

# Encounter, Suspicion and Submission the experiences of the Siraya with the Dutch from 1623 to 1636\*

*Peter Kang*\*\*

## Contents

---

I.	Introduction.....	197
II.	The First Encounter.....	198
III.	Dika Incident and Its Aftermath.....	201
IV.	The Lesser Europeans.....	204
V.	The Abortive Punitive Expedition.....	205
VI.	The Mattauërs.....	207
VII.	The Fall of the Mattauërs.....	209
VIII.	The Responses of the Other Siraya.....	210
IX.	Aftermath.....	212
	Cited References	

---

\* The original format of this paper comes from the third section, chapter three of the author's dissertation, "Culture and Culture Change of the Siraya under the Dutch East India Company," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1996). Modification is done in order to let this paper work as an independent article. For the final draft, The author would like to appreciate the constructive suggestions from the reviewers, especially from Ang Kaim. The author, however, is responsible for the errors such as mis-typing, misquoting and mis-interpreting appearing in the final draft.

\*\* Associate Professor, Department of Social Studies, National Hualien Teachers College.

## Abstract

In this paper I try to explore the perspectives of the Siraya on their early experiences of contact with the Dutch from 1623 to 1636. The Siraya was one of the ethno-linguistic groups of the Formosan Austronesians and dwelled along the southwestern coastal plains of Taiwan in the seventeenth century. The first recorded Dutch encounter with the Siraya was in 1623. The Dutch maintained the contact and later administered the Siraya until 1661. In this paper I present how the Siraya reacted to the Dutch up to 1636 when the Dutch launched a massive military campaign to subdue all the villages along the southwestern plains of Taiwan. I reconstruct the perspectives of the Siraya based on the village level, within which there were Sinkan, Mattau, Soulang, Bakloan and Tavakan being mostly recorded by the Dutch.<sup>(1)</sup> The sources I use are the summary of the VOC resolutions and daily entries kept in *Dagregisters*, as well as the correspondence of the missionary workers and the VOC personnel.

**Keywords:** Austronesians, Siraya, History of Taiwan, the Dutch East India Company (VOC)

---

<sup>(1)</sup> Sinkan, Mattau, Soulang, Bakloan and Tavakan approximately located around Hsinshih, Matou, Chiali, Shanhua and Hsinhua of today's Tainan county respectively.

## I. Introduction

Among all the Formosan Austronesian ethno-linguistic groups who dwelled on the lowland areas and were labeled as the Formosan Plains Aborigines, the Siraya is one of those who attract most of the attention from the academic field. The first reason that contributes to this trend is due to the abundant documentary materials left during the Dutch administration on Taiwan, because the southwestern part of Taiwan, the place where the Siraya inhabited, was once the administrative headquarters of the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) on this island. Among all the scholars who study the Siraya in the seventeenth century, Leonard Blussé contributes an article which probes into the complicated interrelationship among the VOC administrators, the missionaries and the inhabitants of Sinkan, a Sirayan village that had close relationship with the Dutch, before 1636 when the VOC launched a military campaign to subdue the southwestern part of Taiwan, and further argues that the role of Protestant missionaries is the key engine to both the idea and the action of earlier territorial expansion of the VOC on Taiwan.<sup>(2)</sup> John Shepherd in his masterpiece on the Formosan Plains Aborigines in general reconstructs the picture of the relationship between the states and the Formosan Plains Austronesians in the frontier periphery of the VOC and the Chinese empire, within which the Siraya is one of the mostly illustrated groups.<sup>(3)</sup>

The second reason for the popularity of the study on the Siraya is that parts of their cultural characteristics, i.e., the worship of the *t'ai-tsu*, still survive to today; and thus it generates a lot of academic interest in the study of the Sirayan culture. Among all the scholars, Shih Wang-shou emphasizes the ritual practices in different locales.<sup>(4)</sup> Pan Ying-hai further develops his research on the ritual practices and the identity issue of the Siraya and proposes the concepts of "cultural synthesis" (*wen-hua ho-ch'eng*) and "localization" (*tsai-ti-hua*) of cultural practices to theorize the transformation of culture and the development of ethnic identity in Taiwan by way of the mixture of varied cultural elements in different locales and the reinterpretation from the agency.<sup>(5)</sup>

<sup>(2)</sup> Leonard Blussé, "Dutch Protestant Missionaries as Protagonists of the Territorial Expansion of the VOC on Formosa," in Dick Kooiman, Otto van den Muizenberg and Peter van der Veer eds. *Conversion, Competition and Conflict, essays on the role of religion in Asia* (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1984), pp. 155-184.

<sup>(3)</sup> John Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy of the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

<sup>(4)</sup> Shih Wang-shou, *T'ai-wan ti pai-hu min-tsu* (Taipei: T'ai-yuan, 1992), 2nd edition.

<sup>(5)</sup> Pan Ying-hai, "Wen-hua ho-ch'eng yu ho-ch'eng wen-hua: T'ou-she ts'un t'ai-tsu nien-tu chi-yi ti wen-hua i-han," in *T'ai-wan yu Fu-chien she-hui wen-hua yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, vol. 1 (1994), pp. 235-256. Pan Ying-

Nevertheless, except few, almost all the research on the Siraya pay little attention to the perspectives and intentions of our agency. For instance, Blussé's article partially explores the perspective of the Siraya in order to reconstruct the role of the missionaries in the VOC policy, but its main concern is the motivations and actions of the missionaries in the process of fulfilling their own religious goal and how they worked on the VOC administration. Pan's interest mainly falls on the emphasis of both the locality as the fundamental ground for cultural transformation and the reinterpretation of identity by the agency in locales as an outcome of historical process, e.g., experiences of mutual contact with the others. The perspectives and intentions of the agency in the historical process are not the focus. This is what the current paper endeavors to pursue: an attempt to the reconstruction of the viewpoints and intents of the Siraya within the historical process that they once experienced. In illustrating this, I select their earlier experiences of contact with the Dutch, from 1623 to 1636, an era from the curious encounter to the forced submission, and further explore their viewpoints based on their subjectivity. In doing this, I endeavor to shun away from the trap of treating the Siraya as a homogeneous community in either experiencing the historical process or responding to the outside impact by way of both describing the actions of our agency and analyzing the intentions behind our agency down to the level of individual village, which was mostly being treated as a collective identity in our written sources. Then, I emphasize the agency and its capacity of representation within the socio-historical context within which the agency is situated. In this way, I attempt to reconstruct the subjectivity, intentionality and motivation of the Siraya.

