

## **A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY SIRAYA CEREMONIAL COSTUMES AND CULTURAL IDENTITY**

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Siraya aborigines make and use their ceremonial costumes to demonstrate their ethnic culture. When cultural revitalization began in the 1990s, Siraya aborigines began to revive and reconstruct distinctive clothing that could deepen their sense of cultural self-identity. Ceremonial costume, also called Ciancyu costume, is normally worn during their traditional sacrificial ceremony to the god Ali to show respect and faith during the ritual process. This study focusses on the four main tribes of Siraya located in Tainan, Taiwan, including Toushe tribe, Beitouyang tribe, Jibeishua tribe, and Fanzitian tribe. Although members of all four tribes of Siraya aborigines are believers of the god Ali, and each tribe holds the traditional sacrificial ceremony annually, the ceremonial costume worn by each has different appearances. Through a combination of field investigation, clothing analysis, and comparison with historical documents, this study clarifies how Siraya aborigines make their ceremonial costumes by following the commands from the god Ali as divined through an Inibs shaman, moon blocks casting, or divine revelation in a dream. Because the god Ali has different requests for ceremonial costumes, and because Ali exerts different levels of influence among the four tribes, the ceremonial costumes of each tribe has distinct characteristic that set them apart from each other. This paper concludes that the stronger the tribe believes in Ali, the more influential power Ali has on the design of the ceremonial costume.

### **Introduction**

In Taiwan, Han Chinese make up the largest ethnic group, accounting for 96.42 per cent of the population, whereas aborigines account for only about 2.48 per cent. There are currently 16 aboriginal groups recognized by the Taiwanese government, excluding the Siraya, which are now classified as a subgroup of the Pingpu ethnic group.

To seek rectification and recognition from the government and the public, the Siraya people are actively conducting external name rectification campaigns and internal cultural revitalization activities. The current cultural revitalization of the Siraya people is both thriving and diverse in its direction. In my research, I found that there is a special relationship between belief in what can be considered the patron god of the Siraya people, the god Ali, and the clothing of the Siraya people. When the Siraya people use ceremonial clothing as a medium of cultural identity, different tribes have been influenced by Ali to different extents. Each tribe demonstrates a different relationship between 'Ali', 'ritual' and 'ceremonial clothing' which reflects different views about expressing cultural identity.

## **Research Methods**

I used two main research methods in this study: field investigation and clothing analysis. My field work took place from the spring to the winter of 2021. I went to visit the four main tribes of Siraya located in Tainan, Taiwan and interviewed native elites to obtain information. At the same time, I collected resources about ceremonial clothing and completed a thorough analysis of the collection. This study sometimes relied on referencing historical documents to identify the parts of ceremonial clothing that were adopted from pre-existing resources.

## **Field Investigation**

This study took me to visit the tribes several times in 2021. From February to October, the four tribes of Siraya I visited included Toushe tribe, Beitouyang tribe, Jibeishua tribe, and Fanzitian tribe. I interviewed five aboriginal elites from these tribes. These aboriginal elites usually have great influence among local people and are familiar with their culture. Their opinions can certainly represent the feelings of their fellow tribal members. To begin, I usually searched for their contact information online and made an appointment to meet them for an in-person, in-depth, one-on-one interview. I prepared open-ended questions beforehand which were related to their personal background, the clothing design processes, clothing revitalization efforts, and so on. The questions were flexibly regulated depending on each individual and the flow of conversation, allowing the interviewee to lead the conversation to the topics they thought were most important. Later, I transcribed the interview recordings. To protect the interviewees' personal information, this study uses codes (A, B, C...) instead their real names. More information is shown in Appendix 1.

Field investigation helped me to understand how Siraya aboriginals make and use their ceremonial clothing to demonstrate their cultural identity. Also, it allowed me to observe how different tribes differ in their understanding, and thus treatment of, the relationship between Ali, ritual, and their ceremonial clothing.

