

織路繡徑 穿重山

臺灣原住民族
服飾精品聯展

**INNUMERABLE EFFORTS ON
THE ART OF CLOTHES:**
A JOINT EXHIBIT OF
TAIWAN INDIGENOUS TEXTILES



國立故宮博物院
NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM

導論

緣起

「織路繡徑穿重山：臺灣原住民族服飾精品聯展」，是一場故宮與臺灣原住民族的美麗邂逅，也是臺灣博物館界有史以來第一次結合六座公、私立博物館的典藏原住民族服飾精品完整的呈現！

國立故宮博物院典藏近 70 萬件冊的藝術品和文物，各類藏品分別由器物處、書畫處、圖書文獻處和南院處等四個策展部門管理，其中與臺灣原住民族相關的僅圖書文獻類，並無文物的收藏。這次在嘉義故宮南部院區推出臺灣原住民族服飾精品聯展，係因南院的定位為「亞洲藝術文化博物館」，以立足臺灣，放眼亞洲藝術文化為展覽主軸，為了讓更多人認識並瞭解臺灣原住民族的文化藝術以及生活習俗中的用品與服飾，遂於今（2018）年 6 月起推出一系列與臺灣原住民族相關的展覽。

由於臺灣原住民各族服飾的呈現形制多樣化且豐富多彩，包含了五種傳統的技法，如打製樹皮布與皮革、織布、刺繡、綴珠以及貼縫等，蘊含不同族群、社會組織、祭典儀式，以及使用場合的文化意涵，已成為臺灣原住民族具代表性的衣飾文化，也是重要的族群識別表徵。而服飾的材質與染料的運用，隨著時代的演變與發展，反映出族群間相互的影響以及與外來貿易交流的關係，在在顯現臺灣原住民族衣飾文化的獨特性、多元性以及包容性。

因此，首展即以臺灣原住民族傳統衣飾文化為主題，結合國內收藏有豐富精彩的臺灣原住民族文物與服飾珍品的六座博物館，即中央研究院民族學研究所博物館、國立臺灣大學人類學博物館、國立臺灣博物館、國立臺灣史前文化博物館、順益台灣原住民博物館以及北投文物館等，共同策劃「織路繡徑穿重山：臺灣原住民族服飾精品聯展」。

此次展覽，一方面係依據臺灣原住民各族服飾的表現特色，區劃出不同技法與材質的展區，由六館自行挑選館藏最具經典性服飾精品，尤其具有特殊工藝或藝術的代表性，獨特而富有重大社會、文化、歷史意義，足以代表族群文化傳統的服飾；同時具技法稀有性以及保存狀況良好者，共計 269 件，中央研究院民族學博物館提供 50 件、國

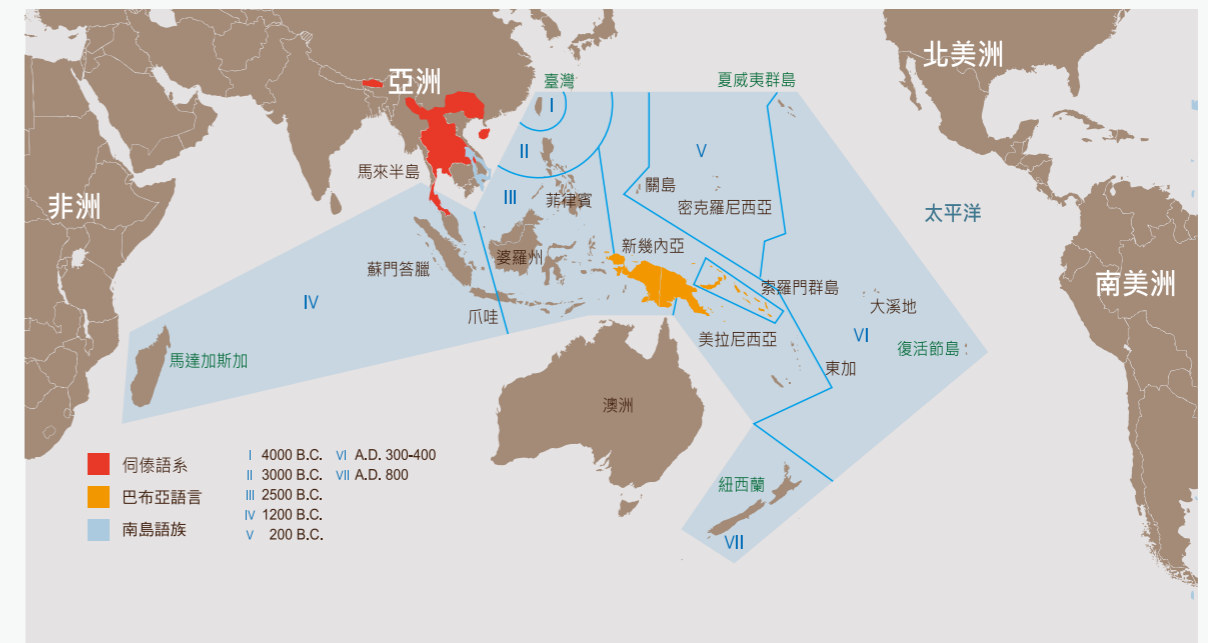
立臺灣大學人類學博物館提供 29 件、國立臺灣博物館提供 81 件、國立臺灣史前文化博物館 48 件、順益台灣原住民博物館提供 37 件以及北投文物館提供 24 件。由於件數豐富，分為二檔期（6 月 1 日至 9 月 2 日；9 月 8 日至 12 月 9 日）展出。另一方面，藉由南部院區的 258 坪展覽空間，促進國內公、私立博物館的資源交流、研究整合與展覽分享，增加臺灣原住民族服飾與參觀者的互動，同時喚起大眾對於原住民族文化的重視，以利原住民族文化藝術的推廣與傳承。

此圖錄的出版，係收入 269 件精品服飾，透過各種傳統服飾的技法，以精緻的圖檔、淺顯扼要的說明，並邀請人間國寶尤瑪·達陸女士與胡家瑜教授撰寫二篇專文，彰顯各族群精彩的文化內涵與背後的故事，讓民眾更加瞭解臺灣原住民族特殊而多元的文化樣貌，為原住民族的傳統服飾留下美麗的圖像與歷史的記憶。

臺灣原住民族概述

臺灣原住民族屬於主要分布在太平洋地區之南島或馬來-波里尼西亞語族的一支。該語族西起非洲東南的馬達加斯加島，東抵接近南美洲的復活節島，南至紐西蘭，臺灣則是目前公認的分布最北端。（參圖一）

圖一 南島語族分布圖



今天所稱的臺灣原住民族，係指直至十七世紀仍僅有極其有限文字記錄之前，即已定居在臺灣及附近島嶼上的本土族群後代。1683年明鄭降清後，統治者將其依漢化程度區分為生番和熟番，不但限制漢、番往來，更視山區為化外之地，不列入管轄版圖內。到了1895年，日本學者在官方支持下，開始投入系統性的調查，並依語言、風俗與文化特質，將居於平原地區之平埔原住民以外的原住族群分為六、七族。

1945年之後，國民政府領有臺灣，數十年間，常見的籠統性族稱有「高山族」、「山地同胞」或「山地人」等，直到1994年，透過憲法修訂始獲正名為「原住民」。至2001年前僅有九族，即阿美族、排灣族、泰雅族、布農族、卑南族、魯凱族、鄒族、賽夏族、雅美/達悟族，2001年9月23日邵族正名成功；2002年12月25日噶瑪蘭族也正名；2004年1月14日太魯閣族從泰雅族分出；2007年1月17日撒奇萊雅族也正名；2008年4月23日賽德克族從泰雅族分出；到了2014年6月26日原來稱為南鄒的拉阿

魯哇族及卡那卡那富族二族也同時正名成功，因此，至今（2018）法定臺灣原住民族共有十六族，562,926人口，此係原民會全球資訊網2018年7月公布，男子為273,148人，女子則為289,778人（參圖二、表一）。另有居住在臺灣西、北、南及東北海岸平原、盆地一，與漢人接觸較早的原住民凱達格蘭、道卡斯、巴宰、噶哈巫、巴布拉、巴布薩、和安雅、西拉雅、大武壠、馬卡道等平埔原住民，目前並未被官方認可為現生群體。

臺灣原住民族的服飾屬性與特色

由於臺灣原住民族至今仍保有各族群傳統的服飾，因此，我們以服飾技法的演變作為主軸，推出各族群經典衣飾文化的展覽，適時提供了一個瞭解傳統與現代要素互動過程的最佳取向。藉由展覽顯現出臺灣原住民族的服飾六大屬性與特色，讓參觀者更加認識臺灣原住民族的文化藝術底蘊。

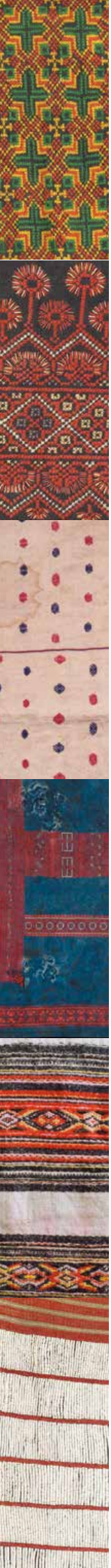
圖二 臺灣原住民族分布圖



表一 臺灣原住民族 16 族人口數

| 族名 | 人口數 (人) | 備註 |
|-----------------------|---------|---------------|
| 阿美族 (Amis) | 210,041 | |
| 排灣族 (Paiwan) | 100,990 | |
| 泰雅族 (Atayal) | 90,412 | |
| 布農族 (Bunun) | 58,566 | 2004/01/14 正名 |
| 太魯閣族 (Truku) | 31,598 | |
| 卑南族 (Puyuma) | 14,225 | |
| 魯凱族 (Rukai) | 13,340 | 2008/04/23 正名 |
| 賽德克族 (Seediq) | 10,074 | |
| 鄒族 (Tsou) | 6,641 | |
| 賽夏族 (Saisiyat) | 6,632 | |
| 雅美 / 達悟族 (Yami / Tao) | 4,616 | 2002/12/25 正名 |
| 噶瑪蘭族 (Kavalan) | 1,472 | |
| 撒奇萊雅族 (Sakizaya) | 943 | 2007/01/17 正名 |
| 邵族 (Thao) | 789 | 2001/09/23 正名 |
| 拉阿魯哇族 (Hla'alua) | 401 | 2014/06/26 正名 |
| 卡那卡那富族 (Kanakanavu) | 339 | 2014/06/26 正名 |
| 總計 | 562,926 | |

資料來源：依據原民會全球資訊網2018年7月公佈資料 人口總數 562,926 (男 273,148、女 289,778)



(一) 服飾顯示了社會階層以及特殊身份或事蹟的意涵。

例如排灣、魯凱二族，傳統上唯有貴族可穿戴華服，並施以特定的圖案；鄒族的男子在獵得山豬後，可將山豬獠牙做成臂環，在節慶祭儀時穿戴出來，以顯示其勇士的事蹟。

(二) 服飾與社會組織的組成原則息息相關。

例如泰雅族、賽德克族及太魯閣族的女子，在七、八歲時必須習得織布，才有資格在十三、四歲時文面並成家，因此，造成該三族的織布技術在十六族中最为精湛；而阿美、卑南二族有年齡階級之分，不同層級必須穿戴不同服飾。

(三) 服飾具有男女分工的特性。

例如男子負責織布機的製作，而採麻、處理麻線則男、女共同合作，但在女子織布過程中，男子忌觸織布機，也不能跨越其上。

(四) 服飾反映了文化接觸所造成的社會變遷。

例如日治時期以前，大部分的衣服材質，均為自織麻布，後來才大量使用由日本或中國進口的棉布和印花布，晚近，更以化學纖維取代所有材料，顯現出一種順應環境所產生的變化。

(五) 服飾是族群認同的重要表徵。

自三百多年前，漢人大量進入臺灣後，原住民族的文化受到相當大的衝擊，服裝方面逐漸漢化，但在某些特定節慶祭儀上，仍繼續穿戴傳統的服裝，充分表現出自我族群的認同。

(六) 服飾具有傳統藝術美學的意涵。

基本上，服飾的色彩、圖案以及形制，均符合對稱、律列、和均衡的原則，並多據此呈現出獨特的風格。

以下簡述臺灣原住民各族群的衣飾文化，從大約有十族之多的平埔原住民，以及官方認定的原住民族，依區域性的分布，由北而南到東部的分布，即泰雅、賽夏、邵、布農、賽德克、鄒、拉阿魯哇、卡那卡那富、魯凱、排灣、卑南、阿美、噶瑪蘭、撒奇萊雅、太魯閣、雅美／達悟族等十六族。

