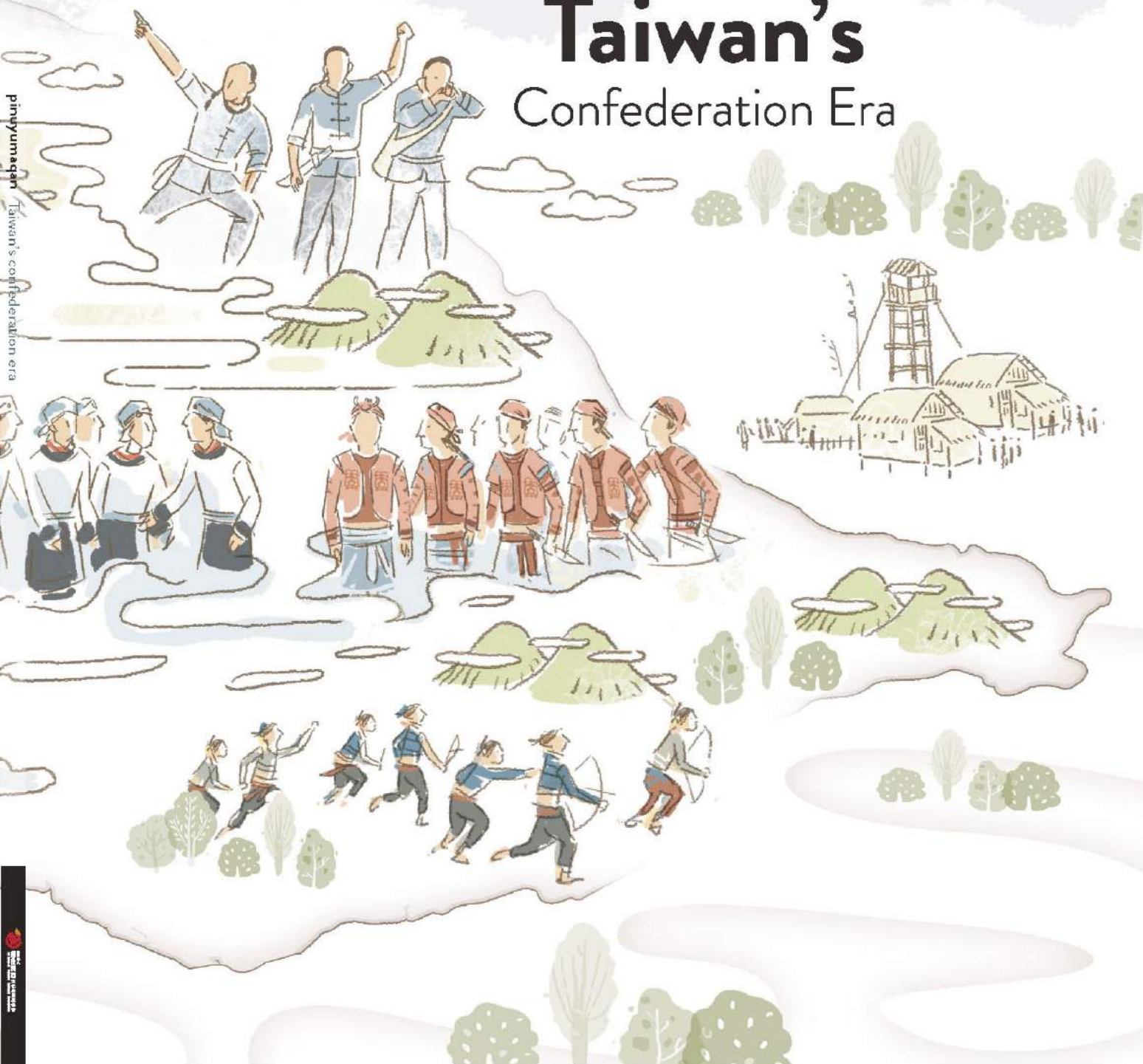


INDIGENOUS SIGHT

Vol. 21

PINUYUMAGAN

Taiwan's Confederation Era



| IPCF Magazine | 2018 November

INDIGENOUS ^{Vol.} 21

SIGHT



PINUYUMAGAN

Taiwan's Confederation Era



Please note that words of "barbarians", "uncivilized" used in this Issue only reflect to original texts used in the quoted historical literature and they do not contain any discrimination.

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Publishing Organization:
Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

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Price: TWD100

Editing & Production: Business Today Publisher
Art Editors: Zheng Liang-long, Liao Xin-hua
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Cover Art: James Lee

Looking at the world from an indigenous perspective.
Online version:



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License Code: Chunghwa Post Taipei Magazine No. 2064 (mail category: "Magazine") ISSN : 2313-111X

Unveiling the Mysterious Confederation Era

If history really is "a net with no seams", what would be the best way to split and categorize them? Is the current structure created by historians, or is it at least based upon some markers that already existed between the historical incidents? How far back can we trace history? These are probably some common questions which are related to the beginning of history. When posterity look at the scope of history, how much of the truth can they really see? This seems like a difficult mission. When exploring the themes and events written by historians, we cannot just focus on the incidents per se. "An event" is an artificial concept, but the universe flows continuously and changes constantly. If events are history, we must understand that part of them still originated from human thought. What is "time"? Maybe we will never find the answer.

Before foreign political powers came to Taiwan during the Confederation era, Taiwan's indigenous peoples gradually established political structures that are similar to community alliances or confederations.

These structures ruled over land and people, and members share governing rights. This type of political structure slowly spread out to the central, eastern and southern parts of Taiwan. Each system had various degrees of political power, and formed different relationships with foreign political powers that came throughout history. This issue presents important historical information on the Tjaquvuquvulj, the Seqalu people, and the Tatuturo Confederation. Readers can see how some of these kingdoms and peoples interacted or even warred with foreign ruling powers (the Netherlands, Spanish, Koxinga's army, the armies from the Qing Dynasty, and the Japanese) back then. In Central Taiwan, there were kingdoms established by the Papora people, Babuza people, Pazeh people, Honya people, and the Taokas people. These are very important history records as well.

In this issue, we also cover some past history which has been mentioned before. We hope to construct the indigenous people's history which was rarely mentioned in the past, and present this as an important database to our people and the public once again. Maybe other peoples also set up kingdom-like community organizations and operation models in the past. With sufficient time and effort, we can collect more comprehensive data and systematically unveil the mystery of the Confederation era.

Chairperson, Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

Jumaya Sayfili

Illustrated by James Lee

When Communities Become Confederations

According to statistics from the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Taiwan currently has an indigenous population of over 560,000 people. Among the 16 groups, there are approximately 750 communities; and in terms of administrative districts, there are 55 indigenous territories. Different peoples have different words for "community": the Sediq say "alang", the Pangcah say "niyaro". The Paiwan use "qinaljan", and the Bunun use "asang". In the Sediq language, the word means hometown, community, area, and nation. Public affairs within the same people are conducted with "community" as units. In fact, all indigenous peoples share similar concepts with the Sediq people when it comes to "community".

A Confederation is a relaxed alliance between a number of independent nations. Generally speaking, the Confederation does not have all the factors to form a nation, and does not completely meet the standards of an independent entity according to International Law. Although it has public organizations to deal with common affairs, Confederations do not have a unified central government agency, nor do they have relevant legislation and financial budgets. Citizens in membership nations only have citizenship of the nation they belong to, not a Confederation identity.

When communities become Confederations, they share certain similarities. In school, the education system does not tell us much about these communities. What we know about communities and/or communities depend on personal experience - how much each individual has been exposed to the issue. Some indigenous people leave their communities and move to the city. After they grow up, they realize they cannot completely sever their ties with their communities, as the relationship between the two is like an umbilical cord.

Before other ruling powers came into Taiwan, the Confederation mechanism existed among all indigenous peoples in Taiwan. Some communities established alliances, and some did not interact with others at all. The Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom is an example of an alliance, which was a way for members to defend their communities together.

In this issue, we once again challenge and explore the history of communities and Confederations that appeared centuries ago. This piece of history also falls in line with the legislation concept "communities as public institutions" that the Council of Indigenous Peoples' is currently promoting, and we look forward to seeing the results. In the present environment, what are the chances for us to return to the ideal of community self-governance model? Nevertheless, we see a realization of ethnic conscious as many indigenous peoples are actively setting up ethnic councils, bringing community affairs back to the communities.

CEO of Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation

Kacaw Fayan

Where is Our Homeland?

The Distribution of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples and Confederations



Never Forget Your Roots and Remember Where Your People Came From!

A long time ago, Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples lived all over Taiwan and developed inter-community alliances and confederations. However, as large numbers of Non-indigenous people immigrated to Taiwan and settled here, Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples were forced to leave their ancestral lands and assimilate into the Non-indigenous culture. The borders between their territories gradually became the borderlines defining different cities. But now we are going to rediscover the earliest original version of the land!

The Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom

Located in the high mountains in Taiwan's southeast region, this kingdom was mainly led by the Paiwan people. They ruled the area between the south of present Shuaimang River and the north of Fenggang River in Pingtung.

馬卡道族
Makattao

The 18 Communities of Lonckjau

The Seqalu Kingdom ruled the entire Hengchun Peninsula area (south of Fenggang River to Eluanbi). Its subjects were a mix of Paiwan and Pinuyumayan peoples, commonly known as the Seqalu people.

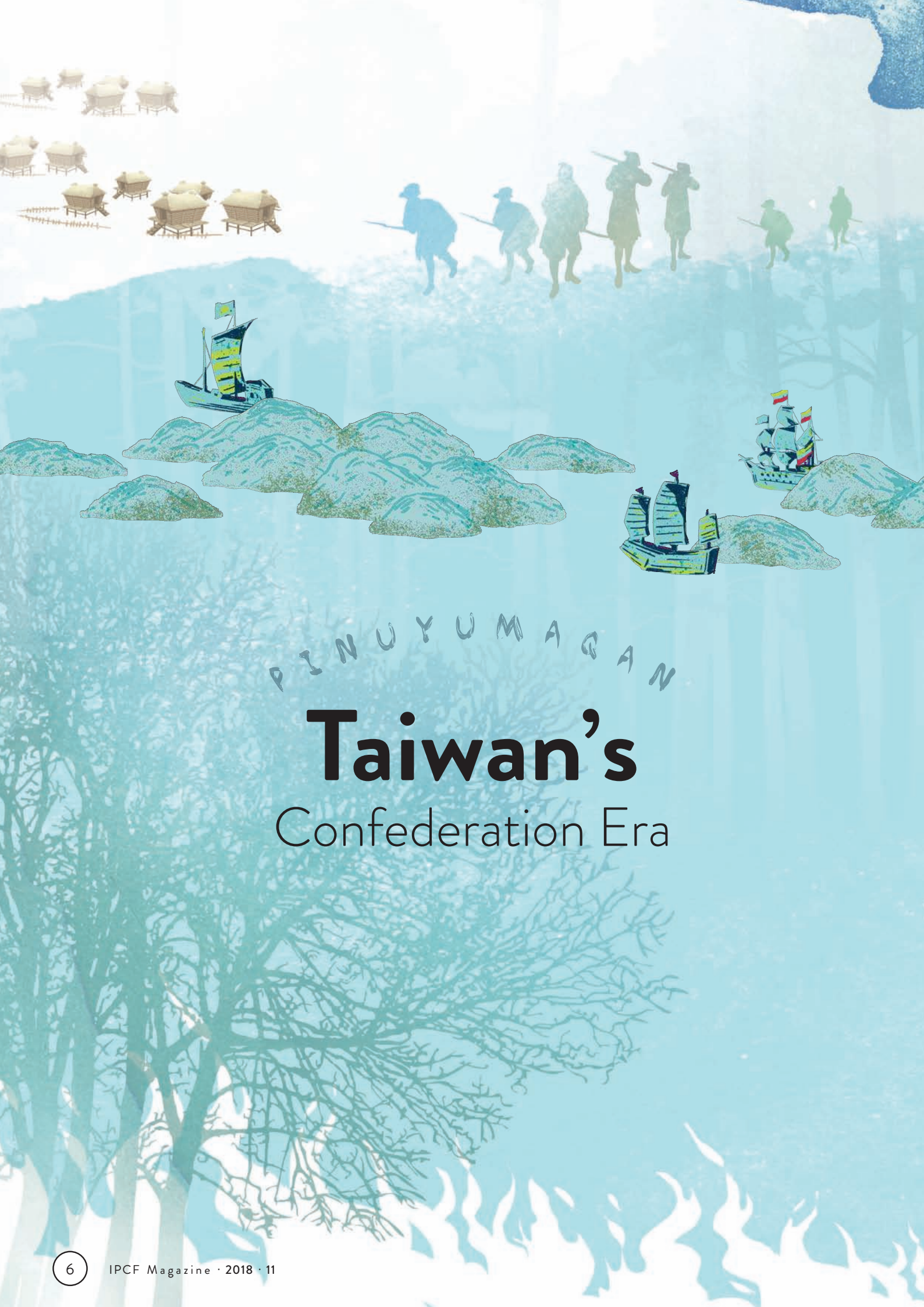
洪雅族
Hon'ya

西拉雅族
Siraya

大滿族
Taivoan

馬卡道族
Makattao


Data sources: 黃清琦、黃驗、黃裕元，《臺灣歷史地圖（增訂版）》。



PINUYUMAGAN

Taiwan's

Confederation Era



In 1542, amazed by the beauty of Taiwan, the Portuguese named it "Ilha Formosa."

