Chun-bin Chen

BETWEEN CONCERT HALL AND MUSEUM

Musics and Identities of Taiwanese Indigenous People

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LIVED PLACES
PUBLISHING

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First published in 2026 by Lived Places Publishing

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 978-1-918526-00-4 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-918526-02-8 (ePDF)
ISBN 978-1-918526-01-1 (ePUB)

Cover design by Fiachra McCarthy
Book design by Rachel Trolove of Twin Trail Design
Typeset by Newgen Publishing, UK

Lived Places Publishing
P.O. Box 1845
47 Echo Avenue
Miller Place, NY 11764

www.livedplacespublishing.com

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Abstract

This book takes readers on a trip down Taiwan's Highway Nine through the National Concert Hall (NCH), two Indigenous villages, and the National Museum of Prehistory (NMP). Taking *On the Road*, an NCH musical theater production that featured Indigenous musicians, as the starting point, the author tells musical stories connected by Highway Nine. Through these stories, the author explores the hybrid nature of contemporary Indigenous music and multiple consciousness of Taiwanese Indigenous people in contemporary contexts.

Key words: Indigeneity and modernity, Taiwan, Indigenous People, the Pinuyumayan people, Austronesian, musicking, ritual, performance, home

Introduction

This book examines relationships between places and Indigeneity through musicking events of Taiwanese Indigenous people—Taiwan's Austronesian-speaking ethnic groups—over the past decades of the twenty-first century. After Taiwan's first transfer of power from the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2000, multicultural policies were implemented to redress the KMT's Sino-centric cultural framework. This sociopolitical climate at the beginning of the twenty-first century further stimulated the Indigenous cultural revivals that had emerged in the 1990s. These decades also hold personal significance for me. I began dissertation research in Taiwanese Indigenous communities in 2001, and since then, Taiwanese Indigenous music has been one of my major research interests. For decades, my Indigenous consultants, relatives, and friends, especially those from Nanwang and Papulu villages, have taught me much about their music, dance, and culture. Several years after my first visit to Papulu Village, I became a member of the village, where my wife, Tami, was born and raised.

The discussions in this book are based on my observations of events that took place at Taiwan's NCH, the NMP, and two Indigenous villages: Nanwang and Papulu. These places are connected by Highway Nine, and thus I refer to the stories narrated in this book as Highway Nine musical stories. Located near the starting point of this highway in Taipei, the NCH is associated

with modernity and Taiwan's political center. By contrast, the two Indigenous villages, situated near the southern end of Highway Nine, are often stereotyped as places of periphery and primitivity. Close to these villages, the NMP, a place dedicated to preserving Indigenous traditions, is likewise frequently cast as a symbolic destination for Indigenous people within stereotypical frame. I argue that the interplays among these places, mediated through the musicking of Indigenous people, create, convey, and perceive complex meanings of Indigeneity. In examining the intertwined spatial, temporal, and interpersonal relationships associated with music-making and meaning-making processes, I take on a dual role—as a scholar of Han descent and as a member of an Indigenous village—in my discussions.

I was born and raised in Tainan City, which played a crucial role in the history of Han Chinese people's settlement in Taiwan. Taiwan is a mountainous country divided by the Central Mountain Range into eastern and western parts and geographically separated from China by the Taiwan Strait. Although Taiwan is politically aligned with East Asia, it is geographically part of Southeast Asia and sometimes confused with Thailand. Officially referred to as the Republic of China (ROC), Taiwan is regarded by the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a renegade province and is permitted to participate in international events only under the name "Chinese Taipei." Before immigration from China began in the seventeenth century, Taiwan was an independent territory inhabited by Austronesian people. Following successive colonial dominations by the Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese, Taiwan's Indigenous inhabitants now stand as citizens of the ROC, comprising about 2% of its population of over 23 million and officially

encompassing 16 groups. The traditional settlements of these groups span the Central Mountain Range and eastern Taiwan. Additionally, Austronesian-speaking Pingpu People (or Plains Indigenous People) have historically lived in northeastern and western Taiwan. These groups, however, are not legally recognized by the government as Indigenous due to their perceived Sinicization. My home city, Tainan, lies within the traditional territory of the Pingpu People and was also the site of the first colonies established by the Dutch and Chinese.

