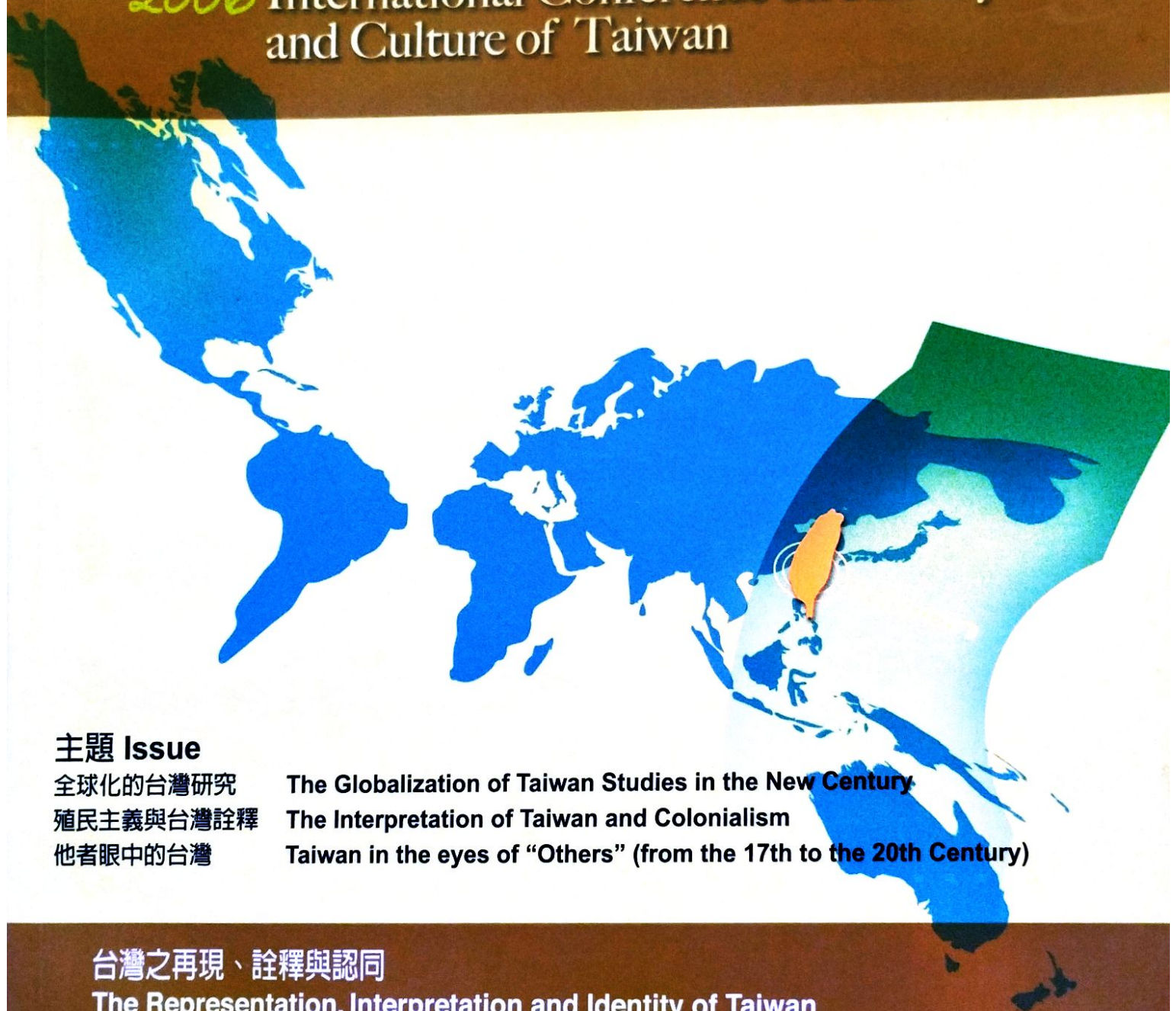


# 論文集 PROCEEDINGS

## 台灣歷史與文化國際會議

2006 International Conference on History  
and Culture of Taiwan



### 主題 Issue

全球化的台灣研究

殖民主義與台灣詮釋

他者眼中的台灣

The Globalization of Taiwan Studies in the New Century

The Interpretation of Taiwan and Colonialism

Taiwan in the eyes of "Others" (from the 17th to the 20th Century)

### 台灣之再現、詮釋與認同

The Representation, Interpretation and Identity of Taiwan

日期:2006年5月29.30日,上午八時至下午五時

Date:8:00am-5:00pm,29th-30th May, 2006

地點:國家圖書館 國際會議廳

Place:National Central Library-International Conference Hall



## 十六世紀末至十七世紀初西班牙對台灣印象的演變

鮑曉鷗

國立台灣大學外文系教授

### 中文摘要

西班牙的對台印象歷經三個不同的時期。第一個時期自 1582 年至 1626 年，長達 44 年。這個時期中，台灣被視為與婆羅洲、爪哇、海南有著相同地理特性的島嶼，因此與菲律賓列島並不相同。台灣不是從菲律賓向外擴張之地，而被視為一個策略根據地，由此可以交通中國、阻止日本擴張，也可以在此建造一個馬尼拉—阿卡波卡（Acapulco）貿易路線中的安全港。本文一開始將先分析第一個時期中的不同時段。1582 年，一艘澳門船隻在台灣北部遇難，使人留下該島嶼上居住著兇暴土著的印象。這樣的形象到了 1592 年更加強固，那一年西班牙遣使日本，道明會士 Juan Cobo 以及船長 Llano 於返回馬尼拉途中在台灣島上被殺。1597 年是重要的年份，以現代投影法製作的台灣地圖於該年首度出現。這份地圖所提供的是戰略資訊，因此頗費一點時間才影響到葡萄牙人和荷蘭人。不過此時該島還未被獨立製圖，而是以與呂宋和福州具有戰略關聯的姿態出現；令人驚異的是，日本並未出現在圖上。此後的三十年間台灣一直被忽略，唯一的例外是 Bartolomé Martinez 於 1619 年就征服該島的適當性所提出的一份報告。

西班牙在 1626 年至 1642 年間佔據了島嶼北部，這是第二個時期。在此時期中，1636 年是個分水嶺，在此之前都沒有任何該島的「形象製造」產生，在這個意義上來說，當時所有的努力都集中於資料的蒐集，以便了解島上的地勢、澄清該地的圖像。1626 年尤其如此。該年出現了三份由 Pedro de Vera 署名的重要地圖。但自從 1636 年淡水危機之後則很清楚地有兩種觀點出現。其一是菲律賓總督 Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera 的看法，他認為應當要從島上撤出，因為就戰略、經濟和宣教而言，人力和物力的投入只獲致很小的成果，這給人一種悲觀的印象。另一個看法則來自傳教士，他們認為應該要繼續留在島上，因為此處的土地與土著都品質絕佳，他們也將成效不彰的責任怪罪於雞籠的總督。當然，在這場爭論中，雙方都未能清楚說明背後的其他原因。對於 Corcuera 而言，撤出台灣非常重要，因為如此一來他便能將這些資源轉往菲律賓南方，展開他期待已久、對抗摩爾人（Moors）的戰爭。對傳教士而言，台灣是他們不獲准前往日本和中國之後一個重要的中途站。

1642 年西班牙被擊敗之後則開始了第三個時期。首先，傳教士們於短暫流放至巴達維亞（Batavia）期間，或到達馬尼拉之後（1643），提出了一些略帶浪漫色彩的報告。其次，Corcuera 被控要對失去福爾摩沙島負責，一些相當客觀的看法在這場「駐在審判」中浮現。1644 年，這場漫長的審判在馬尼拉展開，其間有許多證人分析戰敗原因。這些資料間接強化了雞籠作為一個堡壘的形象，這形象至今依然正確，但諷刺的是，現在該地卻叫做和平島。

本文最末將會討論福爾摩沙島的形象是否被移植到菲律賓身上。馬尼拉灣北部入口處有一地被命名為福爾摩沙（Hermosa）。同樣的情況後來也發生在馬尼拉灣南部入口處（鄰近甲米地（Cavite））的德那地（Ternate）。該處是由來自（印尼）德那地的土著基督徒所建，這些人隨同西班牙人一起離開那物種繁盛之地而來到菲律賓。



## The evolution of the Spanish image of Taiwan From the end of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century

Jose Eugenio Borao Mateo

Professor, Department of Foreign Languages, National Taiwan University

### Abstract

The Spanish vision of Taiwan has three different moments. The first one moves along 44 years, since 1582 to 1626. In this period Taiwan is regarded as an island with the same geographical identity as Borneo, Java, or Hainan, consequently different to the Philippine archipelago; and a land, not for a possible expansion from the Philippines, but good to set up a strategic post to better communicate with China, or to be a deterrent for Japanese expansion, or to establish a safe harbor in the Manila Acapulco trade route. This paper will analyze at the beginning the different moments of this first period. In 1582, a Macanese shipwreck took place in the North, producing the image of the ferocious natives populating the land. In 1592, this image got consolidated after the Spanish ambassador to Japan, the Dominican Juan Cobo, and the captain Llanos were killed in the island, in their return journey to Manila. Year 1597 is a landmark because the first modern cartographic image of the island was produced. This map offered a very strategically important information, and for this reason took some time before influencing Portuguese or Dutch maps; but now the island is not depicted independently, but in strategic conjunction with Luzon and Fujian, where, surprisingly, Japan doesn't appear. The next 30 years, Taiwan is almost ignored, with the exception of the long report of Bartolomé Martínez (1619) about the advisability of conquering the island. This is a more modern report, which considers again the island as a defensive stronghold to oppose the long encroachment led by the Dutch. Also the report started to portray the wonders of that island, a place where Martínez almost shipwrecked, but he didn't properly visit it.

The second period, from 1626 to 1642, refers to the Spanish presence in the North of the island. Here, year 1636 makes a clear division, since until that moment there is not "image production" of the island; all the efforts in this sense were addressed to gather information, to know the terrain and to clarify the picture of the place. This is particularly true at the very beginning in 1626, where three magnificent maps, signed by Pedro de Vera, were produced. But since the crisis of Tamsui (1636), clearly appeared two visions, the one of the Philippine Governor General, Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, justifying the retreat from the island, given a pessimistic picture of the whole presence, stating that human and material efforts had achieved too little in strategic, economic and missionary



terms; and putting the blame on the naturals of the island. The other vision is represented by the missionaries, who justified the continuity in the island due to the excellent qualities of the land and of the natives; blaming the Quelang governors for the little success. Of course, in this debate, both parties are not clear enough in expressing other reasons behind. For Corcuera it was very important to withdraw these forces in order to send them to Southern Philippines where he was waging a war against the Moors; and for the missionaries Taiwan was important as a stopover in their forbidden trips to Japan and China.

