

中央研究院

臺灣史田野研究通訊

Newsletter of Taiwan History Field Research

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中華民國八十二年六月

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臺灣史田野研究通訊 第二十七期

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THE ABORIGINES OF NORTHERN TAIWAN ACCORDING TO 17TH-CENTURY SPANISH SOURCES*

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Having realized that the documents I have been working on these past years regarding the history of the Spanish presence in Taiwan (1626-42)¹ also deal with anthropological and ethnographical data concerning the aborigines of Northern Taiwan during that same period, I decided to systematize the various documents, which are still unpublished, in order to provide linguists and anthropologists the information gathered by the Spaniards about the tribes under study, hoping it will serve as a background for their own studies. Some of the data presented here may not sound unfamiliar to some researchers who may have known them through other methods, but in all probability, a lot more information will be new. Thus, I will first explain the nature of the sources and the background of the authors as well, so as to evaluate the worth and scope of the sources themselves. Then I will describe the geographical picture of the territories; in the last part, I will present an ethnological description of the tribes belonging to the Basay language group.

* This article is the revised edition of a circulating paper I presented in the *International Symposium on Austronesian Studies Relating to Taiwan (ISASRT)*, organized by the Institute of History & Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan (ROC), 29-31 December 1992.

¹ These studies started thanks to a grant from the Pacific Cultural Foundation (1990). I would like to thank also Mr. John F. Thorne, of the Sociology Department of Hong Kong University for his help in the present paper.

1. Documents used

The main documents used for this paper are the reports written by some Dominican missionaries either under orders from their Superior in Manila or from the Governor of the Philippines. Those reports contained their dealings with the natives (or "Indios") who lived in the region bounded by the most stable settlements: Santo Domingo (1629-39) located at the mouth of the Tamsui River; San Salvador (1626-42) found in the Pacific Island, in Keelung². Other sources of information are available, but they are rather limited. For one, we have a detailed map of the area, done by the Dutch, and which is presently kept in the National Archives of Holland (The Hague)³. It was made in 1654, that is, 12 years after the Spaniards had left Taiwan; nevertheless, it is a good supplement to the data provided by the Dominicans. Lastly, we have the documents issued by the Spanish Crown, which are located in Sevilla, in the Archivo de Indias. Although exceedingly large in volume, they are less useful for our purpose because they mainly refer to the government of the Spaniards. So, while the missionaries indirectly reported on the customs of the aborigines, the official documents would frequently be political or administrative in content.

The first author we can cite was Father Domingo Aduarte who, in his capacity as Provincial of the Dominicans in Manila, visited Taiwan before 1632. From his trip he wrote, in that year, the *Relación de las cosas de Isla Hermosa*. His credentials as a historian came to the fore when he was assigned to write a history of his Order—which became a very important historical document—in which a part of his report was included⁴.

² The original copies of these documents are kept in the General Archives of the Dominicans, in Avila. The Archives of the University of Santo Tomás in Manila has some microfilms available. Before those documents were forwarded to Spain, they had been kept in the same university.

³ A study on that map was made by TS'AO, Yung-ho, *Ancient European Maps of Taiwan*, in "Studies on the Early History of Taiwan", Lien-chin, Ed., Taipei, 1985. A good copy of this map is found in *The Authentic History of Taiwan*, Mappamundi Publishers & SMC Publishing Inc., Taipei, 1991, p. 79.

⁴ ADUARTE, Diego. *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón y China, de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores*. Zaragoza, 1693. Aduarte was also a bishop of Nueva Segovia (Philippines), and he has other writings to his credit. An original sample of this book can be read in the Rare Books Collection, of the Research Library of the National Taiwan University.

The other Dominican author was Father Jacinto Esquivel who was most probably in Taiwan from 1630 to 1633. But within that short period in Taiwan, he was able to know deeply the natives, aside from building two churches, in Tamsui and in Senar. With his linguistic skills he learned the language spoken in Tamsui, and even wrote a grammar book about it⁵. Esquivel wrote an extensive report entitled *Memoria de las cosas pertenecientes al estado de Isla Hermosa*. It was re-written several times, as was common in this kind of writing. It was published in its simplified version by José María Alvarez in his excellent, but rather unknown book about Formosa⁶. But up to now, this document has not yet been published in its entirety.

There is another extant document, by an anonymous author, but which, from all indications, appears to have also been written by Esquivel. It is entitled *Memoria de lo perteneciente al estado de la nueva conversión de Isla Hermosa*. In contrast with the previously-mentioned document—which was more geographical in content—, this one was written from an ethnological viewpoint.

⁵ The reason for his stay in Taiwan was the heightened persecution against Christians in Japan. In 1633, thinking that the dangers were already lessened, he set sail in a Japanese ship, only to be murdered during the voyage. His philological training can be seen by the first Spanish-Japanese dictionary he published in Manila in 1630: *Vocabulario del Japón, declarado primero en portugués por los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, y ahora en Castellano en el Colegio de Santo Tomás de Manila*. His philological studies on the Tamsui language are the following: *Arte de la Lengua de los indios de Tanchui, en la Isla Hermosa*; *Vocabulario muy copioso de la lengua de los indios de Tanchui*; and the *Catecismo de la doctrina Cristiana en la lengua de los indios de Tanchui*. These works were attested to by J.T. MEDINA (*Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas, 1523-1810*, Santiago de Chile, 1898) and W.E. RETANA (*Orígenes de la imprenta filipina*, Madrid, 1911). All these information are trustworthy since Esquivel himself says in his *Memoria ... de Isla Hermosa* that "we have transformed into art the language of these natives". In spite of what some authors believe, among them Viñaza (*Escritos de los portugueses y castellanos referentes a las lenguas de China y Japón*, Zaragoza, 1892), most probably those writings were never published.

⁶ ALVAREZ, José María. *Formosa Geográfica e Históricamente considerada*, Barcelona, 1931. The author was a Spanish Dominican missionary who stayed in Taiwan from 1895 to 1904, which enabled him to know very well the aborigines with whom he was constantly in contact. Then, he proceeded to Japan where he was appointed as the first Apostolic Prefect of Shikoku. With his knowledge of Japanese, he was able to compare his personal experience with the anthropological studies made by the Japanese on Taiwan; the result of this effort is the above-mentioned book. While in Japan, he also acted as a correspondent and member of the Royal Geographic Society in Madrid, and of the Spanish Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory. His book is frequently cited in many anthropological studies about Taiwan but, being written in Spanish, its value may not have been appreciated well enough.

This change of viewpoint could be explained by the change of preoccupation in Esquivel's mind: at first, he was more concerned with getting acquainted with the features of the land; then, towards 1633, his mind was set in preparing plans for the missionary work of his religious order.