My journey of learning Indigenous music is a journey of exploring not only Indigeneity but also Taiwanese identity. Under the strict Sino-centric policies implemented by the KMT, which ruled Taiwan from 1945 to 1999, any school course related to Taiwan was forbidden. As a result, I remained unfamiliar with Taiwan's history until I entered graduate school in the 1990s. I gradually "discovered" Taiwan through the study of Taiwanese music, first focusing on a folksong genre from the Hengchun area in southernmost Taiwan for my MA research and later developing my interest in Taiwanese Indigenous music while pursuing a PhD in the United States in the late 1990s.

Upon conducting field research in Nanwang Village in 2001, I became intrigued in issues of ethnic identity. Exploring Indigeneity also provoked curiosity on my own Han identity, and at times I found myself confused about who I was. Although in school I was taught that my ancestors came from China, my parents and grandparents never spoke about them. Han Taiwanese have lived in Taiwan for approximately four centuries, yet most of them know very little about Indigenous people. Textbooks rarely mention them, and when they do, they often emphasize

differences between Han and Indigenous people. Furthermore, by the 1990s, textbooks often indoctrinated students with Chinese identity through reiteration of Indigenous people's "primitivity." Yet, when I first visited Nanwang Village, I did not feel a strong sense of strangeness. This is partly because I had already done fieldwork in the Hengchun area, which did not become a Han settlement until the 1870s, and partly because Nanwang looks like an ordinary rural village. What Nanwang impressed me during the first encounter was the close kinship ties among villagers. After years of participant observation with the Pakawyan family in Nanwang and Papulu, I became a member of this family.

The description of Indigenous villages in this book focuses on Nanwang and Papulu, both established by the Pinuyumayan people. I highlight these two villages not only because of my personal connection to them but also because their stories offer valuable insight into the history of eastern Taiwan. For many Americans, mention of Taiwan immediately brings to mind tensions with China. Some may also know Taiwan through TSMC (Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company), the world's leading dedicated semiconductor foundry, or Din Tai Fung, a world-renowned Taiwanese restaurant for its soup dumplings. Neither a TSMC factory nor a Din Tai Fung restaurant exists in eastern Taiwan. Instead, the history of this region provides an alternative lens through which to view relationships between Taiwan and China.

A brief history of Taiwan

There were no credible written records of Taiwan until the seventeenth century, and the earliest accounts were produced

by outsiders, since Indigenous people did not have their own writing system. Archaeological evidence indicates that Taiwanese Indigenous people engaged in trade with China and Southeastern Asia as early as two millennia ago. Yet cultural traditions that were pervasive in surrounding regions, such as Buddhism, Islam, and Confucianism, did not take root in Taiwan until recent centuries. Although Taiwan lies only roughly 100 miles from China, it did not appear on Chinese maps until the Qing dynasty (1644—1912). Some scholars argue that China's earliest references to Taiwan date back to the third century, but direct eyewitness accounts of the island did not emerge until the fourteenth century. Beginning in 1708, field surveys produced *The Kangxi Imperial Atlas of China* (康熙皇輿全覽圖), the first Chinese map to adopt European surveying techniques. This also depicted Taiwan's abstract geographic features with scientific accuracy for the first time.[1] Notably, however, *The Kangxi Imperial Atlas of China* excludes the island's eastern region, which the Qing dynasty did not recognize as part of its territory until the late nineteenth century. It is also noteworthy that the term "Taiwan" did not refer to the entire island until 1885, when Taiwan was established as a province of the Qing Empire. Prior to that, the Qing Empire employed this term to refer to what is now Tainan City, which served as the seat of government on the island.