The third moment refers to the years after the Spanish defeat (1642). First, there is some kind of romantic reports made by the missionaries, either in their brief exile in Batavia or after their arrival to Manila (1643). A very much objective picture emerges from the "judgment of residence" held against Corcuera, where he was accused for the lost of Isla Hermosa. In 1644, this long trial held in Manila gathered many eyewitnesses analyzing the defeat. Indirectly this data contributes to emphasize the idea of Quelang, as a military stronghold, an image that still nowadays remain totally true, with the ironical name of Hoping Island.

The paper will deal at the end on whether or not the image of Isla Hermosa was transplanted to the Philippines, at the northern entrance of the Manila Bay by the establishment of a place called Hermosa, something that certainly happened later in the Ternate, in the southern entrance of Manila Bay (near Cavite), a place which was created with Christian natives from Ternate (Indonesia), that came to the Philippines accompanying the Spaniards once they left definitely the spices production region.



## 十六世紀末至十七世紀初西班牙對台灣印象的演變

鮑曉鵬 (Jose Eugenio Borao Mateo)

國立台灣大學外文學系

1582年，一艘葡萄牙船在航向日本中途發生船難，船上的三名耶穌會士（兩名西班牙人，一名葡萄牙人）留下了長篇記錄，這大概是西方世界第一次聽聞中國福建省外一座大島的詳情。這一年，居住於島上山谷、港口及平原上的土著可能有五萬人。有些土著遇見了那些不幸的水手，不過對此他們似乎並不特別吃驚。對雙方來說，這可能都不是什麼新鮮事。這大概也不是第一次有船隻在距土著村莊不到五十公里處發生船難——這也是土著們世界觀的一部分。他們的小小世界只與環繞著他們的村落有關，他們可能也都認識當地重要村莊裡的長者。有些土著還能談論他們遠方的發祥地，或描述他們的宇宙信仰。這些知識對他們來說就很足夠了。另一方人馬則包括了東南亞人，也有日本和中國商人，這些人在葡萄牙水手及商人的指引下，正沉浸在一個知識覺醒的年代。他們知道地理疆界還在不斷擴張，自己對這些疆域的認知也時時在修正。這座島嶼原先就已在他們的地圖上露出端倪，如今終於被界定出來了。在冷靜檢視並比較當時的地圖之後，我們至少可以得到一個結論：這些地圖是以葡萄牙人所提供的資訊繪製而成。

葡萄牙人繪製的地圖：「福爾摩莎島」與「三賢島」何者為台灣最初的名字？

台灣以「福爾摩莎」(Fermosa)之名在西方地圖上現身的最初，這島嶼給人的印象是：這是日本走廊(the corridor to Japan)最後一階段中的最後幾步之一。然而，1570年Ortelius繪製的兩份地圖卻留下了耐人尋味的問題。其中一份地圖比較精確，將整個走廊系統都畫得比較靠南邊，台灣幾乎已經碰到北迴歸線。不過，就這島嶼的名稱及其地理位置而言，兩份地圖描繪日本走廊的方式都很相像。在地圖上，這個名為福爾摩莎的島嶼位於一個叫作三賢島(Reyes Magos)<sup>366</sup>的島嶼北方。離奇的是，這兩個島嶼的相對位置跟後來出現的地圖中所繪的相反。如果1570年的這兩份地圖如實反映了當時葡萄牙人的資訊，那麼這個差異有兩種可能的解釋：(a)一開始的時候，三賢島指的是台灣，名字的改變是後來的事，或者(b)福爾摩莎這個名字本來不是指台灣，而是指另一個島，例如先島群島(Sakishima)或沖繩(Okinawa)。雖然令人氣沮，不過我們確實有理由認為葡萄牙人可能不會用「美麗」這個形容詞來形容台灣的西北沿海，因為這一帶事實上都是平原、沼澤與淺灘。福爾摩莎與三賢島在地圖上互換名字是1580年之後的事，此後前者(福爾摩莎島)用於指稱北台灣，後者(三

<sup>366</sup> 這個名字指的是遙遠東方的三位智者(Melchor、Gaspar以及Balthasar)，他們在耶穌降生之後前去探望。也許一官(Iquam，鄭芝龍)被取教名為Gaspar並非偶然。



賢島)則指先島群島(也許是指沖繩)。至於「福爾福莎」(Isla Hermosa)這個西班牙原名如何在西班牙史料中現身,則是另一個與本文比較相關的問題。

## 一、西班牙對台灣島的最初印象

### 美麗之島：與中國不同的獨特島嶼

那時候台灣是中國的一部分嗎?西班牙人的資料指出:不是。西班牙人當然不清楚早先中國有過何種聲明,也不知道中國與台灣土著長久以來都有貿易往來。在1586年與1589年<sup>367</sup>的西班牙記載中,台灣被認為是與婆羅洲、爪哇或海南島有著相同特殊地理特性的島嶼,與菲律賓群島並不相同。因此,台灣並未被視為從菲律賓往外擴張之地,但是,不論就(a)發展對中國的商業與宣教活動、(b)阻止預期中的日本擴張、或(c)對當時建立不久的馬尼拉—阿卡波卡(Acapulco)貿易路線來說,台灣都是個好的戰略位置。

對台灣的這種定位在之後的西班牙文獻中出現過許多次。比方說, Bartolome Martinez 便於1619年建議要佔領該島,因為台灣是離中國最近的鄰居。他說:

馬尼拉方面由這裡〔福爾摩莎〕展開活動,要比由 Pinar〔該地靠近香港,有可能是蘭島〕或中國沿海任何地方開始要好,甚至比澳門還好。...福爾摩莎可以終年維持大型集會和市場,品質上佳的貨物可以自由進出,也省得中國官員(mandarins)來惹麻煩。既然這島嶼離貿易密集的泉州(Chincheo)這麼近,又鄰近中國最富裕的地區,便終年都可以快速運輸小型與輕便貨物。...中國當局不會在〔那裡〕搜索船隻,他們也無法搜索,因為那邊住著漁人,他們到那裡去除了捕魚和運送木柴以外就沒有別的目的,自從他們到那裡以後便不曾理會過中國官員。...大量的財富很快就會透過離中國最近的鄰居而來了。(SIT, p. 41)

這份文獻有許多副本廣為流傳,也加深了其重要性。其中有一份副本流到荷蘭,見於1621年的荷蘭文獻(SIT, pp. 48-53)。

另一份有趣的文件是澳門人 Salvador Diaz 的報告,他於1623年荷蘭與中國交涉期間擔任翻譯,那時中國要求荷蘭人離開澎湖群島轉往台灣。Diaz 於1626寫道:「中國人不介意荷蘭人到福爾摩莎(Ilha Ferosa)去,因為,第一,那土地不屬於中國,第二,他們從發給許可證、收受賄賂和給中國國王的海關稅中賺取利潤,而且還愈撈愈多。」(SIT, p. 67)其

<sup>367</sup> Jose E. Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, pp.16-17. 本文中提及此書時均縮寫為 SIT。



次，1628年，也就是西班牙人在 Quelang（今日的基隆）建立據點兩年之後，一名中國官員前去造訪西班牙人的新拓居地。西班牙文獻記載，此人之所以前去，是因為中國從荷蘭方面收到對西班牙人不利的報告，但報告內容卻與去過 Quelang 的一些中國人所為的正面敘述不合。在此說明這一點是要指出：此人是為了獲得新鄰居的直接資訊而去造訪，並不是要對西班牙人定居島上提出警告。一名耶穌會士於 1628 年寫道：

沿海省份的總督便送了那名中國官員到我們新近在福爾摩莎（Isla Hermosa）佔據的港口，好搞清楚我們是什麼樣的人，在離中國這麼近的地方定居下來又有何目的。福爾摩莎指揮官 Antonio Carreño de Valdés 非常有禮地接待他，對他很是尊敬，顯得很重視中國人，他離去時還送了他一份精緻的好禮。（SIT, p. 133）

自那時候起，中國人便經常以在異國以最好、最聰明的方式，與土著或西班牙人做生意的和平商人的形象，出現在此類記錄當中。果真如此的話，台灣又是何時才成為中國的一部分呢？這個問題我們將在稍後論及。

#### 福爾摩莎：島嶼之謎中浮現的名字

如前所述，台灣第一次出現在舊式的西方地圖上，約在 1570 年左右。但隨後不久，在今日台灣的位置便出現了福爾摩莎（Isla Fermosa）與小琉球（Lequeio Minor）兩個島嶼。到了 1570 年代末期，這些名字出現在比較正確的位置，北迴歸線幾乎穿過這兩島中間。若台灣是被當成兩個島嶼繪出，我們可以想像這或許是因為煙霧遮蔽了視線，或某些河流的流徑使人對島嶼外形產生誤會所致。1582 年，一艘澳門船發生船難，船難地點可能在北台灣，台灣的原名至此首度出現在文字記載中。船上的一名西班牙籍耶穌會士 Alonso Sanchez 清楚地指明登陸地點是「福爾摩莎」（Isla Hermosa）。他說，之所以叫這個名字，是因為「島上青翠高大的山巒從這一側看來非常美麗」（SIT, p. 10），他還補充道，「四十年來，葡萄牙人前往介於這島嶼和中國之間的日本，卻從沒有探索過這島嶼，甚至沒有上岸。」（SIT, p. 11）另一名船上的葡萄牙籍耶穌會士 Francisco Pirez 也同樣在信中提到，他們登陸的地點是「福爾摩莎」（Ilha Formosa）（SIT, p. 13）。相反地，同一艘船上的第三名耶穌會士，西班牙籍的 Pedro Gomez 卻說，「六月十六日早晨…我們的戎克船撞上了稱為『琉球』（Liqueo Pequeno）的島嶼，我不知道葡萄牙人是否有登陸過〔這個島〕。」（SIT, p. 3）這使我們了解到，當時對這島嶼還沒有統一的認識。小琉球與福爾摩莎是同一個地方嗎？如果不是的話，名字的歧異可能表示他們對於自己身在島上何處有著不同的看法。<sup>368</sup>

