

The VOC and the Geopolitics of Southern Formosa: The Case of Lonckjouw*

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses how the political and commercial activities of the Dutch East India Company affected the territorial powers of Lonckjouw in southern Formosa. The contemporary Dutch portrayed the Lonckjouw people as the most stratified society in Formosa. Their leaders ruled over more than 16 villages and acted as lord of all his subjects. This paper explores how the development of the Dutch commercial and political interests in southern Formosa simultaneously enhanced and impeded the territorial expansion and political consolidation of the Lonckjouw people. The leadership of the Lonckjouw people once declined, and even tentatively split, after the Dutch moved their alliance to the Pimaba to the north of Lonckjouw. By analyzing the contemporary political geography and interactions between the Lonckjouw people and the Dutch, the paper shows how the Lonckjouw leaders responded to the Dutch in an effort to maintain their dominance, while facing the Dutch presence from southwestern Formosa.

Key Words: Lonckjouw, Dutch East India Company (VOC), history of Taiwan (Formosa), history of Formosan Austronesians, Pimaba

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I. Introduction

It is well known that the Dutch East India Company or VOC established a factory on a sandbar off the southwestern coast of Taiwan (then called Formosa) in the year 1624. From there the Dutch engaged in the lucrative East Asian maritime trade, and later exerted their political and economic power over the Formosan Austronesians on mainland Formosa.¹ The story of the interaction between the Dutch and the local Austronesian villagers on the western plains of Formosa is familiar to us, with the VOC exercising its influence by assigning missionaries and administrators, and imposing a farming tax on village trade. All of this was achieved initially by the VOC's involvement in the geopolitics of the local Austronesian villages in the name of "protecting" their native allies such as the inhabitants of Sinkan village (Andrade, 2001: 287–317; 2008). Nevertheless, unlike the case in southwestern Formosa, the VOC had no intention of direct intervention in the geopolitics of southern Formosa as a whole. The main cause for the VOC to explore southeastward in the mid-1630s was for the sake of alleged gold mines. It is the local Austronesian villagers who provided the source information of gold mines to the Dutch by pointing out the places where their inherited enemies inhabited, which in turn pulled the VOC into the intricate webs of their local geopolitics. The current paper discusses the interaction between the Dutch and the Formosan Austronesians in southern Formosa. Attention is paid to the impact of the VOC activities on the development of local territorial powers, especially the case of Lonckjouw in contrast to that of Pimaba in eastern Formosa.

1 The paper uses the terms *Taiwan* and *Formosa* interchangeably as they both refer to the island currently known as Taiwan. In the 17th century, the said island was known as *Formosa* to the Europeans, while *Taiwan* (then spelled as *Tayouan*), a term given by the contemporary Hokkien itinerant migrants, merely referred to the sandbar and possibly the nearby areas on the southwestern coast of Taiwan where the Hokkien and Japanese traders dwelled. The Europeans and later the international world employed the term *Formosa* until the mid-20th century when its usage was considerably discouraged by the Chinese Nationalists, who labeled it as hinting at the Western imperial and colonial legacy that might threaten the ideology of "an integral part of China's sacred territory." On the other hand, the term *Taiwan* had gradually become institutionalized to refer to the entire island since the late 17th century as the Manchu Empire of East Asia took over the western lowland areas of the island. Except for the description of the physical and human geography of the island in the following section, the paper uses *Formosa* instead to depict the island under the Austronesian world.

II. Southern Formosa in the Early 1630s

Taiwan is generally divided into two parts: the flat to smoothly rolling plains in the western one-third and the mostly rugged forest-clad mountains in the eastern two-thirds. The southern part of Taiwan largely belongs to the southern part of the Central Mountain Range. Only on the northern half of southern Taiwan is the southern part of the elongated East Coastal Mountain Range, which stretches along the Pacific Ocean coast. Between the two said mountain ranges, there is the narrow Hua-tung Valley and a small alluvial plain, called the Taitung plain, outside the southern entrance of the valley.

The Austronesian population on the Taitung alluvial plain could be generally divided into two major groups based on their different mythological ancestral origins, represented by the Pimaba (卑南覓) and the Tipol (知本) groups. Those of the Pimaba believed that their ancestors were born from bamboo whereas those of the Tipol came from stone. The Pimaba group (also called the Panapanayan—Puyuma) consisted of the villages of Pimaba, Pinnereser or *Pinasiki* (檳朗)² and *Apapolo*. The Tipol group (also called the Ruvoahan—Katipol) contained the villages of Tipol, Sabecan or *Kasavakan* (射馬干), Nickabon or *Rikavon* (呂家望) (*Rikavon*+*Alipai*+*Vankiu*), Pinewattangh or *Tamalakao* (大巴六九), and Lywe-lywe or *Basikao* (北絲鬮) (Wei, 1962: 65–82; Sung, 1965: 112–144; 1998: 8).³

The majority of the Austronesian population in the most southerly tip of the Central Mountain Range was dominated by a political entity based on a hierarchical village alliance led by the Lonckjouw (瑯嶠) ruler in the 1630s. The ruler of Lonckjouw, as well as his close associates, and most of his subjugated village forces, were believed to be descended from stone, just like the inhabitants of Tipol. The Lonckjouw people were believed to be a group of people who came from Kazekalan (old Tipol) and were called Su-qaro (斯卡羅), who moved southward and established their political dominance in southern Formosa (Utsurikawa