The term "Taiwan" is closely tied to Western colonialism. In the West, Taiwan has been known as Formosa since the sixteenth century, a name reportedly given by Portuguese sailors who referred to it as *Ilha Formosa* (beautiful island). The term "Taiwan" itself appeared in early maps, manuscripts, and prints in various forms as "Tyoan," "Tyawan," "Teowan," "Tayovan," or "Tayouan."

Originally, these names referred not to the whole island but to an offshore islet associated with present-day Tainan during the period of Dutch rule (1624—1662). In the illustration "t' Eylandt Formosa – 't Fort Zeelandia" (1678) that depicts a 1662 battle between the Dutch and Koxinga, a general of the Southern Ming Dynasty, the island of Formosa appears in the left top corner.[2] Below it, the islet is labeled "Tyoan," a place now known as Anpin, which gradually became part of present-day Tainan City through the process of inland sea sedimentation. Fort Zeelandia, shown on the right half of the illustration, was a fortress on the islet built by the Dutch. Both Fort Zeelandia and New Zealand were named after the Dutch province of Zeeland, evoking the Dutch colonial presence across the Austronesian world, in which Taiwan and New Zealand stood as its northernmost and southernmost points, respectively.

The place name "Taiwan" is believed to have been derived from "Tayouan," according to William Campbell, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary and expert on early Formosa history, who lived in Taiwan from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The term "Tayouan" originated from the Siraya people, an Indigenous group in southern Taiwan, belonging to the Plain Indigenous people. These groups are not legally recognized by the ROC government as Indigenous due to their perceived Sinicization. During early encounters with the Dutch, the Siraya people referred to the islet occupied by these foreigners as "Tayouan." The root of this term, "tao," means "human" in Austronesian languages across Taiwan and Southeast Asia. In some communities, "tao" functions as a form of self-reference, while in others, it refers to someone outside their own group.

The original connotation of the term "Taiwan," therefore, is that of a "foreigners' settlement."

Although Indigenous people have inhabited Taiwan for millennia, official histories of the island are usually divided into several periods in accordance with changes in ruling powers. The Dutch East Indian Company colonized southwestern Taiwan from 1624 to 1662; during this period, the Spanish Empire colonized northern Taiwan from 1626 to 1642. The Ming royalist Koxinga expelled the Dutch, ruling southwestern Taiwan from 1662 to1683, after which the island was ruled by the Qing Empire from 1683 to 1895. Following defeat in the 1894 Sino-Japan War, the Qing government ceded Taiwan to Japan, which ruled the island from 1895 to 1945. After Japan's defeat in the World War II, Taiwan was placed under the administration of the ROC. Subsequently, the ROC government, led by the KMT, transferred its authority to Taiwan in 1949 after being defeated by the Chinese Communist Party. As a result, Tawain becomes the only territory of the ROC.

The KMT government imposed martial law on Taiwan in 1949. During the martial law period (1949—1987), many Indigenous and native Taiwanese elites were imprisoned or killed. Taiwanese native intellectuals and politicians did not dare to challenge the KMT publicly until the emergence of a new middle class, which formed as a result of Taiwan's rapid economic growth in the 1960s.

A series of social movements, addressing political, environmental, economic, and labor issues were initiated in the mid-1970s as protests against the KMT administration. These movements reached their peak between 1983 and 1987, and led to the lifting of martial law in 1987. In 1986, the DPP was established,

promoting Taiwanese nationalism and identity. The DPP later became Taiwan's ruling party from 2000 to 2008, and won presidential elections again in 2016, 2020, and 2024.