## **Clothing Analysis**

The method of clothing analysis aims to clarify the process of each outfit's design. During fieldwork, I borrowed ceremonial clothing from tribal members and used clothing analysis to record the details of each outfit. The first step was conducting a detailed inspection of the clothing and measuring for size. The second step involved taking detailed back and front photos. The third step required noting the features of each of the items, such as colors, patterns, textures, decorations, and silhouette. More information is shown in Appendix 2.

In addition, this study also included document analysis to aid understanding what historical documents remain, and which were utilised by Siraya aboriginals in the production of their ceremonial clothing. To sum up, this study used two main research methods and was supplemented by a third. Both the field investigation and clothing analysis were compared with the information given by interviewees to achieve a balanced and objective viewpoint and historical documents were referenced to observe process.

## **Design and Use of Contemporary Siraya Ceremonial Clothing**

Siraya ceremonial clothing, also called Ciancyu clothing, is normally only worn during the annual traditional sacrificial ceremony held in honor of the god Ali. The clothing is worn not only to show respect and faith during the Ciancyu ritual process (chanting, dancing hand in hand in a circle, and communicating with the souls of ancestors and gods), but also as a means of continuing the traditional custom from the past. The creation of the ceremonial outfits examined here, which were all made after the 1990s, might have been inspired by the trend of Siraya cultural revitalization. Although most members of all four tribes of Siraya visited in this research are believers of Ali and participate in the ceremony every year, the ceremonial clothing of each tribe has a different appearance. I conclusively determined that Siraya aboriginals design their ceremonial clothing by following the commands from Ali as communicated through Inibs shamans, moon blocks casting, or divine revelation in a dream. Because commands received by each tribe for designing the clothing from 'each' Ali during the revitalization process were different, the appearance of each outfit varies. The following section is divided into three parts, 'Using the Clothing', 'Introducing the Clothing and the Production Team', and 'The Basis for Making the Clothing.'

### ***Using the Clothing***

As mentioned above, Siraya aboriginals usually only dress in their ceremonial clothing during the traditional sacrificial ceremony, which is also called the Night Sacrifice. Ceremonial clothing, also called Ciancyu clothing, is usually only worn in the 'Ciancyu' part of the ritual process. In this part, it is mostly women that are responsible for wearing the clothing to show respect and faith in Ali, and likewise it is mostly women who are responsible for chanting, dancing hand in hand in a circle, and communicating with the souls of ancestors and gods. To some extent, through these actions, they are transformed from anonymous people into divine worshippers for the duration of the Ciancyu.

The name ‘Night Sacrifice’, also called the ‘Night Festival’, originated during the Japanese colonial period. When the Japanese government devoted its efforts to the ‘Kōminka movement’, local religious ceremonies were banned. To continue the ceremony, Siraya people switched their ceremony from morning to night. Nowadays Siraya aboriginals hold the Night Sacrifice once a year.

Although most of members of the four Siraya tribes are believers of Ali, and each tribe holds the traditional sacrificial ceremony annually, they hold the ceremony on different dates and at different places. Each tribe usually holds the ceremony at their village's Kuwa (similar to a Han Temple). The Toushe tribe holds their ceremony (Figure 1) in Toushe Great Kuwa and the Fanzitian tribe (Figure 6) in Fanzitian Great Kuwa, both on October 14<sup>th</sup> of the lunar calendar. The Jibeishua tribe (Figure 3) holds theirs in Jibeishua Great Kuwa on the lunar September 4<sup>th</sup>. The Beitouyang tribe (Figure 5) holds their ceremony in Beitouyang Cultural Building on lunar March 28<sup>th</sup>. The Beitouyang tribe originally held their ceremony in the Beitouyang Kuwa. However, the space is narrow, and the newly established Beitouyang Cultural Building was built directly beside the Kuwa, they changed the ritual location to the Cultural Building.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Introducing the Clothing and the Production Teams***

Through fieldwork, I clarified that the four sets of ceremonial clothing worn by the four tribes have different appearances and were designed in different years. The production teams were mostly comprised of tribal members engaged in cultural revitalization projects.