## II. The First Encounter

The earliest recorded Dutch encounter with the Siraya came from the two reports after the Chief Merchant Jacob Constant and the Under-Merchant Barent Pessaert visited the village Soulang in 1623.<sup>(6)</sup> Later in the same year when the Dutch erected a stronghold at

---

hai, "Tsai-ti-hua yu ti-fang wen-hua: i hu ti shin-yang-ts'ung wei li," in *T'ai-wan yu Fu-chien she-hui wen-hua yen-chiu lun-wen chi*, vol. 2 (1995), pp. 299-319. Pan Ying-hai, "Settlements, History and Meaning: the development of settlements and ethnic relations of T'ou-she village," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica* 77 (1994), pp. 89-123.

<sup>(6)</sup> Leonard Blussé and Marius P. H. Roessingh, "A Visit to the Past: Soulang, a Formosan Village Anno 1623," *Archipel* 27 (1984), pp. 63-80; J. E. Heeres ed., *Dagh-register gegouden int Casteel Batavia, vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-indin, anno 1624-1629* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Hijhoff, 1896), pp. 22-25.

Tayouan a small conflict with the local Siraya erupted, which caused four dead and six heavily-injured among the native. It was said that the conflict was mostly due to the sedition of the local Chinese merchants, who perceived the arrival of the Dutch as undesirable to their local trading activities. The result of the skirmish was said to scare the local Siraya greatly that they dared not visit the Dutch.<sup>(7)</sup> In 1625 *Dagregisters Batavia* recorded an important contact with the inhabitants of Sinkan when the VOC resolved to establish a trading emporium in Taiwan and purchased a piece of land with fifteen cangans from the Sinkandians.<sup>(8)</sup> In the same date of entry it also stated that the Dutch had already established friendship with the villages of Mattau, Soulang, Bakloan and Sinkan, as well as other surrounding villages with less population. The inhabitants of each villages were said to insist the Dutch to dwell among them, and therefore, one Under-Merchant and two other persons were sent to Soulang, later as well as to the rest of the villages.<sup>(9)</sup> The motivation for the Siraya to invite the Dutch to live among them could probably be gathered from the entry of the same date in the *Dagregisters Batavia*, within which it was said that the villages were not under one consolidated rule and constantly subjected to intervillage warfare.<sup>(10)</sup> Since the society of the Siraya was acephalous in nature and the prestige of an individual was established on one's chivalry and achievement in warfare, it implies that the Dutch, backing by their superiority of gunpower in warfare, were perceived as the respectable by the local people to some extent due to the experience from the earlier contact, although these new comers was physically shorter than the local inhabitants.<sup>(11)</sup> More symbolically significant to the Siraya, the invitation of the Dutch residence would signify a power which was perceived as leading to victory in warfare dwelling among their own villages. On the practical level in case the villages were attacked by their hostile neighbors, in time of danger the Dutch would come to the aid of their fellows. It explains why Candidius could easily establish himself among the Sinkandians without the official support of the VOC and therefore preached around the inhabitants in a way that challenged the belief system of the local people as soon

---

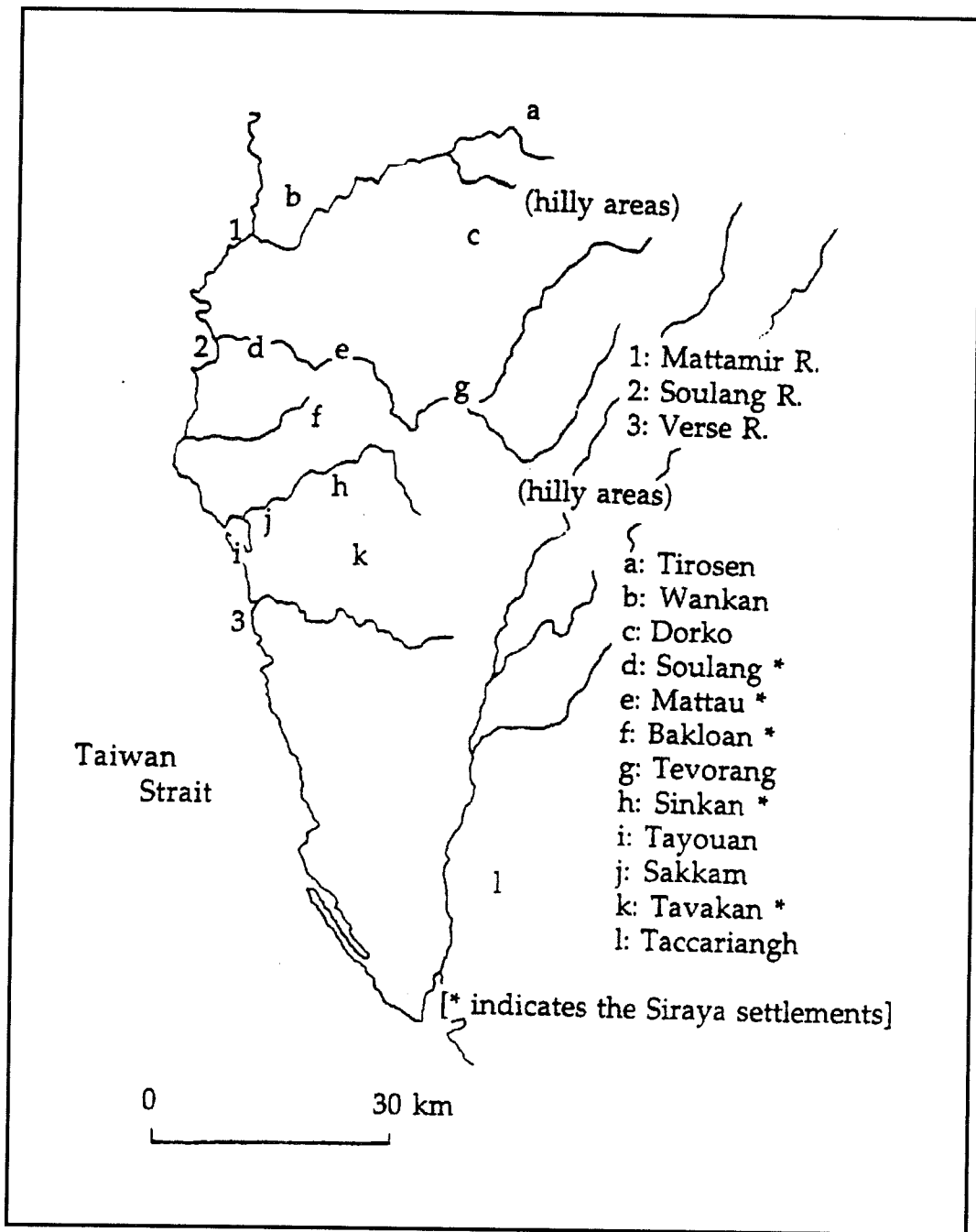
<sup>(7)</sup> Heeres ed., 1896, pp. 21-22.

