event. And the pace of the *taodring* bearer could control the frequency of the clang. If something is happening in the village, the *alokuwa* men's house will dispatch a group of young people with hip bells to deliver such messages. If the bearer runs in a hurry, the clang of the bell sounds like an alarm. Then all villagers will come out from their house to see what happens. The clang of the bell sounds in low frequency to inform villagers that a wedding is coming. The clang of the bell sounds in high frequency indicates having an accident or disaster happen that need all villagers to help each other.¹²

At present, it is sure that the *taodring* forged bell is still in use among various rituals (e.g. the *maisauru* weeding ceremony and the *becenge* millet harvest ceremony) by the Taromak Tribe of the East Rukai. The current function and the contexts of use of the *taodring* are becoming more and more culturally symbolised and performance-like. In Taromak, the *taodring* normally are put in the *Alokuwa* men's house (Figure

11 Sheng-shiong Bao (Rukai), interview by author, tape/digital recording, Formosan Indigenous Park, Pintung, 4-5 September 2009.

12 Gilragilrao interview by Cheng, Taitung City, 16 July 2009.

9). But *balisen* can also put the *taodring* at home to take care by themselves. In the Shenshan Tribe of the West Rukai, people treat the *taodring* as a tribal heritage.



Figure 9 The *taodring* of the *alokuwa* men's house

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

People can find the *taodring* in the *alokuwa* men's house of the Taronak Tribe in Taitung City. Besides, Mr. Sheng-shiong Bao of Shandimen Village has a lot of knowledge concerning the operation and musical practice of the *taodring* forged bell.

Paiwan

In 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 (Figure 10). 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 (Takatomo, 1973: 441-444). 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” (Ferrell, 1982). 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” (Ibid.).



Figure 10 *Tjaudring* (the forged bell).

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

The numerical entry for the *tjaudring* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122 and means: 111 (idiophones struck directly), 111.2 (percussion idiophones: the instrument is struck either with a non-sonorous object or against a non-sonorous object), 111.24 (percussion vessels), 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), and 111.242.122 (clapper bells: a striker is attached inside the bell)(Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). The *tjaudring* is a forged concussion bell made of wrought iron (Figure 10). 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.

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 (Takatomo, 1973: 441-444). 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.¹³ 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.



Figure 11 *Tjaudring* (the forged bell).

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

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 11); it clanged loudly. At that time, the *tjaudring* became an emblem of tribal pride.

In Taitung, people can find the *tjaudring* forged bell in the united Paiwan harvest festival. Many Formosan 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. In the olden days, the noble classes of the

13 Taitung Christian Hospital, "First EMS."

Rukai and Paiwan intermarried to maintain their noble status. Some of the Paiwan sub-tribes had political alliances with the Puyuma.

Tsou

Moengū is the name of the Tsou forged bell, which means loud and clear euphony sound.¹⁴ Its texture comprises the rattan ring (for hanging) and iron-forged bell with a long clapper (Figure 12). People can define the forged bell as a vessel that is struck with an internal clapper attached to the bell (Montagu, 2007: 14). The numerical entry for the *moengū* forged bell according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system is represented by the numbers 111.242.122 and means clapper bells (a striker is attached inside the bell)(Hornbostel and Sachs, 1961: 14-15). The *moengū* comprises the rattan ring (for hanging) and iron-forged bell with a long clapper. The *moengū* in Figure 12 is circa 12 cm in height, 5.5 cm in top diameter and 6 cm in bottom diameter. Moreover, the author of this research measured the size of the *moengū* in the Museum of Institute of Ethnology, which is circa 12.5 cm in height and 6.5cm in diameter.



Figure 12 The *moengū* (the forged bell)

Photograph by Jen-hao Cheng

vayayana points out that the Tsou use the *moengū* in the *mayasvi* war worship.¹⁵ All the Tsou warriors hung originally *moengū* on their right arm to notify the Tsou Mars by clang for praying triumph during headhunting and battle (Boyizhenu, 1997: 129). And *moengū* made the leading signal for each Tsou clan during expedition and battle (Pu and Pu, 1997: 54). A successful head-hunter was only eligible to hang it on his right arm to the ceremony dance (Lenherr, 1967: 113-114). The Tsou people hung

¹⁴ Lancini Jen-hao Cheng interviewed Prof. Ming-hui Wang at Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University on 21 September 2009.