The top shirt of Toushe's Ciancyu (Figure 2) outfit is an edge-to-edge shirt with a standing collar and long sleeves. It must be all white. For women, the bottom is a skirt pleated in either a three pleat or an accordion style pleat. For men, they wear long white pants instead. Both men and women wear a flower wreath on their head. The Jibeishua Ciancyu (Figure 4) only has an outfit for women. The top is a long white shirt with elbow-length sleeves and collars that diagonally cross each other, with the right crossing over the left. The bottom of outfit is a black barrel skirt. It is worn with a purple waist tie, a purple headpiece, and a flower head wreath. The Beitouyang Ciancyu outfit is mostly the same as Jibeishua's. The difference is in the colour. Beitouyang's waist tie and headpiece are orange instead of purple. Lastly, Fanzitian Ciancyu's clothing (Figure 7) is a polo shirt with three-quarter sleeves. The shirt pattern is like that of general sportswear. The words “Fanzitian Ali Night Sacrifice” are printed on the back in red lettering. They usually wear black sweatpants on the bottom.

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<sup>1</sup> Beitouyang Cultural Building was built for exhibiting Siraya historical information, including ancestral architecture, photos, statues, and so on.



Figure 1. Toushe Night Sacrifice

From Siraya National Scenic Area Administration: Siraya Group-Toushe Night Sacrifice, 2021

(<https://www.facebook.com/sirayatrip/posts/pfbid02QZF5eDb71jitV9pDbmLrNeS96CTd7JP HqiCkwJN3a5RduGxeY6K237a3a3qvsTU8l>)



Figure 2. Toushe Female Ceremonial Clothing



Figure 3. Jibeishua Night Sacrifice

From Siraya National Scenic Area Administration: Siraya Group- Jibeishua Night Sacrifice, 2021, (<https://www.siraya-nsa.gov.tw/zh-tw/about-siraya/sacrificial-ceremonies>)



Figure 4. Jibeishua Female Ceremonial Clothing



Figure 5. Beitouyang Night Sacrifice- Ciancyu and Ceremonial Clothing

From Beitouyang Introducing Team: Siraya Beitouyang Night Sacrifice, 2021  
(<https://www.siraya-nsa.gov.tw/zh-tw/about-siraya/sacrificial-ceremonies>)



Figure 6. Fanzitian Night Sacrifice. Source: from Interviewee E



Figure 7. Fanzitian Ceremonial Clothing

These four ceremonial outfits were all designed after 1990, at the same time that Siraya became conscious of their cultural identity, and cultural revitalization activities began in each tribe. Based on statements from my interviewees, each of the four tribes started having their own ceremonial outfits since approximately 1990 (A: 01-81, B: 01-121, D: 01-529, E: 01-333). There are three culture revitalization groups that have participated in planning the design of ceremonial clothing, which are the Jibeishua Ciancyu Association, the Tainan Toushe Siraya Cultural Association and the Tainan Soulong Beitouyang Development Association. In addition to creating ceremonial clothing, they have been maintaining material and immaterial assets, rewriting conventional history, supporting ethnic-related matters, and so on. The organisation that designed Fanzitian's ceremonial clothing, the Fuxing Temple Committee, is the exception. Unlike the others, they are not involved in any Siraya cultural revitalization efforts.

