

TRANSLATED WORK

**On the Ethnology of the Island Chain
between Luzon and Formosa**

Frances Antoinette Cruz

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

**Zur Ethnologie der Inselkette zwischen
Luzon und Formosa**

Otto Scheerer

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES:

For those familiar with German, Otto Scheerer's writing is not so far removed from the language of today. Apart from a few minor orthographic differences and stylistic choices, the contemporary reader will have little trouble poring over his works. *On the Ethnology of the Island Chain between Luzon and Formosa* is one of the few pieces on the Philippines written in his native German – having been a scholar during the early American colonial period, and working at an American university, Scheerer otherwise wrote most of his academic work in English. It would take nearly half a century after the publication of *On the Ethnology of the Island Chain between Luzon and Formosa* before English would consolidate its position over the other European languages in global scholarly production, and one wonders if Scheerer's choice of language was prescient or lucky or both. The ubiquity of the English language in today's scholarly circles further serves as both background and rationale for the present translation, which hopes to introduce Scheerer's lesser-known works to a broader contemporary audience.

While the language of the piece is still largely comprehensible, what has changed considerably is context – Formosa, for instance, is now known as Taiwan, and Botel Tobago carries the name Orchid Island (and sometimes Yami, as the reader will soon see). When dealing with historical texts, one is always forced to be cognizant of norms that no longer exist – the words *baluga* and *savage* have taken on a derogatory connotation, stained by the injustices and prejudices of empire; and *Mischlinge*, though a term still used in contemporary colloquial German, has been translated here in terms of what was considered acceptable academic jargon at the time, i.e., *half-breeds* or *half-castes*, both of which carry a pejorative character today. Aside from archaic racial categories, there are terms in the work that may be noteworthy for linguists and students of language alike, in that Scheerer had a propensity to label as a dialect what is now more accurately classified as a language. We hope to do the scholarly work of correcting this unfortunate oversight, the consequences of which are still felt in Philippine society,

where the word ‘dialect’ is used to describe what are in fact wonderfully diverse languages. Devoid of the changes brought about by the long anti-colonial struggle to attain dignity, the colonial and racial worldview of the early 20th century may appear to be wholly lacking in sensitivity to the modern reader. Yet when taking on such tasks of translation, or perhaps more accurately, *trans-creation*, in which we endeavor to transport meanings through time and different semiotic and cultural systems, we must also recognize that Otto Scheerer was very much a man of his time. As we acknowledge the issues in his work, so too should we acknowledge that it is through his writings and others like it that today’s scholars are able to help create a world beyond archaic and problematic narratives of the past.

EDITOR'S NOTES:

In July 2019, colleagues from the Department of Linguistics met with Dr. Richard Scheerer, grandson of Prof. Otto Scheerer, to discuss how to keep Prof. Scheerer's legacy alive as the Department nears its centennial celebration. This article was one of his grandfather's works that the younger Scheerer gifted to the Department. We thought of having this work translated to make it accessible to more scholars interested in the topic. Upon receiving permission from the now OAG-Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Voelkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokyo, Japan, we broached the idea to a colleague from the Department of European Languages, Prof. Frankie Cruz, who graciously agreed to do the work.

Zur Ethnologie der Inselkette zwischen
Luzon und Formosa.

VON

OTTO SCHEERER in Tōkyō.

(mit 6 Tafeln)

Sonderabdruck von den „Mitteilungen“ der Deutschen Gesellschaft
für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Bd. XI, Teil 1

WIEDERABDRUCK NUR MIT ANGABE DER QUELLE
GESTATTET

On the Ethnology of the Island Chain between
Luzon and Formosa.¹

BY

OTTO SCHEERER in Tokyo.

(with 6 plates)

Special Reprint of the “Mitteilungen” [Communications]² of the German
Society for the Natural History and Ethnology of East Asia, Vol. XI, Part 1

REPRINTING PERMITTED ONLY WITH INDICATION
OF SOURCE

¹ Now known as Taiwan.

² The name of this journal in its original German is “Mitteilungen”.

MITTEILUNGEN
DER
DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR
NATUR- UND VÖLKERKUNDE OSTASIENS.

Band XI, Teil 1.

Tōkyō, 1906.

ZUR ETHNOLOGIE DER INSELKETTE ZWISCHEN LUZON
UND FORMOSA.

VON
OTTO SCHEERER in Tōkyō.

(mit 6 Tafeln)

Die nachfolgende kleine Arbeit bezweckt eine Darlegung der ethnologischen Verhältnisse auf der Inselkette zwischen Luzon und Formosa und besteht im wesentlichen in der Wieder-gabe einer Anzahl hierfür gesammelter, von einander meist unabhängiger Berichte verschiedener Reisender und Autoren.* Indem ich diese übersichtlich aneinanderreihe und, ohne irgend eine Theorie aufstellen zu wollen, mit den mir naheliegenden Kommentaren begleite, hoffe ich ferneren Forschungen nützlich zu sein, vielleicht auch zu solchen anzuregen. Es hat dort, noch in historisch erreichbarer Zeit, eine Völkerverschiebung statt-gefunden, die, als eine der jüngsten, uns genauer erkennbaren der unzähligen Wanderungen malaiischer Völker, unser Interesse um so mehr fesselt, als sie sich auf der dem forschenden Blicke offen daliegenden Brücke zwischen zwei grösseren Inseln abgespielt hat, die beide in ihrem Innern noch so viel des ethnographisch Unerforschten bergen.

* Nachweis der benutzten Literatur s. am Schluss.