2 In this paper, those village names in italics indicate the modern spelling used by Formosan Austronesians.

3 For the contemporary map of Austronesian village names and the mountain paths utilized by the VOC, please refer to Johannes van Keulen's *Pas-kaart van de Chineesche kust, langs de Provincien Quantung en Fokien als ook het Eyland Formosa* (Map of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces along the coast of China, as well as the Island of Formosa). See Vertente, Hsu and Wu (1991: 92–93). Also available on: <http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/nl/Kaart-West-China-Formosa-Pehoe.5895> (Keulen II, 1753)

and Mabuchi, 1935: 379–386; Sung, 1998: 17). The Dutch simply called the Lonckjouw ruler the lord (*vorst*) of Lonckjouw, and his political entity a “principality” (*vorstendom*) (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 61; 63; 36–38).

The Lonckjouw people were said to be the “most civilized people” in Formosa by the Dutch because of the former’s dress codes, social stratification, and probably relatively light skin color in comparison with the tribes on the southwestern plain areas of Formosa (Kang, 2016: 37–40). Both the Lonckjouw men and women were well clad. The ruler was said to be able to dominate about 16 villages by taxing his subjects’ agricultural products and game, with his wealth allowing him to share his food with more than 100 followers every day.

In addition to the social practices of the Lonckjouw people, the geographical location of the seat of the Lonckjouw ruler, the village of Doloswack (豬勝束), also facilitated the ruler’s domination over his expanding territory. Doloswack was near the coast of the southern tip of Formosa, where most of the traders stopped when they sailed from southwestern Formosa to eastern Formosa. The Lonckjouw ruler apparently collected a lot of wealth from those traders passing by. As a matter of fact, the Lonckjouw ruler exerted his political influence near the coast of the southern tip of Formosa such as at Coralos (龜勝律) (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 360). This means that the maritime traders who sailed past southern Formosa would always be in Lonckjouw territory if their seafaring vessels had to land.

The Pimaba on the present Taitung alluvial plains, in contrast, faced challenges not only from Tipol and its alliances but also from Linauw (里攏) in the Hua-tung Valley from the north. In addition, the Tarouma (大南) people of the other ethnolinguistic group called the Rukai (魯凱) in the western mountainous area posed a potential threat to Pimaba if the former expanded eastwards (Kang, 2005: 5–9). In other words, the position of Pimaba in relation to its surrounding areas was not as well consolidated as that of Lonckjouw at the southern tip of Formosa.

Pimaba was said to be able to mobilize around 1,000 warriors to the battlefield, together with its adjacent six to seven villages (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 181–182; 199–200). The ruler of Pimaba was called *regent* by the Dutch. Although the people of Pimaba were said to be equipped with the same weapons such as bows, arrows, lances and spears, as the Lonckjouw people, the ruler of Pimaba did not possess the same power as that of Lonckjouw (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 369).

III. The Early Encounters

When the Dutch encountered the Lonckjouw people in 1636, the latter were at war with both the Tawaly (太麻里) and Pimaba in the north and the Pangsoya

(放索) in the northwest. The Lonckjouw ruler, called Tartar, was suspicious of the real power of the Dutch when go-between traders from Ming China reported to him about the VOC's military achievements on the southwestern plain areas of Formosa since the end of 1635. Tartar apparently perceived his own supremacy as having very few challengers from the outside world. He replied to the envoy of VOC, a trader named Lampsack, with a metaphor expressing that the Dutch were not capable of climbing the high mountain. In case the Dutch did and thus became "stronger", he would still be able to climb even higher. Tartar furthermore rejected the gifts from the VOC brought by Lampsack. He agreed to accept the souvenirs only when the Dutch presented themselves to him. When Tartar's younger brother revealed his interest in departing for Tayouan with Lampsack in order to confirm the latter's description of the Dutch, Tartar outright rejected his brother's request (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 60-62).

The VOC quickly sent some Dutch envoys to Lonckjouw to meet Tartar, who received the guests generously. Tartar himself still suspected the intentions of the Dutch. He intimidated the Dutch delegates by placing a knife to their necks during two to three drinking banquets and claiming, probably pretending to be drunk, that they were spies who had come to inspect his territory for future warfare. Nevertheless, Tartar's younger brother succeeded in leaving for Tayouan with 14 of his servants (*dienaeren*) (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 70-71).

Tartar's younger brother arrived in Tayouan in May 1636. Meanwhile the head of Pangsoya was also visiting Tayouan. The VOC took this opportunity to have both sides reach a peace agreement (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 116-117; 122-123). Later in December of the same year, Tartar, accompanied by his younger brother, brother-in-law, his councilor, and 30 other persons, arrived in Tayouan, and concluded a peace treaty with the VOC (Blussé et al. eds., 1986: 293; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 138). Meanwhile, the VOC tended to keep the policy of peaceful co-existence with Lonckjouw in order to make inquiries about the alleged gold mines (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 140-141; 143).