### *The Basis for Making the Clothing*

Through this research, I found that the four tribes all made their ceremonial costumes by following the commands from Ali as divined through Inibs shamans, moon blocks casting, or divine revelation in a dream. Based on data gathered from my interviewees with each tribe, most interviewees revealed that they had experiences of accepting divined orders from the Ali of their tribe. An interviewee from Jibeishua described that when designing an outfit, an Inibs shaman would “jump up” and convey Ali's expectation of the clothing design or communicate through moon blocks casting (A: 01-189 ∙ 289). Moreover, Interviewee B mentioned that it was always necessary to ask Ali about making an outfit through moon blocks casting in the Toushe tribe. For the Fanzitian tribe, Interviewee E mentioned that Ali would inform tribal members of the design details of the clothing through an Inibs shaman, and some tribesmen dreamed that Ali was dressed like a mighty vassal king with betel nuts and red juice on the corners of his mouth. Thus, the collar piece of the costume was changed to have a red collar (E: 01-329 ∙ 513). However, a Beitouyang interviewee said he had no experiences of designing ceremonial clothing because, since 1999, their clothing was made by imitating the clothing of the Jibeishua tribe. To sum up, it is clear that most ceremonial outfits were made by following Ali's orders and preferences. They consider ceremonial clothing as an expansion of their faith in Ali, so they take Ali's commands regarding costume as an infrangible standard.

## **The Influence and Role of the God Ali on Ceremonial Clothing**

Siraya aboriginals use their ceremonial clothing as evidence of their deep relationship with the god Ali as well as to show their cultural identity both inside the group and to outsiders. Ali plays a different role in the designing of ceremonial clothing because Ali exerts different extents of power within four tribes. The stronger the tribe believes in Ali; the more influential power Ali has on the design of the ceremonial costumes. The more in awe of Ali the tribesmen are; the more decision-making power regarding the making of ceremonial clothing was given away. The more devoted interviewees spoke of feeling less freedom and authority when it came to designing the ceremonial clothing. For example, Interviewee A, living in Jibeishua where traditional belief in Ali has been best preserved, mentioned that the details of making the ceremonial costume were entirely based on Ali's preferences. Throughout the whole process of adjusting the costumes, Ali was asked for consent and reports. The purpose of the modification was centered on pleasing Ali (A: 01-289 - 295). The Jibeishua people were content to make the ceremonial clothing to meet Ali's requests and there was no consideration of adding any other opinions. In contrast, Interviewee B from Toushe tribe described that tribal members should be able to give their input regarding the design of the costume, but afterwards they will still need to ask Ali for permission and consent through moon block casting (B01-216). Interviewee B repeatedly mentioned the desire to modify the existing costume. The purpose of the modification would be to add a sense of glamour to the occasion and make the clothing more youthful. Interviewee B's comments seem to indicate that members of the Toushe tribe might feel more unrestricted when it comes to modifying their clothing than the members of the Jibeishua tribe. Among the four tribes, Beitouyang tribe remains most neutral because they have no experience with making and designing their own costume.

Lastly, Fanzitian tribe seems to have been the most casual when making their ceremonial clothing, but even they were careful to follow Ali's orders.

When asked about the current outfit, Interviewee E said that by asking the two former directors of the Fuxing Temple Committee,<sup>2</sup> the current ceremonial outfits were commissioned from manufacturers of sportswear and group uniforms. The manufacturers brought samples of the color, size, text to be printed, typeface of characters, and so on. If Ali had an order regarding any of these design details, the orders were followed. Finally, the number of units were confirmed with Ali.

However, through in-depth interviews, it was found that Fanzitian people may be divided over the influence of Ali on their ceremonial clothing. After reading Chen's (2002) research and his description of the changes in population composition and religious beliefs in Fanzitian, I found that there are two forces in Fanzitian that are wrestling with each other: Fuxing Temple Committee and Ali believers.

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<sup>2</sup> The Fuxing Temple Committee, whose members are mostly Han, is responsible for holding the Night Sacrifice ceremony and for making ceremonial costumes.



They have many conflicts when it comes to hosting the ceremony for Ali. Chen Ronghui explained that in the 1960s, a large number of Han people migrated to the area where the Fanzitian tribe lives.