COMMUNICATIONS
OF THE
GERMAN SOCIETY FOR
NATURAL HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY OF EAST ASIA.

Volume XI, Part 1.

Tokyo, 1906.

ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE ISLAND CHAIN BETWEEN LUZON
AND FORMOSA

BY

OTTO SCHEERER in Tokyo.

(with 6 plates)

The following paper aims to explain the ethnological conditions on the island chain between Luzon and Formosa, and primarily consists of the reproduction of a number of mostly independent reports gathered for this purpose by various travelers and authors.* By collecting these reports in an orderly fashion and selecting the most relevant commentary, without any desire to try to formulate a theory, I hope to be of service to future research, perhaps even to inspire such. In the course of recorded history, a demographic displacement took place there, which, as one of the most recent and more well-known of the countless migrations of Malay peoples, has captivated our interest all the more, as it occurred at a bridge of particular academic interest lying between the two bigger islands, both of which contain so much of what is yet to be ethnographically explored.

* See the end of this document for the literature used.

1.—Die Nordkante Luzons.

Die Insel *Luzon* schneidet im Norden mit einer breiten, doch schön geschwungenen Kante ab. Die Gestaltung der Oberfläche dieses nördlichsten Teils ist eine solche, dass sie die im Innern lebenden Bevölkerungs-Stämme in ihrer ethnischen Sonderung bis dicht an die Küste heranführt: christliche Filipiner auf den von Süden nach Norden verlaufenden beiden Flachland-Streifen (das schmale ilokanische Küstengebiet im Westen und das Stromgebiet des Rio Grande im Herzen der Provinz Kagayan im Osten) und rohe Naturvölker in den in gleicher Richtung gelagerten beiden Haupt-Gebirgszügen (die Cordillera del Norte zwischen Ilokos und Kagayan und die Sierra Madre längs der Ostküste). Wegen des Interesses, das die Nordküste Luzons als Basis der von ihr ausgehenden Inselkette für die beabsichtigte Darlegung hat, seien ihre Bewohner einer kurzen Musterung unterzogen (vergl. hierzu die Kartenskizze am Schluss). Die Sierra Madre galt bisher als von *Negritos* bewohnt, die sich zumal auf dem Ostabhang in primitiver Reinheit finden sollten. Von da weiter der Nordküste entlang bis zum Kap Bojeador treffen wir: zuerst *Ibanag* (auch Kagayaner genannt, Christen, in der Geschichte ein kriegerischer, trotziger Stamm), dann *Ilokaner* (christliche Malaien, schon bei Ankunft der Spanier gesittet, sehr expansiv, Kolonien in Kagayan); zwischen beiden landein, in der wenig durchforschten Cordillera del Norte, die *Apayaos*, malaiische Kopfbjäger, sowie zwei von *Negritos* bewohnte Punkte, der eine in der Nähe von Abulug, der andere weiter westlich. In der Nähe der nördlichsten ilokanischen Stadt Bangi erwähnen ältere Berichte noch den kleinen Stamm der *Adang*, Mischlinge von Negritos und Malaien, der vielleicht als ethnische Einheit schon verschwunden ist.

Das Vorkommen der zuerst erwähnten reinen *Negritos* aus der Sierra Madre im Östen wird u.a. von *Semper* behauptet, der im Jahre 1860 diesen Gebirgszug, allerdings weiter südlich, von Palanan aus nach Minanga in der Provinz Isabela überschritt. Er sagt, Negritos fanden sich

an der Ostküste bei Baler, dann bei Casiguran, bis sie endlich von Palanan an bis an das Cabo Engaño hinauf ausschliesslich die Küste sowohl, wie die Gebirgsgegenden der östlichen Bergkette bevölkern. Wenn irgendwo, so sind

1. The Northern Edge of Luzon.

The island *Luzon* cuts off in the north with a wide, but nicely curved edge. The formation of the surface at this northernmost part is such that it connects ethnically differentiated tribes living in the interior to the coast: Christian Filipinos living along strips of lowland that run from south to north (the narrow Ilocano coastal region in the west, and the river basin of the Rio Grande³ at the heart of the Cagayan province in the east) and the savage indigenous peoples of the two main mountain ranges lying in the same direction (the Cordillera del Norte⁴ between Ilocos and Cagayan and the Sierra Madre along the east coast). Due to the importance that the northern coast of Luzon has as the basis for the island chain emanating from it for the intended analysis, its residents are subject here to a brief representational sketch (cf. the map sketch at the end). The Sierra Madre was previously considered to be inhabited by *Negritos*, found primarily on the eastern slope in primitive purity. From there and further along the northern coast towards Cape Bojeador, we encounter: first the *Ibanag* (also called Cagayanos, were Christians, and are, according to history, a warlike, defiant tribe), the *Ilocanos* (Christian Malays, already cultured by the time of the arrival of the Spanish, very expansively, colonies in Cagayan); and between both peoples and towards the inland, in the little-explored Cordillera del Norte, are the *Apayaos*, Malay headhunters, as well as two spots inhabited by *Negritos*, one near Abulug, the other further west, near the northernmost Ilocano city of Bangi. Older reports further mention the small tribe of the *Adang*,⁵ a mixture of Negritos and Malays, which may have already disappeared as an ethnic group.

The appearance of the foregoing pure *Negritos* from the Sierra Madre in the east is claimed by *Semper* among others, who crossed this mountain range in 1860, although further south, from Palanan to Minanga in Isabela province. He recalls that Negritos were found

along the east coast near Baler, then near Casiguran, until they finally inhabited the coast from Palanan all the way up to Cabo Engaño [Cape Engaño],⁶ as well as the mountainous areas of eastern mountain range. If anywhere, they can still

³ Refers to the Cagayan River or Rio Grande de Cagayan.