In order to ally with Tartar for the purpose of gold exploration north of Pimaba, the VOC in February of 1637 sent a lieutenant and a delegate team composed of five to six soldiers in order to "look prestigious for his assignment" to meet Tartar (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 139-140). To the Dutch, concluding peace with the Pimaba would better serve the mission. However, Tartar expected the Pimaba to decline the peace offer since it would mean imminent warfare between the VOC and Pimaba, and Lonckjouw would surely join the camp of the VOC against its everlasting enemy (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 141; 143). As expected, Tartar told the Dutch delegates that in order to reach the gold mines, it

was necessary to destroy the two main enemies of Lonckjouw, namely Tawaly and Pimaba in the north (Blussé et al. eds., 1986: 307-308; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 145-146).

The VOC first decided to reach Pimaba by sea route, but a Dutch delegate mission to Pimaba in April of 1637 turned out to be abortive (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 147-148). In January of 1638, the VOC finally decided to send 130 soldiers to land at Lonckjouw and seek assistance from Tartar. The captain of the VOC soldiers, Johan Jurriaensz van Linga, on arrival reported to Tartar that the VOC governor at Tayouan had dispatched him to assist Tartar in conquering Tawaly. This pleased Tartar greatly. After staying in Tartar's village Dalaswack (豬勝東) for two days to mobilize local warriors and collect provisions from nearby villages, the expeditionary force marched out with 400 to 500 newly added Lonckjouw warriors led by Tartar (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 167-168; 170; 185; 188).

Tartar apparently would have liked to seize more gains from the newly established Lonckjouw-VOC alliance. On the way to Tawaly, Tartar tried to persuade Van Linga to wage war against Patsaban, a village that had not been subjugated by Lonckjouw yet. Van Linga employed astute diplomacy instead by having a Lonckjouw person sent in the name of the VOC and the Lonckjouw ruler to Patsaban, and had the latter subject themselves to the protection of the VOC, to conclude peace with Lonckjouw, and to supply victuals as well. The success of this peaceful subjugation of Patsaban paved the way for the later diplomatic manner in which Pimaba was treated. However, the Tawaly were not able to escape from the violence waged by the VOC-Lonckjouw alliance. The village of Tawaly was burnt to the ground. At least 40 villagers were killed and 104 captured alive (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 168-170; 186-188).

The following scenario with Pimaba proved that Van Linga's tactful strategy with regard to Patsaban worked by preventing a bloody skirmish but nevertheless achieving the desired political goal. After mutual negotiations, the regent of Pimaba, named Magol, walked hand in hand with Van Linga and Tartar into his village. Peace was concluded (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 173-178; 191-195). To the VOC, it was one step closer to the alleged gold mine in eastern Formosa. To Lonckjouw, their northern enemies were temporarily either weakened or neutralized.

IV. After the Peace Agreement

The subsequent history of Pimaba after the first contact with the Dutch is familiar to us. In short, the Pimaba gradually became the deputy of the VOC in

eastern Formosa because of its geographical remoteness from the VOC factory at Tayouan in southwestern Formosa. The VOC did not have sufficient manpower permanently dispatched there, and thus relied more and more on the armed forces of Pimaba to dominate eastern Formosa. Pimaba, on the other hand, benefitted from this geography by cooperating with the VOC, who helped step by step to eliminate the surrounding enemies or competitors of the Pimaba such as Linauw, Tipol, and Teroma. Therefore, Pimaba exploited this opportunity and gradually expanded their territorial influence northward into the heart of the Hua-tung valley until being checked by a regional power called the Vatan (馬太鞍) in the late 1640s (Blussé et al. eds., 1986: 452; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 228).

What happened to Tartar and his Lonckjouw power block? One year after the peace agreement between Lonckjouw and Pimaba, Tocobocubul (內文 or 大龜紋) in early 1639 agreed to conclude peace with Lonckjouw at the request of Maarten Wesseling, then the VOC representative in Pimaba (Blussé et al. eds., 1986: 452; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 228). The territory of Lonckjouw seemed to be expanding. A report by Wesseling indicated that the Pimaba were able to mobilize 800 male adults to the battlefield, and so were the Lonckjouw people, among whom were Doloswack (豬勝東), Rackij (施那格), Bangsoor (蚊蟀), Touresatsa, Cattangh, Dawadas, Matsar (牡丹), and Lupot (老佛). As for the Lonckjouw villages of Carradeij, Perromooij, and Talanger, they no longer existed due to massacres or starvation. Nevertheless, Wesseling also mentioned another three villages, Tarracway (哆囉快), Sappide (射武力), and Borroboras (內獅), which newly joined the Lonckjouw power block providing another 300 male adults in total (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 204–206; 244; 246). The addition of the aforementioned three villages into the political sphere of Lonckjouw indicated that Tartar's territory had expanded into the river valleys of today's Feng-kang (楓港), Fangshan (枋山) and Nan-shih-hu (南勢湖) on the southwestern tip of Formosa.