In 1624, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) arrived in Taiwan, and began its 38 years of colonial rule.

This is what we are first taught in Taiwan school education.

In fact, before foreign political powers arrived in Taiwan, our indigenous peoples had already built their own cultures.

The brave Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj fought to resist the Netherlands military and administered south of the Central Mountain Range.

The Seqalu people who were mastered in witchcraft migrated to the 18 Indigenous Communities in Lonckjau of Southern Taiwan, and got married to Paiwan people.

Known as the "Kingdom of Middag," the Tatuturo Confederation controlled Central Taiwan and bravely fought against the force of Koxinga.

The political power of each indigenous group owned authentic ruling power, and in international diplomacies, they defended the integration of their homelands.

However, with the time, indigenous peoples were forced to wander on their own lands.

We are in a continuous search for our lands and memories.

Taiwan's confederation era presents us with an image of spacious land, beautiful nostalgia, and the returning roots of indigenous peoples.

Note: Pinuyumaqan means the "Confederation" of Paiwan People.

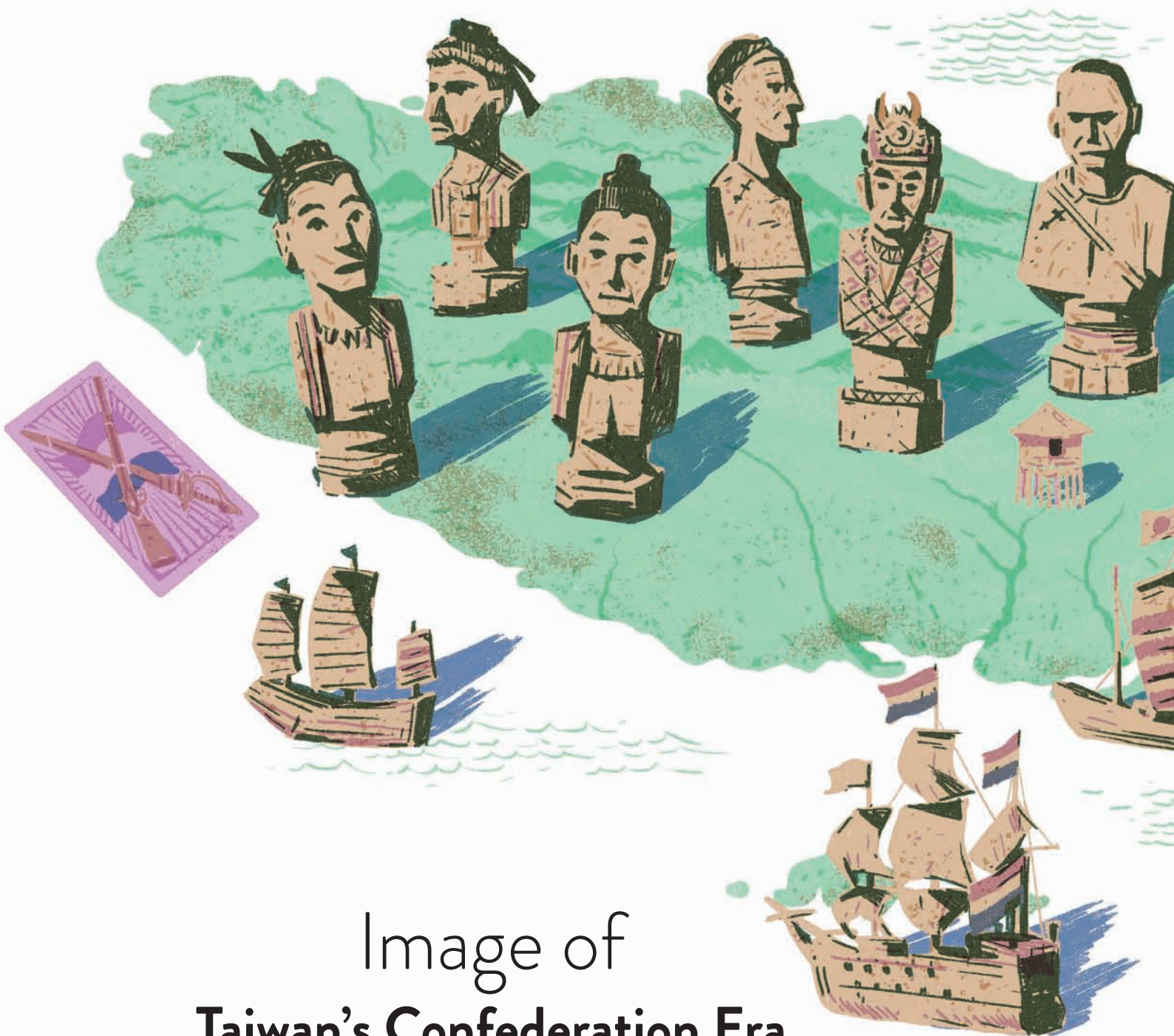


Image of Taiwan's Confederation Era

Written by Lee Chin-Hsien; Illustrated by Lin Jia-Dong



Have you heard of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj in Southern Taiwan, the Tatuturo Confederation in Central Taiwan, and the 18 Lonckjau Indigenous Communities in Hengchun? These “strange” kingdoms actually existed on the island of Taiwan. The history of Taiwan before the 17th Century was not blank; the indigenous peoples of Taiwan developed a diverse history in their settlements, portraying the rich civilizations of Taiwan's Confederation Era.



In his book, “Taiwanese History,” Lien Heng states: “Before the Netherlands settlement, Taiwan had no history. Taiwanese history started with the Netherlands settlement, was developed further by Goxingga, and was continued by the Qing Dynasty.” For over 300 years now we have understood this version of Taiwanese history to be true. But is it? Was there any “confederation” or “kingdom” unknown to us coming into power?

According to literature reviews, before the Netherlands, there were various “indigenous political powers” in Taiwan. They were entities that possessed certain types of power or exerted influence. They were co-leaders of dozens of communities, community leaders or sea merchants, or leaders of pirate groups. They were commonly referred to as the “Kings.” That means before foreign political power came to Taiwan, there was the existence of confederations or community alliances. To some degree, they did command and control Taiwan.

In the 17th Century, the indigenous peoples of Formosa built diverse political powers, but after the arrival of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), colonial power was established by force to remove indigenous confederation and political power, reducing them to mere footnotes in Taiwan’s history.

The First King Recognized by Japan

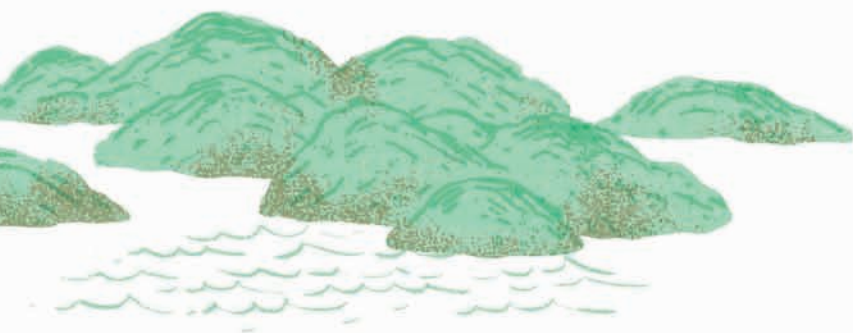
As shown in literature, Taiwan’s first “king” was Dika or Dijcka, a leader of the Siraya people of Xingangshe.

In 1624, the VOC conspired with local officials, businessmen, and pirates in China to “move” their operations to Tainan, which served as the beginning of the Netherlands era in Taiwan. This foreign political power invaded Taiwan with the motivation for colonial trade, which meant that the Siraya people settled in Xingangshe at that time who had already faced troubles brought by the Japanese and pirates, were further threatened by the intensive conflicts brought by the “red-haired hoan.”

From 1627 to 1628, trade conflicts occurred between the Netherlands and the Japanese. When the VOC negotiated with Edo Tokugawa Shogunate over tariff and trade, as interpreted by the Netherlands, a Japanese silk businessman named Hamada Yahyoue encouraged 16 members of the Siraya Community in Xingangshe and two Non-indigenous interpreters to form the “Taiwanese representative group” to go to Japan to visit Tokugawa Lemitsu. They protested the VOC on behalf of Taiwan, and they offered the “land” to show their loyalty to the Tokugawa Shogunate. Japan, thus, gave the title of “the King of Taiwan” to the Dika. This is the so-called “Hamada Yahyoue Incident.”

As the community leader of Xingangshe in the era of Taiwan’s invasion by international super powers, Dika





became the first “King of Taiwan” to be crowned by Japan. Although the leader was not the king of all of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, he was nonetheless recognized and honored “internationally.”

This historical story of the King of Taiwan actually describes an episode of Taiwan’s sovereignty dispute between the Netherlands and the Japanese in the 17th Century, which indicates the existence of community leaders among the indigenous communities.

The 18 Communities of Lonckjau Holding the Rights to Levy Taxes and Sovereignty on the Hengchun Peninsula

During the Qing Dynasty, the Paiwan community - which is located in the north of Fenggang River in Southern Taiwan - was referred to as the Up 18 Communities of Lonckjau. It was later classified by the Japanese as the Neiwen Group of the Paiwan People or the Tjaquvuquvulj while the communities to the south of the Fenggang River were called Lonckjau The Down 18 Communities of Lonckjau, who were a Hengchun Group of Paiwan settlers mainly composed of the Seqalu people, descendants of Pinuyumayan and Paiwan people through mixed marriages. Generally, The 18 Communities of Lonckjau include the settlement

areas of the four major communities of the Seqalu people and the surrounding Paiwan and Pangcah communities.

Compared to other kings of the same era in Taiwan, although Chief Lonckjau did not have the title of “king,” he nonetheless governed 18 communities and held the rights to levy taxes and sovereignty. He was able to appoint a leader for each community, and most notably, he had the exclusive right to kill community members.

However, after the arrival of the VOC, Chief Lonckjau surrendered and signed a treaty. He was deprived of the right to kill community members and to appoint community leaders. Taxes were levied by the Company from community members. The power of the Chief was surrendered, but community force still existed. The Chief Tooke-tok, played an important role in negotiating with the US, Japan, and the Qing government for the Rover Incident in 1867 and the Mudan Community Incident in 1874.

The Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom, the First Austronesian Political Entity with an Initial Form of State

Among the known political sovereignties, the one closest to the form of state is the Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom which is located in the high mountain area of



Southeastern Taiwan that has its own land, people, sovereignty, diplomatic ties, and tax system.

The Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom was established in Southern Taiwan long before the arrival of the VOC in the 17th Century. Some scholars even regard this as the first Austronesian political entity with the form of a state. Relevant literature indicated the existence of the Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom before the Netherlands Era in Taiwan. Although no clear records can show the exact time of establishment of the Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom, it had sufficient conditions to constitute a country in the sense that it was people ruled, sovereignty governed, land administered, and it had governance and finance systems.

