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蔣經國國際學術交流基金會  
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# *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan, 1626-1642*

*The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavor*

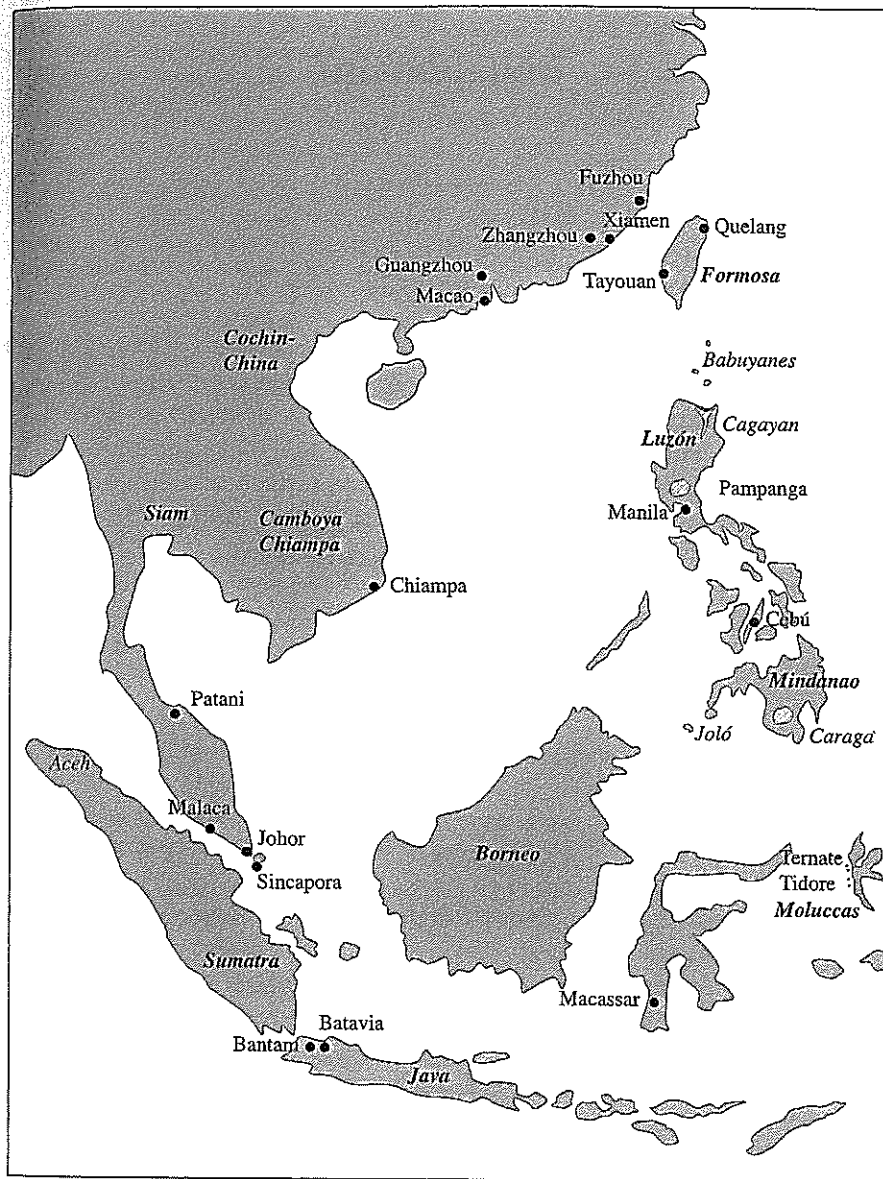
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香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS



2009



General map of Southeast Asia.

## Introduction

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS in Isla Hermosa (or Formosa in Portuguese, currently Taiwan) from the Philippines can only be understood as another Spanish enterprise in the East in the context of the late Renaissance impetus, which originally started one century earlier with the aim of gaining access to the Spice Islands. This Renaissance action in the East can be observed through different perspectives not only in the Philippines but also in Taiwan, as we will explore in the succeeding chapters: belligerent national affirmation (chapter 1), intellectual interrogation (chapter 2), ethnological encounters (chapter 3), colonial construction (chapter 4), economic expansion (chapter 5), and Counter-reformist spirit (chapter 6).

### RENAISSANCE AS AN EXTRA-EUROPEAN DIMENSION

The Renaissance appeared as a cultural category for the first time in the *History of France* (1855) by Jules Michelet. Michelet applied this category to the cultural changes in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Soon later Jacob Burckhardt gave a new vision in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), where besides the "Revival of Antiquity" he also presented a world where daily life was worth being narrated, as well as other aspects of the human spirit like "the discovery of the world and man" or the "development of the individual." Furthermore, when talking about the personality of a Renaissance man he emphasized cosmopolitanism, individualism, and awakening of the personality; and when referring to the category of glory he mentioned the "morbid passion for fame." He was referring basically to Italy and the republics of Venice and Florence, but his considerations had a more extensive application as the Renaissance expanded through Europe. He also presented the Renaissance as European imperialism, economic expansion, the decline of the church, and a romantic understanding in artists. But through the twentieth century new inputs have been added to this image, which focuses on the importance of trade, finance, science, and specially exchange with the East, presenting a more dynamic, interdependent, and complex picture.

Another problem affecting the Renaissance is its duration. For how long was it present in European society? Some authors talk about an early Renaissance that ended in

the *Sacco di Roma* (6 May 1527), when Spanish, Italian, and German mercenary soldiers sacked the city protesting about their delayed wages. Later the Mannerist Renaissance extended along the whole century, following the same patterns but amid a conflictive and critical understanding. Besides, the Renaissance manifestations in Southern Europe, especially Spain, are not the same as the ones in the Baltic countries. And if we go beyond the European boundaries, the Renaissance still exists more as an existential attitude of imprecise chronology than as a world shaped by Greek architectural forms and classical references.

One of the most difficult challenges of the Spanish Renaissance expansion was to conciliate its impetus in the conflicting triple search for God, Glory, and Gold. Was it possible to occupy new lands in the name of the king of Castile respecting the natural rights of the natives? The issue was brought to the universities for discussion, and the answer given by masters like Francisco de Vitoria was hardly echoed by the conquistadores when searching for *El Dorado*, the myth that contributed to the expansion of the Spanish frontier. This myth made its first appearance in America in the mid sixteenth century, with an ulterior revival of searching for “lost paradises,” something that can be seen in literature. For example, in 1602 the book *Miscelánea Austral* was published in Lima, although it was written by Diego Dávalos fifteen years earlier. There the idea of America as the ideal shelter to offer happiness to people was disclosed. Another similar Renaissance idea was portrayed in *El Siglo de Oro*, published in Madrid, in 1608, but also written twenty years earlier by Balbuena; here America was described as an *Arcadia*, a shelter from misfortunes. After experiencing that *El Dorado* was a moving and escaping idea, the myth crossed the Pacific several times, after every delusion. First, in the sixteenth century, looking for the islands of King Solomon; and second, in the first third of the seventeenth century searching for the Rica de Plata and Rica de Oro Islands, preceding the moment the Spaniards reached Isla Hermosa.

#### MANILA AS A COMMERCIAL REPUBLIC

The Spaniards arrived in the Philippines in 1521, but later they spent forty years in the Pacific Ocean making several tries to find the route back to Mexico. In that process they not only had a territorial dispute with the Portuguese, but also a scientific one concerning the location of the Anti-meridian. At stake was Pope Alexander VI's demarcation of the Moluccas and the Philippine islands. The dispute ended in the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529), which left the Spaniards a bare archipelago where the only rewarding thing was the conversion of the natives to the Catholic faith. Once they got established in 1565, they realized in the succeeding years that going to the Philippines was an uncertain destination, since less than one in every two persons who arrived in the Philippines would return. Amid several doubts Philip II decided to take this challenge of holding the archipelago and looking for other possibilities that the land could offer.

At the beginning, the Philippine archipelago for the Spaniards was just Luzon Island and a few other islands around Cebú. The whole territory was bounded by Muslims in the south, the kingdom of Siam in the far west, feudal Japan in the far north along

their way back to Mexico, and most importantly the great kingdom of China on the continent. In the last decades of the sixteenth century all these kingdoms were attracted by the silver of Manila that had crossed the Pacific Ocean, and by other opportunities offered to them by this city ruled by white people, who dressed quite differently. But, these foreign barbarians—as they might have been considered—still were worth some attention. Manila quickly became a multicultural society under the control of the Spanish elite, where the Chinese were the respectful settlers, who provided the most important services, not only as suppliers of silk for the cargo of the galleon, but also as artisans and farmers. Certainly, their abundant fine silk and porcelain jars were loaded once a year before the departure of the two or three galleons sailing for Mexico in early July. This was a dangerous trip of five to six months, much longer than the secure trip from Acapulco to Manila that lasted only three months. Consequently the flow of silver from Mexico to the Philippines was more regular and stable than the Chinese silk going to Mexico. In other words, a common Spaniard in Manila could have been ruined by the loss of a ship returning to Mexico loaded with their unsold silk, while the administrators of the colony would safely survive given the more stable annual flux of silver to pay their salary and other needs of the colony. As a result, even though Manila was under the control of the governor general and the colonial administration, there was an elite class of citizens who commissioned the trade or enjoyed the administration of *encomiendas*, making this distant and isolated city resemble an Italian commercial republic, as sometimes the documents refer to it, by calling them the “citizens of this republic [of Manila].”

#### CONFLICT AND EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST DURING THE RENAISSANCE

In the succeeding years after the Spaniards got established in Manila (1571) they started to build relations with the neighboring countries. They soon got a very favorable impression of the Chinese since they opened their doors immediately after the Chinese coastal authorities received help from the Spaniards against the pirate Limahong who, although based in Taiwan, was moving near Manila. But, after Limahong's escape, the desired direct access to China was closed. Also, some initial favorable expectations of friendship and political influence in kingdoms like Siam evaporated since everything was affected by the inner power struggle within those realms. In any case, the unexpected fame of Manila's silver became a magnet that converted the city into a commercial entrepôt.

At the turn of the sixteenth century, this fame also brought her three crises with the Japanese (1597), the Dutch (1600), and the Chinese (1603). At the end of the sixteenth century, the Japanese were in a process of national unification under the authority of a military commander, the shogun Totoyomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, 1582–1598). But his impetus extended beyond the unification of Japan. He sent military expeditions against Korea and later, in 1597, even thought of conquering the Philippines. He had already heard about the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and even Mexico, especially since the fully laden galleon “San Felipe” shipwrecked in 1596 on the coast of Japan and awakened

his greed. The Spaniards prepared for a possible attack and they explored the coast of Isla Hermosa in 1597, considered as a possible fortress to defend against imperialistic Japan. The sudden death of Hideyoshi dissipated the threat and the Spanish interest in Isla Hermosa lost priority.

The second crisis came with the arrival of a Dutch fleet under the command of Olivier van Noort. It erupted when Phillip II excluded the Dutch from the Portuguese harbors and hence their participation in the spice trade. The Dutch, who had privately joined the Portuguese galleons, were now using their acquired knowledge to reach the Moluccas on their own. This crisis should be understood in the context of Noort's arrival in Manila on a private basis in 1600 after crossing the Pacific Ocean. At this time, the powerful [Dutch] United East India Company (VOC) was not yet in existence, but the commercial success of Noort did in fact accelerate the creation, in 1602, of this commercial company.

The third crisis was with the Chinese. The regular supply of silver from Acapulco attracted more and more Chinese to settle in the city, contributing to create and to spread the rumor that close to Cavite—the harbor near Manila where the galleons docked—was located a mountain of gold. By the very end of the sixteenth century even some mandarins were dispatched from China to find out for certain if this was true. But, the Spaniards suspected that at the same time, they came to explore possibilities of controlling the Chinese colony, which they regarded as their own subjects, and later to control the Spanish colony herself. A series of misunderstandings and mistrusts ended in a Chinese rebellion and subsequent massacre of Chinese in 1603.

On the other hand, the Spanish governors of Manila, as later happened to the Dutch, looked enviously at how the Portuguese in Macao managed to stay peacefully at the doors of China. At the end of the sixteenth century the Spaniards tried to establish a similar post near Macao, called El Pinar, probably in Lantau Island (爛頭島); but this adventure lasted only a few weeks when it was stopped by a Portuguese fleet. In fact, the only success the Spaniards can claim over the Portuguese was to take over some posts in the Moluccas Islands in 1606, since the Portuguese were unable to hold them after the pressure of the Dutch, whose presence started increasing from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch's growing presence aimed to eliminate the Iberian competitors by force. The normal system was by pressuring with blockades of Macao and especially of Manila to cut the Chinese trade with the Philippines. The Spanish governor of Manila reacted in 1626 by occupying a post in Isla Hermosa to counterbalance the Dutch post established two years earlier in Tayouan (present Anping, near Tainan), and at the same time to see if it could be a second point of attraction for Chinese trade. But the move also had a religious significance: first, to help the missionaries find better ways of sneaking into Japan, where persecution of Christianity was growing fierce, especially since 1624; and, second, to find a way to enter into China, avoiding the Portuguese control of Macao.

All these above-mentioned parameters gave context to the Spanish Renaissance arrival on the island at the presidio of Quelang, a very small part of the vast Spanish Empire, and probably the farthest region where Spain's armies would claim some

sovereignty for sixteen years, and coincided with the worsening decadence of the Spanish Empire. On this island, as it happened in the Philippines, they also related very differently with countries like China and Japan, who were more educated and politically organized than the natives of Central and South America. On the contrary, they found themselves more acquainted with the diversity of Austronesian tribes, who populated the island.

#### THE YEAR 1635 AS A TURNING POINT TOWARDS THE BAROQUE EXPERIENCE

During these years, Spaniards in the East showed interest in scientific problems, in which navigation and cartography were probably the most salient contributions of the Spaniards. The first crossing of the Pacific, the location of new islands, and the description of winds were made by Spanish sailors like Urdaneta, who opened the Pacific to regular traffic. In the Philippines, the cartographer De los Ríos Coronel made contributions to navigation and made the first detailed map of Taiwan in 1597, which was preserved for many years from the knowledge of their Dutch rivals. As the Spaniards had done in America, in the Philippines they studied the local botany and native languages, producing dictionaries and grammars. The first translation of a Chinese book to a Western language was made in Manila in 1592<sup>1</sup> and other books featuring concepts of European cosmology were also translated.<sup>2</sup> These episodes still continued in the sixteenth century, but we consider that the Renaissance experience of Europeans living in the East ended later than in their original centers of culture. The year 1635 can be artificially used to define a turning point towards the Baroque attitudes, coinciding with the arrival of the new governor general Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera in the Philippines. Since that year several events took shape portraying a new skeptical, pessimistic, and problematic understanding of the situation, a Baroque approach which we will be revealing in the following pages, particularly in the case of Isla Hermosa.

the previous governor Fajardo (1618–1624). Once the expedition was set up, De Silva and Martínez were sure about the lawfulness of this move against the Dutch, but how about the right to enter into a new land and to occupy it? De Silva probably did not care too much about the procedures. In fact, his commander Carreño, after waiting for a few days for an impossible answer from the natives whether they wanted or not to submit to the king of Spain, took possession of “the whole island as a patrimony of the King of Spain” (see annex 4). How did the missionaries regard the actual occupation? Was everything done according the principles of Vitoria, which González might have reminded them before his departure? In the reports they appear neither satisfied, because in fact some force was applied, nor disappointed, because after all no casualties were reported. If any problem was created, there would be time to think on it.

Besides the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the English, and particularly the Dutch had to confront the issue of the justification underlying their colonization. What were the reasons applied by the Dutch in their colonial expansion in Asia? They declared—in the article 37 of the VOC’s charter—that “Spain and Portugal were enemies of the state, rendering their interest liable to attack and seizure as booty of war.” They confronted this problem for the first time in 1603, one year after the foundation of the VOC, when the seizure of the fully loaded Portuguese galleon “Santa Catalina” took place in front of Johor, by Jacob van Heemskerck. The VOC, considering that the Portuguese were their main competitors and that the incident was likely to be repeated (as in 1605, the rich cargo of another Portuguese galleon “Santo Antonio” was seized by Admiral Van Warwijk at Patani), hurried to ask a young and smart jurist of the company, Grotius, to find a legal justification for that. Grotius studied the matter for two years (1604–1606), producing a propagandistic treaty, *De Iure Praeae Comentaribus* (*Commentary on Law of Prize and Booty*), of which only chapter 12, *Mare Liberum* (*The Freedom of the Seas*), was published in 1609, on the verge of the negotiations between Spain and Holland that ended in the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609–1621).

In one sense, Grotius—based on many ideas of Vitoria—developed high concepts of freedom and peace, but at the same time he contributed to the expansion of the colonial Dutch rule in Asia. Regarding the other colonial powers, particularly Portugal and Spain, Grotius considered them as monopolists that should be banished, a matter that he developed in chapter XI of *De Iure Praeae*. There he defended that the act of a party [the Portuguese or Spanish] of preventing or actively impeding [other party: the Dutch] from exercising any one of the rights bestowed by nature is in itself a sufficient legal ground upon which to initiate and to wage a just war.<sup>20</sup> Regarding the Southeast Asian rulers, Grotius recommended that the VOC should forge political and commercial alliances with them. Different from Vitoria and Las Casas (who addressed to the king and to the Council of Indies claiming with Renaissance vigor for the restoration of justice), Grotius was assigned by the VOC to write on the justification of the use of force. The VOC was very satisfied with his proposal, because “freedom of the seas” could sooner or later easily be understood as a “Dutch monopoly”; and “alliances with native rulers” as a “feudal suzerainty” as happened in Dutch Formosa. The illustration in the first page of the book of Argensola (Amsterdam, 1706) was a good metaphor of Grotius ideas (see Plate 2).

## Chapter 3

# The Encounter

THE NATIVES OF TAIWAN whom the Spaniards and Dutch encountered belonged to the linguistic group called Austronesians. According to linguistic studies, the Austronesian family extends along the Pacific and Indian Ocean from Easter Island to Madagascar. The number of Austronesian-related languages is difficult to estimate; scholars’ estimates are from 500 to 1000. Academia Sinica researcher Paul Jen-kuei Li (李壬癸) considers that the Austronesians started in the north of present Myanmar around 7,000 B.C. and they spread in three directions, to the Ganges delta, along the Mekong River and along the Yangtze River. This latter group, around the year 5,000 B.C., might have reached the Chinese sea, and in 4,000 B.C. they would have entered Taiwan, coinciding with the early Neolithic period.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, their great scale dispersion around the island would happen during the Iron Age period.

## JAPANESE STUDIES ON AUSTRONESIANS

The studies of Japanese scholars at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century helped to start the modern classification of aboriginal groups, based on their linguistic differences, but also they studied other cultural elements like handicraft, family relations, tattooing, etc. Nowadays, Taiwan’s government recognizes the following indigenous groups: Amis, Truku, and Tao (on the Orchid Island) in the east; Atayal, Bunun, Cou, and Thao in the Central Mountains; Paiwan, Puyuma, and Rukai in the south, and Saisiat in the north. Kavalan, located in the northeast, joined the list in 2002; Sakizaya, previously a part of Amis, was recognized in 2007, followed by Seediq’s separation from Atayal in 2008. Other groups are still not yet officially recognized while many of their artifacts, clothing, etc., can be found in the museums of anthropology in Taiwan (National Taiwan University, Academia Sinica, Sung Ye, etc.).<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the early inhabitants in northern Taiwan, one of the first Japanese anthropologists, Ino Kanori (伊能 嘉矩), mentioned for the first time the Ketagalan tribe in 1897, suggesting that they came from overseas 2,000 years ago, and they landed near the Shen’ao (深澳, “Aodi” (澳底)) harbor, near Sandiao Cape (三貂角). The first Japanese linguist to study the so-called Ketagalan language was Asai Erin

(淺井 惠倫) of the Taipei Imperial University, and since then the concept of Ketagalan and its boundaries has experienced several changes.<sup>3</sup> Fifty years later, the modern Japanese scholar Tsuchida Shigeru (土田 滋) attempted to define the old linguistic boundaries on a map.<sup>4</sup> Another modern scholar following the linguistic approach and working closely with Tsuchida is the above-mentioned linguist Paul Li, who considers that the Ketagalan language—or, at least, the northern Ketagalan—would be better called Basay language. Li proposes the idea that 400 years ago the Basay reached the Tamsui River, the Greater Taipei Area, and part of Keelung and Panchiao (板橋), integrating the large Basay system, while in Yilan the Trobiawan Basay group was established. But, in our opinion, in recent years the name of Ketagalan, which is used to define the inhabitants of northern Taiwan, has entered in a certain crisis, although there is no substitute for it. To our understanding, from reading the Spanish as well as Dutch sources of the seventeenth century two things are clear: (1) no Ketagalan tribe or Ketagalan language is mentioned at all, therefore it is risky to use this term to define a tribe characterized by a common language spoken in northern Taiwan, or in the Taipei Basin. Ketagalan seems more like a “Japanese construction” that had been popularized at the end of the twentieth century. (2) On the other hand, the Spanish and Dutch sources only mention a maritime network of settlements with a common language, the Basays; on the contrary, the other villages are grouped around river basins and are defined geographically. We do not know if they belong to any special language group or have any particular cultural homogeneity.