¹⁵ Ibid.

moengū in the *emoo no peisia* ritual house when it was not used in ordinary days. An influential Tsou man can exclusively build a ritual house among his real estate.

In the Japanese period, Japanese colonial officers banned headhunting, and merged *Mayasvi* (the Tsou war ceremony) into *Homeyaya* (the Tsou millet ceremony); therefore, the *moengū* is also used in current *Homeyaya* (the Tsou millet ceremony) (Yuasa, 2000: 98). Nowadays, the *moengū* is still in use in some rituals in the Alishan area. Also, the 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 (Fischer, 1986: 170-171).



Figure 13 The Type C forged bell

Photograph by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

played with a separate beater. In ancient times, the player wore a pair of iron bracelets (as a beater) on his hands and handed up the top of a forged bell at the back of his hand for knocking against each other (e.g. *arro*). By contrast, at present, the Type B forged bell played with a wooden beater. Type D is (Figure 6) a Type B forged bell suspended from a wooden shield.

Through scrutinising aforementioned literature and fieldwork data, the Pingpu forged bells (i.e. *sackig*) belong to Type C. But the only difference is that the Pingpu people utilised the iron bracelet to knock against a forged bell without clapper (Type C) for bringing message, instead of a wood stick. The use of Formosan forged bells

Discussion & Conclusion

There are four forms of forged bells in Taiwan. Type A (Figure 5) is a forged tube with an inner clapper, which attaches on a wooden hanger for passing through the player's waist belt. Type B (Figure 12) is the forged bell with an inner clapper without a wooden hanger. Type C (Figure 13) is the clapperless 'hand' forged bell,

is merely not male monopoly. During the weeding ceremony, the Puyuma women teamed up to weed the farm. Some women were chosen to lead the weeding team with striking forged bells along streets. The statistics in Table 1 are summarized based on the author's literature research and ethnographic fieldwork data. The forged bells are still functioning in the Puyuma people and the Taromak tribe of the Rukai people. And the forged bells of Paiwan, the Tsou, and the Amis are surviving in their soundscapes, so we need to sustain delivering messages. As to the Siraya, the Kavalan, the Farvorlang, and other Pingpu peoples all lost their forged bells. We hope one day the *sackig/ tókilli* forged bells will make a loud deep clanging sound again.

Table 1 The indigenous name and function of forged bells
Tabulation by Lancini Jen-hao Cheng

Group	Name	Type	Function	Status quo
Rukai	<i>taudring</i>	A	alarm, monitor	survival, still functioning in Taromak
Paiwan	<i>tjaudring</i>	A	bring message	survival
Puyuma	<i>tawlriulr, sizung</i>	A, C, D	bring message, status marker	still functioning
Tsou	<i>moengū</i>	B	leading signal	survival
Amis	<i>takeling /tavelevele</i>	A	bring message, dance	survival, but it is rare in use.
Pingpu	薩鼓宜 / 卓機輪	C	bring message	bell disappear, but survival of the practice (e.g. zau bio)
Favorlang	<i>tókilli</i>	C	bring message	bell disappear, just keep the name
Siraya	<i>sackig/ kilikili</i>	B, C	bring message symbol of revival	bell disappear, but create a invented bell
Kavalan	<i>kringkringan</i>	C	gather people	still in use before the 1970s