Tjaquvuquvulj was originally the residence of two big chiefs. Geographically, it was the core area of the Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom protected by its surrounding satellite communities. Hence, official records mostly used Tjaquvuquvulj to refer to this community. The name “Tjaquvuquvulj” indicates the core community of the area, a big “kingdom” that leads to the other communities.

The governing area of the Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom was the settlement for Paiwan people. In the beginning, ten communities possessed different lands and were in conflict. Later, most communities surrendered to the Tjaquvuquvulj community and formed the governance of Chief.



The power structure and social system of the Kingdom were similar to that of the feudal systems in ancient China that were concerned with classes and ethics, co-production and co-sharing, gender equality, and military agriculture. According to historical records which cover several hundred years, the Kingdom made contact and negotiate with foreign powers such as the VOC, Koxinga power, the Qing Empire, and the Japanese colonial government. It had practical diplomatic relationship with its allies and indeed, was a kingdom.

In addition to the Tjaquvuquvulj Kingdom in the east, there was also the Pinuyumayan Community, led by the Pinuyumayan people.

The musician Baliwakes (also known as Lu Seng-Bao in Chinese and Mori takaraichiro in Japanese) who influenced Pinuyumayan music greatly, wrote a song named “the Pinuyumayan King” which described the





great achievements of their ancestors, the Pinarai. Legend had it that the Pinuyumayan King led both the Pinuyumayan people, the Pangcah people and the Paiwan people in the neighborhood area. He exerted great political influence on Eastern Taiwan. In particular, after the first half of 17th Century, the Pinuyumayan Community maintained close relationships with foreign powers including the VOC, the Qing Dynasty, the Japanese government, and national government.

In 1638, under the assistance of the Lonckjau Chief, the Netherlands went to the Pinuyumayan area and used military threat to force the Pinuyumayan leader to surrender his governing ten communities to the VOC. Since 1640, official documents of the Netherlands have showed close contact with the Pinuyumayan communities. For example, when the Netherlands organized a meeting for communities in Southern Taiwan in Chikan in 1644, the noblemen and women from “Pimaba” (the Pinuyumayan communities) helped to explain the rules of Netherlands officials in their language. Furthermore, the annual convention in Eastern Taiwan has also been held in Pimaba since 1652.

The Kingdom of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples, and the Inter-racial and Inter-language Tatuturo Confederation

There were not only Paiwan and Pinuyumayan kingdoms, but also the Tatuturo Confederation which was established by the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples in Western Taiwan.

“The King of Quatongh” was referred to in recorded Netherlands Literature as the “Barbarian King (番王)”, who lived south of the

border of the Dadu Plains. The “King” mentioned in the Netherlands literature did not have the equivalent meaning of the western concept, but was rather a figure that held special rights and status among his indigenous people.

“The King of Quatongh” governed the inter-ethnic and inter-language area and later, the area in governance was classified according to ethnic groups where the Barbarian King came from. With the help of the Papora Community, he ruled the Babuza, Pazeh, Hoanya, and Taokas peoples. His ‘kingdom’ was mainly located along the Dadu River, which is today’s Taichung, Changhua, and Nantou.

Threatened by the strong Papora People, the VOC could not make its move to Northern Taiwan smoothly. It wasn’t until 1645 that the Netherlands sent its military to combat the Tatuturo People and invaded 13 communities. The Quatongh King then led all communities to surrender to the VOC and signed the



treaty. After that surrender, the King's rights and status were surrendered and he had no power to resolve disputes between communities.

At the end of the Netherlands rule, the Quatongh Kingdom was semi-independent, and by the Ming Cheng Era, before surrendering, it fought fiercely. A riot occurred during the Emperor of Yongzheng in the Qing Dynasty because of heavy duties, and the Kingdom sent its military force to attack Changhua Provincial City. Finally, it was defeated by the Qing government. After this war, the Qutongh Kingdom lost its power completely and could not resist the political power of the Qing and Non-indigenous people's settlements. The Qutongh then people moved to Puli and Yilan.

A Historical Confrontation? Kings of Taiwan in the Age of Discovery

In general, mainstream history has posited that there were no political organizations of Taiwan's indigenous peoples before the arrival of the Netherlands in Taiwan, and such narratives have been considered to be "Taiwanese History." Chen Di

who came along with Shen to Taiwan at the end of the Ming Dynasty to fight against the Japanese and "An Account of Eastern Barbarians" described Taiwan's indigenous peoples as "diverse ethnic groups belonging to communities with several hundred to 1,000 people. There were no leaders; those with more children would take the lead and others would follow them."

But interestingly, as with other historical literature, "An Account of Eastern Barbarians" has several problems and contradictions. It said that Taiwan had no chiefs but later stated: "The Japanese were defeated and Dayuan was recovered. The indigenous leader Damile led dozens of followers to visit. Deer and wine were offered for removing the evil." The "barbarian leader" was of that community. Additionally, the Netherlands "Degh-Register gehouden int Costell Batavia" or "De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia" were also



found to have discrepancies. According to the literature, “There were no leaders or chiefs among Taiwan’s indigenous peoples,” but in some articles, figures negotiating with the VOC include “leaders of Siraya communities”. Additionally, after 1644, a local parliament system was introduced by convening a meeting with leaders of Taiwan’s indigenous communities by the VOC. The Company also referred to community leaders of the Down Lonckjau of Paiwan and Up Sha Mo Hai Paiwan communities in Hengchun as “lords.”

We may be able to find reasons for these historical inaccuracies. After negotiating, foreign political power found that there was no power developed by Taiwan’s indigenous peoples that commanded the whole of Taiwan. Instead, they controlled different parts of Taiwan since they had community leaders.

The language and interpretation rights of historical writings are in the control of mainstream culture, and the history of Taiwan’s indigenous peoples has mostly been overlooked and forgotten. It is, thus, difficult to trace back and its history can only be reviewed from the perspective of “others” or even imagined as put together by the diverse social and political rights of Taiwan in the 17th Century.

The “king” referred to by foreign powers was not equivalent to that in the western concept, but he possessed certain power or influence close to that of confederation society or community alliance. These titles are the imaginations and records of outsiders towards others. Without concrete literature or proof, we are not able to determine whether or not the political powers during that time were confederations, alliances, or even kingdoms. Therefore, we should give more room to talk about Taiwan before and after the Era of Discovery to allow for all sorts of historical possibilities including the footprint of the confederation era on this island.

The Beauty and Sorrow of “Confederation”

On the island of Taiwan, various types of states, ethnic groups, and political powers combined and tangled to form a complicated whole. In the past, we had either stereotypical impressions or a complete lack of understanding of Taiwanese history. There are several reasons for this: One is unclear official documentation, incorrect memories, and lack of written indigenous records. Most records were kept by and written from the perspectives of foreign powers, and no first-hand indigenous perspectives were presented.

Over the past two decades, scholars have continuously played a role in the studies of Taiwanese history, and have proposed



not to discuss issues from only the perspectives of the Non-indigenous people. Perspectives of non-rulers shall be presented by collecting, interpreting, comparing and decoding the literature of different languages to gradually explore the mechanisms of Taiwan's international trade which started during the Era of Discovery.

In more recent years, through the works of various domestic scholars such as Wong Jiayin and Kang Pei-te as well as international ones, we know that in addition to the kings of Paiwan and Pinuyumayan that ruled trans-ethnic groups and inter-communities or confederations, similar systems were implemented by the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples.

In his historical novel "A Tale in Three Tribes in Netherlands Formosa", the retired M.D. and Professor Chen Yao-Chang from National Taiwan University portrayed the interaction, conflict, and integration between the Netherlands, Siraya people, and Non-indigenous people coming to Taiwan. His two historical novels, "Karis Flowers" and "Lion Head Flowers," described system decomposition or change in the 18 Lonckjau upper and lower Communities when impacted by foreign powers, to illustrate the internal social situation. His vivid way of writing created more historical re-imaginings of the great land of Taiwan.

When foreign political powers came to Taiwan, they brought new "civilizations" not known to Taiwan, and while exploiting their

resources, the conflicts with the indigenous peoples on this land occurred that resulted in a fight for survival and cultural destruction. The rich and diverse indigenous cultures were homogenized, and new classes of colonization were created.

With historical language, more preservation is needed to prove the past existence of "confederations" or "kingdoms" in Taiwan due to insufficient documentation. In fact, the pursuit of the past presents an opportunity to restore culture. The existence of "imagined confederations" also reminds us that Taiwan's historical discourse should have been studied much earlier than "the Netherlands settlement," when inaccurate social cultures and perspectives were presented. ❖

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The First Austronesian Country?

The Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj

Written by Yang Chia-Hua; Illustrated by James Lee

The Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj is said to be the first to have a state system among Austronesian; its scope of area covered south of the Central Mountains and it successfully resisted the attack of the Netherlands military. But, like other political sovereignties in Taiwan in the 17th Century, this Kingdom was invaded and assimilated by foreign powers and gradually collapsed. Now, with the effort of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj group, the footprints and glories of the Kingdom are found only in scarce literary records and oral investigations.





Taiwan Barbarian Map, inside front 《臺灣原住民族歷史地圖集》, SNC Publishing Inc.

“The Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj was ruled by the Paiwan people since the middle of 17th Century when it began its written records, and it was the first organization with a state system among the world’s Austronesian people.” These are the words of the contemporary well-known US scholar and historian on Chinese studies Tonio Andrade, about the Kingdom. This passage indicates the extremely important historical significance of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj on Taiwan and Austronesians. How did the Kingdom develop and why was it named as “a kingdom”, and how did this Kingdom interact with other powers?

To unveil the mysteries of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj, as shown in presently preserved literature, we need to trace back to the middle of the 17th Century. In 1624, due

to competition under the Era of Discovery, the VOC sailed and arrived in Taiwan and began the Netherlands era on Formosa. According to Netherlands literature of 1638, Tjaquvuquvulj was originally pronounced “Tocobocobul,” but was later changed because of the differences within interpreters’ pronunciation and recorders. It was then pronounced as Tacabul, Taccabul, Tockopol, Tokopol, and Takabolder.

In the Qing Dynasty it was referred to as “Tjaquvuquvulj,” and in the Japanese ruling period it was called “Neiwen.” The National Government continuously used the name. Although it was called different names at different times, it is now commonly referred to as “the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj,” as an attempt to restore its cultural history.

About 400 years ago, the once prosperous Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj was located South of the Central Mountains ruled a very large area which included today’s area south of the Shuimang River to the North of Fonggang River, comprising about 23 indigenous communities. However, with political power shifts,



wars, and killings in Taiwan, the Tjaquvuquvulj culture and history was suppressed and cultivated through “civilization” and disappeared. It is a pity but fortunately, a handful of text records in different political ruling periods were left for its people to trace back their historical origins.

The Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj Jointly Ruled by Two Kings

Generally, the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj was thought to have the initial formation of a state, because it had its own land, people, sovereignty, and government, matched with the less restricted composition elements of a state. If we adopt a stricter academic theory, however, it had the political structure of a confederation, a social order and a political unit. Its social order is composed of a family community or a family system. The social development initially had class ranking and labor division, but strictly speaking it was not developed as a state.

Unlike other kingdoms, the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj's ruling power was not limited to an individual leader. Instead, it was ruled by two leading families with shared political power, possessing the characteristic of “joint rule by two kings.” The two dominating families were respectively from Ruvaniyau and Tjuleng communities. With cooperation and competition, they gradually ruled their people jointly and co-defended common enemies to attract neighborhood communities to pay tributary and seek protection. Therefore, the autonomous confederation was built. According to researchers, about 23 indigenous communities or Non-indigenous communities sought to be governed, indicating the greatness and prosperity of the Kingdom.

Basically, the lands of the Kingdom all belonged to community leaders who were at the core of Paiwan society. Additionally, there were statuses of hereditary classes such as community escrows, families, and priests who assisted leaders in the operations of the confederation. The confederation leader internally governed

political, cultural, religious, and financial affairs under his administration, and externally declared wars, peace-making, and contracting, in the same manner as a king or leader in a feudal society.