#### ARCHEOLOGY IN TAIWAN

The archeological efforts to reach an accepted prehistoric classification in northern Taiwan also encountered problems. After different attempts, the proposal made by Sung Wen-hsun (宋文薰) in 1980 has become the standard.<sup>5</sup> According to him, the earliest inhabitants of Taiwan belong to the late Paleolithic era, which in Taiwan is called the Changpin culture (長濱文化). Their remains were dated around 13,000 B.C. As with many Paleolithic groups, they relied on hunting, fishing, and gathering for living. Around 4,000 B.C., the early Neolithic culture can be traced in the so-called Dabekeng culture (大坌坑文化), where we can recognize the “cord-marked pottery,” and it can be related to the sites of the southern coastal area of China. A later Neolithic period can be defined from 2,000 B.C. to 200 A.D., in different cultures; among them the Bainan culture (卑南文化)<sup>6</sup> in the southeast and the Yuanshan culture (圓山文化) in the north of Taiwan are the most important. All these Neolithic cultures grew crops and used tools related with this activity.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the Iron Age started around 200 A.D. and it continued until the verge of the arrival of the Western sailors (1500). Several cultures must be related to this period, but in the north the Shisanhang culture (十三行文化) is considered as the main point of reference for all the new discoveries. This name comes from the archeological site discovered in 1959, near Pali (八里). In the residential area of this settlement, knife handles made of bronze from external traders were found;<sup>8</sup> people not only used but also melted iron. Like other natives, they relied on fishing and hunting for

living. Archeologists have also found a mass grave with some funerary trousseau, like agate, gold ornaments, etc., and some coins of the Tang and Soong dynasties, which reflect some sort of intercourse with Chinese visitors during these periods.

Finally, the historical data that was recorded during the Western presence in Taiwan (1624–1668) have provided a great variety of information (especially from the Dutch sources) about Taiwan’s plains aborigines, or Pingputzu (平埔族), particularly those in the western coast such as the Siraya near Tayouan and the Basay and other inhabitants in the north and the east. This information begs the question as to how modern Taiwan aborigines can be linked to Neolithic cultures; first, from prehistory to proto-history (seventeenth century), and, second, from proto-history to modern times. Lien Chao-mei (連照美) sees some connections in the first stage because in her excavation of the Peinan site she found several features that can be still recognized in the aborigines of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, namely head-hunting, tooth evulsion, betel nut mastication, and customs (like slotted earrings), leading her to believe in an “ethnic continuity.” Nevertheless, she shows her surprise when she must recognize that “prehistoric people tended to be taller than most present-day natives.”<sup>9</sup> Regarding the study of the link in the second stage, between the natives mentioned in Western seventeenth-century documents (and their archeological remains) with the Japanese or the modern ethnographic data, things are more complicated, because there are still few elements to relate, but expectations are higher. In fact the main success has been the possible location of old villages. Since the efforts of Nakamura Takashi (中村 孝志) in the 1930’s and 40’s that relate the lists of submissive native villages to modern towns, much other research of identification has been conducted trying to offer a general comprehension; first there was one official report conducted by Chang Yao-chi (張耀錡),<sup>10</sup> and in recent times we have the vast research of Peter Kang (康培德). Furthermore, recent publications of a corpus of Spanish and especially Dutch sources have helped to revitalize these studies.

#### The groups of natives according to Spanish and Dutch sources

The main body of references to find the names of these tribes and their population through a deductive approach is the VOC documents,<sup>11</sup> especially the list of villages from which taxes were collected between 1646 and 1655. Also, other Dutch materials, like the reports of the military expeditions or maps, particularly the one of junior merchant Simon Keerdecoe made in 1654 portraying the north of Taiwan, are useful to know the exact location of the villages. This map, although sketchy, placed many villages with some details that allow us to have a general image of the populated areas, and also reflect the time of the Spaniards.<sup>12</sup> Besides, Keerdecoe’s map has proved more reliable than expected when compared with the first modern scaled Japanese map of northern Taiwan (made with triangulation methods in 1899) that reflects with precision some old geographical features that cannot be recognized anymore.<sup>13</sup> In this sense, it fills the gap of the geographical changes that have occurred between the seventeenth century and modern times. The most important thing, however, is that the original sites of the native villages are somehow still reflected, and the Chinese maps of the eighteenth

century contribute to this assertion. Another different research system applied to identify the location of those villages is the inductive method of studying land contracts in the Qing archives. The studies of Nakamura were the first attempt of a general mapping the villages mentioned in Dutch sources based on these Qing records. Many years later, the difficult issues of village location and grouping were followed by Wen Cheng-hua (溫振華), Chan Su-chuan (詹素娟) in 1999, and Kang in 2003. Nevertheless, the exact location of villages named in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be slightly different in some cases from their location in the seventeenth century, when mobility was easier; in fact, this kind of migration was already documented in the seventeenth century by the Dutch in the Basay case.

The earlier general perception of the Spanish missionaries was more geographic than ethnic and it will not differ too much from the Dutch one. The Spaniards considered four homogeneous geographical areas (or provinces): (1) the Quelang area with the towns of Taparri, and Qimaaurri, to which Caguinuaan (Santiago) also can be associated. The Great Tamsui Basin, divided into three parts: (2) the Tamsui River (from present-day Guandu Bridge (關渡大橋) to the mouth of the river) with towns such as Senar and Pantao, (3) the Quimazon River (along the Keelung River, modern Tianmu (天母), Shilin (士林), Tazhi (大直), and Neihu (內湖), called by the Dutch “the area of Quelang River”) with towns like Kimassow, that gave the name to the river (or vice versa); and (4) the Pulaan River (stretching along the Xindian (新店溪) River, in other words, modern Banqiao (板橋), Zhonghe (中和), and Yonghe (永和), called by the Dutch “the area of Pinerouan River”). Finally, the Spaniards mentioned (5) the farthest Cavalan area (in modern Yilan) and (6) the remote golden area (around modern Hualian), starting from Turoboan (in Liwu sikou (立霧溪口)—the mouth of the small river Liwu—at the Taroko Gorge (太魯閣峽谷) entrance) and stretching along the coast for more than 100 kilometers. Now we are going to see them.

### *Quelang*

Present-day Keelung is one of the cities of Taiwan with more history thanks to its deep and naturally protected harbor that offers a safe entrance to the island, especially from Japan (Plate 15). The flat areas of the present Hoping Island (和平島, formerly Sheliiao Island, 社寮島) and of the Dashawan (大沙灣) area of Keelung might still hide a great quantity of explanatory relics of Taiwan’s history awaiting exhumation, but until the present only one excavation has been conducted in each place. This excavation in Sheliiao Island was started in 1947 by the Japanese archeologists, Kokubu Naoichi (國分 直一) and Kaneseeki Takeo (金關 丈夫). They unearthed two sites, nowadays catalogued under the name of SLT: (A) a graveyard with stone tombs attached to it, and (B) a dwelling area with some pottery with geometric decoration, porcelains, axes, etc.<sup>14</sup> These Japanese scholars related these remains to the linguistic Ketagalan culture, but nowadays we relate these archeological artifacts to the Shisanhang prehistoric culture. Do these artifacts belong to the proto-historical people of Quimaaurri who shared Sheliiao Island with the Spaniards? This question is impossible to answer at the present moment without more

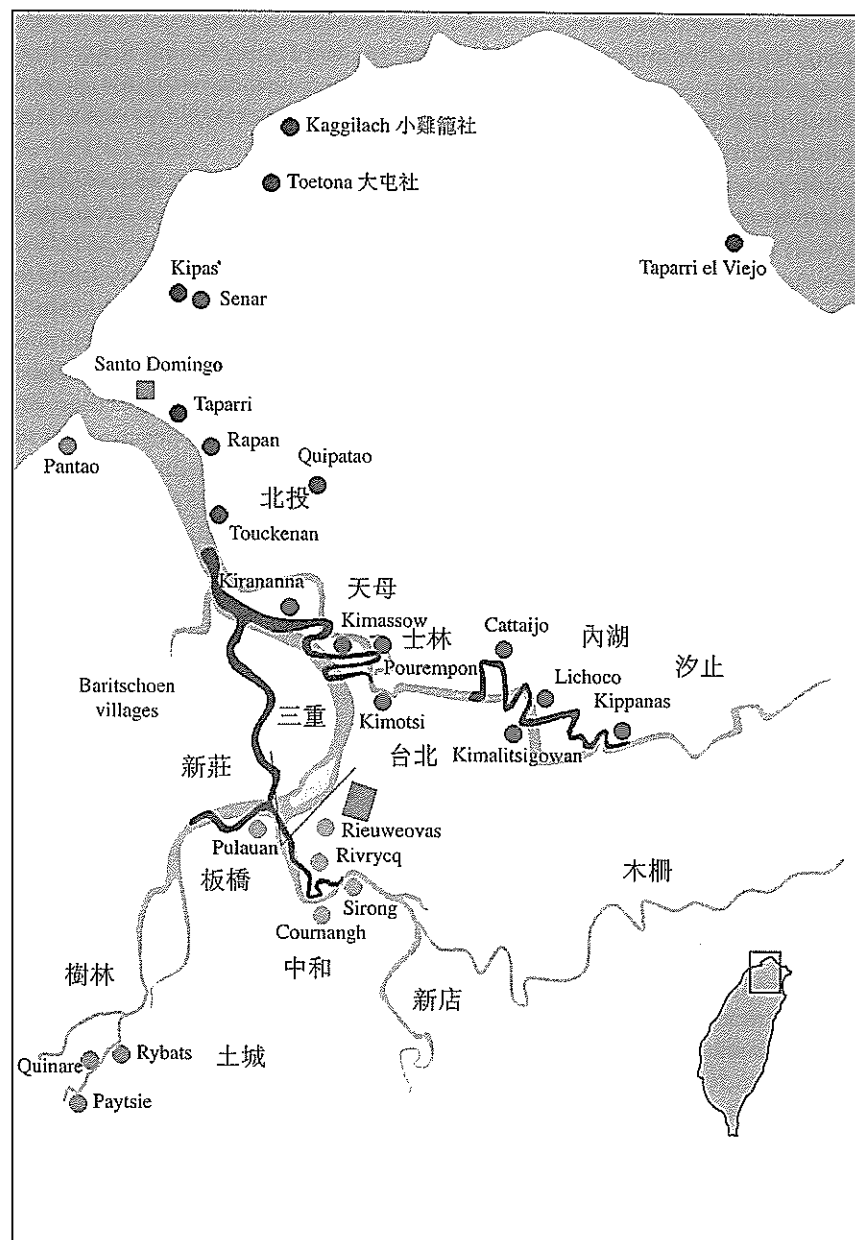
precise chronological data. Furthermore, it is not only impossible because of imprecise dating, but also because the number of artifacts uncovered were few, and also because the Quimaaurri people were located in a place near the present-day shipyards opposite to that of the excavation site. The answer is probably no, but it still gives us one idea of that culture.

Regarding the village of Taparri in the Spanish period, it was located in the Dashawan area, where another earlier excavation was made in 1935. The archeologist Kawai Takatoshi (河井 隆敏) found some materials difficult to classify, but somehow related them to the Ketagalan culture (as mentioned earlier, this was the way the Japanese called the aborigines of northern Taiwan); among them he found four shell tombs.<sup>15</sup> (We will explain further other aspects of these two villages of Quelang Bay, Quimaaurri and Taparri, when talking about the city of San Salvador in chapter 4). Another village related to Quelang, not geographically but culturally, was Caquiuanuan [Santiago, St. Iago], which we will comment on with more detail later when describing the Basayan villages as a whole.

### *Tamsui River*

When the Spaniards and Fr. Bartolomé Martínez arrived in 1628 in Tamsui, they observed similar reactions in the natives as in Quelang two years before. The natives living on a hill half a league from the river fled into the inner area of (1) Senar (*SIT*, 221), to a place commonly identified as Linzishe (林子社), where there grows, among other things, a kind of tall long red root crop used to dye fishing nets (*SIT*, 168). According to the information provided by Jacinto Esquivel, who four years later lived in Senar for a few months, the natives who fled had built eight or nine different small villages near Senar. He tried, in 1632, to bring them back closer to their former place, in a pleasant area located on top of a hill, surrounded by farmlands and fruit trees.<sup>16</sup> The main reason to do so was to facilitate the possible preaching to them. As we will see in chapter 6, after Esquivel left the place that same year, Brother Jiménez established also in Senar, and he succeeded in bringing back the runaway natives near their original place (*SIT*, 225). He was helped by Captain Luis de Guzman, who, with the aid of his soldiers, built in a few days a house and a church, where a religious image from Senar was placed. The natives started to build their houses in the form of a town which they called (2) Rosario (*SIT*, 225). But, in January 1636, some of the natives under the leadership of Pila rebelled, killing the missionary Fr. Francisco Váez, and burned down the town and the church, escaping again to the inland (*SIT*, 239–241). Few months later, the new missionary Fr. Luis Muro tried to bring back the natives to Rosario, succeeding temporarily, but in one of his attempts—when he was accompanying a group of soldiers buying rice—he was ambushed and killed. As a result, not only the mission but also the fort were abandoned and probably the dwellings of the village Rosario vanished, while Senar continued as the main village. Thanks to Dutch sources we have the name of the headman of Senar in 1646, Tenayan, as well as the figures for the population for ten years. Senar probably comprised two different towns, as the map of Keerdekoek (1654) reflect (see Plate 15):





**Map 3.1** Native villages in the Taipei Basin. The possible old river-bed is indicated by the darker superimposition on the present river-bed. The darker villages along the coast are Basay villages.

**Table 3.1**  
**Population of Senar and Kipas**

	1646 Headman	1647 Headman	1648	1650	1654
Senar	131 Tenayan	294 Ternan &	280	160	130
Kipas/Kabila/Kaggilach	108 Kakijlach	Kakilach		193	153
Total	239	294	280	353	283

Source: *FE III* p. 124 p. 198 p. 235 p. 293 p. 501

the first one was Senar itself, and the other one was (3) Kipas in the Dutch lists (or Kaggilach in the Keerdecoe's map), together totaling around 300 natives.

In 1647 a junior merchant Jacob Nolpe merged both villages, a decision that was praised by Governor Anthonisz Overtwater (*FE* III, 171). This might be the reason why Kipas does not appear in the census of 1647 and 1648. But later probably they were separated again, as we can see in the census of 1650 and 1654. This was the year when the map of Keerdecoe was drawn reflecting two different units. As we will explain later Kipas might also be another Basay village.<sup>17</sup>

On the other side of the river, a dozen of villages stretched towards the south. Esquivel only mentioned the first one, called (4) Pantao (Dutch: Parrigon), a rival village of Senar as usually happens with the cities separated by a river. This village must be located in present Pali.<sup>18</sup> It was probably Esquivel himself who baptized some children of two headmen, who started asking for a resident priest in their village (*SIT*, 169). Esquivel also mentioned other villages beyond Pantao, but he said very little,<sup>19</sup> only that the Spaniards "were neither friendly nor at enmity," but most of them were enemies of the people in Pantao. Also, he reported that four Cagayanos who had deserted from fort Santo Domingo escaped to these villages with the purpose of reaching the Dutch fort, but one of them still remained living among the natives. Also he said that "one of the leaders of these places claims that he is the son of a Spaniard, one of those who disappeared long ago,"<sup>20</sup> probably during the shipwreck of 1582. This event produced several documents (*SIT*, 1-15), and some descriptions of the area can be found, as well as the first description of the natives as athletic warriors and deer hunters. Let us see one by the Jesuit Francisco Pirez:

The mountain [probably present Guan Yin Mountain] had many trees and in some places vast areas of grass where many deer lived, and some of noteworthy size. A Portuguese named Balthasar Monteiro climbed many times and killed a good number of them. He once witnessed a hunting party of the barbarians that took place in an open space where the deer grazed. They surrounded them in a circle; every arrow that they shot bore a hook that would trap their prey among the grasses and tree branches. They are splendid runners. This place had no other people except two or three villages about three leagues away from each other, and which were at enmity with each other. (*SIT*, 15)



Finally, of the other group of natives located on the west of the Tamsui River, those whom the Dutch later called the Baritschoen and Coloun villages, Esquivel only had a very vague idea. All he had to say about them was that: "The natives of the other side of the river Pulauan neither ask for us [i.e., the missionaries] nor repel us" (*SIT*, 182).

Continuing up the Tamsui River we find other villages, like (5) Taparri, clearly mentioned in Dutch sources, but probably—as we will explain in chapter 4—it started to grow there after the Dutch occupation (1642) with immigrated Taparrians from the Quelang Bay. The VOC tried to hire the Taparrians to cut trees into heavy beams, long boards, and planks for good remuneration, but they declined the offer on the real basis that this kind of heavy work was too exhausting for them (*FE* III, 197). Esquivel, in 1632, did not mention specifically Taparri, so after staying in Senar he moved closer to describe the inner village of (6) Quipatao (in modern Beitou 北投), which had an external site on the riverbank, called Rapan by the Dutch. This village is well known for its sulfur production in high demand by the Chinese. Esquivel said:

Quipatao consists of some eight or nine native villages ... It is located near Senar and may be reached from there by land. However, the quickest and the best way is by water, going up from the fort [of Santo Domingo] through the river and entering the place through a canal ... Quipatao is in the slope of a hill and a little far from the main river. There are sulfur deposits in large quantities, making the inhabitants richer than the rest. They own vast tracks of fertile plain. The whole area is spared from river floods. (*SIT*, 184)

In fact, there was another village, not mentioned in the Spanish sources, and only recorded by the Dutch from 1650, called (7) Touckenan (identified as 奇獨龜崙).<sup>21</sup>

### *Quimazon River (the origin of northern Taipei)*

The Spanish had few dealings with the natives of the Taipei Basin, but they were very clear in defining their dispersion along two different rivers. This natural division was also followed by the Dutch who distinguished between the Quimazon River and the Pinerouan [Pulauan, Pinnonouan] River (*FE* III, 477), although at other times they considered the Tamsui River and the Quimazon branch like a single region. The Spaniards were more familiar with the Quimazon branch because there was natural communication between the fort of Santo Domingo and San Salvador by land, although they preferred communication by sea. The first time they made this land trip was in February of 1632 with Governor Juan de Alcarazo, in which they saw very auspicious images in the sky (*SIT*, 167). In the summer of that year, Esquivel went back to Quelang and experienced also this way but he traveled by canoe until Lichoco. For this reason he did not pay too much attention to the villages along the present-day Tianmu area, and he considered them as "tiny villages." The Dutch sources were more specific.

According to them, to the map of Keerdekie, and to the identifications made by contemporary researchers,<sup>22</sup> after the entrance of the Quimazon River, there was Kirananna (奇里岸), a small village of no more than 50 souls. This village was followed

by the biggest one, Kimassow (麻少翁), with a big population of more than 400 souls that Esquivel omitted to report, even though its name was related to the one on the river. Kimassow was located in a slightly elevated area near the river. The geographic evolution of the meanders of the Quimazon River has now isolated this part, which before was well communicated with the other villages. Later was the village of Porompon (大浪泵) with an average of 80 souls, and finally Kimotsi (奇武卒), near the junction of Tamsui and Keelung Rivers, with 100 souls. Esquivel, after talking with some of the natives along the river, came to know about the regular floods and their effects:

The river passage towards the island until Lichoco is very calm and easy to sail, with lowlands on both sides. The same is true of the branch that goes to Pulauan but life along the banks is difficult because the river swells and overflows at certain seasons, rising up to three or four *brazas*<sup>23</sup> and flooding the houses and fields while people salvage their belongings in small boats. The natives living along either branch have shown me how high these floods could get by making knife marks of the wooden parts of their houses to indicate the level reached by the waters. These tides sweep in some pine trees and other fragrant wood, massive logs, and very strong and durable wood. They are milled in the Tamchui fort, where they are sawn and cut for building storage houses and for renovating the fort itself, which is made of wood and logs. This kind of river flood does not reach the villages of Quipatao because the inland abounds with soil. Neither does it affect the villages of Lichoco because the river springs from there, and is therefore a mere trickle. (*SIT*, 162)

Going upstream towards present Neihu, four other villages were located; first Cattaio (塔塔悠) (reaching 200 souls) where—according to the Dutch—a rogue called Lamma was the headman in 1646;<sup>24</sup> later Lichoco (里族), with the similar population, and in 1644 the village was presided by the elder Ponap, and counted 80 strong (*SIT*, 478); Kimalitsigowan (麻里即吼), with a population between 150 and 200 souls, and Kippanas (峰仔峙), with an average of 100 souls. The river was navigable until Lichoco, and once Esquivel left the canoe, he was able to report on it: "Lichoco has two villages of up to 200 or 300 houses, a great portion of it are in the mountains" (*SIT*, 167). The rest of the way until Quelang had no villages and was very inconvenient. Esquivel described the route from Lichoco to Quelang in this way:

The way from Lichoco to the island is rough due to some 36 piles of loose rocks scattered all over, making it impossible for a large boat to pass. Only small canoes can pass and be dragged along by the native rowers who have to disembark. This happens in summer, for in winter, there is enough water for the boats. Nevertheless, this way is perfect in comparison with the path that connects the forts through the beach. It is all rocky ground, with many rivers to cross and uphill climbs replete with obstacles and risks. (*SIT*, 167–168)

The Dominican missionary Victorio Riccio passed through there in March 1666 leading a Dutch embassy to meet messengers from Zheng Jing who after eighteen days on horseback had reached Lichoco. His description from Quelang to Lichoco was the following:

The road he [i.e., Riccio] took was the roughest and the strangest that he had ever seen in the world. He sailed through a river that, at certain points, falls over precipices as it winds through mountain and crags. When he finally met with the Chinese ambassador, he had counted 38 falls, which is dangerous and fearful indeed, had he not been partly reassured by the expertise of the pilot who led the expedition using a hollow staff. It was also the season of rain. So much rain fell on them that he thought he would fall very ill. (*SIT*, 627)

On the other hand, the Dutch reported that embassy with many details, saying that in order to fetch the Zheng representative they had to send some Basay boats (i.e., those from Quimaurri) by sea and through the Quimazon River, to Lichoco. Then back to Quelang. Nevertheless, a few days later, they used the land road in their return voyage to Lichoco (*SIT*, 645–652).