Meanwhile, the VOC also enhanced its alliance with Pimaba by official visits and military cooperation. In September of 1638, one nobleman and the brother of the Pimaba ruler, called Radout, paid a visit to Tayouan (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 207–208). Later in June of 1639, Peremonij, another Pimaba nobleman and also the brother of the abovementioned Pimaba elder (*oranckay*) Radouth, visited Tayouan with eight servants (Blussé et al. eds., 1986: 466; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 239). In addition, the VOC-Pimaba alliance furthermore destroyed Linauw by beheading 400 to 500 enemies in early 1640 (Blussé et al. eds., 1986: 495; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 252–253; Campbell ed., 1903: 184).

The VOC also took no time in expanding its influence into the mountainous area north of the Lonckjouw power block. In May of 1639, Wesseling visited

mountain villages such as Talacobos (陳那佳勿／來義)⁴ and Culalou (君崙留／古樓) upstream of the Lin-pien River (林邊溪), which was later called the Dalissau (陳阿修／丹林) Gorge by the Dutch. Under the assistance of local inhabitants, Wesseling also successfully reached the eastern coast of Formosa through the mountain path by passing Lawabicar (文里格) (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 229-235). This meant that a possible new land route to Pimaba had been opened for the VOC, as an alternative to the junk trading route that bypassed Lonckjouw. Afterward, the unexpected murder of Wesseling by the Tammalaccouw (大巴六九／泰安) and Nicabon (呂家望／利嘉) in September of 1641 paved the way for a new VOC military mission in eastern Formosa, which changed the nature of the relationship between the VOC and Lonckjouw.

V. The Turning Point

The VOC military expedition in January of 1642 led by Governor Paulus Traudenius to eastern Formosa was not only revenge for the death of Wesseling but also an exploration into the alleged gold mines.⁵ The troops landed at Lonckjouw and surprised Tartar, since the size of the VOC force included Hokkien, Javanese and Quinamese porters, and was three times larger than that of 1638, which was merely a military mission. It was said that Tartar refused to provide provisions to the VOC expeditionary force. Tartar and his brother later claimed to be ill and did not fulfill their promise of joining the military action against Tammalaccouw and Nicabon. After the VOC troops marched to Pimaba by land, Tartar and his men threatened the Dutchmen left behind in Bangsoir (蚊蟀)⁶ with decap-

4 The Chinese equivalents for Austronesian village names in this paper are mostly drawn from historical sources compiled during the Manchu Empire after the late seventeenth century. Nevertheless, if the site of a modern administrative unit name matches a designated village, then the name of the modern administrative unit, which also works as an alternative for the Austronesian village name nowadays, is provided as the second Chinese equivalent after a slash. For instance, the Chinese equivalent of Talacobos is 陳那佳勿 (Hokkien: Tān-ná-ka-but), in which the characters were chosen to represent the pronunciation of the said village name in Formosan Austronesian. 來義 is the modern administrative unit name in use where the descendants of the inhabitants of Talacobos dwell.

5 The VOC launched three military expeditions in total into today's Hualien area of eastern Formosa to look for the alleged gold mines. The 1642 expedition led by Traudenius was the first, followed by those of Pieter Boon in 1643 and Cornelis Cæsar in 1645.

6 Bangsoir was along the river valley of Kang-k'ou (港口溪) within Man-chou Township, P'ing-tung County (屏東縣滿州鄉), as was Doloswack.

itation. Afterward it was reported that the subjects of Tartar killed four VOC-licensed Hokkien fishermen. The conflict and mistrust between the VOC and Lonckjouw ultimately led to warfare between both parties (Colenbrander ed., 1900: 146–147; 149; 151; Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 12; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 281; 332; 335–336).

The end of 1642 witnessed VOC warfare against Lonckjouw. Johannes Lamotius, who had just returned from the recently conquered Spanish strongholds in northern Formosa and had defeated the indomitable Favorlang (虎尾壠) people north of Tayouan, was assigned to this mission. The VOC also mobilized 300 to 400 warriors from Pangsoya (放索) to join Lamotius' expedition. In addition, the VOC requested that the Pimaba march to Calingit (阿壟壹) Gorge⁷ to block Tartar's escape route to eastern Formosa (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 333; 336–337; 340; 342). The VOC-Pangsoya alliance proved to be very successful against the Lonckjouw in the battlefield, even though the Pimaba failed to answer the call of military mobilization. One of Tartar's sons perished in the battle. The provisions in Tartar's principal five villages were completely destroyed. Tartar himself was rumored to have fled with his brothers and their retinue to Tipol (知本) in eastern Formosa. In order to catch Tartar, the VOC immediately dispatched two companies to Tipol, whose inhabitants were said to have hidden themselves when opposed by the ally of the VOC, the Pimabaërs (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 345–346).

The VOC was satisfied with the victory over Lonckjouw. Paulus Traudenius decided to expatriate the captured Lonckjouw people, just like the inhabitants of Bakloan (目加溜灣) near Tayouan who had refused to move to the designated new settlement, to Batavia as slave-workers, which proved pleasing to the High Office there several months later (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 370). Traudenius also decided to impose a fine of five deer hides upon each household per year on the Lonckjouw people, a punishment applied to the inhabitants of Favorlang and Gierim (二林) after the VOC destroyed their villages and agricultural fields to punish their resistance against VOC dominance (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 30; 352; Campbell ed., 1903: 190–191).

