

A History of Pre-Invasion Taiwan*

J. Bruce Jacobs**

ABSTRACT

In Taiwan's long and contested history, we know least about the first and most extended period, which began over six thousand years ago and lasted until the invasion of the Dutch in 1624. Since Taiwan's aboriginal peoples lacked writing, the analysis first relies on recent archeological evidence, which shows the increasing sophistication of Taiwan's culture over the millennia. As early as 2800-2200 BCE, Taiwan's peoples had trading networks with the Pescadore (Penghu) Islands. From 1500 BCE Taiwan's peoples became the source of migrations to virtually every inhabitable island in the Pacific Ocean and across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar. From 500 BCE to 500 CE Taiwan's peoples were part of a large trading network that included what is now the Philippines, eastern Malaysia, central and southern Vietnam, peninsular Thailand, and eastern Cambodia. Trade within Taiwan was also widespread. This trade and imports, such as metal technology, all came from Southeast Asia; no evidence of contact with China exists.

Early Chinese writing confirms Taiwan was "foreign." In addition, early 17th century Chinese accounts of Taiwan aborigines mesh with early Dutch accounts. These accounts demonstrate that Taiwan's aborigines had healthy and prosperous societies and that village construction demonstrated considerable sophistication.

Chinese had little to do with Taiwan in part because Fujian was the last part of the Pacific coast inhabited by Han Chinese. Although the Ming Dynasty basically withdrew from foreign trade, Taiwan became a place for trade among Chinese merchant-pirates, Japanese and later Westerners within the wider trading networks of East and Southeast Asia. Yet, none of these groups established a permanent base in Taiwan. Only in 1624, did the Dutch accept advice from

* This article is a draft of the first part of my current project on a History of Taiwan. I hope that readers will feel free to send comments to Bruce.Jacobs@monash.edu. I also wish to express appreciation to the Australian Research Council for a Discovery Grant to research "A History of Taiwan." Romanization of Taiwan terms is difficult for scholars of Taiwan. For this article I have used pinyin for all Chinese-language publications, the romanization of Chinese terms, for all Chinese place names and for most Chinese personal names. I have used basic Wade-Giles for Taiwan personal and names. Thus, I use normally Taipei, but use Taibei to romanize 臺北 when it is a place of publication.

** Emeritus Professor of Asian Languages and Studies, Monash University, Australia
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several sources to retreat from their base in the Pescadore (Penghu) Islands to the “stateless area” of Taiwan. Thus, only in 1624 did the Dutch establish the first colonial regime in Taiwan.

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 2. Pre-Invasion Aboriginal Taiwan
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1. Introduction

Of the many eras in Taiwan's long and contested history, we probably know least about the first and most extended period, which began over six thousand years ago and lasted until the invasion of the Dutch in 1624. Prior to the Dutch invasion, Taiwan's inhabitants did not have writing so we must rely on recent archeological research to help reconstruct this early history. Fortunately, young archeologists have recently published much excellent research which enables us to place this early history into a preliminary framework.

With the arrival of the Dutch and their successors, scholars have many more historical materials. Thus, our analyses of these subsequent periods have been subject to much more dispute in the scholarly literature. For example, several scholars (including myself) argue that beginning in 1624 until 1988, Taiwan underwent 364 years of rule by a six separate colonial regimes: (i) the Dutch (1624-1662), (ii) the Spanish (1626-1642), who ruled in north Taiwan simultaneously with the Dutch, (iii) the Zheng (鄭) family (1662-1683), (iv) the Manchus (1683-1895), (v) the Japanese (1895-1945), and the authoritarian Chinese Nationalist regime (1945-1988). If we simply define a colonial regime as "rule by outsiders for the benefit of the outsiders," then clearly all of these regimes were colonial. This perspective is not new. Su Beng (史明) made this very point in his path-breaking history of Taiwan first published in Japanese over fifty years ago.¹

¹ Shi Mei, *Taiwanjin Yonhyakunenshi: Himerareta Shokuminchi Kaihō No Ichidanmen* [The Four Hundred Year History of the Taiwanese: Hidden Section of Colonial Liberation] (Tokyo: Otowa Shobō, 1962).

Others believe that with the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) in 1945, Taiwan did not come under the rule of another of colonial regime, but rather became a “settler state” (*qianzhanzhe guojia* 遷佔者國家). I would argue, however, that Taiwan did not become “settler state” as a “settler state” means the arrival of substantial numbers of outsiders who subjugate the indigenous peoples, but who then run the state themselves. Thus, good examples of “settler states” include the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. When substantial numbers of people migrated from southeast China to Taiwan and subjugated the aboriginal peoples, at least to some extent, these very same migrants were still subject to rule by Dutch, Spanish, Chinese, Manchu, Japanese and again Chinese rulers who separated themselves from society at large. When the Chinese Nationalists arrived after 1945, they systematically oppressed both the aborigines and the Taiwanese who had arrived before 1895. Outsiders controlled the locals for the benefit of the outsiders. Thus, the writer strongly disagrees with the arguments of Ronald Weitzer that Taiwan is a settler state.² Rather, until early 1988, it was a colonial state under foreign rule.³

Another key contested issue of modern Taiwan revolves around the role of Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國) in establishing Taiwan’s democratization. The writer has no difficulty conceding that Chiang Ching-kuo enabled two periods of “liberalization” (*ziyouhua* 自由化 or *songbanghua* 鬆綁化) during the early 1970s and the late 1980s, but how does one account for the oppression of the

² Ronald Weitzer, *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 24-27, 31-32, 255. Zimbabwe, like Algeria, was a colonial state, not a “settler state,” because the vast majority of people remained under white rule until independence. Northern Ireland is perhaps a more difficult case, but if one considers Northern Ireland a part of the whole of Ireland, then it too was not a settler state. For a recent discussion of whether Taiwan is a settler state or a former colonial regime, see Huang Zhihui, “Zhonghua Minguo zai Taiwan (1945-1987): ‘Zhimin Tongzhi’ Yu ‘Qianzhanzhe Guojia’ Shuo Zhi Jiantao [Republic of China in Taiwan (1945-1987): An Analysis of ‘Colonial Rule’ and ‘Settler States’],” in Taiwan jiaoshou xiehui, ed., *Zhonghua Minguo Liuwang Taiwan 60 Nian Ji Zhanhou Taiwan Guoji Chujing* [The Republic of China’s Sixty Years of Exile in Taiwan and Taiwan’s Difficult Postwar International Situation] (Taipei: Qianwei Chubanshe, 2010), pp. 161-192.

³ The writer has discussed these issues in a number of places including J. Bruce Jacobs, “Whither Taiwanization? The Colonization, Democratization and Taiwanization of Taiwan,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14: 4 (Dec. 2013), pp. 567-586.

period following the Kaohsiung Incident in December 1979 and afterwards?⁴ The evidence clearly shows that democratization in Taiwan actually began during the presidency of Lee Teng-hui (李登輝), after the death of Chiang Ching-kuo.⁵

In trying to bring together an understanding of Taiwan's history prior to the arrival of the Dutch, I have relied on three major types of historical materials. First, I have used the recent archeological evidence of young Taiwan archeologists and their teachers. This helps us to understand developments over the millennia before the Dutch invasion and also makes us aware that Taiwan's inhabitants had substantial trading networks with Southeast Asia dating back at least 2,500 years. Secondly, I have used Chinese and Dutch texts of visitors to Taiwan prior to the Dutch invasion of 1624 (though one important text, by Candidius, actually dates from December 1628, very early in the Dutch period). In trying to understand these texts, I have found a modern analysis by John Robert Shepherd to have special importance. Finally, I have used the numerous—and often mutually contradictory—accounts and research studies of how Taiwan participated in both intra-Asian trade and later, with the coming of the European powers, in world trade. Hopefully, readers will agree that my analysis of Taiwan in these trading networks helps to clarify our understanding of these very complex phenomena. Let us begin, however, by returning to the Taiwan of six thousand years ago.

2. Pre-Invasion Aboriginal Taiwan

Taiwan separated physically from the Asian mainland during the Holocene period⁶ some 10,000 years ago. Archeological evidence reveals that Taiwan had Paleolithic sites dating as early as 25,000 BCE and possibly as late as 5000-4000

⁴ J. Bruce Jacobs, *The Kaohsiung Incident in Taiwan and Memoirs of a Foreign Big Beard* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016).

⁵ For a full study of Taiwan's democratization, see J. Bruce Jacobs, *Democratizing Taiwan* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012). For a more specific examination of the absence of "democratization" under Chiang Ching-kuo, see J. Bruce Jacobs, "Reconsidering Democratization in Taiwan," in Hsin-huang Michael Hsiao, ed., *The State of the Field of Taiwan Studies* (in press, n.d.).