### *Pulauan River (the origin of the old Taipei)*

The Spaniards had few dealings with the natives of the Taipei Basin, but in 1632 the relations were good, as Esquivel put it: "One can go to these villages in utmost security. Any soldier, Cagayano, or priest can confidently come and go by himself. They would move from one fort to another, passing by the shore or the river banks through these villages to barter rice in the villages of Pantao and Pulauan" (*SIT*, 169). But, in fact, only the village of Pulauan was mentioned by the Spaniards. The Dutch were more precise and offered the following census:

Table 3.2  
Population of the Tamsui-Pulauan branch

	1646	1647	1648	1650	1654	1655
Pinnonouan	223	231	230	263	245	235
Rieuweovas	119	125	140	136	135	116
Riwyqc	146	152	146	145	135	107
Cournangh			25	36	38	30
Sirong	204	210	210	240	228	185
Rybats	181	187	181	148	89	91
Quimare					39	54
Paytsie		140	133	211		

Source: *FE* III p. 124 p. 188 p. 235 p. 293 p. 501 中村孝志  
中村孝志, 2002 荷蘭時代台灣史研究 (下), p. 23

The growth of this population tended to follow the pattern of slow population growth of the island, which in 1654 (or a little earlier) experienced a severe decrease, as we will comment later.

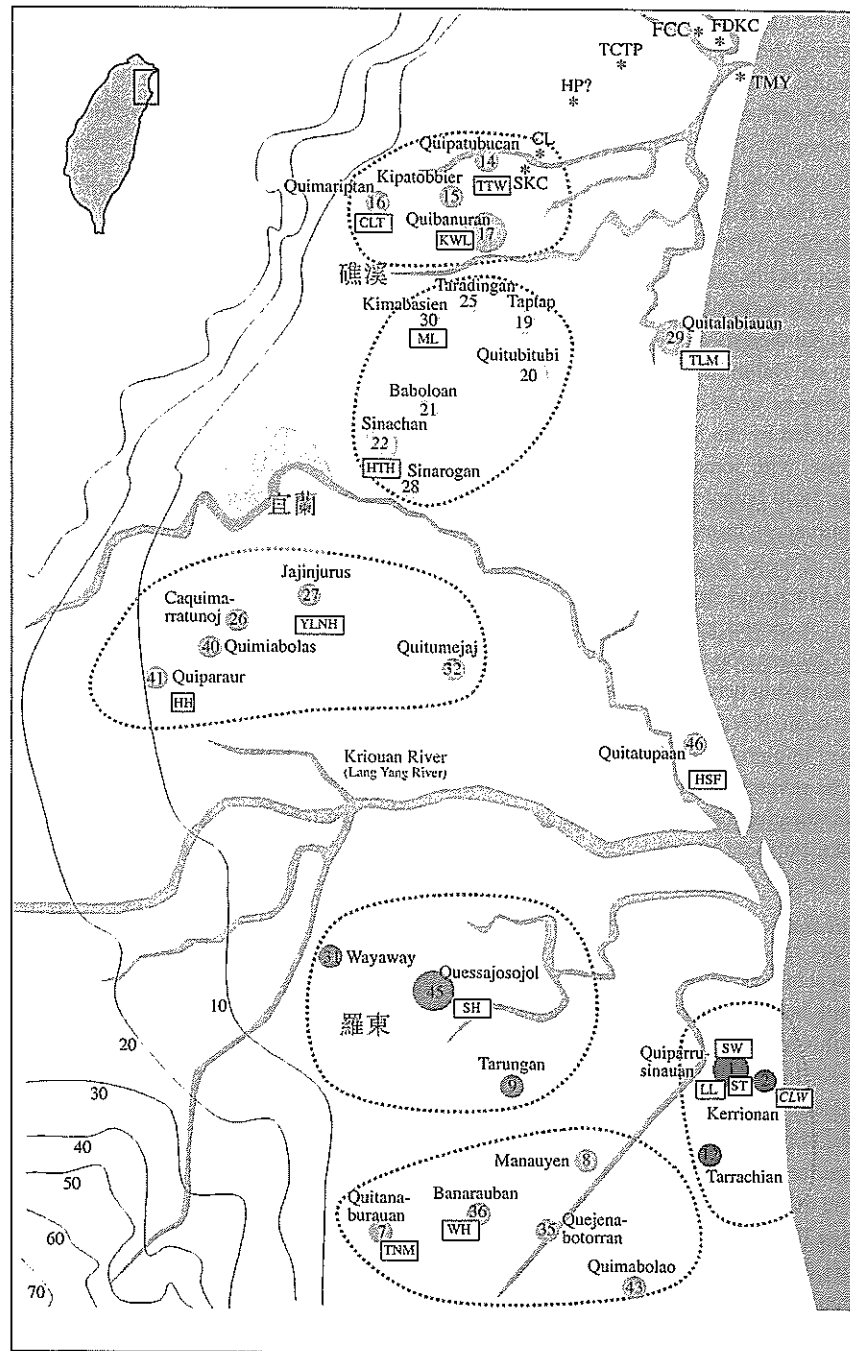
To locate these villages is very important because they represent the beginning of the "old Taipei" in a broad sense. We think that this location is quite probable if we

assume continuity in the settlements since most of the new Chinese settlers would have located themselves alongside the existing native villages, growing together and forming a unity. In that case looking again to the Japanese map of 1899, we can see five villages clearly defined in the Pulauan area that might have corresponded to the original native settlements. First, we have Rivrycq, in the southern part of modern Wan-Hua district, and Rieuweovas towards the north (to the west of the present government district office of Wan Hua). On the other side of the river was located Pinnonouan, in the area of modern Panchiao. When Japanese ethnologist Ino took some pictures of sinized aborigines near Taipei at the end of the nineteenth century, he went to that part of the river where these two towns communicate by canoe. One of the pictures shows a landscape where Dahan and Xindien rivers meet forming the Tamsui River, and in the horizon of the picture we can see Datun (大屯) and Chixing (七星) mountains. To help identify the contents of the picture he wrote on the right side the name of Wulauan, which is similar to pronunciation recorded by the Spaniards as Pulauan. The other pictures show a family in front of his house, with some other people, who were characterized by Ino as sinized aborigines. The 1899 Japanese map also gives us the possible location of two other native villages, Cournangh, in modern Zhonghe (中和), and Siron, in modern Yonghe (永和).<sup>25</sup> About one of these villages, the Dutch mentioned that it was "one of the principal villages of the Pinerouan River" (*FE* III, 195).

A second group can be defined around the Dahan (大漢) River with the villages of Quinare, Paytsie, and Rybats. From the last village came a report of an incestuous relationship between father and daughter resulting in pregnancy. When the news reached Tayouan, Keerdecoe, who was assigned to the north, got clear instructions to deal with this "intolerable matter among people subjected to our Christian rule, therefore need to be severely punished in a way that will serve as a deterrent to others" (*FE* III, 326). The location of this group was in the area of Tucheng (土城), in the periphery of the main Pulauan area.<sup>26</sup>

### *Cavalan*

Cavalan was an area hardly visited by the Spaniards, although it was on the maritime route between Quelang and Manila. For this reason we have only a few direct reports of this region, which were basically about trying to define who the natives of this region were. In 1635 Fr. Teodoro Quirós visited the place and administered some baptisms coinciding with a plague of smallpox. Few years later he defined the Cavalan people as "the bravest among the natives" (*SIT*, 303). The following year the free burgher Domingo Aguilar was sent there to buy rice (*FE* II, 323). But, in fact, Cavalan was regarded as a kind of strange place. Fr. Juan de los Ángeles said that some Cavalans (as well as others from Parusaron) were somehow blond or reddish (*SIT*, 568). For Esquivel, it was not a very attractive place for visiting, and he categorized the Cavalans as very treacherous people (*SIT*, 571). The same opinion was shared by Keerdecoe, who summarized his impression of Cavalan in this statement: "What else can be said about the Cavalan nation (except for the good ones) than that they are scoundrels?" (*FE* III, 389).



Map 3.2 Native villages of Cavalan (in circles) and archeological sites of Yilan (in rectangles).

The earlier but shortest list of Cavalan's villages was made by Esquivel in 1632, listing twenty-five of them; and the most succinct description of the geography of Cavalan was made by De los Ángeles, by saying: "Cabaran province has a bay eight to ten leagues wide, from tip to tip, and three rivers," but he exaggerated when he said "this province has more than 70 villages, made up of 400 to 600 houses each" (*SIT*, 571). The Dutch were more precise and consistent in their taxation lists naming forty-five villages in this extensive area of rice production. These lists can be complemented with other smaller listings, for example, the villages going to attend a *landdag* (i.e., annual ceremonial of native gathering intended by the VOC to consolidate its suzerainty).<sup>27</sup>

Kang, based on the similarity of the pronunciation and using eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Qing sources as a bridge, had continued the studies of Nakamura<sup>28</sup> and Chan Su-chuan,<sup>29</sup> reorganizing the lists of these Cavalan villages and relating them to modern towns.<sup>30</sup> Based on this information, and after displaying these villages on a map and seeing their relation with the main rivers, we have attempted to group the villages, without implying that the six groups of villages we have formed define social or political unities. Thus, the Lan Yang River acts as an axis of symmetry of the whole area dividing three groups of villages at the north and three at the south. In fact, this division has some basis, because when the Basayan informant Teodoro answered the interrogation of the Dutch in 1644 about the villages of Cavalan, its elders and its warriors, he only mentioned six villages, five of them corresponding to the main village of each one of the groups we have considered (although, the fourth one, Quessajosojol, is missing), and the sixth one was the friendly and strategic Basay village of Quitalabiauuan. Notice also that the two pacified villages mentioned by the Basayan Teodoro (Dutch: Theodore/Theodoire/Teadoor) were precisely the two Cavalan villages with strong Basay connections:

Table 3.3  
The six villages of Cavalan mentioned by the Basayan Teodoro in 1644  
(They are probably the main ones, although number 4 is omitted)

Areas	Teodoro (1644)	Strong	Notes	Esquivel (1632)	Census (1650)
1	Kibanorra	350	not pacified	Quibanuran	Kibannoran
2	Kekitsebbon	700	not pacified	Quitubitubi	Tobtobbe
3	Kinneporach	300	not pacified	Quiniporraj	Kigenobitorrangh
4	—	—	—	(Quessajosojol)	—
5	Keketorachan	80	pacified	—	Tarrachian
6	Kimmalauw	100	not pacified	Quimabolao	Kimablauw
Basay	Kitalabiau	60	pacified	Quitalabiauuan	Talobayan

Source: *SIT*, 476–479 & *FE* III, 294–295

Based on this division we are now going to take a step forward by comparing the scarce proto-historical information of the villages with the archeological data. Yilan County is relatively rich in archeological sites (coming either from hurried survey or from a formal excavation), and all of them are properly recorded in modern archeological charts.<sup>31</sup> A first observation of the charts shows that almost all of the sites belong to a period between the years 1400–1800 A.D., and are catalogued as belonging to the Shisanhang culture. This shows clearly that Yilan Plain was an area where settlers started their occupation at the verge of the proto-historical times, although the higher areas close to the mountains, and even former small low islands, have earlier settlements that can be traced to the end of the Neolithic period. A second observation is that a good number of these Shisanhang archeological sites are located in the same towns or areas where Chan and Kang located the villages listed 400 years ago. This correlation offers us an interesting bridge between the material culture and the proto-historical references of the area, but at the same time it generates a question: why do some archeological sites of the Shisanhang period seem difficult to relate with any of the villages listed in Spanish or Dutch sources? Different possibilities can be offered to explain this, for example, their period of existence was either earlier or posterior to the Western presence, or they were so small that they passed unnoticed by the Dutch surveyors. Here we offer a map (3.2) with the villages recorded by Westerners that can be associated with the modern archeological artifacts of the Shisanhang culture.

Going from north to south, we find the first area with Quibanuran (Dutch: Kibanorra, Kimablaw) village, the most populated in the whole Lang Yang Plain. Chan and Kang identify this village with modern Qiwulan (淇武蘭) in the place called Jiaoxi (礁溪). We know that in 1646, eight houses, out of forty-six, paid a tribute to the VOC. Compared with other villages this was still a sign of friendship, but the Dutch were pessimistic about collecting it again in the following year (*FE* III, 118). The name of its chieftain in 1647 was Caroubotaij, and at that time the village had 711 souls. The survey of the following year raises this data to 840 souls; the same figure stands for 1650. In this district is located the archeological site KWL showing Shisanhang culture, from years 800 to 1800. This is probably the most important Shisanhang archeological site in the Yilan region that allows us to draw a clear relation between the archeological materials and the proto-historical information. For example, there were more than 300 smoking pipes discovered in the excavations that call to mind the policy of offering tobacco as a gift made by the Dutch when visiting the towns (a matter that we explain in chapter 5).

Moving southwards we can consider a second area of villages, with Sinachan (Dutch: Sasinagan) as the most populated one, having 399 souls in 1647. Chan and Kang identify it with modern Xinzaihan (辛仔罕). It was surrounded by the villages of Taradingan, Taptap, Quitubitubi, Baboloan, and Sinarogan (Sinarochan).<sup>32</sup> Sinachan village might have had some pre-eminence over the other ones, because: “[it] consisted of six different villages, but classified under one name” (*FE* III, 389). The name of the *cabessa* (headman) was Tarribe, and in 1651, the Dutch were very happy with him because he manifested affection and loyalty to the VOC when in 1 July 1651, carrying

his silver cane, he presented his cooperation to the VOC. However, two months later the whole story became confused, even to the point where the Dutch heard that the said Tarribe was then leading the Cavalans against them.<sup>33</sup>

The third area is located in the south of present Yilan city. Kimabolao (Dutch: Mabolaaw) was the biggest village with 260 souls in 1650 (*FE* III, 394), but the others also had more than 200 souls. It is worth mentioning Jajinjurus (Dutch: Parerier), in the area of Pali (擺離). This village had 135 souls in 1647, with a headman called Bagoula (*FE* III, 189), and jumped to 210 in 1650 (*FE* III, 293). Most probably this place is related to the recently discovered archeological site YLNH, in Yi Lan University (formerly Yi Lan Nung Hsiao) where one gold necklace was unearthed in 2006 by Chiou Suijin (邱水金) in a graveyard.

Crossing the Lang Yang River, and near the present city of Luodong, we can define a fourth area made of few villages; among them Quessajosojol (Dutch: Sagol Sagol/Sochel Sochel) has the most proto-historical data. In 1644, the inhabitants did not welcome Captain Pieter Boon, and he reported saying that they “have turned down our offer [of alliance] in a mocking and despicable way ... [adding that] if the Dutch wanted to meet with them they could come freely, as they were strong enough to withstand our force.” Boon decided to go there to destroy the village. This is the record of the punitive expedition that followed later:

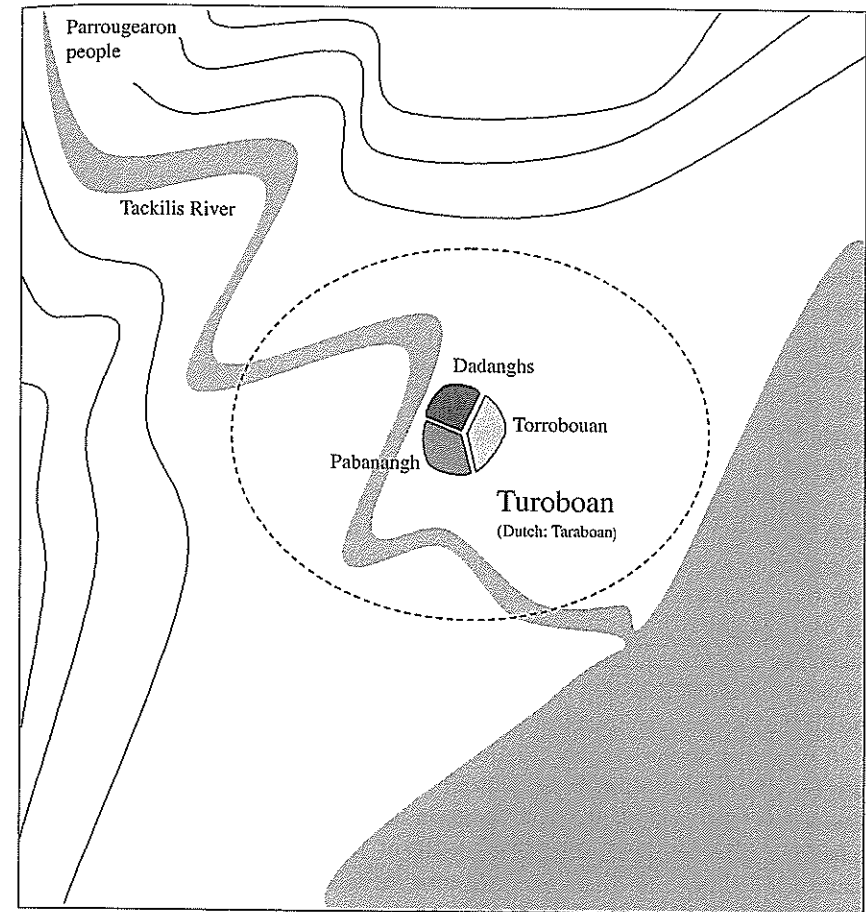
We arrived in Sochel Sochel and immediately set it afire, most of their rear houses being filled with rice and paddy. Unfortunately when we marched along some narrow paths ... the scoundrels shot and killed two of our men ..., suddenly coming out of the thicket and attacking us before we saw them and then, immediately they ran off again. Next many of their warriors appeared in the field close to their village in order to put up a strong fight, however when our musketeers charged them, at once they fled away and we have that many of them were killed in the charge. The next morning we burnt down and destroyed everything which had not been destroyed the preceding day. (*FE* II, 475)

Chan and Kang identify this village with present Saohu (掃笏), and in a place of this district is located the archeological site SH, with archeological data between the years 1400 to 1800, but the excavation did not report any special fire, at least nothing different from those of other archeological sites. On the contrary, the village was rebuilt and it became the biggest of that area in 1647 with 458 souls. After Boon’s experience, they continued the very unfriendly relations with the Dutch, such that in that year it was still considered formally at war with the VOC (*FE* III, 189), and called “the most rancorous village” (*FE* III, 171). No wonder, when Teodoro and two Caquiuanuan headmen went in the name of the Dutch to warn the village to pay tribute: “the rebellious villagers spotted Teodoro and the interpreters, not only forbade them to enter, but even shot as many as five volleys of arrows at them without hitting anyone, so that they were forced to keep out” (*FE* III, 182). Teodoro and those headmen of Caquiuanuan got so irritated that the following year they asked permission from the VOC to wage war against this

village and also against Quitatupaan (Dutch: Kittotepan/Kakitapan), that had behaved in a similar way (*FE* III, 240). According to Chan and Kang this village must be located in present Jiliban (奇立板) district, a place where nearby exists the archeological site catalogued as HSF.

The fifth area was formed by a few villages at the entrance of Kriouan River (Lang Yang River). Among them the most populous one was Quiparrusinauan (Dutch: Parissinawan), identified by Chan and Kang as modern Poluoxinzaiyuan (婆羅辛仔遠). This village was headed in 1644 by Boutay Madawis, and had more than 450 souls, that is why nearby there are three archeological sites of the Shisanhang culture, SW, ST, and LL. It is remarkable that the last site has the earlier strata of this culture, moving from the years 800 to 1400. This place was friendlier to the Basayan scouts and to the interpreter Teodoro. Probably he advised Boon to enter in Cavalan in his expedition of 1644 through that place. There the inhabitants gave a warm welcome offering “some houses that could serve as guardhouses as well as lodging for our men” (*FE* II, 474). This village was the most cooperative with the Dutch paying tributes, for example, in 1646, they “delivered 1320 pounds of rice, being the tribute of 44 houses, out of 130; besides a quantity of deerskins for one house” (*FE* III, 107), and even the headman promised to pay the remaining tribute on the first occasion. Nevertheless, the following year, they only paid “555 pounds of rice and one skin” (*FE* III, 196), but in any case, compared with other villages, the Dutch were happy and a mutual good relation was established. People from the neighboring fishing village of Kerrionan (Dutch: Little Moudanas) went there also to meet the Dutch. This village was identified by Chan and Kang as Jialiwan (加禮宛), which was also nearby the archeological site CLW. As we will argue later, we consider that this area has a strong Basay connection. No wonder, few days after the departure of Boon, these Cavalans were welcomed by the Dutch in Tamsui when they arrived in there “with six vessels loaded with a little rice and some trinkets to trade with and to sell to the Basayos” (*FE* III, 196).

The sixth area was the farthest one and the news reaching the Dutch was scarce. The main village, as it was mentioned by Teodoro in his interrogation of 1644, must be Quimabolao (Dutch: Kimabolaw, identified as 奇武荖); the village had 100 men capable of bearing arms, and someone called Boetajomajauw was the elder (*SIT*, 479). The other villages were Manauyen (Dutch: Bragonlian, identified as 武淵); Quejenabotorran (Dutch: Kigenobutarang, identified as 南搭吝); Quitanabunaran (Dutch: Tenaboeran, identified as 打那美); and finally Banarauban (identified as 武罕), but this was missed in the Spanish sources. These last two villages can be related with the archeological sites of TNM and WH respectively. One of the first times that Cavalan appeared mentioned in Dutch sources was in 1636 associated with a rumor saying that gold could also be found there (*SIT*, 246). The gold was one of the main motivations for the Dutch to reach the north of Taiwan and especially the east of the island where Turoboan, the “El Dorado” of Dutch Formosa, was located.



