

# Inherited Geography: Post-national History and the Emerging Dominance of Pimaba in East Taiwan\*

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## ABSTRACT

The paper takes the position of history of post-nationalism and further explores that of spatial identity, which presents not only a colonial experience but also a local history other than that out of the post-colonial national ethos. It takes the case of East Taiwan and argues that the presence of the Dutch East India Company or VOC over there since 1638 facilitated the emerging dominance of Pimaba. The Dutch-Pimaba coalition in East Taiwan is a matter of geography, resulting from the remoteness of the area away from the headquarters of the VOC on the southwestern part of the island. The VOC, therefore, adopted a strategy heavily relying on the support of local inhabitants to expand and consolidate their influence, and the Pimaba residents turned out to be the candidate fitting into the scheme. In addition to the mutual political collaboration and military alliance, the VOC-inaugurated East annual *landdag* (*oostelijke landdag*) after 1652 also strengthened the political geography created by the Dutch-Pimaba coalition. By the year of 1662 when the Dutch withdrew from Taiwan, Pimaba basically inherited the geography of subservient villages left by the earlier Dutch-Pimaba coalition and became the emerging local authority in East Taiwan until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** Pimaba, VOC, history of post-nationalism, spatial identity

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## 1. Introduction

Southeast Asia in the early modern period experienced the process of commercial upturn, new military techniques, state formation, and scriptural orthodoxies, and then gradually entered the stage of capitalism.<sup>(1)</sup> To insular Southeast Asia the early modern local histories fragmented themselves into histories of islands, but that of mainland Southeast Asia mostly ascribed to the process of territorial and political consolidation, which later led to the emergence of the nation-state.<sup>(2)</sup> In contrast to the history of the nation-state, the local history of non-national spatial identity, which Thongchai Winichakul called the disruptive histories that would mostly undermine the unifying theme or the theology of a nation's history, has been mostly ignored. It is ignored because it failed to achieve the status of nation-state, which positively grasps most of the power on history-writing. To most of the Third World Countries, however, the discourse on nation-state usually reflects the idea of anti-colonial ethos at the expense of multicolored pre-colonial local pasts.<sup>(3)</sup> The history of spatial identity, also a history of periphery, usually transgresses the established political and ethnic borders and allows a more delicate and richer discourse on the past by seizing the diversity of social, cultural and economic networks that reflect successive layers of historical experience.<sup>(4)</sup> Hence, recalling the spatial identity of local pasts is indispensable for historians of post-nationalism.

The 17<sup>th</sup>-century Taiwan positioned itself on the center of complex networks of commerce between East and Southeast Asia.<sup>(5)</sup> Not only the island itself presents a spatial identity for unraveling but also within the island rich local pasts waits to be differentiated and explored. The VOC or the Dutch East India

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- (1) Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 1999), pp. 7-14.
  - (2) Leonard Andaya and Barbara Andaya, "Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Period: 25 years on," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26: 1 (1995), p. 96.
  - (3) Chris Baker, "Afterword: Autonomy's Meanings," in Sunait Chutintarnond and Chris Bakers, eds., *Recalling Local Past: Autonomous History in Southeast Asia* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), p. 170.
  - (4) Jacques P. Leider, "Arakan's Ascent during the Mrauk U Period," in Sunait Chutintarnond and Chris Bakers, eds., *Recalling Local Past*, p. 56.
  - (5) Yung-ho Ts'ao, "Taiwan as an Entrepôt in East Asia in the Seventeenth Century," *Itinerario* 21: 3 (1997), pp. 96-97.

Company seized Taiwan from 1624 to 1662 but its core remained on the southwestern part of the island. Far from the VOC headquarters in Tayouan and behind the elevated Central Mountain Range locates the region of East Taiwan about which the Dutch had little knowledge. Those of Pimaba were the dominant group who controlled most part of the region and its people in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century the VOC sources reveal a fragmented political geography featuring the competition and warfare among different local powers. The chaos gradually faded away as the VOC became involved in local affairs since the late 1630s. This paper, therefore, aims at disentangling the spatial identity of the Pimaba-governing area. The main questions here would be why and how a spatial identity was constituted after the arrival of the VOC.

Based on the surviving archival sources, previous studies on East Taiwan in general or Pimaba in particular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century chiefly focus on how the first VOC representative in Pimaba, Maarten Wesseling, mobilized those of Pimaba for gold exploration in the northern part of East Taiwan, and how the Eastern *landdag*, an annual meeting organized by the Dutch to administer the aboriginal villages was held in 1655.<sup>(6)</sup> Recent studies on ethno-history of Pimaba done by anthropologists also contribute to the issue by clarifying the clan relations prior to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>(7)</sup> as well as the general ethno-history of Pimaba.<sup>(8)</sup>

The following sections of the paper start with the background of Dutch involvement in East Taiwan, and then move to the native experience of local residents. It further explores how the VOC consolidated its dominance in East Taiwan, as well as how the political supremacy was transferred to those of Pimaba. The final section discusses the significance of spatial identity centering on Pimaba in our understanding toward Taiwan under the VOC.

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(6) Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu shang chuan* [Research on Taiwan History during the Dutch Period vol. 1] (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 1997), pp. 180-189, 221-225; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan* [Research on Taiwan History during the Dutch Period vol. 2] (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 2002), pp. 57-70.

(7) Lung-sheng Sung, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih: pei nan chu shih p'ien* [The History of Formosan Aborigines: Puyuma] (Nantou: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province, 1998), pp. 121-215.

(8) Wen-te Chen, *T'ai-tung hsien shih: pei nan chu p'ien* [History of Taitung County: Puyuma] (Taitung: Taitung County Government, 2001), pp. 32-38.

## 2. The Arrival of the VOC

Around 1636 the VOC gradually expanded its influence to the territory of Longkiau (瑯嶠) lord (*vorst*) on the southern tip of Taiwan in order to explore the alleged gold mine.<sup>(9)</sup> Governor of Taiwan, Hans Putmans, in his reports to the Amsterdam or Batavia authorities, as well as to his successor, Johan van der Burch, constantly mentioned the warfare between Longkiau and Pimaba and his intention of settling the dispute between the aforementioned two parties with the help of influential local Chinese, because the peace would facilitate the VOC to explore the gold mine north of Pimaba.<sup>(10)</sup>

In April 1637, the newly-succeeding Governor, Johan van der Burch, dispatched upper merchant (*opperkoopman*) Cornelis van Zanen to lead 12 Dutch, 15 Chinese to contact the great men of Pimaba (*grooten van Pimaba*). The expedition took the sea route by way of the southern tip of Taiwan to prevent possible conflict with other aboriginal villages, but due to the storm the mission failed.<sup>(11)</sup> The VOC's first contact with Pimaba did not take place until the early 1638, through the expedition led by captain Johan Jurriaensz van Linga.

According to the diary left by Van Linga, after passing the territory of Longkiau lord and attacking Tawaly (太麻里), a village south of Pimaba, the VOC army reached the territory of Pimaba on 1 February 1638.<sup>(12)</sup> By then Van Linga had in addition to the remaining 106 Dutch soldiers 50 Longkiau and 150 Lowaen warriors in his army. The collapse of Tawaly resistance against VOC forces apparently terrified the Pimaba residents, where the women were said to bring their belongings to hide in the woods. The negotiations conducted by

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(9) Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu shang chuan*, pp. 178-181.

(10) William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Descriptions from Contemporary Records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1903), pp. 148-149, 152-153; *FEII*, pp. 36-37, 38, 116, 122, 131, 134. *FEII* stands for Leonard Blussé and Natalie Everts eds., *Formosan Encounter—Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, volume II: 1636-1645* (Taipei: Sung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2000).

(11) *DZI*, pp. 329, 325, 336-337; *FEII*, pp. 147-148; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu shang chuan*, p. 221. *DZI* stands for Leonard Blussé, W. E. van Opstall and Yung-ho Ts'ao eds., *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, deel I, 1629-1641* (Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1986).

(12) The Dutch sources do not standardize the spellings of village names so the paper maintains the original village spellings with Chinese equivalences for reference.

Chinese interpreter Tangwa and other Chinese residing in Pimaba finally prevented a bloody skirmish. The regent of Pimaba, Magol, and Van Linga reached a peace agreement by exchanging caps and shaking hands. Magol displayed the cap of Van Linga and the red velvet he got from the latter as a gift on the front of his house after he returned to the village, a token of peace concluding between two parties. On the following day Magol took Van Linga and the lord of Longkiau side by side into his village, followed by the VOC army. Van Linga led his men back to Tayouan on 3 February but left barber-surgeon (*chirurgijn*) Maarten Wesseling, one soldier, one Gujarati slave and a Chinese interpreter behind; and thus, the VOC influence was established in the eastern Taiwan.<sup>(13)</sup>

### 3. Maarten Wesseling and the Establishment of VOC Influence

Maarten Wesseling soon changed his status to under merchant and represented the VOC in charge of the local business in Pimaba until September 1641, when the inhabitants of Nicabon (呂家) and Tammalacouw (大巴六九) murdered him and two accompanying soldiers and the interpreter Michiel Païse.<sup>(14)</sup> During Wesseling's three-and-half-year term in Pimaba, the VOC finally aimed at reaching the Hualien area as the promised place of the gold mine, as well as consolidating its dominance on the southern half of East Taiwan.