<sup>(8)</sup> Throughout this article, *Dagregisters Batavia* mean *Dagh-register gegouden int Casteel Batavia, vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-indin*, the series of daily journals recorded by the VOC authorities in Batavia. *Dagregisters Taiwan* intend *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan*, the series of daily journals documented by the VOC authorities in Taiwan.

<sup>(9)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>(11)</sup> The description of physical difference of heights between the Dutch and the Siraya in the seventeenth century is based on the record in 1623 (see Blussé and Roessingh, 1984, pp. 69,74). For explanations, please refer to Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: vol. 1 the lands below the winds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 46-47.



### The Siraya and Its Surrounding Areas in the Seventeenth Century

Adapted from Wang 1980: 40; Shepherd 1993: 417-18.

as he arrived in Taiwan in 1627. The answer might be largely an outcome of the political move of the Sinkandians.<sup>(12)</sup>

### III. Dika Incident and Its Aftermath

In 1627 one leader of the village Sinkan, Dika, as well as other fifteen native villagers went to Japan with Yamada Yahei, who intended to bring the former to Suetsugu Heizo, regent of Nagasaki, and ultimately as an embassy to the shogunal court in order to submit the sovereignty of their territory to the Shogun. The political motivation behind this move is because the VOC unilaterally instituted levy on all the merchants along the wouthwestern coast of Taiwan. Since Suetsugu Heizo had a great stake in the Tayouan trade, if the Shogun accepted the sovereignty, then all the VOC's claims and levies on traders would become invalid. However, Dika and his companies were only be able to offer their native products to the Shogun and received silk gowns and other gifts in return. The issue of sovereignty remained unsettled, as well as the dispute on the trading tax levied by the VOC.<sup>(13)</sup> In April 1628 when Yamada Yahei sent Dika and his companies back to Taiwan, Nuyts immediately imprisoned those Sinkandians on board of a VOC vessel. The outcome of the imprison made a big change of the attitude of the Sinkandians towards the Dutch. Candidius in his letter to the Governor-general Coen dated 20 August 1628 described that when the aforementioned Sinkandians were imprisoned by Nuyts rather than sent home as promised after they left the Japanese ship, Sinkan was said to be like a lioness whose cubs had been fiercely taken away from her. People cried, groaned and even threatened Candidius' servant. The Governor had to send a corporal and eight soldiers to Sinkan to protect their countrymen. Later Nuyts, as well as his little son, was kept prisoner when the Japanese assaulted his residence. The incarcerated Sinkandians, of whom four of them had earlier escaped back to Sinkan, were set free as an exchange of the freedom of Nuyts. Meanwhile, the released Sinkandians, accompanying by a great number of Chinese, returned to their villages, celebrated and extolled the generosity of the Japanese during their voyage to Japan as well as during their staying over there. Through the words of the liberated Sinkandians, the Dutch were now perceived as bad persons, who not only jailed them but also robbed them of the presents which they received from the Japanese. The change of attitude became an impediment to Candidius' work.<sup>(14)</sup>

<sup>(12)</sup> Blussé, 1984, p. 164.

<sup>(13)</sup> Ibid., pp. 161-163.

<sup>(14)</sup> William Campbell ed., *Formosa under the Dutch: descriptions from contemporary records* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1903), p. 94.

Meanwhile, the Sinkandians not only started to question the nature of the Dutch presence to themselves but also challenged what the earlier regarded respectable guardian preached. In the same letter Candidius complained that although some of the Sinkandians who had been instructed by him and were able to answer questions on the saving truths of Scripture to the degree that was sufficient for baptism told him the falseness of what their *inibs* taught, when it came to practices such as casting away their idolatry and other applications they withdrew.<sup>(15)</sup> To the Sinkandians, if they disregarded the *inibs*, who daily conveyed themselves with the spiritual world and revealed the right path to the inhabitants, their gods would get angry and punished them by destroying their agriculture through drought or sending their foes to chase them out of their land and destroyed them. People were suspicious of Candidius' preach and asked for the empirical evidence to prove his argument. They asked Candidius to perform what their *inibs* could do. To Candidius, it was like asking him to perform miracles such as foretelling future events or revealing what was exactly happening elsewhere. In a milder way, people also asked Candidius to wait two or three years to see what happened to a native family who would follow his instruction and abandoned everything what Candidius thought as wrong or evil whether their gods still continued to bless that family by giving them rice and other things or not. If the result turned out to be favorable, then the rest would willingly adopt what Candidius said.<sup>(16)</sup> In other words, the Sinkandians was trying to absorb the elements of Candidius' preach into their own belief system in a way that would not contradict the latter. Concerning this matter, Candidius keenly pointed out a short cut that would help to promote his missionary work.

In the same letter to Coen, Candidius mentioned that Mattau and Bakloan were bitter enemies of Sinkan. If the VOC did not send out about one hundred musketeers in time of danger, Sinkan would have been destroyed by the inhabitants of Mattau and Bakloan in warfare. On the practical level, it appeared that the VOC could act as the protector of Sinkan, which would in turn place Sinkan under more dependency. More significantly, if the VOC could assist Sinkan successfully in obtaining the victory in warfare, what Candidius preached would be considered by the Sinkandians as a belief system that was superior than what their *inibs* said, since the empirical evidence would be verified in the result of warfare.<sup>(17)</sup>

---

<sup>(15)</sup> In the Sirayan society, *inibs* were those women who had the ultimate authorities in interpreting the supernatural outer world in order to conduct the activities of the villagers.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-96.