【平埔原住民 Plains Indigenous Peoples】

平埔原住民係指居住在臺灣西、北、南及東北海岸平原、盆地一帶，與漢人接觸較早的原住民。目前由北而南的分布，即凱達格蘭、道卡斯、巴宰、噶哈巫、巴布拉、巴布薩、和安雅、西拉雅、大武壠、馬卡道等族群。由於與漢人的接觸較早，因此在服裝上受漢式服裝的影響很大；而文獻上的記載，許多平埔原住民的社會制度係以母系社會為最大特質，對該族群服飾的描述相當有限，且未載明服飾上有否階級的區分，不過，當時中部的巴宰、噶哈巫與和安雅三族婦女善於織布，早在十七、八世紀的文獻史料中即曾提及。記錄中經常提到一種用苧麻織成的「達戈紋」布，使用茜草染成紅色，夾織出有美麗紅色織紋的衣服；有時還會用異種狗的狗毛和樹皮草莖（如木槲草），織出紋樣繁複極為珍貴罕見的織布。這些中部平埔原住民的衣飾大多有美麗獨特的織紋，其類型主要包括短衣、長衣、前遮片、腰裙、腰帶，以及多彩的珠串頭飾和項鍊等，展現婦女精湛的織布技術以及裝飾美感。

南部的西拉雅、大武壠與馬卡道三族的刺繡相當精緻美麗。其中尤以原居於臺南玉井一帶，遷居後現今部落主要分布在楠仔仙溪和荖濃溪中游，包括高雄甲仙、杉林、荖濃、六龜附近、臺南六重溪，以及少數遷至臺東富里大庄等地大武壠族刺繡技術最為發達。現今保存下來的大武壠傳統衣飾大都使用貿易棉布製成，採十字繡與平針繡的技法，施以美麗、多彩且豐富的刺繡紋樣，包括菱形變化紋、直線紋、山形曲折紋和多種具象圖案等。菱形十字紋，經常繡在披肩或腰裙周緣，形成邊框狀單排裝飾。針狀花球紋，則常在腰帶、頭巾和佩袋等衣物上運用，可多排連結並列；服飾類型大致包括：短上衣、披肩、頭巾、腰帶和佩袋等。

而北部的凱達格蘭族經常透過以物易物的方式引進新的生活物資、工藝形式，以豐富既有的生活形態，因此普遍使用外來交易的飾品。其中頸飾與胸飾，材質多為玻璃珠串或瑪瑙珠串。另有耳飾及腕飾則大多為金屬類素材。

【泰雅族 Atayal】

分布遍及臺灣北、中及東部地區，分支達 24 個之多的泰雅族，傳統上即以織布的精巧來評定婦女的社會地位與才能，由於該族並無階級制度，因此在衣服上並未表現出個人的社會地位。不過，唯有頭目、族長或獵頭最多的勇士才可穿著的貝珠衣，卻是原住民各族群服飾中最高貴的禮服。貝珠衣為無袖長上衣的形制，係以碩殼磨製成細小的圓柱狀白貝珠，橫綴或縱綴於麻織布衣服上，由於過重，雖具有衣服的形式，卻無衣服的功用，昔日亦曾作為貨幣使用，以換取自己所需的物品。貝珠衣的另一個功用是當作聘禮，婚禮進行前男方須送給女方一件至數十件不等。雖然貝珠衣飾是泰雅、太魯閣、賽德克三族最具代表性也最重要的服飾，然而重要的貝珠材料卻非族人自行生產，根據秦貞廉 1803 年所著之《漂流臺灣秀姑巒之記》描述，貝珠可能由阿美族婦女製作，再與泰雅族人等交易而來。即便是一件珠裙也需要近萬顆的貝珠。

衣服的材料主要是苧麻、毛及棉線。織布以苧麻為主要材料，有平織與挑織兩種技法，男、女均擁有的披肩係主要代表性服裝。泰雅族的衣服在形制上以方衣系統為主。男子在上身穿著無袖或長袖對襟長衣或短衣，內穿胸兜，另有套袖於上衣外，以便工作，下身只圍一前遮片，頭戴藤帽或獸皮帽；女子一般上身穿著長袖對襟短衣，下身著單片式長裙一件或二件，腳上繫有護腳布一對。花紋以各式夾織菱形紋為主，象徵祖靈的眼睛，具有保護的意涵，內含四個小菱形的大菱形紋是該族服飾圖案的代表。染色一般以薯榔根部搗碎染成暗紅色或茶褐色。色彩以紅色為主，在泰雅族的 *Gaga* 祭團中有一種說法，因為惡鬼 *rutux* 最怕紅色，所以將衣服染成紅色即具有嚇鬼的作用，因此後來多採用紅毛線夾織衣服。

裝飾品的功用在泰雅族社會中，基本上是增加個人美觀，另外也有表示配戴者對該社會的貢獻，或者出征時勇士們必須配戴附件，藉以提高士氣與信心。飾品種類有頭飾、額飾、耳飾、頸飾、肩飾、胸飾、臂飾、腕飾、戒指、腰飾、腿飾及踝飾等。



泰雅族大菱形紋

【賽夏族 Saisiyat】

賽夏族的服飾與泰雅族極為相似，可能是因地域相鄰的關係所造成的。賽夏族的服裝尺寸較細長窄小，屬方衣系統。穿著上最大的特色是男、女皆先穿上一件長上衣，外面再套上短上衣，同時穿上兩件上衣的穿戴方式是原住民各族群中所特有的。麻布是主要的材料，棉布次之，近代則多以開斯米龍毛線夾織而成。男子下身著一片單片式前遮片或短裙，女子下身圍一單片式長裙，並無護腳布。平常工作時多僅穿著全件白色無花紋或麻布原色的長上衣，祭儀時才換上施有紅、白、黑三色夾織花紋的長上衣。據說，長上衣強調背部的裝飾，係與傳統祭儀的內涵有關，即在矮靈祭時，舞者面向內，圍圈歌舞，顯現出整個舞圈背面的華美紋飾，好讓矮靈觀賞，具有娛靈的作用。雷女紋（𠵼）是賽夏族服飾圖案的代表，傳說雷女紋係為閃電的形狀。

族人對裝飾有濃厚的興趣，飾物種類有頭飾、耳飾、胸飾、腰飾、臂飾、銀或黃銅製的手飾，以及足飾等。矮靈祭時用的臀鈴與大型舞帽是該族的特色飾物。臀鈴又稱背響，賽夏語稱為 *tabaa'sang*，係指「製造音效」之意，男、女皆可配戴。多數的形狀均呈三角形，以布條或綁帶跨過雙肩繫於腰後，讓下襠垂吊飾物，配合舞步搖動，發出叮噠作響的節奏。



賽夏族的雷女紋

【邵族 Thao】

邵族居住在日月潭德化社，在清朝時期即以會織達戈紋布（係以樹皮合葛絲，染過五彩狗毛的織氈）出名。目前只能在該族的公媽籃（即祖靈籃）內看到傳統的邵族服裝，公媽籃是邵族人作祭儀時的重要祈告對象，籃內物品多為過去祖先所遺留下來的衣飾（按，每年農曆八月豐年節之時，每家長輩會斟酌添放新品）。所見的古老衣服係呈灰黑色，且多處有破洞，可知年代久遠，這些衣飾代表著祖靈的存在，其形制現已不復為族人所穿用。傳統邵族的衣料，有皮革、樹皮布、麻布及棉布等。皮革多用於男性的衣

服，由男子自己揉製而成，女子則自織麻布。棉布多向漢人取得，因價廉且大量進入，使得傳統的織布技巧衰微。

男子服飾，在日治時期以前，其形制與阿里山鄒族相類似。上身穿著對襟無袖長上衣或短上衣，內穿胸布及腹袋，一百多年前，男子曾穿著單片式短裙，色彩以淺、深褐色為主，下身為後敞褲，過去以獸皮為主，後以麻、毛或棉織布製成，並穿皮鞋。女子服飾包含頭巾、花環頭飾、額飾、上身穿著二片連身長衣或胸衣，具有裙子的功能，再穿上對襟立領長袖短上衣、刺繡腰帶、護腳布。裝飾品包含獸皮帽頭飾、額帶、頸飾、胸飾、手環等飾物。由於該族傳統的服飾，均會收入到公媽籃內，且不會對外出售，因此，博物館界均未能收藏到邵族的傳統服飾。而在邵族的服飾中，最具代表性的是男子胸布，且其織布圖案（族語稱為 *pinuazan*）為八角花形紋，已申請通過原住民族傳統智慧創作專用權。由於邵族的祖靈籃傳統習俗，造成今日博物館界無法典藏該族傳統的服飾。



邵族的八角花形紋

【布農族 Bunun】

布農族是原住民各族群中活力最強，移動率最大，以及最適應於高山氣候的一族。一般是利用獸皮、傳統麻布，以及外來的棉布作為衣服的材料。他們擅長揉皮技術，通常係以鹿皮、山羌皮、和山羊皮為主要材質。以皮革做成的服飾有男帽、套袖、男鞋、對襟無袖長衣、長袖皮衣，以及後敞褲等。在服飾的表現上，男子的服飾以長衣最具代表性，居住在南投縣地區的族人服裝較為傳統，不過女子的服裝很早即已受漢人的影響。分布在臺東、高雄地區的男、女服裝，有不少仿鄰近魯凱、排灣二族特色的形制。花蓮地區的服裝，大致上與南投地區差不多，唯女子的上衣多為天藍色漢式右襟長袖半長衣，下身著單片式或雙片式長裙。傳統的織紋以百步蛇背脊的菱形紋為主，意即百步蛇是族人最好的朋友，配以紅、桃紅、橙、紫、黃，及藍等鮮豔色彩，即構成了男子長衣的主要圖案，圖案稱之為棋盤式菱形紋，已成為布農族人服飾圖案的代。裝飾品包含有頭飾、額帶、耳飾、頸飾、胸飾及手飾等。



布農族的棋盤式菱形紋

【賽德克族 Seediq】

賽德克族是 2008 年 4 月 23 日才正式成為第 14 個官方承認的臺灣原住民族，原屬於泰雅族群的一支。過去被視為太魯閣族的一部分，但追溯族群和歷史源頭，太魯閣族可能是賽德克族的分支。主要分布在南投縣仁愛鄉，另花蓮縣卓溪鄉山里、崙山部落、萬榮鄉紅葉、萬榮部落以及秀林鄉秀林村等地也有一些，總人數約九千多人。無論傳統服飾或生活習慣，賽德克族人與泰雅族人幾乎是無法明確分別，過去都是以苧麻織布為主，延續至今仍有不少婦女習得移動式水平背帶織布機的技法。該族服飾的最大特色係以紅色系為主，同樣是 *Gaga* 祭團中的說法，因為惡鬼（*rutux*）最怕紅色，所以將衣服染成紅色即具有嚇鬼的作用，造成後來多採用紅毛線夾織衣服。

男、女均有披肩，材質皆以苧麻織布。男子以白色長袖長衣為主，上施有帶狀紅色條紋，女子則以紅色多條紋長袖短衣及單片長裙為主。日治時期，受到日本印花棉布大量進口的影響，長袖上衣以紅色棉布為底，立領並在袖子與肩部縫合藍色印花布，下襠縫綴小銅鈴，成為主要服飾特色。



賽德克族的祖靈之眼圖案

【鄒族 Tsou】

鄒族向以善戰並精於狩獵聞名。傳統男子衣服的材料大都以皮革為主。將所獵獲的動物，揉製成帽子、背心、披肩、上衣、套袖、胸兜、後敞褲（早期稱綁腿褲）、包狀似鞋子，以及火具袋等皮質衣物。成年男子於接受成年儀禮之後才可戴皮帽。盛裝時，帽頂傳統上會插有鷹羽或鷺羽毛一至四支，今則多使用帝雉的羽毛，目的均在彰顯男子

的勇敢英武。除了皮製衣物外，族人們也常以麻布和棉布為衣料。男子禮服為以紅、黑棉布裁剪而成的長袖長衣，正、反兩面（黑、紅）均可穿著，內穿胸兜及胸袋。在儀式祭典如小米豐收或戰祭等場合，多穿戴紅色配以盛裝，平常則著黑色的一面。