Wesseling himself frequently visited nearby villages during his service term in Pimaba. His murder in 1641 happened when he visited the villages of Nicabon, Tammalacouw, Kipos (知本), Pinabaton, Bacanca, Lappa Lappa (老吧老吧) and Depoij for seeking bamboo materials for the VOC house in Pimaba.<sup>(15)</sup> In order to explore the gold mine for the VOC, Wesseling even visited northern villages in

(13) *DZI*, pp. 405–406; *FEII*, pp. 167–182, 185–200; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu shang chuan*, pp. 181–183.

(14) *DZII*, pp. 6–7; *DRB, anno 1641–1642*, p. 56; *FEII*, pp. 270, 272–274; Naojirō Murakami, ed., Hui Kuo, trans, *Pa-ta-wei-ya ch'eng jih chi* [Batavia Diary] (Taichung: The Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province, 1970), p. 321. *DRB, anno 1641–1642* stands for H. T. Colenbrander ed., *Dagregister gegouden int Casteel Batavia, vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-indin, anno 1641–1642* (Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1900); *DZII* stands for Leonard Blussé, W. E. Milde and Yung-ho Ts'ao eds., *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, deel II, 1641–1648* (Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1995).

(15) *DZII*, pp. 6–7; *FEII*, pp. 270, 272.

today's Hualien county such as Daracop (觀音), Soupra (港口), Maduan (馬太鞍) and Patcheral.<sup>(16)</sup> His steps also reached the villages south of Pimaba, namely Tawaly, Lawabicar (文里格). All the villages were within the geographical influence of VOC during its heyday. The dispatch of soldiers to Daracop and Soupra marked the northern geographical limit of VOC eastern *landdag* or assembly later in the 1650s.<sup>(17)</sup> Moreover, Wesseling laid down the foundation of the geographical domain of VOC in East Taiwan. On the other hand, the establishment of the VOC stronghold in Pimaba gradually made Pimaba the geographical center of the southern half of East Taiwan through interaction with the rest parts of East Taiwan.

Before the arrival of VOC, itinerant Chinese from the western part of Taiwan had visited Pimaba by vessels for trade. Soon after Wesseling settled down himself in Pimaba, he immediately reported that the VOC could ship iron pans, cotton cloth called *cangan*, corals and needles to Pimaba to barter with the inhabitants of Pimaba and other neighboring villages for deer hides.<sup>(18)</sup> In May 1638 the VOC erected a warehouse in Pimaba.<sup>(19)</sup> By April of 1639 the VOC had already shipped too more than enough *cangans* to Pimaba.<sup>(20)</sup> The VOC collected hides in East Taiwan and exported them out from Pimaba.<sup>(21)</sup> Pimaba thus

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- (16) Patcheral was also recorded as Patibur, Patsiral, Batsirael, Patsidar etc. in the Spanish and Dutch sources, and treated as a village. Chinese sources in the 19<sup>th</sup> century do not have its entry, whereas Japanese anthropologists' survey in the early twentieth century notes it down as a kinship clan, which is due to the spread of its population into different villages after the breaking up of the village. Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui: Hualien ti chü yüan chu min shih chi chih shih chiu shih chi te li shih pien ch'ien* (Colonial Contact and Imperial Periphery: History of the Austronesian Population of Hualien from the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth Century) (Taipei: Tao-hsiang, 1999), pp. 32, 43-44, 67-70, 227-232.
- (17) *DZI*, pp. 409, 418; *DZII*, pp. 5-6; *DRB, anno 1640-1641*, pp. 267-268; *FEII*, pp. 234-235, 274; Naojirō Murakami, ed., Hui Kuo, trans, *Pa-ta-wei-ya ch'eng jih chi*, pp. 314-315. *DRB, anno 1640-1641* stands for J. A. van der Chijs ed., *Dagh-register gegouden int Casteel Batavia, vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-indin, anno 1640-1641* (Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1887). In addition, the VOC in 1639 once planned to explore along the Bacanan River (鹿野溪) upstream to Kinadauann (墩仔), a place about 5-day walking distance from Pimaba. The scheme was based on the information provided by Wesseling, but no surviving sources reveal more about the exploration. See *DZI*, p. 457; *FEII*, pp. 228-229, 239-243; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, pp. 51-52.
- (18) *DZI*, pp. 409-410.
- (19) *DZI*, p. 417.
- (20) *DZI*, pp. 456-457; *FEII*, p. 228.
- (21) *DZI*, pp. 458, 467.

became the trading center linking West and the southern half of East Taiwan after the VOC utilized Chinese trading sea route and expanded its local business. To the residents of Pimaba, however, the arrival of the VOC certainly conveyed different experiences and meanings than to the Dutch.

#### 4. The Encounter Experience and Geographical Expansion of Pimaba

The defeat of Tawaly, the enduring enemy of Pimaba, by the VOC with its superior weapons did frighten the Pimaba villagers, who just contacted the Dutch for the very first time. Among aborigines, the VOC simply stood for a novel outside power. It was critical for local inhabitants to face and to utilize the external power for their own advantage while struggling for the regional dominance over their lifelong rivals. The popular practices included aborigines' request for the residence of visiting Europeans in their villages, as well as the acceptance of the preaching of missionaries among them, and this pattern steadily turned out to be island-wide phenomenon.<sup>(22)</sup> In the cases of East Taiwan, the inhabitants of Lowaen, on knowing that the VOC had reached peace with those of Pimaba and left several Dutchmen behind in February 1638, immediately demanded Maarten Wesseling, now residing in Pimaba, to visit them. Furthermore, they even voluntarily offered service for Van Linga to deliver their written request to Wesseling himself.<sup>(23)</sup> In 1639, The VOC assigned Wesseling to investigate Longkiau and other places. The unusual absence of Wesseling in Pimaba scared the local inhabitants because they suspected it to foreshadow of the VOC military expedition against Pimaba and Tawaly.<sup>(24)</sup>

The VOC employees in Pimaba surely understood the subtle situation and took a great advantage of it. In 1643, Christiaan Smalbach, successor of Maarten

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(22) Peter Kang, "Encounter, Suspicion and Submission: The Experiences of the Siraya with the Dutch from 1623 to 1636," *Taiwan Historical Research* 3: 2 (1996), p. 198; Tonio Andrade, "The Mightiest Village: Geopolitics and Diplomacy in the Formosan Plains, 1623-1636," in Su-chuan Chan and In-hai Pan eds., *Symposium on the Plains Aborigines and Taiwan History* (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2001), pp. 288-289; Leonard Blussé, "De Formosaanse Proeftuyn der gereformeerde Zending," in G. J. Schutte ed., *Het Indische Sion, de gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2003), p. 193.

(23) *FEII*, p. 201.

(24) *FEII*, pp. 228-229.

Wesseling in Pimaba, angry at the bad local attitude toward the Dutch, threatened Pimaba captain Redout that he would write to the President of Taiwan council, Maximiliaen Lemaire, to request for moving the VOC employees in Pimaba to Tipol (知本), an old foe of Pimaba. Smalbach's trick worked well because it did scare the Pimaba villagers, who promised to improve their service. Redout himself even went further to ask for 9 to 10 VOC soldiers to Pimaba to deal with those local troublemakers.<sup>(25)</sup>

In order to strengthen the mutual relationship, Wesseling successfully persuaded the Pimaba ruler (*oranckay*) Redout and his brother Permonij to visit the VOC headquarters in Taiwan, Tayouan, in September 1638 and June 1639 respectively.<sup>(26)</sup> In addition to the Longkiau lord, Redout and Permonij were among few of the Formosan tribal leaders who once enjoyed the prestige of bringing their own aides and being received with special honor while visiting Tayouan. To the VOC, the Tayouan visit indicated the strengthening of alliance between the VOC and Pimaba after the visitors were received by ceremony and accepted gifts. To Pimaba, it was the first time for their rulers to witness the superior power of the VOC in terms of military and other material demonstration as well.<sup>(27)</sup>

The inhabitants of Pimaba also benefited from the VOC geographical expansion created by Wesseling. Before the appearance of the Dutch, Pimaba was a big village with the population of about 3,000, including 1,000 warriors, on the Taitung plains. Six to Seven satellite villages subdued to Pimaba.<sup>(28)</sup> South of Pimaba in Tawaly valley, the village of Tawaly was said to have 250 to 300 households.<sup>(29)</sup> North of Pimaba in the southern part of Hua-tung valley (花東縱谷), the village of Linaw (里壠) had long been a fearful rival to Pimaba.<sup>(30)</sup>

(25) *FEII*, pp. 377-378.

(26) *DZI*, pp. 434, 436, 466, 467; *FEII*, pp. 207-209, 239.