⁶ Yi-ch'ang Liu, "Prehistory and Austronesians in Taiwan: An Archaeological Perspective," in David Blundell, ed., *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory* (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines; Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 2009), p. 382.

BCE, but no evidence exists demonstrating any relationship with later Neolithic sites.⁷

From about 4000 BCE to 2500/2200 BCE, the Early Neolithic period, Taiwan had one general culture, the Ta-pen-k'eng (*Dabengkeng* 大垵坑) or TPK culture distributed along Taiwan's coasts, rivers and lakeshores.⁸ In the years since, Taiwan's coastal areas have been covered by thick and broad alluvial deposits so that many of the oldest archeological sites, which were originally quite close to the coast, are now some distance away. In addition, in eastern Taiwan tectonic uplift has also further removed the sites from the coast.⁹ Early TPK culture was marked by coarse cord-marked pottery and polished stone tools,¹⁰ but Late TPK culture (2800-2200 BCE) had rice and millet farming, shell crop-harvesting knives, polished stone adzes, settled village occupation, large cemeteries with extended burials associated with grave goods and a tooth evulsion ritual and domestic dog burials.¹¹ Late TPK culture clearly had a maritime trading network connecting Taiwan and such islands as the Pescadores (Penghu 澎湖). For example, basalt adzes found in Taiwan archeological sites can be traced to a quarry in the Pescadores. The people of the Late TPK culture also fished and hunted such animals as deer and wild pigs. They also ate considerable shellfish.¹²

The Late TPK culture evolved into more variegated cultures during the Middle Neolithic period (c.2500-1500 BCE). Archeologists have discovered nearly three hundred Middle Neolithic sites across Taiwan (seven times the number of Early Neolithic sites) which show some diversity and have been classed into five regional groupings. The copious stone harvesting knives, sickles and polished adzes suggest that farming was well established during this

⁷ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Mike T. Carson, "Foragers, Fishers and Farmers: Origins of the Taiwanese Neolithic," *Antiquity* 88: 342 (Dec. 2014), pp. 1119-1120.

⁸ Sources differ as to the romanization of Ta-pen-k'eng, but the correct Wade-Giles romanization is Ta-pen-k'eng.

⁹ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Mike T. Carson, "Foragers, Fishers and Farmers: Origins of the Taiwanese Neolithic," pp. 1124-1125.

¹⁰ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Mike T. Carson, "Foragers, Fishers and Farmers: Origins of the Taiwanese Neolithic," pp. 1120-1121.

¹¹ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Mike T. Carson, "Foragers, Fishers and Farmers: Origins of the Taiwanese Neolithic," p. 1120.

¹² Hsiao-Chun Hung and Mike T. Carson, "Foragers, Fishers and Farmers: Origins of the Taiwanese Neolithic," p. 1127.

period.¹³ At this time, Taiwan's peoples had spread into Taiwan's higher mountains¹⁴ and the cultures "had become quite variegated, as each showed different modes of coping with their [sic] environment and developed separately".¹⁵

The Middle Neolithic cultures in Taiwan became the source of one of the greatest migrations in human history, the spread of the Austronesian people from Taiwan to virtually every inhabitable island in the Pacific including New Zealand and all the way across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar. Both biological and linguistic evidence confirm the Taiwan origins of the world's Austronesian peoples.¹⁶

The Late Neolithic period is dated 1500-300 BCE. These sites too are distributed widely throughout Taiwan. The key Peinan site (卑南遺址) in southeastern Taiwan, a representative site of the Late Neolithic period, has extensive house remains, slate coffin burials, nephrite (jade) ornaments, and distinctive forms of pottery. Megalithic monuments appear to date to the same time range, about 1500 through 500 BCE. Also during this time, large alluvial plains had developed around coastal zones, so much more land was available for rice and millet farming.¹⁷

Unlike China and the countries of Mainland Southeast Asia, the island regions such as Taiwan and the Philippines did not have a Bronze Age prior to the appearance of iron.¹⁸ Both bronze and iron technologies arrived at the same time imported from Southeast Asia. Hsiao-Chun Hung and Chin-yung Chao now

¹³ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Mike T. Carson, "Foragers, Fishers and Farmers: Origins of the Taiwanese Neolithic," p. 1127.

¹⁴ Yi-ch'ang Liu, "Prehistory and Austronesians in Taiwan: An Archaeological Perspective," pp. 382-383.

¹⁵ Yi-ch'ang Liu, "Prehistory and Austronesians in Taiwan: An Archaeological Perspective," p. 383.

¹⁶ R. D. Gray, A. J. Drummond, and S. J. Greenhill, "Language Phylogenies Reveal Expansion Pulses and Pauses in Pacific Settlement," *Science* 323: 5913 (Jan. 23, 2009), pp. 479-483; Yoshan Moodley, et al., "The Peopling of the Pacific from a Bacterial Perspective," *Science* 323: 5913 (Jan. 23, 2009), pp. 527-530; Colin Renfrew, "Where Bacteria and Languages Concur," *Science* 323: 5913 (Jan. 23, 2009), pp. 467-468. See also Peter Bellwood, "Formosan Prehistory and Austronesian Dispersal," in David Blundell, ed., *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*, pp. 336-364. For a classic discussion, see Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), pp. 334-353, 449-451.

¹⁷ Hsiao-Chun Hung, Personal Communication of January 19, 2016.

¹⁸ Hsiao-Chun Hung, Kim Dung Nguyen, Peter Bellwood, and Mike T. Carson, "Coastal Connectivity: Long-Term Trading Networks Across the South China Sea," *The Journal of Island & Coastal Archaeology* 8: 3 (Dec. 2013), p. 388.

propose three stages for the Metal Age in Taiwan: Early (400 BCE-200 CE), Middle (200-800 CE) and Late from 800 CE until 1624 when the Dutch successfully invaded.¹⁹

During the Early Metal Age, modern archeological research has demonstrated that Taiwan's peoples were involved in substantial trading networks that stretched, at minimum, as far as the South China Sea including what is now the Philippines, eastern Malaysia, central and southern Vietnam, peninsular Thailand, and eastern Cambodia. We have long known that eastern Taiwan near modern Hualien produced jade, but contemporary spectroscopy proves that jade found in these various Southeast Asian sites originated in eastern Taiwan. Radiocarbon dating suggests these trading networks were active from 500 BCE to 500 CE.²⁰ Because different cultures preferred their jade ornaments to have different forms, the people in eastern Taiwan prepared jade "blanks" which other peoples on the trading networks could shape as they desired.²¹ We also know that glass beads found in Taiwan originated in what is modern India around 400-300 BCE, though later glass beads were also made in what is now Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam and Sumatra.²²

On the basis of more limited archeological evidence, we also know that at least some trade occurred throughout Taiwan. Glass beads from India and Southeast Asia are found all over Taiwan including the relatively high Alishan area.²³ Although it would seem likely, we have no evidence at present of trade between Taiwan and the Pacific islands.²⁴ At this time, the various cultures in Taiwan "had become even more variegated, so that one could distinguish at least 17 or more cultures... This level of diversity already approaches what is found

¹⁹ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Chin-yung Chao, "Taiwan's Early Metal Age and Engagement with World Trading Systems," *Antiquity* (in press).

²⁰ Hsiao-Chun Hung, et al., "Ancient Jades Map 3,000 Years of Prehistoric Exchange in Southeast Asia," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104: 50 (Dec. 11, 2007), p. 19745.

²¹ Hsiao-Chun Hung, et al., "Ancient Jades Map 3,000 Years of Prehistoric Exchange in Southeast Asia," pp. 19746-19747.

²² Hsiao-Chun Hung and Peter Bellwood, "Movement of Raw Materials and Manufactured Goods across the South China Sea after 500 BCE: from Taiwan to Thailand and Back," in Bérénice Bellina, Elisabeth A. Bacus, Thomas Oliver Pryce, and Jan Wisseman Christie, eds., *50 Years of Archaeology in Southeast Asia: Essays in Honour of Ian Glover* (Bangkok: River Books, 2010), p. 240.

²³ Ling-yu Hung and Chuan-Kun Ho, "New Light on Taiwan Highland Prehistory," *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 26 (Mar. 2006), pp. 27-28.

²⁴ Hsiao-Chun Hung, Personal Communication of September 1, 2015.

in the ethnological records”.²⁵

Several aspects of the archeological evidence demonstrate that the Metal Age trading and technological contacts were with Southeast Asia and not China. The casting moulds for metal manufacture were made from southern Taiwan sandstone, but the styles are similar to those in Thailand and southern Vietnam. Such styles do not appear in any Chinese sites. The chemical composition of glass beads show that they have come from Southeast Asia and not from China. And the colors of the beads, too, resemble the colors of Southeast Asia, not China. In addition, the distinctive bead spacers made of bone also come from Southeast Asia and not from China.²⁶

(1) Pre-Invasion Aboriginal Society

Taiwan’s aborigines did not have writing, so they left no written records. However, we do have some early descriptions of aboriginal society by Dutch and Chinese adventurers, which despite being independently formulated, often reinforce each other. English translations of these sources are reasonably available to contemporary researchers. This section summarizes these reports. The next section considers John Robert Shepherd’s excellent analysis of the pre-invasion Siraya, who were located near modern Tainan.