This led to an increase in the non-indigenous population and Han religious culture drew the residents' attention away from Ali. As a result, Ali's status and rights in the tribe gradually declined. The Fuxing Temple Committee often implement the Night Sacrifice on their own instead of in accordance with Ali's orders. Interviewee E, as one of a relatively small number of devout Ali believers in the tribe, constantly emphasized in the interview that people have no right to decide the pattern or color on the costume. He insisted he wouldn't want to modify the clothing, and said that Ali would not agree to any modification. He also stated that, "If Ali wants to change the clothing, he will convey his order," and argued that people should only take a passive position when changing the clothing (E: 01-939~941、956). The reason why Interviewee E insisted that the tribe doesn't have the authority to modify the clothing is that he aims to protect Ali's status within the tribe. In fact, compared to other religions, the belief in Ali is relatively weak in the Fanzitian tribe. To set strong boundaries between Ali and other religions, devout Ali believers firmly adhere to and obey Ali's orders when it comes to any details in making the clothing.

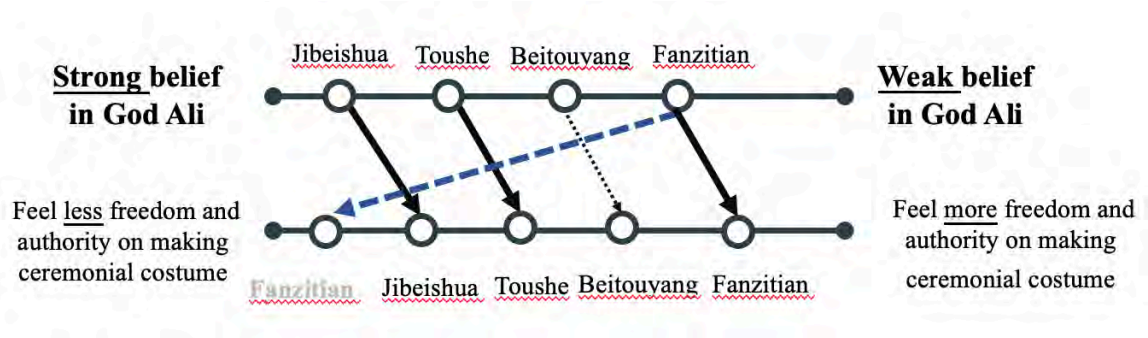


Figure 8. The Degree of Freedom and Authority to Design Ceremonial Clothing in Relation to the Strength of Belief in Ali

To sum up, the god Ali exerts different levels of influence in the four tribes in regard to designing ceremonial clothing. The above description (Figure 8) shows that the strength of belief in Ali will affect the tribe's level of self-determination regarding the design of ceremonial clothing and affect how the tribesmen place themselves in a position of dominance and boundaries between people and Ali.

### Cultural Identity

This section argues that there are four different types of relationship between 'Ali', 'ritual', and 'ceremonial clothing' in the construction of cultural identity among the four tribes (Table 1). This section attempts to analyze the content of the interviewees' discussions within the context of a historical and local background analysis, and visualizes the trade-off relationship between 'cultural identity', 'ritual', 'ceremonial clothing', and 'Ali' into figures (Table 1). Among four tribes, it was found that Jibeishua tribe takes belief in Ali as the core of their cultural identity,

and the ceremonial clothing and ritual belong to what they see as Ali's expansion into the outside. For the Toushe tribe, over their complex history, elements of other cultural influences have been incorporated into their cultural identity. As a result, 'Ali', 'ritual' and 'ceremonial clothing' are just one dimension of their cultural expression and do not necessarily play a central role. Of the four tribes, the Beitouyang tribe is most concerned with the performance of their cultural identity and makes the most effort to make themselves heard among, and cater to, external audiences. Among Beitouyang, 'Ali' and 'ceremonial clothing' are less important comparatively, but the 'ritual' is a central component of their identity-making. Lastly, due to historical factors, the importance of 'Ali', 'ritual', and 'ceremonial clothing' do not play a significant role in their cultural identity in Fanzitian.