Nevertheless, Tartar's whereabouts were unknown to the Dutch. A group of Lonckjouw refugees was reported to have settled themselves three miles south of Pangsoya (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 62–63; Blussé et al. eds., 1999: 353), but Tartar was not among them. An inhabitant from the mountain village called Panginwagh (下排灣) revealed that Tartar had once hidden himself in a village named

7 Calingit Gorge (*de cloove van Calingit*) was located along today's An-su River (安壟溪) within Ta-jen Township, T'ai-tung County (臺東縣達仁鄉).

Skaro but had already returned to his chief village Doloswack (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 68).⁸ The Tipol were said to have received a matchlock, gun power and bullets from Lonckjouw, and it psychologically thwarted a possible attack from the warriors of Pimaba (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 82). When the VOC gold expeditionary force led by Captain Pieter Boon returned from eastern Formosa in May of 1643, Lonckjouw was spared from a military assault because the VOC troops had been passing through the mountains of Taccabul (內文) along the northern border of Lonckjouw territory before the VOC authorities at Tayouan considered launching another attack on Lonckjouw (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 89; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 371–372).

Tartar's crisis, however, was not relieved. Callocalle, a nobleman of Pimaba, immediately took the chance to wage war against Lonckjouw after the visit of Pieter Boon's force in Pimaba. Boon's visit surely boosted the morale of the allies of the VOC. In addition, the VOC-appointed headman from Tipol, called Hardip, also volunteered himself to catch Tartar alive (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 386–387; 389–390). By October of 1643, one of Tartar's brothers, named Cayloungh, who was said to oppose Tartar and who had been settled on the plains near Pangsoya with his followers for a while, came to Tayouan to demand from the VOC recognition of his settlement. The VOC granted his request and appointed him as the headman (*hoofi*) of the Lonckjouw people who had followed him (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 199–200; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 386–387; 411–412).

VI. The Crisis of A Split Lonckjouw

The new VOC Governor at Tayouan in 1644, François Caron, possessed ideas different from his predecessors. Unlike during Traudenis' governorship, when Caron took office, the VOC military achievements had considerably humbled the regional powers such as Favorlangh and Lonckjouw. The threat from the Spaniards in northern Formosa was also gone. The VOC then turned to consider further crippling those rulers (*vorsten*) who governed many villages since the latter enjoyed more power over their subjects than the common village elder (*oudsten*) did. Tartar was on the VOC list (Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 433–434).

8 Skaro only appears once in the Dutch source materials. It probably means *Su-garo*, a collective name for the Lonckjouw ruling class, whose ancestors migrated from Kazekalan (old Tipol) in eastern Formosa. Panginwangh, as well as two other villages, Sotimor (山豬毛/山地門) and Sonivach (內滿), was located in the gorge of Pagiwan (*de Pagiwanse clove*), today's Ai-liao river (隘寮溪) valley (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 18).

Caron organized the village assembly (*landdag*) in April 1644. Kaylouangh (Caylouangh), Tartar's brother, showed up representing one of the two headmen of Caratonan (加祿堂) to show up. Both he and Parmonij (Poulus), the regent brother of Pimaba, were treated as distinguished guests (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 249–250). The village assembly was very successful. Several northern Lonckjouw villages sent their representatives to the convention to receive the token VOC appointment as village headmen. Langilangij (大籠肴) near Caratonan; Barboras (內獅), Taccabul (內文), and Calingit (阿塹壹) along today's Nan-shih-hu River (南勢湖溪) and An-su River (安塑溪); and finally Poetsipotsick (平埔厝) along today's Fang-shan River (枋山溪) all sent out their delegates (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 251). One month after the *landdag*, the headman of another Lonckjouw village Touckassiley (加芝萊), called Caroboangh, presented himself at Tayouan to receive the title of VOC village headman. The said village was located about 1.5 days travel distance southeast from Pangsoya (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 266; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 451), which was probably along today's Ssu-ch'ung River (四重溪) and also at the heart of the Lonckjouw territory.

Tartar must have also heard the *landdag* news. He, under the reason of his illness, sent his son instead in May to Tayouan to appeal for peace. Caron of course proposed the harsh conditions announced during the *landdag*, which intended to deprive the authority of the Lonckjouw ruler by taking away his rights of issuing capital punishment and collecting tributes from all of his subjects. He added one further request: only in the presence of Tartar himself at Tayouan would the peace be observed (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 266; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 451; 483; 487; Campbell ed., 1903: 203–205).

The scenario of a possible split Lonckjouw did not materialize. The VOC-supported Lonckjouw ruler, Caylouangh, later decapitated five female subjects of Tartar by accusing them of escaping due to disobedience to the VOC rule. The killing drew the attention of the VOC and thus the case was brought under investigation near the end of 1644 (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 352; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 495). As for Tartar, he finally agreed to the articles of peace, which were reached on the 23rd of January 1645 (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 369). Tartar also presented himself for the *landdag* held in April of 1645. He and Takahacha (*Quataongh*), the ruler of Darida (大肚王) in western Formosa, who had just achieved peace with the VOC, both were received as most distinguished guests. As for Caylouangh, he passed away before the *landdag* and thus the VOC asked Pare, Tartar's son, to move to Caratouangh to succeed to his uncle's position as headman (Blussé et al. eds., 1995: 371–372; Blussé and Everts eds., 2000: 530). The crisis of a split Lonckjouw ended.