The third author we will consider was Father Teodoro de la Madre de Dios or Teodoro Quirós, who stayed in Taiwan from 1633-1642. Two of his *Cartas* (Letters)—which provide ethnographic data—are extant, like those published by Alvarez⁷. It is a pity that he did not write, or if his writings were lost, because as he said about himself: "*No one like me has ever journeyed in, nor has seen this land; no one ever dealt with the natives, and have known their customs as I did*".

The last report was the one written by Friar Juan de los Angeles, O.P. He stayed in the island during the last six years of the Spanish presence (1636-42)⁸. In 1649, when he was back in Manila, he wrote a *Relación breve* under the request of the Governor of the Philippine Islands, Diego Fajardo. He followed the report of Esquivel, adding in the process new pieces of information, and he also clarified some vague geographical data found in Esquivel's work.

To end this section I would like to mention Fr. Celedonio Arranz, O.P. who stayed in Taiwan from 1879 to 1905. He wrote *Recuerdos de un fraile economista y ecónomo de las almas*⁹, a personal account of the Spanish presence in Taiwan, in the 17th century. He consulted all the documents mentioned above, and knew most of the aboriginal names given by Esquivel and Quiros. That

⁷ He is perhaps the most authoritative with regard to our present topic because he stayed in Taiwan for ten years, until the end of the Spanish era in the island, although his intellectual training was not as superior as Esquivel's. In 1639, he wrote a letter that was all praises for the island with the purpose of getting more supplies from Manila. Other information on the Taiwan aborigines is contained in his *Carta Relación sobre la pérdida de la Isla Hermosa*, written in 1642. His linguistic training must have been good for he learned the language spoken in the Philippines, tagalog, within a short time before going to Taiwan. Historians of his Order say that, like Esquivel, he wrote one *Gramática*, *Vocabulario*, *Doctrina Cristiana*, *Catecismo en forma de diálogo, desde la creación del mundo*, and lastly, a *Confesionario*—all written in the language of the Natives of Tamsui. We would expect him to continue where Esquivel left off, at the same time expanding the scope of those topics. But up to now, I have not found those manuscripts, as well as Esquivel's in the archives of Manila, Madrid, Avila, Sevilla, and Mexico.

⁸ This missionary, together with Father Quirós, was sent to Batavia, after the Dutch took over the Spanish settlement.

⁹ Archive of the Dominicans (Avila, Spain). Section of Formosa, Vol 1, 12, folios 304-322.

account is interesting because it is an attempt to relate those names with the ones existing during his time, either the Japanese version or the Chinese one. It's very weak point is that it does not say what method was used to find out those relationships. It seems that the only way Fr. Arranz used was the assonance among words.

2. Description of the land of the aborigines

Let us now give a preliminary description of the land inhabited by the aborigines as it was seen by the Spaniards. Please bear in mind that some elements of the reports written by them present some difficulties in interpretation and that the main source of information for this section is Esquivel's report; consequently, the following geographical descriptions along with the map shown are not to be taken as definitive¹⁰.

The Spaniards used the word *partido* to refer to a limited area or region composed of several villages related to each other less by language affinity as by geographical proximity. At times, instead of *partido* the word *provincia* (province) is used; thus, in this paper, these two terms are taken to be equivalent. Some ambiguities crop up in delineating a particular tribal group because it happens that in the sources used, references are made to isolated groups of people without linking them to any particular provincia. In general, the Spaniards defined three provinces: Cabaran, Turoboan, and Tamchuy. The first is bounded by the bay of Ilan; the second is identified by its many gold deposits; the third is formed by the villages linked by the Tamsui river. Between the first two provinces, a certain village of some strategic importance, Caguinauwaran, acts like a boundary. In the western edge of the province of Tamsui two isolated villages are located: Pantao and Senar, while in the center is found Quipatao. Another

¹⁰ The available sources published by the Dutch up to the present hardly refer to the Dutch presence in northern Taiwan. For instance, the recently published daily reports of Fort Zeelandia (BLUSSE, VAN OPSTALL, TS'AO. *De dadregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia*, 1986) have come out only as one volume, covering the period ending in 1640, that is, while the Spaniards were still occupying northern Taiwan. W.M. CAMPBELL's *Formosa under the Dutch* (Southern Material Center, Taiwan, 1987) talks mainly about missionary works, making little reference to the area we are considering here.

area referred to is Quimarri-Taparri, at the port of Keelung, and the hub of the Bacay language group. Lastly, located between Tamchui and Quimarri-Taparri is the village called Lichoco, which we can still consider within Tamchui province. When the Dutch took over this region, they simplified the geographical division into three areas—Tamsuy, Kelang and Kabalan¹¹. Let us consider in detail the original Spanish sub-divisions.