<sup>368</sup> 我認為他們是在島嶼的北方，不僅是因為記載中呈現兩票對一票的狀況，基本上是因為記錄中提到鄰近有座特別的山，他們翻山而去。觀音山（靠近八里）最有可能是這座山。另一個理由是，五十年後（1632），一名道明會傳教士提到，在靠



地圖水準在之後的十年裡繼續提升，該島被分成互補的三個部分繪出，叫做琉球（Lequeo Pequeno）的島在中間，北迴歸線通過其上，福爾摩沙還是在北邊，小琉球則在南邊。最後，到了十七世紀末，三個島嶼已合而為一，沖繩與琉球群島（Ryukiu archipelago）的位置也比較接近現實。對該島的描述中出現了較為詳細的地理參數（如經緯度），與呂宋、中國和日本的距離也較為可靠。

### 土著形象的最早文字記述：兇暴土著盤踞的島嶼

三名耶穌會士的報告中對台灣土地與土著的敘述如何？在描述過一開始與土著的一些小衝突、經常性的威脅感與不安全感之後，他們一致地指出，與南美洲的部族和黑皮膚的人比起來，島上的居民可謂非常兇殘。他們第一次前往探索的目的，是要看看能不能找到辦法存活下去。Gomez 寫道：

走了許久之後，我想著，這是愚蠢的舉動，因為那些黑鬼（negros）〔i.e.土著〕可能沒有王，而是像巴西的土著那樣。就算他們有個王，我們不會說他們的語言，他們也不會說我們的。就算我們能溝通，既然我們人這麼多，而那些黑鬼，照他們的生活方式看來，是很窮困的了，他們沒什麼可以支持我們，跟他們接觸也是無用的，我們只能面對他們的弓箭，到最後我們會死得一個都不剩。（SIT, pp. 5-6）

Gomez在敘述中堅持土著們很殘暴，而這對台灣形象的建立而言非常重要，因為1597年於Evora出版的耶穌會「年報」（carta annua）合輯中刊載了他的長信。<sup>369</sup>其中的敘述如下：

之後，有些赤身裸體、以弓箭〔武裝〕自己的土著以極大的勇氣和決心攻擊我們，他們沒有半點遲疑，也沒有人受傷，就將我們洗劫一空。他們每天都來，通常都在晚上出現，用他們的弓殺掉一些人、傷到一些人，已到了我們不得不極力保衛自己的程度。我們處在這情況之下超過三個月，以可得的稻米〔為食〕，直到我們終於用大船的材料建好了一艘小船為止。（SIT, p. 11）

第三份敘述，也就是Pirez的那一份，雖然堅持土著的兇暴，但他在頁邊做了註記，提到了一些其他的細節，例如土著的商業行為。他寫道，這些人叫做Cateos，「因為他們常常講

近八里地區，「當地首領之一宣稱他是很早以前消失的那些西班牙人之子。」（SIT, p. 169）如果這名老者的父親於1582年船難發生時在船上，而他的兒子於那之後數年出生，那麼道明會士做此記述之時，這名老者約當45歲。不過，三名耶穌會士的記錄中都沒有提到他們還有子嗣留在島上。

<sup>369</sup> Cartas que los Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japao & China aos damesma Companhia da India & Europa desde anno de 1549 ate o de 1580, Vol. I., Manuel de Lyra, Evora, 1597.



這個字」，他們還把三個月後葡萄牙人要回澳門去時不得不拋棄的絲賣給中國人(SIT, p. 13)。

1592年，西班牙駐日本大使、道明會士 Juan Cobo 以及 Llanos 船長在返回馬尼拉途中被殺害，這又進一步鞏固了台灣土著生性兇殘的形象。這個不斷出現的形象後來也被用來合理化征服行動(SIT, p. 27)。

### 第一份詳盡的台灣地圖：對抗日本的防禦保壘

1597年是指標性的一年，這一年製圖師 De los Rios Coronel 繪製了第一份以現代製圖法製作的台灣地圖。這份地圖提供了極具戰略價值的資訊，因此頗費了一點時間才影響到葡萄牙及荷蘭的地圖。在這份地圖中，該島被畫成獨立的島嶼，不過與呂宋和福建有著戰略關聯。令人吃驚的是，這是處在豐臣秀吉(Hideyoshi)侵略威脅下的菲律賓戰略防衛地圖，但日本卻未出現在這份地圖中。秀吉一開始表現得好像想與馬尼拉的西班牙人建立良好關係，但不久向菲律賓群島擴張的政策便隨之而來，他並且要求總督按時進貢。西班牙總督畏懼他的侵略，於是開始準備馬尼拉城的防禦工事。不過他認為，最好的防禦方法就是在北台灣取得一個據點，以便(1)事先得知秀吉的動向，並且(2)能在菲律賓之外打最初幾場戰役，也可以(3)避免秀吉攻佔福爾摩莎。因此 Tello 總督任命 Zamudio 隊長為海岸將軍(General of the Coast)，派他到福爾摩莎去測繪海岸，又委任 De los Ríos Coronel 來繪製這份「行動場所」(theater of operations)的戰略地圖。De los Ríos Coronel 繪製了這份標有經緯度的地圖，特別強調該島的所有戰略面向，從北往南可見：(1)琉球王國、(2)北台灣的港口、(3)日本人建有一個港口的 Cagayan 河谷、(4)馬尼拉灣以及(5)與馬尼拉有貿易往來的中國主要城市。

## 二、西班牙停留期間的台灣印象(1626-1642)

### 福爾摩莎：歐洲對手彼此遭逢的國際局勢

1626年，Pedro de Vera 繪製了三份宏大的地圖，傳遞了歐洲對手彼此遭逢的國際情勢下的台灣形象。第一份地圖是大致情勢，是1597年 De los Ríos Coronel 地圖的更新版。這份較早的地圖特別著重(對日本的)防禦要素，但1626年的地圖則是為了進攻荷蘭人做準備。基於這個原因，兩份主要的地理特徵雖然相同，晚三十年出現的這份地圖卻對於島上的地理有較佳的描寫。這些地圖中有些新東西：製圖者指出了兩個特別地點，分別以字母 A 和 B 標示——也就是說，地圖的重點已經從海岸線轉移到內部地區。字母 A指的是 Quelang 灣，西班牙人在此地建立了聖薩爾瓦多城(San Salvador)。圖上畫出四艘(由 Carreño 率領的征服)船艦，我們可以看得到介於大陸與一座小島(現在稱為和平島)之間的碼頭區。這個港



口連結了兩端的土著村莊，一個是在小島上的 **Taparri**，另一個是大陸上的 **Quimaurri**。其他的地理描述還有港口的範圍、周圍地區木材的數量及品質、以及淡水、野柳和宜蘭的位置。**字母B**標示的是大員灣（Tayouan Bay），那裡是荷蘭人於1624年所建。繪製這份地圖所需的資訊是由澳門人 Salvador Díaz 所提供，他被迫當了荷蘭人四年翻譯（其中有兩名荷蘭人駐在大員），於1626年逃回澳門。由於是以內部情資為基礎所繪，這份地圖可謂非常詳盡，**航海數據**極佳：首先，它標示出港口的發展潛力及港深，以及通路和防禦工事（標有大砲的確實數目）；其次，它標示出**敵方的位置與建築結構**，顯示共有220名荷蘭人；第三，將**亞洲居民**做了分類，指出有160名日本人和5,000名中國海盜及漁夫住在稱為 Chacam（荷蘭記載中的 Sinkan）的地方，此外也提及三個土著村落：Saulan（荷蘭文獻中的 Soulang）、Guanni（可能是荷蘭文獻中的 Baccluan）、以及 Maotao（荷蘭文獻中的 Mattaw）。最後，它也標示出一些具有**經濟潛力**的地方，例如可以獵鹿之處。

### 福爾摩莎：馘首族之地

1632年傳教士的一系列報告中，土著的馘首習俗十分引人注目。這行為如此古怪，沒人會漏掉敘述這一點。但對於從事此一行為的人來說，這會很奇怪嗎？大概並不奇怪。而且這在東南亞（甚至日本的土著間）很普遍。不過，對某些土著來說並非如此，例如 Basai，他們顯然沒有這個風俗，至少那段時間裡他們沒有獵頭。觀察殖民者面對這種習俗時如何自處，是極富趣味之事。所有的殖民者——從西班牙人到之後的荷蘭人，可能還有中國人，當然也包括日本人（1895-1945）——都宣稱是他們的良性影響才根除了這種風俗。就西班牙人來說，Esquivel 提到：

西班牙人來之前，他們都互相砍頭，並以狂飲之宴和 *masitanguitanguich* 來慶祝。為了榮譽將人頭砍下的勇者，他們在頭部、腿上和手臂上作畫。但後來他們就了解到這種背叛行為帶給他們村莊的麻煩，之後他們甚至不敢再砍同村人的頭顱，他們認為這會帶來靈運。只有 Cabalan 的土著還繼續獵頭（SIT, p. 169）。

### 福爾摩莎：無法企及的金礦之地

尋金行動有助於我們了解有多少探險家或士兵，在遠離家鄉的遙遠土地度過了辛苦的歲月。1603年，連中國人都去到馬尼拉，他們到靠近 Cavite 的地方，想要驗證他們聽聞中的黃金礦山是否存在。西班牙水手 Sebastian Vizcaino 花了很長時間在日本附近尋找「富有銀礦」和「富有金礦」的島嶼一事眾所皆知。西班牙人在菲律賓尋找金礦，Igorrots 省的探險是成功個案之一，那次探險是由 Carreño de Valdés 所領導，也就是被派遣去征服福爾摩莎的同儕。1632年 Esquivel 的第一份報告中提及一些靠近花蓮的村落，說它們全部都產銀，還有一些既產金又產銀。Esquivel 說，Alcarazo 總督在 Toroboan 見過品質非常高的金子，竟有



23 克拉 (SIT, pp. 163-165)。不過事實是，西班牙人從未對尋金一事認真過。1638 年，正當棄守該島的謠言甚囂塵上，道明會士 Teodoro Quirós 在一份報告中提到尋金甚至尋鑽石的可能性。他試著藉由這樣的誇大引起總督注意，好繼續留在台灣。他寫道：