Wars, Migration and the Rise and Fall of Tjaquvuquvulj

We are not able to clearly ascertain when the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj began, but according to contemporary academic research on historical literature review and field studies, the Kingdom existed in the 17th Century and then migrated to mix with local ancient Paiwan, Cimo, Pinuyumayan, Orchid Island, and Xiaoliuoqiao peoples.

In 1624, the Netherlands launched its oversea colonial headquarters to settle in Southern Taiwan, marking a new chapter in Taiwanese history. Since then, foreign civilizations have interacted with Taiwan's indigenous peoples on a large scale systematically. The history of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj was reshaped and the fate of Formosa was changed.

During Netherlands rule, the VOC attempted to get close with indigenous people to control the Non-indigenous people, obtain control, and acquire more resources in Taiwan. It invited community or confederation leaders to attend local meetings and authorized ritual symbols to encourage surrender. The Netherlands desired to further develop resources on the island and planned to explore the gold mines in Lonckjau (Hengchun Peninsula) by contacting the indigenous peoples in that area. The Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj belonging to the Up 18 Lonckjau Communities area was not willing to surrender and kept a distant relationship with the Netherlands. Later, it cooperated with communities discontented with Netherlands rule and became stronger. In 1661, the Netherlands sent their military to attack the Kingdom twice, and the peoples of the Kingdom fled to the mountains and valleys and fought back to defeat the Netherlands military. The Netherlands' defense capabilities were diminished and that indirectly resulted in Koxinga's success next year in his military attacks on Taiwan.



In 1683, the Qing Dynasty defeated Zheng Ke-shuang and began its 212 year rule of Taiwan. During this period, a huge number of Non-indigenous people continuously arrived in Taiwan for settlement, resulting in more conflicts between the Non-indigenous and indigenous peoples. The ruling party perceived indigenous peoples as “not civilized peoples” and allowed the Non-indigenous people to take away their lands. It wasn’t until 1874 when the Mutan Community Incident broke out, that the Qing Government was surprised at the dispatched Japanese military and changed the passive attitude it had adopted in Taiwan. The policy of the Cultivation of Mountain and Barbarians (番) was announced. But, in the following year, the “Battle of Shitoushan” was initiated by the Qing government to attack the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj. That battle resulted in serious deaths and injuries. This battle exposed the truth behind the “Policy on the Cultivation of Mountains and Barbarians” as actually being “attack indigenous peoples with armed force.”

After the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed in 1895, the Japanese began ruling Taiwan and the civilizing barbarian policy changed along with the times. Most policies involved social ‘comforting’, threatening by force, collective migration, and empirical education. At the beginning of their rule, the Japanese focused on quelling the resistance of the Non-indigenous people to them and adopted a ‘comfort policy’ for indigenous peoples by rewarding them with land and property and selecting leaders who were close to them.

In 1910, the “five-year barbarian civilizing program” was implemented to set up administrative agency for indigenous affairs, and conducted measurement for lands owned by indigenous peoples. Even the Japanese military was dispatched to both Northern and Southern Taiwan to suppress indigenous peoples. The “South Barbarian Incident” in 1914, for example, was caused partly by the attempts of the Japanese to confiscate guns owned by Paiwan people. The Paiwan people on

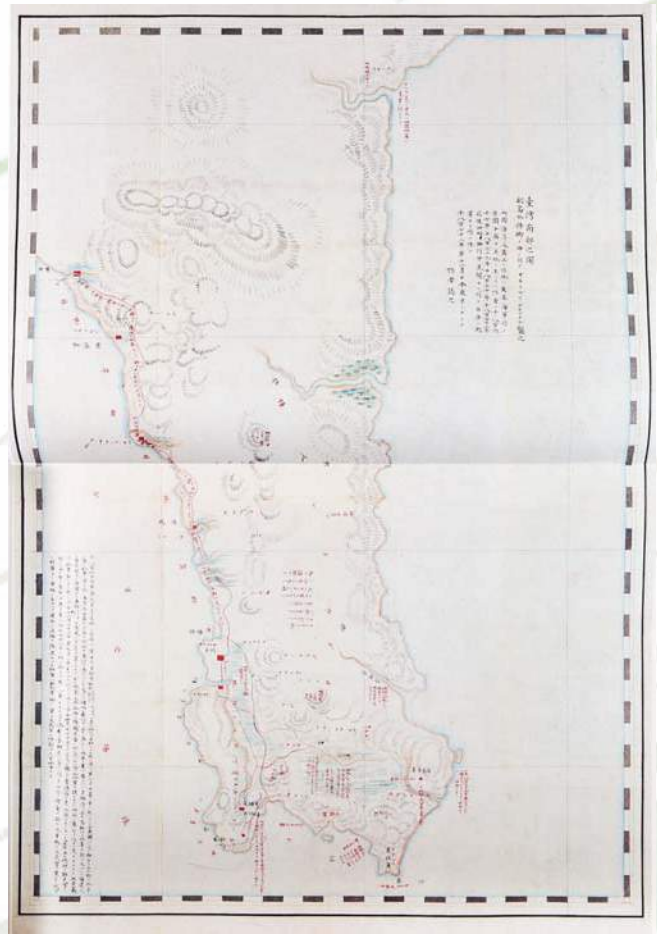


the Hengchun Peninsula, thus, resisted. In the end, the Japanese mobilized about 2,000 soldiers as well as two destroyers to control the riot. The Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj was ended accordingly.

Civilization by Foreign Powers and the Gradual Loss of Ethnic Culture

The Paiwan scholar, Yeh Sehrh Bao thought that the “South Barbarian Incident” demonstrated the attempts of the Japanese after their ineffective barbarian civilizing policy at the beginning of its ruling. Later, indigenous peoples lost the power to maintain their autonomy and were forced to be included in the state system. In 1931, the Office of Governor-General-due to the “Wushe Incident” in the previous year-issued the “Guidelines on Barbarian Civilizing Policy”, with collective migration as its priority policy. The act to move indigenous communities from North to South at a long distance was an attempt to disrupt the regional and social relations between indigenous communities. In 1940, Japan was fully engaged in the Pacific War and became more active in promoting empirical education. It even recruited indigenous peoples to organize “the Takasago Volunteer Army” for an expedition to Southeast Asia. Simply put, over the course of the 50-year Japanese rule, the Japanese included indigenous peoples in the colonial system more systematically. At this historical stage, the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj like most indigenous communities had its traditional social order suppressed by the ruling political power, and quickly collapsed.

After the war, Taiwan was ruled by a new government when the National Government relocated in Taiwan. Although Taiwan was ruled by a different power, the National Government inherited the policies of the Qing Dynasty and the Japanese to ‘civilize’ indigenous



Map of Southern Taiwan, inside front 《臺灣原住民歷史地圖集》.

peoples with Non-indigenous education. Due to factors including local autonomy, national education, and political democratization, as well as a rising awareness pushed by the indigenous movement of the 1980s, the status, living standards, and self-identity of indigenous people was improved. But due to the long-term intervention of foreign powers, traditional social structure, and lifestyle, the economic activities of indigenous peoples became very different from the past and were further fragmented.

From a macro-perspective, during the development of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj, contact with foreign civilizations caused a lot of battles and migrations, while foreign civilizations were presented as colonialists who promoted 'civilizing barbarians' which pushed history to a pessimistic conclusion in the final collapse of the Kingdom.

The Path to Search for the Ancestral Spirits of the Descendants of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj

In fact, studies on Taiwan's indigenous history and culture all face a common challenge: lack of written historical literature from their own perspective. This is because indigenous peoples in the past had not developed written texts as a tool to keep records. Thus, because history has been dominated by written texts, indigenous history has long been simplified. Tracing heavily

depends on foreign civilization or observations, studies, records, or interviews conducted by foreigners. Fortunately, in recent years, owing to the promotion of writing one's own history from the perspective of the ethnic group, the construction of the subjectivity of indigenous history becomes possible and the history of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj has gradually been revealed.

Joseph Change, a descendant of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj during an interview burst into tears and said, "I felt the sorrow and sadness for my ancestors' great achievements. I really love my family and research. As a researcher, I need to share the responsibilities of the Paiwan people, so I work very hard for the field studies and investigations of community heritage sites. I have not yet fulfilled my responsibilities because in the past the national system did not concern itself too much with indigenous peoples, and I have a responsibility to represent my ancestors' history to the world." Change spent a lot of time and effort to conduct oral interviews with the elderly in communities, and literature review, for he wanted to know his ancestors' hard working history.



Now, he has published several research works for help others trace the historical clues of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj.

In fact, contemporary scholars and descendants repeatedly emphasized the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj as being a relatively independent confederation. From the meaningful discourse of Mamazangiljang as the common identity of Paiwan, to the exploration of historical events and meanings less mentioned in mainstream Taiwanese narrative history, we can conclude that the Netherlands' military attack on Tjaquvuquvulj indirectly gave Koxinga the opportunity to take over Taiwan, and that the Shitoushan Battle and the South Barbarian Incident revealed the unfair treatment of rulers towards indigenous peoples.

This hidden past behind the memories of mainstream narrative history presents a framework for ethnic groups to understand themselves, to construct national history, and shape collective identities. Through publications, the descendants interpret and represent the history with data, and proper assumptions are made to portray the characteristics of the Kingdom of Tjaquvuquvulj. In the present, this means that we are able to have a much clearer understanding of our ancestors' achievements. We can see a long path to search for the ancestral spirits in front of us.❖



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At the Border of Southern Taiwan

-The 18 Communities of Lonckjau and the Seqalu People

Written by Lee Chin-Hsien; Illustrated by James Lee

Sedan chair riders, Paiwanized Pinuyumayan People, great witchcraft, the nobility system...according to historical literature, the “Seqalu People” long ago once ruled Southern Lonckjau area had many mysterious legends and records. Formation of ruling class and political power of that indigenous group gave the practical rights to rule, levy taxes, and determine life of indigenous peoples. In the end of Qing Dynasty, when faced invasions of super powers such as the US and Japan, this indigenous group used its diplomatic capability to defend integration and sovereignty of its homeland.



As shown in the records of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), since the Era of Discovery, in the southern tip of Taiwan, records of “Lonckjau” was found. In the 17th Century, the VOC stepped on the land of Lonckjau because of their search for gold mines in “Pinuyumayan” on the east side of Formosa and Lonckjau was on the way. According to the Netherlands records, in Lonckjau, there were about 16-18 communities led by one Lonckjau leader who had the right to determine people’s life and to appoint community leaders.

The Netherlands who arrived in Lonckjau made its leader surrender to the power of the Company and in 1642, they sent armed force to suppress Lonckjau. In 1645, both sides entered a treaty and since then, the power of Lonckjau leader was greatly reduced. His right to collect taxes from his community members was taken away by the Company. But the Lonckjau Confederation was not collapsed; even before and after the Mutan Incident, Tooke-tok, the leader of the 18 indigenous communities negotiated with the US, Japan, and the Qing Dynasty and played a key role in diplomacy.

Long before the arrival of the Netherlands and non-indigenous people in Pinuyumayan, Lonckjau people had been very familiar with the route on the Southeast Coast to Pinuyumayan. According to literature, Lonckjau people were originally Kazekalan people who migrated to the South from Jhihben and the Japanese named them the Seqalu People, later referred to as the Paiwanized Pinuyumayan People.





The 18 Communities of Lonckjau, the Ruling Power in Southern Taiwan

In the Qing Dynasty, Paiwan community in the north of Fonggang River was called the Up 18 Communities of Lonckjau and later, Japanese called them Neiwn Group of Paiwan People, Tjaquvuquvulj; the area between the South of Fonggang River and Eluanbi on Hengchun Peninsula was referred to as the Down 18 Communities of Lonckjau, Hengchun Group of Paiwan People, mainly the Seqalu People. In general, the 18 Communities of Lonckjau cover the area of four leader families of the Seqalu People on Hengchun Peninsula as well as Paiwan and Pangcah communities. The name of Seqalu was not well-known to all because since the ruling of Qing Government in Taiwan, the ruler regarded the Lonckjau area as a uncivilized one and the public and the private mostly called communities and inhabitants in Hengchun area as “the 18 Indigenous Communities of Lonckjau.”