**Map 3.3** Schematic distribution of the Turoboan village. The shaded area called by the Spaniards Turoboan, Toroboan, (even Jorboan), was transcribed by the Dutch in different ways. When citing Basayans informers from Tamsui or Quelang the Dutch transcribed the name as Taraboan; when citing informers from the near village of Talleroma, they transcribed it as Tackilis, referring mainly to the river (the early Holo transliteration or 得其黎溪). The Dutch sources considered three different groups of people living in this area, and, according to their own perception there were those calling the place Torrobouan, others using the name of Pabanang, and finally those referring to the place as Dadanghs. Another group upwards the river was called Parrougearon, considered as very fierce people. In modern days the mouth of the river is called Lihshi (立霧 or 立霧溪).

### *Turoboan and the gold-collecting area*

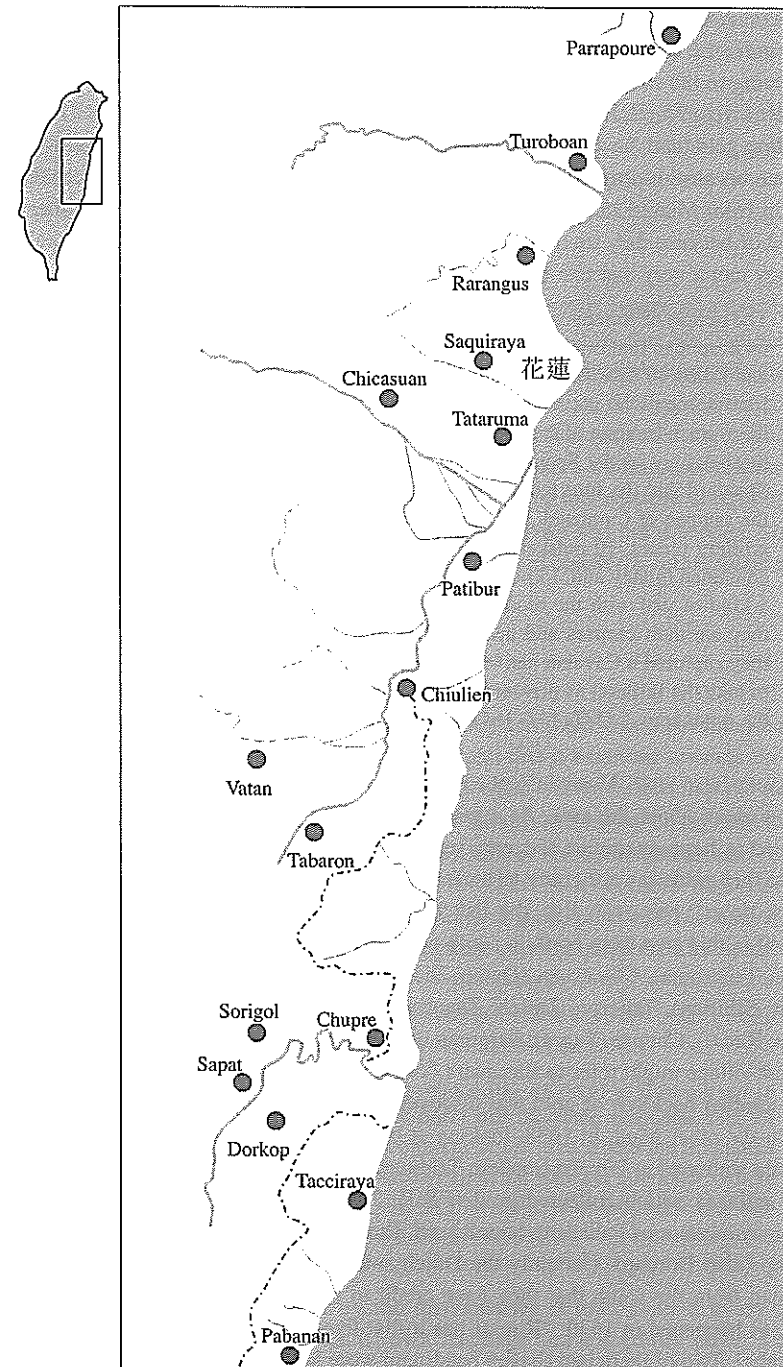
Turoboan was a fascinating village for the Spaniards and later for the Dutch, since it was located in an almost unreachable place where gold might have been found. The first description of Turoboan is the one of Esquivel, in 1632, when he listed the gold-collecting villages, and claimed in a mythological fashion that there were “many rich



gold mines, where the Taparrians go to collect gold in huge quantities and sell them in Quelang to the sangleys who pay in stone money and *cuentas*. There is also a mountain that becomes so brilliant at sunrise that nobody can gaze at it. It is suspected to be a quartz or silver mine" (*SIT*, 163). Also he said in amazement that Alcarazo told him that he had seen gold of twenty-three carats from Turoboan (*SIT*, 165). But the fact is that at that time Alcarazo was no longer impressed anymore and even he prohibited private expeditions to that place. The only Spaniard that we know who went there was precisely Aguilar accompanied by some inhabitants of the Basay village Caquiuanuan, although, according to his interrogation by the Dutch years later "he had remained on the beach and had not gone into the village, as he had only traveled to Taraboan to track down some runaway slaves of the [Spanish] king, instead of searching for gold" (*FE* III, 75).<sup>34</sup> Also, according to some rumors collected by the Dutch in 1641 (but without any simple reference in the Spanish sources): "On several occasions, Spanish priests might have traveled to that [golden] site, but none of them have ever returned because they had all been beaten to death by those mountain people" (*FE* II, 272).

After the conquest of Quelang by the Dutch, the time for their exploration for gold sites had arrived. They organized several expeditions to the area, for they were systematic in collecting all the possible information from former visitors of Turoboan. The first one was under Boon (spring of 1643), who before the departure interrogated Aguilar, as we have said (*FE* II, 319–324). Even in 1646, when the Dutch were considering stationing a Dutchman there, they called different interpreters like the Japanese Jacinto or the Quimaurian Teodoro, who had been there "fifteen times" (*FE* II, 489), to collect preliminary information from them.

What and where was this "El Dorado"? According to Aguilar, two main areas can be differentiated, a "white sandy beach" between Manin and Turoboan (six miles equidistant from both places), and Turoboan itself. In both places, he said, one and a half picul can be taken yearly. Other details of Turoboan are very precise in Dutch sources (*FE* III, 74–76). There were two areas for collecting gold, upstream and in the delta of the river. The first one was the most unknown because it was difficult to move around and it was populated by very fierce people called the Parrougearon, who "look and move like monkeys." They could collect gold of a coarse texture, but not in large quantities. They were very jealous of their mines and sometimes attacked the other natives collecting gold in the delta, near the beach. According to these sources, the natives collecting gold were living in a single town, called by Basayans and Cavalans, Turoboan (Dutch: Taraboan). It was occupied by three different groups, each one calling the place in their own way. First, there was the group that called the place Pabanangh that only gathered the gold "during three months of the year," and they were on good terms with those Parrougearon, and were allowed to search for gold "higher up the river."<sup>35</sup> The second group was the Dadanghs, who "gather gold-dust at the beach near the river mouth after it has rained heavily for a few days, whenever they can and feel like it." The final group was the one who called themselves Torrobouan. The proximity between the terms Torrobouan and Taraboan makes us suspect that those inhabitants of Torrobouan had a close connection to the Basayans; in fact, the Basayan nature of the



Map 3.4 Native villages in the East Coast, near Hualien 花蓮. The southern villages of Sorigol, Sapat, Dorkop, and Tacciraya are not mentioned in the Spanish sources.

village was documented by the Dutch when in their census of 1650 they referred to this place under the name of Basey (*FE* III, 296).<sup>36</sup>

Going to the south of Turoboan is a long region stretching with towns where gold and silver were found. Esquivel listed some villages in 1632 (*SIT*, 163–164), all of them collecting gold (and, he said, even silver). The first one was Rarangus, a village difficult to locate because it does not appear in Dutch sources.<sup>37</sup> But we know that in 1628 the aid-ship from Manila stopped in that area, although the reason is not clear, either out of need or because they tried to explore the possible gold of this area. Esquivel relates that they met a very bad fate because they were massacred by the natives:

The people of Rarangus with the help of the neighboring villages seized from us a sampan that bore aid and supplies from Manila. They stole everything and killed 10 Spaniards, sparing only one man who is still alive today, and four women who are also still alive. They were saved upon the petition of the women because of the five women in the boat, one hanged herself, seeing the butchery of the Spaniards, and expecting to suffer the same fate. That Spaniard and the four women sent a native girl to our fort to tell us it was the sampan of Carabajal, and that the natives took from it two large bronze artillery pieces, 10 muskets, and two small woven caskets that might have contained money and, I know not, other things. The girl said that they filled a kind of pail with the blood of the victims, and then drank it; afterwards they ate their corpses and heads. When the Spaniards went there recently, they captured a Cavalan native who confessed all this to be true. They tried to take the [killers] as prisoners but they could not because they had fled to the mountains.<sup>38</sup> (*SIT*, 163–164)

As we have read, Alcarazo sent an expedition to avenge the massacre and probably to know more about the area. As a result he realized that in that place gold was not produced in large quantities and very soon the interest of the Spaniards dwindled. He thought that gold was not going to be found any more in the Indies, and the period of “golden times” was over. But, the Dutch still believed in it. Other villages listed by Esquivel in this area from north to south were Saquiraya (Dutch: Sakiraya),<sup>39</sup> Tataruma (Dutch: Talleroma), Chicasuan (Dutch: Sicosuan), Patibur (Dutch: Patsilar), Chiulien (Dutch: Sibilien), Tabaron (Dutch: Tavoran) but without mines, Parusarun, Raucay (Dutch: Rauai), Chupre (Supra), Saruman where only gold was available, and Pabanán. This last village might refer to Basanan (八桑安), nowadays called Baisanan (白桑安), where another necklace of gold was discovered in the archeological site PSN.

On the other hand, in 1638, looking at the area from the south, the junior Dutch merchant stationed in Pimaba (modern Taidong), Amerten Wesselingh, reported another list of villages which collected gold (*FE* II, 206): first Palan (which should be the previously mentioned Pabanán), later Linaw, Tacciraya, Ullebegan, Rabath (also Sapat), Daracop (also Dorcop). Certainly the Dutch since 1638 were so determined to reach Turoboan from the south that they gave credit to any favorable or even inauspicious rumor, as happened in 1639: “Rumor has it that five white men had been there [north of Pimaba]. Two of them had shaven heads and wore long clothes, while the other three

were dressed in our fashion. Without the slightest doubt, these were Spaniards trying to lay their hands on the gold before we could. Time will reveal the accuracy of this information” (*SIT*, 295). We do not know if this rumor was different to the one mentioned in 1641, or was it the same one that still persisted two years later. Whatever the case, Turoboan, a village with strong Basay connections—as we will continue explaining later—still remained unreachable for the Dutch, but for only just a while.

## The Basayans

In clear contrast with the previous geographically homogeneous groups, like the Cavalans or those of Tamsui Basin, there is another, the Basay, which in fact we find dispersed along the northeast coast of the island, but with a clear sense of identity, as recognized by the Spaniards and the Dutch. Their cultural features were: (1) they have a common language; (2) their villages are located in isolated coastal settlements; (3) kinship is founded between Basayan villages; (4) they have created a trading network that links by sea not only themselves, but also the other tribes; (5) this network is not only used for trade but also for communication; and (6) headhunting was not practiced. Since we will see the economic aspects of this trading network in chapter 5, let us focus now on the other ones.

## Language

The Spanish missionaries are consistent in saying that there was a common language called Basay, known in the places they stayed, and that it extended towards the south. The first reference comes from Esquivel (1632) when—after mentioning the towns in Cavalan and Hualian areas—he said: “All these villages are said to be big, and that they share a language called Baçay that is commonly spoken throughout the island. Although some villages have their own dialect, they nevertheless speak both baçay and their dialect” (*SIT*, 165). And in another moment he was more precise: “The native tongue is easy to learn. They speak a particular language in some *partidos* like Senar. But in Senar, as in all the other places with their own languages, everyone speaks a common and general language; that is what we missionaries learn to speak” (*SIT*, 180). De los Ángeles is quite consistent with Esquivel, when in 1649 he said:

They have many languages: each province has its own; at times, even in villages of the same province, they don't use the same language. One of them, called basaya, is somehow common in the area where the Spaniards had their garrison: it is somehow spoken up to the Torboan province—where there is gold—, because, as they say, they have the same language. It is also understood in the area of the river Tamchui, even if they have their own languages there. (*SIT*, 568–569)

In short, the idea conveyed by the missionaries is that, even if every general geographical unity (or *partido*) has its own language and sometimes more, a kind of *lingua franca* co-existed. It was spoken in Quelang, known in Tamsui, and its influence



even reached to Turoboan. Was this the language of the “Indies of Tamchuy” studied by Esquivel?<sup>40</sup> It seems that by using that name, Esquivel was referring to a language commonly spoken along the river; but, which one? It cannot be the language spoken in the Pulauan of Quimazon branches, because he was never stationed there. It should be the Basayan language. To justify this statement, let us consider the places he stayed at. He arrived in Quelang in the summer of 1631 and soon later passed to Taparri (both places were Basay-speaking areas) where he stayed until October. He was there without other Spaniards, therefore with no other option but to learn Basay. Logically he might have used the first drafts of the Basay language written by his missionary fellow mates, particularly the Portuguese Vázquez who arrived in 1626, and compiled the first list of words and prayers. From Taparri Esquivel moved to Tamsui and stayed there until February 1632. According to the *History* of Bishop Diego de Aduarte, he lived near the fort in a simple hermitage that he constructed and lived a life of prayer and mortification.<sup>41</sup> But it is easy to understand that he continued learning Basayan when interacting with the Taparrians living near the fort, who probably were engaged in the sulfur business. This amounts to a total of around eight months studying Basayan. Then, he moved to Senar, where he spent a few months more, from spring to the beginning of summer. There, he might have used his Basayan knowledge to preach to the people of Senar and particularly the villagers of the close village of Kipas, most probably a Basayan village itself. At the same time he might have also employed his innate linguistic inclination<sup>42</sup> in analyzing the differences between both languages. Once back at Quelang, it was probably the time he rewrote the notes of the language he had learnt, but unfortunately all these manuscripts are lost.<sup>43</sup>

What about the language itself? The studies that we have on it are those based on the field notes of Japanese linguist Asai. According to Li, in 1936, Asai, in searching for the Ketagalan language (as it was named forty years earlier by Ino) interviewed an aboriginal lady of more than seventy years old called Pan Shih-Yiau (潘氏腰), whose hometown was in Xinshe (新社), located in the modern coastal Gungliao Township (貢寮鄉). Asai was able to collect around 1,000 lexical items, a few sentences, and two short texts of her language (Ketagalan, according to Asai). He also found that another lady of around sixty-five years old called Ipai (吳林氏伊排), in Shetou (社頭) near modern Shewei (社尾) in northern Yilan, was able to speak Trobiawan (a dialect of Ketagalan according to Asai) and provided Asai a dozen texts and a few traditional songs.<sup>44</sup> In other words, we think that Asai in fact compiled the remaining data of the Basay language because Xinshe is located close to the old Basay village of Caquiuaran (Santiago), while Shetou was near Duoluomeiyan (哆囉美遠), the present Chinese name of the old Basay village of Quitlabiau. Based on the notes of Asai taken from his two informants, Moriguchi Tsunekazu (森口 恒一) published the first draft dictionary of the Basay language.<sup>45</sup>

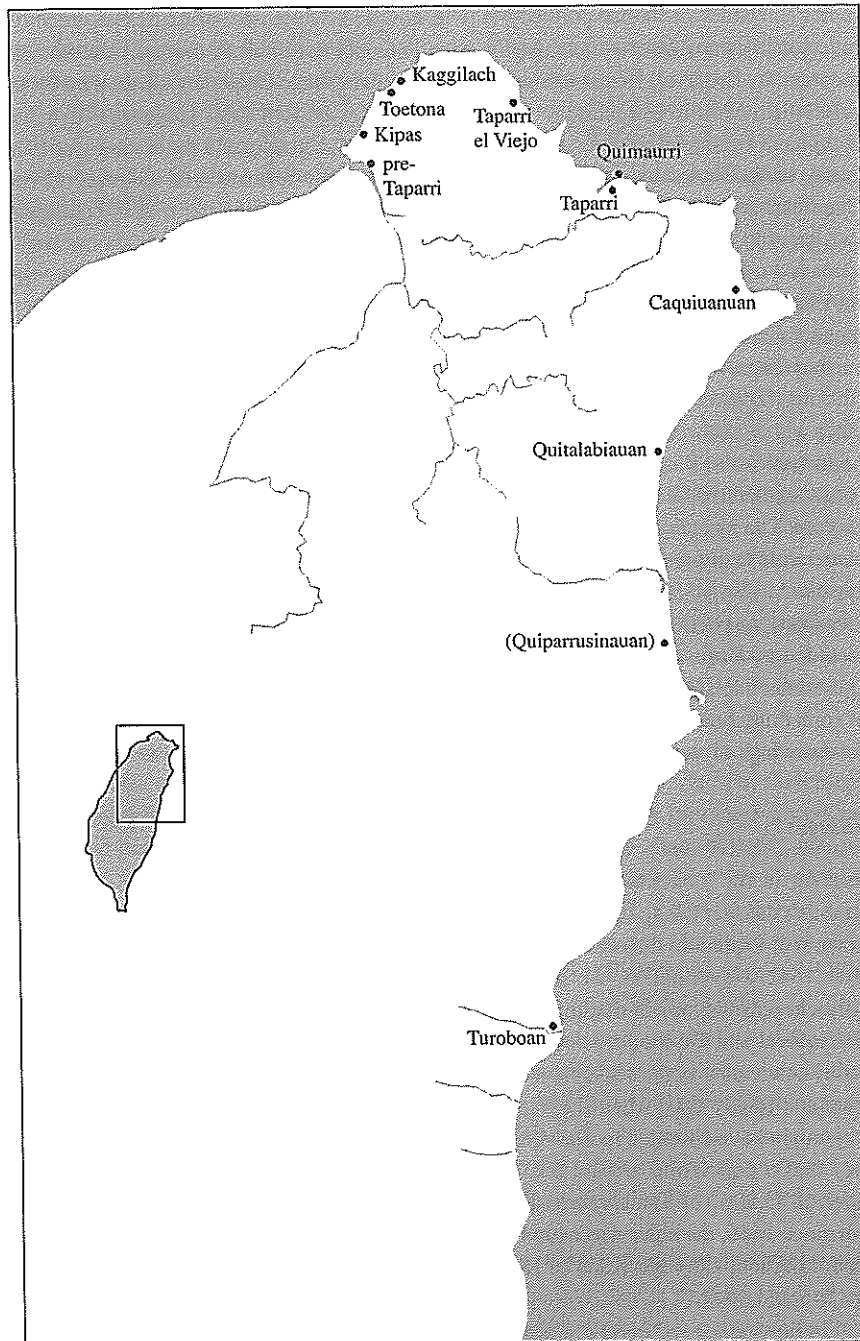
Li—based on the field notes of Asai, his own field work,<sup>46</sup> and the dictionary of Moriguchi—has discussed the pronouns, case markers, focus systems, and other grammatical aspects in his 1999 essay, offering a basic yet holistic glimpse into this extinct language. Additionally, we have gathered some observations from the Amis

writer Nakao Eki, who had pointed out to us how some linguistic structures are directly reflected in names. For example, paying attention to the seventeenth-century place names recorded by Esquivel, Nakao recognizes that the place name Caquiuaran shows a clear parallelism of word formation to that common in the modern Amis language—like the compound structure (*ka-ci-X-an*)—which may help us to understand the meaning of this Basay name. Based on that, she argues that the possible formation of the place name Caquiuaran is that *ca-* and *-an* form a compound meaning “the place of X” and that *qui-* signifies “having X/with X.” Thus the compound *ca-qui-X-an* modifies the stem *uanu* and means “the place with (many/much) *uanu*.” Therefore the image conveyed by the place name Caquiuaran will depend on the meaning of the stem *uanu*. Considering the fact that many modern Formosan villages are named after the features of their natural surroundings, Nakao supposes that the most possible candidate for *uanu* may be water (in Amis language “water” is *nanom*); if this is the case Caquiuaran would mean “the place with much water.” This supposition is somehow supported by Li’s lexicon, in which he identifies the Basay word for water as *nanum*.<sup>47</sup> Besides, she argues, this structure is an “elaborated” version of another more common structure in the Amis language: *ci-X-an*. The most famous examples of this structure in place names are Ci-widi-an (the place with many leeches) and Ci-kasoy-an (the place with abundant firewood); both appeared in Esquivel’s 1632 record as Chiulien (Dutch: Sibilien) and Chicasuan (Dutch: Sicosuan), respectively. Besides these names, there are other Basayan place names also recorded by Esquivel carrying the *qui-X-an* compound or only the prefix *qui-*, such as Qui-talabiau-an, Qui-parrusinau-an, and Qui-maurri, all supposedly indicating the mass of something present in those areas. Again, our understanding of those names hinges on the meanings of *maurri*, *talabiau*, and *parrusinau*.<sup>48</sup>