⁴ Refers to Cordillera Central.

⁵ As mentioned in William Henry Scott's article, "The Word Igorot".

⁶ Refers to the northern point of Palau island off Cagayan province.

sie hier noch in ihrer grössten Reinheit der physischen wie der geistigen Charaktere zu finden.

Gegen wohl mit hierauf fussende, ganz ähnliche Angaben Blumentritts wendet sich Reed (The Negritos of Zambales), wenn er meint:

These statements stand much in need of verification. Inquiries pursued by the Ethnological Survey do not bear them out—in fact point to an opposite belief.— There is a small body of what may be pure types near the boundary between Isabela and Cagayan, west of the Cagayan River, but the coast region, so far as is known, does not hold any Negritos.— As many as sixteen towns of Cagayan report Negritos to the total number of about 2,500. They are known commonly as 'Atta', but in the pueblo of Baggao there are three groups known locally as 'Atta', 'Diango' and 'Paranan'.* They have been described by natives of Baggao as being very similar to the ordinary Filipino in physical characteristics except that they are darker in color and have bushy hair. Their only weapons are the bow and arrow. Their social status is in every way like that of the Negritos as distinguished from the industrious mountain Malaysians of northern Luzon. Yet future investigations may not associate these robust and warlike tribes with the weak, shirking Negritos. Negritos of pure type have not so far been reported from Cagayan.

Man wird abwarten müssen, inwieweit die hier von Reed angedeutete Möglichkeit, die mit Pfeil und Bogen bewaffneten Stämme mit buschigem Haar von der Sippschaft der Negritos auszuschliessen, durch weitere Ermittlungen an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt. Bis dahin steht die Frage für Kagayan noch auf: *Negritos* oder *Negrito-Mischlinge*?

2.—Die Batanen und Babuyanen.

Der ihrer Bevölkerung nach hier flüchtig skizzierten Nordkante Luzons sind Schrittsteinen nach Formosa hin vergleichbar, eine Anzahl kleiner Inseln

* Nach dem Atlas der Jesuiten findet sich eine Rancherie Paranan auf dem Westabhang der Sierra Madre, östlich von Amulung in Kagayan. Palanan ist ein Pueblo nahe an der Ostküste in Isabela.

be found here with the utmost purity of physical as well as mental characteristics.

Disagreeing with the above claims and the very similar statements of Blumentritt, Reed asserts (The Negritos of Zambales):⁷

These statements stand much in need of verification. Inquiries pursued by the Ethnological Survey do not bear them out— in fact point to an opposite belief. — There is a small body of what may be pure types near the boundary between Isabela and Cagayan, west of the Cagayan River, but the coast region, so far as is known, does not hold any Negritos.— As many as sixteen towns of Cagayan report Negritos to the total number of about 2,500. They are known commonly as ‘Atta’, but in the pueblo of Baggao there are three groups known locally as ‘Atta’, ‘Diango’ and ‘Paranan’.* They have been described by natives of Baggao as being very similar to the ordinary Filipino in physical characteristics except that they are darker in color and have bushy hair. Their only weapons are the bow and arrow. Their social status is in every way like that of the Negritos as distinguished from the industrious mountain Malaysians of northern Luzon. Yet future investigations may not associate these robust and warlike tribes with the weak, shirking Negritos. Negritos of pure type have not so far been reported from Cagayan.

One would have to wait and see to what degree Reed's implied alternative to exclude the bushy-haired tribes from the Negrito clan, armed with bow and arrow, gains credulity through further investigation. Until then, the question regarding Cagayan remains: *Negritos or Negrito half-breeds?*⁸

2. The Batanes and Babuyan Islands.

According to its peoples, by the northern edge of Luzon that was soberly outlined above are a number of offshore small islands, beginning with a broader

* According to the atlas of the Jesuits, a Paranan rancherie⁹ is located on the Western slope of the Sierra Madre, east of Amulung in Cagayan. Palanan is a pueblo near the east coast of Isabela.

⁷ This citation was retained in its original English.

⁸ I have chosen the term ‘half-breeds’ as the equivalent of ‘Mischlinge’ despite the term's

vorgelagert, die mit einer breiteren Gruppe beginnen und sich allmählich nach Norden hin vereinzeln. Das so gebildete annähernde Dreieck wird ungefähr in der Mitte von der breiten Fahrrinne des *Balintang Kanals* durchschnitten, der das Inselsystem in eine südliche Gruppe, die *Babuyanen*, und in eine nördliche, die *Batanen*, scheidet. Die verlängerte Spitze des Dreiecks, und damit den nördlichsten Ausläufer filipinischen Territoriums überhaupt, bildet die Diminutiv-Gruppe der *Bashi-Inselchen*, die durch den *Bashi-Kanal* von der schon zu Formosa gehörenden Insel *Botel Tobago* (nebst *Klein Botel Tobago* und *Gadd Rock*) getrennt sind.

Charakteristisch zum mindesten für den filipinischen Teil dieser Inselkette ist ihre vulkanische Natur, mit der es zusammenhängen mag, dass, während die kleinsten Eilande nichts weiter als nackte, schroff aus dem Wasser aufsteigende Klippen sind, gegen die sich die von heftigen Strömungen durchzogene und von häufigen Taifunen aufgewühlte See wütend bricht, die mittleren und grösseren Inseln trotz ihrer felsigen Natur, sehr fruchtbares Erdreich und eine Vegetation haben, die zahlreichen, oft verwilderten Herden von Pferden, Rindern, Schweinen und Ziegen fette Weiden darbietet. Dies gilt nicht nur von den Babuyanen, die ja gerade von ihrem Hauptprodukt, den Schweinen (auf den Filipinen *babui* genannt) ihren Namen haben, sondern auch von den *Batanen*, von denen nun zunächst besonders die Rede sein soll.