Writing over fifty years ago, Laurence G. Thompson began an important article with these sentences: “The most striking fact about the historical knowledge of Formosa is the lack of it in Chinese records. It is truly astonishing that this very large island, so close to the mainland that on exceptionally clear days it may be made out from certain places on the Fukien [Fujian] coast with the unaided eye, should have remained virtually beyond the ken of Chinese writers down until late Ming times (17th century).”²⁷ Thompson then translates some early Chinese accounts. The first, dating from 1349 during the Mongol period, has short comments on Penghu (澎湖),²⁸ where some Chinese lived from time to time, though they also periodically abandoned the islands because life there was difficult to sustain. The section on Liu-ch’iu (琉球), which at least

²⁵ Yi-ch’ang Liu, “Prehistory and Austronesians in Taiwan: An Archaeological Perspective,” p. 383.

²⁶ Hsiao-Chun Hung and Chin-yung Chao, “Taiwan’s Early Metal Age and Engagement with World Trading Systems”.

²⁷ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” *Monumenta Serica* 23: 1 (1964), p. 163.

²⁸ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” pp. 167-168.

some sources claim is Taiwan, states that “It is a vast land, with forests of huge trees.” The land has mountains and fertile fields “suitable for farming”... The customs [of the inhabitants] are *unlike* those of P’eng-hu [Penghu]...²⁹ Perhaps, most importantly, the text on Liu-ch’iu concludes, “The foreign countries start with this one.”³⁰

A more important text, *An Account of the Eastern Barbarians* (東番記), by Chen Di (陳第), dates from 1603. At this time, Taiwan was a temporary base for pirates and Chen was part of an expedition which attempted to eliminate them.³¹ Chen’s text describes Taiwan’s aborigines as living in substantial villages of 500-600 and up to a thousand people. He says they have no chief, but they like to fight and are brave. They like to run and can run all day at the speed of a galloping horse without rest. They wear no clothes, though women may wear a grass skirt. They have no writing. When they fight wars, they take heads, from which they strip the flesh and then hang the skulls at their doors.³²

Chen Di states that Taiwan’s aborigines use slash and burn agriculture, and do not irrigate. They make alcoholic beverages. The men cut their hair, but the women do not. The eyeteeth of women are knocked out when they are fifteen or sixteen. (We know from other sources that this occurs at marriage.) The Taiwanese aborigines use the land’s considerable bamboo to make their houses and unmarried youths live in a common house (again we now know these are male age-grade houses.)³³

Chen Di clearly understood that the Taiwan aborigines he observed had a matrilineal kinship system: “Therefore they are much happier at the birth of a girl than of a boy, in view of the fact that a girl will continue the family line, while a boy is not sufficient to establish the family succession.”³⁴

Aboriginal marriage interested many of the Chinese and Dutch observers. Chen Di states that an aboriginal youth sends a third person with agate beads to his intended. If she accepts the beads, at night he then will play an instrument

²⁹ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” p. 168. Emphasis added.

³⁰ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” p. 169.

³¹ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” pp. 170-171.

³² Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” p. 172.

³³ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” p. 173.

³⁴ Laurence G. Thompson, “The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines,” p. 174.

similar to Jew's harp and she will admit him and he will stay the night, but he will leave before dawn. This night-time relationship will continue, though the man will have no interaction with the bride's parents. If she has a child, she will go to his house and bring him home to her house where he will be accepted as the son-in-law.³⁵

Chen Di notes that Taiwan has substantial herds of deer which the men in groups (and not individually) kill with sharp throwing spears. The men run the deer to exhaustion, surround them and then kill their prey. The Taiwanese love to eat all parts of the deer including their intestines and the contents of their intestines. When Chinese observe this, they retch, while aborigines retch at seeing Chinese eat chicken and pheasant.³⁶ Chen Di concludes, "Strange indeed are the Eastern Barbarians!"³⁷

Two Dutch merchants, Jacob Constant and Barent Pessaert, visited the aboriginal village of Soulang, near Chiali (佳里) in the center of the plain of modern Tainan,³⁸ for two days in early November 1623, the year before the Dutch occupied the Tainan area and began their thirty-eight years of colonial rule.³⁹ Despite their short visit and the difficulties of translations,⁴⁰ the observations of the two merchants mesh closely with those of Chen Di and later eyewitnesses.

³⁵ Laurence G. Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," p. 174.

³⁶ Laurence G. Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," pp. 175-176.

³⁷ Laurence G. Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," p. 177.

³⁸ For an excellent list of about 450 aboriginal place names together with their approximate modern equivalents, see "Lijst van historische plaatsnamen [List of Historical Place Names]," in J.L. Blussé, W.E. Milde, Ts'ao Yung-ho, and N.C. Everts, eds., *De dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662, DEEL II: 1641-1648* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), pp. 675-693.

³⁹ For the background on this visit, see Leonard Blussé and Marius P.H. Roessingh, "A Visit to the Past: Soulang, A Formosan Village anno 1623," *Archipel* 27 (1984), pp. 63-80. The two texts of Constant and Pessaert appear on pp. 69-71 and pp. 71-77. Both the original Dutch texts as well as English translations appear in Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635* (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 1999), pp. 4-13 (Dutch), 13-22 (English) and pp. 23-24 (Dutch), 24-25 (English).

⁴⁰ The author used "my own observations, experience and by questioning" Chinese merchants located in Taiwan who "sail from one place to another along the coast (because the natives do not have any sort of vessel) in search of trade and profit" as well as a shipwrecked man from Manila who had married and remained in the Soulang area, Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 22. The quote describing the Chinese merchants comes from *Ibid.*, p. 21.

According to Constant and Pessaert, Soulang “is very large” making “it comparable in size to some of the largest cities in the Netherlands,” though it is not surrounded by walls “nor is it densely built.”⁴¹ They praise the architecture of Soulang, noting the buildings in the town are “exquisite”, set on a base of clay so that “one could not say that this is not the work of uncivilized people but of European master craftsmen.” In the clay floor the houses have “three heavy posts to support the roof.” The roofs are made of bamboo covered with “sods of approximately one and a half feet so it is impossible for the rain to penetrate, nor can it be damaged by winds.” At night, for light they do not burn oil, which they do not have, but “manage with a small fire” in one of the corners. “And if they need light to find something they take a burning brand of wood from the fire... or burn a bundle of straw...” Each house has five to fifteen coconut or palm trees as well as some lime trees. They have some solid storehouses for rice and food.⁴² “Almost every house has its own well inside the enclosure, some 40 to 50 feet deep with clean, clear, cool, and fresh water.” The town itself has five marketplaces.⁴³

Constant and Pessaert observe there is gender division for daily tasks. The men hunt and engage in warfare. The women clean the house, cook red rice into a porridge and gather food from the forest and shellfish and small fish from the seacoast as well as tend the swine. The “treasure of the house” includes baskets, deerskins, spears, swords and chopping knives as well as antlers and deerheads.⁴⁴ The men hunt deer by setting fire to a forest and flushing out the deer so that they may shoot them with slings and spears. “Because they are fast runners, they follow the animals and chase the game until it gets tired or drops dead.” This method of hunting deer is very different from that of Siam.⁴⁵

The two merchants believe there is no marriage ceremony, but for the bride “two of her upper teeth are knocked out of her mouth with stones, which shows

⁴¹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 19.

⁴² Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, pp. 14-16.

⁴³ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁵ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 21.

whether she is married or not.” The men do not live with their wives but return to what we now know are age-grade houses. According to the merchants, “They [the Taiwanese aboriginal men] do not appear to be very jealous of their wives, nor do they think prudishly of the act of procreation, for it overcame us when we were there that a man who used his wife (said with reverence) in a natural way (and what is more: in our presence), took her by the hand and led her to us to commit the same act and replace him at his work, which to their amazement we refused, deeming this to be unchristian.” Yet, “I nevertheless have the impression that they do not revel so much in lasciviousness or unchaste desire as any other nation that I have encountered so far...”⁴⁶

The Dutch observed that the Taiwan aboriginal “men are taller than is our average man by a head and a neck.” They are “stark naked” and both genders let their hair grow long. Some older people have many tattoos, but the younger people have “perfectly unblemished and smooth bodies.” They “are very sturdy and well-built” and “amazingly fast and skilful runners, [and] I even believe they can outrun a horse.”⁴⁷

Like other observers, Constant and Pessaert perceive the Taiwan aborigines had no real hierarchy. “All and sundry without distinction are equally free and unfree. One person is in no way more master than another because they keep no slaves, servants, or subjects for selling or lending purposes. Nor do they have any say in other people’s business or way of life.”⁴⁸ The merchants conclude the document with observations to assist the Dutch East India Company commercially.⁴⁹

After the initial trip, the Dutch sent Mr. Constant and some soldiers and crew to cut bamboo. The Taiwan aborigines attacked the Dutch. In a litany which would be constant throughout Dutch rule, the Dutch said, “We presume all this happened because of the provocation of the Chinese.”⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 17.