<sup>(17)</sup> To the Austronesian culture in general, a distinctive pattern was that it tended to attribute the victory in warfare to the supernatural forces rather than technical factors. During warfare attention was paid primarily to catching the enemy off balance in order to demonstrate by some initial success that the supernatural power



Before the opportunity of launching the warfare arrived, the attitude of the Sinkandians toward the Dutch seemed to have started to change after the Governor Nuyts began to visit their village, regale their principal men with meat and drink, give them thirty cangans in Candidius' name and admonish the Sinkandians to listen to the instruction of Candidius, as soon as the trading seasons were gone, ships were dispatched and the Tayouan office could pay more attention to the local affairs. Nuyts seemed to forget or forgive the incident of the voyage of Dika and his followers. Candidius in his letter to the Governor-general Coen dated 1 February 1629 reported that since Nuyts' visit, the local people became so enthusiastic to his religious instruction that at this time he was complaining that his strength was insufficient and he needed more intelligent local people to assist him.<sup>(18)</sup> To the Sinkandians, the admission of Nuyts, the principal man of a group of people who settled along the seashore and possessed the threatening fighting power in warfare, to their society seemed confirmed by Nuyts' stable sexual relation with a local belle named Pocke.<sup>(19)</sup> However, Nuyts' sudden invasion to Sinkan with a party of armed men and his abortive arrest of Dika and his followers in January 1629 shocked the Sinkandians. Nuyts asked the Sinkandians to hand in the wanted within six days, otherwise he would destroy the entire village. The response of the Sinkandians was the desertion of the village. Later Nuyts softened and changed the punishment according to the local custom by asking the Sinkandians to hand in swine and rice in addition to destroying the houses of those who went to Japan. When Candidius returned to Sinkan on 26 January he immediately realized that he was no longer trusted by the local people. He wrote to the Governor-general Coen and asked to be relieved from his missionary post in Taiwan.<sup>(20)</sup> Later in June of the same year, a very critical event occurred that led the Sinkandians in specific and the Siraya in general to re-contemplate both the meaning of the presence of the Dutch and how to react to them - the killing of sixty more Dutch soldiers and the subsequent overrun of Sinkan by the warriors from Mattau and its ally Bakloan.

---

associated with warfare was on one's side. In other words, to win the warfare was more than the proof of intrepidity or bravery. People generally believed that a warriors' success in warfare was achieved through a variety of factors such as ritual and ascetic preparation, mediation, magical charms and even their own god-endowed sanctity, as well as through the physical strength and combat technique of a warrior. To lose the warfare signified that one's side was fallen out of the patronage of the supernatural power (see Reid, 1989, pp. 122-125). In other words, it is possible that the Sinkandians would connect the victory of the Dutch in warfare was also due to the superiority of the supernatural power that the Dutch believed.

<sup>(18)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 98.

<sup>(19)</sup> Blussé, 1984, pp. 167-168.

<sup>(20)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, pp. 98-100.

#### IV. The Lesser Europeans

In the cultural system of the Siraya, the victory in warfare was highly interpreted as the blessing of the supernatural power related to warfare stood on the side of the winners. The number of killing did not have to be numerous. The loss of Dutch soldiers to Mattauërs and Bakloanders simply illustrated who possessed the benediction of gods of warfare, or, in other words, whose belief system was superior. To the Siraya, the massive defeat of the Dutch, judging from the number of the killing and interpreting from the cultural system of the Siraya, in warfare plainly implied the local inhabitants a fact - those one-head shorter people was not superior than themselves in any sense. The Sinkandians would become more doubtful about the applicability of the instruction from the missionary when their instruction was contradictory to their initial belief. For other Siraya who did not even have to depend on the protection of the VOC as much as the Sinkandians did, the killing of the Dutch during their future warfare appeared to be acceptable and probably was even considered much easier since the Mattauërs and the Bakloanders had given an example. No wonder later in the same year the inhabitants of Soulang also killed Jan Harmansz. and a catechist who were sent by the Governor to learn the local language, as well as two more persons.<sup>(21)</sup> *Dagregisters Taiwan* on 16 October 1629 also recorded that the VOC's house in Sakkam, guarded by a sergeant and eight to nine musketeers, was under attack by 400 to 500 Mattauërs and Bakloanders. Later the entry dated 5 November 1629 recorded a killing of a Dutch soldier by four to five Mattauërs. The victim's head was chopped off and taken away for ritual purpose, of which a big ceremony was held. Two days later the Tayouan authorities had to send the ship 't *Schijnt* in order to relieve the besiege of the VOC's house in Sakkam.<sup>(22)</sup>

---

<sup>(21)</sup> W. A. Ginsel, *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa of de Lotgevallen eener Handelsterk onder de Oost-Indische-Compagnie, 1627-1662* (Leiden: Mulder, 1931), pp. 22-23.

<sup>(22)</sup> Leonard Blussé, W. E. van Opstall and Ts'ao Yung-ho eds., *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, 1629-1641, Deel I* (Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1984), pp. 2-4.

## V. The Abortive Punitive Expedition

The Tayouan authorities, which included the new Governor Putmans and the Formosan Councilors, in the minutes of the Formosan Council dated 17 November 1629 resolved to accept the suggestion of Candidius and the newly-arrived Junius regarding the punishment of Mattau and Bakloan, as soon as the vessels loaded with soldiers returned from China.<sup>(23)</sup> *Dagregisters Taiwan* on 23 November 1629 recorded that Bakloan was attacked by an armed force of 230 soldiers and set on fire. On 2 December 1629 the Mattauërs and the Bakloanders came to Sakkam for peace negotiation. A term was made at Tayouan between Putmans and the principal men (*overhooffden*) of Mattau and Bakloan in February 1630 when Putmans returned from his mission to the southeastern coast of China.<sup>(24)</sup> In April 1630 Putmans investigated Sinkan, Soulang, Bakloan and Mattau. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Bakloan, Soulang and Mattau allied together to fight against the Tirozen in the North.<sup>(25)</sup> It appeared that the expedition to Bakloan brought back some prestige of the VOC among the Siraya, although the case of Mattau, as well as another killing committed by the inhabitants of Soulang, remained unsolved. The neighboring threat to Sinkan seemed to temporarily set aside as the inherited enemies of Sinkan was busy themselves with warfare against Tirozen. To the Sinkandians, their relation of alliance with the VOC seemed to be temporarily consolidated by the result of warfare against Bakloan. Candidius' distribution of rice and cangans among the Sinkandians who were suffering from starvation in early 1630 due to bad harvest also helped to bring Sinkan more close to the Dutch.<sup>(26)</sup> To the Bakloanders, they seemed to reconsider their position in the local politics after the VOC's expedition and adopt a more neutral position from the previous alliance with Mattauërs, since after the expedition there were almost no documents referring to the Bakloanders as collaborators when the Mattauërs were accused of their "evil-doings." Later the Bakloanders at most merely temporarily host some Mattau refugees when the latter was subject to the attack of the VOC. To the Mattauërs, the big victory that proved their superiority over the Dutch would probably not make them easily subdued to the VOC by heart, although their alliance the Bakloanders were attacked and defeated by the later. The Dutch, as well as the Sinkandians, were still

<sup>(23)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 4; Campbell ed., 1903, p. 100.