島上有三個硫磺礦。離港口 16 到 20 里格 (leguas, 西班牙里) 之處，有 Joroan 和 Parusarun 的三個金礦。走海路到那裡要一日，花費也很低。這一地區的河流透過自然作用帶來的金子，比土著所能找出來的還多。想像一下，如果他們像任何良善的西班牙人一樣勤奮的話，將會變得多麼富有啊。這片土地上有硫酸鹽礦 (alcaparrosa) 和水晶。誰知道在這之下會不會發現鑽石呢？這裡有豐富的珍珠和琥珀，鮮魚也頗不少。(SIT, p. 300)

很有趣的是，荷蘭人一征服了 Quelang，便多次前往 Toroboan 尋金，不過並沒有什麼特別的結果。

#### 皇族官員對台灣的巴洛克印象：福爾摩莎是場失敗

Hurtado de Corcuera 總督抵達菲律賓是對殖民地整體形勢的現實性暗示。他於 1637 年 1 月 22 日組了一個軍團會議 (Junta) 來決定福爾摩莎的命運 (SIT, pp. 262-271)。在這場會議中，Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera 總督請求所有西班牙殖民地主要的民政與軍政當局對停留在福爾摩莎的十一年做出評估，並考慮退出或繼續留在島上的合宜性。這是一場非常重要的會議，有助於我們了解西班牙人對台灣看法。總督一開始敘述了過去十一年間為了維持堡壘而付出的重大努力，<sup>370</sup>其次細數當初去到台灣的理由，<sup>371</sup>第三，他說道，過去的十一年證明了一切都失敗了，他說台灣是這樣一個地方：

在瑣碎的商業交易方面：

陛下每年所得從沒有超過 2,000 批索，…一、兩年內只徵集到價值 4,000 批索的進出口稅 (almojarifazgos) 和皇家稅。…〔此外也很容易擺脫官方控制〕…〔最近一艘船隻的〕檢查，總共只登錄了 93 件貨品，但 Boca de Mariveles 那邊卻登錄了超過 600 件。這就是陛下在十一年的貿易裡的主要收穫，總價值不超過 4,000 批索。

<sup>370</sup> 「由於在福爾摩莎有了據點，陛下在這十一年間至少耗費了一百萬元，通常這麼多錢能供養 300 名西班牙士兵，或 Nueva Segovia 和 Pampanga 省的 220 名平民及 100 名士兵，以及配給士兵的船艦，這些船艦還能容納防禦保壘所需的大砲。」

<sup>371</sup> 「國王一旦佔據了那座島嶼，那島上需要許多設施才能為國王所用一事便很明白。由於那島嶼鄰近中國，西班牙國王的大臣要與中國做生意就方便得多，國王的大臣也可以到日本去，因為一直以來都認為最終總能與日本建立起貿易關係。那些貨物的流通，也將被視為國王陛下的收入，如此多少能夠緩減陛下龐大的開銷。在土著皈依聖天主教信仰，以及對日貿易建立起來後能從日本獲得的收入方面，St. Dominic 的命令都提供了一個論據。」



在向土著宣教的困難方面：

改信天主教的土著人數非常少，不把他們的孩子算進去的話，很難滿一百人。他們會為了可以多賣點魚而信教，而不是出於對宗教本身的興趣。

與預期中的不同，竟沒有與日本建立起任何關係：

至於它作為前往日本的中繼站一事，就算日本想要與城裡貿易，福爾摩莎也沒有港口可以容納陸下的艦隊。

而且，到海南島去比較好，這是與台灣相似的地方：

另一方面，要為皇家倉庫將貨物運往福爾摩莎是最困難的事——稻米、鞋子，甚至一條鞋帶、一片醃肉等士兵會需要的東西。但是在海南島，只要送錢給補給船就好。

因此，Corcuera 建議要從福爾摩莎撤退，並且依菲律賓的需要重新分配部署：

如果與會的諸位紳士們建議從那島上撤出堡壘與大砲，以便協助那些出身這個〔菲律賓〕教區的人，這些〔改變〕很快就會產生效果。

與會者投票贊同總督的提議是件很有趣的事，這清楚顯示出他們對該島的認識內容。以總督為首的文官們準備撤退，但軍人們則分成「撤退」和「先通知國王」兩派：

民政官員			
撤退		先通知國王	
Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera	總督兼總指揮官		
Juan Fernández de Ledo	殖民地高等法院 (Royal Audiencia) 法官兼財務官		
Martín Ruiz de Salazar	王室財產會計		
Marcos Zapata de Gálvez	官員 (Licentiate)		
Antonio Alvarez de Castro	官員 (Licentiate)		
Iñigo de Villarreal	商務員		



Baltasar Ruiz de Escalona	司庫		
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軍政官員			
撤退		先通知國王	
Fernando de Ayala Rojas	聖地牙哥城（Castle of Santiago）指揮官	Lorenzo de Olasso y Achótegui	部兵團團長
Juan Ezquerria	將軍	Alonso García Romero	軍士長
Alonso de Palma	艦隊司令	Pedro de Heredia	營地指揮官
Fernando Galindo	艦隊司令	Juan Bautista de Molina	砲兵團指揮官
Pedro Hurtado de Corcuera	隊長兼軍士長	Gerónimo Enríquez Sotelo	Terrenate 補給船將軍

確實，自從最近的淡水危機（1636）<sup>372</sup>之後，意見便很明顯的分成兩邊，一邊是菲律賓總督 Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera，他提出許多應當撤退的理由，就停留島上勾勒出一幅悲觀景象，宣稱付出的人力物力不論在戰略、經濟與宣教方面都收效甚微，並且將過錯歸咎於島的本身。另一個看法則來自傳教士，他們認為應該要繼續留在島上，因為此處的土地與土著品質絕佳，他們也將成效不彰的責任怪罪於 Quelang 的總督。當然，在這場爭論中，雙方都未能清楚說明背後的其他原因。對於 Corcuera 而言，撤出台灣非常重要，因為如此一來他便能將這些資源轉往菲律賓南方，展開他期待已久、對抗摩爾人（Moors）的戰爭。對傳教士而言，台灣是他們不獲准前往日本和中國之後一個重要的中途站。

### 三、西班牙被擊敗之後

#### 台灣：西班牙軍事聲望衰退的形象

在針對 Corcuera 的「駐在審判」（judgment of residence）當中，一幅非常客觀的印象浮現了。Corcuera 在這場審判中被控失去福爾摩莎。1644 年，這場漫長的審判在馬尼拉展開，其間有許多證人分析戰敗原因。這些資料間接地使對該島的印象變得較為客觀，強化了雞籠作為一個堡壘的形象，這形象至今依然正確，但諷刺的是，現在該地卻叫做和平島。難怪，負責駐在審判的總督 Fajardo 會認為，失去台灣不只意味著在戰略上失去了福爾摩莎，也代表了西班牙軍事聲望在東方的衰退（SIT, p. 564）。

<sup>372</sup> 土著攻擊西班牙堡壘，在埋伏中殺害了一些士兵及兩名傳教士。



## 台灣：失去的樂園的懷舊形象

西班牙被擊敗並撤出島上之後，1642 年開始出現一些「浪漫的報告」，這若不是傳教士們短暫流放至巴達維亞期間所寫的，便是他們抵達馬尼拉（1643）之後所寫，甚至有可能更晚。後來 Coyett 撰寫《被忽略的福爾摩莎》（*Neglected Formosa*）時也一樣。此處值得考慮的是 Fr. De los Angeles 所撰寫的報告，他於 1649 年受總督指示撰寫一則與該島有關的報告，懷舊情緒躍然紙上。一開頭他先描繪該島的地理位置，指出這是一個單一的島。之後他在描述土著與土地時，強調了積極的面向。他寫道：

他們是到目前為止所發現〔的土著中〕最有能力的。他們膚色白，在島上的某些地方，如 Cabaran、Parusaon 等，有些人還有金色或紅色的頭髮。在島的東部及 Torboan 地區，他們從河中取得黃金，這是河流從山間帶下來的。他們也有水晶礦和硫酸鹽礦，等等。他們強壯、勇敢，頗有砍人頭顱、為此舉辦盛大舞蹈與歡慶會的習俗。有些人學講西班牙語，講得比其他土著好。他們多半都種稻，那是他們的主要食物，產量甚為豐厚，另有些人種植小米和玉米等作物。

現在已經很難知道是否有些土著（尤其是女性）在 1642 年隨著西班牙丈夫去到菲律賓而助長了這種懷舊回憶的建立。事實上，Corcuera 於 1637 年的軍團會議中曾清楚地說過：「若福爾摩莎的土著是真的天主教徒，便應該被帶到這島上〔i.e. 菲律賓〕，並受國王賞賜土地以生活並耕作，也該派司法人員給他們，並給他們一名教士，好為他們主持聖餐禮。」雖然沒有證據，但我們確定，後來 Ternate（位於 Spices Island，香料群島）的土著便是如此，他們被遷到馬尼拉灣南方入口靠近 Cavite 之處。土著天主教徒隨著西班牙人離開盛產香料之地而去到菲律賓，之後便建立了該地。因此有頗有理由推測相同的事情也發生在福爾摩莎土著身上，尤其是在馬尼拉灣現有一個地方叫做福爾摩莎（Hermosa），「有許多女性土著與西班牙人結了婚，現在（1644）便住在城中，大家都知道他們是隨著丈夫來到此地」（SIT, p. 516）。

### 福爾摩莎：西班牙的唯我論觀點

De los Angeles 報告另一個有趣的面向，是他的懷舊觀點中還混雜了唯我論，講述台灣時彷彿是在談論西班牙，這可能是想要引起指派他撰寫報告的總督的注意。最後一段中有些部分的唯我論傾向特別明顯，他舉出一些事例，將之解釋為與西班牙類似：

〔他們相信的〕女巫跟菲律賓土著〔所相信的〕那種會殺人、傷人的不一樣。他們比



較像是西班牙的女巫，會飛也會從一地移動到另一地。…島上的氣候也與溫和的西班牙氣候相似，因此非常適合西班牙人。那裡有四個分明的季節，夏天、秋天、冬天與春天…。這島嶼非常肥沃。所有以西班牙來的種子所種的作物都產量極豐。這裡也產本地的柳橙，甜的和苦的檸檬、蘋果、桃子、杏仁，他們稱之為rupaz…。那裡也有芬芳的百合，跟西班牙的一樣，這在島上以外的其他地方都未曾見過。…那裡有海豚，幾乎所有西班牙的魚類都有…。福爾摩莎有當地種的松雞，比西班牙的小一點點。另一方面，雉卻大得多了，雄鳥有著美麗的全彩羽毛。（SIT, pp. 568-569）