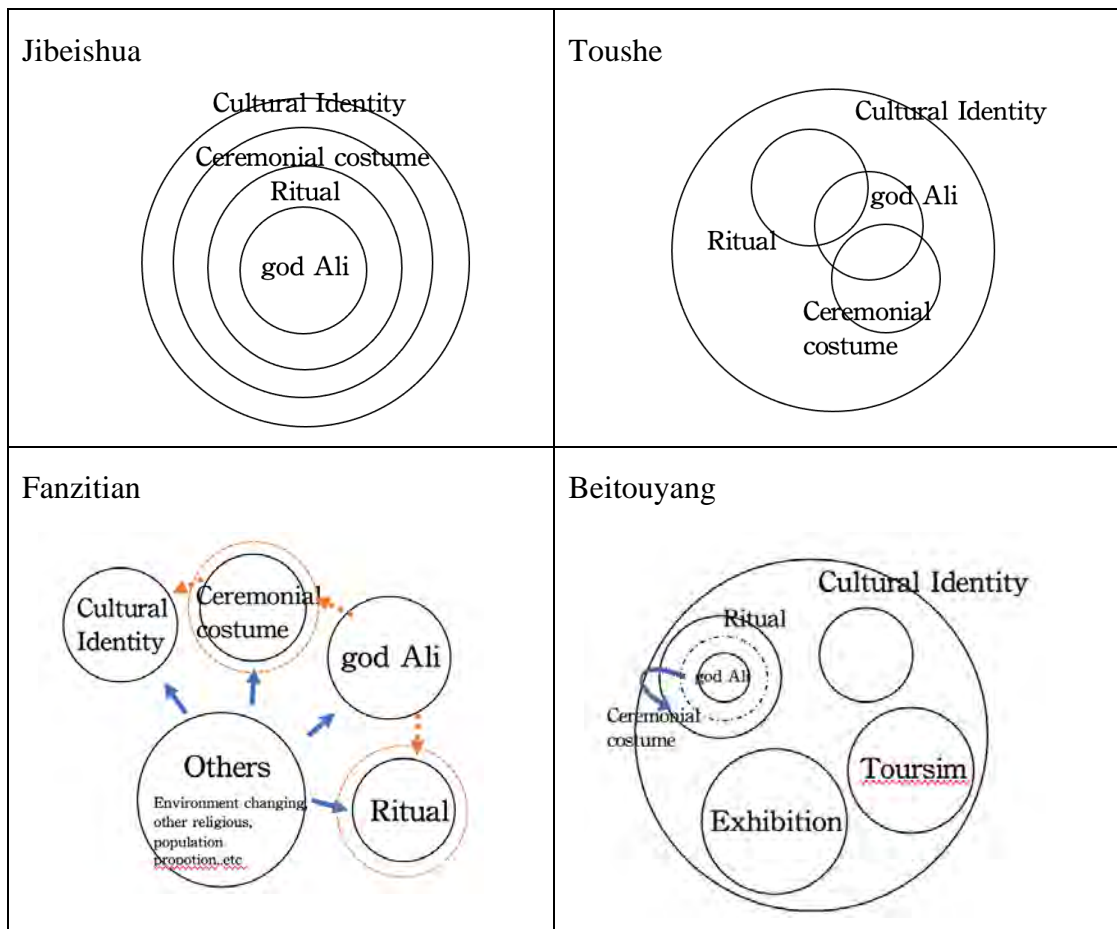


Table 1. Image of the Relationship Between Cultural Identity, Clothing, Rituals and Ali Among the Four Tribes

**Jibeishua**

In terms of cultural identity, the people of the Jibeishua tribe firmly center their identity on the god Ali and regard Ali belief as their core value while performing ritual and wearing their ceremonial clothing. The degree of preservation of the ritual in Jibeishua and the narration from Interviewee A, indicate that the Jibeishua people value the traditional culture and Ali very highly. For the sake of Ali, the Jibeishua people regard holding the ceremony as a sacred mission and treat both the ritual and ceremonial clothing as expressions of their spirituality, not as mere performances.

Interviewee A said that when Ali was satisfied with the ritual and ceremonial clothing, the people will also be happy because of Ali's response (a01-120、 297). The emerging emotions from the Jibeishua people reflect the close relationship between them and Ali. In fact, the presence or absence of an external audience appears to be entirely irrelevant for Jibeishua people as both ritual and ceremonial clothing are solely meant to convey their core value of faith and reaffirm their relationship with Ali.