VII. VOC's Subsequent Geographical Expansion

The VOC launched the third gold expedition in December of 1645 in eastern Formosa. Unlike the previous military expedition, in which the VOC troops took the sea route and landed near the headquarters of Lonckjouw, Dalaswack, to collect provisions there before transferring to the land route, the expeditionary force led by Cornelis Cæsar in 1645 instead took the mountain path of Taccabul (內文) in the northern and the most distant part of Lonckjouw territory. The area had been newly added to Lonckjouw territory during the era of Maarten Wesseling. Cæsar simply chose the course of the return trip of the second gold expedition led by Pieter Boon in May of 1643. When Cæsar marched his force back to Tayouan in January of 1646, he selected the mountain path of Tarradick (力里), which is north of that of Taccabul and outside of the Lonckjouw territory. The VOC later called this route “the new Pimaba way” (*den nieuwen Pimabasen wech*). In other words, Lonckjouw, especially Tartar's Dalaswack, was no longer an only stopover for VOC forces for any purposes (Blussé and Everts eds., 2006: 1-3; 19-22; 40-41).

Cæsar's successful use of the mountain path of Tarikidick (力里) as the trans-Formosa land route in 1646 meant VOC influence into the area. The VOC once stationed a soldier to Toutsikadangh (七家陳/七佳) to keep the land route open, and attempted to ally with the surrounding villages such as Maraboangh (加蚌), Vongorit (望仔立), Pilis (擺律), Tourikidick (力里), and Koulolau (君崙留) under VOC political dominance. The attempted project, however, failed, as the Tarikidick (力里) waged headhunting warfare against the inhabitants of Toutsikadangh, Karitongangh (加祿堂), Pavaverau (大茅茅), and Karaboangh (加蚌) near the end of 1646. The VOC reacted by allying with other villages to attack Tarikidick in April of 1647 and successfully won the war by burning down the entire village. However, the remaining force of Tarikidick allied with those of Quaber (瓜覓) and Suffungh (士文)⁹ by the end of 1647 and attacked Karitongangh (加祿堂) again. The VOC in return mobilized Calenet (阿塹衛), Karitongangh (加祿堂), Loepit (老佛), Verrovorongh (麻里麻崙), and even the ruler of Lonckjouw in early 1648 to wage war against Tarikidick and its allies. The war lasted for four months. After the villages of Tuakauw (大狗) and Suffungh (士文) were destroyed, Tarikidick finally appealed for peace.

South of Tarikidick lay the Nan-shih-hu River (南勢湖溪), where Barboras guarded the entrance of the river valley from the plains. Barboras had been an ally

9 Suffungh was located along the Shuai-mang River (率芒溪), just next to the Lonckjouw territory.

of the VOC, at least nominally since 1644 when it sent the representatives to the *landdag* to receive token recognition as headmen. The VOC later imprisoned one elder of Barboras, called Tikadorit, who decapitated two of his subjects in Talaravia (草山)¹⁰ for having refused to pay tribute. Tikadorit ultimately died in prison in 1646. Tikadorit's brother, named Laula, then led his followers to resist the VOC in 1647. Thus, Barboras was split into two factions: the Laula-led anti-VOC camp and those of the pro-VOC party controlled by Tartar's sister. This splitting of Barboras continued into the mid-1650s. The VOC failed to place Laula's force under its influence, even though the anti-VOC camp had suffered from famine and disease (Blussé et al. eds., 1996: 42; 110; 319; 482; Blussé et al. eds., 2000: 24).

North of Tarikidick lay the Lin-pien River (林邊溪), along the valley of which lay Vongorit (望仔立). Vongorit, as well as the villages further north situated in the gorge of Siroda (*Sirodase clove*) such as Tarawey (大文里), Kassalanan (礁嘮其難), and Masili (毛系系)¹¹ also rose up against the VOC in the 1650s.

The peace agreement between the VOC and Lonckjouw in 1645 might have impeded the geographical expansion of Lonckjouw northward, but it guaranteed neither geographical expansion nor political dominance of the VOC into the mountainous areas north of Lonckjouw.

VIII. A Subjugated Lonckjouw?

The VOC-compiled list of villages in 1647 and for the following five years until 1656 revealed the geographical sphere of Lonckjouw afterwards (Blussé and Everts eds., 2006: 185; 232–233; 290–291; 499–500; 2010: 10–11; 159–160). The northern border of Lonckjouw was along today's Nan-shih-hu River (南勢湖溪) and An-su River (安塑溪), where Barboras, Taccabul, and Calingit were situated. Caratonan (加錄堂), northwest of the Nan-shih-hu River and on the edge of the P'ing-tung plains, were also on the Lonckjouw list in the 1650s. Although the VOC treated all the Lonckjouw villages as subdued allies, had the Lonckjouw people actually become subjugated to the VOC?