女子衣服大多以棉布、絲或綢緞裁製而成。衣服形制有頭巾、長袖短衣、胸兜、單片式長裙、腰帶及護腳布等。鄒族服飾圖案的代表，經過族人的討論後，選定男子胸兜上傳傳統菱形條狀織紋，以及女子的女裙（族語為 *taf'u*）中間剛好為紅、黑、藍、白的繡線顏色作為鄒族的代表圖案。



鄒族的男子胸兜織紋 (下)、女子長裙中央橫條繡線 (上)

【拉阿魯哇族 Hla'alua】

拉阿魯哇族，舊稱沙阿魯阿族，由排剪 (paicians)、美 (vilanganu)、塔蠟 (talicia)、雁爾 (hlihlara) 四個社組成，主要居住在高雄市桃源區高中里、桃源里以及那瑪夏區瑪雅里、部分居住於那瑪夏區，人口約 401 人，傳統語言為拉阿魯哇語，但通用語是布農語。以往被官方錯誤歸類為鄒族，與卡那卡那富族合稱「南鄒」，2014 年 6 月 26 日正名臺灣原住民族的第 15 族。男子上衣與鄒族類似，皆以紅色為底。不過在背面黃、綠、白、藍四色條紋，代表四個社群。男子頭戴皮帽，長袖上衣的手臂上的色彩及圈數，代表模仿山豬獠牙的臂環。內穿胸兜，下著彩色後敞褲，亦有穿著黑色短裙。早期男子胸兜以織布為主，現多為刺繡技法，圖案以菱形紋 (*dumasemasege*) 為主，意即「像百步蛇的花紋」，該族有族人變為百步蛇的傳說故事。女子以頭巾纏髮，插上公雞羽毛髮髻，穿著黑裙、藍色或白色長袖上衣。相傳製作公雞羽毛髮髻且配戴，其典故是為了紀念神話中幫助與太陽談判成功的公雞而來。根據族人游仁貴與游淑萍的討論設計，該族服飾圖案的代表係融合男、女服飾的圖案及色彩，如男子上衣背後的四色條紋、胸兜上八角形圖案、女子腰帶刺繡圖案以及代表百步蛇的菱形紋。

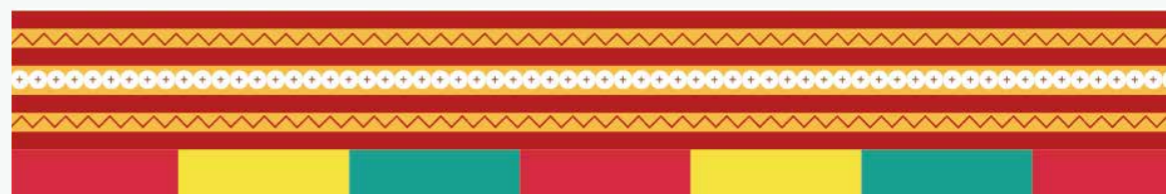


拉阿魯哇族的男子胸兜織紋 (左、右)、女子長裙中央直條繡線 (中)

【卡那卡那富族 Kanakanavu】

根據清朝時期的記載，當時稱為簡仔霧於南化玉井一帶活動，後因墾殖勢力受他族群壓迫，陸續遷移至高雄市那瑪夏區達卡努瓦里及瑪雅里一帶迄今，人口數約有 339 人（107 年 7 月數據）。於 2014 年 6 月 26 日由官方承認第 16 個臺灣原住民族。

在服飾方面，早期色彩僅黑、白、紅、黃、淺藍等色，其它色彩為晚期新式材料、布料引進後所製作出來。該族沒有複雜華麗的編織技巧，而是以不同顏色的拼布製作服飾。男子的服飾整體上與阿里山鄒族及拉阿魯哇族相似，均為頭戴羽毛裝飾之皮帽，身穿垂直條紋的上衣和後敞褲。可分祭典禮服及便服，男子所穿著的皮製後敞褲為獵服，係為了保護腳部，防止被籐或荊棘刺傷。祭典時所穿著的是黑色單片短裙，開口朝左。男子上衣背後有七個色彩條紋，表示彩虹與完全的意思。發火袋或稱火具袋，是男子服飾上主要的特色之一，內裝菸草與火柴（早期是打火石）。女子服裝形制和阿里山鄒族相近，都是配戴用珠子裝飾並織有紋樣的彩色額帶，身穿袖口有彩色條紋裝飾的上衣，搭配黑底長裙。根據族人的討論，該族服飾圖案的代表係融合男子發火袋上的織紋以及女子長裙中央橫條紅、黃、綠三色色帶的圖案及色彩。



卡那卡那富族融合男女服飾的圖案及色彩

【魯凱族 Rukai】

魯凱族的服裝與排灣族有頗多相似之處，這可能與其地緣相近以及同具有階級制度的社會組織有關。刺繡是該族婦女日常必須學習且時有應用的一種工藝技術。圖案多以菱形紋飾（菱形紋象徵貴族階級之始祖百步蛇的背紋，自古廣受尊敬與珍視）為主，曲折形紋為輔。緞面繡是魯凱族最精彩的刺繡技法，工整細密，極具變化又富規律性。而

十字繡的技法與呈現的圖案相當突出，如八角花形紋（族語為 *shinuaderuavan*）已成為該族服飾的代表圖案。

無論男、女貴族均以縫綴有細小型琉璃珠的貴重衣服，作為參加節慶婚禮時的盛裝。貴族與平民的裝扮有明顯的差別。豬牙頭飾、豹皮背心、珍貴的琉璃珠飾品、鷹羽、百合花飾物、衣服上的人形與蛇形題材，以及卍字紋等，只限較高階級的貴族使用，平民是無法施以圖案及配戴飾品。



魯凱族的八角花形紋

【排灣族 Paiwan】

排灣族的服飾，在本質上即為貴族階級制度下的工藝產物。昔日由於貴族不必參與勞動生產事業，因此男子們有閒從事雕刻創作，女子們則有充裕時間專心織繡，以表示其社會地位並滿足審美慾。豹皮背心唯有貴族階級在節慶或重大議會場合才能穿著。夾織是傳統的織布技法，通常運用在男子後敞褲與女子喪服上。平常男子上身穿長袖短衣，下身著單片式短裙，盛裝時則加一件長衣，下身套上一件後敞褲，再加戴披肩，繫上佩刀。頭上並戴獸皮製頭環或帽子。女子上身穿類似漢式大襟衫的女長衣，下身穿單片式或雙片式長裙，腳上縛以護腳布，頭戴頭巾、頭環或額帶。喪服可分喪帽與披肩式喪巾兩類，它們在排灣族的服飾中，具有相當獨特的風格，皆以麻線夾織和挑織花紋。裝飾品以琉璃珠頸飾及胸飾最能代表貴族階級的高低，而其他飾物則大多受漢人的影響，以金屬品如銅、銀、鎳等為主。平民是無法施以圖案及配戴飾品。由於排灣族的分布很廣，包含北、中、南、東等四區，南排灣族已選出雙手平伸相連人頭形紋、頭上有二蛇形、雙手彎曲上手持二人頭的直立人像形紋及長槍形紋的圖案作為服飾的代表。



南排灣族選自雙手平伸相連人頭形紋、頭上有二蛇形、雙手彎曲上手持二人頭的直立人像形紋及長槍形紋圖案

【卑南族 Puyuma】

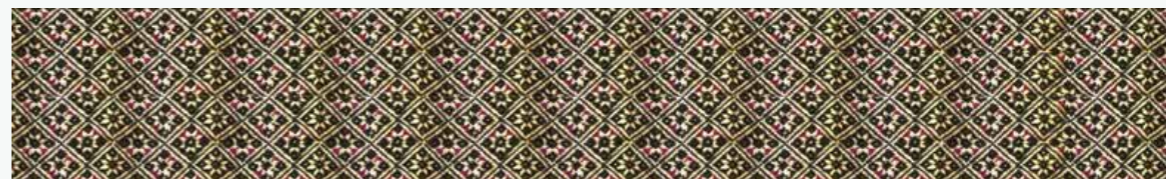
以鮮豔的紅、黃、綠夾雜黑、白等色突顯出似蛇鱗狀的多層菱形紋並搭配細緻的十字繡花形紋，是卑南族服裝上的一大特色。由於該族服飾明顯地表現於不同年齡層級（幼年、少年、青年、成年與老年）的成員身上，因此具有強化族人自我身份認知的功能。男、女長袖短衣，可能受到清代琵琶襟的影響，於對襟立領之外，又在中央右側加縫一塊長方形布片，類似琵琶襟的形制。另外，女子的胸兜也為漢式的剪裁。過去少女身上多穿黑色長袖短衣，內著胸兜，胸兜下半段施有刺繡花紋的部位會露在外面。花環在卑南族的服飾上，佔有舉足輕重的地位。在節慶活動時，族人們穿上盛裝後，頭上必須配戴花環，越受族人愛戴的長者，其花環數量越多。卑南族服飾圖案的代表係為經常出現於男子無袖長衣、後敞褲以及披肩上的多彩菱形紋。



卑南族的多彩菱形紋

【阿美族 Amis】

阿美族服裝給人的一般印象是色彩鮮豔、亮麗活潑。該族的區域分布很廣，從花蓮到臺東一帶沿海地區，均可見到他們的蹤影。一般可分為北（南勢阿美）、中（秀姑巒阿美與海岸阿美）、南（卑南阿美與恆春阿美）三群，各個區域性的服飾皆有其特色。該族為一重視年齡階級的母系社會，從男子的服裝與頭飾上，可以明顯地分辨出各個年齡階層。在各式服裝中，長袍係仿自漢式男裝，在族人心目中，漢式大褂亦是一種禮服，其形制為對襟圓領長袖長衣，為頭目、巫師等特殊階級者所穿著，在召集社民議事或舉行祭儀時，必定穿上長袍作為大禮服，從前多偏黑色或淺藍色，現則改為大紅色。族人用各種不同式樣的飾物，把帽子裝飾得相當華麗，以表示特殊階級地位，並嚴禁較低者仿做或使用，因而形成帽子的神聖意義。阿美族的刺繡技法中，十字繡的表現尤以臺東地區的背袋（族語為 *Alofo*）又稱情人袋、攜物袋或檳榔袋上的八瓣花形紋最具代表性。



臺東阿美族的八瓣花形紋

【噶瑪蘭族 kavalan】

傳統的織布技術高超，最常見以香蕉絲織布的即噶瑪蘭族。早期曾以楮樹的樹皮混合葛絲及動物的毛，織成男、女服裝。根據文獻記載，該族有一種綴珠垂鈴的新娘腰裙，是結婚儀式時新娘搭配盛裝的穿著。此方布腰裙，係由二塊白棉布接縫而成，僅在下半部施以挑織花紋，以紅、藍、白三色挑織形成密佈的幾何形紋飾，是至今留存下來的珍貴服飾，共有 13 種圖案，大部分織紋則以菱形為基礎再做些許的變化。圖案以菱形、米字形、曲折形以及八瓣花葉形紋為主。也是至今留存下來的珍貴服飾，共有 13 種圖案，大部分織紋係以菱形為基礎再做些許的變化。其中「雙菱紋」有稱其狀似槳或狩獵時投擲用的標槍，或鏢魚用的魚槍。現今常見的噶瑪蘭族男子服飾以黑色為主，不過僅長者穿著。服飾的形制與圖案仍待考究，不過具有「雙菱紋」織紋圖案的女子禮裙，族人以「全件織紋」作為該族的代表圖案。



噶瑪蘭族的雙菱紋

【撒奇萊雅族 Sakizaya】

撒奇萊雅族主要分布在花蓮奇萊平原，長期與阿美族接觸，同樣具有與阿美族相似的年齡階級，昔日的服飾也與阿美族相似。至 2007 年 1 月 17 日正名為獨立族群後，卻也找不到該族傳統的服飾與器物，所以今日博物館界也未能典藏該族的傳統服飾。