⁴⁷ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁰ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 24-25. (quote from p. 25).

The third, and most extensive, document was written by Georgius Candidius, a Dutch missionary employed by the Dutch East India Company.⁵¹ Candidius lived in Sinkan, a large Siraya village located just northeast of the main Dutch fort, for sixteen months trying to convert the Siraya people to Christianity. However, Candidius apparently did speak a fair amount of Siraya and his extensive report, which reinforces and adds to the reports of Chen Di and of Jacob Constant and Barent Pessaert, is important for our understanding of pre-invasion Siraya culture.⁵²

Candidius begins by saying Taiwan has “many villages and is very populous.” The people “do not have a king, lord, or chief to govern them... They do not live in peace and good harmony with one another, but are continually at war, one village against the other.” The island “abounds in fine fish... and it is full of deer, wild boar [and many other wild animals and birds]...”⁵³

According to Candidius, the land is “very rich and fertile... but scarcely cultivated or sown.” There are some fruit-bearing trees, ginger and cinnamon. Candidius repeats a common theme during the Dutch period, “It is said that there may also be silver and gold-mines... But I myself have not seen this...”⁵⁴ In fact, and despite many efforts, the Dutch later found only small amounts of alluvial gold.

Candidius limits his account to eight villages which “share the same manners, customs, religion and language...” Seven of the eight are along the coast and a return trip from the Dutch fort takes only two days. The eighth village is in the mountains and a return trip requires three days.⁵⁵

⁵¹ During the 17th century, most Dutch reverends Latinized their names. This was typical of the learned society that blossomed in the Netherlands at the time. Leonard Blussé, Personal Communication of December 29, 2015.

⁵² Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 91-112 (Dutch), 112-133 (English), 134-135 (Dutch), 136-137 (English). A shorter version of Candidius' report, with several errors, appears in Rev. Wm. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records, with Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1903), pp. 9-25.

⁵³ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 112.

⁵⁴ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 113.

⁵⁵ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 113. To

Candidius describes the Siraya men as “savage, rude, and barbaric [but] generally tall and sturdily built, like semi-giants. Their colour is halfway between black and brown... In the summertime, they walk about stark-naked, without any shame...” Candidius describes the women as “generally small and short of stature but very plump and strong. Their colour is halfway between brown and yellow. They wear clothes and have a natural feeling of shame, except when they wash themselves, which they do outside their houses twice a day, in the morning and in the evening with warm water. At that moment they will not easily be embarrassed by a man passing by.” Candidius says, the “people are very friendly, faithful and good hearted. They will treat our [Dutch] nation in a very friendly fashion to food and drinks as much as they can, as long as these [Dutch] do not come to visit them too often and are not rude in their behavior.”⁵⁶

Candidius tells us that the Siraya do not steal (except those in Soulang), nor are they treacherous. “They have a sound mind and a good memory, understanding and remembering things easily.” But, they are also very “beggarly.”⁵⁷

The Siraya have rich land, but they only cultivate what is necessary “for their daily subsistence.” On the other hand, they use only mattocks to hoe the fields, a very time-consuming process. The women perform most of the agricultural work. In addition to rice, they have a native millet, beans and tubers, ginger, sugarcane, watermelons, bananas, coconuts, lemons and betel nuts. Candidius spends considerable time discussing the alcoholic drinks of the Siraya. The women also go out on small boats or rafts to catch fish, crabs, shrimp and oysters. They salt the fish and keep it in jars before eating.⁵⁸

Importantly, Candidius notes the young men “stay idle” though he then says their “principal occupations are hunting and fighting.” The older men, aged 40

the best of my knowledge Sinkan, Mattau, Soulang, Backeloan, Tafalan, Tifalukan, Teopang and Tefurang are all in modern Tainan municipality. However, the Romanization of place names in the Dutch records varies considerably and some villages cannot be found in the “Lijst van historische plaatsnamen [List of Historical Place Names],” pp. 675-693.

⁵⁶ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 113.

⁵⁷ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 114.

⁵⁸ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 114-116.

and older, spend most of the days with their wives in the fields where they have small huts.⁵⁹

Candidius says the Siraya have three methods for hunting with snares, with throwing spears, and with bows and arrows. With snares they surround the deer or boars and push them toward the snares or they put the snares on animal tracks. They then kill the snared animals with spears. Every year the Siraya capture many thousands of deer and boars with snares.⁶⁰

With spears, the men of one to three villages, each with two or three spears, go out with dogs, circle the game and then tighten the circle so that the deer cannot escape. Each spear has a shaft of bamboo, about the height of a man, with an iron point having four or five barbs. The iron point is not firmly attached to the shaft, so that the shaft drags behind the deer. In addition, the spear has a bell attached so that the hunters can hear where the deer has gone. The Siraya also catch “great numbers” of deer with spears.⁶¹

The Siraya use bows and arrows when they hunt deer alone or with only two or three people. This involves a chase of the deer, but “they can run almost as fast as deer.” In this way too, the Siraya “also shoot quite a number” of deer.⁶²

Candidius agrees with Chen Di that the Taiwan aborigines like to eat deer intestines with their contents. According to Candidius, the Siraya barter the deer meat with Chinese merchants for piece-goods, salt and other trifles.⁶³ We also know that Japanese merchants came to Taiwan to purchase deer hides, which were used for leather in samurai armor, saddle trimmings, quivers, jackets, boots, tabi socks, trousers, bags, lacquered leather boxes, blankets, mattresses, tobacco pouches and wall ornaments,⁶⁴ and that Taiwan deerskins had been used in Japan since the 16th century.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 116.

⁶⁰ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 116.

⁶¹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 116-117.

⁶² Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 117.

⁶³ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 117.

⁶⁴ John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 38.

⁶⁵ Katō Eiichi, “The Japanese-Dutch Trade in the Formative Period of the Seclusion Policy: Particularly on the Raw Silk Trade by the Dutch Factory at Hirado, 1620-1640,” *Acta Asiatica* 30 (Feb. 1976), p. 43.

Candidius spends considerable space describing the wars of the Siraya. They may kill an older person in a hut in the fields away from a village and they can go to the enemy village and attack by stealth. If they kill a person, they will try to take the head. The spears used in war differ from those used in hunting as the points do not have barbs, nor do they have a rope or a bell. The Siraya also have long, broad shields behind which they can hide and swords which are short and broad. They also use bows and arrows. The Siraya use ruses and deceit dividing their warring parties into one group which attacks and another which lies in wait to ambush. For defense, they prepare mantraps.⁶⁶

When successful warriors return with an enemy head, their village has a big celebration with strong alcohol and the slaughter of a pig. Captured heads are considered very valuable and are the first item rescued when a house catches fire.⁶⁷

Each village is autonomous and no village has a leader with absolute command over another person. Candidius suggests each village has a council, “reshuffled every two years,” with its membership chosen from men about 40 years old. When an important matter comes up, the council calls a meeting of the entire village. When one person is speaking, “the others will all be silent and listen...” Candidius was surprised by the eloquence and oratory of the villagers and commented, “I think Demosthenes himself could not have been more eloquent and more fluent in words.” Candidius suggests decisions are made by consensus. If someone has committed a misdeed, the twelve councilors can only fine the miscreant. They do not use imprisonment, chains, corporal punishment or the death penalty.⁶⁸

After arguing that the Siraya “walk about totally naked” to make certain that it rains,⁶⁹ Candidius returns to issues of morality. He argues that the Siraya “neither have laws for robbery, manslaughter, or adultery, nor are these punished in public. Each person takes his own revenge to the degree he thinks he has been offended.”⁷⁰ Candidius later explains that the Siraya, like the Dutch,

⁶⁶ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 117-119.

⁶⁷ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 120.

⁶⁸ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, pp. 120-121.

⁶⁹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 122.