(27) The VOC made use of the so-called "rule by spectacle" to administer the aborigines in Taiwan, and the technique reached its highest art in the annual *landdag*, in which the VOC used things such as procession, arranging of seating, holding of court and so on to convey a message that the socio-political status of the Dutch, especially the Governor, were more prestigious than that of aborigines and Chinese. See Tonio Andrade, "Political Spectacle and Colonial Rule: The Landdag on Dutch Taiwan, 1629-1648," *Itinerario* 21: 3 (1997), pp. 71-82.

(28) *DZI*, p. 406; *FEII*, pp. 181-182, 199-200.

(29) *FEII*, pp. 171, 189.

(30) Previous studies mostly treat Linaw as Lilao (里漏) of Amis linguistic community in Chi-an hsiang (吉安鄉) of Hualien county. See *DZI*, p. 417 note 53; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih*

The inhabitants of Linauw, belonging to the Bunun linguistic community, spoke a language different from that of Pimaba. When Wesseling led the Pimaba warriors to attack Linauw, the Pimaba warriors withdrew from the frontline for several times.<sup>(31)</sup> The geographical expansion of the VOC, however, helped change the geographical influence of Pimaba. Johan Jurriaensz van Linga's troop hit Tawaly badly in January 1638, whereas Wesseling-led Pimaba warriors finally smashed Linauw in January 1640 by slaughtering 400 to 500 enemies.<sup>(32)</sup> Pimaba thus feared no imminent threat from the south after the defeat of Tawaly. The collapse of Linauw simply opened a route for Pimaba to penetrate into the Shokuran River (秀姑巒溪) through Hua-tung valley.

## 5. The Three Gold Explorations of the VOC and the Geographical Expansion of Trading Areas

In order to revenge for the death of Wesseling, Governor of Taiwan, Paulus Traudenis, ordered his army to attack Nicabon and Tammalacouw in early 1642 when he led the first VOC gold exploration to East Taiwan. In March 1642 the VOC sent Christiaan Smalbach to Pimaba in charge of local business left by

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*yen chiu shang chüan*, pp. 222-223; Lung-sheng Sung, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, pp. 122-123; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 39-41. However, according to the information by Wesseling in 1639-1640, those of Kinadauann (墩仔) and Boenoch (內本鹿) kept good friendship with those north of Pimaba, and the latter share the same language with those of Linauw. People of Palangh, a village in the territory of Linauw, on the other hand, could not understand the speech of Linauw. See *FEII*, pp. 240, 242, 251-253. Both Kinadauann and Boenoch belong to the Bunun linguistic community. As for Palangh, when sergeant Jurriaen Smith led those of Pimaba and Moronos (掃別) to Palangh for peace negotiation, people of Moronos and Palangh were said to understand each other's language. Since Moronos is a member of Amis and so is Palangh. In other words, Linauw and Lilao are completely unrelated. Linauw should locate south of Shokuran River, and the most possible site is associated with Liran (diLadiLan, 里墘), in today Kuan-shan (關山) of Taitung county, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. See Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, ed., *T'ai-wan tsung tu fu lin shih T'ai-wan chiu kuan tiao ch'a hui fan chu kuan hsi tiao cha pao kao shu, ti erh chuan, a mai chu, pei nan chu* (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2000), p. 370; Lung-sheng Sung, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, p. 239. Liran was also recorded as Li-lang (里墘), a place name and a missionary post, in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Presbyterian accounts. See Chantal Zheng, *Ying-kuo chang lao chiao hui hsüan chiao shih yü T'ai-wan yüan chu min te chieh ch'u, 1865-1940* [The British Presbyterians in Taiwan: The Encounter with the Austronesians, 1865-1940] (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2004), pp. 15, 27, 30, 77, 93, 98.

(31) *DZI*, p. 457; *FEII*, pp. 204, 206, 212, 214, 228-229, 239, 241.

(32) *DZI*, p. 495; *FEII*, pp. 250-253.

Wesseling. Thereafter the VOC launched two large scale gold expeditions, one led by captain Pieter Boon in May 1643 and the other by merchant Cornelis Caesar from December 1645 to January 1646. The expedition in 1645-46 also attacked Saccareya (沙基拉雅) and Vadan (馬太鞍) on its returning trip.<sup>(33)</sup> Table 1 shows the list of the highest-ranking VOC representatives in Pimaba.

To the south of Pimaba, the Longkiau lord of southern Taiwan, who was said to administer 17 villages, was at war with those of Pimaba when the VOC allied itself with those of Longkiau in early 1637.<sup>(34)</sup> The lord himself led his warriors to join Van Linga's expedition to Pimaba in early 1638, but when Governor Traudenis led the first gold exploration in early 1642, those of Longkiau

**Table 1. The Highest-ranking VOC Representatives in Pimaba**

Names	Terms	Reasons for Leaving
Maarten Wesseling	1638.2-1641.9	Murdered
Christiaen Smalbach	1642.3-1643.7	Deceased
Cornelis van der Linden	1643.8-1644.6	Deceased due to illness
Michiel Jansz.	1645.1-1645.7	Dismissed due to indolence
Abraham van Aertsen	1645.7-unknown	unknown
Jan Jansz. van den Berch	1646.4-1648.7	Death
Jan de Bleuw	1648.8-1651.8	Transfer
Jacob Dusseldorp	1651.8-1656.4	Transfer
Pieter Gerritsz.	1656.5-1661.3	Transfer
Jan Goulois	1661.4-1662.2	Withdrawn out of Taiwan

Note: 1. During the absence of official VOC representatives in Pimaba, the local business was taken care of by the second highest ranking VOC employee in East Taiwan. For instance, during the second half of 1644, after Cornelis van der Linden left Pimaba the corporal (*landspassaat*) Petrus Kotter was in charge of business account before Michiel Jansz was assigned to the post. See *DZII*, p. 327.

2. Pieter Gerritsz left Pimaba in March 1661 but retreated to East Taiwan again with Hendrick Noorden, the political officer of the South, when the army of Koxinga invaded Taiwan, until February 1662.

Source: VOC 1160: 412, 1183: 617-621; *DZI*, p. 406; *DZII*, pp. 7, 178, 288, 405, 484; *DZIII*, p. 63; *DZIV*, pp. 44, 53, 346; *DRB*, anno 1641-1642, p. 56; *FEII*, pp. 182, 200, 270, 272, 274, 283, 286, 396, 399, 513, 515, 544-545.

(33) *DZII*, pp. 137-142; *FEII*, pp. 363-364, 573-580; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 103-116.

(34) William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 115; *FEII*, p. 139.

not only failed to provide provisions to the by-passing VOC troop as promised earlier but also slaughtered the pilot Simon Cornelissen and his aides. They further murdered 4 VOC-protected Chinese fishermen in Pangsoya (放索). The VOC retaliated by dispatching Johannes Lamotius to ally those of Pangsoya and Tam-suy (下淡水) to attack Longkiau lord's force in late 1642. The allied troop beheaded 40, captured seven persons, and destroyed five villages by fire. One of the lord's sons was killed in action and the lord himself was said to have escaped to Tipol with his followers. The VOC immediately led a punitive expedition toward Tipol and later forced the entire village to move to the lowland area near Tipol River, where the VOC would have easy access to control.<sup>(35)</sup>

In the North, after the defeat of Vatan (馬太鞍) in early 1646, the VOC employees' post also moved from Dorocop to Sapat (掃叭), a strategic position that would place the entire Shokuran River under the influence of the VOC.<sup>(36)</sup> To the VOC, the establishment of post on Sapat moorland (掃叭臺地 or 舞鶴臺地) not only secured the passage to the gold mine further north but also controlled the local trade of Shokuran River. Earlier in 1641, Andriaen Watermont in Supra (港口), near the mouth of Shokuran River, notified that nearby villagers such as Suplien (水璉), Vadan, Dorcop (觀音), Pallan came here to trade for salt whereas those of Takilis (立霧溪口) brought bracelets and earrings for hides.<sup>(37)</sup> Later in 1642, when Andriaen Watermont moved to Vadan he suggested the VOC to barter for local deer hides. Smalbach in his 1643 report to the President of the Taiwan council, Lemaire, further mentioned the potential profits that could be made from local hides and wood along the Shokuran River.<sup>(38)</sup> In short, the post on Sapat moorland indicated the consolidation of trading networks along Shokuran River.

## 6. Pimaba during the Stages of VOC Gold Explorations

To the inhabitants of Pimaba, the war against Tammalacouw in early 1642

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(35) *DZII*, pp. 78, 82–85; *FEII*, pp. 332–333, 335–337, 345–346, 357–358, 360–362.

(36) VOC 1160: 93, 203, 412, 1218: 523–524; *DZII*, pp. 485, 487, 501; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 72–73.

(37) *DRB, anno 1641–1642*, pp. 149–150; *FEII*, pp. 291, 295; Naojirō Murakami, ed., Hui Kuo, trans, *Pa-ta-wei-ya ch'eng jih chi*, pp. 362, 374; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 82–83.