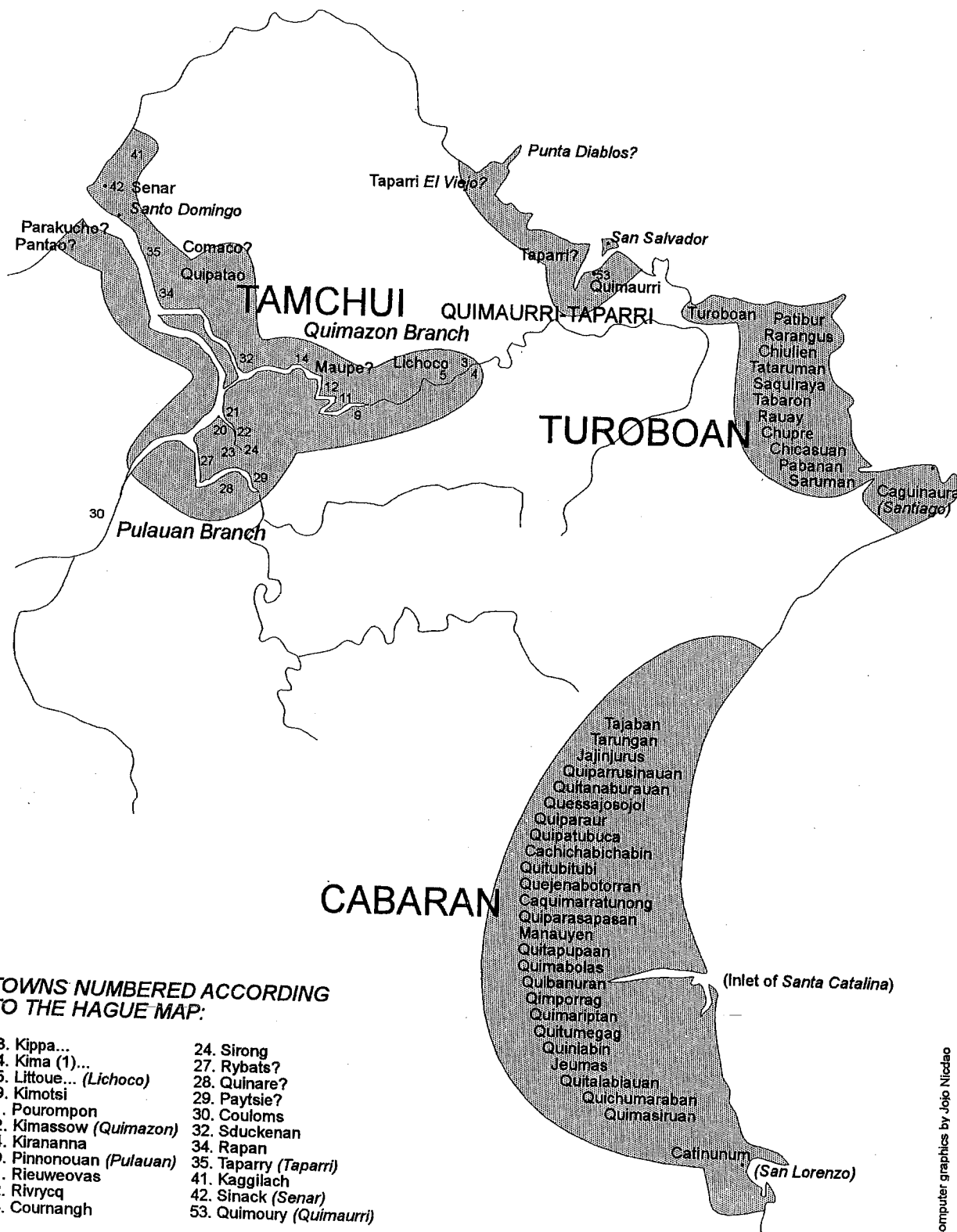
PROVINCE OF CABARAN (also known as a Kavalan). It was a wide area formed by several villages: 40 of them according to Esquivel, 60 in De los Angeles' count, 47 according to the Dutch sources. They were located along the banks of the Ilan bay, whose central part was named by the Spaniards the Santa Catalina inlet. The bay had an important port called San Lorenzo (probably the actual Suao), known by the natives as Catinunum. It was in this place where the Spaniards planned to set up their third settlement, which in the end did not materialize. Its special geographical traits allowed the development of commerce based on game, fishing and agriculture, mainly rice. Esquivel said that after harvest, the natives would go head-hunting in Senar and Pantao, in the region of Tamsui. He gave a list of around 40 villages which he claimed composed the province. We could form a first group which were known to have gold and silver mines. These would be: Turoboan, Rarangus, Patibur, Chiulien, Tataruman, Saquiraya, Tabaron, Rauay, Chicasuan, Chupre, Pabanan and Saruman.

The second group of villages is composed of Quiparrusinauan, Tajaban, Tarungan, Jajinjurus, Quitanaburauan, Quessajosojol, Quiparaur, Quipatubacan, Cachichabichabin, Quitubitubi, Quejanabotorran, Caquimarratunong, Quiparasapasan, Manauyen, Quitapupaan, Quimabolas, Quibanuran, Quinporrag, Quimariptan, Quitumegag, Qui-niabin, Jeumas, Quitalabiauuan, Quichumaraban and Quimasiruan. This long list of villages given by Esquivel deserves some commentary. One thing sure is that they were villages which he did not visit personally, so that the information he had about them could have come from the inhabitants of Tamsui or Quimaurri-Taparri. If we follow literally Esquivel's report, those villages would be located in the region of Cabarán; however, if we compare his information with that of De los Angeles, it is evident that the first

¹¹ CAMPBELL, *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

MAP 1. Approximate distribution of Aboriginal Tribes in Northern Taiwan (according to XVII Century Spanish sources)

This map does not indicate the exact locations of the towns of Cabaran and Turoboan since existing sources do not reveal them.



group of villages cannot be identified with the province of Cabarán. Rather, they would be located near the gold-mining areas of the present Keelung, to which he gave the name Province of Turoboan. Consequently, only the second group of villages would, strictly speaking, constitute the Province of Kavalan. It is significant that the names of the majority of these villages have the prefix *Qui-* (or *Ki-*, which has the same pronuntiation in Spanish), which may designate a same concept, inside the same family language¹². Traces of this language found further north of the island could indicate a recent expansion towards that direction. De los Angeles commented that the inhabitants of the northern part of the island were white, except those in Cabaran, whom he described as "*fair-complexioned or ruddy*"¹³.

TOWN OF CAGUINAUARAN. Also known as Caquiuanuan. This isolated town in the middle of the provinces of Cabaran and Turoboan, was later on called *Santiago* by the Spaniards, a name that has been retained in its Chinese transliteration San-Tiao. Esquivel noted that a Japanese Christian had been living in that town for 20 years. According to Quirós the Spanish Dominicans set up there a successful mission, which may explain the existence in that area of some words derived from Spanish, as we shall consider in the next part of this article¹⁴.

PROVINCE OF TUROBOAN. Also alled Turboan by De los Angeles, whom clearly defined it along the mountainous areas east of Keelung (while Esquivel mistakenly locates it within the region of Cabaran, as mentioned above), saying that "*in the rivers, they take the 23-karat gold, washed down from the mountains*". That wealth must have turned the inhabitants into fierce defenders of their territory, assaulting every ship that would seek refuge in the coast; thus, they earned from the Spaniards the name "*pirates and murderers*". We have to

¹² Professor Heng-hsiung Jeng told me that in the Bunum language, the phoneme *ki*, in words like *takivatan*, *takibagha*², expresses the concept of "living".

¹³ According to José María Alvarez (*op. cit.*, p. 47), Cabaran is the Kap-chu-lang of the Chinese, and at that time, the Japanese Prefecture of Giran. He also said that the Ataiyal are the descendants of the *cabalanes*.

¹⁴ Professor Chia-lin Chen (*History of Taiwan, 1600-1945*, Tzeli Wangpao Publishing House, Taipei, 1985, pp.21-22), gives 11 aboriginal names along with their probable modern counterparts. For instance, he says that Kakinoan (*sic*) is most probably the actual Kungliao. But Kungliao is located in the mountains of Keelung, quite far from the location I identified.

note that the Spaniards, in their voyages from Manila, had to pass through that eastern part of Taiwan in order to avoid the Dutch-occupied territories. Turoboan (¿Yow-fen?) is also referred to as a capital of the area, with such prominence that the entire province is named after it. Aside from this capital town, *"the most famous in the entire area"*, the other villages were Patibur, Rarangus, Chiulien, Tataruman, Saquiraya, Tabaron, Rauay (this was known to be inhabited by *"fair-skinned and warlike people, like the Spaniards and the Dutch"*), Chिकासuan, Chupre, Pabanan, and Saruman. All of them were identified as rich in gold and silver mines, except for Saruman which only had gold. Certainly, until now, this is a gold-mining area, but Esquivel's report about eleven gold mines and ten silver mines was an exaggeration, probably with the intention of arousing the interest of other Spaniards in Manila to come to Taiwan¹⁵.