⁷⁰ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635*, p. 122.

consider lying, stealing and killing unlawful, though they do not consider drunkenness sinful and call it “merriment.” Also, “neither fornication nor adultery are considered sins, so long as they are committed in secret.” Candidius notes, “when I scolded them about their fornication, they said that their gods were pleased with it... As I mentioned above, men do not dare to get married before their 21st year, but there is no control over fornication.”⁷¹

Candidius also explicates the absence of hierarchy in Siraya society: “Although no one among these people is lower or higher, servant or master, all being on the same level and therefore not having words for master or servant in their language, they nevertheless show great respect and courtesy to each other in their own way. The main social hierarchy is age and “the younger person will go out of the way a little and will turn his back on the older person until he has passed... Whenever they take meals together or come together for a drink, they will give the food and drink first to the oldest one, without paying attention to other qualities.”⁷²

Age is clearly important to the men and the youth are grouped by age. The men have their hair cut or pulled according to age, while the women allow their hair to grow. A man seeking to marry a “maiden” sends presents via female friends to her house. If the presents are not returned, the couple is considered married and “the next night he may sleep with her.”⁷³ However, the couple does not live together with the wife remaining home and the husband returning to his age-grade housing. The husband secretly visits his wife at night and leaves before dawn “almost like a thief” and “he is not allowed to come back to the house during the day.”⁷⁴ The husband and wife also do not share family property and both, for example, maintain their own fields. Nor can the husband enter his wife’s house without an invitation.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 131.

⁷² Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 123.

⁷³ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 124.

⁷⁴ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 125.

⁷⁵ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 126.

Candidius expresses considerable concern with the repeated abortions of the wives. He tells us that the women have as many as fifteen or sixteen abortions before allowing the child to live when the wife is aged 37 or 38. Only at this stage of life do the men leave their age-grade homes and live with their wives, often in the fields where they build a little hut.⁷⁶ (We shall come back to this in the next section.) Siraya marriage tends to be monogamous, but if either party is unhappy, they can leave and marry someone else. Adultery does occur, but in secret.⁷⁷

Candidius praises the Siraya for their “fine and big houses, so beautiful and original in structure and decoration...” The decorations include deerskins “which they use instead of gold and silver—which they do not have,” matlocks for cultivation and weapons. “But the best and most precious treasures they keep and value in their houses are the skulls, hair, or bones obtained from their enemies.”⁷⁸

The Siraya serve food in hollowed-out pieces of wood like a trough. They drink from earthenware pots or pieces of bamboo and they cook with earthenware pots and pans. Apart from the rice, according to Candidius, their food is often very dirty and smelly. Their most precious objects are made of dog hair and the role of dogs resembles the role of sheep in Holland.⁷⁹

When a person dies, they do not bury or cremate the corpse. Rather, they place the corpse on a bier above the floor and light a fire, “not directly under the corpse, but beneath it and thus let it desiccate.” They then hold a celebration for the dead which includes the slaughter of pigs, eating large amounts of food and drinking alcoholic beverages. They also dance slowly for the departed. The corpse is washed every day, but creates quite a stench. Then, on the ninth day, they wrap the corpse in a mat and put it on a higher bier in the house. At this time, they also have another celebration similar to the first. During the third year, they take the corpse, which is now a skeleton and bury it in the house.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, pp. 126-127.

⁷⁷ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 127.

⁷⁸ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 128.

⁷⁹ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 128.

⁸⁰ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, vol. I: 1623-1635, p. 129.

(2) Explaining Siraya Culture

In an important and extraordinary study, John Robert Shepherd, has used a wide variety of anthropological and historical studies to enable us to understand 17th century Siraya culture. Shepherd notes that in head-hunting society, the pregnancy of a wife endangered the husband and that a headhunting husband also endangered the wife and unborn child.⁸¹ Thus, the Siraya practiced mandatory abortion until a man, usually about forty, retired from headhunting. According to Shepherd, Sirayan “institutions may be seen as an extreme development of such beliefs: they radically postponed conjugal family life (but not sex) in favor of the warrior ideal and exclusive male age grade service.” These beliefs went well beyond the Amis and the Puyuma, two other age-grade cultures in Taiwan.⁸² Shepherd notes that other explanations for the mandatory abortion, like overpopulation, do not accord with the qualitative evidence that shows the Siraya had good health and nutrition during the 17th century. In addition, there was no need to limit population growth.⁸³

Shepherd explains that massage abortion is the safest pre-modern method. He notes, “Massage abortions skillfully performed may well involve less danger to the mother’s health than giving live birth.”⁸⁴ In addition, “Massage abortion need have little adverse effect on a woman’s subsequent ability to carry a fetus to term, and it involves less strain or trauma to the uterus than childbirth. Thus, repeated massage abortions, when skillfully performed, need not have had an adverse effect on Sirayan women’s health and fertility.”⁸⁵

Shepherd also elucidates the male age-grade life when men went to live in the male house at about age four and did not leave until aged forty-two after serving two years as a village councillor.⁸⁶ Thus, marriage among the Siraya was in two stages. The couple lived separately (although sleeping together at night if they wished). Only after the husband left the age-grade system did the couple cohabit and raise children.⁸⁷

⁸¹ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya* (Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association, 1995 [re-issued 2010]), p. 44.

⁸² John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, p. 45. For more on the Amis and Puyuma, see *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁸³ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁴ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, p. 5.

⁸⁵ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁶ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, pp. 26-31.

⁸⁷ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, pp. 31-32.

With the arrival of the Dutch, the Siraya demonstrated a willingness to accept marriage in the Dutch style and to forgo mandatory abortion. The Dutch peace removed the need for frequent warfare and Dutch victories over the Siraya, as well as alliances with the Dutch, made the Siraya more willing to accept the Dutch and their powerful God.⁸⁸ “Thus, the old religion had been discredited; both abundant harvests and victories in war had disproved the claims of the [Siraya] priestesses. The god of the Dutchmen, who had so amply demonstrated his power, did not require that married couples postpone joint residence and the rearing of children as a condition of his favors; on the contrary, his missionaries actively preached against abortion and in favor of conjugal coresidence.”⁸⁹ Thus, Shepherd argues, under the challenge of the Dutch, the complex of “age grade hierarchy, pregnancy taboos, and mandatory abortion” disappeared. Under the Dutch, “Siraya youth proved willing to reject the authority of their seniors and risk violating traditional taboos to marry and bear children according to Dutch rules rather than Siraya ones.”⁹⁰

3. Taiwan in the Wider International Context before 1624

Before the arrival of the Dutch, Taiwan existed as an island—separate from any other nation—where many independent and warring Austronesian tribes lived. As we have noted, these tribes engaged in widespread trading networks with Southeast Asia dating back more than two thousand years. In the 16th and early 17th centuries Japanese and Chinese traders, among others, came to Taiwan to trade for deerskins and other products. Three types of Chinese people did visit Taiwan temporarily. Merchants came to trade, fishermen came to fish and pirates came to hide, but all left after visiting temporarily and none formed any permanent communities in Taiwan. This becomes very clear from the Dutch and Spanish sources.⁹¹ Furthermore, none of these so-called “Chinese” visitors

⁸⁸ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, pp. 58-61.

⁸⁹ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, p. 61.

⁹⁰ John Robert Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th-Century Siraya*, p. 63.

⁹¹ For early Dutch sources, see, for example, Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch*

represented the Ming Chinese state. All were at least in some manner detached from official China and many had broken the law and become social outcasts. Two of the groups, the merchants and the pirates, sometimes became indistinguishable from each other.

The absence of contact between China and Taiwan is not difficult to understand. Two thousand years ago, non-Han groups occupied much of what is China today. In his monumental study of *Han Chinese Expansion in South China*, Herold J. Wiens explains why Fujian, the province opposite Taiwan, was the last place on the Chinese Pacific coast to which Han Chinese migrated:

Because of the lack of large river plains in south Che-chiang [Zhejiang] and in Fu-chien [Fujian] and the difficult barrier of the Wu-I Range cutting them off from the interior, this bloc was bi-passed in the early Han-Chinese drive for the delta lands of the Hsi [West] River [in Guangdong]. Moreover, this mountain area had developed a fairly high degree of [non-Han] political organization by the third Century B.C. and was able to put off direct rule by the Han Chinese for a longer period than Chiang-hsi [Jiangxi] and Hu-nan.⁹²

According to Wiens, the Chinese state established a *xian* or county only when 10,000 or more Han Chinese registered. Fujian had no *xian* in 280 CE, only two *xian* in 464 CE and nine *xian* in 740 CE, well into the Tang Dynasty. Only in 1102 CE, late in the Northern Song, did Fujian have forty *xian*. During the Ming Dynasty, the number of *xian* in Fujian rose to 58.⁹³ Not until the Southern Song established its capital in Hangzhou in 1130 did Fujian become part of “the cultural heart of Han China.”⁹⁴

An important historical atlas adds further weight to Wien’s analysis. Fujian was not part of China through the Later Han (25-220 CE).⁹⁵ During the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-277 CE) and the Division between the North and South (265-581 CE), Fujian became part of some of the Southern states.⁹⁶ Only

Archival Sources, vol. I: 1623-1635. On the Spanish, see José Eugenio Borao Mateo, ed., *Spaniards in Taiwan (Documents), vol. I: 1582-1642* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Co., 2001). See also Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 83.