(38) *FEII*, pp. 317, 322, 386–387, 390.

was a result of the VOC-Pimaba military coalition.<sup>(39)</sup> The VOC might possess superior weaponry and an upper hand on military tactics, but the physical fitness of Dutch soldiers was far worse than that of aborigines. When Pieter Boon concluded his gold exploration and led his forces out of Pimaba in May 1643, the residents of Dorocop still carried six weary soldiers left behind halfway between Supra and Pimaba. Later the interpreter Anthonij and those of Dorocop and Pimaba brought back another two sick soldiers from Vatan.<sup>(40)</sup> The performance of VOC soldiers in the eyes of Pimaba villagers surely affected the attitude of the aborigines towards the Dutch, and the result was the villagers themselves dividing into two opposite camps while facing the VOC.

After the departure of Pieter Boon's troop, the inhabitants of Pimaba broke into two camps in June 1643. In his letter to the President of Taiwan council Lemaire, Christiaen Smalbach complained that Redout, the regent of Pimaba, seemed to lose control of their followers, who refuted Redout's order by saying that he himself was blindfolded and failed to observe the crippled Dutch. Some moved to a coastal place called Rengenas to erect their own new settlement. One man called Alibanbang even went to Saccarey (馬立雲), near Sapat moorland, to agitate the local residents and those of Supra and Pallan to rebut the instructions of Smalbach and other Dutchmen.<sup>(41)</sup> The said Alibanbang threatened those of Daracop to join his camp otherwise he would seek to revenge with the assistance of those of Vatan. When Smalbach requested the elders (*outsten*) of Pimaba to send off people to arrest the aforementioned rebel the answer was no, because the elders regarded it as against their custom and it is the Dutch who should do the job themselves. The villagers near but against Pimaba also refused the instructions of VOC employees. For instance, the chief (*opperste*) of Tawaly, Sowangh, not only disobeyed the order of Traudenis to work for the VOC farmland in Pimaba but also incited the villagers in the south of Pimaba against Smalbach. Sowangh even spread the rumor about the evil-doings of Dutch.<sup>(42)</sup>

(39) *DZII*, p. 12; *DRB, anno 1641-1642*, p. 146; Naojirō Murakami, ed., Hui Kuo, trans, *Pa-ta-wei-ya ch'eng jih chi*, pp. 371-372.

(40) *FEII*, pp. 377-378.

(41) Saccarey (馬立雲) on the Sapat moorland was related to Saccareya (沙基拉雅) in today's Hualien. Their relationship still exists today. Dutch sources also indicate Saccarey as Sapat (... *Sappat, ofte Sacaraij*), which means the close relationship between the two villages in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See VOC 1218: 435.

(42) *FEII*, pp. 384-388, 390.

The crisis eased when Corporal Cornelis van der Linden took the position left by the deceased Cornelis Smalbach in Pimaba. It seems that the VOC did learn from handling similar cases in the western part of Taiwan. By then Pimaba and its surrounding villages had agreed to follow the request of VOC by paying annual tribute as a token of submission.<sup>(43)</sup>

To most of the aborigines, the VOC and the Europeans who ran the organization, even though its soldiers revealed their physical weakness, were in some respects still an asset. Earlier in 1638, the night before Van Linga entered the village Pimaba, those of Lowaen had already gone into the village and demanded for precious beads.<sup>(44)</sup> In 1645, corporal Albert Thomassen and two interpreters were murdered in Sipiën, a village situated in the mountain area near Tawaly. According to the Pieter Boon's investigation, it was partially because Thomassen took a pig without agreement from the local residents, but the main cause of murder had to do with the accompanying Tipol and Maranas interpreters, who took food, weapon and precious corals by force. The enraged inhabitants beat Thomassen and two of the interpreters to death while they were asleep.<sup>(45)</sup> By the end of the year, it was said that those of Tarrroma (大南) cajoled in the name of VOC the hides from those of Sipiën.<sup>(46)</sup> Most of all, one son of the Longkiau lord, whose forces had been smashed by the VOC two years earlier, received pigs and wheat from nearby villages in the name of the Dutch.<sup>(47)</sup>

Those of Pimaba probably benefited most from the VOC. After the defeat of Nicabon and Tammalacouw in 1642 by the joint forces of VOC and Pimaba, Governor Traudenius ordered those of Tammalacouw to submit themselves to

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(43) *DZII*, pp. 178, 191-192; *FEII*, pp. 396-401, 403-404, 406-407, 415, 418. The President of Taiwan Council, Lemaire, in his instruction to Cornelis van der Linden in 1643, stated that those of Pimaba should pay tribute by September, as the villages south of Tayouan. Those of Pimaba and Tipol earlier agreed to pay 20 catties of rice or 4 pieces of deer hides of good quality per household. Lemaire hence asked Van der Linden to conduct the household census for the exact number of tribute that each village should pay annually. The village elders might decide the amount of tribute for different household but for a village as a whole the average amount of tribute for each household was 20 catties of rice.

(44) *FEII*, pp. 177, 195.

(45) *DZII*, pp. 382, 386-387; *FEII*, pp. 533, 536-537.

(46) *FEII*, pp. 568-569, 572.

(47) *DZII*, p. 431. The Chinese in East Taiwan were also said to coax the aborigines in the name of the VOC. In 1639 several Chinese attempted to harass the inhabitants of Pimaba in the name of Governor of Taiwan but were killed instead. *DZI*, p. 459.

Pimaba when the representatives of Tammalacouw came to Pimaba for peace negotiation.<sup>(48)</sup> Since the VOC set up its main post for East Taiwan in Pimaba, the defeated villages, such as Tipol in April 1643, mostly surrendered themselves in Pimaba.<sup>(49)</sup> When corporal Cornelis van der Linden took his position in Pimaba in August 1643, he received the elders of Pimaba, Redut and Toboe, first. Elders from other villages needed to wait for the call from Van der Linden and then went to Pimaba to pay respect to him. When Van der Linden visited villages in the mountain, those of Pimaba were responsible for summoning the village elders (*outsten*) in the area.<sup>(50)</sup> As for the collecting of annual tribute, it was those of Pimaba who accompanied the VOC employees to carry out the job if other villagers did not send their payments to Pimaba.<sup>(51)</sup>

We may obtain a much clearer picture of the expanding influence of Pimaba from the report by Jan Jansz. Emandus, a soldier sent by Tayouan authority to East Taiwan in 1644. There were two events about Pimaba in his report. First, those villages submitting themselves to the VOC such as Dorre Watta Wattij (哆囉覓則), Labocar (文里格), Kinnebalou (簡樓撫臉), Coteringe, Patenbal, and Duron (都鑾) failed to pay their tribute in 1644 due to bad harvest, but those of Pimaba still resolutely demanded their payments in the name of Cornelis van der Linden. Secondly, Soupra was under the protection of the warriors of Pimaba, who also successfully expelled the attack from the Vadaenders (馬太鞍人) in July 1644.<sup>(52)</sup>

To sum up, the impact of three gold explorations conducted by VOC shattered the powers of Vatan in the north, Tipol on the Taitung plains, and the Longkiau lord in the further south. The defeat of original regional powers created a chance for other villages to emerge.<sup>(53)</sup> In other words, the geographical expansion of the VOC supremacy in turn helped that of Pimaba. By working as the

(48) *DZII*, p. 13.

(49) *DZII*, pp. 82-83.

(50) *FEII*, pp. 403, 406-407, 409.

(51) *DZII*, pp. 387, 428, 459, 511; *FEII*, p. 536.

(52) *DZII*, pp. 320-321; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, p. 83.

(53) Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 89-96. Before the VOC defeated the forces of Tipol, those of Tipol, Pimaba and Tawaly had practiced intervillage headhunting. According to the contemporary Dutch sources, the three parties were at odds with one another to the extent that any of them would feel threatened and terrified in the open field if one fell disadvantageous in terms of number of warriors while facing other parties. See *DZII*, pp. 80-82, 84; *FEII*, pp. 366-368.

ancillary military forces of the VOC in East Taiwan, representing the VOC to administer the subdued villages and to collect the annual tribute, the forces of Pimaba also expanded to the mouth of Shokuran River.

## 7. The Consolidation of Regional Power and Its Transfer to Pimaba

After Cornelis Caesar finished the third gold exploration in 1646 and obtained the needed information for the alleged gold mine, the VOC decided to conclude its massive military expeditions in East Taiwan. The recently-defeated Vatan was by then said to form a joint-force with those of Tellaroma (荳蘭、薄薄), Patsiral (壽豐鄉一帶), Pissouan (鳳林鎮一帶) and Tauaron (太巴壟) against the power of Dutch and thus refuted the negotiations with the VOC in 1646. The immediate threat from Patsiral, however, quickly enfeebled the dominance of Vatan in the northern part of Hua-tung valley, and those of Vatan thus lost their capability against the VOC.<sup>(54)</sup> Since then the VOC at most posted one or two soldiers in villages such as Taroboan (哆囉滿) or Sapat, the majority of VOC employees and soldiers, about 20 at most, were in Pimaba to take care of the administration and trade in East Taiwan. Therefore, the forces of Pimaba replaced that of VOC to administer the submitted villages.<sup>(55)</sup> For instance, since the mid-1640s, it was those of Pimaba who took the responsibility to defend the southward intrusion of Batcheral (i.e., Patsiral), and to pacify the uprisings of Terroma (大南) and Tipol.<sup>(56)</sup>

(54) *DZII*, pp. 511, 593; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 65-66, 108, 112-113.