Pare (Tipare), Tartar's eldest son, who was supposed to be the VOC-appointed headman of Caratonan in 1645, had moved back to Dalaswack and had been the headman there since 1646. Both Pare and Tartar were said to have been murdered in 1649 or 1650 and then Tartar's youngest son, Cappitam, named after

10 Talaravia was also located along the Nan-shih-hu River (南勢湖溪) as was Barboras.

11 Kassalanan and Masili were located upstream of the Tung-k'ang River (東港溪), north of the Lin-pien River (林邊溪).

the title of the commanding officer of the VOC military expedition, succeeded to the position left by his father and brother, and had become the only headman of Dalaswack since 1650. However, Dalaswack was split into two after the deaths of Tartar and Pare. The other new settlement was named Lingingh (龍巒), and was led by a headman called Borgoroch (Blussé et al. eds., 1996: 113).

Tartar's close kin members might not have become the headman of Caratonan, a village strategically located near the southern end of the plains in western Formosa. Nevertheless, Tartar's sister and brother-in-law had in turns become the heads of Barboras (內獅), a village along the river valley of today's Nan-shih-hu (南勢湖) and had been part of the Lonckjouw power block since the early 1640s. Both Barboras and Tocobocubul (內文) or *tja'uvu'uvulj* joined Lonckjouw in the 1640s. Scholars usually group these two villages together with those in the neighboring northern area such as Suffung (士文) or *sevang*, Kuanga or *kasuga* (加籠雅/春日), Quaber or *kuabar* (爪覓/古華) as an ethno-linguistic subgroup named *sabedeq* of *caupupulj* (also written as *Sabdek* and *Chaoboobol*), in contrast to those in the neighboring south, called *paljizaljizau* (also written as *Parilarilao*), which constituted the main villages of Lonckjouw such as Macalan or *sinvaudjan* (牡丹/旭海), Catselej or *tjuaqaciljai* (加芝萊/石門), Sdakj or *drake* or (施那格/四林), Vangsor or *vangcul* (蚊蟀/滿州), and Dalaswack (豬勝束/里德) (Tan, 2007). Tartar apparently expanded his Lonckjouw influence into a community that was not closely related to his people before the 1640s. This partially explains why his kinsmen in Barboras turned out to be in alliance with the VOC when some of the inhabitants of Barboras rose against the Dutch presence.

As a matter of fact, the VOC village survey apparently seemed to draw a boundary in favor of Lonckjouw. Since 1647, the VOC had demarcated the villages in southern Formosa into several categories. Lonckjouw villages (*Lonckjouse Dorpen*) always included Barboras, Tokopol (內文) and those along today's Nan-shih-hu River (南勢湖溪) and An-su River (安塑溪).¹² Karidongangh (加祿堂), a new settlement near Pangsoya, established by Tartar's brother and his followers in 1643, was grouped together with those in the plains in the second half of the 1640s. How-

12 North of Lonckjouw villages lay those in the gorge of Toutsicadan (*Dorpen in de Toutsikadangse clove gelegen*), which included Karaboangh (加蚌), Knaga (加籠雅), Varongit (望仔立), Kalolauw (君崙留), Tarrikidick (力里), Aynaber (爪覓), Rimil (歷歷), Davarauw (大茅茅), Suffingh (士文), Toekauw (大狗), Pilis (擺律), Talavavia (草山), and Tausicadangh (七家陳). The VOC grouped the villages north of the Toutsicadan gorge as those in the gorge of Dalissau (陳阿修), in the gorge of Siroda (施汝臘), in the gorge of Pagiwan (下排灣), in the mountains east of Tedackjan (大傑巔), and in the gorge of Kinitavan respectively.

ever, the VOC reclassified it as a Lonckjouw village in 1650, which gave Lonckjouw territory close to the southern tip of the plains areas of western Formosa.

After the death of Tartar and the split in authority, was Lonckjouw still a regional power in southern Formosa? Or had it been reduced to merely a settlement subjugated to the VOC like those on the southwestern plains of Formosa? We may observe some evidences from the following events.

The workers (*congsias*) of the VOC leaseholder of the monopoly trade at Lonckjouw in early 1650 were robbed, beaten, and even killed when they went to Lonckjouw to barter for venison and deer hides. The leaseholder ended up petitioning the VOC for compensation by paying less lease money (Blussé and Everts eds., 2006: 311–312, 323; 337; 344–345). On the eve of the great invasion of Koxinga's force, Frederick Coyett, then the VOC governor at Tayouan, reported the hostile attitude of the Lonckjouw ruler and the robbery committed by those from Spadior (八瑤), a Lonckjouw village in 1660 (Blussé et al. eds., 2000: 318; Blussé and Everts eds., 2010: 410; 412). The most amazing thing was that after Koxinga's force landed in Formosa, it was said that the Lonckjouw people killed many of Koxinga's soldiers in revenge for the death of their two elders. The warfare with Koxinga's force was said to have mobilized the people south of Cattia (茄藤), which surely covered the Lonckjouw territory and other villages north of it. Lonckjouw alone was said to have killed around 700 of Koxinga's soldiers (Blussé et al. eds., 2000: 626; Blussé and Everts eds., 2010: 477).