<sup>(24)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, pp. 4-6, 16.

<sup>(25)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28. Tirozen located around today's Chia-i City. See also Nakamura Takashi, "Ho-lan shih tai ti T'ai-wan fan she hu k'ou piao (The list of aboriginal household registration in the Dutch Taiwan)," translated by Wu Mi-ch'a and Hsu Hsien-yao, *T'ai-wan feng wu* 44:1 (1994), p. 223.

<sup>(26)</sup> Ginsel, 1931, p. 25.

perceived by the Mattauërs as one of their victims of warfare.

The Tayouan authorities never gave up their plan to lead a punitive expedition against Mattau. In December 1630 an expedition consisted of Dutch soldiers and allied Sinkandians went aboard to attack Mattau but eventually failed due to the strong north wind. Later the troop sailed south to attack Tampsui instead.<sup>(27)</sup> Putmans in his letter to the Governor-general J. Specx dated 22 February 1631 described that the expedition to Tampsui proved to be a failure since the VOC did not entirely subdue Tampsui. The Sinkandians, however, were said to perceive the result of expedition as a satisfactory one since they managed to capture one head of the three to four fallen enemies. It was said that after the expedition the entire village showed an inclination to adopt the Christianity. Some of the principal men even threw away their idols and were daily receiving the instructions from Candidius.<sup>(28)</sup> When Putmans wrote to Specx again on 17 March 1631, he mentioned that within ten or twelve days Candidius would baptize fifty Sinkandians who were thought to be fit for it.<sup>(29)</sup> The Sinkandians surely believed more and more in the superiority of the “God” of the Dutch in bringing up the victory in warfare. To the Sinkandians, before they transformed themselves into “the superior Dutch,” a close alliance with the VOC in regional politics seemed to be the best alternative. *Dagregisters Taiwan* on 26 February 1632 recorded that Junius from Sinkan reported that some of the local inhabitants there decided to wage a war against Bakloan for an old and minor cause, but the Tayouan authorities resolved to stop the warfare by warning the Sinkandians that the VOC would withdraw its support from Sinkan if the local people decide to do so. After the Tayouan authorities sent two representatives to bring the message to Sinkan, there was no mention of waging a war.<sup>(30)</sup> On 18 January 1633 when Putmans wrote to Specx, he mentioned that all the inhabitants in Sinkan had cast away their idols and now only called on the Christianity. Nevertheless, in the same letter it mentioned that the Mattauërs and the Soulangians kept quiet regarding this issue. It was said that the Mattauërs sometimes boasted behind the VOC their grand victory in 1629 against the latter.<sup>(31)</sup>

---

<sup>(27)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, pp. 39-40.

<sup>(28)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, pp. 102-103.

<sup>(29)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>(30)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 72.

<sup>(31)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 105.

## VI. The Mattauërs

To the Mattauërs, the failure of the VOC to launch an expedition against them since 1629 appeared to prove that they were formidable. *Dagregisters Taiwan* on 14 May 1633 recorded that Junius reported that one principal person of Mattau, Takaran, planned to go to Japan by a Japanese or Chinese junk, as Dika of Sinkan did. It was also said that Takaran and his followers, “with over-confidence of ego” (*opgeblasenthey*t), harassed those Chinese who fished, traded and landed constantly around Wankan.<sup>(32)</sup> Later Putmans wrote down this matter to the Commander of the Fleet from Batavia on 31 May 1633. When the latter reported the incident to the Governor-general Hendrik Brouwer (1632 - 1636) in his letter dated 9 July 1633, in order to prevent Takaran from going to Japan, the Tayouan authorities, after discussing with Candidius, had decided to send Candidius to Mattau to offer Takaran gifts and informed the latter that he would be chosen as the chief of the expedition to Lamey within two or three months, but Takaran was told not to reveal his appointment to other villages in order not to cause jealousy among the joint forces from other villages.<sup>(33)</sup> The offer to Takaran was recorded as an official resolution in *Dagregisters Taiwan* dated 7 July 1633.<sup>(34)</sup> The agreement between the VOC and Mattau seemed never reached. When the troops were said to sail out to attack Lamey in November 1633, *Dagregisters Taiwan* only mentioned Soulanguians and Sinkandians joined the VOC’s expedition.<sup>(35)</sup> Later both on 25 November 1633 and on 1 January 1634 the *Dagregisters Taiwan* recorded that the expedition to Mattau would be postponed until the reinforcement from Batavia arrived.<sup>(36)</sup> As a matter of fact, the correspondences between the chief factors in Tayouan such as Gedeon Brouwers and Paulus Traudenius on the one hand and the Batavian authorities on the other hand in October 1633 had mentioned the increasing bold effrontery of the Mattauërs and its influence on the retardation of religious progress of the Sinkandians, among whom some of them were said to be incited to opposition by the Mattauërs.<sup>(37)</sup> Apparently the Mattauërs were boasting of their own prominence to other Siraya regarding their victory in 1629 and the failure of the

---

<sup>(32)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 92. Lu Chia-hsing proposes that Wankan located around today’s Putai of Chia-i county. See Lu Chia-hsing, *Lu-erh-men ti li yen pien k’ao* (The geographical change of Lu-erh-men, 1965), Taipei: T’ai-wan shang wu. However, the exact site of Wankan is still in question.

<sup>(33)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, pp. 106-107.

<sup>(34)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 107.

<sup>(35)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>(36)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144.

<sup>(37)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 107.

Dutch to revenge against them, and used it to prove the superiority of themselves over the Dutch.