但除了這些誇張又浪漫的敘述之外，De los Angeles 的報告頗具可讀性，其中就樹木、藥草、礦物、魚類及動物都有大量經過分類的資訊，甚至神話動物也都有記載！他寫道：「有許多豬、老虎、熊、鷹面獅身獸（griphos）（！）、狐狸、猴子、蜘蛛猴（zambos）（！）、兔子、狗、雪貂、野貓、麝香貓，等等。」（SIT, p.571）De los Angeles 的報告命運不像其他的文件那樣，只被總督和其他官員讀過一次後便在馬尼拉歸檔。事實上，Baltasar de Santa Cruz 於 1693 年在 Zaragoza 出版的書《菲律賓、日本與中國聖玫瑰省道明會士史》（*History of the Province of the Holy Rosary of the Order of Preachers in the Philippines, Japan and China*）幾乎逐字摘錄了他的報告。這本書是道明會於十六、十七世紀時停留在菲律賓、日本與中國期間那著名三部曲的第二部，流傳非常廣泛。<sup>373</sup>不過這份報告是全文英譯的報告之一，收錄於 Blair & Robertson 著名的《菲律賓群島》（*The Philippine Islands*）一書中出版。

### 台灣：被國姓爺併入中國世界的島嶼

現在回到我們一開始問過的問題：在西班牙人看來，台灣何時才進入中國的政治範圍之內？根據西班牙人的聽聞，台灣是在被國姓爺（Koxinga，鄭成功）征服之後才算是納入中國領土。這在《菲律賓聖職年報》（*Anales Ecclesiasticos of the Philipinas*）當中表達得很清楚：「自從韃靼人驅逐了他〔i.e.國姓爺〕，使他在中國土地上無處躲藏之後，他便召集所有的士兵，宣佈要征服福爾摩莎。」（SIT, p. 584）另有一本非常知名的書《韃靼征服中國史》（*The History of the Conquest of China by the Tartar*）於 1670 年在巴黎以西班牙文及法文出版。該書的作者為墨西哥主教兼新西班牙代理國王（Vice Roy of New Spain）Palafox。該書中有趣的是，第一頁下方有一張壯觀的中國地圖，台灣以福爾摩莎之名出現其上。一方面來說，其他的小島都被忽略了，就好像是要強調該島屬於中國似的（但當時該島仍舊在鄭氏統治下），但另一方面，福爾摩莎卻畫得離中國海岸極遠，遠到幾乎就是在強調該島先前的獨立性。在該書的第七章中，對國姓爺的父親一官（Iquam，鄭芝龍）做了評論。一官約在 1630 年代與台灣的荷蘭人有所交涉，Palafox 視當時的台灣為中國之外的土地，位置在福建前端：

373 道明會三部曲是指 Aduarte、Santa Cruz 以及 Salazar 的書（見參考書目）。



一旦一官 (Icoam) 成了這些海域與中國土地上的暴君，他就得面對福建邊境的福爾摩莎島 (Isla Hermosa) 上的荷蘭人，在非常晴朗的日子裡，從福建可以望得到福爾摩莎。他威脅荷蘭人，說要將他們從福爾摩莎趕走。這以武力來說不容易辦到，但搶走荷蘭人與中國人的貿易卻很容易。把貿易搶走無異於取走他們最獨特也最長久的寶藏…因為這樣一來，他們就沒有珍貴的貨物可以帶到日本去了。<sup>374</sup>

台灣被以武力納入中國勢力之下的看法，也見於 Victorio Ricci 的《在中國道明會士行蹟》(Hechos de la Orden de Predicadores en el Imperio de China, 1673)。談到國姓爺時，他提到征服台灣一事，暗指在此之前台灣是異國疆土：「那時候，國姓爺見自己在中國沿海地區被橫掃之慘，他想著，這世界是逼著他去死或者投降啊，於是他決定要攻下福爾摩莎。」(SIT, p. 598) Ricci 的書雖然一直沒有出版，但卻以抄本形式流傳（現在仍在各檔案中可見），也影響到當時的一些書籍。

## 結論

若要界定西班牙人描繪台灣的方式，大概可以說它不可避免地落入殖民主義的模式，不過同時它們也在某些方面優於十九世紀的殖民文學。以 Edward Said 的說法來講，十九世紀的殖民文學是可謂是在東方主義 (Orientalism) 的影響之下。然而我們一旦踏入小歷史 (micro-history) 的領域，檢視某些時段的細節，例如此處所談的台灣的西班牙人，我們便會發現，東方主義的經典觀念並不怎麼適用於十七世紀的史料。我們在許多案例中確實可以找到這種關聯，但大部分的情形並非如此。比方說，在東方主義影響下的西方作者將東方男性描寫為「女性化且軟弱，但卻非常危險，因為他們會威脅到西方的白人女性」，但這在西班牙文獻中幾乎付之闕如。相反的，西班牙文獻中常見的是「暴力野蠻人」的形象，這些人對西方女性倒頗為尊重。Esquivel 在敘述 1628 年船難事件後的一場屠殺時寫道：

他們把所有東西都搶走，殺了十名西班牙人，饒了一名至今還活著的男人，以及四名他們把所有東西都搶走，殺了十名西班牙人，饒了一名至今還活著的男人，以及四名現在還活著的女人。這些人之所以沒被殺死，是因為〔土著？〕女人的請求，她們發現船上的五名女人中有一人將自己吊死了，因為她見到西班牙人被屠殺，預期自己也將遭遇相同的命運。(SIT, p. 163)

東方主義理論也說，東方女人總是被描寫為「渴望被宰制，且極富異國風情」。我們在西班牙文獻中也同樣見不到這種書寫。我們在西班牙文獻（但並非文學作品）中所能找到的是，

<sup>374</sup> Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Historia de la conquista de la China por el Tartaro*, A. Bertier, Paris, 1670, pp. 84-85.  
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土著女性違抗丈夫的意願而與西班牙士兵住在一起，並且挑釁士兵反抗傳教士的干預(SIT, p. 187)。相反地，當這些土著女性爲了想要與西班牙人同居或結婚而去到軍營，其目的既不是想要引誘人，也不是想被宰制，而是因爲她們想逃離自己的村莊。Fr. Esquivel 在描寫他在淡水傳道期間的經歷時寫道：

我們得管理營地和一個村莊，那村莊裡住著與士兵結婚的土著女人，和從自己的鎮上逃跑，為了與士兵結婚而來到這裡的年輕土著女人。因此，最近就要再開發另一個住宅區（SIT, p. 188）。

在這當中無法看出，這些女子是否「急切地想被」西班牙士兵「宰制」。

東方主義理論也將土著描寫爲性行爲偏差者，不過 Aduarte 主教在敘述土著婚姻時卻寫道：

男人從他的親友中選擇一個想與之結婚的女孩，用生理人（sangleys）通常會賣給他們的那些貨品將她買來。大體上說來，他們是一夫一妻制。有些人會拋下妻子，好跟另一人結婚，不過這很少發生，因為男人們都很畏懼他們的姻親。就我所知，他們並不認為通姦是種罪惡。如果有人發生了這種事，被控者必須付一些石頭〔原文如此〕或 cuentas 給抓到他的人，這樣事情便算處理妥當（SIT, p. 179）。

我認爲，「東方是一個單一的形象，一種徹底的總括，一個跨越數不清的文化與國家疆界的刻版印象」這種說法，在十九世界的東方主義文學當中或許爲真，但官員與傳教士們的描寫卻與此相反。他們雖有其侷限，卻提出了一幅相當精確且專業的圖像，這首先是因爲他們講述的是自己的經驗，其次則是因爲他們正處在文藝復興時期求知若渴的影響之下。

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## Taiwan in the Spanish Eyes: 16th and 17th Centuries The evolution of the Spanish image of Taiwan

Jose Eugenio Borao Mateo  
National Taiwan University

The first detailed Western news of the big islands lying in front of Fujian province was probably the long accounts of the three Jesuits (two Spanish and one Portuguese) aboard a Portuguese ship that got wrecked in 1582, in their way to Japan. In this year, maybe 50.000 natives were scattered along the valleys, harbors and plains of the island. Some of them encountered the unfortunate sailors, but didn't show any special surprise. For both parties it was nothing new; probably not the first time that a shipwreck happened within a range of 50 kilometers around their village. It was part of their vision of the world. In their little cosmos they could relate to the villages around them, they might also know the name of the elders of the most important local villages. Some could tell stories about their origins in remote lands or describe some cosmological beliefs. This knowledge satisfied them. The other party was composed of some South East Asian people, also Japanese and Chinese traders, who under the guidance of Portuguese sailors and merchants were immersed in an era of awakening of knowledge. For them the geographical limits were continuously under expansion and their understanding of their boundaries in a continuous re-adjustment. Especially the Portuguese were agents of this process. For them, this island, which already was roughly located in their map, was finally defined. At least, we can conclude that by calmly seeing and comparing the contemporary maps that at that time were made in the Low Lands, based on Portuguese information.

### ① The first Portuguese maps: "Fermosa Island" vs. "Reyes Magos" as the original proto-name of Taiwan

When Fermosa, the proto-name of Taiwan, started to make its apparition in Western maps always conveys the image of one of the latest steps in the entrance into the final stage of the corridor to Japan. But, there is an initial intriguing question, coming from two maps of

1.1. Ortelius dated in 1570. One of them is most accurate because it brings the whole corridor system more to the south touching the Taiwan area almost the Tropic of Cancer. But, as far as the names of the island and their geographical relation are concerned, both maps are similar in describing the corridor to Japan. There, the island called Fermosa is located

1.2. north of one called Reyes Magos.<sup>375</sup> The mystery comes from the fact that they are in an

<sup>375</sup> This name refers to the Three Wise Men (Melchor, Gaspar and Balthasar) living in the remote Orient that went to visit Jesus after his birth. Maybe, it was not just a coincidence but a fashion the fact that the Christian name of Iquana was



inverted position compared with all the succeeding maps. If these 1570's maps really portrayed properly the Portuguese information, they are only two possibilities to explain the disparity: a) Reyes Magos referred initially to Taiwan, and was later separated, or b) initially the name of Fermosa referred to an small island different from modern Taiwan, maybe the Sakishima group, or maybe Okinawa. Disappointing though it may be, the fact is that there is good reasons to doubt that the adjective of "beautiful" was used by the first Portuguese to describe the Northwestern coast of present Taiwan, an area that, in fact, is made of plain areas, swarms and shallow beaches. It is after 1580 that the names of Fermosa and Reyes Magos exchange positions in the maps, applying the first one for Northern Taiwan, and the second one for Sakishima archipelago (or maybe Okinawa). Another question, more relevant for our paper is how Isla Hermosa, the Spanish proto-name of modern Taiwan managed to appear in Spanish sources. 1. 3.