Die schon nach ältesten Berichten durchaus friedfertigen und harmlosen, ja, durch strengen Rechtlichkeitssinn ausgezeichneten Bataner, von Ackerbau, Viehzucht und Fischfang lebend, waren von der Natur in den Stand gesetzt, trotz Taifunen und herrschenden Fiebern glücklich dahinzuleben, solange sie sich selbst überlassen blieben. Leider sollte ihnen dies nicht immer vergönnt bleiben. Um die Beunruhigungen von aussen, denen sie ausgesetzt waren, darzutun und die Leute dabei noch näher kennen zu lernen, gebe ich einige Auszüge aus den frühesten Berichten, die wir über sie besitzen.

Als Entdecker der Inseln nennt man gewöhnlich *Dampier*, ob mit Recht oder Unrecht soll hier nicht untersucht werden, jedenfalls verdanken wir ihm die ersten genaueren Nachrichten über diese Gruppe. Sein Bericht war mir leider im Original nicht erreichbar, doch fand ich ihn im vierten Bande von *Thomas Pennants 'Outlines of the Globe'* wiedergegeben. Es heisst dort:

controversial history and problematic connotations as this was still a common and relatively uncontested designation in the early 1900s, when Scheerer wrote this piece.

⁹ A settlement of indigenous peoples.

group and become gradually isolated towards the north, which are akin to stepping-stones towards Formosa. The approximate triangle thus cuts through the middle of the *Balintang Kanal's* wide channel, which divides the island system into a southern group, the *Babuyan Islands*, and a northern group, the *Batanes Islands*. The extended tip of the triangle, and thus the northernmost foothills of the entire Philippine territory, forms the small group of the Bashi Islets, which are separated by the *Bashi Channel* from the island of *Botel Tobago*,¹⁰ which in turn is part of Formosa (along with *Small Botel Tobago* and *Gadd Rock*).¹¹

What is characteristic of at least the Philippine part of this chain of islands, is its volcanic nature, which may have something to do with the fact that while the smallest islands are nothing more than naked rocks rising abruptly from the water, against which the sea breaks furiously having been stirred up by strong currents and frequent typhoons, the mid-sized and larger islands, despite their rocky nature, possess lush soil and vegetation, providing fertile pastures to numerous, often feral, herds of horses, cattle, pigs, and goats. This applies not only to the Babuyan Islands, which are named after their main product, pigs (called *babui* in the Philippines), but also to the *Batanes*, to be discussed in detail shortly.

According to the oldest reports, the peace-loving and harmless Batanese, who are, indeed, distinguished by a strict sense of moral turpitude, and live off agriculture, livestock breeding, and fishing, have been enabled by nature, despite typhoons and prevailing fevers, to live contentedly as long as they are left to themselves. Alas, this cannot always be granted them. To address the external challenges that have beset them, and to describe this group in more detail, I shall provide some excerpts from the earliest reports we have on them.

The discoverer of the islands is largely recognized as *Dampier*, whether this is justified or not shall not be examined here, although we can at least be indebted to him for being the first to provide accurate accounts about this ethnic group. Unfortunately, while I could not obtain his original report, I was able to retrieve a reprint in the fourth volume of *Thomas Pennant's 'Outlines of the Globe'*. There it says:¹²

¹⁰ Botel Tobago is now also known as Orchid Island. The Y'ami prefer the name Pongso nu Tao "Island of Men".

¹¹ A rock located roughly northwest of Itbayat.

¹² This citation was retained in its original English.

Dampier, in the year 1687, being engaged in these seas in a buccaneering expedition, wished for a temporary concealment. He had seen in certain charts the figure V which denoted their number. He sailed to the spot and found them to correspond in position and number. None of them had names, so he bestowed on them those of *Orange*, *Grafton*, *Monmouth* and *Bashee* ... Monmouth and Grafton isles are very lofty with a numerous succession of precipices one above another. On these the natives build their villages which affords the singular prospect of 3 or 4 rows of small houses erected on posts and wattled with boughs. They have no other way of getting to their habitations but by a ladder which is pulled up after them if they mean to ascend to the upper villages, or to secure themselves from an assault. These two islands are the most populous, as they have more of these precipices. Bashee Island has but one precipice, and in consequence only one town. Orange is lofty, yet so plain as to furnish no spot for the site of their villages and is therefore uninhabited.

Dass die heute bewohnte Insel Orange, deren einheimischer Name *Bayat*, *Ibayat*, oder *Itbayat* ist, zu Dampiers Zeiten unbewohnt gewesen sein soll, ist auffallend. Der dafür angegebene Grund scheint anzudeuten, dass die damaligen Bataner noch die Wahl der ihnen unter den Inseln am gelegensten frei hatten. Ihre spätere Besiedlung könnte somit mehr der Not als dem eigenen Triebe der Leute entsprungen sein, oder auch in späterer grösserer Sicherheit jener Gegenden ihren Grund gehabt haben, sofern nämlich menschliche und nicht atmosphärische Störungen für ihre anfängliche Nicht-Besiedlung massgebend gewesen wären. Von den Eingebornen heisst es weiter:

it seems as if they went to the island of *Manilla* for their iron, which they manufactured at home. From thence they get their other only import, pieces of buffaloes hides, with which they make their defensive armor or buff coats; their sole offensive weapons are lances headed with iron; all this implies the fear of enemies and makes it probable that they are subject to the attacks of the piratical Indians.