THE AREA OF QUIMAUURRI-TAPARRI. The Quimaurris as such formed four or five villages, with a total population of around 600 natives. Their proximity to the other group mentioned above removed sharp differences between them; mixed marriages were common. They were described as *"crafty and satirical"*. As to their means of livelihood, they were mostly craftsmen not farmers, perhaps due to the existence of the port near that area. In Esquivel's words: *"They do not plant nor harvest; rather they live like nomads or sangleys, going from one village to another, making for them houses, arrows, clothes, hatchets. With the rice they had gathered during that period having been exhausted, they would go back for another two months to do the same activity"*. They were living in the town of Quimaurri, very well identified in The Hague Map (n° 53) as Quimouryz, or Kemora, in another Dutch map¹⁶. With regard to the Taparris, Esquivel maintained that there existed no real differences between them and the Quimaurris: *"They are identical; all the Quimaurris are Taparris: they have the same customs and traits. Although they live in different places, and they try to outshine each other, it was not to such an extent that it would prevent inter-marriages or other forms of relations among themselves"*. Esquivel described their livelihood thus: *"they live by means of fishing, hunting,*

¹⁵ Esquivel reflects the "gold-hunting" mentality (the search for riches in the midst of endless perils), also prevailing among the Spaniards of his times.

¹⁶ Arranz says that this town corresponds to *Sinsia* and *Kusia*.

making salt, arrows, houses, clothes, knives; they do not plant as the other natives do".

That resulted in their close contact and friendship with the villages that supplied them rice and maize. They had a system of storing their supplies of these cereals. Along the northern coast, other two or three villages of Taparris were located. Among them there was one, called by the Spaniards Taparri el Viejo (the old one), maybe to contrast it with to the new village (*reducción*) composed of various small ones, near the Keelung bay. They would practice piracy each time a shipwreck occurs near the coast. As it is mentioned in the Hague Map, the Spaniards called the land bar of Yeliow *Punta Diablos* (Devil's Cape), which most probably was the place where the tragic "shipwreck of Taparri el Viejo" happened, in Esquivel's account. Outside their own zone, the Taparris reached also up to the mouth of the Tamsui River, where they controlled some sulphur mines. That would help to explain why De los Angeles said that the Bacay language was known in the Tamsui area. Furthermore, the Dutch map locates them (*n° 35 in The Hague map*)—with the name of Taparry—in the interior of the Tamsui river, where they most probably had a commercial port of their own¹⁷.

PROVINCE OF TAMCHUI. The villages of this province were usually referred to the two branches of the river—the Pulauan and the Kimazón branches—and four outlying areas: the Senar, Pantao, Quipatao and Lichoco. Other towns existed, like the Camaco, Maupe and Parakucho, but I can not identify their exactly location¹⁸.

A) The area of the natives of *PULAUAN* branch, corresponds to the plains of the right side of the Tamsui river, following the old Taipei from North

¹⁷ Chia-lin Chen situates Kimari (*sic*) and Tapasi (*sic*) in *Keelungmalu* and *Chinshan*, respectively. Arranz (*op. cit.*, 316), apart from saying that Taparri el Viejo was founded by Esquivel (which I think is wrong, as I explained above), adds that it is located in *Kimpauli* (of the Japanese era), the actual Chinsan.

¹⁸ Nevertheless, Chia-lin Chen (*op. cit.*), suggests other probable locations: Camoco (*sic*), near the actual area of *Talong*; Maupe (*sic*), in the actual *Tashiang shen*; Parecuchu (*sic*), in the actual *Pali* area. On the other hand, Celedonio Arranz (*op. cit.* 317) says that one can form a vague idea of the olds names of the *Bulahoan* tribes, such as Camaco=*Huan á Kau*; Maupe=*Mosuong*=*Kimazon*".

to South¹⁹. On both sides of the river the plains were described by Esquivel thus: *"Those who had their houses near the river banks always go through harsh conditions each time the river swells, that occur periodically and at times the water rises up to 4 "brazas"²⁰. The waters flood the houses and the fields, while the people try to salvage their belongings in small boats. The natives living along either branch of the river have shown me how deep these floods could be. They would carve on the wooden parts of their houses the level reached by the waters"*. This swampy area, located in the actual center of Taipei, would be surrounded by brooks and small estuaries, with the principal one serving as the axis of the villages corresponding to the area bounded from $n^{\circ} 20$ to $n^{\circ} 24$ of The Hague map, that is, the villages such as Pinnonouan, Rieuweowas, Rivrycq, Cournangh and Sirongh. Esquivel gave only the name of the first village, but maybe he was referring to the whole group, because he said: *"in all the places we have gone so far, we have found only two or three big villages"*. In the South, towards the area of Hsintien and Mucha rivers, The Hague map mentions three more towns: Rybats ($n^{\circ} 27$), Quinare ($n^{\circ} 28$), Paytsie ($n^{\circ} 29$)²¹.

B) With regard to the natives of the *QUIMAZON* branch (the actual Keelung River), Esquivel noted that *"Passing through the river, along the same branch of Quimazon, there are some very small villages that reach up to Lichoco"*. The map of The Hague gives the same location, although it gives another name to the river—Ritsouqu ($n^{\circ} 17$). It uses the name Kimassouw ($n^{\circ} 12$) only to designate one of the villages. Other villages named are Kirananna ($n^{\circ} 14$), Pourompon ($n^{\circ} 11$) and Kimotsi ($n^{\circ} 9$)²².

¹⁹ Chia-lin Chen (*op. cit.*) situates Fulawan (*sic*) in Hsinchuang area. Arranz (*op. cit.* 317) referring to this area says that it was in the South of *"the great basin that contains the cities of Taipeh, the capital of Formosa, Tao tiatia, Banca, Toalongpong, etc. which before had other names"*.

²⁰ 1 "braza" = 1.672 meters.

²¹ Probably these three villages still belong to the group of Tamsui. Tsuchida (*Kulon: Yet another Austronesian Language in Taiwan?*, Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, no. 60, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1985, p. 2) says that this place marks the division between the Basay and Ketagalan linguistic areas. It could be mentioned at this point, in relation with the main topic of his article—the linguistic area of Kulon—The Hague map situates the town of Couloms at number 30. See our map.

²² José María Alvarez (*op. cit.*, page 48) says that the old Kimazon is the actual Chinese name of *Huan-a-kau*; but on page 62, he calls the same place with the Chinese name *Kau-san*.