To other Siraya, as long as the Dutch were not able to manage to revenge their own humiliated defeat, the superiority of the Dutch were always in doubt. Under the circumstances, it would be even harder for the Dutch to consolidate their authority among the Siraya, especially when what the former asked contradicted to what the latter initially believed or practiced. In 1633, some women in Sinkan were said to threaten to take up a traditional intoxicating trough-top dance, which was used to honor their native gods. People might also reconsider their obedience to or their relationship with the Dutch authority as something that had to be dependent on their self-interest first, since the failure of the Dutch in revenging Mattau for such a long time did either look ridiculous or reveal the frailty of the Dutch in reality. Therefore, it was said that one Sinkandian threatened to apostatize if the clergyman would take back their hunting-dog which was entrusted to the care of him, and another one threatened to kill whatever Dutchman who did not permit his divorce with his estranged wife.<sup>(38)</sup> No wonder Putmans in his letter to the Chamber of the VOC in Amsterdam dated 31 October 1633 hinted that the surrounding villages which felt hatred against Mattau were looking forward to what the VOC would do to Mattau.<sup>(39)</sup> Later *Dagregisters Taiwan* in April 1634 recorded that when Chinese pirates Janglauw and his followers took a surprise attack on Zeelandia and its surrounding areas, Junius was able to lead the Sinkandian relief forces to reinforce the defense of Zeelandia, since this was another expedition, or to the concept much closer to the culture of the Siraya, a intervillage warfare, which was assisted by the Dutch from the perspective of the Sinkandians.<sup>(40)</sup> However, after the crisis the Tayouan authorities also had to resolve to fine those local people, including their old faithful ally the Sinkandians, for their looting during the pirates' assault.<sup>(41)</sup>

The "over-confidence of ego" of the Mattauërs did not cease its expansion. *Dagregisters Taiwan* on 20 January 1633 recorded that Junius reported that Mattau

---

<sup>(38)</sup> Blussé, 1984, pp. 176-177.

<sup>(39)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 108.

<sup>(40)</sup> Janglauw, alias Liu Hsiang, initially was one of the followers of the great merchant-pirate Iquan or Cheng Chih-lung. In 1628 after Iquan submitted himself to the Chinese imperial forces and received the position of coastal commander-in-chief in return, Janglauw cooperated with another follower of Iquan, Quitsick, alias Li Kuei-ch'i or Li Chih-ch'i, and attacked the forces of Iquan. In 1632 Janglauw established his own forces and on 10 April 1634 he attacked Fort Zeelandia but was in vain. Later Janglauw ravaged along the coastal China and was decisively defeated by the force of Iquan on 23 May 1635 near Tien-wei of Kwangtung. See Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 3, footnote 12; p. 73, footnote 21.

<sup>(41)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, pp. 162-163, 168, 169.

threatened to wage a warfare against Soulang and Sinkan.<sup>(42)</sup> Later on 26 August 1634 it recorded that Junius reported that the Mattauërs had cut the head of a woman from Soulang, which might provoke into a warfare.<sup>(43)</sup> The incapability of the VOC to revenge its 1629 defeat and its incompetence in maintaining a much powerful authority in the Sirayan region eventually led to a shattered picture within which each village sought their own best interests by constantly changing of alliance, except the old faithful Sinkan who was with the VOC. *Dagregisters Taiwan* in October 1634 recorded a Junius' report of an alliance between Sinkan and Soulang against Taccariangh in the South in warfare, during which it cost the lives of four principal men of Sinkan.<sup>(44)</sup> Later the Tayouan authorities in November had to send seventy soldiers to the South, mainly to assist the Sinkandians. However, regarding who did the harassment of the Chinese brick-workers or fishermen in Sakkam or Wankan, both the Mattauërs and the Soulangians were on the list.<sup>(45)</sup> Putmans in his letter to the Governor-general Brouwer dated 9 March 1635 stated that three small villages around Sinkan asked the religious instruction from the Dutch in order to deliver themselves from the Mattauërs and the Soulangians, who were said to constantly molest them.<sup>(46)</sup> In this picture we see not only the changing alliance among the Siraya but also the perception of the Siraya toward the missionary work, a mixture of perceived cultural superiority of the Dutch and the practical interest of political protection.

## VII. The Fall of the Mattauërs

The "over-confidence of ego" of the Mattauërs reached a dramatic peak in 1635. *Dagregisters Taiwan* in May 1635 recorded a letter from the missionary stating that Takaran of Mattau openly bragged that the Dutch were afraid of him and claimed that he would burn down the village of the Sinkandians, as well as those of ten to twelve Dutch living among the latter. Takaran was said to bring a certain instrument called *pokon* to Topangh, which

---

<sup>(42)</sup> Ibid., 1984, p. 149.

<sup>(43)</sup> Ibid., 1984, p. 188.

<sup>(44)</sup> Taccariangh located in the South of two day's journey from Taoyuan. See Campbell ed., 1903, p. 130. It is believed to be around today's Wantan, Pingtung County. See Leonard Blussé, W. E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-ho eds., *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, deel II, 1641-1648* (Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1995), p. 689.

<sup>(45)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 195, pp. 199-200.

<sup>(46)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 111. The three villages might be Teopang, Tivalukang and Tivakang, which located about five kilometers from Sinkan and later were grouped into Tavakan. See Campbell ed., 1903, p. 159.

apparently impress the inhabitants of the latter, and would protect the latter from then on.<sup>(47)</sup> The Tayouan Governor Putmans immediately led seventy more soldiers to Sinkan and burned Takaran's "secret weapon" *pokon* in one of the main churches to soothe the fear. Being animated by the action of their ally, Sinkan later declared a war against Mattau. The Mattauërs, who were said to escape once they ran into the marching Sinkandians, had already hidden their belongings in other villages and came out to beg for mercy. The final term of the negotiation was that Mattau handed in nine pigs and six to eight big hasegayen as a punishment.<sup>(48)</sup> The image of the impregnability of Mattau was therefore smashed by the Sinkandians. In September Junius reported that Mattau and Soulang formed an alliance, but a couple of days later the former was said to be hit by smallpox.<sup>(49)</sup> In November, when the reinforcement from Batavia was ready, the VOC gave a direct and enormous blow on its "over-confidence of ego" again and ultimately pulverized this regional power.