### Villages

Starting in the Tamchui area and following the west-east coastal direction we can establish the first Basay village near the old fort of Santo Domingo, called Taparri. But, as we will explain in the next chapter, we think that this village started its development after 1642. Nevertheless, we presume the existence of a (1) Taparri settlement for different reasons, one is that the Basay language was understood in the Tamsui River as Esquivel and De los Ángeles mentioned, second is the regular distance among the Basay towns that make reasonable the establishment of a Basay spot in that strategic area, and finally that, when the Taparri of Quelang migrated definitively to Tamsui, they might have chosen a receptive friendly place. Once they got established in Tamsui, they had a population around 250 to 300 souls. Regarding the elders, in 1642, the elder of Taparri (of Tamsui) was Kilas sa Romana, the uncle of the wife of Aguilar. But since 1646, the elder was called Lucas Kilas, who kept the leadership during more than a decade, although Kilas sa Romana still held a kind of headmanship, as stated in 1646 and 1647.<sup>49</sup>

Following the seashore, and according to Esquivel, before reaching Quelang we can find “two or three small villages of Taparri along the beach and the mountains” (*SIT*,



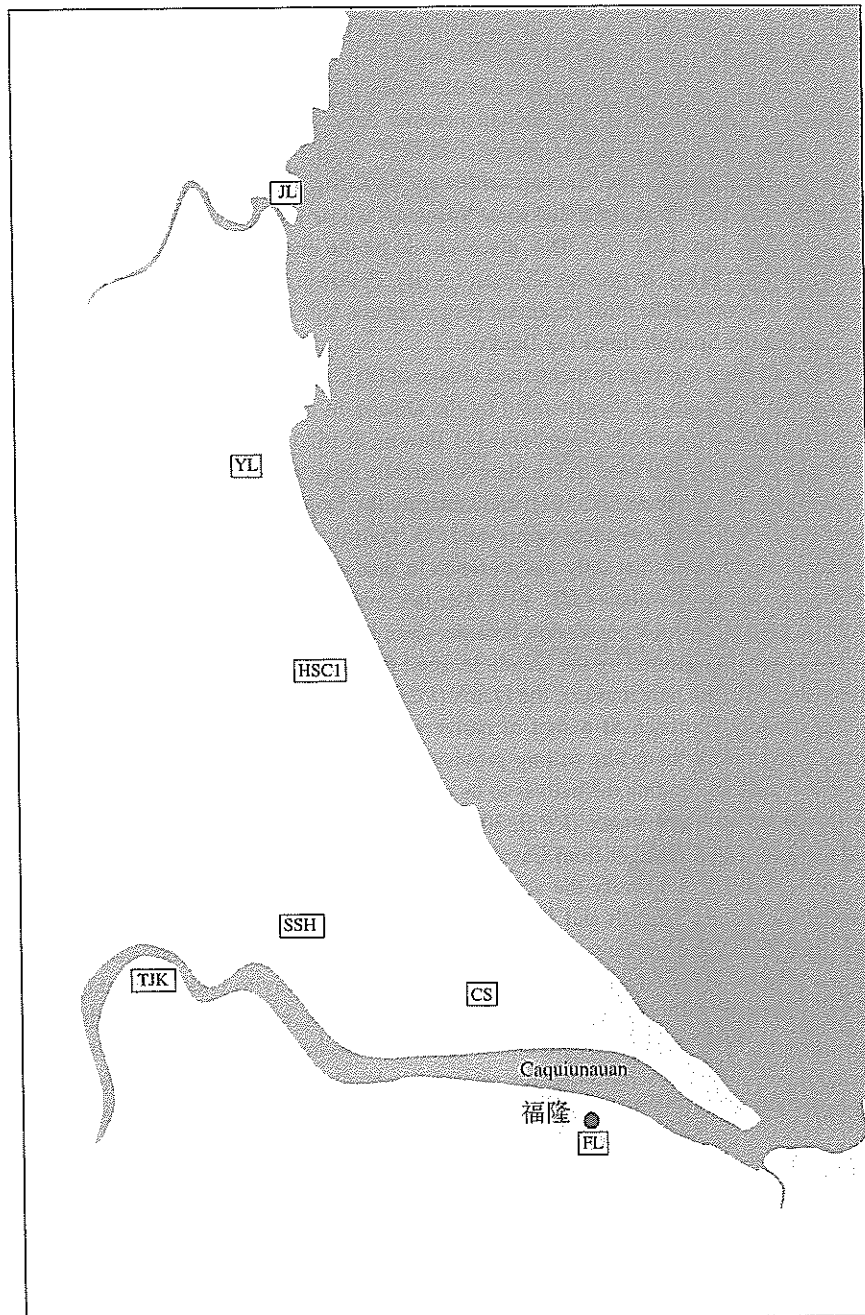
Map 3.5 Location of the Basay villages in 1642.

166). The first one must be (2) Kipas, attached to Senar, which the map of Keerdekoë mentioned as Kaggitach, probably because its leader was called Kakijlach. In fact, this name must have wider meaning because one of the other two Basayan villages located in the most northern part of Taiwan had a similar name. According to Kang these were (3) Toetona (大屯) and (4) Kaggilach (小雞籠).<sup>50</sup> Later comes (5) Taparri el Viejo, a name which stands for the “ancient settlement of Kiparri.” We only know that in this place the natives robbed and killed some Spaniards whose junk got stranded on the coast in 1629 (*SIT*, 166, 173, 174). That place should be the one known in Qing sources as Qimpauli (金包里), in present Chinsan (金山). Following towards the east we reach Quelang Bay, one of the most important Basay centers, with the villages of (6) Quimaaurri and during the Spanish times (7) Taparri.

Later comes the already mentioned village of (8) Caquiuanuan (Santiago in Spanish sources and St. Iago, as transliterated by the Dutch), in present Fulong area. This was the first place the Spaniards disembarked in Taiwan, in 1626 (*SIT*, 72). They found that a Japanese Christian had been living there for already forty years. Esquivel said that they were asking for a priest (*SIT*, 181), and certainly the Dominicans established a church there (*SIT*, 291) with a resident priest. In 1635, Quirós visited the place on his way to Cavalan. He claimed that only his presence in that village made the inhabitants feel secure against the Cavalans (*SIT*, 303). The last missionary assigned there was Pedro Chaves, who never took possession because when he was moving from China to there, in 1641, he was captured by the Dutch. In 1642 the people of Caquiuanuan looked for friendship with the new masters, the Dutch (*FE II*, 304); but the Dutch understood this initial friendly approach as a sign of native submission and they started demanding many things from them like selling provisions, etc. This created an eventual strong misunderstanding leading the natives to be passive and reluctant, an attitude interpreted by the Dutch as disobedience (*FE II*, 307–315). Certainly Caquiuanuan was a place to acquire rice, either brought from Cavalan, or grown locally.

It is difficult to identify the actual place where the Caquiuanuan settlement was located during the Spanish and Dutch times, because it was an area populated since Neolithic times and up to the last period of Shisanhang culture, as attested by the seven different archeological sites found in the area. One way to understand this may be to consider Caquiuanuan as a group of small villages, especially those following the seashore,<sup>51</sup> but those upstream on the river can also be included.<sup>52</sup> Another way to locate it is from the description of the route given by General Johannes Lamotius after he made a trip from Quimaaurri to Caquiuanuan with his soldiers in September 1642, thus putting it near the present train station at Fulong beach. He said that, first they have to cross the river Kinarboes, later a place called Bawatang where the Chinese burned lime for the Spaniards, later a place called Bovo, another called Bangabangas, another called Batang, and finally “a long sandy beach before St. Iago” (*SIT*, 389–390).

Different to the above-mentioned compact groups on the Yilan Plain, we have now the isolated coastal village of (9) Quitalabiauan (Dutch: Taloebayan)<sup>53</sup> that Kang identifies with modern Duoluomeiyuan (哆囉美遠). This is the place where Akai found one of the last Basay speakers. The information about this village in Dutch sources is



**Map 3.6** Archeological sites of the Shisanhang (十三行) culture around the area of Caquiuanuan (or Santiago). This area mainly corresponds to the present Fulong (福隆) beach.

limited; nevertheless, we know that in 1650 it had 40 households and 193 souls (*FE* III, 294). This village must be a Basayan enclave (something that Kang had also observed), for different reasons. First, because when the Dutch arrived for the first time to Cavalan, in 1644 during the Boon expedition, they disembarked in Catinunum harbor (modern Su Ao 南澳, a port which the Spaniards called San Lorenzo) and they marched towards the mouth of the river Kriouan (Lang Yang River), where they were greeted by the local people of Quiparrusinauan (Dutch: Parissinawan) and Terrachia (Dutch: Little Moudamas). Later, there appeared also those of Quitalabiauan (Dutch: Talebeauan) that had come from far away because scouts from Quimaurri went ahead to inform them; and, after meeting the Dutch, they were very pleased (*FE* II, 474). Second, it can be mentioned that in the same expedition Boon went to destroy the villages of Quessajosojol (Dutch: Sochel Sochel) and Quitatupaan (Dutch: Kakitapan), as we will see later. When reaching the last village, he decided to postpone its destruction because the day was already quite advanced and decided—probably advised by his Basayan scouts—to change course to Quitalabiauan, where “the villagers proved to be reasonably helpful and of good will” (*FE* II, 475). Third, when the Quimaurri chieftain Teodoro, an active collaborator with the Dutch, reported in 1644 the number of men of the native villages in the north capable or bearing arms, he counted four groups of towns (*SIT*, 478–479) — those of Quimazon River, those of Pulaan River, a group of only four from Cavalan (precisely, the most prominent ones), and the last group was made also of four distant villages: Kimauri, Caquiuanuan, Quitalabiauan, and Tarrachia, seemingly all of them Basayan villages. Finally, Quitalabiauan must be “the small Basayos island, situated in a fresh water river” (*FE* III, 390), mentioned in 1651, the year in which Teodoro proposed to the Dutch to build there a stronghold where “men should be stationed to go on patrol” to help the security of communications with Turoboan.<sup>54</sup> For what we have said in the first and third reasons, we can consider (10) the area of Quiparrusinauan and Terrachia, as a district with strong Basay connections.

Something remarkable at the end of the Cavalan Bay was the magnificent harbor of Catinunum (San Lorenzo), which was often visited by Cavalans. De los Ángeles, who was there once, described it with great admiration:

Big ships plying to windward through its mouth can enter the harbor, which is like a small bay dominated by a big, round hill to the right as you enter. Once inside, the ships approach land keeping right beyond said hill. Close to land, the water is still seven fathoms deep, so that the crew just needs a gangway to jump on to the land. Away from the open sea, the port is sheltered by mountains and protected from all winds. (*SIT*, 571)

Esquivel granted also to that harbor great strategic value, suggesting that the Spaniards set up a garrison, first to control the Cavalan headhunting *razzias* to the people of Senar; and, second, to occupy it before the Dutch (*SIT*, 162–163). Certainly it was very strategic in the communications between Manila and Quelang. In 1639, the governor of Quelang Cristóbal Márquez regretted the loss of the junk of Captain Mateo Gómez because he did not know about the existence of that harbor (*SIT*, 307). Also, in 1641, San Salvador Governor Gonzalo Portillo reminded Manila authorities of the strategic value of port San Lorenzo as a strategic defense from the Dutch if they were

moving around, as actually happened later.<sup>55</sup> In fact, on 16 September 1644 Boon docked there, when he started his above-mentioned expedition to Cavalan. As for the Basay, it was peculiar that they did not establish any known settlement in Catinunum. Maybe it was because the harbor was too crowded for the Basay concept of establishing an ideal isolated village, or because it did not have anything special inland, or, just, because the village of Quiparrusinauan—very friendly to the Basayos, if not Basay itself—was very near.

Later came the village of (11) Turoboan, part of which was inhabited by Basayos, as we have explained earlier. Considering the regular distance among the cited villages (maybe they were located according to certain sailing journey units), it is once again peculiar to find the existence of a double lap distance between Quiparrusinauan and Turoboan. Certainly, the nature of the seashore and its lack of any commercial value inland was the reason the trip to Turoboan was longer than the others.<sup>56</sup>

### *Communication role*

Because the Basayans were constantly moving, they were quite knowledgeable about what was going on around the island. In 1642, during the final battle between the Dutch and Spaniards, they played an ambiguous role. In fact, some Basayan natives of Caquiuanuan moving earlier around Catinunum, on 22 February, had aided the Spaniards by preventing the capture of their aid-ship from Manila by an awaiting Dutch ship, but on the other hand, based on other information from Tamsui, some other Basays were on board the said Dutch ship helping in their exploration (*SIT*, 369).

Once the Dutch got established in Quelang the Quimaurrians proved to be good interpreters thanks to their fluency in Spanish. Certainly, the Quimaurri children had started learning Spanish from the Dominican missionaries. Besides, they moved so freely among the Spanish soldiers that Esquivel mentioned with some regret: “the children, through the daily visiting of the Spanish camp, have learned Spanish so well that there is no vulgar or coarse expression that does not escape their lips” (*SIT*, 182). In 1649, De los Ángeles mentioned that some natives managed to speak Spanish better than some natives in the Philippines (*SIT*, 568). The Dutch very soon noticed that the young natives of Quimaurri not only had Spanish names, but also were well versed in Spanish. Immediately they called on them as interpreters, communicating with them in Spanish. Alonso (Dutch: Tamory Alonce) was the first Basayan hired. At the beginning of October 1642, just in the aftermath of the Dutch conquest of Quelang, Alonso accompanied a Dutch soldier to buy some provisions from some farming villages of the present Jilong River.<sup>57</sup> Governor François Caron said of him in 1644 that he had mastered the Castilian language (*FE* II, 489), but very soon Alonso lost the trust of the company and was hanged. He was substituted by Teodoro, the elder of Quimaurri who became very efficient in providing services. Another good interpreter was Lucas Kilas, the above-mentioned elder of Taparri (in Tamsui) who also was praised in Tayouan for his services.<sup>58</sup> Finally we can mention the native wife of Aguilar, who was very efficient in showing the Dutch the way to Turoboan.

### **An estimate of the population in northern Taiwan**

The information of the Spanish sources hardly mentions any clear figures of the native population. Regarding the Basayan villages, in 1632, only Esquivel said that Quimaurri had 600 natives in four or five settlements (*SIT*, 162); later he said that Taparri was made also of four to five previous settlements (*SIT*, 165). To know how populated these areas were we must rely on the number of family units gathered in Dutch sources for taxation purposes, at least this was the purpose of the figures until 1647, when taxes were abolished. These lists were known since Nakamura studies, and now most of them have been published in English in the third volume of *The Formosan Encounter* (*FE* III). Considering the difficulties of Dutch surveyors in gathering this information we can say that they are quite systematic, even precise, and certainly they offer more than a general estimation. The Dutch said that the native population that they calculated in the censuses of 1646, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1654, and 1655 for the whole island was around 60,000 souls; but, considering that some places might have remained unknown to them, the figure—they said—can be roughly estimated at 100,000 (*FE* III, 141). Based on these figures we consider that the particular proportion of the population in northern Taiwan, including the populated Cavalan, was 20 percent of the whole island.

In 1646, four years after the Spaniards had left the place, the registered population of the Taipei Basin, according to the survey made by a soldier accompanied by Lucas Kilas, offers the image of a deserted place, with only 2,952 souls, divided according to Table 3.4.

The most significant information drawn from the Dutch data is the decline in population that the island experienced between 1650 and 1654, when it decreased by 20 percent after years of stable growth. But, if the same can be said of the Taipei Basin—which after only nine years was reduced by one quarter, reaching 2,180 persons—the opposite happened in Cavalan, where the population experienced an 18.7 percent increase. (See Table 3.5).

It is difficult to know the reasons behind this population decline, because the years of the Dutch presence in the north have not yet undergone a thorough study. Was it due to poverty or to natural disasters? The case of Tamsui is explained by the spread of an unidentified disease, which killed in a few weeks sixty-one persons in Taparri, thirty-seven in Quimaurri, but also “along the Quelang and Pinerouan rivers and other smaller streams” (*FE* III, 477). It seems that 1651 was the year of a change in the trend, and living conditions began to experience difficulties in places like Quimaurri where the natives asked help from the Dutch, as they did with the Spaniards. Their petition was recorded by the new governor of North Holland (formerly San Salvador castle), Simon Keerdekoek. In a letter to the Dutch governor of Tayouan Nicolaes Verbuch dated 15 March 1651, Keerdekoek wrote:

Teadoor and Loupo, the elders of Quimorij, informed us about the sobriety of some of the Christians living in their village. They also explained how the papists (i.e., the Spaniards) treated those Christians in the Spanish era: namely that the Church had supported all impoverished Christians. Clearly, those

Table 3.4  
Natives of the Taipei Basin in 1646

	Villages	Headmen	Houses	Widows	Souls	Total
Tamsui	Senaer	Tenayan	37	5	131	543
	Taparri	Chereman	84	6	278	
	Kipatou	Rapan	39	4	134	
Kimazon	Quiranganan	Motton	8		28	1295
	Kimalsaou	Gommou	98	10	425	
	Paronpon	Mapalell	18	1	72	
	Kimaltsion	Kauyo	18	1	72	
	Katayo	Laemo	13	5	54	
	Lichoco	Ponap	52	3	228	
	Kimalts	Taquay	51	2	178	
	Rabrabar	Limonang	36	5	138	
	Kipangas	Lacco	28	2	100	
	Rauarauas	Rimolts	30	6	119	
Pulauan	Pinorowan	Pathiran	59	5	223	1114
	Roewerij	Para	39	6	146	
	Sjoeron	Karijnach	55	6	204	
	Ribalts	Paeron	49	6	181	
	Kipas	Kakijlach	32	2	108	
	Pattsij	Taunas	35	9	133	

Source: *FE* III, pp. 123–124

Table 3.5  
General evolution of the number of natives in northern Taiwan

	1646	1647	1648	1650	1654	1655
Tamsui	543	427	414	668	610	412
Quimazon	1295	1315	1322	1224	1003	950
Pulauan	1114	1109	1104	1218	1199	818
Quimaurij		408	500	541	506	491
St. Jago			360	375	360	
Cavalan		10559	8517	9670	11479	

Source: *FE* III, pp. 124 187 236 292 505 中村孝志  
中村孝志, 2002, 荷蘭時代台灣史研究 (下), p. 23

Christians have come to miss this kind of support ever since the expulsion of the Spaniards. However, we fed their hope saying that they had fallen from one kind of Christianity [Catholics] into another [Protestants], and that the Company [the VOC] would not treat them any worse than the Spaniards.<sup>59</sup>

A letter from the merchant Iperen of Tamsui to Governor Cornelis Caesar, dated 16 July 1654 shows that three years later the situation had worsened and was particularly severe in Cavalan: "From Cavalangh two proas showed up to exchange rice, and the crew told us that those regions had also suffered huge rates in mortality. For in some villages a hundred persons had died" (*FE* III, 525).

Finally, we should also take into account the very small size of the average family unit and its influence on the overall population. For example, if we consider the data of 1646 in the Taipei Basin the average family size increased from 3.3 to 4.3, making the villages very vulnerable to epidemics. Another reason for this small family size can be the extended practice of infanticide out of poverty. Esquivel described the situation in this way: "Some are extremely greedy and constantly go about begging. I believe that this is due to the poverty and want in which they live. This is why mothers kill their infants by burying them alive or giving them away in exchange for stones, clothing material or *carayo* (i.e., needle), all this is due to their lack of clothing or food (*SIT*, 179). This, and other geographical factors, may explain the big difference in the average family size compared with other tribes like those of the Philippines.

### Ethnological description of the natives

Encounters only are "real" so as long they produced descriptions of "the other." The first comprehensive ethnological description of the natives of Taiwan can be found in the *Account of the Eastern Barbarians* (東番記), written by Chen Ti (陳第) in 1603.<sup>60</sup> Surprisingly, he touches on the same topics as Dutch and Spaniards do when describing the western side of the island, the main purpose of which was to gather strategic knowledge to fight against the Japanese pirates. The same ethnological description was later developed, almost verbatim, by the Spanish or Dutch missionaries.

### Tribal governance system

At the beginning of his report, Chen mentioned the main geographical areas of Taiwan, and immediately he went on to discuss the way the natives organized themselves, manifesting the lack of governance and the importance of the "braves." He said:

There is no chief; one with many children is considered a hero by the populace, and they obey his orders. By nature they are brave and like to fight, and when there is nothing going on of this sort they practice running, by day and by night ... They kill and wound each other ... having cut the heads, they strip the flesh from the skulls and hang them at their doors. Those who have many skeletons hanging at their doors are called the brave.<sup>61</sup>



This system existed also in the south of the island as Candidius had expressed earlier in 1629: “These villages have no general chief who rules over them, but each village is independent, nor has any village its own headman who governs it ...”<sup>62</sup>

When later the Spaniards described the villages, they were also quick to point out the inexistence of a person representing authority, a headman or *cabeza*,<sup>63</sup> but—following Chen’s pattern—they recognized a social organization giving preeminence to two groups, the elders and the bravest, like forming a kind of aristocracy. The elders, or *bagui* (as mentioned by Quirós using the native language), or *principales* (as Esquivel puts it, using Spanish), were, according to this missionary, “those who had more stones, ceramic jars, clothes and *tambobos* (storage room); [later comes] the bravest among them, the headhunters” (*SIT*, 181), those with special recognition after having participated in battles against the neighboring clans or villages. Beheading the enemy was seen as an accomplishment and the victor would paint his own neck and arms as a mark of prestige.