### ***Toushe***

In the scope of cultural identity of the Toushe, all three - ritual, Ali and ceremonial clothing - are interrelated and dependent on each other instead of being concentrically organized around Ali. According to legend, the Toushe tribe were the original worshippers of Ali.

Yet, the ritual as it is held today and ceremonial clothing of the Toushe are not merely based on obeying god Ali's will. The historical context of the Toushe tribe and today's ritual shows that for at least 400 years, these Siraya aboriginals have lived closely with Han people, and their integration of Han religious belief has affected the tribe. The belief system of the Toushe has thus developed into a special kind of local culture, and today's Toushe Night Sacrifice has delicately integrated elements of their Han religious belief which has transformed their ritual practices surrounding Ali (Lin Xiurong, 2007; Pan Yinghai, 1994). Due to this history of integrating Han culture, the Toushe tribe has more freedom and openness toward accepting other cultural elements than, for example, the Jibeishua tribe. This is apparent, in matters regarding Ali ritual practice, including the design of ceremonial clothing. Toushe people make the clothing not only by obeying Ali's orders, but also by allowing other cultural elements to be incorporated into it. For example, there are Han-style buckles. To sum up, in the figure representing Toushe cultural identity, 'ritual' and 'ceremonial clothing' are not concentrically organised around 'Ali' because there are other cultural influences that have historically been integrated into local ritual and cultural practices. Ali is still considered to be an indispensable part of ritual and ceremonial clothing, but not the centerpiece of either. Likewise, all three are still considered to be essential for the performance of cultural identity in Toushe.

### ***Beitouyang***

For the present-day cultural identity of the Beitouyang tribe, ritual has become a major method of exhibiting Siraya culture to external audiences. In comparison with Jibeishua and Toushe, the importance of Ali and ceremonial clothing are relatively narrow. The performance of the Beitouyang Night Sacrifice itself was interrupted for nearly a hundred years. The current ritual was learned from the Jibeishua tribe in 1999, and in the future, this ritual is likely to be developed into a cultural performance for tourists. I base this prediction on two sources. One comes from Tian Chi-wen's (2014) study. He analysed the tourism development strategy of the Beitouyang tribe, and stated that the current Beitouyang tribe arranges sightseeing, cultural and leisure activities, sports competitions, dance performances and other activities on the days before and after the Night Sacrifice.

It seems that they are not merely focussing on religious ritual. Instead, they take recreational activities for sightseeing into account and arrange the ritual as the middle activity of the itinerary to appeal tourists. The second source is Interviewee D. Interviewee D and his wife are both Beitouyang locals and both engage in many of the ethnic cultural revitalization activities of tribe. He mentioned that he is now focussing on the development of performance costumes. It surprised me that he has not researched ceremonial clothing. It seems that the Beitouyang people are not concentrating on this point of ritual. To sum up, from the perspective of the cultural identity among the Beitouyang, ritual is a major focal point, but in a way reduces the importance of Ali and ceremonial clothing as ethnic identifiers.

### ***Fanzitian***

According to Chen (2002), Ali tried to take the initiative in leading ritual and designing ceremonial clothing, but due Ali's low status in Fanzitian's religious community and lack of power over the ritual and the design of ceremonial clothing, Ali's influence was restrained. Chen Ronghui's (2002) study clearly describes the development of the local culture in Fanzitian, and he clarifies that there are underlying contradictions and conflicts between Han folk religious believers and Ali believers with Han believers holding more power within the community. Therefore, with their religious practices and beliefs held in such low regard, Siraya people in Fanzitian have gradually lost their regard for Ali. As a result, Ali belief, ritual, and ceremonial clothing have not become, or are no longer, dimensions of Fanzitian cultural identity.