It was during the Japanese colonial period that eastern Taiwan fell under the hands of outside forces, and the Old Puyuma Village, the precursor of Nanwang (also known as Puyuma) and Papulu, played a significant role in ensuring a peaceful political transition in 1895. The Old Puyuma Village was once the leading village of an alliance among dozens of Indigenous villages in eastern Taiwan, thanks to the support of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). During the Dutch period (1624–1662), the VOC did not establish settlements in eastern Taiwan. Instead, the VOC established the East Council (Oosterlijke Landdag, 1644–1661) to control eastern Taiwan, with the Old Puyuma Village as its agent. On behalf of the VOC, this village collected taxes from dozens of nearby Indigenous villages, convened them to participate in East Council meetings to form an alliance pledging allegiance to the Dutch, and assisted in attacks on the villages that resisted the VOC. The Old Puyuma Village maintained the leadership of this Indigenous alliance after the VOC left Taiwan, and this alliance dominated eastern Taiwan without political intervention from western Taiwan for approximately two centuries. An account by George Taylor, a keeper of the lighthouse on the southernmost tip of Taiwan from 1882 to 1887, indicated the dominant position of the Old Puyuma Village (written as "Pimaba" in the account) by referring to it as "the capital of East Formosa" (Taylor, 1888, pp. 150–151).

During the two centuries that the Qing Empire ruled Taiwan (1683–1895), the Qing administration considered eastern Taiwan

the territory of "raw savages," beyond its control, and only reluctantly established an administrative and military presence there after a series of international conflicts in the late nineteenth century. These conflicts were triggered by shipwrecks around the Hengchun peninsula in southern Taiwan, in which the Rover incident involving an American merchant ship and the Mudan incident involving tributary ships from the Ryuku Kingdom (now Okinawa Prefecture of Japan) were the most well know.

In 1867, the Rover merchant ship was wrecked off the coast of Taiwan's southernmost tip, and its crew members were killed after landing at a bay near an Indigenous village. After a failed punitive expedition by the US marines, the conflict was finally settled through negotiations between Charles William Le Gendre, the then American Consul to Amoy, and Tok-e-Tok, the leader of an Indigenous alliance in the peninsula (*Harper's Weekly*, 1867, p. 572; Horn, 1898, pp. 183–193; Hughes, 1872, pp. 265–271; Le Gendre, 1871).

In 1871, Ryukyuan sailors, shipwrecked off Mudan Bay in southeastern Taiwan, were killed by Indigenous people. In 1874, Japanese officials conducted a punitive expedition in southern Taiwan after the Qing government refused to take responsibility for the incident. After weeks of battle, the Indigenous villages involving the incident surrendered to the Japanese troops. During the negotiations for settling the conflict, the leader of Hengchun Indigenous alliance Bungekaic Garuljigulj (also known as Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, who was Tok-e-Tok's successor) and the Japanese commander Saigou Jyuudou established a friendly relationship (House, 1875). This punitive expedition forced the Quing government to change its Indigenous policies,

acknowledge Japanese suzerainty over Ryuku, and pay reparation to the families of the Ryukyuan victims as well as to Japanese troops. It also prepared the way for Japan's eventual takeover of Taiwan. During the political transition in 1895, Bungekaic Garuljigulj, as the leader of the Hengchun Indigenous alliance, played an important role in negotiations between the Japanese government and Indigenous communities to ensure a peaceful transition.

After the negotiations facilitated by Bungekaic Garuljigulj, the Old Puyuma Village and its alliance pledged allegiance to the Japanese colonizers, becoming incorporated into the modern system of the nation-state. This history shows that the Pinuyumayan people have long engaged in negotiation with outside powers, managing to secure a favorable position during the negotiations. While interactions with neighboring Indigenous communities and outside powers fostered complexity of Pinuyumayan cultural features, the Pinuyumayan people strived to maintain traditional rituals and social structures, which embodied their traditional values and their sense of what it means to be Pinuyumayan. Stories of Nanwang and Papulu villages thus serve as good examples for exploring issues of "Indigeneity and modernity," "Indigenous-settler relations," and "place and identity."