早期該族的祭典係以小米為祭祀中心，按照小米生長時節，分為播粟祭、捕魚祭、收成祭、豐年祭與收藏祭。唯在祭典時才穿著盛裝。衣服的色彩以土金色與暗紅色為主，族人崇拜土地，代表大地誕生，而暗紅色，代表鮮血凝結於大地的顏色。另有藍、綠、黑、白等色。衣服形制很早即受漢人影響，以對襟上衣及長衣為主，圖案則以菱形、正方形、三角形為主，另有圓形、曲折形與直線形紋。男子的年齡階級共有 9 至 12 級，可分為頭目、長老、年輕長老、青年、青少年及兒童；女子服飾分為成熟婦女及未婚女子，年長的婦女僅在頭飾上做區別。文化袋（或稱情人袋，族語為 *alubu*）係由族人吳秀梅女士所設計的，背帶有 5 塊白色，代表五個部落，袋面中間的圓形代表湖水，左、右

兩側三角形代表石頭崩落的印記，也代表投到湖水的情侶，由於此袋面上有著神話故事的圖案，所以族人認為此文化袋可以代表該族的圖案。



撒奇萊雅族文化袋上的圖案

【太魯閣族 Truku】

太魯閣族，原屬泰雅族的賽德克亞群，於 2004 年 1 月 14 日正式獨立為一族群。分布在臺灣東部花蓮地區。早期女子在 13、4 歲時必須學會織布，才有資格文面。文面是一種成年及美的表徵，更具有族群認同的意涵。男、女服飾的色彩均以白色為主，圖案以多變化的菱形花紋為主，各有不同意涵，如占卜鳥之眼、獵人之眼、傳承之眼、賢慧之眼以及祖靈之眼等，其中祖靈之眼的意含具有保護作用，與泰雅族相同。族人即以菱形紋的「祖靈之眼」（*Dowriq Utux*）作為該族服飾圖案的代表。長條形白色套袖是一特色，係在工作時穿戴於衣服上方的雙臂上。與泰雅、賽德克二族同樣擁有貝珠衣、貝珠裙與貝珠護腳布等服飾，相當獨特而珍貴，係以細小型圓柱狀白貝珠（由碑礫蛤磨製而成），橫綴或縱綴於衣服上，並排對齊，唯有頭目、族長或勇士可穿戴。



太魯閣族祖靈之眼菱形紋圖案

【雅美 / 達悟族 Yami/Tao】

雅美 / 達悟族，由於地處離島的蘭嶼，在臺灣原住族群中係保存傳統文化成分最多的一族。該族的服裝最具傳統方衣系統的特色，相較於其他原住族群，顯得格外簡單樸實，織布的材質為水芋麻，相當堅硬，而織布的技法最為困難，尤其是白色的浮紋挑織花紋。該族最具傳統方衣系統的特色，以白色和黑或藏青色相間的條紋構成，色彩較顯

明的一面為布裡。男子服裝僅無袖上衣及丁字裝（早期稱為丁字帶或丁字褲），女子則上身穿披肩式上衣，也稱作大衣（族語稱又 *rakua aiyu*），由四片織布於長邊縫合而成，下身著單片式短裙（族語稱 *chinimun*），開岔處必定在右前方。

裝飾品中的禮帽有銀盔、椰鬚禮笠和木製八角形禮帽等三種，一般唯受族人敬重的年長男、女才能戴之。該族是臺灣唯一具有金銀工藝文化的原住民，金銀的材料及製造技術均為早期從外界傳入者。金片可製成男子∞形胸飾，他們相信黃金有一種靈力，可以止血醫病，又可當作贖罪的償命金。而銀片則可製成男子銀盔、男女手環、女子∞形耳飾及梯形胸飾。還有大串的瑪瑙項鍊和以琉璃製成的腳環（*vagyat*）等飾品。



雅美 / 達悟族浮紋菱形挑織圖案

總之，在原住民各族群的生活中心，大自然界的一草一木都是取材的對象，太陽與彩虹更是靈感的源頭，而各族的社會組織、傳說、宗教信仰以及生產方式，皆反映在如織布或刺繡的花紋等各類衣服裝飾上，所施以的圖案均有其代表意涵，並反映出該族的文化習俗。今天我們所看到的原住民族傳統服裝，大都是一百多年前的樣式，尤其是他們的圖案與色彩並沒有改變很多，主要也是因為他們的服裝與社會組織、祭典儀式息息相關。

六館典藏精華

目前全國共有 750 座公、私立博物館，其中收藏有原住民族文物、服飾的館所大約 60 座，從這些館所中，我們邀請了典藏豐富且擁有具代表性原住民族服飾的六座公、私立博物館，共同策劃此次特展。以下係針對六館的典藏特色精簡概述。

一、中央研究院民族學研究所博物館



圖一 中央研究院民族學研究所博物館館景（館方提供）

1955 年，民族學研究所籌備處主任凌純聲先生率領民族研究所同仁赴屏東縣來義鄉進行排灣族調查研究，此行不但蒐集排灣族的民族誌資料，同時也採集大量民族學標本，是為該館蒐藏之始。次年創立民族學研究所標本室，陳列相關民族學標本，並提供學術研究參考。1988 年，標本室改制為博物館，定名「民族學研究所博物館」。現有館藏八千餘件，包括臺灣原住民族文物、漢人民俗及宗教文物、大陸、東南亞、太平洋地區民族學蒐藏，

以及其他研究議題等。其中排灣族佳平舊社 *Zingnur* 頭目家屋祖靈柱、阿美族太巴塽部落 *Kakitaan* 祖屋雕刻柱等兩組藏品於 2012 年由文化部登錄為國寶。館內設有凌純聲先生紀念展、臺灣原住民族文化展、三零年代中國南方邊疆民族典藏展、臺灣漢人民間信仰等四個常設展；特展室則配合研究成果定期換展，讓大眾透過展覽更貼近民族所的研究脈動。總件數 8,610 件（統計至 2016.11.7 止），類別：服飾織品、日用品、建築、容器盛具、生業用具、宗教用具、獸骨、多媒體類，原住民族文物件數共 3,717 件，而原住民族服飾件數共 943 件。這次借出 50 件精品。

二、國立臺灣大學人類學博物館

該館於 2010 年 11 月重新開幕，以日治時期臺北帝國大學之收藏為核心藏品。館址位於臺灣大學校本部內原舊總圖西翼，緊鄰校史館展廳，現已開放「民族學展示廳」，未來將再開放「考古學展示廳」。收藏實體標本與影音資料，實體標本可分為民族學與



圖二 國立臺灣大學人類學博物館館景 (館方提供)

考古學兩大主要範圍，透過定期更換常設展的展品與不定期特展，讓社會大眾能夠欣賞到這些珍貴的文物。影音資料則持續進行數位化修復和整理。總件數 17,395 件，類別：日常用具、生業用具、宗教祭儀用品、服飾、制造工具、娛樂用具、建築、古文書、多媒體類，原住民族文物件數，共 5,812

件，原住民族服飾件數共 791 件，平埔原住民有 116 件。這次借出 29 件精品。

三、國立臺灣博物館



圖三 國立臺灣博物館館景 (館方提供)

成立於 1908 年，前身為「臺灣總督府民政部殖產局附屬博物館」，1949 年改隸省教育廳，更名「臺灣省立博物館」，1999 年改隸中央而更名為「國立臺灣博物館」。是現存臺灣歷史最悠久的博物館，藏品數量高達 115,672 件。臺灣博物館展館共分為，位於二二八公園內的臺博館本館、

土銀展示館及南門院區。該館的常設展區分為「臺灣的生物展示區」，以及展示舊石器時代到鐵器時代的史前文化及臺灣原住民族各族的「臺灣的先住民展示區」。收藏總件數 115,672 件，類別：植物學（維管束植物、苔蘚植物、藻類）、動物學（哺乳類、鳥類、昆蟲類、爬蟲類、兩棲類、甲殼類）、地學（礦石類、化石類、魚類、貝類）、人類學（原住民、考古、歷史、北美、南洋、貨幣類），原住民族文物件數共 7,088 件，原住民族服飾件數共 2,087 件，平埔原住民有 111 件。這次借出 81 件精品。

四、國立臺灣史前文化博物館



圖四 國立臺灣史前文化博物館館景 (館方提供)

1990 年 2 月 1 日史前館籌備處成立，2001 年 7 月 10 日試營運，並於 2002 年 8 月 17 日正式開館。為國內第一座以史前和原住民族文化為範疇的博物館，第一座包含考古遺址和自然生態公園的博物館，也是臺灣東海岸第一座國家級的博物館。該館乃藉由博物館的研究、典藏、展示、教育和遊憩功能，啟發大眾對於臺灣之自然生態、史前文化及原住民族文化之豐富和多樣性有更多的認識，並促進大眾更珍惜、尊重這片土地綿延不斷的自然與文化生命。收藏總件數約 50,000 件，類別：織品、服飾、木、竹、石器、相片、動物化石標本、岩石礦物標本等，原住民族文物件數共 7,000 餘件，原住民族服飾件數，共 1,383 件。這次借出 48 件精品。

五、北投文物館



圖五 北投文物館館景 (館方提供)

北投文物館典雅的木造建築始建於 1921 年，日治時期是當時北投地區最高級的溫泉旅館—「佳山旅館」。園區位於綠意環抱的北投山腰，佔地約 800 坪，是當今臺灣少數保存良好的木造二層日式房舍。1998 年臺北市政府將北投文物館列為市定古蹟，目前為財團法人福祿文化基金會的附屬單位，

為一私人博物館。北投文物館除保留相當珍貴的日式木造建築結構外，也珍藏五千餘件的臺灣早期傳統民間工藝及原住民族文物，並安排有不定期特展及常設展覽。此外，文物館亦提供各式文化體驗課程、創意懷石餐飲、午茶品茗、禮品以及客製化的宴會、會議與展演等服務，朝向複合式的經營與文化創藝產業的平台邁進。收藏總件數：5,000

餘件，類別：服飾、文獻書籍、陶瓷器、木器、藤編器等生活器物。原住民族文物件數共 1,000 餘件，原住民族服飾件數共 339 件。這次借出 24 件精品。

六、順益台灣原住民博物館



圖六 順益台灣原住民博物館館景
(館方提供)

1994 年 6 月 9 日開幕，為臺灣第一座以原住民為主題的私立博物館。除了積極從事臺灣原住民族文物蒐藏保存之外，藉由多樣化的教育活動促進原民文化的推廣，常設展及特展忠實地呈現了臺灣原住民族豐富的物質文化。為尊重原住民族對自身文化的詮釋權，每年舉辦一次「與部落結合」特展，採取與單一族群部落合作的方式，共同規劃特展內容，彰顯獨特族群的主體性，提供原住民族文化展演的場域，使博物館成為多元文化的發聲管道及論壇。收藏總件數 3,418 件（文物 1,800 件、鳥居龍藏圖版 1,507 件、臺灣原住民藝術家影像作品 111 件），類別：民族學：服飾、生活用具、祭儀器具、建築構件、樂器、藝品，藝術類：畫作，原住民族文物件數共 1,188 件，

原住民族服飾件數共 612 件。這次借出 37 件精品。

結語

臺灣原住民各族群傳統服飾均有其專擅的技法與材質，此次聯展的一大特色，係將與漢人接觸較早，服裝受漢式影響較深的平埔原住民各族所留存精巧美麗的織布與刺繡特色一一呈現，因為在文獻上對於平埔原住民服飾的描述極為有限。此外，在 258 坪展區中，區分為六大展區，透過傳統打製樹皮布及獸皮的各款式服裝開始，接續一般臺灣原住民族衣飾的四種技法：織布、刺繡、綴珠及貼飾的展示，以及搭配服裝的各種飾品，共分六大展區，透過服飾技法展現出 14 族群（泰雅族、賽夏族、布農族、賽德克族、鄒族、拉阿魯哇族、卡那卡那富族、魯凱族、排灣族、卑南族、阿美族、噶瑪蘭族、太

魯閣族及雅美 / 達悟族）豐富多彩的衣飾文化，由於在各館的典藏服飾中，未能蒐集到邵族與撒奇萊雅二族具傳統性的服飾，因此無法展出。

此次展覽可以說是臺灣博物館界歷年來最具規模且可看性最高的一次精品聯展，由六座公、私立博物館齊聚一堂、同心協力，共同策展，將 269 件精品從衣飾的技法、特色與多樣性來看臺灣原住民族的文化藝術內涵，所展現的不只是物質文化的精緻度與美觀性，並且看到傳統文化的脈絡與智慧的成果，這是臺灣文化資產最珍貴的寶物。

這次係由中央研究院民族學研究所博物館劉斐玟館長與許善惠組員、國立臺灣博物館李子寧副研究員、國立臺灣大學人類學博物館胡家瑜教授、國立臺灣史前文化博物館長林志興副館長與方鈞璋助理研究員、順益台灣原住民博物館林威城主任，以及策展人共同討論出合作模式，進而一起研商策劃。參與的夥伴們盡心盡力，由衷感謝。另外，各館堅強的團隊所屬計十數位專業同仁，亦費心協助挑選出典藏服飾精品，並一起進行佈、卸展，再加上故宮南院相關人員全程投入，大家匯集成最有力量的工作隊伍，令人讚賞。

最後，特別感謝文物修復專家蘇郁晴老師細膩的物件料理功夫，使得各項展品得以充分到位，還有國立臺灣大學人類系謝世忠教授的指導與協助。本圖錄除了收羅排比此次展覽的所有品項之外，更有二篇專文的論述解析，我們期許它的出版，可以讓大家更清楚認識臺灣原住民族衣飾文化的深度內涵。

策展人 
北投文物館館長



Introduction

Innumerable Efforts on the Art of Clothes: A Joint Exhibit of Taiwan Indigenous Textiles marks the National Palace Museum's first beautiful encounter with the Taiwan indigenous peoples. For the first time, six of Taiwan's private and public museums' collections of Taiwan indigenous peoples' traditional textiles are displayed in the same place.