⁹² Herold J. Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China* ([Hamden, CT]: The Shoe String Press, 1967), p. 8.

⁹³ Herold J. Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China*, p. 174.

⁹⁴ Herold J. Wiens, *Han Chinese Expansion in South China*, p. 182.

⁹⁵ Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1966), pp. 6-12, 14-15, 18-19.

⁹⁶ Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China*, pp. 17, 20-23.

with the Sui (581-618 CE) and Tang Dynasties (618-906 CE) did the Fujian area notionally become part of the Chinese empire,⁹⁷ though Wiens' analysis casts doubt upon whether Fujian had many Han people then.

(1) Trade between China and Japan during the Ming Dynasty

Following the fall of the Mongol empire, the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 CE) was basically isolationist in terms of foreign relations and trade.⁹⁸ In 1371, the fourth year after the establishment of the Ming Dynasty, the Ming founding emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋) or the Hongwu (洪武) Emperor (r. 1368-1398), prohibited foreign trade.⁹⁹ The Hongwu Emperor decreed that “no Chinese should be permitted to go overseas, and those who sailed abroad on ships of more than two masts should be executed as traitors.”¹⁰⁰ The Hongwu Emperor also prohibited trade in 1390.¹⁰¹

The one major exception to this Ming isolation began under the third Ming emperor, the Yongle (永樂) Emperor (r.1403-1424). He began the sending of seven major fleets under the command of Zheng He (鄭和) to Southeast Asia, South Asia and as far as the east coast of Africa during 1405-1433. The purpose of these seven voyages was to build tributary relationships with these areas. The subject of much misunderstanding, Zheng's voyages did not explore unknown lands, but “were attracted by an already functioning trading system.”¹⁰² Like the later Portuguese, Zheng most likely used Arab navigators in the western half of the Indian Ocean.

With 27,000 men (mostly soldiers), force was always an element in Zheng's voyages and violence was used on three occasions.¹⁰³ The biography of Zheng

⁹⁷ Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China*, pp. 28-29. Prior to the Qing, none of the maps show Taiwan as a part of China, *Ibid*, pp. 6-47.

⁹⁸ Edward L. Dreyer, *Early Ming China: A Political History, 1355-1435* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 3, 242.

⁹⁹ Shigeo Sakuma, “Min-dai kaigai shi-bōeki no rekishiteki haikai Fukkenshō chūshin toshite [Historical Background of Private Foreign Trade in Ming Period: Chiefly on the Case of Fukien Province],” *Shigaku zasshi* 62: 1 (Jan. 1953), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Yi-t'ung Wang, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Shigeo Sakuma, “Min-dai kaigai shi-bōeki no rekishiteki haikai Fukkenshō chūshin toshite,” p. 3.

¹⁰² Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), p. 182.

¹⁰³ Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*, pp. 28-29 et passim.

He in the official *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingshi* 明史) demonstrates the importance of the iron hand in the velvet glove: “Then they went in succession to the various foreign countries... Those who did not submit were pacified by force.”¹⁰⁴ Zheng’s voyages did have some influence. The rise of Malacca (Melaka) as a trading port to some extent owes to support from Zheng.¹⁰⁵ But, “After the third ruler of Malacca converted to Islam in 1436, Malacca attracted to its port an increasing amount of the Indian Ocean and South China Sea trade, much of which was carried on ships sent by Muslim merchants and crewed by Muslim sailors... [After Zheng He] this pattern of trade, now largely in Muslim hands, persisted until the arrival of the Portuguese.”¹⁰⁶

Owing to the great expense of Zheng He’s voyages, as well as the Ming Dynasty’s concern with the Mongols on its northern borders, China turned inward and northward: “The [Ming] prohibition against building oceangoing ships and conducting foreign trade remained in force, and Chinese private citizens who violated this prohibition went beyond the borders of the Ming empire and ceased to be objects of government solicitude.”¹⁰⁷ With a northward-oriented foreign policy and the prohibition of building oceangoing ships and conducting foreign trade, Ming China withdrew from the oceans. Thus, following the last voyage of Zheng He and his death in 1433,¹⁰⁸ the Ming again prohibited overseas private trade in 1433, 1449 and 1452.¹⁰⁹ Until 1521, if one went overseas without permission, depending upon what one brought, the person could be punished by one hundred flogging strokes and confiscation of all commodities, strangulation or decapitation.¹¹⁰ In terms of Japan, during 1404-1419 while Zheng He was active, the Ming sent seven official missions to Japan. Thereafter, they only sent one more official mission in 1434.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ *Mingshi*, vol. 314, pp. 2b-4b, as translated in Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*, pp. 187-188. The Chinese text in simplified characters is: “以次遍歷諸番國...不服則以武攝之。” For the original Chinese *Mingshi* biography of Zheng He, see “*Mingshi*: Biography of Zheng He,” *Guoxue*, Download: 2016.11.7, URL: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/mingshi/ms_304.htm.

¹⁰⁵ Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁶ Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁷ Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁸ Edward L. Dreyer, *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*, p. 165.

¹⁰⁹ Shigeo Sakuma, “Min-dai kaigai shi-bōeki no rekishiteki haikai Fukkenshō chūshin toshite,” p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century* ([East Lansing]: Michigan State University Press, 1975), p. 41.

¹¹¹ Yi-t’ung Wang, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549*, p. 4.

Japan at this same time was in the very divided Muromachi (室町) or Ashikaga (足利) Age (1338-1573), split between several powerful feudal lords who frequently warred with each other. This created problems for the official Chinese, who wanted a tributary relationship and “insisted on dealing with the ‘king’ of Japan who presumably controlled the whole island [sic], but the Japanese political realities did not fit this scheme and made tributary relationships [which the Chinese desired] even more difficult.”¹¹²

China and Japan also had different attitudes toward trade. For China, trade was an annoying aspect of the tributary system which should be limited as much as possible. The Chinese wanted to restrict both the numbers of Japanese allowed on the tributary missions and the quantities of merchandise which they brought with them. For the Japanese, tributary relations were undesirable and humiliating; trade was perhaps the main reason to maintain such a relationship.¹¹³

The Japanese continued to try to trade with China. From 1433-1549, they sent eleven missions to China, an average of about one every ten years. Although trade increased in the early years of this period, later it declined and finally in 1549 relations between the two countries broke down.¹¹⁴ In this context, merchant-pirates began to dominate trade on both sides. These multiple roles were not unique; Sir Francis Drake (1540-1596) was a great explorer and admiral knighted by Queen Elizabeth I, but he was also a privateer or pirate. In this last role he captured Spanish treasure ships and, as a consequence, King Philip II offered a very substantial reward for his capture. In the words of Tonio Andrade, “smuggling brought piracy. Since smugglers enjoyed no legal protection, they tended to enforce contracts by force. Selective pressures thus created armed maritime gangs, which supplemented trading income with extortion and pillage.”¹¹⁵

The Ming repeatedly used the excuse of Japanese (*wako* 倭寇) pirates attacking the China coast to cut off China-Japan trade. However, the evidence is

¹¹² Yi-t'ung Wang, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549*, p. 2.

¹¹³ Yi-t'ung Wang, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549*, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Yi-t'ung Wang, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549*, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ Tonio Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662,” *Journal of World History* 15: 4 (Dec. 2004), p. 419.

clear that many of these pirates were in fact Chinese.¹¹⁶ Many, but not all, of these Chinese merchant-pirates came from Fujian. Even before the spread of piracy, people in Fujian had to seek occupations other than farming. In the words of a book by Gu Yanwu (顧炎武, 1613-1682), the *Tianxia Junguo Libing Shu* (天下郡國利病書), “The land of Min [Fujian] is barren and unfit for crops. The paddy fields do not provide enough; people live off the sea. Those who make their homes on ships number ninety percent.”¹¹⁷ Fujian people became skilful at shipbuilding and navigating. They traded widely with Japan, Southeast Asian kingdoms, the Ryukyus and Taiwan (Liu-ch’iu). Many who engaged in foreign trade became prosperous.¹¹⁸ Another source lists over 150 different goods imported to Fujian in 1589 and 1618 which came from more than forty places.¹¹⁹

The Chinese trade with Japan remained the “most lucrative... [but it] was still illegal.” Thus Chinese merchant-pirates found three solutions: they continued to sail illegally to Japan, they met Japanese traders in East and Southeast Asia including Taiwan, and, later, they used European intermediaries.¹²⁰ The main good traded from China to Japan was raw silk, which was used for high-quality clothing in Japan, and which accounted for about sixty per cent of all imports into Japan. Silk and silk fabrics accounted for another 20 per cent. Silver comprised eight-five per cent of all Japanese exports to China while copper added almost another ten per cent.¹²¹

Despite Ming prohibitions, the Chinese merchant-pirates often set up bases in foreign countries. Li Dan (李旦), known to many Westerners as “Captain

¹¹⁶ Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century*, pp. 15-40. For a detailed study of the suppression of one such Chinese pirate, see Charles O. Hucker, “Hu Tsung-hsien’s Campaign against Hsü Hai, 1556,” in Frank A. Kierman, Jr. and John King Fairbank, eds., *Chinese Ways in Warfare* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 273-307, 370-374.