Taiwanese Indigenous people

Indigenous, as Charles H. Long points out, "refers to what, in a conventional sense, we define as home, whether that home is defined geographically, ethnically, or religiously" (2004, p. 89). In the contemporary world, home refers to not only "the place of settlement," as Robin Cohen argues in his study of diaspora, but

also "the place of origin," "a local, national or transnational place," "an imagined virtual community," or "a matrix of known experiences and intimate social relations" (Cohen, 2008, p. 10). In short, home is about place as well as identity. As "Indigenous" is closely related to "home," this book explores Indigeneity's multiple features that center around the theme of home, including home as a connection of Indigenous people, as a community imagined through Indigenous performance, and Taiwan as the homeland of Indigenous people and the homeland of all Austronesian-speaking people.

Archeological findings provide evidence of human habitation in Taiwan tens of millennia ago, while the ancestors of today's Indigenous people arrived in this island around five millennia ago. These Indigenous people are Austronesian-speaking ethnic groups, and Taiwan is arguably "the homeland of all Austronesian-speaking peoples," as proposed by linguists such as Robert Blust (2019). As Blust points out, the ancestors of Austronesian people in Taiwan originated from southern China, although "no traces remain of whatever Austronesian languages were once spoken in mainland China" (2019, p. 424). Blust and other scholars posit that the proliferation of the Austronesian language across insular Southeast Asia and Oceania began in Taiwan, a hypothesis known as "Out of Taiwan" theory. Based on linguistic and archeological evidence, scholars infer that Austronesian-speaking people reached the Philippines, eastern Indonesia, and northern Borneo between 2500 and 1500 BCE, western Micronesia and parts of island Melanesia between 1500 and 1200 BCE, and western Polynesia by approximately 850 BCE.

Before Han immigration from China began in the seventeenth century, Taiwan's Austronesian people were the owners of this island, while Indigenous people now stand as citizens of the ROC that rules Taiwan. According to current government categorizations, Taiwanese Indigenous People include 16 groups: Amis (Pangcah), Atayal, Bunun, Hla'alua, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pinuyumayan, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Sediq, Thao, Truku, Tsou, and Yami (Tao). Their traditional settlements span the mountains, the east coast, and the offshore Orchid Island. However, currently about half of the Indigenous population resides in urban areas. The Indigenous group highlighted in this book is Pinuyumayan, comprising ten villages in Taitung County in southeastern Taiwan.

The 190-mile-long Central Mountain Range, running from northern to southern Taiwan, divides the island into eastern and western parts, and deferred Han encroachment into the eastern part for centuries. The Qing government and the Japanese colonial government labelled ancestors of the 16 Indigenous People as "uncivilized savages" to differentiate the Austronesian-speaking people living in the east from those they referred to as "civilized savages" in the northeast and west. The so-called civilized savages experienced gradual dispossession of their lands and cultures during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their descendants are now referred to as Plains Indigenous People, or Pingpu People. Despite their Indigenous roots, these Plains Indigenous People have not been legally recognized as Indigenous by the government, attributed to their perceived Sinicization.

Frameworks for dividing Indigenous people into "tribes" were proposed around 1900, and efforts to name and categorize Indigenous groups have continued unabated ever since.

Beginning with the work of Japanese scholar Ino Kanori, who first classified the so-called "mountain Aborigines" into seven tribes around 1900, the Japanese government and scholars oscillated between seven-tribe and nine-tribe classification. Subsequently, Taiwanese scholar Wei Hui-lin (衛惠林) synthesized earlier categorizations, grouping the nine tribes into five distinct regions: north (Atayal, Saisiat), central (Bunun, Tsou), south (Rukai, Paiwan), east (Puyuma, Amis), and outer island (Yami; see Hsu et al., 1995, pp. 6–8). The ROC government adapted Wei's categorization, but later added seven more groups that were initially considered subcategories or branches of the existing nine tribes. However, travelogues penned prior to Japanese rule and Indigenous legends indicate that traditionally, the largest political unit in an Indigenous society was the village, though the boundaries and makeup of these villages were fluid rather than static. The establishment of Nanwang and Papulu villages offers a case in point for illustrating this fluidity, which I explore further later.