The National Palace Museum, having a collection of 700,000 pieces of artwork and artifacts maintained by the Department of Antiquities, Department of Painting and Calligraphy, Department of Rare Books and Historical Documents, and Department of the Southern Branch Museum Affairs, does not have any Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts. Only the Department of Rare Books and Historical Documents owned certain related documents. Now we are launching a joint exhibition of the masterpieces of Taiwan indigenous peoples' textiles because the South Branch was created as a museum of Asian cultures and arts.

Our task is to present Asian cultures and arts to Taiwan's viewers. To increase people's awareness of Taiwan indigenous peoples' cultures, arts and their traditional artifacts and clothing, we are presenting a series of indigenous people-related exhibitions from June 2018.

The textiles of Taiwan indigenous peoples are diversified, rich and colorful. They have developed five traditional techniques, including making beaten-made tree bark clothes, leather works, weaving, embroidery, bead works, and appliqué. They provide us a look inside these peoples' social compositions, ceremonies, and etiquettes. They are representative to Taiwan indigenous peoples' textile cultures. They are also very important group identifiers. The materials and dyes used to make textiles are changed by the time. These changes were driven by mutual influence among groups of people and the introduction of traded foreign merchandise. The uniqueness, diversification and inclusiveness of Taiwan indigenous people's textile culture can be easily observed.

As a result, the traditional textile culture of the Taiwan indigenous peoples has become the subject of the National Palace Museum's first Taiwan indigenous peoples exhibition. In the preparation of this exhibition, we have joined six partner museums having abundant collections of Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts and textiles, which include, the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology at the Academia Sinica, the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University, the National Taiwan Museum, the National Museum of Prehistory, the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, and the Beitou Museum. We have jointly created the Innumerable Efforts on the Art of Clothes: A Joint Exhibit of Taiwan Indigenous Textiles.

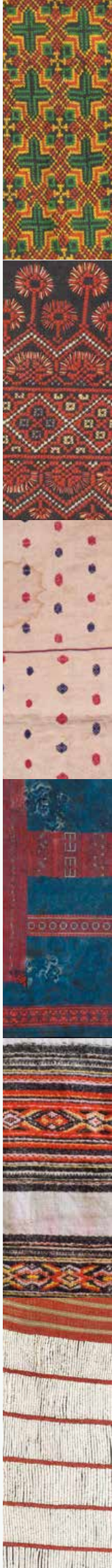
We have created show rooms dedicated to different kinds of techniques and materials. The featured items are the most representative ones selected by their own participant museum. We have paid special attention to the technically or aesthetically excellent items and those unique items with social, cultural or historical meanings. We have only selected 269 pieces of those culturally representative, technically unique and well-preserved items. Among them, the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology at the Academia Sinica provided 50 items; the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University provided 29 items; the National Taiwan Museum provided 81 items; the National Museum of Prehistory provided 48 items; the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines provided 37 items; and the Beitou Museum provided 24 items. The rich in items allowed us to divide the exhibition into two slots (June 1 to September 2, and September 8 to December 9). It is our pleasure to use the 853 square meters of space reserved for this exhibition to promote resource exchanges, joint research, and exhibition among Taiwan's private and public museums. This approach can surely increase people awareness to the Taiwan indigenous people's textiles and their cultures as well in order to pass on and promote their cultures and arts.

We have invited Living National Treasure madame Yuma·Taru and Professor Chia-yu Hu to author two articles to illustrate each of the Taiwan indigenous groups of people's cultural backgrounds. We hope these articles can help our readers to understand more about Taiwan indigenous peoples' unique and diversified cultures. We also would like to preserve the historical significance of their beautiful traditional textiles with our pictures.

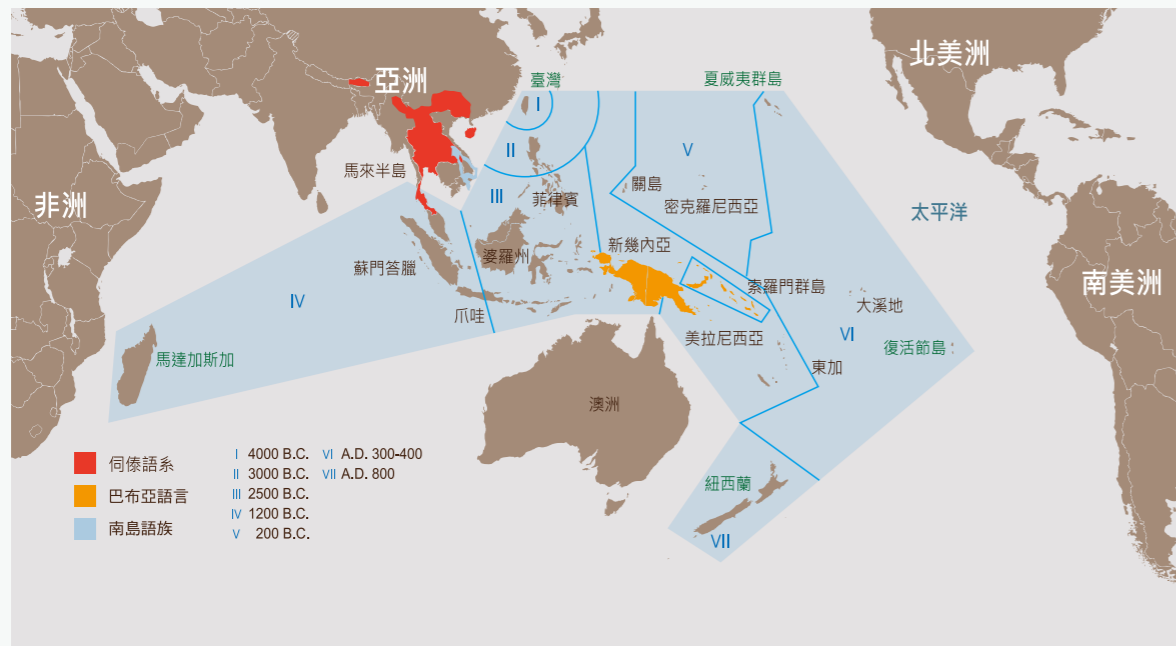
Taiwan Indigenous Peoples: An Overview

The Taiwan indigenous peoples belong to the Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian language family of the Pacific. Members of this linguistic family spread from the Southeastern Africa's Madagascar Island to the South America's Easter Islands to the east, and New Zealand to the south. Taiwan marks their currently recognized northern tip (see Map1).

The term Taiwan indigenous peoples, by today's definition, referred to the descendants of the indigenous peoples that lived on the island of Taiwan and its surrounding islands before the 17th century when text records were scarce. After the Qing Empire took over Taiwan from Chenggong Zheng's failed restoration of the Ming Dynasty in 1683, the Qing rulers divided them into two groups: uncivilized and civilized peoples based on their degree of cultural assimilation. They restricted the encounters between Han Chinese and the indigenous peoples and viewed their homelands as



Map 1. Distribution of the Austronesian Language Family



uncivilized territory not under their control. By 1895, Japanese scholars, supported by the Japanese government, began to survey the lands systematically. They divided the non-plains indigenous peoples into six or seven ethnic groups based on their linguistic, customs, and cultural features.

After 1945 the KMT government restored Taiwan. The Taiwan indigenous peoples were called "mountain tribes", "mountain fellow countrymen", or "mountain peoples". Until 1994, the Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China began to use the term indigenous people. Nine groups of people were recognized as of 2001 which included the Amis, Paiwan, Atayal, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, and Yami/Tao peoples. On September 23, 2001, the independent identity of the Thao people was officially recognized. On December 25, 2002, the independent identity of the Kavalan people was officially recognized. On January 14, 2004, the Truku people were separated from the Atayal people. On January 17, 2007, the independent identity of the Sakizaya people was officially recognized. On April 23, 2008, the Seediq people were separated from the Atayal people. On June 26, 2014, the Hla'alua and Kananavu groups of people, formerly known as Southern Tsou, were officially recognized. As of 2018, there are 16 groups of officially recognized Taiwan indigenous peoples, population 562,926, 273,148 are male and 289,778 are female (see Map 2 and Table 2), based on the site of the Council of Indigenous Peoples (July 2018). Certain groups of indigenous people, living in western, northern, southern, and northeastern coastal plains and basins, encountered Han Chinese very early and were assimilated. They include the Ketagalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Kaxabu, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraya, Taivoan, and Makatao peoples, still seeking official recognition.

Map 2. The Distribution of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples



Table 1. The Population of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples

| Group Name | Population | Remark |
|------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| Amis | 210,041 | |
| Paiwan | 100,990 | |
| Atayal | 90,412 | |
| Bunun | 58,566 | |
| Truku | 31,598 | Officially recognized on 2004/01/14. |
| Puyuma | 14,225 | |
| Rukai | 13,340 | |
| Seediq | 10,074 | Officially recognized on 2008/04/23. |
| Tsou | 6,641 | |
| Saisiyat | 6,632 | |
| Yami/ Tao | 4,616 | |
| Kavalan | 1,472 | Officially recognized on 2002/12/25. |
| Sakizaya | 943 | Officially recognized on 2007/01/17. |
| Thao | 789 | Officially recognized on 2001/09/23. |
| Hla'alua | 401 | Officially recognized on 2014/06/26. |
| Kananavu | 339 | Officially recognized on 2014/06/26. |
| Total | 562,926 | |

Source: Total population as of July 2018: 562,926 (273,148 males and 289,778 females), public records on the global resources website of the Council of Indigenous Peoples.



Distinguishing Features of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' Textiles

Many Taiwan indigenous peoples still have their traditional textiles. Based on the evolution of textile techniques, we present an exhibition of their traditional textile cultures. They provide us a peek into the exchanges between traditional and modern elements. By showing the six distinguishing features of Taiwan indigenous peoples' textiles, visitors can know much deeper about Taiwan indigenous peoples' cultural and aesthetic background.

(1) A person's clothing shows his social status and much about his past achievements.

For example, only the nobles of the Paiwan and Rukai peoples could wear highly decorated dresses or using certain patterns. On the other hand, when a Tsou man hunted a wild boar, he could use the boar tusks to decorate his armbands. He would wear the decorated armbands during festivals or ceremonies in order to show his bravery.

(2) Clothing is a part of a society's constitution

For example, young women of the Atayal, Seediq and Truku peoples must learned to weave began when they were 7 or 8 years old in order to be tattooed during 13 to 14 before marriage. As a result, female members of these three groups of people were most capable weavers. Furthermore, members of the Amis and Puyuma peoples were ranked by their age and social status. Each group has its own textiles.

(3) The making of textiles is gender-based division of labor

Men are assigned to build looms. The harvest of ramie demand cooperation of men and women. However, when women are operating the loom, men are not allowed to touch it or walk across it.

(4) The textiles provide us a peek into the social changes caused by the introduction of foreign culture

Before Japanese domination, most textiles were made using ramie. Cotton and printed fabrics from China and Japan were widely used after Japanese domination. Artificial fibers replaced just about every other material in recent years. These are the changes caused by the change of the environment.