(55) Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu shang chuan*, pp. 233-234; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, p. 61; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 72-73, 100; Peter Kang, "Shih ch'i shih chi shang pan te ma sai jen," (The Basay in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century) *Taiwan Historical Research* 10: 1 (2003), p. 13. The VOC only deployed 4 out of 701 soldiers in Taiwan to Pijmaba (卑南) in 1644. See *DRB, anno 1643-1644*, p. 154; Naojirō Murakami, ed., Hui Kuo, trans, *Pa-ta-wei-ya ch'eng jih chi*, pp. 443-444. The figure increased in 1654 to 18 out of 961 in Taiwan. See Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu shang chuan*, p. 336. *DRB, anno 1643-1644* stands for H. T. Colenbrander ed., *Dagh-register gegouden int Casteel Batavia, vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-indin, anno 1642-1644* (Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1902).

(56) *DZII*, pp. 593-594, 601, 616; *DZIII*, pp. 31, 117, 149, 502; Peter Kang, *Chih min chieh chu yü ti kuo pien chui*, pp. 70, 94, 96. *DZIII* stands for Leonard Blussé, W. E. Milde and Yung-ho Ts'ao eds., *De Dag-registers van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, deel III, 1648-1655* (Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1996).

We may learn from the following cases the subtle interaction between Pimaba and the VOC since then. In March 1650 Terroema (大南) of the Rukai ethnolinguistic community rebelled against the VOC. Tayouan authority particularly requested Jan de Bleuw, the highest-ranking VOC commander in Pimaba, not to force those of Pimaba to declare war against Terroema simply because the inhabitants were said to lack of willingness to do so. By August of the same year, after the warriors of Pimaba and Dorcop successfully defended the southward penetration of Terrevelouw and Batseral (i.e., Patsiral), those of Pimaba requested a special award from the VOC for this matter.<sup>(57)</sup> On the other hand, Governor Nicolaas Verburch in his instruction dated August 1651 to sergeant Jacob Dusseldorp when the latter was going to take his position in Pimaba, mentioned that the power of regent of Pimaba, ally of the VOC, was like that of a lord (*vorst*). Those villages submitting themselves to the regent, however, were actually afraid of the power of VOC and thus the regent always maintained coalition with the Dutch. Verburch further asked Dusseldorp to verify the actual number of pacified villages, which were under the supervision of Pimaba but their elders (*outsten*) or heads (*bevelhebbers*) as a matter of fact also owned the staves of power issued by the VOC.<sup>(58)</sup> Verburch's point explained why later the newly-enthroned 14-year-old young regent, under the suggestion of Jacob Dusseldorp, would agree to visit Tayouan in March 1655, because the VOC once helped his father to pacify several defiant villages. The visit of young regent indicated the sincere submission of Pimaba to the VOC, which in turn treated him with great esteem for several more days.<sup>(59)</sup> By the end of the same year, the regent of Pimaba was said to be eager to revenge for the murder of several residents of Paringangh, a village under his administration. He asked for the permission from Tayouan to declare war against those of Taroema (大南), who committed the crime, with his own warriors. The VOC, however, did not approve the war until June 1656. By then those of Taroema had successfully killed some of Rupporepon, another village supervised by Pimaba, and the subsequent war against Taroema failed because those of Taroema had already fortified them-

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(57) *DZIII*, pp. 117, 149.

(58) VOC 1183: 619.

(59) *DZIII*, p. 479.

selves well.<sup>(60)</sup>

In short, lack of manpower in East Taiwan enforced the VOC to rely on the forces of Pimaba to strengthen its own interest. On the other hand, through the mutual benefit out of the allied relationship with the VOC, those of Pimaba gradually expanded and consolidated their geographical influence. The establishment of Eastern *landdag* provided the institutes for the mutual benefit of the two parties.

## 8. The Inauguration of the Eastern Landdag

The VOC organized an annual assembly, called *landdag*, to summon all the subordinate village delegates in order to administer the aborigines. The first *landdag* took place in Sakkam in 1641. In the *landdag* the Governor of Taiwan admonished the delegates, arbitrated the disputes, and appointed the heads of villages for the following year. Later the VOC subdivided the villages of Taiwan into four districts, those south of Sakkam for the Southern *landdag* (*Zuidelijke Landdag*), those north of Sakkam for the Northern *landdag* (*Noordelijke Landdag*), those in North Taiwan for the Tamsuy *landdag* (*Landdag te Tamsuy*), and those in East Taiwan for the Eastern *landdag* (*Oosterlijke Landdag*), where the Eastern *landdag* mostly consisted of villages in the southern part of East Taiwan.<sup>(61)</sup>

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(60) *DZIV*, pp. 44, 53, 64, 65, 110. The diary left by Hendrick Noorden, the political officer south of Tayouan, also reveals the subtle relationship between Pimaba and the VOC, when Noorden led his followers to hide in Pimaba from the invasion of Koxinga's forces in 1661. Noorden described himself as the protector of Pimaba against Koxinga's forces to the local residents as soon as he reached there. Those of Pimaba might not believe in Noorden's excuse, but they did help Noorden to search for those run-away Chinese, who earlier accompanied the Dutch to Pimaba. Noorden also claimed that the joint-forces of the VOC and Pimaba were ready to launch the attack on the forces of Koxinga to bluff Kattia (加藤), a village formerly under his political authority in southwestern Taiwan and leaning toward Chinese under the military threat of Koxinga. Natalie Everts and Wouter Milde, "We Thanked God for Submitting Us to Such Sore But Supportable Trials, Hendrick Noorden and His Long Road to Freedom," in Leonard Blussé ed., *Around and About Formosa: Essays in honor of Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), pp. 253, 255, 259-260.

(61) Yung-ho Ts'ao, *T'ai-wan tsao ch'i li shih yen chiu* [Research on Taiwan's early history] (Taipei: Lien-ching, 1979), pp. 58-59; Tonio Andrade, "Political Spectacle and Colonial Rule," pp. 68-82; James Kaim Ang, "Ti fang hui i, p'u she yü wang t'ien: T'ai-wan chin tai shih yen chiu pi chi,"

Earlier in April 1644 when the VOC held the Southern *landdag*, those of Pimaba and Sapadt (掃叭) had already sent their delegates for the meeting. The VOC even treated the delegate of Pimaba, Poulus (i.e., Parmonij) as a great man.<sup>(62)</sup> In 1645, since most of the villages in East Taiwan failed to participate in the convention due to all kinds of excuses such as being busy with sowing or lack of provisions, as well as the malicious hindrance from those of Vadan (馬太鞍) and Tellaroma (荳蘭、薄薄); therefore, the VOC decided to organize a new *landdag* in East Taiwan. This project, however, was in vain because of the sudden eruption of endemic diseases around Pimaba.<sup>(63)</sup> Thereafter East Taiwan did not have its own *landdag* until 1652. When the Southern *landdag* took place in March 1651, the VOC once removed some villages supervised by Pimaba to the administration of Southern *landdag* (*Hier volgen de dorpen die voor desen onder't gesach van Pima gestaen hebben en nu op den suydelijcken landtsdach getrocken zijn*), which included Tardijck (大里立), Derrapack (那里叭), Dakop (遮角), Kettseringh (鴿子籠), and Sparangswai (八里岡雅). All of them situated near the Ta-chu River (大竹溪).<sup>(64)</sup>

In 1651 Governor Nicolaas Verburch in his instruction to the newly-appointed VOC representative in Pimaba, Jacob Dusseldorp, who took the position left by Jan de Bleuw in August, underscored the inauguration of *landdag* in East Taiwan.<sup>(65)</sup> The first Eastern *landdag* finally occurred on 12 June 1652 with 34 villages sending delegates for the meeting. The 2nd Eastern *landdag* took place on the same day of 1653 with 37 villages, the 3rd on 20 May 1654 with 43 villages, the 4th on 15 May 1655 with 43 villages, and the 5th, also the last one, in

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[Landdag, village-leasing and crown land: research notes on Taiwan's recent history] *T'ai-wan wen hsien* 51: 3 (2000), pp. 263-266; Peter Kang, "Ho-lan shih tai ts'un lo t'ou jen chih te she li yü si la ya she hui ch'üan li chieh kou te chuan pien," [The inauguration of village head system and the transformation of social power structure among the Siraya during the Dutch period] *T'ai-wan shih chi* 36 (2000), pp. 120-122; Yianjie Yang, *Ho chü shih tai T'ai-wan shih* [Taiwan's history during the Dutch occupation] (Taipei: Lien-ching, 2000), pp. 93-96; Wei-chung Cheng, *Ho-lan shih tai te T'ai-wan she hui: tzu jan fa te nan t'i yü wen ming hua te li ch'eng* [Taiwan's society during the Dutch period: the dilemma on natural law and progress of civilization] (Taipei: Avanguard, 2004), pp. 24-32, 102-122; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, pp. 41, 46.

(62) *DZII*, pp. 249-251.