The government of the People's Republic of China declared Taiwanese Indigenous People as one of its 55 ethnic minority groups, referring to them as "Gaoshan zu" (高山族, or High Mountain Group). However, this categorization is misleading. The label High Mountain Group is inappropriate because, as mentioned earlier, not all Taiwanese Indigenous People reside in the mountains. Moreover, these Austronesian-speaking groups reject this label, considering it derogatory. While both the terms "ethnic minority" and "Indigenous people" are used to describe marginalized ethnic groups, the distinction between these terms should be clarified. The Study Group on Music and Minorities

of the International Council for Traditions of Music and Dance defines "minorities" as "groups of people distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons" (Hemetek, 2015, p. 231). This definition emphasizes the dichotomy between minorities and the dominant group. In contrast, scholars define "Indigenous people" as "descendents of populations marginalized in their own land by majority populations of settler colonies founded after the advent of the age of 'discovery' during the European Renaissance" (Hilder, 2017, pp. 3; see also Niezen, 2003, pp. 19), highlighting the dichotomy between Indigenous people and settlers. The Taiwanese Indigenous people fall into the category of Indigenous people rather than the Chinese ethnic minority groups, since Han immigration to Taiwan was not initiated until the Dutch rule on this island in the seventeenth century. Unlike Taiwanese Indigenous peoples, Chinese ethnic minorities have a long history of contacts with the Han people, dating back millennia. However, extensive Han settlements within territories of some ethnic minorities, such as Xinjiang, were not established until recent centuries.

Although modifications caused by external influences are evident in Indigenous contemporary culture, Taiwanese Indigenous people continue to strive to maintain connections to their land and culture. It should be noted that none of the external powers that ruled Taiwanese governed Indigenous people long enough to completely erase Indigenous cultures or the cultural legacies left by previous colonizers. The Dutch Era (1624–1662), the Era of Koxinga (a general of Southern Ming Dynasty, 1661–1683), and the Japanese Era (1895–1945) lasted no more than 50 years each. Although the Qing government ruled Taiwan for two centuries,

it did not substantively exercise jurisdiction in the mountainous regions and the east coast—the traditional territory of present-day Indigenous People—until 1874, just 21 years before Japan took control over Taiwan. Among these external powers, the current ROC in Taiwan has had the longest period of rule over Taiwanese Indigenous people, approximately 80 years. As evidence of governance by these multiple external powers, multiple layers of external cultural influences have been superimposed on Indigenous traditions. However, Indigenous people's cultural memory, associated with their ancestral past, remains firmly intact in contemporary times. Their deep attachments to culture, land, and blood provide a ground for negotiating identity and power with the Han majority in recent decades.

The Japanese colonial government and the KMT (Kuomintang, or Chinese Nationalist Party) government implemented assimilation policies targeting Taiwanese Indigenous people during the 1930s till the 1980s, resulting in rapid loss of Indigenous lands and cultural identities. The Japanese colonial government did not give priorities to the assimilation of Indigenous people until the 1930s, by which time they had been gradually subdued. The outbreak of the Sino-Japan War in 1937 expedited the Japanese government's assimilation plans, aiming to mobilize Indigenous warriors to fight for the Emperor of Japan. After taking over Taiwan, the KMT government assimilated the Indigenous people through education rather than violence, systematically eroding Indigenous languages and cultures more effectively than the Japanese had. This assimilation policy was imposed on the Indigenous peoples in tandem with social discrimination, which brought economic and political challenges as well

as social problems, such as the exploitation of child prostitutes, to Indigenous society. Under these circumstances, the eventual disappearance of Taiwanese Indigenous people seemed inevitable—a belief held by both Han people and Indigenous people themselves in the 1980s (Hsieh, 1994).