These also can be seen in the north where we find groups of elders who discussed with the Dutch particular matters.<sup>64</sup> It can be recognized also in the way the Dominicans narrated the Senar elders’ decision of killing the missionary Vázquez:

[Fr. Francisco] ... formed them into a very good village where he taught doctrine ... [And] wishing ... to establish a church in another village called Pantao (whose natives were friends of the Spaniards but enemies of Senar) ... he informed those of Pantao about his idea and desire, and they welcome it ... He returned to Senar with great joy, and he invited their chiefs ... to help celebrate the dedication of the new church. The natives of Senar responded favorably at that moment, but when they discussed the matter among themselves that night, they did not think it was a good idea. They drank and thought worse about the matter and ended up deciding to kill Fr. Francisco. (*SIT*, 240)

### Headhunting

The natives of Taiwan were known for their headhunting activities; but, in fact, headhunting was a common activity in Southeast Asia, used to probe the manhood of the warriors, where the enemies’ heads were displayed to manifest one’s own pride and to acquire honor (see Plate 6). Esquivel gave an explanation of this practice based on the relations of friendship and enmity among the tribes:

The natives of Quimaurri and Tapparri have friendly dealings with all the other groups. But (1) those from Pantao are enemies of those from Senar. And (2) those from Senar are enemies of those from Pulauan, Pantao and Cabalan. (3) Those who live along the two branches of Tamchui River are enemies of the Cabalan ... 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. At harvest time, they would hide along the path of the river and shoot arrows to kill and then cut the heads of the natives of Tamchui who pass by on small boats. They are so daring that they attack even the sampans, as they did last year, when they ambushed a sampan of sangleys that carried the servant of the Commander of Tamchui and two other Spaniards. They rained arrows on them, which overwhelmed and rendered useless the muskets that they carried. (*SIT*, 169–170)

The radical differences among the tribes, reflected either in *rivalry* (temporal or permanent) or *tribal hatred* (a category emphasizing these differences), can help us to understand headhunting activity. Rivalry did not exclude cooperation against a common enemy, and did not even exclude marriages. Sometimes the rivalry was “natural” in places considered as “opposite areas” (the bands of a river or a bay, the lower and the higher part of a mountain, the old and the new parts of the same town, etc.). In this group we can include the people of Quimaurri and Tapparri. Esquivel stated clearly that they “are of the same stock and all those from Quimaurri are Tapparri. They have the same customs and traits. They are divided, but not to the extent of preventing inter-marriages or other forms of social relations” (*SIT*, 166). Other rival towns may be those of Senar and Pantao, as we have just mentioned. Even if they were rivals, they can occasionally join forces. Tribal hatred excludes any form of cooperation among natives and their relation is oftentimes bellicose and murderous. In this group we can include the relation between Cavalan and the ones of Senar. For this reason Esquivel recommended that “[the Spaniards may establish a fort near Cavalan] to prevent the natives from pillaging and killing the natives of the island who live near our port [of Tamsui], these are the natives of Senar and those living along the Tamsui river who get summarily beheaded when the harvest season comes” (*SIT*, 162–163).

### Pillaging

The natives were also jealous of their own coast and they were ready to pillage any foreign wretched ship arriving to their seashore, regardless who were on board, whether Spaniards, Chinese, or Japanese. Therefore other categories of the headhunting mentality were the pillaging of wretched alien sailors and the ambushes to Spaniards. We can identify three different pillaging of wretched ships and one ambush. In 1628, the natives of Rarangus (near Turoban) killed ten people of the wrecked sampan of Carvajal, a relief ship carrying cannon, money, and other items, which they stole (*SIT*, 163–164). Secondly, in 1632, the natives of Tapparri el Viejo (Old Tapparri) killed twenty or twenty-five Spaniards of the junk of Cambodia that ran aground on its way to Manila (*SIT*, 166). Thirdly, another sampan going from Quelang to Manila wrecked in Cavalan also in 1632 (*SIT*, 174) and the natives killed eighty people, among them Spaniards, Chinese, and Japanese (*SIT*, 163).

Since Rarangus was the first pillaging that had happened and also it was located far from Quelang, the Spaniards postponed a possible punitive action. But the two pillaging

that occurred in 1632 were too much not only because they were close in time (and they could show a sign of weakness among the Spaniards), but also because they ended in real massacres. Consequently, the moment of action for the Spaniards had arrived. First they went to the nearest place, Taparri el Viejo, to carry a punitive expedition. They got a native, and after torturing him, they located the houses of the main perpetrators which were burned down (*SIT*, 173). Soon later they went to avenge both massacres of the eastern coast, accompanied by Cagayanos and probably some Basayans. First they reached southern Cavalan to avenge the recent one. They killed ten to twelve natives and burned down the houses of seven small villages. According to Esquivel the result was not very satisfactory, because: "Since the natives outnumbered them, the Spaniards could not do more, which made the natives even more arrogant, and scornful of the other natives who, out of fear of the Spaniards have made friends with them" (*SIT*, 163).<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless they captured a Cavalan native to request information about the old case of the Rarangus massacre. With this information they moved southwards, and in the place they identified as Rarangus, the Spaniards "tried to take the killers as prisoners but they could not because they had fled to the mountains" (*SIT*, 164).

Finally, we can mention the ambushes that already started at the very beginning. In a letter of 4 August 1628, the governor general reported to the king that the natives were not behaving as they did the first time, and taking advantage of some negligence and the trust we have shown to them, they have killed up to 30 men" (*SIT*, 135). But no other ambushes were reported until those of 1636. The first happened in January, when Váez was killed by the natives of Senar, and the second in April when 300 Senar warriors attacked twenty soldiers and forty laborers that went to call back a missionary, Muro, who was in Senar escorted only by four soldiers (*SIT*, 242–244, 249). This massacre led to the abandonment of the Spanish fortress in Tamsui, a matter that we will see in detail in chapter 6.

### *Matrilineal and patriarchal societies*

The first document talking about the family system in Taiwan is probably the above-mentioned *Account of the Eastern Barbarians* by Chen Ti. There, talking about how a man marries a woman, he describes the matrilineal system that he might have seen in the tribes of the West. Chen said:

With regard to taking a wife, if a youth sees a marriageable girl, he sends someone to present her with a pair of agate beads. If the girl does not take them the matter is closed; if she does take them, then in the night he goes to her house. He does not call to the door, but plays on a kouchin (口琴) to arouse her ... The girl hears it and admits him to stay the night. Before daylight he straightaway departs, without seeing the girl's parents. From this time on he must come in the dark and leave with the dawn while the stars are out, for years and months without any change. When a child is born, she for the first time goes to the man's home and [brings him back to her home] to be welcomed as the son-in-law ... He then lives in her home and supports

her parents for the rest of their lives, while his own parents can no longer regard him as their son."<sup>66</sup>

But, when Esquivel talked about the same topic in northern Taiwan, he was not surprised—as Chen was—by some similar situations. On the contrary he described something more familiar to his culture, the patriarchal society. He saw how when a man was interested in taking a wife, he would acquire his spouse by paying her parents some *cuentas* (precious stones), acquired usually from the Chinese, although later, in the case of a Spanish soldier interested in marrying a native girl, her parents asked for silver coins (*SIT*, 177–178). The dismissal of the woman was accepted but it was not frequent for fear of the relatives of the wife. But, still these things could be solved through *cuentas*. For example, Aduarte mentioned: "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 *cuentas* to the one who caught him, and everything is settled" (*SIT*, 179).

Finally, we can mention that among the Basayans some sort of inter-village kinship was documented. The clearest example we have is not only the just mentioned comment of Esquivel—that even Quimaaurians and Taparrians might be divided, but "not to the extent of preventing inter-marriages or other forms of social relations" (*SIT*, 166)—but also the case of the family of the wife of Aguilar. This Spaniard told the Dutch that his wife, even if she originated from Caquiuanuan, belonged to the kinship of the headman of Taparri, Kilas sa Romana, who was her father's brother (*SIT*, 388). No doubt this inter-village kinship facilitated communication among the villages.

### *Esquivel's description of Senar*

Regarding the ethnological knowledge of the natives, the Spanish sources offer systematic information of those living in Tamsui and in Senar, in one of the reports of Esquivel;<sup>67</sup> but we think that even if he reported mainly about the village of Senar, he tried to generalize his observations. In fact, we can say that most of the following general descriptions are similar to others from the Dutch witnesses, and those from the above-mentioned *Account of the Eastern Barbarians* by Chen.

According to Esquivel the natives lived a (1) *subsistence economy*, therefore growing rice on the banks of the Tamsui River was their main agricultural activity. As Esquivel said: "the residents of Tamchui are farmers who live off their own fields and consequently remain in their towns" (*SIT*, 183), but, they produced only for themselves and hardly had big excesses of rice to be sold. Esquivel made the following observation:

Here in Tamsui ... the natives neither work with farm animals nor know how to use them. This would be very difficult for them. They watch over the fields day and night, from the time the first grains of rice appear until the harvest to prevent pigs from ravaging the crop. And since planting requires so much effort, they only plant what they need to eat. No native sells rice in large quantities, but only in one or two small containers. Thus, in order to gather



enough for one cavan, one has to go through much trouble, only to end up gathering all sorts of grains. Wheat is not cultivated but the land is suited for it. And the King would have enough to supply his fort. Likewise, it would be good to send horses and mares from the Crown's outpost in Manila and breed them here because the land in Tamsui is flat and horses would be very useful. (*SIT*, 170–171)

They do not have any (2) *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” (*SIT*, 179), but they have a lot of superstitions. For instance they would base their decisions in the bird songs, like that of the heron, on dreams, and even on bodily reactions like sneezing. The *aberroa* was looked upon as the good or bad spirit marking out one's destiny. Esquivel said that death was not a matter of concern of reflection for them because “no one believes that they will die, and when they see another person die, they think it is due to some particular bad luck,” and later he described their burial customs, some of which can be recognized in the archeological findings. He described:

The dead are buried beneath the houses in some nearby area. They put palm mats inside the tombs so that the body would not get wet and a kettle with rice beside the head for its food. They bury the dead in a knee-bent position in very small holes in the ground. On top of the burial place they leave the quiver, arrows, clay jars, stones, and other precious belongings of the deceased. (*SIT*, 180)

Besides the main superstition of interpreting the songs of birds to predict the future, Esquivel mentioned the activity of some (3) *priestesses*, or *majuorbol* (see Plate 10), who were “old women like sorceresses who speak with the devil. They say if one wishes to be cured, he has to give a certain sum for their services ... With this, the bad spirit will be exorcised and the person will be cured” (*SIT*, 180). This activity resembles quite closely the institution of the *inibs* (witches, sorcerers) of southern Taiwan recorded by the Dutch.<sup>68</sup> They supposed that a sick person had a bad *aberroa* in his body, and the only way to be cured was to expel it. The *majuorbol* come and after setting 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. Esquivel pointed out:

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 mumbling incantations in a “Greek-sounding” language which is nothing similar to what is spoken in this land. Afterwards they remove the stone *chicubises* (*sic*) from the sick person, making him kiss them. They put a big knife under his head, and order the sick not to eat anything for three days. When a sick person dies, one of the old women goes around the person's house, beating the air with a machete or a truncheon. They say this drives away the bad spirits. (*SIT*, 180)

Regarding the way they hold a (4) *banquet* to celebrate special occasions, Chen gives us a glimpse of his experience in some part of the west coast by saying: “They gather about a great earthenware jar, and each one pours his portion by means of a bamboo tube. No food is prepared for these occasions. When the music starts up, they jump and dance, humming with their mouths something like a song.”<sup>69</sup> The Dutch, talking about the village of Tarrisan, in the so-called Baritschoen villages (west of modern Tamsui and Dahan Rivers), qualified their banquets as “Bacchanalias, where they villainously attempted to kill the guests they invited” (*FE* III, 279, 346). Esquivel has a more complete description of the way the natives made their celebration of feasts, which comprise several days of drinking, dancing, and singing:

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, with jars of wine all around; they drink all the time. Some collapse and fall asleep, and then go on with the revelry as soon as they wake up. They eat sea food and raw venison. They are a filthy lot who eat deer entrails without first cleaning these of excrement. They celebrate with drinking sprees when they harvest and when the rice grains appear, and after headhunting; and they have a chant just for this purpose. They also drink much when relatives come and when their old women, called *majuorbol*, recommend it ... All the men, with arms linked around their necks, dance around an inner circle of dancing women. At the center are the said old women, performing the ritual slaughter of a pig. (*SIT*, 179–180)

Finally, we must say that the communal way of dealing with important matters was also applied when they had to solve some (5) *personal quarrels*, as it was also vividly described by Esquivel:

None of the natives are given to quarreling or scandal. The worst they could do is to occasionally exchange heated words especially when they get drunk. It is only during such occasions that they tend to be vulgar, abusive and defiant. One would stand alone and shout and stamp his foot on the ground for two to three hours, the so-called *masimanamananur*, wherein one gives his side of the problem, while the rest listen in judgment ... After this, [as a response] comes the *masimacamicauas*, which is the other side of the story, wherein one sharply cries out and shouts to defend himself as he walks around slapping his buttocks; this lasts as long as the first stage. From here arise violent verbal exchanges, spiced by the brandishing of truncheons or machetes; nevertheless, no blood has actually been spilt. (*SIT*, 182)

### The Spanish and early Dutch relations with the Basay natives

The Spanish encounter with the natives in the area of Quelang started with a clash, but relations subsequently improved. Some aspects of this relation can be summarized as follows: the Spanish soldiers were concentrated on the San Salvador fortress, a construction that acted as their symbol of power (army, fleets) and wealth (silver, trade),

which offered the possibility of protection and had a capability of attracting natives to the overseas economy, etc. Besides, the Spaniards bartered native goods (fish, game, logs, salt, etc.) with silver and the natives were also introduced to the monetary economy. Also, in this area the missionaries devoted all their energy towards the natives. Finally the natives did not help the Spaniards in the final Dutch attack, keeping a “wise” neutrality, expecting a new change of rulers. When the Spaniards left as prisoners for Batavia (on their way back to Manila) the native women who had married Spanish soldiers accompanied them in their exile. The Dutch sources are very much more detailed than the Spanish because they are written in a diary basis, allowing us to know in retrospective vision some things of the Spanish times. For example, through the interrogation to Teodoro we can know about the missionaries’ support of the natives in times of famine, or the absence of tax collecting. Dutch sources also offer very rich information of the interaction between the Dutch and those Basayans who had experienced the Spanish influence, a relation that we are going to consider now.

#### *The aftermath of the conquest (September to December 1642)*

We have mentioned that the Basays of Quelang wisely showed neutrality during the Dutch attack on the Spanish fortress. This shows their suspicious character towards foreign powers, leading them to manifest apparent submission in order to preserve their autonomy. This was the common trait of these relations. Certainly, on 4 September 1642, and under the presence of the Dutch commander Hendrik Harouse, they reached a peace agreement with the natives of Tamsui who actively sided with the Dutch during the attack. Later, they made a pact of reciprocal help with the Quimaurrians, emphasizing that they would have to surrender “dead or alive” all the Dutch servants or slaves that might desert. At that moment, Harouse was thinking of Pilet, one of his servants that had escaped.

Two weeks later, with the arrival of Harouse’s superior Lamotius, the chieftains of nine villages of Tamsui area went to Quelang to offer their lands as a symbol of their alliance with the Dutch (at least, as the Dutch perceived it). The same happened with the villages of Quimaurre, Taparri, Caquiuanuan, Talebeouan, and so on. When Lamotius received these villages, his translator Alonso, a Basay from Caquiuanuan, appeared as his main native assistant. On 25 September, Lamotius proceeded to explore the land access to the gold mines of Turoboan, which was his main goal in this early stage of this northern expedition. He recruited the help of some Basayans for this endeavor, but after a few days marching he experienced difficulties on the roads and a passive resistance from the Basay of Caquiuanuan. He called off the expedition, and on 1 October, he was back in Quelang thinking over what to do with the Basays. First, he sent Alonso to Tamsui to look for provisions, and, while he was there, Lamotius found out that Pilet (Harouse’s servant) was being kept hidden by the Quimaurris. It was the proof that those of Caquiuanuan and Quimaurre had broken their pact. He put eighteen elders of these two towns in jail with the idea of giving exemplary punishment; he later hanged three from Quimaurre-Taparri (among them their chief Sisinjan) and three from Caquiuanuan, including Alonso.

Lamotius, after declaring the VOC authority in Quelang, left for Tamsui on 11 October, leaving Harouse as the commander. Before departure, he appointed a new elder for Quimaurre-Taparri, a twenty-five-year-old Quimaurrian called Teodoro. He had a Hispanized name, like Alonso, which revealed the Spanish exposure of this new generation of natives. According to his age, we must presume that Teodoro was raised under the shadow of the Spanish fort and the guidance of missionaries like Quirós.

Lamotius’s two-month posterior stay in Tamsui (mid October to mid December) was very fruitful for the VOC interests, and particularly for Lamotius’s own records. At the beginning of November, he established the conditions for the relation between the VOC and the natives in a written document. More villages, including the reluctant Caquiuanuan, went there to pay homage to the VOC by surrendering their lands, and Tamsui headquarters gained preeminence over those in Quelang. Lamotius made a triumphal return to Tayouan, but not everybody shared his optimism. Lieutenant Pedel in Quelang, after an expeditionary trip, reported that the natives had surrendered their lands out of the fear created by Lamotius. The whole story soon reached Batavia, and also reached the Spanish captives there, like De los Ángeles, who reported it in this way:

The general [Lamotius] returned to the island with the said six companies and hanged six natives of Isla Hermosa who were from Santiago, Quimaurre and Taparri, three villages who were friendly with us, because they had not given the Dutch food or guided them, which they promised to do but out of fear. The enemy did not realize that because the natives were our friends, it is their nature to act thusly. The Dutch also hanged a Tagalo boy who was the servant of the general because he ran away with the natives of that land; and the Dutchmen whom they found in our garrison, in the pay of his Majesty. This news that the natives have of the Dutch had so affected them that, if they had the chance, they would give the Dutch much trouble and reject their friendship. They now lament our absence, for under the shadow of the Dutch, the Spaniards are now almost like saints to them, and the natives ask nothing else except when you—[the Spaniards]—will return. (*SIT*, 416)

#### *Teodoro: Chieftain of the Quimaurrians (December 1642–July 1643)*

For the second time, the inhabitants of Quimaurre tested the resistance of the Dutch with another provocation. First, they hid the Dutch deserter Pilet, and later a group of Cagayano slaves. We must recall that after the defeat of the Spaniards, the Dutch made three groups of captives. First, the Spaniards were to be sent to Batavia and from there they were given free passage either to Manila or to Spain. Second, the sixty-two mercenary Pampangos were to be kept with them in Batavia, and eventually—if they proved loyal to the VOC’s interest—would join the attacks on Manila. Finally, regarding the ninety-three mercenaries from Cagayan, they were also enslaved and most of them were put under the direct disposition of Lamotius, who brought them to Tamsui along with some Quimaurris and Teodoro himself. When Lamotius left Tamsui and headed towards the south, six Cagayano slaves escaped, reaching Quimaurre with the knowledge, consent, or connivance of Teodoro, who found a niche for them in his village.

The Quimaurrians feared the danger and were restless. On 28 January 1643, they decided to leave the place ten days later. They justified this march in front of the Dutch garrison of Quelang by saying that the meager situation they were living in forced them to emigrate temporarily to Cavalan in search of rice (*FE II*, 417), but the Dutch—aware of the possibility that they were hiding the Cagayanos (*FE II*, 392)—interpreted that kind of escapade as a desertion. The episode had all the components of an exodus story. Teodoro placed his people in a forest between Quelang and Caquiuanuan, dense enough to hide them from the Dutch persecutors, who returned to Quelang empty-handed. After Teodoro had left Quelang, Aguilar, with the help of his wife, rendered some logistic services to Harouse, such as the preparation of the trips to Turoboan. Days later, Aguilar's native wife, probably pushed by the Dutch, met Teodoro and other elders, and encouraged them to go back to Quelang to calm the Dutch. Some accepted, but as soon as they reached Quelang, they were arrested and the other Quimaurrians, in order to free them, had no choice but to surrender the Cagayanos to the Dutch; at first only four of them, and later the other two, because they had already reached Cavalan.

Harouse prepared a second expedition to Turoboan with the help of Aguilar and his wife to explore the gold mines and the access to Pimaba. But before that, he had to solve the problem of the Quimaurrians, because after five months Teodoro still remained with his people in the forest. Harouse wrote to the new governor of Tayouan, Lemaire, saying that he was planning to capture the leaders of Quimaurri and Caquiuanuan very soon, but in fact, he was practicing a new attraction policy that proved to be successful when the Quimaurrians returned to Quelang out of their own free will and Teodoro surrendered himself to the Dutch. He begged for pardon and offered cooperation. After being interrogated and having accused other elders of Cavalan, he was released. Trust seemed restored in Quelang bay, but in July of the same year, the inhabitants of Caquiuanuan and Cavalan were still undecided whether to follow the same example of the Quimaurrians.

Something quite strange is that Aguilar and his wife appeared very frequently in the Dutch sources until this moment, and that his wife was asked to be sent to Tayouan for interrogation. But, abruptly, both of them no longer appeared in the sources. Regarding Teodoro, we can see him in May 1644 newly confirmed in his authority, and rendering services to the Dutch when he was called for a long interrogation, when he was doing business with the Dutch by providing them coal, when he made a list of the native towns around, and when he was expected also in Tayouan for a formal visit.

#### *Quimaurri cooperating in the pacification of Cavalan (September–October 1644)*

Although the inhabitants of Quimaurri were on good terms with the Dutch and those of Caquiuanuan had made a favorable approach, in Tayouan the Dutch were thinking of the need for tough action, especially with those in Cavalan. On 22 August 1644, the Formosa Council resolved to send an expedition like the one of Lamotius two years earlier. The plan was very ambitious, since on their return trip they would pass by Lamcam and the lands of the chieftain Quataong (*FE II*, 458–463). Captains Pieter Boon, who had

been in Quelang before, and Simon Cornelissen left Tayouan on 6 September, leading an expedition of 300 soldiers.