After the ruling of Japanese in Taiwan, a series of systematic investigation and classification were conducted. From Torii to Utzukawa, through oral history of communities and family records, the origin, migration, allocation, and relationship of Taiwan's indigenous peoples were classified including the relationship between the 18 Communities of Lonckjau and the Seqalu People. The name of the “Seqalu People” became independent from the 18 Communities of Lonckjau.

The Legend Sedan Chair Rider-the Seqalu People

Legend has it several hundred years ago, a group of Pinuyumayan people came from Jihben Community on the East Coast migrated southbound along the coastal line and then settled down in Hengchun. They married Paiwan people and were Paiwanized. This group built four communities: Cilasoq, Soavari, Longduan, and Savaruk, generally referred to as the “Sukalo, Su-qaro, Seqalu or Suqaroqaro” People.

According to the legend, the Seqalu People conquered South Paiwan Community during their migration because of its powerful force and great witchcraft. For a long period of time, Paiwan people were scared of witchcraft

of Pinuyumayan people and it was said that after the Pinuyumayan people begin to pray, local harvest can be expected and more games will be hunted. On the contrary, once a spell is casted, people will become ill and insects will eat crops and crops will die. Paiwan People believed in the existence of witchcraft of Pinuyumayan people and were scared and dared not to get closer the Seqalu People. Thus, the legend about south migration of Jhihben Community collected from the “Report of Barbarian Habit Survey” in Japanese era or “Taiwan’s Takasazoku Studies,” the south migration of the Seqalu People and their negotiation with the Paiwan people were stories related to witchcraft.

In the legend, when these members of Jhihben Community of Pinuyumayan came to Da Niao Community, local Paiwan people gave them difficulty and they were forced to stay on reefs. The members of Jhihben casted a spell to call for wind and rain and recede the sea. The land was flooded and Paiwan people had to run for their safety. When they arrived in Hengchun area and through divination, they were told here is a land in blessing and decided to settle down.

The Paiwan people knew these outsiders from Jhihben possessed witchcraft and created all sorts of obstacles for them. First, they released some mountain pigs to attack those from Jhihben and Jhihben members used fire to fight against mountain pigs. Then fierce dogs were out and Jhihben members cut some hair to mix with sticky rice cake and fed these dogs. Dogs could not make any moves. The Paiwan people, thus, were scared but they decided not to surrender. Jhihben members cast a spell for a fire and two years in a row, there were droughts. In the end, the Paiwan people had to make peace with Jhihben members.

Jhihben members negotiated for the terms that, “In the future, one tenth of what harvest in your field shall give to us and thighs, brains, livers, hearts, and ribs of animals you hunt shall also offer us as articles of tribute. We shall have the priority right for mountain products; we shall be invited to any community meetings for hearing and arbitration.” The Paiwan people accepted the said terms and Jhihben members began to interact with the Paiwan people. Once there was a community meeting, Jhihben members would ride a sedan chair to attend and thus, the Paiwan people called them “the Seqalu People,” meaning the sedan chair riders.

Confrontation and Negotiation of the Rover Incident and Mutan Incident

After the Seqaku people migrated to the Lonckjau area. The Pangcah people that long had been suppressed by the Pinuyumayan people also moved to the river mouth and the coast area of Lonckjau; Makatao people on the west coast because of invasion and suppression of Non-indigenous people who settled there and in the era of Emperor Daoguang in the Qing Dynasty collectively migrated to the south. Later, a group of Hakka Non-indigenous people also arrived. Each ethnic group leased land from the Seqalu People and paid their tributes to leader families of the Seqalu every five years and did some labor works.

The Seqalu leader who took the lead to move to the south had three sons and one daughter; his eldest daughter and eldest son left in Savaruk and Ciljasuak to lead their communities respectively. His other two sons were also leaders of Tjuavalji and Longduan. For a long time, communities had their ups and downs, but these four communities were led by the four-leader system.

This group of “Paiwanized Pinuyumayan people” had been assisted by their armed force and witchcraft and finally obtained its leadership for 16 communities in the Netherlands era and 18 in the beginning of Qing Dynasty, so called “the 18 Communities of Lonckjau.” Later, 18 was reduced to 14 and they were referred to as “the 14 Indigenous Communities of Lonckjau.” No matter how these communities are named,



there were more than one leader including the Chief, the Second Chief, the Third Chief, and the Fourth Chief.

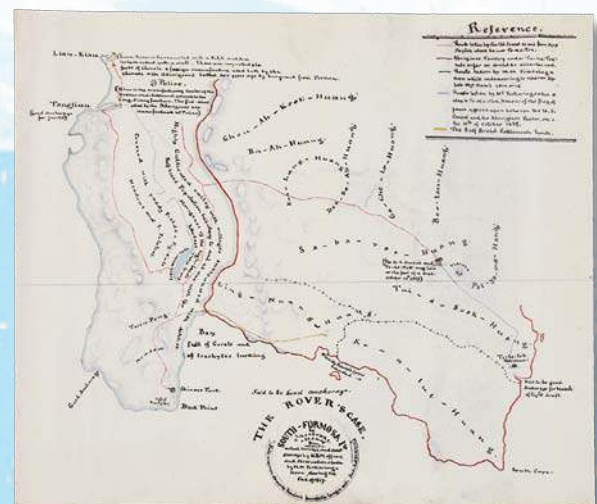
The Big Chiefs belonged to the Ljagaruljigulj family from Ciljasuak and governed the highest number of communities such as Chiazhilai, Mutan, Chong, Nunai, Gaoshifuo, Wenshuaishan, Wuziyong communities of Paiwan, Gangko community of Pangcah, and Baoli, Shanglin, Tongpu, Wenshuai, Checheng, Juiaopeng, Sichungxi, Gangzai, Biaoogugong of Non-indigenous communities.

The Second Chiefs belonged to Mavaliw Family from Tjuavalji and governed the second highest number of communities including Bashimuo, Jiaxinlu, Mutanlu, Caopuhou and part of Sigelin, Bayao, and Kuazi communities of Paiwan; Luofuo community of Pangcah, and few Non-indigenous people's settlement.

The Third Chiefs were from Ljacjliligul Family of Savaruk and governed Bayao, Sigeling and Zhu of Paiwan and did not govern any community of Pangcah.

The Fourth Chiefs were from Ruvaniyaw Family of Longduan with the most limited power and governed only their own communities, Houdongshan of Makatao people and Dashufang, Dabanfu, and Caotang of Non-indigenous communities.

In the second half of the 19th Century, leadership of Ciljasuak came to the peak and was officially referred to as "the 18 Communities of Lonckjau" by the Qing government and the Japanese and in various diplomatic events, it demonstrated its good diplomatic relationship. In 1867, the US merchant ship, the Rover, was wrecked off the coast of Painwan; the indigenous people, thus, went kanasan (head hunting) to kill the American sailors. It was the so-called the "Rover Incident." This international event almost triggered the Sino-U.S. military conflict. Le Gendre, the Ambassador of the United States to Xiamen, China at that time met with the brother of the First Chief of Ciljasuak, Tokitok and his adopted son, Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, later also joined the negotiation. Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, was appointed as the First Chief of Lonckjau after the negotiation by the Qing Government.



The Rover Incident-Map of South Formosa ,inside front 《臺灣原住民歷史地圖集》.

In the Mudan Incident in 1874, Lonckjau also played a role in the military and diplomatic negotiation between the Qing Government and the Japanese. The First Chief, Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, led his community leaders to surrender to the Japanese. The Japanese Commander, Tsugumichi Saigo, gave him western guns, swords, and letter of acknowledgement. After 1895, Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese and Jagarushi Guri Bunkiet, was busy in persuading community leaders in Lonckjau to surrender to the Japanese to avoid harms and losses.

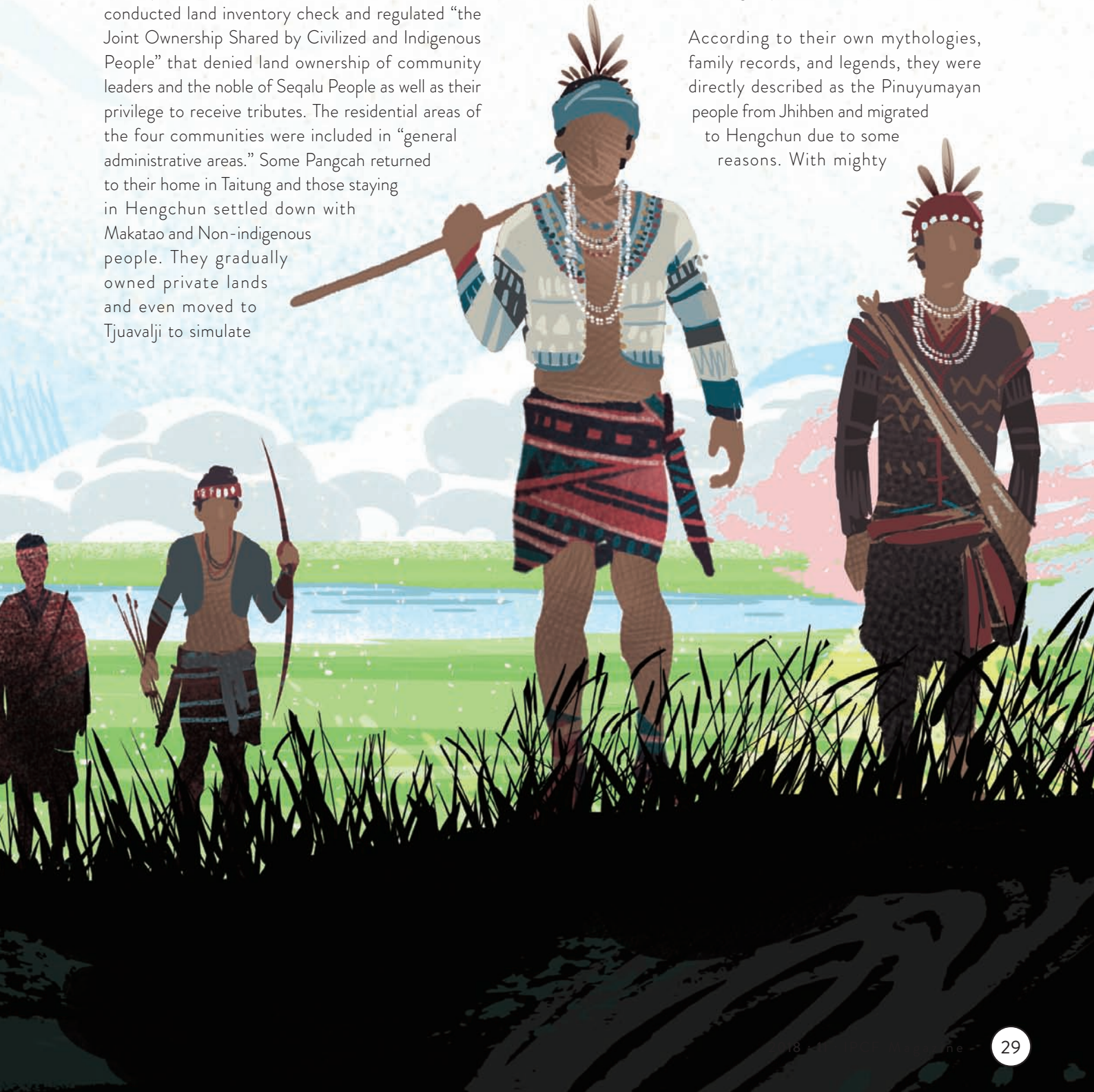
The Japanese Office of Governor-General in Taiwan conducted land inventory check and regulated “the Joint Ownership Shared by Civilized and Indigenous People” that denied land ownership of community leaders and the noble of Seqalu People as well as their privilege to receive tributes. The residential areas of the four communities were included in “general administrative areas.” Some Pangcah returned to their home in Taitung and those staying in Hengchun settled down with Makatao and Non-indigenous people. They gradually owned private lands and even moved to Tjuavalji to simulate

and married with other ethnic groups. The Master-Servant Relationship between the Seqalu People and people they ruled after the intervention of state power became loosen.

