

**Ethnic Relationship Between the Plain Tribes
and the Mountain Peoples in the
Nan-tzu and Lao-nung Valleys during the
Ch'ing Period, 1760-1888:
A Study of "*Fu Fan Tsu*"**

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ABSTRACT

By utilizing historical data, land contracts, travelogues, and expedition records, this study examines the factors that affected the migration of the Ta-wu-lung plain tribes, as well as the contacts, the interactions and the bonding of relationship between the migrants and the natives in the Nan-tzu and Lao-nung valleys from the mid-Eighteenth Century to the end of the Nineteenth Century. Under the levy system of "*fu fan tsu* (撫番租)," all indigenous tribes were designated the six Nei-yung *she* (內優六社), whereas the migrant newcomers who moved to their home turf were called the Four-she *fan* (四社番). Besides being a levy nomenclature, *fu fan tsu* also functioned as a marriage medium as well as a mechanism for social intercourse.

While focusing on the content of *fu fan tsu*, this paper describes the intra-tribal network of the migrants and the indigenous people. It also examines how the Ch'ing government changed its levy policy and abolished the levies. Since the policy was the lynchpin to maintain a stable interaction between the natives and the migrants, the Four-she *fan* were content to continue to make the *fu fan tsu* payment until the early Japanese rule.

This new perspective is aimed to challenge the prevailing conception that *fu fan tsu* was synonymous as *Fan ta tsu* (番大租), because the former denoted something much broader than the latter, which referred essentially to land rental relationship between the migrants and the natives. When facing competition from either the Han people or other aborigines, the Ta-wu-lung plain tribes timely took initiatives to expand their living space. And while settling in the new environments, they kept in touch with their kin folks back home and maintained their ancestral customs which they brought with them. Thus, by reviewing the nature of *fu fan tsu*, this paper hopes to shed new light on the development of relationship between the Four-she *fan* and the

six Nei-yung *she* and the factors that affected their interactions.

Keywords: Four-*she fan* (四社番), six Nei-yung *she* (內優六社), *fu fan tsu* (撫番租),
Fan ta tsu (番大租)