On 10 September, they arrived in Quelang and started looking for interpreters in Tamsui and Quimaurri. On 13 September, Cornelissen headed for Cavalan as an advance force and Boon arrived three days later. They finally met in Catinunum (San Lorenzo), and from there, they sent emissaries to inform the Cavalans how to behave with the Dutch. As we have explained before, they proceeded to Terrachia (Dutch: Little Moudamas) and Quitalabiauuan (Dutch: Talebeauuan) where they were welcomed, thanks to the good work of the scouts of Quimaurri. They got a similar deal in Quiparrusinauan (Dutch: Parissinawan), where people from twelve towns went to hear them. Most of them agreed with the Dutch proposal of acknowledging their suzerainty, paying annual tribute, etc., although they asked for a delay in paying taxes because they were in the middle of the harvest season and ready to celebrate the *marnas* holidays.

But the inhabitants of Quessajosojol (Dutch: Sochel Sochel) and Quitatupaan (Dutch: Kakitapan) scorned the Dutch proposal and those who had agreed with it. This was not ignored by the Dutch, who reached Sochel Sochel two days later and partially destroyed the town. The inhabitants ventured some resistance, which was answered with the total destruction of what was left. The same fate befell the smaller village of Kakitapan, and after that, the Dutch returned to their encampment in Quiparrusinauan. During the days the Dutch stayed there, they received new town leaders who came to pay homage to the VOC. The Dutch kept records of all these villages, and after the last visit, they claimed to have thirty towns submitted (*FE II*, 480–481), ready to pay some sort of tribute (at least this is the way they perceived it) and ready to make an annual formal visit to the Dutch in Quelang. Boon, considering that the goals of his expedition were accomplished, went back to Catinunun harbor and two days later reached Quelang on 1 October 1644.

Once in Quelang, Boon evaluated the whole situation with the help of Teodoro, speaking presumably in Spanish. They talked again about Turoboan, because Boon was still very interested in going there and Teodoro knew the way very well. Boon also told Teodoro that those of Caquiuanuan had nice words but did not pay taxes and that they deserved punishment. But, he transmitted the idea to Teodoro that if they paid triple tribute they would be pardoned. On his way back to Tayouan, Boon followed the same route as Lamotius did two years earlier. First, he went to Tamsui by land, where he still received the obedience of some villagers. Later, he reached the land of the unfriendly chieftain Quataong (*FE II*, 497), but he continued towards the south reaching Tayouan after twenty-four days marching. Later, the Dutch received some satisfaction, first upon the arrival of the news from Tamsui that some towns far from that place paid tributes and, second, when Teodoro managed to collect the first tributes in Cavalan (*FE II*, 544). Nevertheless, these actions were still far from meaning real suzerainty.

The Dutch tried for almost fifteen years (until 1660) to subdue the natives of the entire island, for which they tried a practical formula, the *landdag* (or celebration of the Land Day), a kind of annual feudal meeting to stress the authority of the VOC, whose implementation obsessed the Dutch governors.

## The Spanish-(and Dutch)-Basayan Encounter

An analysis of the types of political organization prevalent among the natives of Southeast Asia may throw light on the interaction of Spaniards with the natives of northern Taiwan, since the type of indigenous political structure affected the nature of such encounters. Shinzo Hayase in his analysis of the maritime Southeast Asian world regarding the aspect of “kingdom/nation-making” defines four types: (1) the kingdoms formed by Indianization, (2) the kingdoms formed by Islamization and the influence of the “age of commerce,” (3) the colonial states formed by Christianization, and (4) the chiefdoms which did not form a kingdom.<sup>70</sup>

### *Southeast Asian kingdoms*

We think that Shinzo’s classification matches quite well in different areas of the Southeast Asia, for example the Philippines. In that archipelago we find different groups of natives with common traits occupying extensive lands. The Spaniards referred these homogeneous groups unified by a common language as “nations,” like the Pampangos and the Cagayanos, who accompanied the Spanish armies, and we see them in Quelang fighting for the Spaniards as colligated armies, and under their own banner. The same can be said for the Tagalos, the Igorrotes, the Irrayas, the Visayas, the people from Pangasinan, etc. Maybe the larger population of these large and rice-growing territories made the creation of governments resembling monarchies more feasible; and that political structure may explain the facility the Spaniards encountered in raising mercenary troops. To some formal extent, there was an “encounter among equals.”

The further south we go in the Philippine archipelago the bigger sense of state organization we find. The Muslim influence that started in the sixteenth century created sultanates in places like Mindanao, where the sultan had even a palace inside a wooden walled city and a group of courtiers handling state affairs. Qudarat, the sultan of Pulangi (in Mindanao) is the best example of this new organization system during the same years that the Spaniards were in Taiwan. In fact, the pressure Qudarat exerted against the Spaniards through destructive raids in Visayas moved Governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, among other measures, to dismantle the Spanish forces in Tamsui to concentrate sources in the pacification of Mindanao and the wars of Jolo.<sup>71</sup> These southern sultanates sometimes exercised a kind of protectorate over friendly neighboring territories or formed alliances among them by a policy of marriage of princes. The clearer examples are precisely the sultans of Pulangi, Jolo, and Terrenate that have some kinship. The last one was a tiny volcanic island, whose spices even reached the West during Roman times. It was held in great respect by its neighbors, and they even kept their authority whilst at the same time allowing Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch to build forts in their territory. The same can be said of other sultanates as we move towards the west, particularly Johor in the Sincapora straits. That place was an important entrepôt in the middle of the large commercial networks that preceded the Portuguese arrival. Exposure to emerging Islam made them develop their networking style, giving a new

impetus to these sultanates, kingdoms of island-states. We can say that in these cases, the encounter with Western sailors created competition, but the pressure was limited to the commercial arena, and to the settlement of some factories, but there was no inland penetration.

How about in Taiwan? According to Shinzo’s classification, we cannot clearly recognize in Taiwan “kingdoms formed by Indianization.” On the contrary, since the end of the sixteenth century the information refers to tribal societies. The report of the Macanese Salvador Díaz (the prisoner used as interpreter by the Dutch from 1622 to 1626, as we have mentioned in chapter 1), commenting on the natives around Tayouan said: “They have no king; the strongest one of each village is considered its leader” (*SIT*, 65) and that “they have no great leader who can unite them to war” (*SIT*, 67). We have already mentioned how Candidius also, when describing the same villages near Fort Zeelandia, pointed out their sense of independence, which might only reach some sense of organization in the face of an external menace: “These seven villages do not have a common leader to rule over them, but every village is a unit in itself. And every village in its turn does not have its own specific leader with absolute say or command over them, but they have a council consisting of 12 men” (*FE I*, 120–121). Nevertheless, after ten years the Dutch started discovering bigger political unities, like Longkiau, which was described in 1636 by Junius, the missionary who had just met her chief Lamlok. Junius later arranged a meeting between some delegates of Lamlok and the Dutch governor. The records of this encounter reflected a respectable degree of court organization in Longkiau:

These people are more civilized than those in their surrounding villages ... they maintain their authority over their inferiors in a much better way. The [ruler] holds sovereign sway over sixteen villages, each of which has a chief appointed by him. He is attended by many servitors, who always surround him. They do not go about nude, but like other black nations, they wear garments, the women even covering their breasts. Fornication and adultery are regarded by them as something shameful, and each man may have but one wife. When the chief dies he is succeeded by his eldest son, who in his turn is respected as much as his predecessor.<sup>72</sup>

Another vague resemblance of a “kingdom formed by Indianization” can be found in the land ruled by “Tackamaba, alias Quataongh, the regent of over 15 villages, situated to the North” (*FE II*, 562), a case studied by Ang Kaim,<sup>73</sup> but in any case we think that these cases still are far from the concept of an “indigenous kingdom.” Kang had suggested that the power of Quataongh realm was based in the external trade influence coming from the sea.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, in Formosa—following Shinzo’s classification—it was impossible to find “kingdoms formed by Islamization,” since Islam never reached the island. Different is the case of the “colonial state,” which was developed by the Dutch from 1635, and almost reached maturity on the verge of their withdrawal from the island; a topic that has been thoroughly studied, although not yet exhaustively. In relation to this Kang had also suggested a new model that could apply to the Pimaba villages. In this case the natives collaborated with the outsiders for the control of the

territory (in this case the Dutch area of influence in the southeastern part of Taiwan), but once the outsiders left, the native supplanted them and took over that influence.<sup>75</sup>

### *Formosan chiefdoms*

The case of “chiefdoms,” the fourth one in Shinzo’s classification, is the one that best matches most of Taiwan societies. “Chiefdom” sometimes means the preeminence of a headman, and sometimes means a senate of elders making the final decisions. For example, the Spanish missionary Esquivel said that the villages he knew were led by the *principales*, to whom they called *bagui* (*SIT*, 179). But Esquivel, like Candidius, formally negated any authority. Esquivel clearly stated: “They neither had *cabezas* (leaders) nor a particular system of government” (*SIT*, 181). He added that only two groups of people existed, the rich and the bravest. The first group had colored stones, symbolizing money, cloths, ceramic jars, and storerooms for corn. The bravest practiced headhunting and they showed their pride by painting their necks and arms. By saying so, Esquivel was referring particularly to the people of Senar, but we think that it can be extrapolated to the society that Spaniards and Dutch encountered in the northern places of Taiwan.

Why didn’t any of these groups of villages like Cavalan develop into a sort of kingdom? One of the reasons might be the fact that the foreign trade conducted in Taiwan before the seventeenth century was very small and Taiwan was used only as an entrepôt for alien pirates. Foreign trade passing by near Taiwan only offered the natives the possibility of pillaging in the event the ship went aground.<sup>76</sup> The group with greater possibilities to switch from “chiefdom” to “native kingdom” was probably the Basayans, who had more sense of organization, and who controlled a small commercial network in the northeast of the island exchanging Chinese products for local raw material, but this was not enough to evolve into a productive organization and to introduce monetary practices. Nevertheless, towards 1644, we can identify some clear changes. On one hand, the sense of vassalage intended to be fostered by the Dutch in all the natives under their command tried to give more preeminence to the figure of the chieftain over the elders. Particularly, in Quimaurri, they made it more explicit by choosing a young man, Teodoro, as their main leader. He was “confirmed in his position as a commander by presenting him with a cane as a symbol of his authority and a cloth of red damask, which he accepted with considerable gratitude, promising us that he will be obedient to the Company in everything” (*FE* II, 439). On the other hand, when Lamotius elected that young man as a chief of Quimaurri and Taparri alike, ignoring the elders of these villages, he was probably doing more than a change of leadership. He was electing a more educated man as the leader of the most dynamic group of northern Taiwan, a person with foreign exposure, with whom the Dutch would be able to communicate directly in Spanish, and he was the most reliable man for collecting taxes for the Dutch in the neighboring villages. And, certainly, Teodoro learned his job so well that a few years later he was able to engage with the Dutch in a long discussion about the right price of the coal that he was selling to them (*FE* II, 438).

### *The knowing of “the other”*

As we have mentioned in chapter 2, the first encounter between the natives and Spaniards was violent when the Spaniards intruded in their territory of Quelang. The native response was violent at the beginning, but little by little they accepted the foreign presence, some of their costumes, lifestyle, and even values and organization. The same can be said of the native villages around Fort Zeelandia and Fort Provintia which had more interaction with the Dutch, compared with others who kept their distance. But after a few years of eventual clashes another image emerged: of the young natives entering the Christian realm. Candidius—after one year in contact with the people of Sinkan, and following the natural inclination of missionaries reporting exotic experiences—systematized his first impressions of these natives in his discourse of 1628 (*FE* I, 112–137). The same can be said of Esquivel. His discourse “Situation of the conversion of the Isla Hermosa” (*SIT*, 179–189) was made in 1632 after a one-year stay in Quelang and Tamsui. Both are descriptive Renaissance discourses, of cultural superiority, written with the purpose of implementation of native conversion, and the transmission of cultural values, and methods of organization. Following the style of the *arbitristas* writers in Spain, they tried to analyze the problems of the colony and to look for solutions. Analyzing the respective discourses describing the natives written by Candidius in 1628 and Esquivel in 1632, we can find that both of them reflect the optimism of the newcomers on an island, called Hermosa, with a Renaissance appetite for global comprehension. They describe it as a “promised land” that will bear many fruits, and both of them ended with overall proposals. But, the brilliant future foreseen, for example, by Esquivel, to divide the north of Taiwan into missions to be granted to Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits ended in nothing. The best part of the discourse of Esquivel is his penetrating psychological observations. In his discourse he narrates the encounter between the priest [himself] and the natives of Taparri, describing the changes in their attitude towards the missionary, going from the stage of fear, to suspicion, curiosity, affection, and finally the one of granting security:

They are still extremely afraid and suspicious of us. Up to now they have a deep-seated fear of the Spaniards. When I first came, they spread rumors that I carried shackles in a pouch to bind them and take them as prisoners to Manila. They directly accused me of this once, in the presence of another priest. They asked where my wife, children and possessions were. When I told them that priests neither get married nor own anything, they called me a big liar and a deceiver. The same thing happened—what’s more they thought me insane—when I tried to explain to them from the catechism that we will all raise from the dead. They argued that some of those whom we have baptized were now dead and buried beneath their houses. But we have slowly grown in affection for each other to the point that they would offer me a wife. But they are disappointed to see that we do not even allow women to enter the priest’s house. They had such affection for me in Taparri, where I was assigned for eight months, that when they would see me leave for another village where other Spaniards live, they would threaten to escape to the mountains if I did



not return to sleep there. They believe that without a priest, they can never be sure of what the Spaniards will do to them. (*SIT*, 181)

As with many foreigners of all times, the longer you stay in an alien place, the more you realize not only how difficult it is to report your experience but also how self-centered you were in your first observations. Not escaping this universal rule, Candidius and Esquivel provided the vision of the first moments of the encounter from the Dutch and Spanish sides. But, as time passes by, we may presume that the complexity of the situation would penetrate their analysis, and that a Baroque perplexity would take root in their minds, leading to more conflictive descriptions. But, unfortunately, we cannot properly trace these changes. In the case of Esquivel it was impossible since he died after three years in Taiwan. In the case of Candidius, it might have been possible since he stayed ten years (1627–1637), although with an absence of two (1631–1632). But, in his second stay he seemed silent since, as far as we know, no other discourses of the same category were produced by him.

How do natives' voices sound in these discourses? In principle they don't. In the cases of the killings the natives inflicted on the Dutch, all of them are explained by labeling the natives as treacherous and murderous savages, incapable of understanding the benefits of civilization. The Dutch were convinced that in order to assimilate the natives the best way was to persuade by force. These reasons might explain the unequal encounter behind the *landdag* policies. Certainly in a process of assimilation it was difficult to record a discourse from the natives, either because it was not heard, or because it was erased. Nevertheless, it can still be retrieved in some cases, for example, when the Senar elders took the decision to kill a missionary, or as in other cases that we are now going to see.

### *From landdag to the suppression of taxes*

Between 1646 and 1648, we can identify two events where the Dutch made an important step forward in their Formosan encounter: the listening and understanding of "the other" and the elimination of taxes on the natives. We have selected a significant event that happened in June 1646, when Jan Hendricksz Ootman and Daniël Sipter listened with admiration to the natives of Turoboan. They were caught by surprise after hearing from them a clear explanation justifying why they had decided not to allow the soldiers to settle down in their vicinity. Let us start by recalling that the first successful visit to the gold-sites was at the end of January 1646, during the punitive expedition of senior merchant Cornelis Caesar (*FE* III, 1–41). After crossing the whole Hualian region (from south to north) his troops arrived in Turoboan, where they stayed from 23 to 26 January. They were allowed to explore the entrance of the Takilis River but they learned nothing by themselves about gold. Before leaving the place they offered some cangans, mirrors, tobacco, etc., to the eight elders of the village. Particularly, they honored the principal Patsien, to whom they presented a company cane, with the right of handing down to his son Tarrinouw after his death. The villagers offered the Dutch some pigs, millet cake,

etc., for their trip back (*FE* III, 33). Four months later the Dutch considered that another step forward in the exploration of the gold mining area should be made. Upon the new orders of Governor Caron, now senior merchant Gabriël Happart sent to Turoboan in June 1646 the two above-mentioned soldiers, accompanied by the interpreters Teodoro and Lucas Kilas. The mission was to live in Turoboan for a while, to establish friendly relations with the people and to find out what commodities and merchandise the villagers would prefer to buy or to barter (*FE* III, 103). After three full days discussing the matter with the natives, Patsien, still the principal of the village, came with a frank and unambiguous answer to Ootman and Sipter:

I, and my fellow-headmen, will not tolerate any Dutchmen living in our village for a longer time, because we have understood perfectly what you were after, to find the gold-sites. This is the only thing that matters to you and, once these have been discovered, you will come to attack us, chase us away and ruin us. We are not going to pay any tribute to your Company. And if you force us to pay by using violence, we are ready to return it to you in an equal measure, and hold our ground, as you do with yours. When Mr. Caesar came a few months ago, we presented him some gold, but this was as exchange for the cangans and for the other gifts which Mr. Caesar offered to honor us. On the other hand, we will appreciate if you come here in a friendly way only to trade, but not for other reasons. (*FE* III, 103)<sup>77</sup>

The son of Patsien, following the example of his father gave also one explanation for having the company's cane. He said that, after understanding at that moment that the purpose of endowing the cane had the implicit obligation of paying the company ten real of gold each year, he had decided to return the cane to Ootman, because he would rather leave his village than to pay tribute (*FE* III, 104). The amazing point here was not the refusal of the natives to the Dutch proposals (probably the Dutch had already experienced this before), nor the pacific and civilized way that the natives used in expressing their ideas (something that probably was also known to them), but the fact that the two soldiers related this event in a disturbed way. After feeling that "their minds had been read," not only did they become speechless, but they granted the natives—maybe for a first time—a moral authority and political understanding.

The second event is the suppression of taxes on the natives in 1647. In fact the beginning of this policy can be traced back to 1636, when the governor Hans Putmans wrote to the governor general in Batavia on 7 October 1636. Putmans, after having declared that no subsidies were granted to the inhabitants, expressed that "collecting taxes from this poor people, as Your Excellency thinks we might, it is quite out of the question; for such a thing would only irritate and estrange them from us, as was the case of Kelang."<sup>78</sup> During these years, in which the colonial territory was expanding, taxes were seen as a way of demonstrating authority, and also an income for the increasing needs of the administration. Besides, they were most welcome since the period was coinciding with the decline of the trade with Japan. All these circumstances led the governors to take advantage of all the possibilities, including sometimes tributes from villages which were declared enemies. The news of these excesses reached Batavia,

and it was in July 1647, when a letter from the governor general of Batavia reached the Formosa Council impelling Overtwater with several surprising orders. One was to protect the deer in order to prevent them from extinction. But the most shocking measure was the elimination of tributes, an order accompanied by the statement that it was unreasonable collecting tributes from enemies:

From now on you will, until further notice, stop collecting the tribute all over Formosa, without any exception. We notice it is carried out not all according to our intentions; robbing these poor naked people from their food and clothes even before they themselves have any is definitively not the Company's highest goal ... We will be satisfied if they want to live in peace with us, and demonstrate our obedience to us, which we on our part will have to maintain with caution by occasionally presenting the elders with some gifts and by regaling them on the *landdagen*. (FE III, 200)

The same document went on to reprimand Overtwater for the situation that ended in the murder of three soldiers that went to Tataruma (Dutch: Talleroma) to claim some tribute, when this village was officially an enemy of the company: "If this is true, why did you put our men at risk by sending them over to claim a few deerskins or a little paddy? That is nothing compared with the loss of three lives ... As for the said eastern side of Formosa, to the Company not only is it unprofitable, but even harmful; therefore we will consider abandoning the area" (FE III, 200), an attitude that was anticipated by the Spanish Council of Indies as regards the Philippines. But, Phillip II decided to continue in the archipelago, whatever the expenses might be; also, the Gentlemen XVII sent now a letter confirming all these decisions, and reconfirming their previous opinions: "The foundation of new colonies should be based on gentle government ... just as all capable political administrators have observed" (FE III, 218). Regardless of the reasons behind the establishment of this Baroque compassionate policy towards the "good savage," and their further implementation, these declarations bring us back conceptually to the Renaissance discussions in Spain about the Laws of the Indies that happened one century earlier, on which we have commented at the beginning of the previous chapter.