Community Imaged by Others

In general, “the Seqalu People” was referred to those inhabiting in the South of Hengchun and categorized as living in Paiwan Community before and after Japanese ruling, but they used this name to distinguish themselves led by the four leaders’ families from other communities. They used this name because they till now are not recognized by the government ethnically and they became “an ethnic group without a name.”

According to their own mythologies, family records, and legends, they were directly described as the Pinuyumayan people from Jihben and migrated to Hengchun due to some reasons. With mighty





of “the Seqalu People” appeared in the historical literature. Japanese Koshima Yoshimichi proposed the classification concept of “Seqalu” but because culturally, it was difficult to distinguish them from Paiwan People. In 1935, “Studies on Taiwan’s Takasamazoku” put the “Seqalu” as one branch group of Paiwan People and in other chapters about the Pinuyumayan people, Seqalu was referred to as the “Paiwanized Pinuyumayan people.” In 1936, Abe Akiyoshi in his paper, “Where Does the Puyuma Go? Presence of Mysterious Seqalu” recorded Seqalu legends from various sources and portrayed its historical manners.

witchcraft and armed force, they conquered other indigenous people and became the most powerful leading political power. But because their languages and folk customs were identical to those of Paiwan People and even similar with those of Non-indigenous People. Customs could only be preserved in the mind of community leaders and the elderly. Thus, the name of “the Seqalu People” was never found in the ethnography kept by the westerners such as Le Gendre or the first group of Japanese ethnographic scholars including Ino Kanori, Torii Ryuzo, and Awano Tutosuke.

These explorers and scholars did not keep the record of the name, but certainly it did not deny the existence of the name or ethnic group. Probably, it was ignored at that time or was buried in the deep side of history or at the corner of the field.

For the first time, in the “Barbarian Habit Investigation Report” published between 1920 and 1922, the term

These investigation records, however, were completed from the perspectives of the third party. It is still our task in the contemporary time to think how to develop and restore ethnical cultures. The paper, “Legacy of the Seqalu People” written by two experts of Austronesian cultural studies, Yang Nan-Chun and Hsu Ru-Lin, describes the pity and sadness to save the sunset of ethnical culture and the history that now cannot be restored for many descendants now did not know the name of their ancestors, “the Seqalu People.”

Where Does the Puyuma Go? People without a Name

Puyuma symbolizes the Pinuyumayan people and the paper of Abe Akiyoshi, “Where Does the Puyuma Go?” published in 1936 was borrowed to describe the nostalgia and helplessness of the ethnic group. When describing the Seqalu People, Abe used touching and sorrowful styles to tell the ups and downs of the ethnic group by mixing together legends and historical materials.

Indeed, who are the Seqalu People? How shall we understand and respond to this term that appeared in the historical literature and exactly existed? Both the 18 Communities of Lonckjau and the Seqalu People tie closely to the important historical moments of Taiwan, such as, the Rover Incident, the Mudan Incident or the comforting and governing policies of the Qing Government and the Japanese towards the indigenous peoples. But “Seqalu” has been hidden in the deep side of history and it relies us to further study and match historical imagination in the contemporary time.

In recent years, due to the popularity of adaption from novels to films and TV programs, there has been a rush in the search of “Seqalu.” The existence of the Seqalu People is an issue that needs to be proved with historical literature, archaeological studies, oral interpretation, and academic research, but about cultural restoration of “the Seqalu People,” is their cultural personality matching with contemporary imagination of the ethnic group? What are the commonly identified core values? Shall we define a family system with only the connection of blood relationship, geography, and language? In fact, the path to trace back the origin is difficult and rebuilding ethnic history often receives harsh criticism and doubts reflecting the situation of the contemporary thinking.

From the past to the present, we can only image that in the rich and diverse history of Taiwan, there were a group of Pinuyumayan People in Southern Taiwan building loose political power with armed force and witchcraft similar with that of a confederation. Facing the invasion of foreign powers, its leader tried his best to negotiate. In a certain type of format, these efforts protected the land from wars. ❖

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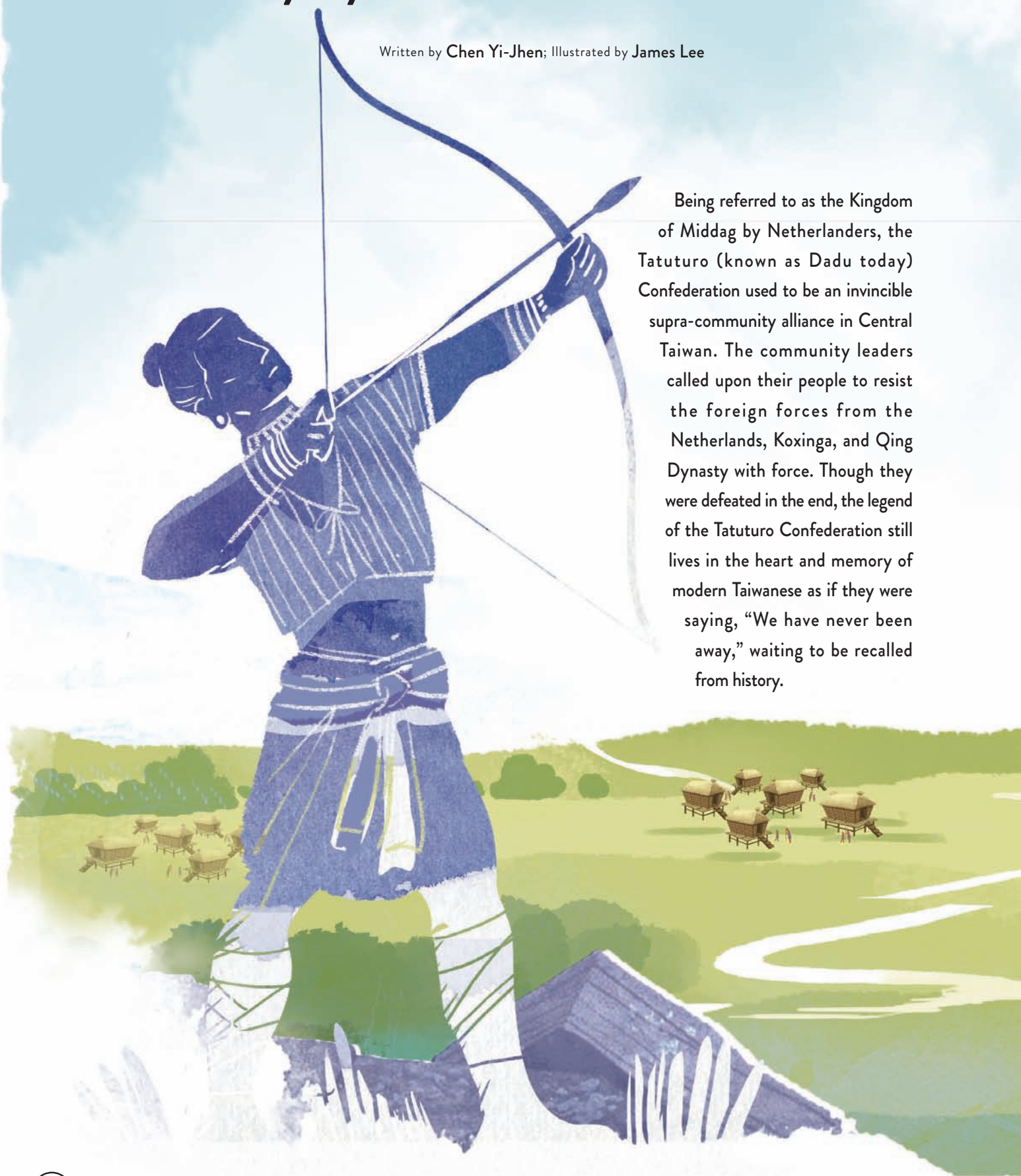
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King of Middag

Heyday of Tatuturo Confederation

Written by Chen Yi-Jhen; Illustrated by James Lee

Being referred to as the Kingdom of Middag by Netherlanders, the Tatuturo (known as Dadu today) Confederation used to be an invincible supra-community alliance in Central Taiwan. The community leaders called upon their people to resist the foreign forces from the Netherlands, Koxinga, and Qing Dynasty with force. Though they were defeated in the end, the legend of the Tatuturo Confederation still lives in the heart and memory of modern Taiwanese as if they were saying, “We have never been away,” waiting to be recalled from history.



He drew the bow back with his strong arms, squinting his black eyes to focus while holding his breath.

Every year before the sowing season, this was the time when he demonstrated his power over the centre of Taiwan as well as his commitment to his peoples. Was it a mighty power or witchcraft? The arrow ripped through the air of Dadu Plateau with a furious whizz. Everyone stared at the same direction. Anywhere the arrow travelled would be fertile with plentiful supplies of food all year round, having a good harvest without being trampled over by pigs or deer. On the contrary, places where the arrow did not whizz past would face withered crops and become barren for the following year.

People from each community would bow to him, hoping for peaceful days. Anyone hunted for deer in the fields would share meat with him in gratitude for his leadership and protection. He is always remembered as the King of Middag, be alive or dead.

Hegemony over Central Taiwan Powerful and Mighty King of Middag

The legends of the King of Middag (as keizer van Middag in Netherlands) and his confederation (communities of Tatuturo were the core leaders and often referred to as the King or Kingdom of Tatuturo, but the political system was in fact confederation or inter-community alliance) were considered by many anecdotes in the plains region of the centre of Taiwan. This, however, is not surprising as many people today still think that Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples have already become completely Chineselization.

The King of Middag and his confederation, in effect, had only been active for a century according to the limited

records in literature. However, they were one of the few inter-community powers in Taiwan's history that could be compared to the Chinese pirates, the Netherlands army, Ming Zheng forces, and the army of Qing government. The communities that comprised the Confederation are Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples that we know of today. They had been through the collapse of the Confederation, faced unrest at home and from outside powers due to the "Fighting Barbarians (番) with Barbarians" policy devised by colonial governments, to migration to Houshan and Puli. Even today, they are still fighting hard for their "existence."

We are unable to know as to how the Tatuturo Confederation came about. Yet, we only know the earliest record of the Confederation was in 1638 when the Chinese ships were stranded on the coast of their territory, and people and goods on the ships never returned to China.

The power of the Confederation covered 19 or 20 communities and even up to 27 in its heyday. These communities, in accordance with the most recognised typology of indigenous peoples, include at least four Taiwanese indigenous peoples that were Papora, which the King of Middag belonged to, Babuza, Pazeh, and Aboan Balis, which had been referred to as Hoanya at first. In its heyday, another 7 communities included all the people of Taokas.

The Confederation's territory ran from the south of Dajia River to Lugang to the north. This piece of land was described by foreign missionaries as "the most affluent place in Taiwan" with fertile soils and rich supplies of game. It was said that all kinds of grains, fruits, and vegetables could be found here. In addition to rich natural resources,



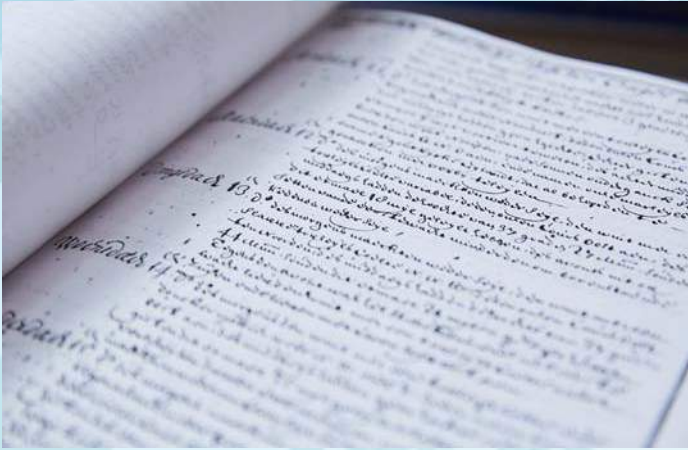
the Confederation boasted its civilisation and advantageous geographical location. The plains on the west part of Dadu Plateau, unlike the neighbouring alluvial fans, were not affected by flood or the change of river course. What is more, spring water abounded near the plateau's fault line, which gives this area a comparative advantage in terms of material resources. As a result, evidence of early forms of agriculture had been found in Papora related Luliao site of late Fanzaiyuan culture, which belonged to the Metal Age (or known as the Iron Age), in the prehistory of Taiwan. Tatuturo Confederation also dominated the river system of Dajia River and the lower reaches of Dadu River. While in the 17th century East Asia was experiencing a burgeoning maritime trade, smuggling also became rampant. This pivotal location of Tatuturo Confederation played an important role in its rise and coming to prominence. Perhaps in the 17th century, the estuaries of the central Taiwan witnessed the hustle and bustle of another form of "internationalisation."