Besonders wichtig ist Dampiers Schilderung der Leute selbst und ihrer Boote, da wir Veranlassung haben werden, uns derselben später zu erinnern. Von ersteren wird gesagt:

Dampier, in the year 1687, being engaged in these seas in a buccaneering expedition, wished for a temporary concealment. He had seen in certain charts the figure V which denoted their number. He sailed to the spot and found them to correspond in position and number. None of them had names, so he bestowed on them those of *Orange*, *Grafton*, *Monmouth* and *Bashee* ... Monmouth and Grafton isles are very lofty with a numerous succession of precipices one above another. On these the natives build their villages which affords the singular prospect of 3 or 4 rows of small houses erected on posts and wattled with boughs. They have no other way of getting to their habitations but by a ladder which is pulled up after them if they mean to ascend to the upper villages, or to secure themselves from an assault. These two islands are the most populous, as they have more of these precipices. Bashee Island has but one precipice, and in consequence only one town. Orange is lofty, yet so plain as to furnish no spot for the site of their villages and is therefore uninhabited.

That the now inhabited island of Orange, whose native name is *Bayat*, *Ibayat*, or *Itbayat*, was uninhabited in Dampier's time, is striking. The reason given appears to suggest that the forefathers of the Batanese were free to choose from an unoccupied island at their convenience. The consequent settlement could have come as a result of necessity rather than by the urges of the people themselves, or may be attributable to the greater security of those areas, insofar as human, and not environmental, disruptions were responsible for the islands initially being uninhabited. Of the natives it is further said:

it seems as if they went to the island of *Manilla*¹³ for their iron, which they manufactured at home. From thence they get their other only import, pieces of buffaloes hides, with which they make their defensive armor or buff coats; their sole offensive weapons are lances headed with iron; all this implies the fear of enemies and makes it probable that they are subject to the attacks of the piratical Indians.¹⁴

Of particular importance is Dampier's description of the people themselves as well as their boats, as we will have cause to remind ourselves of this later. Of the

¹³ This spelling error is found in the original text, the correct spelling is *Manila*.

¹⁴ The implications of the term 'Indians' in this piece are similarly problematic. 'Indian' was a term given wholesale by colonial forces to diverse peoples that had little to do with India per se, and is reflective of the apathy of the colonial enterprise to how the colonized identified themselves.

The natives are short and squat, round visaged with low foreheads and thick eyebrows, short low noses, eyes small and hazel, but larger than those of the Chinese; lips and mouths of a middle size, hair black, thick, lank and cut short, so as just to cover the ears ... In general the men went naked, excepting the usual wrapper about their loins; some had jackets of plantain leaves, the rudest of all clothing. The women had a strong thick short petticoat of cotton, made of the lesser cotton plant, the product of their own isles ... Their manners were inoffensive, friendly and honest, not only among themselves, but to the new visitants, who possibly were the first Europeans they had seen ...

und von den Böoten heisst es:

They build with much skill their small boats which resembled the Deal yawls formed of very narrow planks, fastened with pins and nails. They had also larger boats, which carried 40 or 50 men and were rowed by 12 or 14 oars on a side.

Dampiers Seeleute schenkten ihre Aufmerksamkeit besonders einem aus Zuckerrohr hergestellten Getränk der Eingeborenen, das im Ueberfluss vorhanden war und die guten Eigenschaften besass, zu berauschen und doch keine bösen Folgen nach sich zu ziehen. Sein Name war *bashi*, ein Wort das aus *bási* korrumpiert ist, womit auch heute noch ein in Nordluzon überall bekanntes, ganz ähnliches Getränk bezeichnet wird. Dasselbe wurde für würdig befunden, den Namen erst für die eine der Inseln und später für die ganze Gruppe der Batanen herzugeben, die in älteren Zeiten von den Engländern als *Bashee Islands* bezeichnet wurde, wie denn auch die Meeresstrasse nördlich von ihr allgemein der *Bashi Kanal* genannt wird.

Mit der Ankunft Dampiers scheint eine Zeit besonderer Drangsal für die Bataner hereingebrochen zu sein und zwar veranlasst durch spanische Missionäre, deren erster im Jahre 1686, also ungefähr gleichzeitig mit Dampier, die Inseln besuchte. Um dies besser zu verstehen, ist es nötig, erst den Blick nach der südlicheren Gruppe, den *Babuyanen*, zu wenden. Dies haben für die Europäer ein verderbenbringendes Klima und die spanischen Missionäre, vor der Unmöglichkeit, sich in demselben zu behaupten, glaubten einen Ausweg gefunden zu haben, indem sie im Jahre 1690 die neubekehrten Babuyaner nach Luzon

former it is said:¹⁵

The natives are short and squat, round visaged with low foreheads and thick eyebrows, short low noses, eyes small and hazel, but larger than those of the Chinese; lips and mouths of a middle size, hair black, thick, lank and cut short, so as just to cover the ears ... In general the men went naked, excepting the usual wrapper about their loins; some had jackets of plantain leaves, the rudest of all clothing. The women had a strong thick short petticoat of cotton, made of the lesser cotton plant, the product of their own isles ... Their manners were inoffensive, friendly and honest, not only among themselves, but to the new visitants, who possibly were the first Europeans they had seen ...

and of the boats, it is said:¹⁶

They build with much skill their small boats which resembled the Deal yawls formed of very narrow planks, fastened with pins and nails. They had also larger boats, which carried 40 or 50 men and were rowed by 12 or 14 oars on a side.