MAP 2. The Hague Map, 1654.

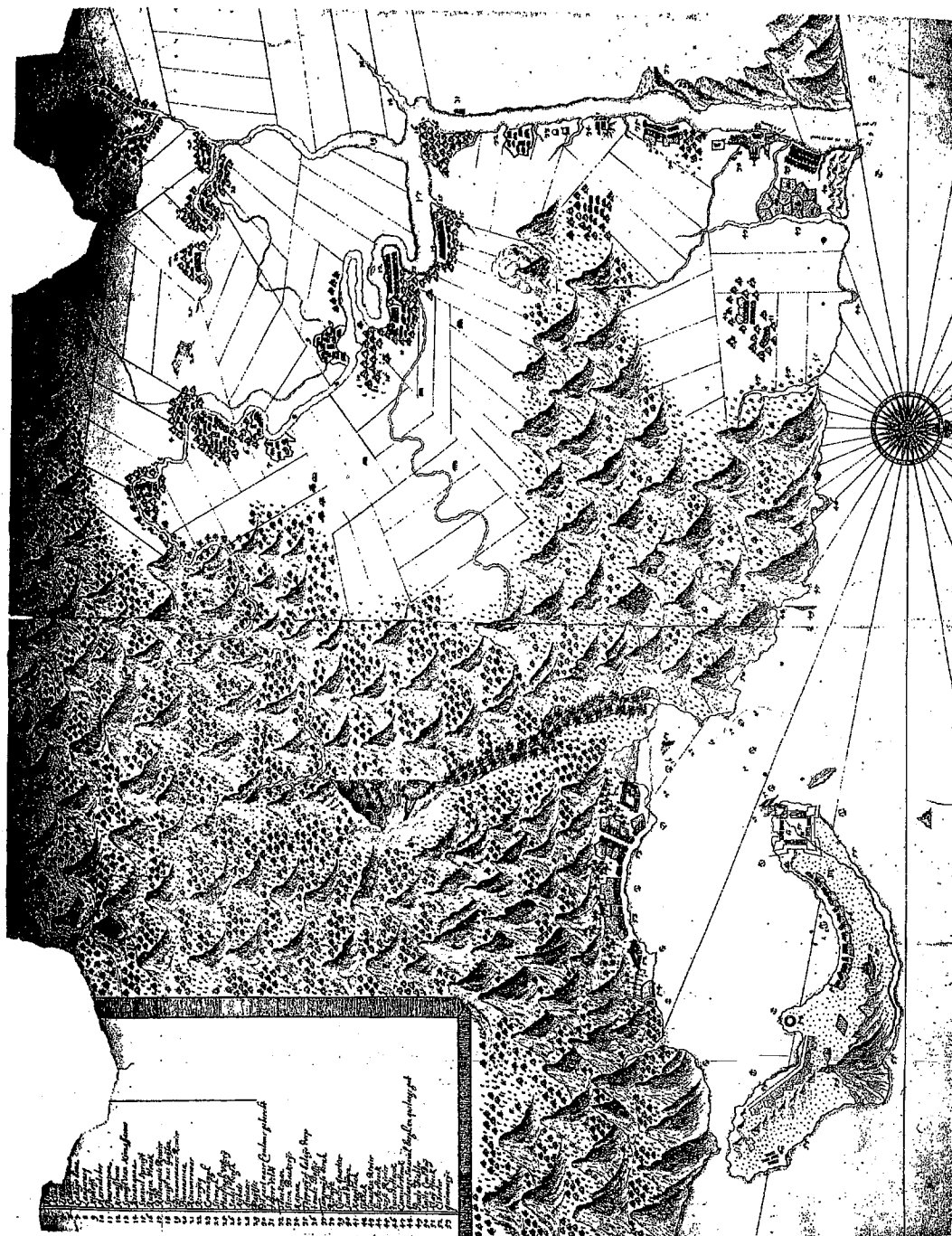


Table 2. Names of places in the The Hague Map. 1654.

A) LICHOCO AREA	
3 Kippa....	
4 Kima(l)...	
5 Litteouc...	Lichoco
6 Catlayo dedass..	
7 Catlayo bona	
8 Lanocracq	
B) QUIMAZON AREA	
9 Kimotsi	
10 Marnats bos	Marnats forest?
11 Pourompon	
12 Kimassouw	Kimazón
13 Spruýt van Kimassouw	Kimazón creek
14 Kirananna	
15 Swavel Spruýt	Sulphur creak
16 Ruýgen Hoeck	Rough promontory
17 Ritsouquse (?) Rivier	Ritsouqu river
18 Spruýt nae Gayſan	Creek towards Gaysan (?)
C) PULAUAN AREA	
19 Pinnonouanse Rivier	Pulauan river
20 Pinnonouan	Pulauan
21 Rieuweowas	
22 Rivrýcq	
23 Cournangh	
24 Sirongh	
D) AREA OF HSINTIEN	
25 Haeringh Vissorý	
26 (Z)/Sadel bergh	Factory for processing herring (?) Plateau
27 Rýbats?	
28 Quinare?	
29 Paytsie?	
30 Dit pazz naer Couloms gebercht	This pass leads to Couloms mountain
E) AREA OF TAMSUI'S MOUTH:	
31 Faers Veld	Camp of ...
32 Sduckenan	
33 Steen Backorýe	Cantier
34 Rapan	
35 Taparrý of balaýo dorp	Taparri town near <i>balaýo</i> (?)
36 Foudz Bossie	Small old forest
37 Tamewýse berch	Tamsuy mountain
38 Reduýt	Fort
39 Cinees Quartier	Sangleys quartier
40 Sant duýnen	Dunes
41 Kaggilach	
42 Sinack	Senar
43 Sinackse Rivier	Senar river
F) NORTHERN COASTLINE OF THE ISLAND:	
44 Eerste Hoeck	First promontory
45 Verse Rivier	Fresh water river
46 'tweede Hoeck	Second promontory
47 Cameel-Hoeck	Promontories-camell-figure
G) KEELUNG BAY:	
48 Quelangs Swaevel bergh en quelangs gat	Sulphur mine and entrance to Kelang
49 Punta Diablos	Cape Devil's
50 Smits Cool Baý	The blacksmith's bay
51 Klaý Hoeck	Sand bar
52 Clooster	Cloister
53 Quimourýe	Quimaurri

C) The aborigines of *SENAR* area were a group of eight or nine small villages living near the mouth of the Tamsui river, along its northern banks facing the sea. To have access to the sea they built a simple port around which a marketplace grew; a community of sangleys also lived in its vicinity. According to The Hague map, the aborigines were located in a place designated as Sinack (*n° 41*); the same map identifies another community situated near the sea, Kaggilach, probably a place for sangleys. But the real location of the latter was at the mouth of the river, designated as *Cinees Quartier* of The Hague map (*n° 39*). Surrounding Senar was a mountain "*cool and pleasant, covered with wild peach and orange trees, with a brook and pristine water springs, (...) and scenic and calm meadows*". Agricultural products and fisheries were abundant, even enough to supply the needs of neighboring villages. Besides, the natives made use of a kind of mushroom (*turma*) and sold it as raw material for making red pigments, and they developed a simple timber commerce by cutting the logs that would be collected in the river after heavy rains²³.