However, who exactly was the King of Middag? From limited literature, we are only aware that

the King of Middag who had fought against the Netherlands army for times was Camachat Aslamies. After the war with the Netherlands army, he signed a treaty with the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) in 1645 and died two to three years later. His little nephew Camachat Maloe succeeded him, but Maloe was only two or three years old then, and therefore, it was Maloe's stepfather, Tarraboe, that negotiated with the VOC and attended local meetings on Maloe's behalf. Nevertheless, the Papora communities of Tatuturo were actually matriarchies, so the real power fell into the hands of Maloe's maternal grandmother, i.e. Aslamies' mother.

For now, we are unable to know how the Confederation worked, and what their matrilineal system implied. Why did they make the little successor come to the throne when the situation then was crisis-ridden? What was the reciprocal relationship between Tatuturo communities, which the King of Middag belonged to, and other communities in the Confederation? All we know is that the order made by the King of Middag were authoritative. He could mediate disputes, protect his subjects, and always had attendants accompanying him whenever he went out. Even after entering into the treaty with the VOC, he could still prohibit Non-indigenous people and Netherlands from dwelling in his dominions and learning the languages of "the King and his people." Non-indigenous people and Netherlands were only allowed to travel through his dominions.





Inside front cover of the file of the VOC provided by Wong, Jia-Yin.

The last battle: reminiscing how valiant our ancestors had been!

Ja zijs-ja magdiwang baas (We celebrate the New Year).

Bao o mauloom zimiro mazikap i s-aam (Everyone gathered together to pay tribute to our ancestors with newly brewed wine).

Soall-en i s-aam magiting (Together we reminisce how brave our ancestors were).

Airab mwurii i s-aam magiting (We, the old and young, aspire to be as valiant as our ancestors).

–*Tatuturo Communities' Ritual Songs for Ancestors, Records from the Mission to Taiwan and Its Straits, Taiwan Literature Series, Vol. 4.*

This song for ceremonies in honour of ancestors, which has been translated phonetically from Papora language into Chinese, was recorded by Huang Shu-jing from Qing government (approximately 1720) when the King of Middag and his confederation was about to collapse. As time passed by, however, we can no longer grasp its grammatical rules.

Since 1644, there had been a wave of competition of sea exploration internationally. The King of Middag on the island of Formosa who was once able to exert a powerful influence over the region had no

choice but to be swept over by this trend. Yet, we cannot assume that before the arrival of foreigners, the Confederation had always enjoyed peaceful and tranquil days, and then started to spiral downward starting from the 17th century. What comes around, goes around. Perhaps the power of all the “kings” on this island ebbed and rose making them play different roles.

All in all, since 1644, the Netherlands had started to subdue this force, which hindered their way to south or north on land. However, the first encounter was a failed attempt. Tatuturo communities set forests on fire prohibiting the Netherlands army from moving forward. Although the Netherlands army burned down Boder and Passoua communities, they had to stop battling as a consequence of bad weather and diseased soldiers. The next year they resumed the war, and this time they burned down 13 communities, killed 126 people, and captured 16 children, forcing the Tatuturo Confederation to agree to sign a treaty with VOC. Since then, the King of Middag would have travelled south to partake in the “southern country assembly” (landdag in Netherlands) annually and enter into negotiations about trade and land policies with leaders of other communities.

Nonetheless, we still do not have a clue what Tatuturo Confederation turned out to be after being subjugated to the VOC. It was highly likely to be semi-independent. Even though Non-indigenous people could come and go within the



Confederation's dominions to collect the revenue from deer hunting, but the revenue collected from this "most affluent place" was so much lower than other areas. What is more, though the clergy of the VOC already started to mediate disputes in this area, Christians were still not allowed to dwell here, which shows that Tatuturo Confederation retained sovereignty to a certain extent.

At least we know that 16 years after the surrender to the VOC before the Netherlands ruling came to an end and in the summer prior to the occupation of Koxinga in 1661, when Koxinga's army invaded the dominions of Tatuturo's Confederation because of the need for military provisions, the Confederation could still resist the invasion violently. Zheng's (Koxinga's) army fell into the Confederation's ambush and died a tragic death under their spears. Zheng might have lost 2,000 soldiers. This was a tremendously fierce battle.



Ancient Documents of Tatuturo Communities Inside front cover, compiled by Liou, Ze-min, published by Taiwan Historica of Academia Historica.

We could imagine that the recalcitrant resistance against foreign aggression, which could be compared to the anti-Japanese Wushe Incident initiated by Sediq, demonstrated the determination the people had to sacrifice their lives for their homeland and people. Was the King of Middag then Maloe? If yes, he should have been 15 or 16 years, a very vigorous young man. As if trying to survive despair, how did the King of Middag and his warriors devise tactics and break the deadlock?

According to the literature of Qing Dynasty, Zheng's army suffered some losses, but it managed to put down those Tatuturo indigenous warriors in the same year. The fact is after 70 years before 1730, the Confederation's residents continued to resist foreign attacks, one wave after another.

Gone with the Netherlands, there came Ming Zheng forces. After Ming Zheng, it was Qing government that took over. Due to the passive ruling by the Qing government at first as well as the migration of Non-indigenous people toward central and northern Taiwan and their settling in there, the descendants of Tatuturo's Confederation might have had some timeout to regain strength during the transition from Ming Zheng rule to the

The offspring of Tatuturo Confederation want the world to know that the glory of
their Confederation is not simply a legend, but also is present now.



governing of Qing government. Unfortunately, the Confederation was undergoing power restructuring at this time. In particular, the rise of Lahodobo community of Pazeh (Anli in Chinese language), a member of the Confederation, and its established tie with the Qing government as well as the diminishing power of Tatuturo communities resulted in the outbreak of the Taokas West Community Dajia West community Incident.

In the winter of 1731, as Qing government assigned much physical work, the West community of Taokas decided to stage a revolt. They burned down “yamen (the office of a public official in feudal China)” and even kept Taiwan’s division commander (the highest ranking military officer) in captivity. In August of 1732, to take credit for suppressing the uprising, Qing officials who had quelled the disturbances decapitated 5 naturalised indigenous people, who were members of the major Tatuturo communities, falsely claiming them as the “uncivilized barbarians (生番)” who went on the rampage.

Taokas West Community Incident served as a trigger. The envelopments by Non-indigenous people and Lahodobo community and their encroachment on the land were the straw that broke the camel’s back. The naturalised indigenous people could no longer take it. They protested as a group at the yamen of Zhanghua County. Not getting a satisfying response, Tatuturo communities joined the eight Pangsoa communities including Taokas East community, Taokas West community, and so on and communities that had used to be part of the Confederation such as Gomach, Salach, Boder, Asoso community of Babuza, etc. to besiege the county and burn down the houses of Non-indigenous people.

The communities that participated in this uprising outnumbered the communities in the Confederation that covered the area around Dajia River, and up to the south of Daan River. This incident was the most violent as well as the last revolt staged by Plains Indigenous Peoples during the Qing rule. While attacking the officials of Qing government, the Tatuturo-led allied forces were not only anti-Qing, but also demonstrated their resentment against the development and encroachment initiated by Non-indigenous people.

The fields and valleys of the entire Central Taiwan were at war for 7 to 11 months. To suppress the uprising, Qing government enlisted 7,000 soldiers and made use of Lahodobo community of Pazeh to “fighting barbarians with barbarians.” The Confederation met “its Waterloo” and suffered very heavy losses that it could no longer make a comeback. This led to the inability of the Plains Indigenous Peoples in Central Taiwan to withhold the aggression and encroachment of Non-indigenous people. They had no choice but to flee to Yilan or Puli to settle down.



We have never disappeared. Tatuturo Confederation was not just a legend.

In accordance with the report to the Qing throne, during the Taokas West Community Incident, originally the Confederation was still hoping to restore the power of Tatuturo communities. Though they did not succeed in this “You either fight to win or you die” battle, history moved on with their homeland gradually taken away. Today, three hundred years later, the King of Middag, his descendants, and the Plains Indigenous Peoples from Central Taiwan who settled down in other parts of Taiwan have never been away. They are always here on this island.

Nowadays, Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples are fighting for the reclamation of their own status and reviving traditions and cultures. The communities went through radical changes in history and struggled tenaciously for survival. All that they want now is re-establish their identity as indigenous peoples. Re-establishing identity might not be panacea for sustaining peoples’ lifelines, and the culture they strive to restore has also changed in the course of history. What matters, however, is that the Plains Indigenous Peoples from Central Taiwan can come together again and make young generations aware of who they are.

The offspring of Salach and Tatuturo communities of Papora, Lahodoboo and Aoran communities of Paze have actively marked their presence in Legislative Yuan, county

governments, community centres, churches, art and literature fields, etc. They want the world to know that the glory of their Confederation is not simply a legend, but also is present now.

The offspring of Tatuturo Confederation have attempted to bring their endangered languages back to life, restore rituals and ceremonies honouring ancestors, resume inter-community communication and visits. They even adapted and put on historical stage plays. These attempts to revitalise indigenous cultures do not only show that the Confederation is making a comeback, but more importantly prove that they have never been gone.

In the past when we discussed the history of Tatuturo Confederation, all too often we ended the story with the crushing defeat of Taokas West Community Incident and fleeing of the Plains Indigenous Peoples, and we always forgot to mention that they were also making history. Maybe the era of the Confederation was gone, but the Sun rises from the east day after day, and tomorrow it still will.❖

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After the Confederation -Migration

Written by Lee Chin-Hsien; Illustrated by Lin Jia-Dong

Established by the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People, the inter-ethnic and inter-language Tatuturo Confederation was once a supreme power in Central Taiwan. In the beginning of the 17th Century, when foreign powers arrived at Taiwan they first encountered Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples on the West Coast of Taiwan. Threatened by military force and policies, the Tatuturo Confederation gradually collapsed which was when Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples began their journey of mass migration.





Before the Era of Discovery, Taiwan was unknown to the international community and was thought to be a barren alien land where uneducated indigenous peoples were living extremely close-knit communities. With the exception of a few fishermen and pirates who maintained contact with indigenous peoples on the Southeastern Coast, Taiwan was commonly thought to have no economic or political value. Not much was known about the representative Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People living on the western plain area. Westerners had vague, stereotypical impressions of Taiwan's geographical topology, with the view that its social culture was undeveloped.

Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People operated their social systems independently based on communities and there had been no outside communications. The Papora people led the Babuza, Pazeh, Hoanya, and Taokas peoples to build the inter-ethnic and inter-language Tatuturo Confederation in Taichung, Nantou, and Changhua. Although they interacted with outsiders, before the 17th Century, they were not included in the control and social order of foreign rulers. For the Qing Government, they were “uncivilized barbarians (生番)” without any formal education, while for westerners, they were indigenous peoples without a governmental structure to build formal ties.

The Entry of a Barbarian Land into the World Arena

The originally independent life of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People began its transformation in the early 17th Century. With the arrival of the Era of Discovery, territorial competition turned fierce and countries around the world began their overseas expansion continuously due to the demands for trade and colonization. Taiwan, thus, became a place of value which was competed for by the world's super powers, which forever changed the social fabric of this “barbarian land.”

Netherlands and Spain occupied Taiwan's northern and southern tips respectively on the West Coast. In addition to military suppression, they signed with confederation powers on the Island and forced them to surrender. They set up relevant rules for the identities and rights of “the minority” in their colonies such as inhabitation, taxation, and marriage. Through the introduction of new political organizations, production, exchange (such as cattle farming and business consortiums) and religion, they attempted to change the social culture of indigenous groups. It was the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples who first received the most impact.