Dampier's sailors paid special attention to a native drink made from sugar cane that was available in abundance and possessed good qualities such as the ability to intoxicate, yet with no untoward consequences. Its name was *bashi*, a word derived from a corruption of *bási*, which until today refers to a very similar drink, known everywhere in North Luzon. The same was found worthy not only for the name of one of the islands, but also at a later point in time for the whole group of the Batanes Islands, which in older times were known as the *Bashee Islands* by the English in addition to the strait to the north of it, or the *Bashi Channel*.

With the arrival of Dampier came a time of particular hardship for the Batanese, induced by Spanish missionaries, who first visited the islands in 1686, around the same time as Dampier. To understand this better, it is necessary to first look at the more southern group, the *Babuyan Islands*. These had a destructive climate for Europeans and the Spanish missionaries. Asserting the impracticality of such a situation, they believed they had found a solution when they brought the newly converted Babuyanese to Luzon in the year 1690, which, despite being condemned by the King of Spain — who gave orders to return the people to their homes — continued throughout the years 1740-1745, completely depopulating

^{15, 16}This citation was retained in its original English.

übersiedelten, was zwar vom König von Spanien gemissbilligt wurde, — der Befehl gab, die Leute wieder in ihre Heimat zurückzubefördern, — trotz dem aber sich in den Jahren 1740-1745 in Form einer erneuten Verschleppung wiederholte, die diese Inseln gänzlich entvölkerte. So erklärt es sich, dass wir die Babuyanen heute von *Ilokanern* von der Nordwestküste Luzons besetzt finden, die als unerschrockene Kolonisten die verlassenen Plätze einnahmen.

Ganz ähnlich diesen Vorgängen auf den Babuyanen war es nun auch auf den *Batanen*. Hier bewegte im J. 1720 der Dominikaner P. Bel die von ihm Bekehrten zunächst nach der Babuyanen Insel *Kalayan* auszuwandern und dann, da hier die Hälfte von ihnen starb, nach Luzon überzusiedeln. Da wir über alle diese Vorgänge nur spanische Missionsberichte haben, ist es schwer die Kehrseite der Medaille zu beurteilen, d.h. festzustellen, wie sich diesen Beunruhigungen gegenüber diejenigen auf den Babuyanen und auf den Batanen verhielten, die nicht gewillt waren, sich bekehren und verschleppen zu lassen. Folgen wir daher zunächst noch den nach der Verschleppung der ersten Bataner im Jahre 1720 von ihren Inseln vorliegenden Nachrichten. In seinem zwischen 1803 und 1805 geschriebenen ‚Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas‘ berichtet uns der Augustiner *Zúñiga* wie folgt:

Im Jahre 1783 unternahm der Generalkapitän der Filipinen, *Don José Basco* die Eroberung der Batanen und es gelang den Dominikaner-Vätern sich dort festzusetzen und dem Himmel einige Seelen zu erobern. Es wurde ein Gouverneur und eine Besatzung dahin verlegt, die enorme Unkosten verursachten, da es nötig war, jährlich von Manila ein Schiff mit den Subsidiën zu schicken. Dem Herrn Basco wurde für diese Tat der Title ‚Conde de la Conquista‘ verliehen, es ist aber nötig gewesen, jenes Gouvernement wegen unnötiger Kosten, die es verursachte, wieder abzuschaffen und nur die Dominikaner Patres blieben mit einer kleinen Schutzwache dort.

Soweit *Zúñiga*, aus dessen Worten ein unverhohlener Sarkasmus spricht. Zur Beurteilung der Wirkung der spanischen Herrschaft, die ihren Regierungssitz auf der Hauptinsel namens *Barán* (oder *Ibatán*) aufgeschlagen hatte, besitzen wir den Bericht eines der englischen Marine als Leutnant angehörigen Kauffahrteifahrers, des *John Meares Esq.*, der im Jahre 1786, also 3 Jahre nach der spanischen Besitzergreifung und 100 Jahre nach Dampier die Inseln besuchte. Er schreibt:

the islands. That explains why the Babuyanese of today are inhabited by *Ilocanos* from the northwest coast of Luzon, who, as intrepid colonists, had occupied the deserted areas.

The antecedents on the Babuyan Islands were quite similar to those that transpired on the *Batanes* Islands. Here, in 1720, the Dominican friar Fr. Bel first moved his Christian converts to the Babuyan island *Kalayan*, and then, having witnessed half of them die, moved the converts to Luzon. Since we have only Spanish mission reports about all these events, it is difficult to judge the other side of the coin, i.e., to ascertain how those living in the Babuyan Islands and in Batanes who were unwilling to be converted and deported responded to these disturbances. Let us therefore follow the existing evidence for the period after the deportation of the first Batanese from their islands in the year 1720. In his “Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas” [Statism of the Philippine Islands], written between 1803 and 1805, the Augustinian monk *Zúñiga* tells us the following:

In 1783, the Captain General of the Philippines, *Don José Basco*, undertook the conquest of the Batanes and the Dominican Fathers who successfully managed to establish themselves there and acquire some souls for heaven. A governor and a crew were relocated onsite, which entailed enormous costs, as it became an annual requirement to send a ship from Manila with subsidies. Mr. Basco was given the title of “Conde de la Conquista” for this feat, but it became necessary to abolish the governorate due to the needless costs it entailed, and only the Dominican Fathers were left behind with a small surveillance crew.