D) In the Southern mouth of the Tamsui River, in front of Senar, was the *PANTAO* area. Esquivel gives a clue about this matter. He says: "*one of the chiefs of these places claim that he is the son of a Spaniard, one of those Spaniards who got lost in the past*". The fact that it was located at the other side of the river must have prevented its being explored well. Esquivel adds: "*Beyond Pantao there are many more villages of natives along the river bank, with whom we have neither friendship nor enmity, and no contacts at all*". But the inhabitants of Pantao did not consider them in the same way, because as Esquivel points out, "*they would attack each other, killing and beheading, ... and a cagayan was living there after he escaped from the Tamsui fort*"²⁴.

²³ Celedonio Arranz (*op. cit.* folio 317) says that Senar is *Patsien-na*, and Kipatao is *Paktao*, the center of a sulphur-rich area, with thermal baths, like *Pasien*, *Kantao* (on folio 316, he calls this place Senar), *Parecuchu*, *Kiligan*, *Paichike*, following the shores of the Tamsui. José María Álvarez, who probably read the work of Arranz, says (*op. cit.*, page 46) that Senar was located two kilometers from the actual harbor of Tamsui, towards the mountain, and over one hill, after crossing the town called *Pi-a-tau* by the Chinese. He adds that far beyond this place are the Chinese villages *Patsie-ná*, and *Pak-tau*.

²⁴ Chia-lin Chen (*op. cit.*) situates Pantao in Tamsui area. But Arranz's assertion (*op. cit.*, folio 316) is most in accord with the sources when he says that Pantao is *Patlihun*, in front of *Hobue*, the Japanese name for Tamsui. The cagayanes are the inhabitants of northern Luzon.

Table 1: Synthesis of some place name equivalences

THE HAGUE MAP (1654)	ESQUIVEL (1633)	QUIROS (1639)	DE LOS ANGELES (1649)	ARRANZ (1902)	ACTUAL PLACE
	Cabalan	río de Cabaran	Cabaran	Kapchulang	I-lan
			Catinunum		Suao
Quimoury	Quimaurri			Area of Sinsia and Kusia	East of Keelung Bay
Taparry	Taparri				West of Keelung Bay
	Taparri el Viejo			Kimpauli- Maliengki	near Ye-liow
		Camaco		Huan á Kau	?
		Maupe		Mosuong	?
	Pantao		Pantao		Southern mouth of Tamsui river
		Parakucho			Pali?
Pinnonouan	Pulauan	Pulauan	Parusaron	Bulaoán (South of Taipeh and Bamkah) Toatiatia Toalongpong	Actual area of downtown Taipei
Sinack	Senar	Senar		Patsien-na	Northern entrance of Tamsui river
		Tamchui shore		Kantao Parecuchu Kiligan Paichike	Tamsui Northern shore
Kimassow	Kimazon			Patlihum	Keelung river
	Kipatao			Huanakau	Peitou
Littouc...	Lichoco			Lichoksia	near Neihu
	Torboan		Torboan		Yow fen

E) Located in the actual Peitou area was *QUIPATAO*, also known as Quipatas. It was formed by eight or nine villages. They were linked with Senar by roads, although the more convenient way was through the river and then an estuary. Quipatao was at the foot of a hill, and it was endowed with *"sulphur deposits in large quantities, making the inhabitants richer than the rest"*, for they would sell the sulphur to the sangleys. The area also had wide tracts of plain that were usually spared from the overflow of the river, a phenomenon suffered by the other villages near Tamsui.

F) Lastly, there was *LICHOCO*. Upstream of the Kimazon were other aborigines, whom we can still count among those living in Tamchui province. The area was like the edge of the valley, since beyond it the river is already too deep, making it necessary to use small boats to continue the passage. Long stretches of plains could be found on both sides of the river, which explains the high concentration of aborigines living in the area: *"there are between two and three hundred houses, the majority of them built at the mountain"*. The place is located at the end of the river, a one-day trek from the Tamsui region, and six leagues from the area of Keelung. It was poorly linked with other villages because *"in the first league the terrain is very rough, and the five other leagues are no less difficult to traverse as they are flanked by banks of loose rock"*. When Esquivel was writing down this information the area referred to had been recently discovered as a link between Tamsui and Keelung; thus, his descriptions were still unclear. The map of The Hague provided more details but which were lost when it was partially destroyed. Within the area of Lichoco, it named the following villages: Kippa... (*n° 3*), Kimal... (*n° 4*), Littsouc.. (*Lichoco?*) (*n° 5*), Catlayo dedass? (*n° 6*) and Catayo bona (*n° 7*)²⁵.

3. Social and economic aspects of the life of the aborigines²⁶

Unless it is specified, the following descriptions do not refer to any

²⁵ Chia-lin Chen (*op. cit.*) situates Lichoco in the actual *Neihu* area. Arranz calls Lichoco *Lichoksia*.

²⁶ The main source of information for this part and the next, is the report mentioned above by an anonymous author, written around 1633.

aboriginal group in particular. Although in Esquivel's viewpoint they are applicable to all the aborigines in northern Taiwan, it would be safer to assume that they refer more to the aborigines of Quimaurri-Taparri and Tamsui since they were the ones with whom the Spaniards were better acquainted.

The *SOCIAL ORGANIZATION* of these people did not have any political set-up in the strict sense. As mentioned above, what they formed were *partidos*—according to the Hispano-Philippine terminology—: an association of family clans headed by the *principales* (chiefs), or bagui. Some members of the clans received special recognition after having participated in battles against neighboring clans. Beheading the enemy was seen as an accomplishment; the victor would paint his own neck and arms as a mark of prestige. Rivalry among the aborigines was certainly a constant characteristic of their social life. Describing this phenomenon among those in Quimaurri and Taparri, in Senar and its neighboring villages, Esquivel wrote: *"The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri have good relationships with all the "partidos". Those from Pantao are enemies of those from Senar. The natives of Senar are enemies of those from Pulauan, Pantao and Cabalan. The natives living along the two branches of the Tamsui River are enemies of those from Cabalan; every year they would go head-hunting, before the Spaniards came"*.