Following the policies of the Netherlands and Spanish on the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples, at the end of the 17th Century the Qing Government took over Taiwan officially. The most beneficial policies to stabilize ethnic order were adopted



as the official principles. For example, a red line boundary was used to distinguish the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples from others tribes; indigenous peoples were allocated various types of labor work and indigenous household records were built to ensure boundaries with the assistance of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples. At the same time, indigenous peoples were encouraged to use Non-indigenous family names and learn Non-indigenous texts, and a special administrative agency was established to handle indigenous affairs.

These layered managerial strategies for ethnic groups aimed to avoid deterrence towards the Non-indigenous people's settlements, as well as to gradually change the lifestyle and cultural values of indigenous peoples for the purpose of central control. The Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples were gradually neutralized and transformed from "uncivilized barbarians" to "civilized barbarians (熟番)" who paid taxes and observed Non-indigenous customs.

The Mass Migration Effects Of The Non-indigenous' Exploration Force On Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People

The Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People made their living through shift cultivation and hunting. When the soil was depleted, they discarded the old farm land and moved to a new area and settled there. The Tatuturo Confederation was like scattered political

sovereignty in which each community maintained its own independence. Even when they moved to look for more fertile land, they settled down at a certain distance not far away and did not invade other ethnic groups. Generally, before the Non-indigenous people's settlement in Taiwan, the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People kept their way of living by moving on a small scale within a certain distance to look for more fertile land.

The Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People did not base their principle for land utilization and power with the ownership concept we hold in modern times. Instead, power served as the guidance to determine land ownership. But, after many Non-indigenous people with strong land ownership concepts came to Taiwan, this situation changed. The Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People living on the West Coast felt that their living space was compressed and in order to survive, they began a group migration. There were two types of migrations. First, they migrated to barren areas where few Non-indigenous people lived, but only a few engaged in this type of migration and it was undertaken by small communities. The other type of migration involved crossing the boundaries the Non-indigenous people were restricted to enter by the Qing Government. This type of migration was a

huge movement, made up of many ethnic groups. At the same time, this movement also suppressed indigenous peoples who were forced to migrate, and it brought more social impacts on to them.

Forced by foreign powers, the Tatuturo Confederation in Western Taiwan worked very hard to negotiate with the Netherlands and Spanish in order to maintain its independence. It fought against Koxinga and the Qing Government. But, threatened by the military, policies, and settlement of the Qing Government, it finally collapsed. Due to the gradual invasion of the Non-indigenous people in settlements, the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People were forced to migrate later.

The first group of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People that began big migration was in Central Taiwan. As shown in historical literature, there were four big migrations of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People, and among them, two were initiated by those living in Central Taiwan.

In 1804, the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People in Central Taiwan collectively migrated to Kavalan (now Yilan), led by Pan Hsien-Wen (the leader of the Lahodoboo Community of Pazeh). However, because Non-indigenous people had long settled here, only some Plains people left and lived outside Balisha while the rest returned to their original residence. The second big migration occurred in 1823, when the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People in Central Taiwan collectively migrated to the Puli Basin. Besides a few from Hoanya and Taokas, other groups of Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People in Central Taiwan participated and this migration movement resulted in the extinction of the Pu and Mei Indigenous Peoples.

In 1829 and 1840, the Kavalan people originally living in Yilan were also forced to move to Eastern Taiwan due to the Non-indigenous people's extend territory. They respectively went from Suaou to Kila Plain (nearby Hualien Harbor) or rafted to Lilang Port (now the foot of Meilun Mountain in Hualien) to build six communities including Liyuan, Zhulin, Wunuan, Yaoge, Qijie and Tanbing. They migrated southbound to Tabalang. Certainly, these migrations invaded the original living spaces of Atayal and Pangcah people.

History of 'Barbarian Enlightenment'

Interestingly, even though the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People in Central Taiwan strongly resisted foreign powers, the Lahodoboo Community of Pazeh was indeed an important ally of the Qing Government. At the end of Zheng's rule, along with the decline of the Tatuturo Confederation, the Lahodoboo Community gradually developed its strength and migrated to Dachia River and Datu Mountain. Even in the era of Emperor Kangxi, when there was the Tunxiaoshe incident of Taokas, the Qing Government worked closely with Lahodoboo Community of Pazeh under its policy to "Fight Barbarians with Barbarians". The Lahodoboo Community of Pazeh was thus given the Non-indigenous' family name "Pan." Pan families now living in Central Taiwan are therefore more likely to be descendants of the Lahodoboo Community of Pazeh.

In fact, before the interruption of foreign powers into the indigenous community, the integrity of community life was vital to the survival of indigenous peoples. Faced with competition from diverse ethnic groups, the



Taiwanese Plains Indigenous Peoples' life styles changed a lot. The Non-indigenous' "family values" gradually spread to these communities, as did social statuses such as fame, land, and family reputation. These became goals of competition for some indigenous groups, and the Lahodoboo Community of Pazeh significantly changed their life style. To some degree, the Qing Government achieved its ruling goal of "barbarian enlightenment," and the indigenous peoples were looking to compromise under this cultural impact. Ironically, although Pazeh sided with the Qing Government, it did not escape the fate of migration. Because of weaker power and sovereignty as well as the fast speed of the non-indigenous people's settlement, its living space was threatened and in 1804, its people were led for migration.

From the past to the present, the migration of ethnic groups and changes of life style were in a continuous process. Evidence can be seen in historical textbooks and collections at museums, as well as in things hidden in our lives such as place names in Central Taiwan like Dadu, Dachia, and Shuishanlien, which were translated from the language of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People. In addition, we still use the utensils and family names of our friends related to the historical vicissitudes of the 17th Century. These historical records and proofs have become important clues for us in our quest to explore and restore the culture of the Taiwanese Plains Indigenous People.

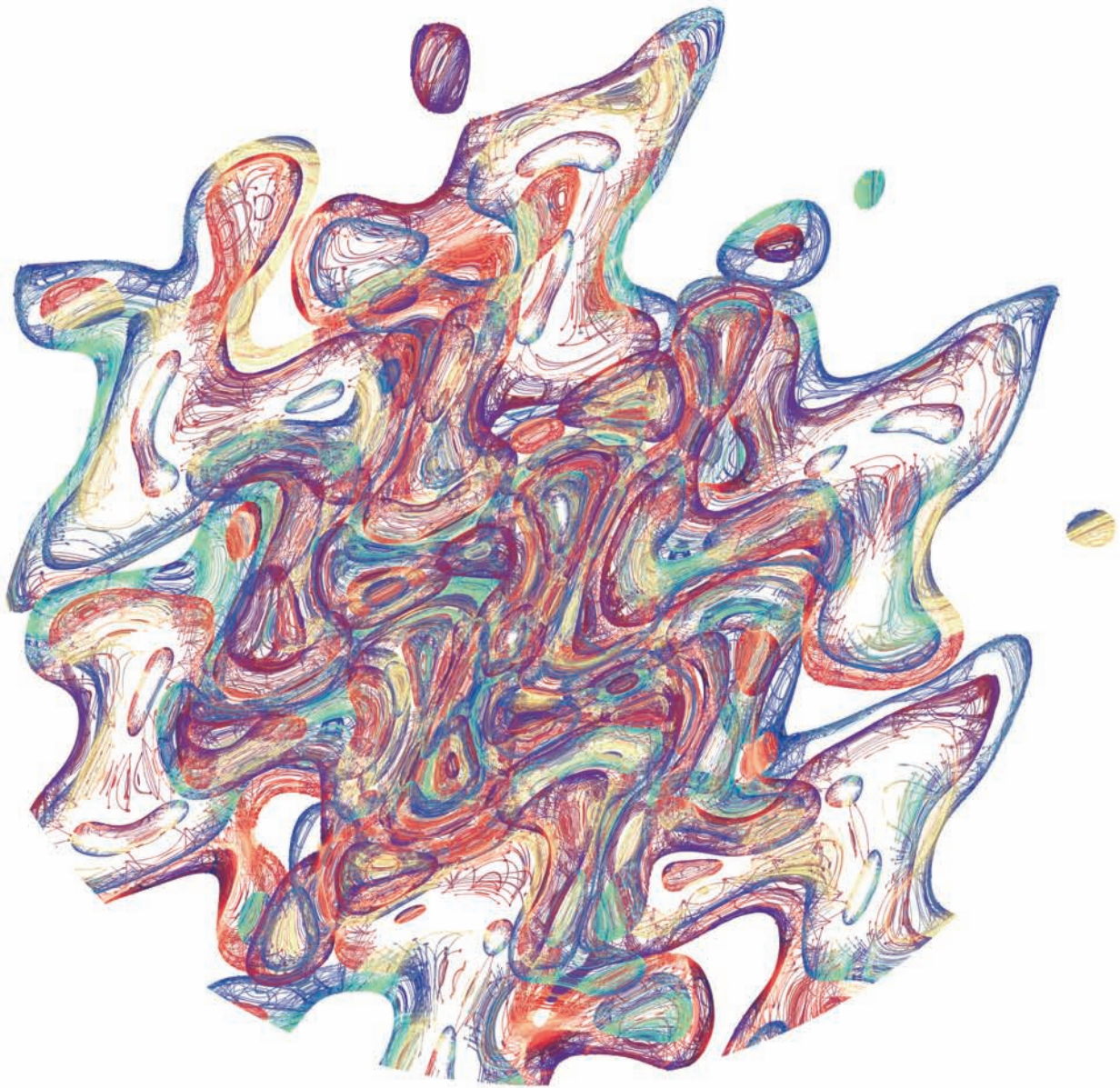
In conclusion: From the colonial conquests between the Netherlands and Spanish in the Era of Discovery, Ming Zheng, the Qing Empire, the Japanese Empire, or even from 1945 until now, cultural deprivation has been repeated. Since the 17th Century, Taiwan has developed as a bigger entity of common fate, encountering ethnic conflicts, cultural integration, resource exploitation, and the migration of 2 million mainlanders to Taiwan with the relocation of the National Government in 1949. Past historical revolutions and developments complicate and diversify the cultures that we have today, and divide opinion. We need to carefully examine the sorrows and helplessness of the ancestors of our land.

As taught by history, we need to explore our origins by starting with indigenous history! ❖

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 - 本會只蒐集您在自主意願下於線上填寫或回傳提供之個人資料（如捐款人之姓名、地址、電話、電子郵件、身分證字號、出生年月日等），目的是為提供更佳的捐款服務，及業務相關之協助和活動資訊。相關資料使用皆遵守《個人資料保護法》之規定，妥善保護您的個人資料。
 - 依法，您可隨時向本會行使個資權利，以查詢、補充、更正、處理及刪除您的留下的個人資料或聯絡方式。您可以來電或來信與我們聯繫，我們將由專人進一步為您服務。提醒您，若您拒絕提供相關個人資料，或選擇停止、刪除已提供之個人資料時，將可能對您在捐款收據開立/寄送、捐款徵信查詢、捐款贈品.....等捐款人基本權益上產生影響。

98-04-43-04

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收 款 帳 號	50135113	金額	<div> 億 仟萬 佰萬 拾萬 萬 仟 佰 拾 元 </div>
		阿拉伯數字	

通訊欄(限與本次存款有關事項)

您的EMAIL:

開立收據方式：

- ☐ 不需寄發
☐ 每次扣款後寄送
☐ 年度開立

捐款徵信：以捐款芳名錄方式公開捐款姓名、金額於本會捐款網站及年報

- ☐ 我同意
☐ 我同意以_____之姓名公開
☐ 不同意

收款戶名 財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會

寄款人 ☐ 他人存款 ☐ 本戶存款

姓名

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經辦局收款戳

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◎本收據由電腦印錄請勿填寫

郵政劃撥儲金存款收據

財團法人原住民族文化事業基金會

收款帳號戶名

存款金額

電腦紀錄

捐款專線
(02)2788-1600

客服信箱
ipcfservice@mail.ipcf.org.tw

虛線內備供機器印錄用請勿填寫

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