## I. The first Spanish images of Taiwan Island

### Isla Hermosa: a particular island different from China

Wasn't Taiwan a part of China? No, according to the Spanish sources. Of course, the Spaniards didn't know about some historical claims that Chinese had made before, or the long tradition of a Chinese trade with aborigines. In Spanish documents of 1586 and 1589<sup>376</sup> Taiwan is regarded as an island with the same particular geographical identity like Borneo, Java, or Hainan might be. It is considered different from the Philippine archipelago. Consequently, it was a land, not for a possible expansion from the Philippines, but just good enough to set up a strategic post a) for better commercial or missionary communication with China, or b) as a deterrent for the expected Japanese expansion, or c) to establish a safe harbor in the recently established Manila Acapulco trade route. 2. 1.

This idea of the identity of Taiwan later was explained clearly several times in Spanish sources. For example in the report of Bartolomé Martínez (1619) advising to occupy the island, Taiwan is defined as the closest neighbor of China. He said:

"It is better for Manila to start here [Isla Hermosa] than in Pinar or in some other part of the Chinese coastline, or even in Macao ... Isla Hermosa will be hosting huge fairs and markets throughout the year with a great quantity of goods freely coming and going

Gaspar.

<sup>376</sup> See Jose E. Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, pp. 16-17. Later will be cited inside the text as SIT.



and without any trouble from the mandarins. Since this island is very close to Chincheo [Quanzhou], where the bulk of Chinese trade takes place, and because it is also near China's wealthier areas, small and light merchandise may be transported quickly at any time of the year ... The authorities of China do not search the boats [there], and they can not, because these are manned by fishermen and therefore they ignore them since they are there for no other purpose than to fish or to transport firewood... So much wealth can soon pass through China's closest neighbor." (SIT, p. 41)

This document is important also because it was spread through copies; one of them reached the Dutch, and we can find it in Dutch sources of 1621 (SIT, pp. 48-53) Another interesting document is the report of Salvador Diaz, a Macanese who acted as interpreter of the Dutch in their negotiations with Chinese in 1623, requesting to leave Pescadores Islands and to move to Taiwan. He said in 1626: "The Chinese don't mind that the Dutch are in Ilha Formosa, first because that land doesn't belong to China, and secondly because of the profit they collect from licenses, bribes and duties from customs of the King of China, which are increasing." (SIT, p. 67) Secondly, in 1628, two years after the Spaniards got established in Quelang, a mandarin went to visit the Spanish settlement. According to the Spanish sources, the reason why he came is that the Chinese have received from the Dutch a negative report about the Spaniards, but it did not match with another positive one given by some Chinese that have been in Quelang, so they decided to get direct information about their new neighbors, not to warn them about their presence in the island, just to know their intentions. A Jesuit report of 1628 states:

"Upon seeing that, the Viceroy of the Maritime Provinces sent the said mandarin to the new port which we had occupied in Isla Hermosa to find out what kind of people we were, and what were our purposes in making a settlement so close to China. The mandarin was very cordially received by the commandant of Isla Hermosa, Antonio Carreño de Valdés, who honored him and made much of his person, and gave him a fine present at his departure" (SIT, p. 133).

Since then on, the Chinese always appear in these sources as peaceful merchants that dealt in a foreign land with the natives or the Spaniards in the best *smartest* way they could. If that is the case, when did start Taiwan to be a part of China? We will tackle this question later.

### ③ Formosa: The emerging of a name in a puzzle of islands



As we just said, the first time that the modern island Taiwan can be related with the old Western cartography is around 1570, but soon later two islands, Isla Fermosa and Lequeio Minor, gained prominence in the area corresponding to present Taiwan. At the end of this decade, these names were located more properly, as the Tropic of Cancer crosses almost between them. If Taiwan is portrayed through two islands, we can imagine that it was because they were deceived by some fog, or by the outlet of some river, giving them a false picture of the island. In 1582, a wreck of a Macanese ship took place probably in the North, causing the proto-names of Taiwan to appear for the first time in a written document. The letter of the Spanish Jesuit on board, Alonso Sanchez, clearly said that they landed in Isla Hermosa, and he justifies that name because of "its tall and green mountains seen from this side are a sight lovely to behold" (SIT, p. 10), and he added: "The Portuguese have traveled to Japan between this island and the Chinese coast for about 40 years without even exploring or landing on it" (SIT, p. 11). Other Jesuit on board, the Portuguese Francisco Pirez, identically mentioned in his letter that the place where they disembarked was Ilha Formosa (SIT, p. 13). On the contrary, a third Jesuit on board of the same ship, the Spaniard Pedro Gomez, said that "in the morning of 16 July ... amidst rough waters, our junk collided against an island called Liqueo Pequeno, [on which] I don't know if the Portuguese had ever landed" (SIT, p. 3). This shows us how still were under the lack of a unitary vision of the island. Were Liqueo Pequeno and Isla Hermosa exactly the same place? If not, the disparity of names leads us better to think that they have some discrepancy about the place of the island they were.<sup>377</sup>

The next step forward improving the map that happened in that decade started when the island appears divided in three complementary parts, giving now the name of Lequeio Pequeno to the central area, the one crossed by the Tropic of Cancer, and keeping Formosa for the north, and Lequeio Minor for the South. Finally, at the end of the century the three islands got unified in a single one and Okinawa and the Ryukiu archipelago became relocated in a more realistic way. Then the description of the island is accompanied by more detailed geographical references like latitude and longitude, and more reliable measurements of the distance from Luzon, China or Japan.

#### First literary image on the natives: a land populated by ferocious people

<sup>377</sup> In my opinion, they were in the northern part, not just because they were two opinions against one, but basically because the story refers to a distinctive nearby mountain, which they climbed to raise a cross. It looks that Kuan Ying Mountain (near Pali) is one of the best candidates. Another reason is the story related in a Dominican missionary report fifty years later (1632) stating that near Pali area, "one of the leaders of these places claims that he is the son of a Spaniard, one of those that disappeared long ago" (SIT, p. 169). If the father of that elder was also in the shipwreck of 1582, and his son was born a few years later, then he would have been around 45 years old, when the Dominican wrote his report. Nevertheless, any of the three documents referring to the shipwreck of 1582 mention that anyone stayed behind.



What these three Jesuits mentioned in their respective reports regarding Taiwan land and natives? After describe some skirmishes with the natives at the very beginning, and the feeling of a permanent threat and insecurity, they are consistent in portraying a land populated by ferocious people, described by comparisons with South America tribes, and black skin. The first attempt to explore the land was to see the possibilities for sustaining the people. Gomez says:

4.1. "After walking for a stretch, I thought that this was a foolish move because those *negros* [i.e., natives] probably had no king, but were like the natives of Brazil. And even if they had a king, we did not speak his language, and neither could he speak ours. And granted that we could communicate, since we were so many and that the *negros*, according to their lifestyle, were poor, they would have nothing to support us with and it was useless to approach them, more than having to face their arrows and without any one of us surviving." (SIT, pp. 5-6)

The narrative of Gomez, insisting in the ferocity of natives, was very important as an image building, because his long letter was published<sup>378</sup> in 1597 in Evora by the Jesuits in a collection of their "carta annua". The description was the following:

4.2. "Later, some natives, naked and [armed] with bows and quivers, fell on us and with great spirit and determination, without hesitating and without hurting anyone, divested us of everything that we had. They came everyday, and more often at night, killing some and wounding many with their arrows, to the point that we had to defend ourselves the best we could. We remained in this condition more than three months [feeding on] available rice until we finally finished building a small boat out of the pieces we retrieved from the large one." (SIT, p. 11)

The third narrative, the one of Pirez insisted in the ferocity on the natives, but in a marginal note of the document, some other details are described, like their commercial practices. First, they were called Cateos, "because they often used this word", and they sold to the Chinese the silk that the Portuguese had to abandon when three months later they managed to go back to Macao. (SIT, p. 13)

The ferocious image of the natives of Taiwan got consolidated in 1592, after the murder in the island of the Spanish ambassador to Japan, the Dominican Juan Cobo, and of the

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<sup>378</sup> *Cartas que los Padres e Irmaos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japao & China aos damasma Companhia da India & Europa desde anno de 1549 ate o de 1580*, Vol. I. Em Evora, by Manuel de Lyra. 1597.



captain Llanos, in their return journey to Manila. This recurrent image was later used to justify the conquest (SIT, p. 27).

### First detailed map of Taiwan: the island as defensive bulwark against Japanese (5)

Year 1597 is a landmark because the first modern cartographic image of the island was produced, drawn by cartographer De los Rios Coronel. This map offered very strategic information, and for this reason took some time before influencing Portuguese or Dutch maps. Here the island is also depicted independently, but in strategic conjunction with Luzon and Fujian. Japan doesn't appear, and it is surprising because it was made for the strategic defense of the Philippines, on the occasion of the Japanese threat of invasion of Hideyoshi. Initially Hideyoshi had shown interest of establishing good relations with the Spaniards in Manila, but later followed his expansionist policy to the Filipino archipelago, asking for regular tributes from the Governor. The Spanish governor fearing an invasion started to prepare the defenses of the city, but especially he thought that the best defense would be to occupy a position in Northern Taiwan 1) to see in advance the movements of Hideyoshi, 2) to have the first battles outside the Philippines, and 3) to prevent the conquest of Isla Hermosa by Hideyoshi. So, the Governor Tello assigned Captain Zamudio as General of the Coast, and he went to Isla Hermosa to make some measurements of the coast, and commissioned De los Rios Coronel to draw this strategic map of the "theater of operations". Accordingly he made a map with geographical measurements of parallels and meridians, emphasizing all the strategic aspects. From North to South, we can see: 1) the kingdom of Lequios, 2) the harbor in Northern Taiwan, 3) the Cagayan valley, where some Japanese were established in a harbor, 4) the Manila bay, and 5) the main Chinese cities trading with Manila. 5.1. 5.2.