IX. Discussion and Conclusion

The local history of non-national spatial identity is mostly overlooked because it fails to achieve the status of nation-state, which monopolizes attention in history writing. Thus, the discourse on nation-state usually reflects the idea of an anti-colonial ethos at the expense of multicolored pre-colonial local pasts (Baker, 2002: 170). On the other hand, the modern secular history being practiced in academics may also disregard local history, since the former is inextricably linked as a mode of analysis with the modern nation-state and its rise. In the words of Ashis Nandy, it is the statelessness of pre-modern non-Europeans that has denied them a history (Nandy, 1995). Therefore, we have Srivijaya appearing as a state in Chinese and Arab records, and it alone is celebrated in the history books, but the group of people called Batak are underrepresented in history writing (Reid, 2009: 104–105). Nevertheless, the history of the periphery usually transgresses the established political and ethnic borders and allows a more delicate and richer discourse on the past by seizing upon the diversity of social, cultural and eco-

conomic networks that reflect successive layers of historical experience, as the case of Arakan under the shadow of the history of Burma does (Leider, 2002: 56). Thus, the history of southern Formosa should deserve our attention in unraveling the complexities of its past as multiple centers of authority while facing the early modern European intrusion starting in the 1630s.¹³

Before the arrival of the Dutch in 1636, Tartar, the ruler of Lonckjauw, and his Lonckjauw power block benefited from the location of Doloswack and the nearby areas as a stopover for traders between eastern and southwestern Formosa. The Lonckjauw people initially intended to appropriate the coming VOC force through mutual alliance to achieve the military goal of wiping out their neighboring enemies such as Pimaba. The outcome, however, was coordinated by the VOC into a truce. Both Pimaba and Lonckjauw did benefit from the alliance with the VOC after the peace agreement by expanding their own territory. The former gradually evolved into a regional power in the southern half of eastern Formosa, whereas the latter exerted its influence into the adjacent northern river valley whose inhabitants were less related to the Lonckjauw people in terms of modern ethno-linguistic sub-grouping.

Nevertheless, Lonckjouw ended up with a direct military conflict with the VOC in 1642 and the ruling family of Lonckjouw thus split after the military defeat. Tartar ended the crisis of a possible splitting up of Lonckjouw authority by accepting the articles of peace in 1645 proposed by the VOC, which would nominally reduce the power of the Lonckjouw ruler toward his own subjects. The death of Tartar and his eldest son led to the breaking up of Doloswack, the major political seat of the Lonckjouw block, into two villages. In general, the Lonckjouw power block during the VOC episode might not have gained as much as its long-standing opponent the Pimabaërs did.¹⁴ On the contrary, it suffered from the military incursion of the VOC instead. Nonetheless, the Lonckjouw power block survived and was able to resist the subsequent invaders from China, who expelled the Dutch from southern Formosa in the 1660s.¹⁵

13 The term multiple centers of authority is used by Timothy Barnard to describe the area along the Siak River in eastern Sumatra, which was traditionally under the control of Johor (Barnard, 2003).

14 As eastern Formosa was far from the VOC headquarters located in southwestern Formosa, the Pimabaërs were not only allies of, but also gradually became the representatives of the VOC in eastern Formosa, a situation which offered the Pimabaërs an opportunity to expand and consolidate their territory (Kang, 2005). On the other hand, the Lonckjouw power block did not possess this kind of advantage.

15 How the subsequent leadership after Tartar successfully consolidated the Lonckjouw power block

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for political continuity remains a mystery to us. It is likely that the inherited genealogical bonds of the leaders justified their mobilization of followers, as we may see how the difference in ancestral origins affected the Lonckjouw people in allying themselves with various groups in the Taitung area, or it may have been that the siblings of Tartar always represented a certain sect among the Lonckjouw people to negotiate or cooperate with the VOC. For the issue of genealogical bonds, ruling legitimacy and mobilization of followers in other Austronesian worlds, we have the case of the sultanates of Johor in mobilizing followers after the fall of the Melaka sultanates to the Portuguese in 1511 (Pinto, 2012: 145–148).

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荷蘭東印度公司與南臺灣的地緣政治： 以瑯嶠人爲例

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摘 要

本論文討論荷蘭東印度公司在臺灣的政商活動如何影響南臺灣瑯嶠地方的地域勢力。荷蘭人筆下的瑯嶠，是當時臺灣最具社會階層化，擁有明顯社會政治階序的人群。瑯嶠統治者轄領十六社，爲屬民視同君主。論文探討荷蘭人在臺灣南部的政商利益發展，如何強化或阻擋瑯嶠集團的領地擴張與權力鞏固。荷蘭人轉向與瑯嶠人不同祖源的卑南人結盟，並擊敗瑯嶠人後，瑯嶠集團一度面臨分裂與弱化。藉由分析當時的政治地理以及瑯嶠人與荷蘭東印度公司雙方的互動，論文試著呈現瑯嶠政治菁英面臨來自臺灣西南部的荷蘭人時，如何回應其帶來的壓力以維持其統治。

關鍵字：瑯嶠、荷蘭東印度公司、臺灣史、臺灣原住民族史、卑南覓