In order to assess the impact of Spanish dominion, which established its seat of government on the main island of Batan, we possess in addition to *Zúñiga*, whose words reveal a blatant sarcasm, the report of *John Meares Esq.*, a merchant marine lieutenant in the English Navy, who visited the islands in 1786, that is, 3 years after the Spanish occupation and 100 years after Dampier. He writes:¹⁷

¹⁷This citation was retained in its original English.

Our stay at these islands was so short as not to afford us an opportunity of attaining anything but a very general information concerning them ... They are inhabited by a race of strong athletic men, who have been hitherto happy in a soil that produced everything necessary for their support and comfort: — but we cannot suppose that the happiness these people possessed will find any addition from the yoke of Spain ... A Spanish force arrived in these islands sometime in the year 1783, to take possession of them; with what view it is, by no means, difficult to conjecture when it is known that they were supposed to contain mines of gold. We certainly saw a considerable quantity of gold dust in the possession of the natives, and several small pieces which, in all probability, had been washed down by the torrents from the mountains and found in the beds of rivulets with which these islands abound ... They are well inhabited by a race of inoffensive people, whose chief delight consists in drinking a liquor called *bashee* which is distilled from rice and the sugar-cane. In the evening men, women and children meet in crowds on the shores, with torches in their hands, and drink *bashee* till they are intoxicated, when they engage in dancing, and display every mark of satisfaction and contentment. *It is however very much to be feared that these Islanders must have already found a mortifying interruption to their festive pleasures, from the tyranny and bigotry of Spanish dominion.*

Für die hier von dem Engländer Meares ausgesprochene Befürchtung, die sich ihm trotz der Kürze seines Aufenthalts sofort aufdrängte, lässt sich eine Bestätigung in den spanischen Missionsberichten von jenen Inseln finden, die von *Blumentritt* zu einer eingehenden Schilderung dortiger Sitten und Gebräuche zusammengestellt worden sind. Es wird da ausgesprochen, dass die Bewohner der nördlichsten Batanen Insel *Ibayat* (auch *Itbayat* oder *Bayat* genannt), die von den andern etwas getrennt liegt und auf der sich bis heute Spuren des alten Heidentums erhalten haben, sich von da nach *Botel Tobago* geflüchtet hätten. Diese Leute hätten einen eigenen Dialekt gehabt, der von dem der übrigen Bataner gänzlich verschieden gewesen sein soll und heute auf Botel Tobago gesprochen würde. Hierzu äussert *Blumentritt* seine Meinung dahin, es sei nicht unmöglich, dass die heutigen Bataner eigentlich die alten Babuyaner sind, während die Leute auf Botel Tobago Nachkommen der Autochthonen der Batan Inseln zu sein schienen. Diese Annahme, die er indessen ausdrücklich als eine reine Vermutung bezeichnet, stützt er darauf, dass nicht alle Babuyaner das Christentum annahmen und diese dann

Our stay at these islands was so short as not to afford us an opportunity of attaining anything but a very general information concerning them ... They are inhabited by a race of strong athletic men, who have been hitherto happy in a soil that produced everything necessary for their support and comfort: — but we cannot suppose that the happiness these people possessed will find any addition from the yoke of Spain ... A Spanish force arrived in these islands sometime in the year 1783, to take possession of them; with what view it is, by no means, difficult to conjecture when it is known that they were supposed to contain mines of gold. We certainly saw a considerable quantity of gold dust in the possession of the natives, and several small pieces which, in all probability, had been washed down by the torrents from the mountains and found in the beds of rivulets with which these islands abound ... They are well inhabited by a race of inoffensive people, whose chief delight consists in drinking a liquor called *bashee* which is distilled from rice and the sugar-cane. In the evening men, women and children meet in crowds on the shores, with torches in their hands, and drink bashee till they are intoxicated, when they engage in dancing, and display every mark of satisfaction and contentment. *It is however very much to be feared that these Islanders must have already found a mortifying interruption to their festive pleasures, from the tyranny and bigotry of Spanish dominion.*

A confirmation for the misgivings expressed here by the Englishman Meares, which vexed him immediately despite the brevity of his stay, can be found in the Spanish mission reports from those islands, which were compiled by *Blumentritt* to form a detailed description of the area's customs and traditions. Therein he writes that the inhabitants of the northernmost Batan Island *Ibayat* (also *Itbayat* or *Bayat*), which is somewhat separated from the others, and where traces of ancient forms of paganism can still be seen today, would have taken refuge in *Botel Tobago*. These people would have had a dialect¹⁸ of their own, which was supposed to have been completely different from that of other Batanese and would be spoken today in Botel Tobago. Blumentritt expressed his opinion on the matter, writing that it does not seem impossible that today's Batanese are in fact the ancient Babuyanese, while the people on Botel Tobago appear to be descendants of the autochthons of the Batan Islands. This conjecture, however, while expressly

¹⁸ EN: Tsuchida, Yamada, & Moriguchi (1987 - *Lists of selected words of Batanic languages*) and Tsuchida, Constantino, Yamada, & Moriguchi (1989 - *Batanic languages: Lists of sentences for grammatical features*) classify Itbayat as a language distinct from Ivatan; while the *Ethnologue* (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2021) lists Itbayat as a dialect of Ivatan.

wohl ihre Zuflucht auf den Batanen gesucht haben dürften, wobei nur auf Itbayat die alten Autochthonen sich erhielten.

Die folgenden Ausführungen werden zeigen, inwieweit der auf die alten Bataner bezügliche Teil dieser Vermutung durch Tatsachen begründet erscheint. Folgen wir zu diesem Zweck den Spuren der nordwärts geflüchteten Bataner.