Their *ECONOMY* was based on a system of common exploitation of resources. Fishing was done by means of small boats, on which the natives would stand and cast their lines. Hunting was done by groups of natives, for it was necessary to encircle a herd. With the help of hunting dogs, they would gather the deers and capture them by using bows and arrows. They would sell liana and deerskin to the sangleys. Cloth weaving was hardly known, so they would resort to barter to get clothing materials: a shawl or blanket could be had in exchange of a deer. Their permanent subsistence level at times led them to take desperate measures such as infanticide, and barter of children. In Esquivel's words: *"I believe that it is due to the poverty and want in which they live that mothers kill their infants, burying them alive, or else they give them away in exchange of stones, clothing materials or "carayo" (sic); all these due to their lack of clothing or food"*.

The farm products of the natives did not include wheat; they were

limited to rice and corn ("*tambobos*"). *AGRICULTURE* was more developed in the plains around the mouth of the Tamsui river, although it was never really a prosperous means of livelihood for the natives. The reason given by Esquivel was this: *"From the moment the rice grains begin sprouting until harvest time, the natives guard it day and night in order to prevent the babuys²⁷ (pigs) from ravaging the crop. And since it becomes a laborious process for them, they decide to sow only what they need to eat. There is no native who sells rice in big quantities, only in one or two chicubitillo (sic), so, if one wants to buy one sack of rice he has to go through a big trouble, only to end up gathering all sorts of rice grains"*. De los Angeles gives a more optimistic report. In describing the land, he says that it produces *"oranges, lemons, sweet and bitter fruits, cider, apricots and peaches, which they call rupaz. You can also find pear trees, varieties of nuts and all the fruits of China, wild grapevines (grapes are called camutirin)... There are very special trees, huge and aromatic, called daos, and which serve as the wood for making boats and canoes"*. From other kinds of trees such as the sarengue and daches they cut panels to be exported to China and to be used in making coffins. Big quantities of liana were also sold to China. The Chinese used the wood for various forms of handicraft, as well as raw material for making the so-called liana paper²⁸.

As regards their *MARRIAGE* customs, the man obtains the wife by some sort of "purchase" from her relatives. At that time they used—according Esquivel—some kind of stones ("*cuentas*") given by the sangleys as a means of payment. Dismissing of one's wife was a widely accepted practice, but it was not that frequent for fear of reprisals from the kins of the woman. Esquivel adds: *"As far as I know, they are not given to vices of the flesh. If someone is found to have fallen into them, the accused must pay one of these stones to the one who caught him, and everything is settled"*.

²⁷ A study of the spread of the word *babuy* to the Marianas Islands, is found in RODRIGUEZ-PONGA, Rafael, *De la Nueva España a las Islas Marianas: los cerdos y el vocabulario porcino*, in: "La Presencia Novohispana en el Pacífico Insular", II Conference, Mexico, 1992, pp. 145-156.

²⁸ This description given by De los Angeles, together with his other equally favourable reports, sent to the Governor of the Philippines could have a tinge of exaggeration in it, perhaps in order to encourage the governor to send more Spaniards to Taiwan.

4. Cultural aspects

Disputes and *DISAGREEMENTS* among the aborigines were usually settled publicly but without the mediation of judges or arbiters of any sort. The process begins with a free and spontaneous expression of one's problems or accusations, done in two stages, and usually under the influence of alcohol. In the first stage, called *masimanamananur*, the person "gives his own side of the problem, while the rest listen in judgment". Next comes the stage called *masimacamicauas*, "another self-defense, carried out with sharp cries and shouts, while he walks around slapping his buttocks; this lasts as much as the first stage". The two disputing parties make threats of using violence, but this actually never happens. If the dispute is between groups, knives or hatchets are displayed, without being used to shed blood; if it is between husband and wife, they break household items such as clay jars and idol statuettes, etc. ... "waking up the next morning, after having sobered up, they cry upon realizing the destruction they had done". If the case is theft or robbery, they resort to divination. When the Spaniards came, their preferred diviner was the missionary priest.

Going on now to the topic of the *LANGUAGES* of the aborigines, we can refer to some textual quotations from Esquivel. After he enumerates the villages along the Kavalan coast he adds: "All these villages are said to be big in size, and a common language is spoken in all of them, indeed, in general, throughout the island—the Bacay tongue. Despite the use of another language in a particular place, Bacay is still spoken as a second language. I was told by some natives of Quimaurri that they do not know if there are more villages located towards the interior, aside from the above-mentioned that are located along the shores, for they themselves have not gone to that part of the island. Among all these places with gold deposits the gold of Torboan is considered by the natives as the most famous".

From the report of the anonymous author referred to above we read: "The language they speak is easy to learn. In some 'partidos' like Senar, they speak their own particular language, but in Senar as in all the other places with their own languages a common and general language is spoken by everyone; that

is what we missionaries learn to speak".

De los Angeles is more exact in his report, correcting what was said by Esquivel: *"The languages they speak are many: each province has its own, so do different villages. There is a common language spoken in the region where the Spaniards are in control, called Basay, spoken even up to Torboán where gold could be found. This language could be understood by those living along the Tamsui river, although they have their own dialects"*.

In sum, I believe we can conclude that there was a Bacay language area spread in the north of the island, with its center in Quimaurri-Taparri; that language was known up to the boundaries of the Kavalan province and the mouth and valley of the Tamsui river. Furthermore, the Basay tongue co-existed with others which, according to our sources, were at least two languages: one was spoken by the natives of Senar (according to the anonymous author), the other by the natives of Tamsui (Esquivel). For the latter, as was mentioned before, Esquivel wrote a grammar book and other books for catechetical purposes, an undertaking probably continued by Quirós. With this premise, I think new elements are added in the linguistic panorama depicted by Mabuchi and Tsuchida²⁹ but which I would not venture to state at the moment.

Linguistically considered, the contact between the aborigines and the Spaniards was quite close, up to such a point that, according to Esquivel: *"some of them were surprisingly fluent in Spanish, learning even to say improper and dirty expressions—the consequence of their close dealings with our Spaniards"*. De los Angeles, referring in particular to the aborigines in Torboan, commented: *"They speak Spanish a lot better in comparison with other natives"*. That the aborigines living in the Quimaurri-Taparri area also learned Spanish is attested to by Dutch sources. Six years after they took over the former Spanish territories, they reported: *"Many of the natives in that northern region are able to read Spanish, and make use of the R. C. missionary books on religious and other subjects"*³⁰.

²⁹ See Shigeru Tsuchida, *Op. cit.* p. 2.