(63) *DZII*, pp. 364, 370-371, 376; *FEII*, pp. 483-484, 487-488, 528-531; William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, pp. 203-205; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, p. 59.

(64) *DZIII*, pp. 192-193.

(65) VOC 1183: 620.

May 1656 with 42 villages.<sup>(66)</sup>

In the Northern and Southern Assemblies, the VOC directly appointed the heads for each village from the village elders, and records about villages near the Sakkam area showed that village heads usually obtained their positions from the VOC with longer term than they used to have based on village-wide custom, a 2-year period at most. It was not unusual for the VOC to assign an elder to serve as a village head until his death.<sup>(67)</sup> Through public spectacle during the *landdag* procedure the VOC in front of all the village delegates stressed the high political status of Governor above that of the aborigines and the Chinese.<sup>(68)</sup> Village delegates even acquired the collective experience of power-procuring and -exerting from the Dutch authorities at the assemblies.<sup>(69)</sup>

Things may have been slightly different at the Eastern *landdag* since it merely continued for 5 years, compared with what happened in the Northern and Southern Assemblies lasting for almost 20 years. The VOC involved less in the village-head appointment in East Taiwan. The highest-ranking VOC representative in the Eastern *landdag* was sergeant Jacob Dusseldorp, who only commanded a force of around 20 Dutch soldiers in Pimaba. Here a political spectacle through VOC military power was out of the question.<sup>(70)</sup> Conversely, in order to run the Eastern *landdag* successfully the VOC instead needed to rely on the manpower of Pimaba, whose support ensured the sovereignty of the VOC in East Taiwan, ranging from tribute-collection to alliance-verification.

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(66) VOC 1207: 535-536; *DZIII*, pp. 291, 296, 351; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, p. 46, 51, 59-61.

(67) Peter Kang, "Ho-lan shih tai ts'un lo t'ou jen chih te she li yü si la ya she hui ch'üan li chieh kou te chuan pien," pp. 122-129.

(68) Tonio Andrade, "Political Spectacle and Colonial Rule," pp. 68-82.

(69) Peter Kang, "Ho-lan shih tai ts'un lo t'ou jen chih te she li yü si la ya she hui ch'üan li chieh kou te chuan pien," p. 128.

(70) The Tayouan authority in 1646, right after the gold exploration led by Cornelis Caesar, did admit that the VOC did not have a lot to show to the villagers if they organized the Eastern *landdag* then. They went further to justify the cancellation of Eastern *landdag* by claiming that the army for gold expedition could inspire more awe among the aborigines than *landdag* could. See VOC 1160: 411-412.

## 9. The Political Geography of East Taiwan Centering on Pimaba

In addition to the list of villages that participated the Eastern Assemblies in the 1650s, the VOC also recorded that of villages surveyed for the household census in the second half of 1640s. Table 2 displays the list of the villages from the aforementioned sources. Those in 1647, 1648 and 1650 stand for data derived from household census whereas those in 1654, 1655 and 1656 are from the Eastern Assemblies.

**Table 2. The List of Villages under the VOC**

	1647	1648	1650	1654	1655	1656
1. 卑南	Pimaba	Pima	Pima	Pimaba	Pima	(presence)
2. 掃別	Marenos	Marenos	Marenos	Marnos	Marnos	(presence)
3.					Backeboeck	(presence)
4. 大巴六九	Pinawatte	Penevatte	Pinewattangh	Pimewattigh	Pinnewatting	(presence)
5. 檳朗	Pinnesur	Pinesoor	Pinneser	Pimesor		
6. 呂家	Nicabon	Nikabon	Nicebon	Nickabon	Nicobon	(presence)
7.			Bogert	Boogert	Boogert	(presence)
8.				Padey	Padeijn	(presence)
9. 大南					Tarremae	
10. 射馬干			Sabecan	Sabikan	Sabican	(presence)
11. 知本			Typol	Tipol	Tijpol	(presence)
12. Roporopon				Rupporepor	Bupporrepon	(presence)
13.					Parringan	(presence)
14. 北絲蘭		Liselisen	Lywelywe	Lijvelijve	Lywe Lijwe	(presence)
15. 太麻里	Tavaleij	Tavalij	Tawaly	Tawalij	Tawalij	(presence)
16. Sinapayan	Sipien		Sejpyek	Sippesen	Sippejen	(presence)
17. 加留難				Talijboa	Talijbon	(presence)
18. 斗里斗里	Tarradick	Serredick	Tureteryck	Turreturrich	Turreterick	(presence)
19. 比魯			Billeloor	Billeloor	Billeloor	(presence)
20. Karapayan				Kaperappejen	Karpperappejen	(presence)
21. 蚶仔崙					Arudan	(presence)
22. 哆囉覓則	Terrewattij	Taverwattij wattij	Terrewatty	Terrewattje	Tarrewattij	(presence)
23. 大武窟		Tavana	Toewana	Touwane	Toewanae	(presence)
24. 情巴蘭					Tinparan	(presence)
25. Dudakus				Tudas	Rudas	(presence)
26. 文里格	Labicaer	Labicaer		Labbikaar	Labbeaar	(presence)
27. 察臘密			Terwy	Tarreway	Tarrewij	(presence)
28. 大得吉				Callingear	Tallingear	(presence)
29. 大鳥	Barsabal/Doro	Barsibael/Doro	Barsibal/Doro	Batsibal	Batsibal	(presence)
30. Coavanaq			Toewawana	Toewawana	Toewawanae	(presence)
31.	Koes koes	Coescoes	Koeskoes	Koekoes	Koeskoes	

32.	小馬武窟	Longlough	Longlough	Longelough	Longelough	Longelough	(presence)
33.		Rijpoes	Rijpoes	Vypuys	Rijpuijs	Ripuis	(presence)
34.	老吧老吧	Laplapa	Lapelap	Lajpelap	Lappelap	Lappelop	(presence)
35.	內本鹿	Bonnick	Bonnock	Bonock	Bonoch	Bonok	(presence)
36.	Kinlaroan				Kinlowan	Kinloban	(presence)
37.			Pallangh	Palangh	Palangh	Palangh	(presence)
38.		Aran	Arangh	Arangh	Arangh	Arangh	(presence)
39.	Lalamai					Raramey	(presence)
40.	Loflof					Roerop	(presence)
41.	掃叭	Sapat	Sapat	Sapat	Sapat	Sapat	(presence)
42.		Sorigol	Serigol	Serycol	Serriool	Sergool	(presence)
43.	觀音	Deurcoop	Dorcop	Dorcop	Dorckop	Dorkop	(presence)
44.		Berckiel	Berckil	Berbyl	Berckil	Berkil	(presence)
45.					Ringenes		
46.							Nammearij
47.	簡樓撫臉	Kimibilouw	Kinebilouw	Kinnebelouw			
48.		Koeterijn	Coeterijn	Koeteryn			
49.	港口	Soupera					
50.		Teribilouw	Terrijbijlon				
51.		Passan					
52.	大狗			Takoan			
53.				Loub			

Source: VOC 1169: 267, 1170: 644, 1176: 787, 1207: 535-536; Takashi Nakamura, "Ranjin jidai no bansha kokō hyō," [The Dutch period aborigine census, 1650] *Nanpō Dozoku* 4: 1 (1936), pp. 45-46; Takashi Nakamura, "Sen roppyaku yonjū shichi nen no Taiwan bansha kokō hyō," [The 1647 census of Taiwan aborigines] *Yamato Bunka* 31 (1951), pp. 103-104; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, pp. 29-33, 61-67.

Table 2 shows that villages ranging from no. 2 to no. 14 are within the district of Pimaba (... , *gehoorende onder't district van Pimaba*), mostly on the Taitung plains. Villages ranging from no. 16 to no. 22 are those along today's Tawaly (太麻里) river valley (*de clove van Tawalij*), no. 23 to no. 26 along the Tarrewattij river valley (金崙溪峽谷), no. 27 to no. 30 along Tarredick river valley (大竹溪峽谷), whereas those from no. 31 to no. 46 are VOC-allied villages north of Pimaba (*dorpen bij noorden Pimaba gelegen en mede de Compagnie vereenicht*). The above classification is what the Dutch sources utilized since 1654, but all the villages are under the title of village of Pimaba (*Pimabasche dorpen*) in the years of 1647, 1648, and 1650.<sup>(71)</sup> From Table 2 we learn that when the VOC held the Eastern Assemblies in the 1650s the number of those under

(71) VOC 1169: 267, 1170: 644, 1176: 787, 1207: 535-536; Takashi Nakamura, "Ranjin jidai no bansha kokō hyō," pp. 45, 63-66.

Dutch rule was slightly less than before, but the political geography of villages attending the Eastern Assemblies still included Sapat and Dorcop in the North (i.e., 花蓮縣玉里鎮), Tallingear (大得吉) and Batsibal (大鳥) in the South (i.e., 臺東縣大武鄉), Bonok in the West (i.e., 中央山脈). The ethno-linguistic communities contained those of nowadays Puyuma (卑南族), Amis or Pangtsah (阿美族), Bunun (布農族), Rukai (魯凱族) and Paiwan (排灣族).