Indigenous students from different villages, while pursuing collegiate studies in the cities, realized that their common ascribed status as Indigenous was a stigmatized label. In response, they initiated the first pan-Indigenous movement in 1983 to combat the injustice they faced. The 1980s Indigenous movement had gained support from outside Indigenous society, particularly from anti-KMT groups and the Presbyterian church. The interplays among Indigenous activist groups, anti-KMT groups, and the KMT government were complex, and I discuss these in more detail later.

Simply put, after Indigenous activists publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the difficulties that Indigenous people faced, the government began to improve Indigenous people's situations under the pressure of public opinion. One of the major demands of the 1980s Indigenous movement was the rectification of names, both for Indigenous People as a collective as well as for individual groups. Indigenous activists proposed the term *yuanzhuminzu* (原住民族), the Chinese equivalent for "Indigenous People," to assert the Indigenous People as the original inhabitants of the island. This term was officially recognized by the government in 1994, replacing derogatory labels previously imposed on Indigenous people, such as *shanbao* (山胞, or mountain compatriots) or "*fan*" (番), denoting "savages" or "foreigners." The 1980s Indigenous movement paved the way

for subsequent Indigenous cultural revivals, and most of the Highway Nine musical stories discussed in this book are closely linked to these cultural revivals.

Modern Indigeneity and musicking

The Indigeneity explored in this book is not about primordial or transhistorical attachments, but about "a series of encounters; a structure of power; a set of relationships; a matter of becoming" (de la Cadena and Starn, 2007, p. 11). In this regard, this book examines both "the pragmatic, entangled, contemporary forms of indigenous cultural politics" and the "long histories of indigenous resistance and transformative links with roots prior to and outside the world system" (Clifford, 2013, p. 54). Scholars specialized in Native American music such as Beverley Diamond have called for research on "Indigenous modernities" among the First Peoples of North America (Senungetuk, 2019, p. xi). Taking examples of Taiwanese Indigenous people, this book is a response to this call. Modernity is usually associated to "industrialization, urbanization, the displacement of individuals from their communities of origin, increased mobility, technological progress, and… a break with tradition," while the term Indigenous is often linked to "people practicing antiquated customs and rural lifestyles, removed from and out of touch with mainstream social, cultural, political, and economic trends," as Levine points out (Levine, 2019, p. 1). However, David W. Samuels argues that modernity and Indigeneity arise "out of waters from the same stream," and that "Indigenous communities were not alone in the worries about modernity's effects" (Samuels, 2019, p. 20). The examples in this

book echo Samuels's assertion, which leads me to believe that the exploration of relationships among music, modernity, and Indigeneity inevitably involves complex, interwoven processes.

To explore Indigeneity as a dynamic process, I found James Clifford's concept of articulation instructive, which he defines as "a broad range of connections and disconnections—political, social, economic, and cultural" (2013, p. 45). A sense of "connectedness-in-dispersion" (Clifford, 2013, p. 73) makes modern Indigeneity intrinsically hybrid, often involving multiple consciousness. W. E. B. Du Bois proposed the term "double consciousness" in his *The Souls of Black Folk* to refer to the African Americans' conditions, and Paul Gilroy later uses this term in his discussion about "Black Atlantic" (Gilroy 1993). Double or multiple consciousnesses, as Philip V. Bohlman notes, "make it possible for groups to maintain cultural practices that express connectedness to a historical homeland while adapting to new homelands" (2020, p. 90). I highlight forms of Indigenous experiences in Chapters 4 and 5 to examine the hybrid nature of contemporary Indigenous culture and the complex consciousness associated with this hybridity.