Recently, the performance contexts in which bells are used have changed in soundscapes. The *sizung* shield bell has become a cultural emblem of the Puyuma due to its use in specific dances and its popularity amongst touristy soundscapes. Outside curiosity both stimulates the invention of Formosan aboriginal ethnicity and cultural commodification through tourism (Magowan, 2005). 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 *tawliur* forged bell is the rank marker of the quasi-youth *valise* in the Puyuma people. The quasi-youth *valise* were just promoted from the *takuvan* boy's house to the *palakuwa* men's house. The *tawliur* was hung behind their hips (see Figure 5). Through checking their bells, people can recognize their ranks in the age hierarchy of the Puyuma.¹⁶ Moreover, the top achieved Puyuma bell is the *sizung* shield bell. In the old days, only a successful headhunter could have the privileges to bear the *sizung*.¹⁷ Nowadays, a great contributor to the village or a Puyuma with higher rank than *Venagesangesar* (early youth) in age hierarchy are allowed to dance with *sizung*. The aforementioned soundscapes tally with "the possession of an instrument can be restricted to those of a certain social status, and the instrument can be an emblem of that status" (La Rue 1994: 189).

In ancient times, a successful Tsou head-hunter was only eligible to hang it on his right arm to the ceremony dance (Lenherr, 1967: 113-114). Nowadays, an influential Tsou man can exclusively build a ritual house to hang his *moengū* forged bell among his real estate. The headhunter currently is hunting social capital (e.g., ethnic pride, self-esteem and glory) instead of human heads. Also, the *moengū* is the marker of social status (Nettl, 1992: 347-349).

16 Cf. Sanpuy interview by Cheng, 10 August 2009.

17 Ibid.

As for “modernisation,” non-central elements of traditional music have been adopted (Nettl, 1992: 353-354). For example, the Ka-vua-shua sub-tribe of the Siraya reinvented their forged bell in the atmosphere of cultural revival (see Figure 3). 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.

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) (Nettl, 1992: 347-349). For instance, people treat the *taodring* as a tribal heritage in the Shenshan Tribe of the West Rukai. Besides, when the Kayaljuran contingent of the Paiwan 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 11); it clanged loudly. At that time, the *tjaudring* became an emblem of tribal pride.

Furthermore, the alternative performance soundscape can be interpreted as “strategies” for seeking the “musical energy” of survival (Nettl, 1992: 347-349). Kakeng Musical Group uses the *takeling* as one of the percussion instruments. And six Paiwan women from the Laliba Women’s Society of Tu Village of Da Ren Township carried the *tjaudring* (the forged bell) with a loud clang to deliver this good news to locals during its opening ceremony.¹⁸ Through this news, we know that the forged bell still exists in the Da Ren Township of Taitung. As can be seen, the *tjaudring* is still signalling in a new soundscape.

Bells are used to signal whereabouts and for identification. A person with a bell for running errands is much easier to find than one without, and in many areas, people tune their bells carefully by pitch so that they can recognize the bells of their own tribesmen (Montagu, 2007: 180). In accordance with the above mentioned, the clang of *taodring* is loud enough for supervising youth by Rukai elder people, whenever the *balisen* of the *alokuwa* men’s house runs errands for the village.

18 Taitung Christian Hospital, “First EMS.”

In conclusion, Formosan forged bells are such markers of social status and related to age hierarchies in Taiwan. Formosan *sackig* can be markers of culture as well as social status. The connections between the various Formosan forged bells and their bearers, users and soundscapes can be thought of as forms of performance relating to objects, practices and symbolic messages. It is important to analyse what such performances communicate to contemporary people, both within and beyond Formosan aboriginal soundscapes. Through performance we can see how *sackig* bells function, and how the Formosan aborigines express their identity through the bells.

Sackig was not come out of thin air; the bird-head pottery unearthed at the prehistoric Niaosong Culture relic was its predecessor. Pottery is more fragile and not durable; relatively wrought iron is tougher and durable. With the advancement of technology, it is an inevitable trend to switch from pottery bells to forged bells. We need to get the message across that the bird-head pottery bell and the *sackig* forged bell are both not unsung instruments. Formosan *sackig* delivers messages with sonorous rhythm, revives and sustains the cultural soundscape of Formosan aborigines. Their jingle and tingle have always existed in Formosan soundscapes.

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