#### *Teodoro Quirós and Teodoro of Quimaurri: The melancholy of the separation*

The Spaniards were defeated by the Dutch in 1642 and forced to leave Quelang in a few days. The soldiers that had married native women were allowed to leave accompanied by them, but any other Spanish relation with Taiwan was abruptly cut. One year later, Quirós, back in the Chinese parian of Binondo (Manila), was assigned by his superiors to write a memorial of his experiences of Isla Hermosa and particularly the reasons and the chronology of the defeat (SIT, 453–462). In the first part he narrated the wonders of the island and the good decision of the Spaniards in going there. He even said that that conquest was "the easiest that the Spaniards have ever undertaken, and I have the evidence to convince the greatest skeptic" (SIT, 454). But the most important view that

he made referring to this northern part was that the Indians were good by nature, ready to learn and cooperate. He defended the natives from those accusations, labeling them as ferocious and treacherous, by saying that they tried to defend themselves from the pressure of the Spaniards. He even inverted the terms of the accusation, blaming the governors, who were seeking only for their advantage, instead of serving God and the king. He defended that the best governance combines strong authority and sincere care. And he put as example of these virtues Governor Alonso García Romero:

How then that in a little more than a year [García Romero] commanded such a respect from the natives? How was he able to deal with them properly without being harmed by them? Why did they fear and love him and why they were almost ready to pay taxes to our Lord the King? Because he was a good Christian, he sought the salvation of those wretches and the increase of the Crown of his King ... He showered the natives with attention, acting as a father to them and also, whenever necessary, as a judge. Thus they always remember him ... During his time our Lord also opened doors to the conversion of the natives, which had not happened until then, and many were baptized ... I moved about those villages alone, celebrating mass, and only accompanied by two native boys, without fearing any enemies as they were kept at bay by their fear of the Governor. (SIT, 456)

Maybe one of the two native boys who accompanied Quirós on his trip to Cavalan in 1635 was the much-mentioned Teodoro. Probably he was his main protégée not only because of this particular coincidence of names, but also because he was very much attached to the church service, as he was "responsible for the receipts and expenditures of the candles [in the church]" (SIT, 477). This close interaction between Spaniards and Quimaurrians created strong ties and needs. This is why, six years later, in 1648, the Quimaurrians—with a feeling of missing something—continued asking the Dutch for liturgical ceremonies and for the baptism of their children.<sup>79</sup> We can recall also how even in 1651, during a period of famine, Teodoro—now as elder of Quimaurri—approached the Dutch asking for help and saying that in a similar situation the Spanish missionaries had helped them. Keerdekoek, reporting on this matter, concluded: "Clearly, those Christians have come to miss this kind of support ever since the expulsion of the Spaniards."<sup>80</sup> And finally he expressed to the Dutch governor of Tayouan Verbuch that he was feeding the hopes of the Quimaurrians consoling them that they had fallen from one kind of Christianity into another, and that the VOC would not treat them any worse than the Spaniards.



Christianity in Taiwan. Since the Spaniards left the island and the Dutch reduced their presence in the China Sea, Christianity started vanishing in northern Taiwan and then in the whole island. The next appearances of missionaries were coincidental, like this visit of Victorio Riccio, who still reported the presence of some Catholic natives (*SIT*, 626, 642–643). Later, in 1673–1674 (still under the Zheng regime), four Dominicans stayed in southern Taiwan trying to open a mission, but after a few months without positive results they went back to the Philippines (*SIT*, 655–657).

Now, things were difficult for Taiwan. The missionary action was concentrated in China, and even the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits were substituted by French, Belgian, and German Jesuits reaching still the Middle Kingdom from Macao. It was the moment of a slow but steady growth of Christianity, even if that happened during the crisis of the so-called Rites Controversy. It has been said that the year of the death of Hsu Kuang-chi (1633)—a Catholic converted by Ricci, the protector of the Jesuits in Beijing and the minister of Rites—represents the end of one epoch and the beginning of another, characterized by the rivalry with the mendicant friars, the period of this Rites Controversy. It is worth mentioning that at the very beginning Taiwan had a key role in that controversy, since the earlier protagonists, like the Dominican Morales or the Franciscan Antonio Caballero, reached China from Tamsui or San Salvador harbors. In fact, in these places somehow started the famous long trip to Beijing of 1637 made by the Franciscans Alenda and Bermúdez. They were received by the Jesuit Adam Schall, but the relation among the two groups of priests degenerated in a big quarrel that for a long period was the topic of gossip circles in Manila. The documents created with this occasion probably are the first ones of the endless dispute that “flooded” European archives.

A new short Christian presence in Taiwan appeared at the very beginning of the eighteenth century by a Jesuit leading a Chinese team of cartographers. From 1709 to 1718 some Jesuits scholars were commissioned to draw the maps of all the provinces of the empire, and Father Mailla was in charge of the province of Fujian and nearby islands. Fernando Mateos, a modern Jesuit scholar residing in Taipei explains: “On the third of April in the year 1714 the team sailed from Amoy, escorted by fifteen junks of war with 755 soldiers and 75 officers. Mailla described minutely the Jesuit expedition to Formosa in a long letter of 85 pages, published in the widely read *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* of the Jesuit Missionaries.”<sup>43</sup> This was the last recorded Christian presence on the island, until the Dominicans resumed their mission in 1859, as the Protestants did two years later, creating the last Christian wave on Taiwan.

## Epilogue

### The Baroque Ending

THE *EL DORADO* MYTH, which characterized the Renaissance period, was considered only as a dream and recorded legend during the Baroque. It was transferred to a chronicle as a way to make it stand out from contemporary endeavors. This was the case with the novelized narrative *El Carnero*, published in 1638 by the Creole Juan Rodríguez Freyle, narrating the first century of the life of the city of Bogotá. Chapter 2 describes the ceremony of the proclamation as a king of the native heir, being bathed with gold, and fully covered by this precious metal, in the middle of a lake. But Rodríguez Freyle is quite direct in saying that many captains went in search of *El Dorado*, and they never found it, and he himself doubted if it ever really existed.<sup>4</sup> But Baroque feelings are not only the delusive feelings of *El Dorado* and the series of deceptions that we have talked about in the last part of each chapter of this book. Also, for a long time the Baroque (and the Renaissance as well) had been understood beyond its architectural molders and literary delusions. Yes, the Baroque has become something more; it is a spirit, a vital attitude, and a way of understanding life. Thus it is common to talk about a Baroque cosmopolitanism, a Baroque sense of honor, and even a Baroque man,<sup>2</sup> all of them as categories where contraposition is a part.

#### BAROQUE COSMOPOLITISM: REFORMATION AND LAWS

Probably one of the main conceptual problems that Eastern civilizations may have experienced upon the arrival of Westerners was to differentiate the nationals of the different European countries, as it happened with the Japanese, although for some of them that might have been easier because they were in a process of unifying a feudal state. Easterners had to learn the differences between the Portuguese and Spaniards, and from 1580 on, to understand the fact that though they were two different nations, they shared the same king. More confusion was added when the Dutch appeared. In theory they belonged to the same Crown, but they were in open rebellion against their king, consequently the Spaniards and the Dutch were mutual enemies. Later they observed that the English cooperated with the Dutch, but after the Amboyna incident, their relation

ceased. The Japanese, after getting familiar with the Jesuits, started observing other kinds of priests, the Dominicans and Franciscans, and later others called Augustinians. All of them were missionaries from the same religion, but dressed in different habits. The Chinese and Japanese living closer to the Spaniards in their respective parians of Manila probably coped faster with these differences and started to easily understand their special nuances linked with the social status of people living in Manila, the commercial system around the galleon, and the fact that those colonies included a cosmopolitan aggregate of nationals.

For Eastern societies, like China, cosmopolitanism was not a new experience. But in their case it was more a multicultural kind of aggregation of people, with different laws and customs. The novelty brought along by Westerners in cities like Manila was that the new cosmopolitanism was under the rule of a distinctive and written law. A law that—even while it was used to the benefit of the rulers, who defended their privileges and created differences among the people—still was somehow a referential law for everybody, with a clear differentiation of rights and duties. Maybe they were surprised by institutions like the Audiencia (or High Court) in which the judges had an independent authority from the governor, even if he was officially the nominal president of such court. Besides, this system of counterbalancing powers was extended to other spheres, for example the bishop, whose moral authority may have had an impact on government decisions.

In Manila, there were two kinds of cosmopolitanism, one resulting from the “attractive power of silver,” which brought Chinese, Japanese, and other Southeast Asian nationals into a multicultural aggregation, and the other one from the dominant group. The peculiarity of these different people coming from across the Pacific speaking different languages was that they were under a political unity. Among the group of soldiers were Spaniards, Mexicans, even Flemish, and black slaves. If we consider those arriving in Taiwan, we should add Pampangos, Cagayanos, and Tagalos, with a clear national distinction manifested in the fact that they were marching under their own banners. Among the Dominicans, there were not only Spaniards, but also Portuguese, Italians, and Sardinians.

On the other hand, the people that joined the armies were classified under a clear structure: sailors, artillerymen, infantrymen, adventures, and all of them integrated into a common stratified system, which applied to salary, benefits, honors, rights, and duties. These strata reached even the slaves, some of private ownership, others of public dependence like the “slaves of the king.” Certainly such a complex society can only be organized through laws that should be actualized and reformed according to new circumstances, including the regulations of how an army of conquest may behave and deal with the booty, as it happened with the armada of 1627 going to Taiwan (*SIT*, 98). As a result, for example, the natives of the Philippines had some particular laws for their own protection within the general legal body called *Leyes de Indias*<sup>3</sup> (The Law of the Colonies), and even the sangleys had a part on them.<sup>4</sup>

# BAROQUE REFORMATION: THE ARBITRIST SPIRIT

The law is usually attached to a policy of reformation, and the man that championed this spirit of reformation in Spain during the times of Philip IV was his prime minister, the count-duke of Olivares (1622–1643). He was a hard-working man who carried out an ambitious policy of reformation, through the creation of *Juntas* (i.e., special committees). But his policies failed in the end after some military defeats, including those of Montjuich (June 1641), Lérida (October 1642), a conspiracy in Andalusia (summer of 1641), and his final *destierro* (1643) first in his own lands near Madrid and later after new accusations when he was transferred to the city of Toro (1643). To add more trouble, he went through a trial in the tribunal of the Inquisition (1644) the year before he died.

During the governorship of Olivares everybody felt authorized to suggest reforms, and a new group of people, the *arbitristas*, flourished. This name comes from *arbitrio*, or “solution” given to particular problems of the kingdom. Consequently, the *arbitristas* (considered as the first economic thinkers) were those clergymen, military men, businessmen, or public servants, who during the second part of the sixteenth century and through the seventeenth century wrote several reports or treaties, in Spain and Portugal<sup>5</sup> alike, to solve political or economic problems. The government itself had their own policymakers, and a case for the Philippines can be seen in the long report made by Grau y Monfalcón,<sup>6</sup> the procurator in the Council of Indies for the archipelago. There we can see a lengthy report of the situation, with some recommendations. The same analytical spirit can be seen in the junta of 1637 for the dismantling of the fortress of Isla Hermosa, or even in the detailed proceedings of Governor General Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera’s judgment of residency. Nevertheless, the *arbitristas* were more thinkers than public servants. For example, even if some of them like Luis Ortiz were royal accountants, Tomás de Mecado was a theologian, and González de Cellorigo was a lawyer.

Regarding the Spanish presence in Taiwan, we can see in some reports that they were full of the arbitrist spirit. First, those of Luis Pérez de Dasmariñas and his rationale on the conquest of Isla Hermosa, second the one of De los Ríos Coronel, with the same purpose, both written in 1597. Later, we have the one of Fr. Bartolomé Martínez on “The advisability of the conquest of Isla Hermosa,” in 1619. More sophisticated were the two reports presented by Juan Cevicos in the court of Madrid (1627 and 1628) opposing the Spanish presence in Taiwan as a way of counterbalancing the Dutch presence and as a route for the missions to Japan and China. The same can be said of the report of Bishop Diego de Aduarte after his visit to Isla Hermosa (based on the draft of Jacinto Esquivel of 1632), which probably was an *arbitrio* handed down to the royal officers in Manila. On the other hand, other later reports, like the ones of Fr. Juan De los Ángeles or Fr. Teodoro Quirós, cannot be considered *arbitrios*, since they were made in retrospect, and did not suggest ways of action.

BAROQUE HONOR: THE RHETORIC OF CORCUERA AS A METAPHOR  
FOR THE EMPIRE'S DECLINE

The history of the Spanish presence in Taiwan can be summarized as a Renaissance adventure that after ten years of searching for consolidation lost its mission, and ended in Baroque pessimism. The reasons for their arrival were as neatly squared as the fortress they built and left behind: trade, the counterbalance of Dutch power, and missionary access to China and Japan. But ten years later some people in Manila considered that everything was a very costly enterprise with little gain in return. These ideas that can be traced not only in the contemporary documents of the Spaniards in Taiwan, but especially through all the papers gathered for the trial of Corcuera, two years after the defeat.

In the junta of January 1637 they agreed to leave Isla Hermosa (*SIT*, 484), and to dismantle the peripheral fortress of Tamsui, *el cubo, la retirada, la mira*, leaving only the main fortress with only forty Spanish soldiers, eighteen Pampangos, and a company of Cagayanos. But Corcuera, as well as the other officers, considered that for the meantime the fortress should still be able to face a Dutch attack. And, considering the valiant defense of the post led by Governor Gonzalo Portillo in the first Dutch attack in 1641, he was right.<sup>7</sup> At that time good luck was on the side of Portillo, who claimed victory after “blasting the flagship with an 18- [pounder] from the fortress of San Salvador, ... And because the current brought them to a shallow part, or because the north wind that night was so strong that their cables broke, the said flagship crashed against the coast where friendly natives, saw its masts, sails and riggings [floating] on the water” (*SIT*, 501).

The change of attitude of Portillo was used by Corcuera to accuse him as the only one responsible for the lost of Quelang in 1642, being dominated by fear and avoiding battle against the Dutch. Not only that, Portillo—defenseless and afraid to return to Manila from Macassar—was considered not only a coward but also of being illiterate, and of other personal shortcomings. He appeared like the villain of a Spanish Baroque drama.

The defeat manifested also a very important aspect of the Spanish character and of the Spanish armies: the sense of honor and of shame after a defeat without having put up the proper resistance. Corcuera accused Portillo because he did not behave according to the oath he had made to defend the fort entrusted to him by His Majesty (*SIT*, 492). And worst of all was that “the enemy seized the forces with the artillery, provisions, supplies, banners and other items that were kept there, to the discredit of the arms of His Majesty, as was witnessed by two great empires like Japan and China and other neighboring kingdoms” (*SIT*, 495). Consequently,

The armed forces of His Majesty got a bad reputation, because without firing even a single shot at the Dutch enemy, he surrendered the said fort to [the Dutch enemy], and His Majesty received [not only] severe damage as regards the reputation of His naval forces, but also the loss of the fort, the artillery, the supplies and the men, and the new Christianity that had begun to flourish [in the land] from the preaching of the holy Gospel. (*SIT*, 502)

The trial of Corcuera that followed the end of his term as governor is another post-Renaissance event. Never before was a governor treated with such rigor, and the whole trial was a Baroque example of conflict, excessiveness, and tumult. Along the trial we see the overflowing rhetoric of the empire, using strong sounding statements to accuse others, or to defend personal actions. For example, Corcuera, defending his decision to delay the dismantling of the fortresses, said: “For honorable soldiers, without His Majesty’s express command, are obliged not to leave the King’s armed forces undefended as these were built at his orders and expense” (*SIT*, 500). Secondly, mentioning the negligence of Cristóbal Márquez (the governor before Portillo) and defending his withdrawal from the post, Corcuera said: “As for disobedient soldiers, particularly officers and others of like responsibilities; the most lenient punishment is not to give them any order for His Majesty’s service (this I learned from good masters in the state of Flanders)” (*SIT*, 502). Corcuera, justifying his innocence from the unpredictable behavior of Portillo, by whom he had been appointed, said “[the defeat] was due to the cowardice and poor government of the chief [i.e. Portillo] who was in charge. And this [courage] could not be given to him by [the governor of] Manila. It is a gift that God alone can grant” (*SIT*, 501). Another great example of the justification coming from Spanish imperial military code was given by Corcuera, when he justified his innocence recalling the Battle of the Downs (or Nieuwport) of July 2, 1600, where the archduke Alberto was defeated by the Dutch general Maurice of Nassau near Dunkirk. He said that the responsibility of the defeat was charged on the lieutenants, not on the generals:

That great retreat saw the loss of hundreds and more of His Majesty’s flags. Being thus so, the said banners were entrusted to the noted captains by His Majesty ... In the loss of the said banners—to which the captains willingly entrusted to the soldiers—, justice was not asked from the said captains; neither were they blamed for the loss. Rather, they threw into prison the surviving second lieutenants who lost the banners; and those who did not have good excuses were beheaded. (*SIT*, 504)

It was ironic that in another Battle of the Downs, near the same place as the previous one, the Spanish fleet commanded by Oquendo was defeated by the Dutch in its attempt to bring supplies to the Spanish forces in Flanders. This happened in 1639, on the verge of the Dutch attack of Quelang. That (second) Battle of the Downs was a strong blow to the Spanish sea power with important repercussions to their colonies. The next defeat, although only a small one in relative terms, but morally very important was precisely the mentioned battle of San Salvador, in 1642, on the other part of the globe, leading to the final transfer of maritime leadership from Spain to Holland, not only as an image but also as a reality—the Spanish cannons of San Salvador were transferred to the Dutch fortresses of the Banda Islands (*SIT*, 490).

BAROQUE MEN: THE SAN SALVADOR BATTLE (1642)

If Renaissance painting discovered the sense of perspective, the Baroque emphasized the *chiaroscuro*, understood as a “synthesis of contraposition,” the light and the dark,

the beauty and the ugliness, of life and of death. In chapter 1, we have referred to one of the most Baroque episodes of Spanish Hermosa, the defeat by the Dutch (see annexes 14 and 16). Then, the small island of Quelang became a Calderonian stage where the play *El Gran Teatro del Mundo* ("The World as a Big Stage," written around 1635), made in 1641 the rehearsal of the final act, and in 1642 the one and only definitive performance. There, while Captain Valentín de Aréchaga was fighting against the heretics, his commander Portillo abandoned him to his own luck. Aréchaga and his soldiers could not believe this neglect, as Portillo could not believe how he was abandoned by Corcuera. Life was a dream. The stable and serene Renaissance sense of balance had been transformed into a dynamic perception. Everyone discovered that the coin has two sides, and that the truth was too complex to be summarized in one formula. As the delusion was set up in everybody's minds, they started to understand why things ended in this way. The final act of the play was performed in front of a satisfied audience, all the Basayans (Quimaurrians and Taparrians) and other natives from Tamsui. They came to witness from the surrounding mountains the theatrical spectacle of the announced Spanish defeat, surrender, and capitulation. Portillo, one of the two stage directors, summarized later the final act in this way:

Seeing ourselves defeated, we acknowledged the surrender because we had no other option and because we could not fight back. And even if we [could], we would have easily lost. The few men left in the fort divided themselves into parties and went out military style with our flag, war drums and weapons. (SIT, 399)

In the final moments of the play, the audience, pleased and scared as well with such a pathetic ending echoed by the martial noise of the drums, felt compelled to act like the choirs of the Greek tragedies. Then, they stood up and borrowed the verses, which in Calderon's play admonish the king:

Rey de este caduco imperio,	King of this perishable empire,
cese, cese, tu ambición,	end, end your ambition,
que en el teatro del mundo	because in the stage of the world,
ya tu papel se acabó.	your role is already gone.

Finally, Spanish and Dutch actors retreated from the scene by the back door. Some Dutch still remained for the rehearsal of a new play, but the others went together with the Spaniards to Tayouan and later to Batavia, commenting about their performance and sharing the information of the whole theater of operations, from the corners of Nagasaki to the southern ones of Malacca. In Batavia they said goodbye to each other. Some Spaniards went back to Manila, others to Spain passing by Hamburg. And some Dutch just went back to Holland. The Quimaurrians went to Quimaurri and the Taparrians to Taparri, but for them the play they had seen was not a distant performance. It made them realize that it was going to alter their lives: that they had to pay more attention to their surrounding neighbors, that isolation was something of the past, and finally, that their time had recently been sequenced by such radical events and practices that a new perception of history had entered into their lives.

## Annexes

### Annex 1: The shipwreck in Taiwan of the galleon from Macao to Japan of 1582

*A section from the account of the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez wherein describes the sinking of the ship which was to bring him from Macao to Japan. This took place in Taiwan in July 1582 (SIT, 10–11). On board the ship there were almost 300 persons, among them three more Jesuits going to their mission in Japan. One of them, the Spaniard Pedro Gómez, wrote a much longer, more detailed report of the same shipwreck (SIT, 1–9). Alonso Sánchez resided in Manila, and from there he went to China on a few occasions. In fact, now he was trying to go back to Manila the long way round, passing through Japan.*

"The distance between Macao and Japan is 300 leagues, sailing eastward along the coast of China; and between Japan and Luzon, there are more than 200 leagues, going southwest ... Along the way, traveling through this gulf is an island called Hermosa, because of her tall and green mountains seen from the sea. The Portuguese have traveled to Japan between this island and the Chinese coast for about 40 years without ever exploring or landing on it.

The junk or ship, which I boarded, belonged to a very rich and important Portuguese in Macao named Bartolomé Baez. It was very big and carried all of Macao's wealth because the other boat ahead was small and carried little cargo. We sailed eight or 10 days from Macao towards Japan, beset by difficulties. As people say when we returned, this gulf had such a generous share of storms and hurricanes that neither mast nor rudder was spared. In the end, God did not want us to reach Japan. We owe the shipwreck on the said island to the pilot's negligence. It was a Sunday at midnight and there was a great wind.

We managed to get off with some planks, while others swam until they got exhausted. In short, the great junk fell into pieces and all the goods were scattered on the shore and rotted there. 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

**Hong Kong University Press**  
14/F Hing Wai Centre  
7 Tin Wan Praya Road  
Aberdeen  
Hong Kong

© José Eugenio Borao Mateo 2009

ISBN 978-962-209-083-5

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Secure On-line Ordering  
<http://www.hkupress.org>

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

## Contents

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<b>List of Illustrations</b>	vii
<b>List of Tables</b>	ix
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	xi
<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Chapter 1</b> The Dutch-Spanish Rivalry	7
<b>Chapter 2</b> The Arrival in Taiwan	31
<b>Chapter 3</b> The Encounter	53
<b>Chapter 4</b> The "Embryonic" City of San Salvador	103
<b>Chapter 5</b> Commerce in Northern Taiwan	135
<b>Chapter 6</b> The Missionary Activity	171
<b>Epilogue</b> The Baroque Ending	201