According to the description by David Wright, a Scotsman in Taiwan around the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the island of Taiwan had 11 provinces, each with its own geographical domain. The first one ranging from Tayouan to Assok (阿東) near the mouth of Ta-tu River (大肚溪), was under the authority of the VOC and equivalent to the geography of the Northern *landdag*. The 2nd one was called Cabaran (噶瑪蘭) on Lan-yang plains (蘭陽平原). The 3rd one was the jurisdiction of Quataongh (番仔王 or 大肚王), north of the 1st one. The 4<sup>th</sup> one was under the regent of Pimaba. The 5<sup>th</sup> one under the name of Sapat, covered the middle part of Hua-tung valley. The 6<sup>th</sup> one was the territory of the Longkiau lord, under the title of Takabolder (內文社). The 7<sup>th</sup> one was represented by the village called Cardeman (加祿堂社), whose ruler was then a woman and said to be friendly to the VOC. The 8<sup>th</sup>, the 9<sup>th</sup>, the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> ones were on the northwestern part of Taiwan.<sup>(72)</sup> Wright's account neither covers all the dwelled areas nor clarifies varied modes of political authority, but it clearly maps out the political geography of Pimaba, which was exclusively south to Sapat and north to that of Longkiau lord, almost corresponding to that of the Eastern Assemblies.

Table 3 shows the list of villages under the authority of Pimaba in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a survey done by Japanese.

From Table 3 we may see clearly that the core area of Pimaba-ruled villages in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is similar to that of the Eastern *landdag* in the 1650s, with the former advancing into the territory of Rukai and Paiwan ethno-linguistic communities in the Central Mountain area.<sup>(73)</sup> For instance, Puluti (i.e., purdi, 糞

(72) William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, pp. 6-7; Peter Kang, "Huan ching, k'ung chien yü ch'ü yü: ti li hsüeh kuan tien hsia shih ch'i shih chi chung yeh 'ta tu wang' t'ung chih te hsiao chang," (Environment, Space and Region: geographical perspective on the Quataongh regime during the mid-seventeenth century) *Humanitas Taiwanica* 59 (2003), p. 107.

(73) Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, ed., *T'ai-wan tsung tu fu lin shih T'ai-wan chiu kuan tiao ch'a hui fan chu kuan hsi tiao cha pao kao shu, ti erh chuan, a mai chu, pei nan chu*, pp. 370-371; Lung-sheng Sung, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, pp. 239-245.

Table 3. A Comparative List of Villages under Pimaba in the 17c and 19c

所屬會所	《臺灣蕃族慣習研究》	《番族慣習調查報告書》	no. used in Table 2	Chinese Equivalences
Pataba $\eta$ (paTapang)	Bokobakon	Takubuan		利基利吉
	Likiliki	DikiDiki		擺仔擺
	Payapaya	palyapai		老吧老吧
	Paparapa (Laplapa)	lapalapa	34	里壠
	Liran	diLadiLan		德高班寮
	Takoban	Takuban		
	Shikuai	sikuay	新開園	
	Shiuna	syuna		(新開園之南)
	Shobai	syubay	41	掃叭
	Liyake	Liyakey		
	Mararao	mararaw		麻老漏
	Pulishiya	pulisiya	里學	
	Alipai	aLipay		阿里擺
	Bununbun	bunubunun	5	上檳朗
Kinutul (kinuTul)	六梁	六梁		
	Pakaras(Pakara $\eta$ us)	pakaras		(新港一帶)
	Kanararan	kanaraerang		新港
	大庄	大庄		
	都鑾	都鑾		
Balubalu (barubaru)	Karimagar	kanibangar		佳里猛狎
	Karoran	kalulwan		佳路蘭
	成廣澳	成廣澳		
	Likonhoi	Likungpuy		雷公火
Karunun (kaLunung)	Pinasiki	pinaski	5	下檳朗
	Lika (Rikavon)	likabung	6	呂家
	Sabasabak(Kasavakan)	sabasabak	10	射馬干
	Teipun(Katipol)	TipuL	11	知本
	Barangao	balangaw		馬蘭坳
	Mabukutsu	mabukuts	32	馬武窟之一部
	Kaka?aria	kakaaLay		(新港北方)
	Tabaodei(Tavoali)	tabwaLi	15	太麻里
	Rupa?at	rupaat		羅打結
	Rauran	lauran		(大武一帶)
Karadoun(Kanadoun)	Karadoun	kanadun	21	蚶仔崙
	Taraue	Talawey		(大武一帶)
	Tootoo	tuutuu		(大武一帶)
	Toaao	tuaaw		大狗
	Darobak	dalepak		大烏萬
	Towabool(Taotoho)	tuwabuur		大竹高
	Doumol	Demule		古木
	Marudoup(Maredep)	maredupu		大武窟

	Babikal	babikar		(大武一帶)
	Pirawurawul	birauraur		
	Karataran	kaladalan		阿臘打蘭
	Toulitouluk(Toritorik)	tulitulik	18	斗里斗里
	Tinparan	dinpelan	24	情巴蘭
	Madipul	malipur		麻里烏
	Balut	paret		
	Talilik	taLiLik	28	大里立
	Kobarun	kubaren		姑仔崙
	Sarayasae	sarayasay		獅子獅
	Patabal(Oteri)	patapar	29	大鳥
	Balugui(Balu呷ui)	paLekuy		(大武一帶)
	Senpaudan	sinpaudan		
	Satsupudi	sabli		射武力
	Takubukubul	takubekuber		
	Kuradout	kuraduT		
	Kabiyagan(Kiviangan)	kabiyangan		(高屏一帶)
	Kudadou	kudadau		
	Puluti(Pulti)	purdi		糞地
	Tatakabus	taDakabes		礁勞加物
	Toukubul	tukuber		
	Karaloddo	kuraLut		
	Tarashiu	tarasyu		
	Aikaliu	aykuLyu		
	Kararangan	karargan		見那臘懶
	Toulunal	turnar		
	Tadasukatan	taDasekatan		
	Darukutul	darekeduk		
	Kuwaragao	kuwaragaw		
Gamogamot (gamugamut)	卑南街平地人	卑南街臺灣人		
	Kawasan	kawasan	猴子山	
	Kachirai	kachiLay		(新港一帶)
paungungan	Mararoon	malaluun	2	掃別
	成廣澳之一半	成廣澳之一半		
	Pashikao	pasikaw		北絲鬮之一部
	Libulibuk	ulibelibek		北絲鬮之一部
	Taparakao	tamaLakaw	4	大巴六九
Kinaburao (kinaburaw)	Arapawan	aLapawan	32	馬武窟之一部

Source: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, ed., *T'ai-wan tsung tu fu lin shih T'ai-wan chiu kuan tiao ch'a hui fan chu kuan hsi tiao cha pao kao shu, ti erh chuan, a mai chu, pei nan chu*, pp. 370-371; Lung-sheng Sung, *T'ai-wan yüan chu mìn shih*, pp. 239-245.

地) and Tatakabus (i.e., taDakabes, 礁勞加物 or 陳那佳物) were villages along the upstream of Lin-pien River (林邊溪), whereas Satsupudi (i.e., sabli, 射武力 or 謝必益) under the authority of Longkiau lord in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. All of them were then not associated at all with Pimaba.<sup>(74)</sup> They, however, turned out to be the said subjects of Pimaba in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

How did those of Pimaba establish its political dominance in East Taiwan? We learn that through reciprocal cooperation with the Dutch those of Pimaba not only became the subsidiary military forces but also helped administering villages and collected tribute for the VOC. This did surely enhance Pimaba's political profile among other villages in East Taiwan. Above and beyond, the VOC sources also show that the inhabitants of Pimaba exerted the tribute-collecting and labor-extracting practices, a popular phenomenon in Austronesian culture, to subordinate villages. When the VOC transferred those under the authority of Pimaba to that of Southern *landdag* in 1651, the Dutch authority waived the previous obligation of Sparangswai residents of paying tribute to the regent of Pimaba.<sup>(75)</sup> When the political officer Hendrick Noorden with his followers escaped to Pimaba in 1661 during the invasion of Koxinga's forces, Noorden wrote down that the inhabitants of Talanger in the mountain areas came to Pimaba to offer their labor service to the regent, a practice according to the custom.<sup>(76)</sup>

David Wright's report furthermore adds one more possible explanation to Pimaba's political supremacy by stating that its warriors were the most skilled fighters on the island. It was said that they were experts in all kinds of arms.<sup>(77)</sup> It is very likely that those of Pimaba obtained some of the fighting techniques from the Dutch since the VOC had to rely on the military support of Pimaba to preside over East Taiwan.<sup>(78)</sup> In other words, in addition to the mutual benefits

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(74) Shu-ching Huang, *T'ai hai shih ch'a lu* (A tour of duty in the Taiwan sea) (Taipei: Bank of Taiwan, 1957), pp. 151, 155-156; Takashi Nakamura, *Ho-lan shih tai T'ai-wan shih yen chiu hsia chuan*, pp. 16-19.

(75) *DZIII*, p. 192.