Clifford suggests "articulation," together with "performance" and "translation," as three pivotal tools for analyzing Indigenous cultural processes. He describes "performance" as "forms of display for different 'publics'" and "translation" as "partial communication and dialogue across cultural and generational divides" (2013, p. 240). In my discussions on Indigeneity, I focus on performance and adopt Christopher Small's musicking framework to examine Indigenous performance. Small coins the term "musicking" as the present participle, or gerund, of the verb "to music." To music, he

proposed, "is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (1998, p. 9). Small argued that a performance is a single event to which "all these different activities add up." The concept of musicking thus allows us "to explore the meanings that the event as a whole is generating" (1998, p. 10). Adopting Small's theory, I explore how different components, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, come together in forms of performance to generate various meanings and to articulate multiple facets of Indigeneity. In my discussion on Indigenous musicking, I explore not only acts of performing, listening, rehearsing, practicing, composing, and dancing but also how these acts are discussed and displayed, as shown in Chapter 3 about festival and museum. With Clifford's three tools and Small's musicking framework, this book investigates "the attachments, displacements, and changes" (Clifford, 2013, p. 252) in the contemporary Indigenous world.

A study of Indigeneity and modernity may help us gain a deeper understanding of Indigeneity through examining modernity, and vice versa. As James Clifford points out, Indigenous cultural resurgence in the late twentieth century has surprised those who believed that Indigenous peoples were "destined to disappear," and has provided a source of what Marshall Sahlins called "anthropological enlightenment" (Clifford, 2013, p. 22). Indigenous cultural resurgence can be observed in different regions of the globe, and some components of modernization and globalization, such as digital and other technologies, have facilitated Indigenous presence both within and beyond

Indigenous society. To explore notions of Indigeneity in the contemporary world, researchers need to consider Indigeneity in global contexts and remain attentive to the effects of modernity on Indigenous peoples. It is my hope that these discussions of Indigeneity and modernity will help readers develop a more holistic and integrative way of understanding not only what Indigenous music means, but also how humans create, convey, and perceive meaning through music-making.

The unfolding of the highway nine stories

Through unfolding the Highway Nine stories in this book, I examine why, how, and where Taiwanese Indigenous people perform music, what they perform, how others react to it, and how meanings of Indigeneity are created, conveyed, and perceived in musicking processes. In Chapter 1, I provide an overview of the places and the Indigenous groups explored in this book. In Chapter 2, I take the musical *On the Road*, performed at the NCH in 2010 as point of departure to examine how sociocultural interactions between Indigenous people and settlers shape contemporary Indigenous music. The concert hall is a venue that symbolizes modernity, and hence an unexpected place for Indigenous musicians to perform. By examining the musical, I explore various types of Indigenous imagery associated with Indigenous musicking and discuss possible approaches to Indigenize a concert hall through performances. In Chapter 3, I discuss how Austronesian regions are collectively imagined as a community in festivals, and how the concept of "the Austronesian homeland" is articulated in Taiwan through exhibitions of the

NMP. Although the museum is often stereotypically regarded as a place for preserving Indigenous traditions—a symbolic destination for the Indigenous people—I argue that a museum can instead serve as a contact zone in which Indigeneity is actively negotiated. To explore the NMP as a contact zone, this chapter focuses on how Indigenous and non-Indigenous people interact through discussions and displays of Indigenous music rather than music per se.

In the remaining chapters, I take readers to two Pinuyumayan villages. The first village, which we visit in Chapter 4, is Nanwang, the home village of the major Indigenous performers in *On the Road*. In this chapter, I discuss the musicking of Pinuyumayan villagers in both ritual and nonritual settings. Chapter 5 focuses on Papulu Village, where my wife was born and raised. Through descriptions of the family music gatherings initiated by my father-in-law and the village-wide singing event *semimusimuk* initiated by one of my sisters-in-law, I explore the meanings of home as articulated in these events.

Learning objectives

1. To explore relationships among places, identity, and musicking.
2. To explore notions of modern Indigeneity.
3. To explore Indigeneity from local, national, and global perspectives.
4. To learn a history of Taiwan from an Indigenous perspective.