(5) The traditional textiles are a vital part of their group identity

Since the Han Chinese entered Taiwan around three centuries ago, the indigenous cultures were deeply impacted. They began to adopt Chinese textiles.

However, during some festivals and ceremonies, they still wear traditional costumes in order to show their group identity.

(6) The textiles are a treasure of their traditional aesthetics

Their colors, patterns, and design logic followed rules such as symmetry, ordered repetition, and balance in order to create their own unique style.

Please allow us to briefly describe the characteristic of Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes. They include the ten Plains Indigenous Peoples and the officially recognized peoples. From north to south and then to the east, by geographic regions, there are Atayal, Saisiyat, Thao, Bunun, Seediq, Tsou, Hla'alua, Kananavu, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Kavalan, Sakizaya, Truku, and Yami/Tao peoples.

The Plains Indigenous Peoples

The Plains Indigenous Peoples were living in western, northern, southern, and northeastern coastal plains and basins and encountered Han Chinese very early to be assimilated. From north to south, they are the Ketagalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Kaxabu, Papora, Babuza, Hoanya, Siraya, Taivoan, and Makatao peoples. Their long exposure to the Chinese culture can be observed in their Chinese-styled clothing. Written accounts only described their matriarch societies. Very few words were dedicated to their ethnic textiles and not a single word about whether their clothing was ranked or not. We only know that women of Pazeh, Kaxabu, and Hoanya were good at weaving. Texts as early as the 17-18th centuries ever mentioned their ramie cloth which was very beautiful patterned red cloth made using rubia-colored red ramie. Sometimes they used dog hair and Dendrobium fiber to make clothes with very complex patterns. These central Taiwan Plains Indigenous Peoples' costumes are mostly decorated with beautiful and unique patterns. They include short and long clothes, aprons, skirts, belts, and colorful bead head dresses and necklaces. They showed these women's excellent weaving techniques and good taste in aesthetics.

The embroidery of Siraya, Taivoan, and Makatao are highly detailed and beautiful. The Taivuan people's embroidery was truly excellent. They were originated in today's Yujing, Tainan and moved to their current homelands in Nanzixian River and the midstream of Laonong River areas. In detail, they are now living in Jiashian, Shanlin, Laonong, Liugui of Kaohsiung, and Tainan's Liuchong River area, and some of them moved to Fuli and Dazhuang, Taidong. Survived traditional Taivuan costumes were usually made using commercial cotton clothes with cross- and plain stitch needlework. Their embroidery patterns are beautiful, colorful, and diversified. They include diamonds and variations, straight lines, zigzag lines and other non-abstract patterns. Diamond and cross patterns are generally

placed on the capes or edges of skirts forming a single-line decoration framing the costume. Needle-like flower patterns are usually applied on belts, headbands, and pouches which can be connected to form parallel lines. Their typical costumes include, short vests, capes, headbands, belts and pouches.

The Ketagalan people of northern Taiwan frequently barter for their resources and handicrafts in order to enrich their living standards. Many of them wore traded decorative items. Their necklaces and chest decorations were most made of glass or agate bead strings. Their earrings and bracelets were mainly metal made.

The Atayal People

The Atayals, having 24 branches, and distributed in northern, central, and eastern Taiwan, traditionally used weaving ability to judge a woman's social status. Since they did not have ranks, an individual's costume was not determined by his/her social status. However, the clam bead shirtless long coat, reserved only for the leaders, heads of a clan, or the bravest headhunters, were viewed as the most precious costume among all the indigenous peoples. This costume was made using tiny ground column-shaped white beads from the shell of giant clams attached to a ramie garment. The sheer weight of the beads rendered the garment incapable of daily usage. The beadwork garments were once used as a form of hard currency. They could also be used as bride token. One to dozens had to be given to the bride's family by the groom's family. Even though the shell beadwork garments were the most representative and important costume of the Atayal, Truku, and Seediq peoples, they did not make the clam beads. According to *Kyōwasannenkigaihyōryū Taiwan Chopurantō no ki* (漂流臺灣秀姑巒之記) by Shin Teiren (秦貞廉), 1903, the shell beads could have been made by Amis women and then sold to the Atayals. It took nearly ten thousand shell beads to decorate just one piece of skirt.

The clothing was mostly made of ramie, fur, and cotton. Their fabrics were mainly made of ramie. Plain weave and weft weave were practiced. Capes were made for both men and women. The Atayal costumes were mostly shaped like a rectangle. Men usually wore a long or short shirt with or without sleeves. A chest piece was inside the shirts. Some of them wore detached sleeves outside the shirts while working. They usually wore just a frontal cover as underwear. They also wore a rattan helmet or a fur hat. Women usually wore a short shirt with long sleeves with a one- or two-piece long skirt. They also wore a pair of leggings decorated with diamond patterns as a talisman. These diamonds were symbolic ancestors' eyes. The large diamond pattern with four small diamonds is the representative of the Atayal clothing pattern. They usually used mashed Dioscorea roots to dye the cloths to maroon or sienna colors. They mainly used red colors. Based on their *Gaga* worldview, devils (*retux*) are afraid of red items. As a result, their clothes are red colors to scare away devils. They used mainly red yarn for weaving.

Decorative items were mainly used to beautify the wearer. In addition to that, they also could be used to illustrate the wearer's past contributions. Before going to a battle, men had to wear decorative items to lift their spirits and faith. The decorative items could be used on a person's head, forehead, ears, neck, shoulder, chest, upper arm, wrist, fingers, waist, legs, and ankles.



Atayal's large diamond pattern

The Saisiyat People

The Saisiyat and Atayal's costumes were very similar. It was probably caused by their geological neighboring. The Saisiyat rectangular costumes were narrower and lengthier. Their most evident feature was that both male and female wearer put on a long shirt and then put on a shorter shirt on the outside. This layered approach is unique among Taiwan indigenous peoples. They used mostly ramie and then cotton. Today, synthetic cashmilon fiber is also used. Men wore a single-piece apron or a short skirt. Women wore a single-piece long skirt. They did not wear any ankle cloths. They may wear an additional plain white or unbleached ramie long shirt. Shirts having red, white, and black patterns were reserved for festivals. Some believed that their traditional ceremonies demand long shirts having highly decorated backs. During the *paSta'ay*, or the Ritual to Pacify the Little People's Ghosts, the dancers faced the circle's inside with their backs faced to the outside. The beautiful decorated backs were supposed to be enjoyed by the little people's ghosts. The left-facing swastika (卍) was a characteristic pattern used on traditional Saisiyat costumes. Legend has it that this pattern was a symbolic lightning.

The Saisiyat people were very fond of decorative accessories. There are decorative items for the head, ears, chest, arm, wrists, and feet. Their bracelets were made of silver or brass. The hip bells and large hats were the Saisiyat people's distinguishing decorative items. The hip bells, wearable by both men and women and usually triangular-shaped, are called *tabaa'sang*, or noise-makers, in their language. The wearer dangled the bell to a cloth strip that runs over his/her shoulder and fixed behind the waist. During the dance, the free-hanging bell made a pleasing rhythmic noise.



Saisiyat's left-facing swastika (卍) pattern

The Thao People

The Thao people live in the Dehua Community of the Sun Moon Lake area. During the Qing Dynasty, they were known for making the famous dagobum cloths (bark fiber with colored dog hair). Currently we can only see traditional Thao clothing in their "ulalaluan" or ancestor's baskets. The "ulalaluan" is a basket used as a shrine during a ritual. Clothing worn by ancestors is placed inside the basket. (During the Harvest Festival of the 8th month of a lunar year, each family's elder would place something in it.) We have seen some aged clothing that's full of holes and dark-grayish in color. These clothing represent the souls of their ancestors. They are no longer in style. Traditionally, Thao people used leather, bark, ramie and cotton to make clothes. Leather, prepared by man, was used to make men's costumes. Women usually weave their own ramie clothes. Cotton fabrics were purchased from the Han Chinese. The mass-importation of inexpensive cotton fabrics rendered traditional weaving techniques obsolete.

Before Japanese domination (1895-1945), men's clothing was very similar to that of the Tsou of the Alishan area. They used to wear a long or short sleeveless shirt with a piece of chest covering and belly pouch inside. More than a century ago, men used to wear a brown single-piece skirt with front-only pants. They were mainly made using leather in the early days and then used ramie, fur, or cotton fabrics later. They wore leather shoes. Women's clothing included a head scarf, flower head gears, and a forehead decoration. They wore a two-piece long overall or chest cover that doubled as a skirt. They then wore a long sleeve short shirt with a raised collar, an embroidered belt, and ankle cloths. Their decorations include animal hide head gears, headbands, necklaces, chest decorations and bracelets. Traditional Thao costumes are all not-for-sale and placed into their "ulalaluan" baskets. None of the museums has any Thao traditional costumes in collection. Among all Thao costumes, the most representative ones are men's chest clothes. Its octagonal "pinuazan" pattern is already protected by the indigenous people's traditional wisdom rights. The "ulalaluan" basket tradition denied today's museums from collecting Thao traditional textiles.



Thao's octagonal "pinuazan" pattern

The Bunun People

Among all Taiwan indigenous peoples, the Bunun people are the most active, most migrative and most adapted to the mountain climates. They usually used animal hide, ramie, and imported cotton to

make their clothes. They were good at making leather. Usually they used deer, muntjac, and mountain goat leathers. Leather-made costumes include men's hats, sleeves, men's boot, sleeveless long shirts, long sleeve shirts, and front-only pants. The long shirts are the most representative costumes. The Bunun communities in Nantou County are usually more traditional in their wearing. However, their female costumes were influenced by the Han Chinese very early. Both male and female costumes of Taitung and Kaohsiung Bunun were influenced by the Rukai and Paiwan peoples living nearby. The clothing of Hualian's communities is very similar to those of Nantou. However, their women usually wear sky blue colored Chinese-style cross-collar long sleeve shirt with the right collar covered with a one-piece or two-piece skirt. Traditional patterns are mainly decorated with diamonds that resemble the pattern on the back of a Deinagkistrodon -- a very poisonous snake.

This pattern means that the snake is the Bunun people's best friend. Red, magenta, orange, purple, yellow and blue colored diamonds consist of the main patterns of a man's long shirt. This so-called checkerboard diamonds has become the most widely known Bunun people's costume patterns. They have decorations for the head, forehead, ear, neck, chest, and hands.



Bunun's checkerboard diamond pattern

The Seediq People

The Seediq, officially recognized on April 23, 2008, is Taiwan's 14th indigenous group of people. This group of people has been taken as a branch of the Atayal people and a part of the Truku people. However, tracing back the history, the Truku people could actually be a branch of the Seediq. Population 9000. Most of them are living in Renai, Nantou. There are a few of them living in Shanli and Lunshan Communities of Zhouxi, Hualian, Hongye, Wanrong Communities of Wanrong, and Xiulin, Communities of Xiulin. You can hardly tell a Seediq from an Atayal based on costumes and lifestyle. They used to make ramie fabrics. There are still many women who are skillful at using portable horizontal looms. They wear mainly red colored clothes because they also practice the *Gaga* worship. Since the devils (*nutux*) are afraid of red color, dyeing the clothes into red can cast the evil away.

They began to mix red-colored wool into their fabrics. The diamonds pattern were symbolic ancestor's eyes. The large diamond pattern with four small diamond pattern is the representative of the Seediq clothing pattern. Both men and women could wear ramie capes. Men used to wear white long sleeve long shirts decorated with red stripes. Women used to wear short shirts with multiple

red stripes and one-piece long skirts. During Japanese domination, the mass-importation of Japanese printed cotton fabrics changed their costumes.

They began to wear red cotton cloth long sleeved and upright collar shirts. These shirts had printed blue cotton cloth sewn between the shoulder and the sleeve and decorated with small brass bells attached to the shirt's lower edge.



Seediq's large diamonds pattern were symbolic ancestor's eyes

The Tsou People

The Tsou people are known as great warriors and hunters. Most of the men wore leather. They skinned the hunt to obtain leather for the making of hats, vests, capes, shirts, detachable sleeves, chest covers, front-only pants, shoes, and firearm pouches. Adult males could only wear leather hats after they have received the coming of age ceremony. When fully dressed, the hat would be decorated with one to four eagle feathers to illustrate the wearer's bravery. Today they usually use the feather of Mikado pheasant. In addition to leather, ramie and cotton are frequently used. Men's formal dress was a long sleeve long shirt made with red or black cotton fabric. Either side (black or red) could be worn outside. A chest cloth and a breast pouch are worn inside. In a ritual, such as a Homeyaya (harvest ritual) or Mayasvi (warrior ritual), they mainly wore the red side with decorations. Otherwise, the black side is worn.