³⁰ CAMPBELL, WM. *op. cit.*, p. 231. The impact of the said Spanish presence was not easy to erase (as is proven in the famous letters of Mailla) for although the Dutch should have started spreading their language in that region, it was not until 1655 that the first Dutch missionary

Thus, it is not surprising that, as Ferrell rightly observed³¹, those contacts in the language zone of Kavalan—the only place that still retains the Spanish place name *Santiago* (San-tiao)³² would leave behind new terms such as *prasku* (*frasco*: *flask*), *tabaku* (*tabaco*: *tobacco*), *vaka* (*vaca*: *cow*), *cuayu* (*caballo*: *horse*). Likewise, Ferrell noted, other influences could be found, such as those from aborigines coming from the Philippines or else from these same people but already with Spanish influences. These are reflected in words like *kravaw* (*carabao*), *paskua* (*pascua*)³³.

Another name of a place that has some kind of Spanish origin refers to the old area of Taipei—the fluvial harbor area called Banka. This word came from the Spanish *barca* (*boat*), which had been absorbed in the Tagalo and Cebuano languages, among others³⁴. A possible explanation for the recent entrance of this word in Taiwan was the fact that, aside from the Spanish presence, the majority of the small Spanish army (i.e., 2/3 of an average of 300 soldiers, for 16 years) that came to northern Taiwan was composed mainly *indios cagayanes*; some of them—it is difficult to give exact data—escaped from Spanish control, in principle to go back to the Philippines³⁵. Other names of places based in Spanish origins could be found in the Botel Tobago islands (although this place is outside our area of study). In the map of H. Hondius, *Asia*

arrived there (Ibid., p. 299)

³¹ FERRELL, Raleigh. *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups: Problems in Cultural and Linguistic Classification*. Institute of Ethnology. Academia Sinica, monograph n° 17, Taipei, 1969, pp. 19-20).

³² It is worth noting that this place-name was very much associated with Spanish military campaigns, such as the battle of Clavijo when St. James the apostle was said to have appeared to help the Christian army against the Moors. The military fort in Manila, built precisely in a former Muslim tower, also had the same name. In fact, in Spain alone there are more than 30 cities or towns called Santiago; and, all over the world, we can find more than 70 other places with the same name, the majority of them in America.

³³ This word was not used in the religious sense given by Christians (Easter or Christmas) but in the festivities of the Chinese New Year.

³⁴ See *Hispanismos en Tagalo*, Oficina de Educación Iberoamericana, Madrid, 1972. This book says *Barca*=*bangca* (p. 72). See also QUILIS, Antonio, *Hispanismos en Cebuano*, Madrid, 1976. The author says *Bangca*=*canoa* (p. 63). Thanks to Ms. Maruxa Pita for these two pieces of information.

³⁵ Some main ideas about this topic are outlined in BORAO, José E. *Spanish Presence in Taiwan, 1626-42*, Bulletin of the Department of History, National Taiwan University, n° 17, 1992.

e Islas adyacentes (1599), places named Tabaco Miguel (literally Tobacco Mikael), and Tabaco Xima appear.

The *FEASTS* of the natives followed their agricultural cycles, as explained by Esquivel: *"They celebrate with drinking spree each time they sow and as soon as the rice grains appear, when they harvest and after head-hunting, and they sing a chant reserved for these occasions"*. They have the same kind of feasting on two other occasions: when relatives come, and whenever the quack doctors advise it, as we shall discuss below. Drunkenness as an indispensable part of their feasts became so common such that *"the feasts would last for three full days, day and night, during which they do nothing else but masitanguitanguich, that is, to sing and dance, and with jars of wine all around, they drink all the time. Some collapse and fall asleep, to go on with the revelry as soon as they wake up. They eat seafood and raw venison; the untidiness is so great that they eat the deer innards as well, without washing away the dung"*. In some houses, according to Esquivel, the feast would last from fifteen to twenty days. If the feast is related to superstitious cures, an old woman must kill a pig, while the men—arms interlocked around their napes—go around in circles dancing. At the same time, within that circle, is another circle of women dancing, in such a way that both circles surround the old woman and the patient throughout the curing rituals.

Strictly speaking, they had no *RELIGION*, since *"they do not have any kind of rites or sacrifices, nor any sign of deference or reverence to anyone; neither do they have words to express these ideas in their language"*. However, they had lots of superstitions. For instance, they would base their decisions on bird songs (*"like that of the cauda tremula or of the heron"*), on dreams, and even on bodily reactions like sneezing. The *aberroa* (*sic*) was looked upon as the spirit marking out one's destiny, which will either be fruitful or miserable, according to whether one is influenced by a good or bad *aberroa*. Death was not a matter of concern or of reflection for them. Rather, they had an unrealistic idea about it: *"no one believes that he will die, and when they see another person die, they considered that it is because of a special bad luck"*. According to their burial customs, they are to bury the dead under their houses or in nearby houses, and *"they put palm mats inside the tomb so that the body would not get wet, and*

a jar of rice beside the head for its food. They bury them with the knees bent into small holes in the ground, and on top of the burial place they leave the quiver and arrows, clay jars, stones, and the household furnishings of the dead".

Their way of curing *SICKNESSES* was to have recourse to superstitious practices or witchcraft. They suppose that the sick person has an *aberroa* in his body, which means that the only way to cure him is to expel it. The witches come and after settling the price of their service and with the butchering of a pig, they usually require that there be drinking orgies while they do their job. *"They do not use herbs, neither medicines nor venom, which they are ignorant about, rather, their cures consist in sucking the body of the sick, and to lie prostrate on the ground covered by a blanket, spitting on a plate of cooked rice while saying prayers in a 'Greek-sounding language'. Afterwards, they remove the chicubises (sic) of stone from the sick person, making him kiss them. They put a big knife under his head, and order that the sick should eat nothing for three days".* If their cures do not work and the sick person dies, then *"one of the witches grabs a hatchet, and goes around the house of the person swaying it around"*, at least to drive away the spirit (*aberroa*).

This, then, is the first overview of these documents written in accordance with the "field methods" developed by the Spaniards in America, three centuries before the Japanese applied their modern anthropological field work in Taiwan. I think that future documentary findings, like the grammar books and catechetical writings of Esquivel and Quiros³⁶, will cast new light to this present documentary introduction, and which may explain better the evolution of the Basay linguistic area³⁷. And also I believe that new documentary sources, particularly the unpublished registers of Fort Zeelandia after 1641, will give other perspectives in the field of the ethnological description of these aboriginal groups, along with modern empirical data.

³⁶ Arranz suggested that these materials were probably lost when the English invaders destroyed the Dominican convent in Manila, in 1762.

³⁷ Arranz personally met the philologist Lacouperie who, around the year 1885, was looking for those writings as means of comparing the Malay dialects with Filipino dialects. Lacouperie made studies on the dialects of Southeastern Formosa, published in 1887, by using books written by Dutch Protestant missionaries, in the 17th century.