(76) Natalie Everts and Wouter Milde, "We Thanked God for Submitting Us to Such Sore But Supportable Trials," p. 255.

(77) William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, pp. 6-7.

(78) Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, ed., *T'ai-wan tsung tu fu lin shih T'ai-wan chiu kuan tiao ch'a hui fan chu kuan hsi tiao cha pao kao shu, ti erh chuan, a mai chu, pei nan chu*, pp. 379-380; Lung-sheng Sung, *T'ai-wan yüan chu min shih*, pp. 128-130.

obtaining from the VOC, those of Pimaba at least utilized their military superiority, as well as practiced the tribute-collecting and labor-extracting from subordinate villages, to expand and consolidate their own political geography until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## 10. Conclusion and Discussion

The emergence of political dominance of Pimaba in East Taiwan is a matter of geography, a result of the regional difference between East and West Taiwan. In the core area of VOC administration, the southwestern part of the island, VOC soldiers were the main forces with supplementary manpower from subdued and allied village warriors. Far in the eastern half of the island, the VOC at most had about 20 personnel and thus it relied on the local inhabitants, those of Pimaba, to maintain the social order and collect yearly tribute. In other words, the regional difference gave Pimaba the opportunity to expand its influence after the arrival of the Dutch.

As soon as the Dutch established trading warehouse in Pimaba, Pimaba gradually turned out to be the place where the VOC shipped commodities from the southern part of East Taiwan to the West. The status of this petite trade entrepôt consolidated the prestigious position of Pimaba, where the local residents obtained more precious goods than the rest of aborigines on the Taitung plains. After the VOC had defeated all the regional powers north and south of Pimaba, those of Pimaba, following the geographical expansion of the VOC, immediately spread out their military influence all the way to the mouth of Shokuran River.

Since the mid-1640s the VOC no longer employed its own military forces in East Taiwan, but the forces of Pimaba completely substituted these in local warfare. In addition to the previous jobs such as administering VOC-subdued villages, representing the VOC to collect annual tribute, those of Pimaba were responsible for defending the territory created by the Dutch and pacifying the mutinous villages. To Pimaba, the military techniques learned from the Dutch and the political status obtaining from the collaboration with the VOC were two major assets received from the VOC. Together with the practices of traditional tribute-collecting and labor-extracting, those of Pimaba steadily consolidated their own political geography left by the VOC and expanded it southwards after

the departure of the Dutch. Their political dominance continued until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Qing empire launched the eastward political expansion on the island under the military threat of Meiji Japan.

The history of spatial identity under Pimaba is definitely not the history of a nation-state. Nor is its experience similar to that of Taiwan, where the narratives of the latter concentrate on the western part of the island. Hoi An of Central Vietnam, Orang Laut of the southern Malay Peninsula, Siak of Sumatra, and Phuket of Thailand all experienced different histories from their respective nation-states in either the 17<sup>th</sup> or the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>(79)</sup> The Dutch-aborigines relation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Taiwan had been regarded as the colonial, which is based on the framework of the nation-state history.<sup>(80)</sup> Recent studies offer an alternative by pointing out the legacy of medieval European tributary feudalism.<sup>(81)</sup> The case of Pimaba, as well as the Basay group in North Taiwan, however, would modify the generalizations based on the experiences of southwestern part of the island.<sup>(82)</sup> The mutual reciprocity between the VOC and Pimaba, a result of geographical differences, certainly reveals one more aspect of the Dutch-aborigines relationship in Formosa.

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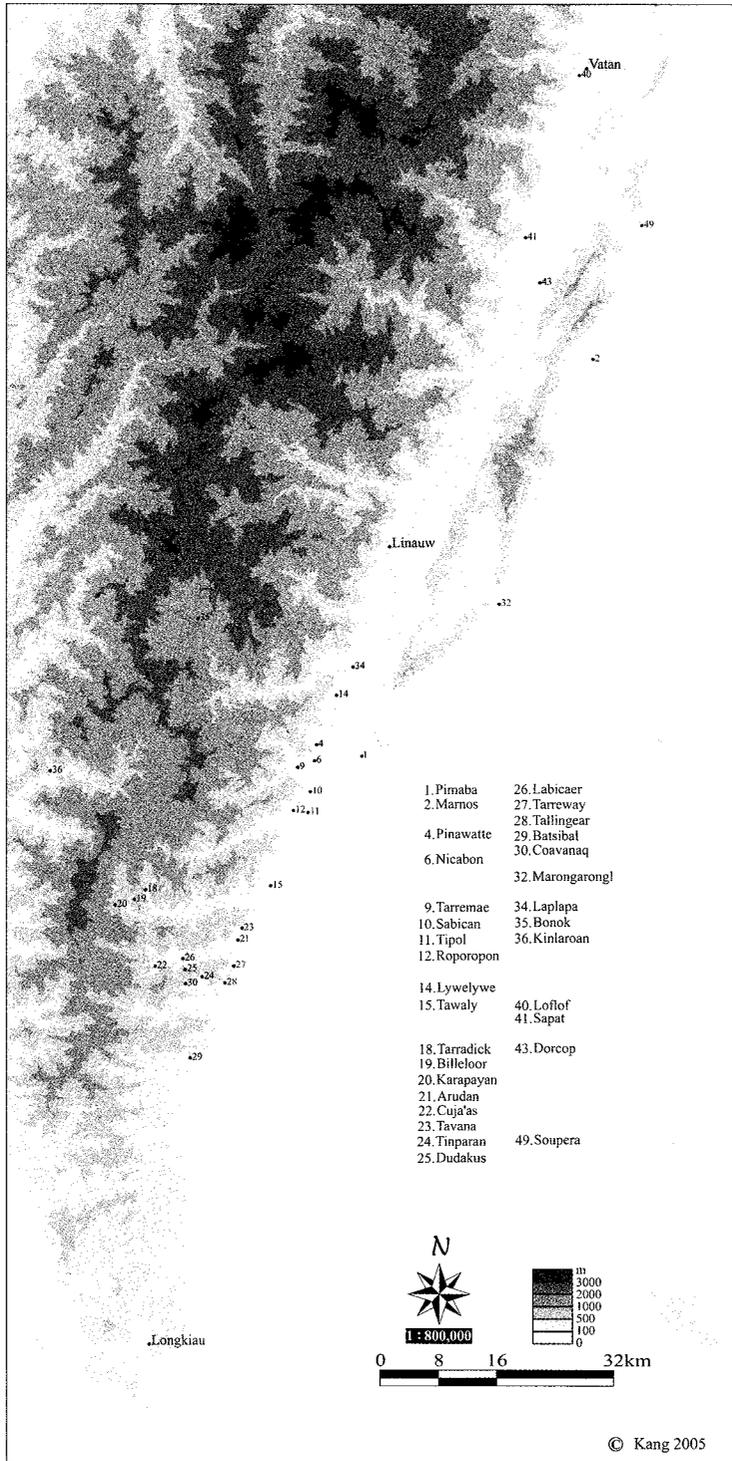
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(79) Nguyen Chi Thong, "A Seventeenth-Century Port City in Vietnam: autonomous history in the absence of a single centralized kingdom," in Sunait Chutintarnond and Chris Bakers, eds., *Recalling Local Pasts*, p. 140; Chuleeporn Virunha, "Power Relations between the Orang Laut and the Malay Kingdoms of Melaka and Jokor during the Fifteen to the Seventeenth Centuries," in Sunait Chutintarnond and Chris Bakers, eds., *Recalling Local Pasts*, p. 163; Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680: Expansion and Crisis* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 54; Timothy P. Barnard, "Texts, Raja Ismail and Violence: Siak and the Transformation of Malay Identity in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 32: 3 (2001), pp. 341-342; Dhiravat Na Pombejra, "Towards a History of Seventeenth-century Phuket," in Sunait Chutintarnond and Chris Bakers, eds., *Recalling Local Pasts*, pp. 89-124.

(80) Yianjie Yang, *Ho chü shih tai T'ai-wan shih*, pp. 71-120.

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Map of Pimaba and Surrounding Areas

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# 地理的承續： 後(破)國家歷史與卑南人的後山崛起

康培德

## 摘要

本文立於後(破)國家主義歷史觀點，揚棄後殖民式的國家史觀，改以探討地方殖民經驗為主的歷史，即地方政治實體的歷史。文中以東臺灣後山為例，陳述一六三八年以降荷蘭東印度公司勢力的到來如何加速卑南人在當地的崛起。荷蘭人與卑南人在後山的結盟，為東印度公司主力位於臺灣西南部，對東臺灣鞭長莫及此一地理因素之果；因此，東印度公司在後山採用的策略為大量依賴當地人擴張、鞏固其勢力，卑南人恰巧於此扮演一要角。東印度公司除了透過政治合作與武力結盟外，並於一六五二年起開辦東部地方會議，強化荷蘭人與卑南人結盟下的政治版圖。當荷蘭人於一六六二年撤離臺灣後，卑南人則承續先前結盟下的政治版圖，崛起為往後二百年間掌控後山的地方勢力。

關鍵詞：卑南、荷蘭東印度公司、後(破)國家主義歷史、地方政治實體(空間認同)