¹¹⁷ Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century*, p. 126. The original Chinese is: “閩地斥鹵磽确田不供食以海為生以津船為家者十而九也”, see Yan-wu Gu, *Tianxia Junguo Libing Shu* [The Strengths and Weaknesses of the World’s States] (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1979), vol. 93, p. 6523.

¹¹⁸ Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century*, p. 126.

¹¹⁹ Stephen Tseng-Hsin Chang, “Commodities Imported to the Chang-chou Region of Fukien during the Late Ming Period: A Preliminary Analysis of the Tax Lists Found in *Tung-hsi-yang k’ao*,” in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund, eds., *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1750* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), pp. 162-186.

¹²⁰ Tonio Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662,” p. 420.

¹²¹ Katō Eiichi, “The Japanese-Dutch Trade in the Formative Period of the Seclusion Policy: Particularly on the Raw Silk Trade by the Dutch Factory at Hirado, 1620-1640,” pp. 43-46.

China,” was originally from Manila but later established a base in Hirado, Japan, where he became head of all of the Chinese living in that key port. Li Dan apparently was with Jacob Constant and Barent Pessaert when they visited Soulang in 1623.¹²² Another well-known Chinese merchant-pirate from Fujian was Li’s successor in Hirado, Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍), also known as Nicholas Iquan, who married a Japanese woman and had a son who established the third colonial regime in Taiwan. This was Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功), also known as Koxinga (Guoxingye 國姓爺).¹²³

When the Europeans arrived, they rapidly also became a part of the complicated trade networks between China and Japan as well as Southeast and South Asia.

(2) The Coming of the Europeans

With the success of Christopher Columbus going west to the Americas in 1492 and Vasco da Gama going east to India in 1498, European trading networks expanded very rapidly. The Portuguese occupied Macao in 1537 and in 1544 a Portuguese fleet sailing through the Taiwan Strait on its way to Japan saw Taiwan and named it Ilha Formosa or Beautiful Island.¹²⁴ Formosa became one prominent name for Taiwan over the next centuries.

The Portuguese established themselves in India and in 1511 seized Malacca, where they controlled the main thoroughfare between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea and where they collected tolls.¹²⁵ As we have seen, they controlled Macao and established a permanent settlement in Nagasaki in 1571. According to Andrade, the Portuguese, with their East Asian base in Macao,

¹²² On Li Dan, see the classic article by Iwao Seiichi, “Li Tan 李旦, Chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan in the Last Days of the Ming Dynasty,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 17 (1958), pp. 27-83.

¹²³ On Zheng Zhilong there are many articles. See Leonard Blussé, “Minnan-jen or Cosmopolitan? The Rise of Cheng Chih-lung alias Nicolas Iquan,” in E.B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 245-264; Katō Eiichi, “Cheng Chih-lung, alias Iquan, and the VOC in the East and South China Seas in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century,” in Leonard Blussé, ed., *Around and about Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts’ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts’ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), pp. 83-93.

¹²⁴ Kiyoshi Ito (Author), Walter Chen (trans. and ed.), *History of Taiwan* (Taipei: Qianwei Chubanshe, 2004), p. 9.

¹²⁵ Leonard Blussé, “No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,” *Modern Asian Studies* 30: 1 (Feb. 1996), p. 60.

“had become good citizens... [who] did not attempt to impose on Chinese or Japanese merchants the aggressive system they instituted in the Indian Ocean...”¹²⁶

The Spanish made Manila their main Asian base in 1571¹²⁷ coming from the East across the Pacific via the Americas.¹²⁸ The Spanish, especially with their large amounts of silver from the Americas, became an important Asian trading power. By 1600, Fujian annually imported about 200 tons of silver from Japan and 8,000 tons of silver from Mexico.¹²⁹

In Europe, the Spanish ruled the Dutch, who rebelled in 1568¹³⁰ and declared independence in 1579.¹³¹ The Dutch arrived in Southeast Asia in 1596, when the Portuguese and Spanish networks had already been operating for three decades. Avoiding the Straits of Malacca, the Dutch went to the Sunda Strait, which the Portuguese did not control, and established their empire in Banten and then nearby Batavia in 1619¹³² in west Java.

With Dutch independence, the Spanish and the Dutch became fierce commercial rivals. With their bases respectively in the Philippines and Indonesia, their ships frequently crossed paths and the inevitable conflicts proved numerous. In addition, the Spanish were Catholics while the Dutch were primarily Protestants and the two countries competed in their missionary work.

The Dutch arrived in Japan in 1600, well after the Portuguese and did not set up a base in Hirado until 1609.¹³³ But the main Dutch goal was a base in China. The Portuguese with their base in Macao controlled foreign trade in Guangdong, while Fujian traded with such places as India and Manila. Because the Ming still

¹²⁶ Tonio Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662,” p. 421.

¹²⁷ Leonard Blussé, “No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,” p. 60.

¹²⁸ Leonard Blussé, “No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,” p. 60.

¹²⁹ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 18 (Dec. 1973), p. 32.

¹³⁰ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” p. 29.

¹³¹ Tonio Andrade, “The Company’s Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662,” p. 421.

¹³² Leonard Blussé, “No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,” p. 60.

¹³³ Leonard Blussé, “No Boats to China. The Dutch East India Company and the Changing Pattern of the China Sea Trade, 1635-1690,” pp. 60-61.

forbad Japanese ships from Chinese trade with Japan, “the Portuguese and Spaniards did a booming trade as middlemen between Japan and China, dealing in Chinese silk and Japanese silver.”¹³⁴

On June 17, 1619 the Dutch and the English signed an agreement called the “Treaty of Defense.” They agreed to act together and established a joint fleet in order to end the Portuguese and Spanish monopolies. Both the Dutch and the English had bases in Japan. But there were apprehensions on both sides. The English had suffered from Dutch plundering of their vessels with the killing, injuring and enslaving of their sailors and the Dutch feared losing their recent gains to the British. Ultimately, the English became financially pressed in Asia and were forced to withdraw from both Japan and island Southeast Asia, reinforcing the Dutch position. The joint Anglo-Dutch fleet laid the foundation for the Dutch being able to convince the Chinese to open direct trade and it put pressures on the Spanish in Manila and on Chinese and Portuguese traders going to Manila.¹³⁵

On April 10, 1622 a Dutch fleet of eight ships manned by 1,024 sailors and soldiers left Batavia to seek a base in China. Their attempt to capture Macao from the Portuguese failed miserably. The Dutch lost 136 men killed and a further 126 men injured. Governor-General Coen in Batavia also valued the Fujian trade and ordered the fleet to go to the Pescadore Islands (Penghu) off the coast of Fujian. These islands had periodically been a pirate base and the Fujian government had established a small garrison to prevent further encroachment. With the arrival of the Dutch, the Chinese garrison “fled.” A Chinese source described the Dutch as frightening: “The bodies of the Western Barbarians are enormous, their faces are red like blood, their hair reddish brown; they have cat’s eyes and feet like ducks.”¹³⁶

At the beginning of August, four more ships joined the Dutch fleet. A few days later a Dutch merchant went to Xiamen (廈門) to request the opening of

¹³⁴ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” pp. 31-32 (quote from p. 32).

¹³⁵ Paul A. Van Dyke, “The Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense (1620-1622): Prelude to the Dutch Occupation of Taiwan,” in Leonard Blussé, ed., *Around and about Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts’ao Yung-ho*, pp. 61, 63-64, 78-79, 81.