The following story has been already familiar to us. Mattau, Taccariangh and Soulang were chastised by the VOC-Sinkan joint force in November, December 1635 and January 1636 respectively. The success of the military campaign brought not only the territorial expansion of the VOC but also, more significantly, the nominal loss of the individual sovereignty of the Siraya as well as that of other Austronesian villages, no matter they were either conquered or submitted themselves due to being frightened either by the presence of horses, hunting gods, drum-beating or gun-firing or by hearsay from the neighboring village.<sup>(50)</sup>

## VIII. The Responses of the Other Siraya

The military campaign of the VOC from November 1635 to January 1636 also unwrapped multi-meanings to the Siraya, as well as to the VOC. To the Sinkandians, the attack against Mattau and Taccariangh was almost nothing but the warfare against the inherited foes. It was said that the VOC-Sinkan joint force did not proceed very far on their

---

<sup>(47)</sup> Topangh was also called Teopan. See Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 214. Yang Seng-fu places it at today's Tupan, Fung-kou li, Hsinhua, a place very close to Tavakan. See Yang Seng-fu, "P'ing pu tsu ti ming chieh tu chi ch'u t'an, i hsi T'ai-wan Ta-tu ch'i i nan P'ing pu tsu ti ming wei chu, shang (the place names of the Plains Aborigines, part one of two)" *Shan-hai wen hua* 5 (1994), p. 27. Later it was annexed to Tavakan with other two nearby small satellite villages (see note 46).

<sup>(48)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, pp. 214-215.

<sup>(49)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230,233.

<sup>(50)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, pp. 122,124.



march to Mattau, the Sinkandians had caught one principal man of Mattau and put him in irons in Sinkan.<sup>(51)</sup> After Mattau was attacked and surrendered its sovereignty to the VOC, it was said that the Sinkandians still made a good use of their relationship with the Dutch and circulated words to frighten their old foes, the Bakloanders and the Mattauërs.<sup>(52)</sup> To the Bakloanders, the movement of a large VOC-Sinkan joint troop probably immediately reminded them both of the burning of their village in 1629 and of the war-sparking dispute between themselves and the Sinkandians in 1632. It was said that the VOC had to calm their fear in order to prevent the Bakloanders from taking flight.<sup>(53)</sup> To the Soulangians, who were said to have constantly violated the admonition of the VOC by behavior such as the encroachment of licensed Chinese workers or fishermen and the stealing of the goods from the VOC, they once thought the VOC-Sinkan campaign against Taccariangh in December was a camouflage for an attack against themselves. Some of the Soulangians were said to sail to the residence of the Governor Putmans in order to present him with seventeen pigs, expecting that the Dutch would not attack them.<sup>(54)</sup> To the inhabitants of the three small villages in the south, Teopang, Tivalukang and Tivakang, which located close to one another and later after the military campaign were grouped into a bigger village called Tavakan under the suggestion of the VOC for the purpose of religious instruction, their motivation of joining the campaign against Taccariangh could not be fully understood without considering their intention to secure the earlier disputed fields between themselves and Taccariangh.<sup>(55)</sup>

---

<sup>(51)</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>(52)</sup> Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>(53)</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>(54)</sup> Ibid., pp. 120-121.

<sup>(55)</sup> Ibid., p. 121. The entry comes from Robertus Junius' letter to the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce of the VOC, dated 5 September 1636, which is preserved in Campbell's translation. See Campbell ed., 1903, pp. 116-144. The original translation does not specify the names of the three villages. It mentions that on 6 December 1635 the VOC sent one of the elders of Sinkan to the *three southern villages* "to acquaint their inhabitants with the expedition about to set out against Takareiang (i.e., Taccariangh)." Then on 7 December "one of the elders returned from *the small villages* to which he had been sent and told us he had executed his orders." According to Junius' letter, Mattau and the three southern villages are the only villages that the Sinkandians were dispatched by the VOC as the message-carriers in early December. In other words, it is apparent that the *three southern villages* being mentioned on 6 December are the *small villages* on 7 December, and they all could be reached within *one-day journey*. Taccariangh and other villages near it were also said to be in the south, but they all were said to be about *two-day journey* from Sinkan. See Campbell ed., 1903, pp. 120, 130. It concludes that the aforementioned three small villages could not be those near Taccariangh and should be close to Sinkan. Attention also has to give to the fact that the VOC authorities recorded the spatial orientation of the North and the South in Taiwan mostly based on their headquarters, Zeelandia. In other words, it is possible that villages south of Zeelandia such as Teopang, Tivalukang and Tivakang were treated as those being situated further south (e.g., Taccariangh) as the southern ones, especially

## IX. Aftermath

How did the Siraya view their relationship with the Dutch before they handed in their individual sovereignties? Or, in another way, how successful was the VOC's approach to its consolidation of rule among the Siraya during this period? The reason for Putmans' reinforcement to Sinkan regarding the *pokon* incident in April 1635 recorded in *Dagregisters Taiwan* would in part probably answer the question. It was said that Putmans would lead the soldiers to Bakloan, under the name of investigation, probably a camouflage for the reason that the big reinforcement from Batavia was not ready yet, in order to maintain the esteem of the VOC among the local population, encourage the spirit of the Sinkandians, sink the haughty of the Mattauërs and hold other villages "in proper obedience and fear."<sup>(56)</sup> Moreover, the case of Sinkan in September 1635, around one month before the joint forces of the VOC and Sinkan launched the first grand expedition that swept through almost the entire southwestern plains of Taiwan, would even shatter our stereotype picture of the VOC-Sinkan alliance. *Dagregisters Taiwan* on 12 September 1635 recorded a resolution in response to Junius' report concerning the issue that the Sinkandians were planning a riot against the Dutch, which planned to kill all the missionary workers as well as the stationed soldiers. The Tayouan authorities responded by immediately sending eighty soldiers to Sinkan to capture the ring-leaders. Three days later *Dagregisters Taiwan* recorded the event based on two letters from Sinkan, one from the missionary and the other from a Lieutenant. Three ring-leaders were arrested, but it was said that it was not clear whether the plan was conducted by the entire village as a whole in order to get rid of the Dutch or only by the three ring-leaders. However, considering the fact that the religious works had been done there for almost seven to eight years of great effort, the Tayouan authorities decided not to destroy the fruit within a blink after "mature" deliberation. Probably bearing a political intention in mind for the coming Mattau expedition, which needed the assistance of the Sinkandians, the Tayouan authorities, on the contrary, decided to use a gentle mean to soothe the local population without employing force except necessary. On 17 November Junius, the Lieutenant, as well as fifty of the dispatched eighty soldiers, and the three arrested ring-leaders returned from Sinkan while thirty soldiers were left there to strengthen the garrison in Sinkan.<sup>(57)</sup> The

---

before the VOC effectively extended its territorial control southward in 1636. Moreover, Teopang, Tivalukang and Tivakang were the *only* three small villages being mentioned collectively and all within one-day journey from Sinkan.

<sup>(56)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, pp. 214-215.