## II. The image of Taiwan during the Spanish presence (1626 to 1642)

### Isla Hermosa: international scenario of confrontation of European rivals (6)

In 1626, three magnificent maps, signed by Pedro de Vera were drawn. The maps convey the image of Taiwan as an international scenario of confrontation of European rivals. The first map is a general presentation, a kind of update of the map that De los Rios Coronel had made, in 1597. This earlier map emphasized the strategic elements of defense (from the Japanese), but this one of 1626 was made to prepare an offensive against the Dutch. For these reasons, even the main geographical features are the same, the one made thirty years later improved the geographical description of the island. Something came new in this collection of maps: the cartographer pointed two special places using the letters A and B. 6.1. 6.2. 6.3.



6.4. B. In other words the focus of the map shifted from coastlines to inner areas. **Letter A** refers to Quelang Bay, the place where the Spaniards established the city of San Salvador. By portraying four ships (those of the fleet of conquest, lead by Carreno), we can see the docking area, between one small island (now called Hoping) and the mainland. This harbor connects two aboriginal villages, in both sides, Taparri in the small island and Quimaurri in the mainland. Other geographical descriptions are the limit of the harbor; the quantity and quality of the wood in the surroundings, and finally the location of Tamsui, Yeliou and Ilan. **Letter B** refers Tayouan Bay, the place where the Dutch were established in 1624. The necessary information to produce the map was provided by the Macanese Salvador Diaz, who after four years forced to serve the Dutch as an interpreter (two of them in Tayouan) and escaped to Macao in 1626. This map is very detailed because 6.5. it was made with inner information. It prevails again the data on navigation: first, the possibilities and depth of the harbor, access and defenses (with a concrete number of cannons); secondly, depicts the location and built structures of the enemy, that comprised 220 Dutchmen; third, classified the Asian occupants, 160 Japanese, 5000 Chinese pirates and fishermen in a place called Chacam (Sinkan in Dutch sources); and mentions the three native towns Saulan (Soulang in Dutch sources), Guanni (probably Baccluan in Dutch sources), and Maotao (Mattaw in Dutch sources). Finally, it describes some economic possibilities of the place, like deer hunting.

### 7 **Isla Hermosa: a land of headhunters**

7.1. In the series of reports of 1632 made by missionaries, a kind of striking information is that the natives appear described by their headhunting behavior. This is so striking that no visitor of the island failed to report it. Was it striking for the practitioners? Probably not. Besides it was a common practice in South East Asia (an even among Japan aborigines). But, certainly, it was not common for some natives, like the Basai, that clearly did not 7.2. practice it, at least, at that time. The most interesting thing is how the colonizer sees himself in front of such attitude. All of them, the Spaniards, later the Dutch, probably the 7.3. Chinese, and of course the Japanese (1885-1945), claimed the same that thanks to their benign influence this custom was eradicated. In the case of the Spaniards, Esquivel mentioned:

7.4. "Before the Spaniards came, they were all cutting off each other's heads and celebrate this with drunken feasts and *masitanguitanguich*. To honor the bravery of those who managed to cut heads, they would paint their necks, legs and arms. But later on, they realized how much trouble they caused their villages due to their treachery, and they no longer dare even to kill their fellow-villagers, considering this to be bad luck. Only the Cabalan natives still practice head-hunting". (SIT, p. 169)



## Isla Hermosa: a land with unreachable gold

⑧ (no others)

One of the reasons can help us to understand how many adventures, soldiers, etc., endured their life in remote lands, far from their countries, was the search of gold. Even the Chinese went in 1603 to Manila to verify the existence of the gold mountain that they have heard, located near Cavite. It is well known how the Spanish sailor, Sebastian Vizcaino, spent long time near Japan searching for the so-called "Rich in Silver" and "Rich in Gold" islands. The Spaniards explored the Philippines searching for gold, and one of the successful expeditions was in the Igorrots province, and it was lead by Carreno de Valdes, the same person that was assigned to the conquest of Isla Hermosa. In the first report of Esquivel, in 1632, the missionary made a list of towns near Hualien, saying that all of them had a mine of silver, and other two mines, one of silver and the other of gold. Esquivel said that the governor Alcarazo had seen gold from Toroboan of very good quality, 23 carats. (SIT, pp. 163-165). But the fact is that the Spaniards never engaged seriously in looking for this gold. In 1638, when the rumors of abandoning the island were growing, the Dominican Teodoro Quiros made one report reminding the possibilities of gold searching, even diamonds. By this way of magnification he tried to call the attention of the governor in order to keep the Spanish presence in Taiwan. He said:

The land has three sulfur mines. Some 16 or 20 leagues away from the port are three gold mines of the Jorboan and the Parusarun. It takes a day to reach the place by sea and it does not cost much to get there. By a natural process, the waters in this area draw out more gold than the natives actually do. Imagine how rich they would be if they worked as hard as any good Spaniard. The land has alcaparroza mines and crystal. Who knows if diamonds may be discovered beneath all this? Pearls and amber are aplenty and there is a good supply of fresh fish." (SIT, p. 300)

It is interesting to see how the Dutch, once they conquered Quelang, immediately went to Toroboan searching for gold, but also without any particular result.

## A Baroque image of Taiwan from the crown officers: Isla Hermosa as a failure

⑨ no others

The arrival of Governor Hurtado de Corcuera to the Philippines implied a more realistic approach to the general situation of the colony. Regarding Isla Hermosa, he held on 22 January 1637 a Junta to decide the future of the island (SIT, pp.262-271). In this meeting the governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera summoned the main civil and military authorities of the whole Spanish colony to evaluate the 11 years of stay in Isla Hermosa and to considerer the convenience of withdrawing or of keeping the forts in the island. This was a very important meeting helping us to understand the interest of the Spaniards



in Taiwan. The governor started, first, describing the great efforts made of maintaining the fortress during the past eleven years;<sup>379</sup> secondly, he recounted the reasons of their coming to Taiwan,<sup>380</sup> and in a third place he argued that all the reasons have been disproved in the said 11 years, offering an image of Taiwan as a place:  
... of paltry commerce:

His Majesty's gains had never gone beyond 2,000 pesos a year, ... only 4,000 worth of almojarifazgos and royal duties were collected in one or two years. [Besides it is easy to escape the official control] The inspection [of a recent ship] registered only 93 pieces, while more than 600 were declared before the Boca de Mariveles. This was the principal gain that His Majesty had had from the trade in 11 years, at a value of no more than 4,000 pesos.

...with many difficulties in converting the natives:

"As regards the conversion of these natives to the Catholic religion, their numbers had been so low that they hardly reached a hundred, without counting their own children. They would convert more out of a particular interest to sell fish than out of their interest in the religion itself."

...however, contrary to expectations, no contact has been established with Japan:

"And as regards its being a stopover point to Japan, even if Japan would have wanted to trade with this city, Isla Hermosa has no port to accommodate His Majesty's fleets.

...moreover, it would have been better to go to Hainan, a place as relevant of Taiwan:

"On the other hand, it is most difficult to send to Isla Hermosa goods for the Royal Storehouses—rice, shoes, or even a single shoelace, salted meat, which the soldiers

<sup>379</sup> "In the 11 years since the post in Isla Hermosa was occupied, His Majesty has, in this period, spent half a million, which more or less sustained 300 Spanish soldiers most of the time, 220 ordinary ones and 100 soldiers from the province of Nueva Segovia and Pampanga, and some vessels manned by sailors which can accommodate the amount of artillery needed to defend those forts."

<sup>380</sup> "When the King set foot on the said island, it was understood that it should have had the many facilities required for his service, because the proximity of the said island with China would benefit the vassals of the Spanish king in trading Chinese merchandise, and who also can go to Japan, with whom it has always been presumed that trade would eventually be established. The circulation of the said goods would be of considerable gain to His Majesty such that he could be somehow relieved of numerous expenses. The order of St Dominic offered the argument regarding the conversion of the natives to the holy catholic faith and about the fruit that they could gather in Japan if trade were to be established there."



need. In the said island of Hainan, one can simply send the money on the ordinary relief ships."

Consequently, Corcuera proposed to withdraw the forces of Isla Hermosa and to make a new redistribution according to the needs in the Philippines:

"These [changes] would only come to effect if the gentlemen in this Council recommend the withdrawal of the fort and the artillery from the said island in order to assist those who are here [in the Philippines] out of obedience."

It is very interesting to see how the persons attending the meeting voted the proposal of the governor, because it shows a clear picture of their understanding of the island. The civil servants, lead by the governor Corcuera were on the move of withdrawing, while the military officers were divided in "withdrawing" or "to inform first the king":

Civil officers			
To withdraw		To inform first to the king	
Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera	Governor and Captain General		
Juan Fernández de Ledo	Judge and Fiscal of the said Royal Audiencia		
Martín Ruiz de Salazar	Accountant of the Crown Properties		
Marcos Zapata de Gálvez	Licentiate		
Antonio Alvarez de Castro	Licentiate		
Iñigo de Villarreal	Commission merchant		
Baltasar Ruiz de Escalona	Treasurer		
Military officers			
To withdraw		To inform first to the king	
Fernando de Ayala Rojas	Camp Commander of the Castle of Santiago	Lorenzo de Olasso y Achótegui	Master of Camp of the infantry regiment
Juan Ezquerria	General	Alonso García Romero	Sergeant Major
Alonso de Palma	Admiral	Pedro de Heredia	Camp Commander



Fernando Galindo	Admiral	Juan Bautista de Molina	Captain General of the Artillery
Pedro Hurtado de Corcuera	Captain and Sergeant Major	Gerónimo Enríquez Sotelo	General of the relief ship for Terrenate

Certainly, since the recent crisis of Tamsui (1636)<sup>381</sup>, two opinions clearly appeared, the one of the Philippine Governor General, Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, justifying the withdrawal from the island, given a pessimistic picture of the whole presence, stating that human and material efforts had achieved too little in strategic, economic and missionary terms; and putting the blame on the naturals of the island. The other vision is represented by the missionaries, who justified the continuity in the island due to the excellent qualities of the land and of the natives; blaming the Quelang governors for the little success. Of course, in this debate, both parties are not clear enough in expressing other reasons behind. For Corcuera it was very important to withdraw these forces in order to send them to Southern Philippines where he was waging a war against the Moors; and for the missionaries Taiwan was important as a stopover in their forbidden and risky trips to Japan and China.