Women usually wore cotton or silk. They have scarves, long sleeve short shirts, breast covers, one-piece skirts, belts and ankle cloths. After a discussion, the Tsou people selected the traditional diamond-shaped pattern on a man's chest cloth and the red, black, blue, and white embroidery on a woman's skirt (ta'fu) as their own signature pattern.



The male chest cloth patterns (lower) and the horizontal embroidery on a female skirt's center (upper)

The Hla'alua people

The Hla'alua people, population 401, formerly known as Saaroa, consists of four communities paiciana, vilanganu, talicia, and hlihlara located in Gaozhong, Taoyuan, Taoyuan District and Namasha, Namasha District of Kaohsiung City.

Their traditional language is Hla'alua. However, Bunun is now generally spoken.

They were misidentified as a part of the Tsou and were called Southern Tsou when combined with today's Kanakanavu people. On June 26, 2014, they were officially recognized as Taiwan's 15th indigenous group of people. Men's clothes were quite similar to those of the Tsou people. However, the yellow, green, white, and blue stripes on the back are used to signify their four communities. Men wore leather hats. The bands on the arms of their long sleeve shirts signify wild boars' tusks with a piece of chest cloths inside. Many of them wore colorful front-only pants or black skirts. The patterns on a man's chest cloths were mainly woven before. Now embroidered ones are more popular. They are mainly using diamond patterns (dumasemasege), or Deinagkistrodon snake-like patterns. Legend has it that a person had turned into a Deinagkistrodon. Women wore head scarves and decorated with hair pins made with a cock's tail feather. They wore black skirts and blue or white long sleeve shirts. The cock tail feather hair pin was used to memorize the cock that helped people to bargain with the sun. According to Ren-gui You and YShu-ping You, two members of Hla'alua, their token pattern was created by fusing men and women's colors and patterns. The four colored stripes on a man's shirt, the octagonal pattern on a man's chest cloths, and the embroidery pattern on a woman's belt and the diamond pattern used to signify the Deinagkistrodon snake were selected.



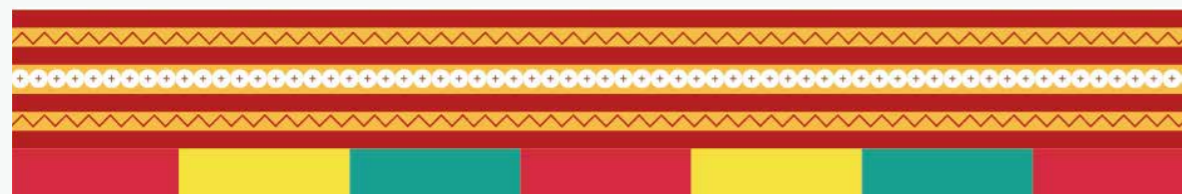
The male breast pouch patterns (upper) and the horizontal embroidery on a female skirt's center (lower)

The Kanakanavu people

According to Qing records, they were mainly living in today's Nanhua and Yujing. However farming immigrants forced them to move to Maya and Dakanuwa of today's Namaxia District, Kaohsiung. Population 520 (May, 2018). It was officially recognized as the 16th group of the indigenous people.

Early costumes were in black, white, red, yellow and light blue. All other colors were introduced later from outside with new materials. They did not have elaborate weaving techniques. They

practiced appliqué. Men's costumes were similar to those of the Tsou and the Hla'alua Peoples. They all wore leather hats with feather decorations with a shirt of vertical bands and a pair of front-only pants. They had dresses and casual clothes. The leather front-only pants were worn during hunting. They were made to protect a man's legs from thorny plants. During a ceremony, they wore a black one-piece short skirt with an opening facing the left. There are seven colorful stripes which symbolize the rainbow and wholeness on the back of a man's shirt. The fire starter pouch, containing tobacco and fire matches (or a flint fire starter), was a feature of a man's clothes. Women's costumes were similar to those of the Tsou. They both wore patterned colorful headbands with beadworks, shirts with colorful sleeve openings with black long skirts. These people held that their group patterns were a mixture of the patterns of a man's fire starter pouch and a woman's skirt's red, yellow, and green stripes.



Kavananavavu's patterns combined with men's chest ornament and colors of women's skirt

The Rukai People

The Rukai and Paiwan Peoples shared many common features with their costumes. Both of them had class-based societies and they lived nearby. Embroidery was a frequently-used skill and a women's requirement. The most popular patterns were diamonds and zigzags. The diamond patterns were created after the Deinagkistrodon snake's backs. These respected snakes were believed to have been the ancestors of Rukai's aristocrats. The satin stitches, highly detailed, variable and in an orderly manner, were their most appraised technique. Their cross-stitches are also outstanding in their techniques and aesthetics. The octagonal pattern (*shinuaderuavan*) has become a trademark of their costumes.

Male and female nobles both wore costly-made costumes decorated with tiny glass beads to attend ceremonies and weddings. The costumes of the nobles and ordinary ones were significantly different. Wild boar tusk head dress, leopard skin vests, glass beads, eagle feathers, lily-themed decorations, human and snake-form decorative items, and swastikas (卍) were reserved for the nobles.

Ordinary ones were denied from using these patterns or wearing these ornaments.



Rukai's octagonal "*shinuaderuavan*" pattern

The Paiwan People

Paiwan costumes were pieces of artwork created for the nobles. Since the aristocrats did not need to work, men were allowed to sculpt and women were allowed to embroider, in order to show their social status and fulfill their desire for art. Leather skin vests, worn by the ruling class, were reserved for festivals or important meetings. Weft weaving is a traditional technique usually used on men's front-only pants and women's mourning dress. Men usually wore a long sleeve short shirt and a one-piece skirt. They wore another long coat, a pair of front-only pants with a cape. They would then take the knife and wore a leather headband or hat. Women usually wore a Chinese-style long cross-collar shirt with a one or two-piece skirt. Ankle cloths were worn and a scarf, headband, or forehead band was worn. Morning dresses were either a mourning hat or a morning towel. They were unique among Paiwan costumes because they were made using ramie with weft-patterns. Glass bead neck and chest ornaments were most telltale way to distinguish nobility. Other ornaments, mostly made of copper, silver and nickel, were mostly affected by Han Chinese. Ordinary people were not allowed to wear patterns and ornaments. The wide-spread of the Paiwan people in northern, central, south and eastern Taiwan made it difficult to reach a consensus. The southern Paiwan had already selected the hand-in-hand, snakes-on-the-head figurines and lance patterns as their characteristic pattern.

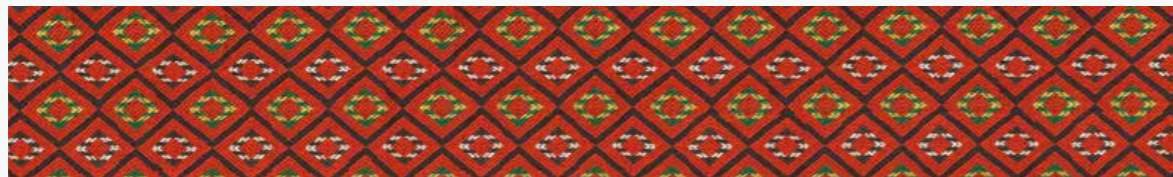


The southern Paiwan's combined with the hand-in-hand, snakes-on-the-head figurines and lance patterns

The Puyuma People

The Puyuma people's costumes were best known to have bright red, yellow, green, black, and white colored snake scale patterns with other cross-stitched patterns. Since a member of the Puyuma must wear costumes suitable for his/her age group (childhood, youth, young adult, adult, and old age), their costumes had become an identity enhancer. Their long/short sleeved shirts could have been affected by Qing's partially-crossed collar design. In addition to the crossed and raised collar,

they added a rectangular cloth to make their design similar to that of a Qing design. A woman's breast cover was shaped similar to a Han Chinese design. A typical young woman would wear a breast cover with a black long sleeve short shirt on the outside. The embroidered lower part of the breast cover would be exposed. Flower rings were a popular part of the Puyuma people's costumes. During a festival, a fully dressed Puyuma must wear a flower ring on his/her head. The more popular an old person was the more flower rings he/she wore. The characteristic pattern of the Puyuma costume is the multicolored diamond on a man's sleeveless long shirts, front-only pants, and capes.



Puyuma's pattern is the multicolored diamond

The Amis People

The costumes of the Amis people are known to be colorful and eye-pleasing. They are living over a very broad area roughly from Hualian to coastal Taitung. They are usually divided into three groups: the Northern Amis (Nanshi), Central Amis (Xiuguluan and coastal areas), and Southern Amis (Puyuma and Hengchuan). Each area's Amis has its own distinguishing features. The Amis is a matriarch society that respects its elders. You can easily tell a man's age group by examine his clothes and head gears. The Amis robes were derived from Han Chinese coats. They took the Han Chinese coats as a dress. Their crossed collared long sleeve robes were reserved for the leaders and wizards. When they are participating a general meeting or a ritual, they wore long robes. They used to prefer black or light blue robes, now they wear red robes. Their hats were highly decorated with many ornaments in order to emphasis the wearer's social status.

People of lower classes were not allowed to imitate or use. Therefore, the hats' sacred status was established. The Amis cross-stitch was widely known. The eight-petaled pattern on the *Alofo* backpacks (lover's backpack, things backpack, or betel nuts backpack) made by Taitung Amis was most representative.



Taitung Amis's pattern is the eight-petaled pattern on the *Alofo* backpacks

The Kavalan People

The Kavalan people had very outstanding weaving techniques. They were known to use banana fiber most frequently. Long ago, they used the bark of paper mulberry and mixed with other plant fiber and dog hair to make fabrics for men's and women's textiles. It was recorded that they used to have bride's skirt decorated with beads and hanging bells which was reserved for weddings. This skirt was made by two pieces of white cotton cloths sewn together. Its lower part had red, blue, and white colored very densely made geometric patterns. Their patterns included diamonds, starsign, zigzags, and eight-petaled flowers. Based on surviving textile specimen, they had 13 patterns in total. Most patterns were diamond's variations. The double diamonds were said to be like oars, javelins, or fish harpoons. Today's Kavalan costumes were mainly in black and worn by older people. They use the bride's skirt's complete patterns as their representative pattern.



Kavalan's use the bride's skirt's complete patterns

The Sakizaya People

The Sakizaya people were mainly living on Hualian's Qilai Plains. Their prolonged co-existence with the Amis resulted in their age-based classes which was quite similar to that of the Amis. They used to wear Amis-like clothes. They were officially recognized on January 17, 2007. However, as of today, none of their traditional costumes or objects was found. None of the museums could collect any of their traditional costumes.

Long ago, planting fox millet was the center of their livelihood. According to the growth of the millet, they had rituals for seeding, fishing, harvest, celebration, and stockpiling. They only dressed in full during a ceremony. They mainly wore dark red and earth colored clothes. The Sakizaya people worship earth or land which means generation. The color dark red means blood dried on the land. They also wore blue, green, black, and white. Their costumes, mostly cross-collared shirts and long shirts, were affected by the Han Chinese. Diamonds, squares, and triangles were most frequently used while circles, zigzags and straight lines were also used. Men were divided into 9 to 12 age groups which included the leader, elders, junior leaders, youths, young adults, and children. Women only consist of matured ones and single ones. Older women only wore their own kind of head dress. The Cultural Pouch or Lovers' Pouch (*alubu*) is designed by Madame Xiu-mei Wu, a member of the

Sakizaya people. Five pieces of white cloths are attached to the back strap which symbolizes the five communities. The circle in the center refers to lake water. Two triangles on two sides are collapsed rocks or the two lovers who jumped into the lake. A legend is told by the pouch. The Sakizaya people believe this pouch can be used to represent them.



Sakizaya's pouch patterns

The Truku People

The Truku people, living in Hualian of eastern Taiwan, formerly a part of the Seediq subgroup of the Atayal people, gained official recognition on January 14, 2004. A woman must learn to weave by 13 to 14 in order to be tattooed in the face. Facial tattoo was a token of beauty, adulthood and group identity. Both men and women wore white. Their patterns were variations of diamond with different meanings, such as the fortune-telling bird's eyes, hunters' eyes, heritage eyes, wisdom eyes, and ancestors' eyes. Among them, the ancestors' eyes were believed to be their talisman similar to that of the Atayal. People selected the ancestors' eyes as the representative pattern. The long white sleeve, worn on both upper arms during work, was a distinguishing feature. They had clam bead coats, skirts, and ankle cloths, the same as the Atayal and Seediq peoples. They were made using beads made from ground giant clams and attached to the costumes line by line. They were reserved for the leaders, the head of a clan, or a distinguished warrior.