<sup>(57)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227-229.

event was also reported to the Governor-general Brouwer in Putmans' letter dated 19 September 1635.<sup>(58)</sup> The idealistic project of the VOC in treating the relationship between themselves and the Sinkandians as the parental one (...; *bekenden oock de Compagnie als haer vaeder was....*) in the early 1630s seemed still a faraway dream.<sup>(59)</sup> No wonder to the VOC, the VOC-Sinkan joint military campaign also meant a reinforcement of the VOC-Sinkan bondage. On their return from the expedition against Mattau the VOC did not give up the opportunity to summon the principal men of Sinkan and admonished them to be obedient and to behave themselves while stopped by Sinkan.<sup>(60)</sup> On 10 January 1636 when the seven Soulangians who were said to be the criminals against the VOC were brought to Sinkan for execution after the military campaign was over, the Governor Putmans deliberately had the Sinkandians, rather than the VOC itself, to decapitated the aforementioned Soulangians in order to pull the Sinkandians into the arms of the Dutch deeper and to alienate them from the Soulangians more.<sup>(61)</sup> This would make the Sinkandians in front of other Siraya do somewhat look like the running dog of the VOC.

As a matter of fact, during the 1635-36 military campaign in the southwestern plains, the killing of the Dutch by their Sirayan allies behind the back of the VOC were also heard. *Dagregisters Taiwan* in April 1636 recorded that some Dutch were killed by the inhabitants of Tavakan on their way back from the expedition to Soulang, but it was said that no certain result regarding this issue except some suspects were detained in prison. At the same time the previous case concerning the plot of the Sinkandians against the VOC was still under examine without definite conclusion.<sup>(62)</sup> To the VOC, the submission of the Siraya, as well as its close affiliation the Sinkandians, appeared to have to be achieved by another approach, that is, from the transformation of the cultural system of the Siraya through more intensive and extensive religious instruction and conversion, especially to the younger generation of the local residents. In other words, it would be a process of the invasion from within.

---

<sup>(58)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 111.

<sup>(59)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, p. 72.

<sup>(60)</sup> Campbell ed., 1903, p. 118.

<sup>(61)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>(62)</sup> Blussé et al. eds., 1984, pp. 139-140.

## CITED REFERENCES

- Blussé, Leonard  
 1984 "Dutch Protestant Missionaries as Protagonists of the Territorial Expansion of the VOC on Formosa." In Dick Kooiman, Otto van den Muizenberg and Peter van der Veer eds. *Conversion, Competition and Conflict, essays on the role of religion in Asia*, pp. 155-84. Amsterdam: Free University Press.
- Blussé, Leonard and Marius P. H. Roessingh  
 1984 "A Visit to the Past: Soulang, a Formosan Village Anno 1623." *Archipel* 27: 63-80.
- Blussé, Leonard, W. E. van Opstall and Ts'ao Yung-ho eds.  
 1984 *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, 1629-1641, Deel I*. Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- Blussé, Leonard, W. E. Milde and Ts'ao Yung-ho eds.  
 1995 *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, deel II, 1641-1648*. Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- Campbell, William ed.  
 1903 *Formosa under the Dutch: descriptions from contemporary records*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Ginsel, W. A.  
 1931 *De Gereformeerde Kerk op Formosa of de Lotgevallen eener Handelsterk onder de Oost-Indische-Compagnie, 1627-1662*. Leiden: Mulder.
- Heeres, J. E. ed.  
 1896 *Dagh-register gegouden int Casteel Batavia, vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-indin, anno 1624-1629*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Hijhoff.
- Kang Peite  
 1996 "Culture and Culture Change of the Siraya under the Dutch East India Company." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Lu Chia-hsing  
 1965 *Lu-erh-men ti li yen pien k'ao* (The geographical change of Lu-erh-men). Taipei: T'ai-wan shang wu.
- Nakamura Takashi  
 1994 "Ho-lan shih tai ti T'ai-wan fan she hu k'ou piao (The list of aboriginal household registration in the Dutch Taiwan)." Translated by Wu Mi-ch'a and Hsu Hsien-yao, *T'ai-wan feng wu* 44(1): 197-234.
- Pan Ying-hai  
 1994a "Settlements, History and Meaning: the development of settlements and ethnic relations of T'ou-she village." *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica* 77: 89-123.  
 1994b "Wen-hua ho-ch'eng yu ho-ch'eng wen-hua: T'ou-she ts'un t'ai-tsu nien-tu chi-yi ti wen-hua i-han." In *T'ai-wan yu Fu-chien she-hui wen-hua yen-chiu lun-wen chi* 1: 235-256.  
 1995 "Tsai-ti-hua yu ti-fang wen-hua: i hu ti shin-yang-ts'ung wei li." In *T'ai-wan yu Fu-chien she-hui wen-hua yen-chiu lun-wen chi* 2: 299-319.

Reid, Anthony

1988 *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680: vol. 1 the lands below the winds*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shepherd, John Robert

1993 *Statecraft and Political Economy of the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Shih Wang-shou

1992 *T'ai-wan ti pai-hu min-tsu*. Taipei: T'ai-yuan, 2nd edition.

Yang Seng-fu

1994 "P'ing pu tsu ti ming chieh tu chi ch'u t'an, i hsi T'ai-wan Ta-tu ch'i i nan P'ing pu tsu ti ming wei chu, shang (the place names of the Plains Aborigines, part one of two)." *Shan-hai wen hua* 5: 18-32.

# 相逢、疑慮與臣服

## 西拉雅人與荷蘭人

### 於 1623 年至 1636 年間之關係

康培德

中文摘要

本文主要探討西拉雅人於 1623 年至 1636 年間與荷蘭人交往關係的主體觀點。西拉雅人屬南島語族，十七世紀時居住在臺灣西南部沿海平原。檔案文獻記載其與荷蘭人首次之接觸是在 1623 年。荷蘭人與西拉雅人之往來以及隨後之行政統治，則持續至 1661 年。文中主要在探討 1636 年荷蘭人動用大量軍事力量征伐並臣服西南沿海平原之村落前，西拉雅人對荷蘭人的觀感與回應。文中建構的西拉雅人主體性觀點是以個別村落為主，即荷蘭檔案常提及的新港、麻豆、蕭壠、目加溜灣和大目降五個村落。本文主要採用之檔案文獻，為收錄於荷蘭東印度公司臺灣日誌的決議錄摘要和日常紀事，以及宣教師與公司行政人員之往來書信。

中文關鍵詞：南島語族、西拉雅人、臺灣史、荷蘭東印度公司