### III. After the Spanish defeat

#### 10. Taiwan: the image of the decline in reputation of Spanish arms

10.1. A very objective picture emerges from the "judgment of residence" held against Corcuera, where he was accused for the loss of Isla Hermosa. In 1644, this long trial held in Manila gathered many eyewitnesses analyzing the defeat. Indirectly this data contributes to get amore objective image of the island, that emphasizes the idea of Quelang as a military stronghold, an image that still nowadays remain totally true, with the ironical name of Hoping Island. No wonder, according to Governor General Fajardo, the one in charge of the Judgment of Residence, the loss of Taiwan implied not only a strategic loss but Isla Hermosa was the true image of the decline of the reputation of the Spanish armies in the East (SIT, p. 564).

#### 11. Taiwan: the nostalgic view of a paradise lost

(no other image)

After the Spanish defeat and subsequent withdrawal, in 1642, there was some kind of "romantic reports" made by the missionaries, either in their brief exile in Batavia or after

<sup>381</sup> The native had attacked the Spanish fortress, killing some soldiers and two missionaries in ambushes.



their arrival to Manila (1643), and even later. Something similar that would happen with Coyett when later he wrote his *Neglected Formosa*. One case to consider may be the one of Fr. De los Angeles, who was commissioned by the Governor in 1649 to write a report of the island, and he did it with a nostalgic sense. First, he started with a geographical location portraying the singularity of the island. Later described the natives and the land emphasizing in the positive aspects. He said:

"They are the most capable of all those discovered so far. They are white and, in some parts of the Island, like Cabaran, Parusaron, somehow blond or reddish. In the Eastern part of the Island and in the area of the Torboan province, they get gold from rivers, which carry it from the mountains. They also have mines of rock crystal, vitriol, etc. They are strong, agile, and quite inclined to chop off the heads of people and of holding great dances and festivities with them. Some manage to speak Spanish better than other natives. Most of them look after rice fields, which is their staple food and quite abundant and other seed crops like millet and corn" SIT, p. 568).

It is difficult, at the present, to argue on the possibility that some natives, especially women went to Philippines after 1642 with their Spanish husbands, helping in building this nostalgic vision. In fact, Corcuera said clearly in the Junta of 1637: If these natives of Isla Hermosa were true Catholics, then they can be brought to this island [of the Philippines], and receive from the King land to live on and to cultivate, and send to them somebody to provide justice and a priest to administer the sacraments." There is no evidence in that, but we are sure that this certainly happened later with Ternate (Spices Islands) natives who were placed in the southern entrance of Manila Bay (near Cavite). There a place was created for Christian natives from Ternate that came to the Philippines accompanying the Spaniards once they left definitely the spices production region. There is nothing wrong to suspect that something similar might have happened with some natives of Isla Hermosa, especially considering that at the northern entrance of the Manila Bay exists the place called Hermosa, and "Many of women natives married Spaniards and these women are presently (1644) in this city, it is known that they have come here to accompany their husbands" (SIT, p. 516).

#### Isla Hermosa: a solipsistic view of Spain

12.

Another interesting aspect of the report of De los Angeles is that his nostalgic view is mixed of solipsism, portraying Taiwan as if he were speaking about Spain, probably to impress the Governor who had commissioned the report. Some parts of the last paragraph are particularly solipsistic, with many references to situations that he interpreted as Spanish similarities:



12.1.

"The witches [they believe in] are not like those that the natives in the Philippines [believe in], who kill, harm, etc. They are rather like those in Spain, who fly and move from one place to another...The climate of this Island is similar to the most temperate climate in Spain. Thus it suits the Spaniards very well. There are four distinct seasons: summer, fall, winter, and spring...This Island is most fertile. It produces an abundance of all the crops from seeds coming from Spain. It also produces native oranges, sweet and bitter lemons, cider, peaches and apricots, which they call rupaz...There are also

12.2.

fragrant lilies, like the ones in Spain, which are nowhere else to be seen in these Islands...There are dolphins and almost all the varieties of fish found in Spain...There is in Isla Hermosa a native variety of partridge, which is a little smaller than the Spanish one. On the other hand, the pheasants are bigger; the males have beauty fully colored feathers." (SIT, pp. 568-569)

12.3.

But besides this exaggerations and romantic visions, the report of De los Angeles is worth reading for the abundant and classified information on trees, herbs, minerals, fish and animals, including mythological animals! He said: "There are many pigs, tigers, bears,

12.4

griphos (!), foxes, monkeys, zambos [spider monkeys] (!), rabbits, dogs, ferrets, wildcats, civet, and others." (SIT, p. 571) This description of De los Angeles, did not have the fate of other documents, read only once by the governor and other officials, if any, and archived later in Manila. In fact, it was summarized almost verbatim in the book of Baltasar de Santa Cruz, *History of the Holy Order of Preachers of the Province of the Holy Rosary in the Philippines, Japan, and China*, published in Zaragoza in 1693. This book is the second one of the famous Dominican trilogy of their stay in Philippines, Japan and China during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which had a great distribution.<sup>382</sup> Even though this report was one of those fully translated into English and published in the famous collection of Blair & Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*.

13

### Taiwan: an island incorporated to the Chinese world by Koxinga

Now we come to face the question we have asked at the beginning. When did Taiwan, according to the Spanish view, enter the Chinese area of political influence. According to what the Spaniards experienced, or saw, Taiwan started to be incorporated somehow to Chinese territory after the conquest of Koxinga. This is expressed in the *Anales Ecclesiasticos of the Philipinas*: "And since the Tartar drove him [Koxinga] off and he had no place to refuge on Chinese soil, he published an edict gathering all his soldiers to conquer Isla Hermosa" (SIT, pp. 584). There was also a very popular book, *The History of the Conquest of China by the Tartar*, which was published in Paris, in 1670, in a Spanish and

13.1.

<sup>382</sup> They are the books of Aduarte, Santa Cruz and Salazar (see bibliography).



in a French edition. The author was Palafox, the bishop of Mexico, and Vice Roy of New Spain. Something interesting of this book is the magnificent illustration on the first page that includes at the bottom a map of China where Taiwan appears, under the name of Formosa. In the one hand, other small islands are neglected, like emphasizing the Chinese identity of the island (still under the Zheng regimen), but, on the other, Formosa is portrayed extremely far from the coast, almost emphasizing its previous identity. In Chapter VII of the book, commenting on Iquam, the father of Koxinga, when he was dealing with the Dutch in Taiwan around the 1630's, Palafox regards Taiwan as some territory external to China, in front of Fujian:

13.2.

"Once Icoam became a tyrant in the seas and in the land of China, he faced the Dutch of Isla Hermosa, which is in the frontier of Fokien, a place from which you can see Isla Hermosa in a very clear day. He threatened the Dutch telling them that he will removed them from the island. This was not a easy tasks using weapons, but it was easy by getting the commerce that the Dutch had with the Chinese in the said island. And getting that was the same to take from them a unique and perpetual treasure ... because they will not have precious goods to bring to Japan".<sup>383</sup>

The same idea of Taiwan entering in Chinese area of influence by force, can be recognized in the *Hechos de la Orden de Predicadores en el Imperio de China* (1673) of Victorio Ricci. Talking about Koxinga, he mentioned the conquest of Taiwan, implying that before it was an alien territory: "At that time, Cuesing [Koxinga] saw the lamentable razing of China's maritime areas. Contemplating that this would oblige him to die or surrender, he decided to conquer Isla Hermosa" (SIT, p. 598). The work of Ricci although remain unpublished got certain circulation by manuscript copies (as we can see now in different archives), and influenced some books of that time.

## Conclusions

Least

If we want to define the ways Spaniards portrayed Taiwan, in some way it inevitably the followed the colonial pattern. At the same time they advanced some aspects that emerged in the colonial literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century that according to Edward Said, was under the influence of the Orientalism. But, when we go to the micro-history and we analyzes in detail some particular period, like this one involving the Spaniards in Taiwan, we can realized how limited are the classical concepts of Orientalism in applying to historical documents of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In many cases we can trace some relation, but so often not. For example, the idea of Western writers, under Orientalism influence, depict the oriental

<sup>383</sup> Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, *Historia de la conquista de la China por el Tartaro*, A. Bertier, Paris, 1670, pp. 84-85.



man as “feminine, weak, yet strangely dangerous because he poses a threat to white, Western women” hardly can be found in Spanish documents. On the contrary it is more common the concept of the “Violent Savage” that shows respect for Western women. Esquivel, reporting of a massacre after a shipwreck in 1628 said:

“They stole everything and killed ten Spaniards, sparing only a man who is still alive today and four women that are also still alive. They were saved upon the petition of [native?] women because of the five women in the boat, one hanged herself, seen the butchery of the Spaniards, and expecting to suffer the same fate.” (SIT, p. 163)

Orientalism theory also claims the portrayal of oriental woman as “eager to be dominated and strikingly exotic.” We lack also descriptions in the Spanish sources of this genre. The few references we can find for this issue in Spanish sources (which are not Literature) referred to native women living with Spanish soldiers against the will of the native husband, provoking the intervention of the missionary to reestablish the situation against the complain of the soldier (SIT, p. 187). On the contrary, when a native woman goes near the military barracks with the purpose of living with in there or marrying to a Spaniard is not out of seduction, or desire to be dominated, but as a way to escape. Fr. Esquivel again, describing his ministry in Tamsui said:

“We have to minister the encampment, and an incipient village of soldiers who marry native women, and of some young native women that have escaped from their towns and came for the same purpose. Thus, another dwelling area will develop some time now.” (SIT, p. 188)

If the native woman was “eager to be dominated” or not by these Spanish soldiers is something that is not reflected.

Orientalism theory also claims the portrayal of native as Sexual Deviant, but when bishop Aduarte, when describing native marriage, said:

“A man buys the girl he wishes to marry from her relatives by giving them goods which the sangleys usually sell to them. They are generally monogamous. Some are given to put away their wives in order to marry another but this hardly ever happens because the men fear their in-laws. As far as I know, they are not given to vices of the flesh. If someone is found to have fallen into such a situation, the accused must pay one of these stones (*sic*) or *cuentas* to the one who caught him, and everything is settled.” (SIT, p. 179)

I think, that contrary to “the Oriental as a single image, a sweeping generalization, a stereotype that crosses countless cultural and national boundaries”, that might be true for



the 19<sup>th</sup> Century literature of Orientalism, the officers and missionaries portrayed, with their limitations, a quite accurate real and professional image, first because they talked about their own experience, and second because they were under the influence and eagerness of knowledge proper to the Renaissance.



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