### **Four Types of Culture Identity**

In the construction of cultural identity for each of the four tribes, the positions of the god Ali, ritual, and ceremonial clothing differ due to each tribe's unique regional development, historical changes, and modern developmental needs. Through observing the positioning of each of these elements in the cultural identity of Jibeishua, Toushe, Beitouyang, Fanzitian tribes (Table 1), I found that when the tribe moved belief in Ali from the central position to the periphery, ritual and ceremonial clothing also followed moving further from a position of centrality and the three grew apart from each other. This indicates that the importance of the three to cultural identity formation decreases. Jibeishua tribe takes belief in Ali as the core foundation of their cultural identity. They also regard Ali, ritual, and ceremonial clothing as cultural markers that express their cultural identity to outsiders. In contrast, the Toushe tribe takes Ali as a significant part of cultural identity but not its centre. They place ritual and ceremonial clothing as associated with Ali but not concentrically related to belief in him because both ritual and clothing include other cultural elements as well.

For the Beitouyang tribe, they regard ritual as the major focus of their cultural identity, with both belief in Ali and ceremonial clothing playing reduced roles. The reason is that under the modern strategies of promoting the economic development of Beitouyang tribe, they pay more attention to cultural performances, also take ritual as an essential performance for external

audiences. Lastly, the Fanzitian tribe's cultural identity does not include a place for Ali, ritual, or ceremonial clothing but rather is based on other religious beliefs.

## Conclusion

In the process of cultural revitalization among the Siraya people, revitalization is carried out in many fields in a point-like manner. Among them, I speculate that Ali belief, ritual and ceremonial clothing are intertwined. Through a combination of field investigation, clothing analysis, and comparison with historical documents, I clarify that the ceremonial clothing that is worn in the Night Sacrifice ceremony was produced based on the orders received from Ali. When designing the clothes, most of the tribes obey the orders of Ali as they feel that making Ali happy and worshiping Ali are their top priority. By abiding by the highest standards from Ali, the Siraya people expresses the deep connection between the tribe and Ali both internally and externally through clothing. However, the influence of Ali in the production of ceremonial clothing among four tribes was different due to the different strength of belief among each tribe. Lastly, by summarizing the cultural identity of the four tribes among the three dimensions of Ali, ritual, and ceremonial clothing, I described that there are four types of relationship which demonstrates four different views towards expressing cultural identity and four different ways of placing the three elements of Ali, ritual and ceremonial clothing in different positions.

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## Appendix 1

Table 2. Interviewee information

Interviewee Code	Interview Date	Interview location	Interview time	Transcript length (Number of words in Mandarin)
A	20 October, 2021	A's Tainan home	50 min 56 sec	7893
B	23 October, 2021	B's Tainan office	1 hr 13 min 23 sec	12721
C	1 February, 2021	C's Tainan studio	53 min 09 sec	15747
	20 October, 2021		47 min 17 sec	11455
D	22 October, 2021	D's Tainan studio	1 hr 47 min 05 sec	28069
E	27 October, 2021	E's Tainan office	2 hr 34 min 25 sec	30156

## Appendix 2

Table 3. Using Clothing Analysis on Ceremonial Costume from the Four tribes

Costume Name	Date	Place
Top of Toushe Ceremonial Costume	23 October, 2021	Tainan Toushe Siraya Cultural Association
Dress of Toushe Ceremonial Costume		
Vest of Toushe Ceremonial Costume		
Top of Jibeishua Ceremonial Costume	21 October, 2021	Jibeishua Ciancyu Association
Skirt of Jibeishua Ceremonial Costume		
Turban of Jibeishua Ceremonial Costume		
Sash of Jibeishua Ceremonial Costume		
Top of of Fanzitian Ceremonial Costume	27 October, 2021	Tainan Fanzitian Siraya group Association
Top of of Beitouyang Ceremonial Costume <sup>3</sup>	X	X

<sup>3</sup> The Beitouyang ceremonial costumes are the same as Jibeishua's costumes, only the color of the belt and headscarf has changed. At that time, when I met with Interviewee D from Beitouyang, he did not bring clothing, so there was no chance to collect first-hand information of Beitouyang ceremonial clothing.