¹³⁶ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” pp. 34-35 (quote from p. 35). A reviewer notes that, according to Chinese sources, the Ming forces left the Pescadores in accord with a pre-determined schedule. Blussé uses both Chinese and Western sources. In addition, he is quite critical of Dutch actions.

trade while other vessels reconnoitered the coast. The Chinese responded with two letters on September 12. One letter from the Fujian governor refused the request for trade and told the Dutch to dismantle their fortress and leave the Pescadores. Part of the reason for the Chinese refusal was that the Spanish were enemies of the Dutch. The second letter was to two Chinese leaders in Batavia, seeking their cooperation. Yet, the Chinese response was not totally negative and the Chinese commander in Xiamen also helped the Dutch salvage cannons and goods from a shipwrecked Dutch ship.¹³⁷

A Dutch fleet set out from the Pescadores to attack Xiamen and Gulangyu Island (鼓浪嶼) near Xiamen, destroying houses, stores and ships of major Chinese merchants based in Manila. The Dutch also captured two hundred Chinese, whom they shipped back to the Pescadores for transportation to Batavia. Although the Dutch had superior fire power, their ocean vessels proved inferior in the shallows of the harbor and their insufficient troops could not hold any land positions.¹³⁸

Blussé argues that the Dutch actions hurt their trade interests. First, with the Dutch having kidnapped Chinese, who would risk going to the Pescadores to trade with the Dutch? Secondly, the Dutch had robbed their potential friends in the Manila Chinese. “Original willingness from the Fukienese merchants to trade changed into intense animosity.”¹³⁹

The Fujian governor then invited the Dutch commander in the Pescadores to meet in Fuzhou, where they reached an agreement. The governor agreed to send two delegates to Batavia to meet with Governor-General Coen and to request Dutch withdrawal from the Pescadores. The Chinese agreed to halt their trade with the Portuguese and Spanish if the Dutch sent their smaller vessels and most of their troops to Taiwan and await Chinese merchants there. The Chinese ship was delayed en route because of a monsoon and when the ship arrived, Coen had been replaced as Governor-General. The Chinese also resumed direct trade with the Spanish in Manila, “leaving the impatient Dutch in Taiwan.” In retaliation, the Dutch captured 1,150 Chinese travelling on junks going toward Manila and sent them to the Pescadores to work on the fortress. More than 400 Chinese died working there under very difficult conditions.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” pp. 35-36.

¹³⁸ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” pp. 36-37.

¹³⁹ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” pp. 37-38 (quote from p. 38).

¹⁴⁰ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” p. 38.

A subordinate had caused the Fujian governor to report falsely to Beijing that the Dutch had left the Pescadores and the governor was recalled and replaced. The new Fujian governor, Nan Juyi (南居益), called for a harder line towards the Dutch. In October 1623, a Dutch merchant went to Xiamen to find out what was happening. Governor Nan Juyi gave the Dutch a safe-conduct, but captured the Dutch party. Nan Juyi also attempted to poison the crews of two small Dutch ships and captured one of the commanders, whom he sent to Beijing to demonstrate he was handling the situation well. At this stage, the Dutch were quite weak. They left the Pescadores and sailed to Taiwan.¹⁴¹

Ironically, and perhaps quite accidentally, the Dutch did achieve two of their goals. First, they did disrupt the trade between Macao and Manila through “ruthless cruising” from the Pescadores and later Taiwan. Secondly, Dutch-Japanese trade flourished after the Dutch settled in Taiwan.¹⁴²

Despite our focus on Taiwan in this article, it is important to note that these trade networks were complex and that the benefits came from several trading posts working together. There is an excellent example from the Dutch East India Company. A Dutch merchant bought cotton cloth in India and took it to Japan to sell. When in Japan, he found the price was similar to that in India. So he proposed to Batavia that Company abandon selling Indian cloth in Japan. When he heard this, the Governor-General in Batavia fired the merchant because the merchant did not know that he could have used the Indian cloth to obtain gold and silver in Japan, with which he could have gained profit in India.¹⁴³

The story behind the Dutch retreat to Taiwan remains obscure, but a young Taiwan scholar has teased out an explanation. The Ming court correctly “treated Taiwan as a ‘stateless area,’” where many merchant-pirates from Fujian, Japan and elsewhere met to trade.¹⁴⁴ The Dutch too had stopped in Taiwan and observed the situation. Martinus Sonck, then in the Pescadores and about to become the first Dutch governor of Taiwan, accepted advice from Li Dan and retreated from the Pescadores to Taiwan.¹⁴⁵ Thus, although no one knew it at the time, Taiwan’s history was about to undergo a great change.

¹⁴¹ Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” pp. 39-41.

¹⁴² Leonard Blussé, “The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores 澎湖群島 (1622-1624),” p. 43.

¹⁴³ Shuichi Nara, “Zeelandia, the Factory in the Far Eastern Trading Network of the VOC,” in Leonard Blussé, ed., *Around and about Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts’ao Yung-ho*, p. 162.

¹⁴⁴ Wei-chung Cheng, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas, 1622-1683* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 30.

¹⁴⁵ Wei-chung Cheng, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas, 1622-1683*, p. 24.

4. Conclusion

During the six thousand years before the Dutch invasion of 1624, Taiwan was an independent island where several groups of Austronesian aborigines lived. These people developed egalitarian, prosperous and healthy societies and became the source of the Austronesian people who populated every inhabitable Pacific Ocean island as well as Madagascar across the Indian Ocean. As early as 500 BCE, these Taiwanese had substantial trade networks with island and mainland Southeast Asia and possibly, though we lack evidence, with Pacific islands as well. Metal technology too came to Taiwan from Southeast Asia and not from China. We also know from Dutch sources that these Taiwanese groups developed quite prosperous and egalitarian societies with excellent buildings and that their personal statures were much taller than the Dutch.

Pre-Dutch Taiwan became part of a sophisticated East and Southeast Asian trading system involving the Japanese, Fujian merchant-pirates, Ryukyans, Southeast Asians and, later, European powers. Merchants from these places visited Taiwan, but none set up permanent communities in Taiwan. Taiwan deerskins became an important trading commodity. To take an example from the Dutch period, a Dutch ship sailing from Taiwan to Nagasaki in 1653 carried 20,000 Taiwan deerskins. Owing to a typhoon, the ship ended up in Korea and the Dutch sailors were stranded, but the deerskins proved very popular in Korea.¹⁴⁶

As we have noted, in 1624 the Dutch sailed to Taiwan and established what became the first colonial regime in Taiwan's history. The Spanish, in response, established a base in northern Taiwan. The Dutch invasion in 1624 thus marks the end of Taiwan's six millennia as an independent place and the start of Taiwan's 364 year history (1624-1988) as the subject of six colonial regimes that repressed Taiwanese and ruled Taiwan in the interests of the rulers from overseas. It was only when Taiwan began to democratize in 1988 that Taiwan's people regained the right to rule themselves.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Gari Ledyard, *The Dutch Come to Korea: An Account of the Life of the First Westerners in Korea (1653-1666)* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1971), pp. 17, 21-22, 40, 86, 100. For an extensive study of deerskins in Taiwan's trade after the arrival of the Dutch, see Yung-ho Ts'ao, *Jinshi Taiwan lupi maoyi kao: qingnian Cao Yonghe de xueshu qihang* [An Examination of Deer-skin Trade in Modern Taiwan: The Scholarly Inauguration of a Young Ts'ao Yung-ho] (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd., 2011).

¹⁴⁷ On Taiwan's democratization, see J. Bruce Jacobs, *Democratizing Taiwan*.

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侵略前的臺灣史

家 博

摘 要

在臺灣充滿爭議的歷史洪流中，從六千年前到 1624 年荷蘭人入侵的這段歲月，不僅距離相當渺遠且我們所知甚少。由於臺灣原住民缺乏書寫紀錄，對其研究得依賴考古上的證據。這些證據顯示出，臺灣文化的精緻度在此數千年間已逐漸增加。至早在公元前 2800-2200 年間，臺灣島上的住民已經和澎湖群島，建立起了交易網絡。臺灣原住民更從公元前 1500 起幾乎成為是前往太平洋上每個適合居住的島嶼，甚至橫跨印度洋遠達馬達加斯加島海上移民的來源。公元前 500 到公元後 500 年間，臺灣原住民是周邊地區內廣大交易網絡的一部份。這交易網絡涵蓋了今日的菲律賓、馬來西亞東部、越南中南部、泰國半島，以及柬埔寨的東部。值此同時，臺灣內部的交易活動也在擴張中。這類的交易與進口，以金屬鍛造技術為例都來自於東南亞，且無證據顯示曾與已有此等技術的中國有所接觸。

早期中文記錄除了確認臺灣為「外地」，中國在十七世紀早期有關臺灣原住民的記載，也都與早期荷蘭的紀錄相當。而且上述歷史紀錄顯示，臺灣原住民有著健全且繁榮的社會，其村落建置也展現出高度的複雜與精緻化。

由於福建是漢人移住最靠近太平洋岸的最遲慢位置，以致於中國人早期對臺灣並不留意。而儘管明代試圖完全禁絕對外貿易，臺灣仍舊能在中國海商與海盜、日本及稍後洋人間的東亞和東南亞貿易間領有一席之地。只是直到 1624 年，荷蘭人接受各方建議，退出澎湖轉往「無主地」的臺灣前，上述各個團體並未在臺灣建立永久的根據地。

關鍵詞：考古學、交易網絡、金屬時代、原民社會、明代海禁、海商與海盜、歐洲人來亞洲