Truku's diamonds pattern were symbolic ancestor's eyes

The Yami/Tao People

Living on the Orchid Island, and due to the remote nature of their residence, the Yami/Tao people retained the most of their traditions. In comparison with the costumes of other Taiwan indigenous peoples, their clothes were the simplest.

The source of their fiber was *Boehmeria macrophylla*, a very tough plant. Their weaving technique, especially the white patterned weft-weaving, was very difficult. Their costumes followed the rectangular-cut tradition the most. The fabrics were made of white or black-and-navy blue colored stripes. The more colorful side faces inside. The men only wore a sleeveless shirt and a loin cloth.

The woman wore a cape-like coat (rakua aiyu) which consists of four pieces of clothes with a one-piece skirt (chininun) with an opening on the front right.

Their top wears include the silver helmet, the coconut fiber conical hat, and the octagonal wooden hat. Only respected elders could wear them. The Yami/Tao people were the only indigenous people in Taiwan that practiced gold and silver metalwork. The metals and metalworking techniques were learned from outsiders.

Pieces of gold could be used to make men's ∞ -shaped chest decorations. They believed gold's supernatural power to heal and used it as a criminal's blood money to avoid death penalty. Silver could be used to make men's silver helmets and bracelets for men and women, ∞ -shaped earrings, and trapezoid-shaped chest decoration. They also wore agate necklaces and glass foot rings (vagyat).

Mother Nature was these indigenous peoples' art teacher. The sun and the rainbow are their sources of inspiration. Their social structures, legends, religions, and livelihoods all appeared on their weaving, embroidery, and costumes.



Yami/Tao's pattern is diamond floating weave

A Brief Introduction to the Six Partner Museums

There are 750 public and private museums in Taiwan. Among them, about 60 have Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifact and costumes in their collections.

Out of the 60, we have invited six public and private museums with abundant and representative collections of indigenous peoples' costumes for the preparation of this special exhibition. Please allow us to briefly introduce their featured collections.

1. The Museum of the Institute of Ethnology at the Academia Sinica



圖一 中央研究院民族學研究所博物館館景 (館方提供)

In 1955, Mr. Chunsheng Ling, Director of the Preparation Office of the Institute of Ethnology lead the Institute's researchers to Laiyi, Pingtung to survey the Paiwan people. This survey not just collected Paiwan people's ethnographic materials; they had collected much ethnologic specimen which became one of the institute's early collections. The next year, the Specimen Room of the Institute was established. It was used to display ethnologic specimen for academic research purposes. In 1988, the Specimen Room became a museum and was named the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology

at the Academia Sinica. It currently has about 8,000 pieces of collection, including Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifact, Han people's folk and religious artifact, Mainland China, Southeast Asia, Pacific Region's ethnological collections and other research finds. The ancestral house-posts of the house of Zingrur, chief of Kaviyangan (Jiaping) and the ancestral house-posts of the Tafalong's Kakitaan (Amis) were registered as National Treasures in 2012 by the Ministry of Culture. Four permanent exhibitions are in display, including Mr. Chunsheng Ling Memorial Exhibition, Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' Cultures Exhibition, the 1930s China's Southern Border Peoples Exhibition, and the Folk Beliefs of Taiwan Han People Exhibition. The special exhibition room periodically presents updated findings in order to let the public know more about the Institute's studies. The collection consists of 8,610 pieces (as of November 7, 2016). Main categories: costumes, daily-use items, architecture, containers, productivity items, religious items, animal bones, and multimedia materials. Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts: 3,717 pieces. Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes: 943 pieces. Loans for this exhibition: 50.

2. The Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University

This museum was reopened in November 2010. Its collection was mainly those of the Taipei Imperial University collected during Japanese domination. This museum is in the west wing of the National Taiwan University's former Main Library next to the School History Room. The Ethnology Room is now open to the public. The Archaeology Room will be open in the future. This museum collects physical specimen and audio visual materials. The physical specimen includes ethnological and



圖二 國立臺灣大學人類學博物館館景 (館方提供)

archaeological ones. By periodically replace the permanent exhibition's items and launching special exhibitions, we are introducing precious artifact to the public. The audio visual materials are now receiving digital restoration and cataloging. The collection consists of 17,359 pieces. Main categories: daily-use items, productivity items, ritual items, costumes, tools, playable items, construction tools, antique documents, multimedia materials. Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts: 5,812 pieces. Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes: 791 pieces. Taiwan plains indigenous peoples' artifacts: 116 pieces. Loans for this exhibition: 29.

3. The National Taiwan Museum



圖三 國立臺灣博物館館景 (館方提供)

This museum was established in 1908 as the Taiwan Governor Museum. In 1949, it was reassigned under the Department of Education of Taiwan Province and renamed Taiwan Provincial Museum. In 1999, it was reassigned under the Central Government and renamed National Taiwan Museum. This is the oldest museum in Taiwan

with 115,672 items in collection. This museum consists of the Main Building in the 228 Memorial Park, the former Land Bank of Taiwan building, and the Nanmen Park. The permanent exhibitions include the Taiwan's Biological Exhibition, the Prehistoric Cultures Exhibition (from Paleolithic to Iron Ages), and the Taiwan Indigenous Peoples Exhibition. The collection consists of 115,672 pieces. Main categories: botanic (vascular plants, mosses, algae), zoology (mammals, avian, insects, reptiles, amphibians, crustaceans), geology (minerals, fossils, fish and shell fossils), anthropology (indigenous peoples, archaeology, history, North America, South and Southeast Asia, numismatics). Taiwan

indigenous peoples' artifacts: 7,088 pieces. Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes: 2,087 pieces. Taiwan plains indigenous peoples' artifacts: 111 pieces. Loans for this exhibition: 81.

4. The National Museum of Prehistory

February 1, 1990: establishment of the Preparatory Office. July 10, 2001: trial run. August 17, 2002: opening. This museum is Taiwan's first prehistoric and indigenous peoples' cultures museum, the first museum that contains an archaeological site and a nature preservation, and the first national museum on Taiwan's east coast. By providing functions including research, preservation, exhibition, education, and entertainment, we hope to enlighten the public to know more about the abundance and diversity of Taiwan's ecology, prehistoric cultures and indigenous peoples' cultures. We hope our efforts would result in the public's cherish of this land's ever-last natural environment and cultural landscape. The collection consists of about 50,000 pieces. Main categories: textiles, costumes, woodcraft, bamboo craft, stoneware, photographs, animal fossils, mineral specimen. Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts: 7,000 pieces. Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes: 1,383 pieces. Loans for this exhibition: 48.



圖四 國立臺灣史前文化博物館館景 (館方提供)

5. The Beitou Museum

The wood building used by the Beitou Museum was built in 1921 and was known as Kazan Hotel – the finest hot springs resort at the time of that area. This museum, about 2,645 square meters in area and surrounded by trees, situates on a hill slope. This was one of the few well-preserved two-story historic Japanese style wood buildings. In 1988, the Taipei Municipal Government assigned the building as a Municipal Historic Site. It is currently managed by the Fu Lu Culture Foundation as a private museum. In addition to the preservation of this precious wood building, it also is the home to over 5,000 pieces of early days Taiwan folk art and indigenous peoples' artifact. It also has permanent exhibitions and special exhibitions. This museum also provides many cultural experience lectures, creative kaiseki cooking, afternoon tea sessions, souvenirs, and customized party,



圖五 北投文物館館景 (館方提供)

pieces. Loans for this exhibition: 24.

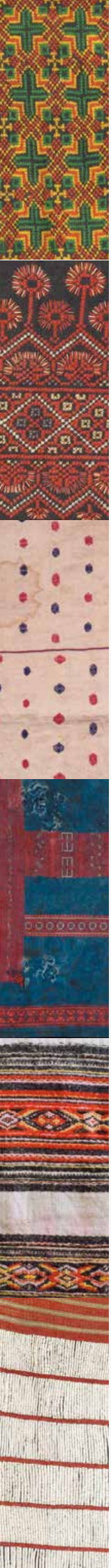
6. The Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines



圖六 順益台灣原住民博物館館景 (館方提供)

Opened on June 9, 1994, this museum was Taiwan's first private museum dedicated to the studies of the indigenous peoples. In addition to collecting Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifact, this museum provides a multitude of activities to promote indigenous peoples' cultures. The permanent and special exhibitions are designed to present the diversity of Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifact. To honor the indigenous peoples' right to interpret their cultures, an annual "With the Communities" exhibition was created. Each exhibition in this series was created in cooperation with a community in order to fully present the people's identity. This museum also provides a space for the presentation of indigenous peoples' culture to let it become a forum and a device of multiculturalism. The collection consists of 3418 pieces (1,800 pieces of artifact, 1,507 Torii Ryūzō plates, 111 indigenous peoples' artist artworks) Main categories: ethnologic items, costumes, daily-

meeting, and exhibition services. It is becoming a multifunctional cultural and creativity platform. The collection consists of 5,000 pieces. Main categories: costumes, literature, and everyday items including ceramics, woodcraft, ratten-made products. Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts: more than 1,000 pieces. Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes: 339



use items, ritual items, construction tools, music instruments, artworks, paintings. Taiwan indigenous peoples' artifacts: 1,188 pieces. Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes: 612 pieces. Loans for this exhibition: 37.

Conclusion

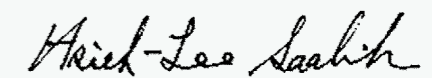
Each group of Taiwan indigenous people used to have its own skills and materials for making textiles. Little did the literatures discuss the plains indigenous peoples' costumes. In this joint exhibition, we are honored to present the weaving and embroidery of the plains indigenous peoples who's clothing was affected by the Han Chinese immigrants deeper and longer. The exhibition area of 853 square meters is divided into six show rooms to showcase following techniques: beaten-made tree bark and leather cloths, weaving, embroidery, beadwork, appliqué, and ornaments. Here, we are seeing the 14 groups of people's diversified textile cultures which includes the Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Seediq, Tsou, Hla'alua, Kanakanavu, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Kavalan, Truku, Yami/ Tao peoples. Since the traditional costumes of the Thao and Sakizaya peoples were not available, we are unable to display them.

We believe this joint exhibition is one of the largest and most enjoyable ones in the history of Taiwan's museums. Here six private and public museums worked together in the preparation of this exhibition. From the viewpoints of the skills, features, and diversity, we are presenting the cultures and aesthetics of Taiwan indigenous peoples. We are not just presenting their sophisticated material aspect, we are showing their cultural heritages and collective wisdom. These are the treasures of Taiwan's cultural heritage.

We must say thank you to all the talented ones ever contributed to the preparation of this exhibition. They include, Director Fei-wen Liu and Shan-hui Hsu of the Museum of the Institute of Ethnology at the Academia Sinica, Associate Researcher Tzu-ning Liof the National Taiwan Museum, Professor Chia-yu Huo of National Taiwan University, Museum of Anthropology, Deputy Director Chih-Hsing Lin/ *Aqilasay* Pakawyan and Assistant Researcher Chun-wei Fang of the National Museum of Prehistory, Supervisor Wei-cheng Lin of the Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines. Moreover all team members of six museums have devoted themselves into selecting artworks and helping accomplishment of the exhibit. They certainly deserved to be admired.

Finally we would like to express our appreciations to Ms. Yu-Chin Su, one of the leading conservators in Taiwan, and Dr. Shih-chung Hsieh, anthropology professor of National Taiwan University, for their thoughtful and effective contributions during the period of this stunning

special exhibition. This exhibition can never be made possible if without their cooperation in the selection of displayed items, discussion of the plans, and executions. The two articles are courtesy to Madame Yuma · Taru, a Living National Treasure, of the Atayal people, Professor Chia-yu Huo of the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University. We hope this exhibition of Taiwan indigenous peoples' costumes, the articles, and the publication of this book can bring us to the deep understanding to Taiwan indigenous peoples' cultures and their past experiences of culture exchanges so we may learn to respect other peoples' societies and their cultures.



Curator Saalih Hsieh-Lee, Director of the Beitou Museum