3.—Die Bashi Eilande.

Um von Itbayat, der nördlichsten Batanen Insel nach Botel Tobago zu gelangen, würde man den Weg zunächst über 4 oder 5 kleine, in unregelmässigen Abständen von einander liegende Inselchen, sodann über den etwa 55 Seemeilen breiten *Bashi Kanal* zu nehmen haben. Gedachte Eilande sind es, auf die sich heutzutage die von den alten Seefahrern für den ganzen Batán Archipel gebrauchte Bezeichnung *Bashi-Inseln* beschränkt. Liegen schon die Batanen selber, sogar von Manila aus betrachtet, ganz aus der Welt, so erklärt es sich, dass unsere Nachrichten über die kleinen Bashi Eilande sehr vage, fast sagenhafte sind. Einige Angaben über sie finden sich in der von den Jesuiten vom Observatorium in Manila verfassten Chorographie der Filipinen. Es heisst da von den Batanen im allgemeinen:

The most important islands of this group are *Basay* or *Batan*, *Saptan*, and *Itbayat*. The northern islands near Formosa, called *Jamia* [sic] and *Norte*, terminate the group. There are other islands of little importance, or uninhabited, such as *Siayan*, *Diogo*, *Misanga*, *Dequez*, *Mabudis*, and *Diamis*, or the *Diami rocks*.

Ueber die hier besonders in Rede stehende Gruppe sagen die Verfasser:

THE VASCHI ISLANDS.

These constitute a little group of islands to the north. They are very small in size and are truly isles. The principal ones, commencing with those nearest to the Batanes are Siyam, Mabudis Tanem, Maysanga, and Iami. All of these islands, with the exception of the last, are within sight of the Batanes. The most important of them is *Iami*, inhabited, according to the Batanes, by savages and

described as a mere presumption, is supported by his argument that not all Babuyanese had adopted Christianity and may have had sought refuge on the Batan Islands, meanwhile, it was only on Itbayat where the old autochthons remained.

The following explanations will show to what extent the part of this conjecture with regard to the ancient Batanese appears to be justified with facts. For this purpose we follow the tracks of the Batanese who fled north.

3. The Bashi Islands.

To go from Itbayat, the northernmost Batan Island to Botel Tobago, one would first take the path via 4 or 5 small, irregularly spaced islets, over the 55-nautical mile-wide *Bashi Channel*. The islets in question are the ones now restricted to the designation *Bashi Islands*, a name which the old sailors used to refer to the entire Batan Archipelago. Should the Batanes themselves, even seen from Manila, be seen as belonging to quite another world from their own, this can explain why our reports about the small Bashi islands are very vague, almost legendary. Some information about them can be found in the Jesuits' chorography of the Filipinos, written from an observatory in Manila. It is said there of the Batanes in general:¹⁹

The most important islands of this group are *Basay* or *Batan*, *Saptan*, and *Itbayat*. The northern islands near Formosa, called *Jamia* [sic] and *Norte*, terminate the group. There are other islands of little importance, or uninhabited, such as *Siayan*, *Diogo*, *Misanga*, *Dequez*, *Mabudis*, and *Diamis*, or the *Diami rocks*.

About this group of islands in particular the authors write:²⁰

THE VASCHI ISLANDS

These constitute a little group of islands to the north. They are very small in size and are truly isles. The principal ones, commencing with those nearest to the Batanes are Siyam, Mabudis Tanem, Maysanga, and Iami. All of these islands, with the exception of the last, are within sight of the Batanes. The most important of them is *Iami*, inhabited, according to the Batanes, by savages and

^{19, 20} This citation was retained in its original English.

pagans of the Vaschi race. It is not known, whether the language spoken is derived from the Batan language or is peculiar to the inhabitants. In the northwest the inhabitants of the Batanes and of the Vaschi Islands understand each other, perhaps on account of certain words in common. No Spanish officer or missionary has ever visited these islands.

Einem anderen geographischen Werke, dem schon älteren ‚*Diccionario Geografico*‘ der *Padres Buzeta y Bravo* entnehme ich folgendes:

[Die nördlichsten Eilande sind] *Siayan, Ditorcan, Misanga* und *Mabadis*, doch sind sie, die einen wegen ihrer Kleinheit, die andern wegen ihrer Wertlosigkeit, kaum der Erwähnung wert. Man kennt ferner in dieser selben Gruppe einen konischen Fels, *Diamis* genannt, etwa 300 varas hoch [1 vara=0,835 m.] und ganz nahe dabei einen anderen, gleichfalls unter dem Namen *Diami*; weiter im Norden findet sich eine bewohnte und fruchtbare Insel, deren Bewohner sich in beständiger Fehde mit den Batanern befinden, die [Nominativ] sie nicht aufnehmen, es sei denn ein Sturm oder die Strömungen führten sie zu ihren Inseln, und auch in diesem Fall lassen sie sie nicht über den Strand hinaus.

Der Name dieser entfernteren Insel wird nicht angegeben, doch scheint es mir keinem Zweifel zu unterliegen, dass damit dieselbe gemeint ist, die von den Jesuiten als Iami und als ausser Sicht liegend bezeichnet wird. Wenn letztere der Bevölkerung dieser Insel den Namen *Vaschi Stamm* geben, — also Zuckerrohr-Wein-Stamm, da offenbar Vaschi=Bashi=bási ist, — so möchte ich das als eine ganz willkürliche Benennung ansehen. Ich habe mich um weitere Aufklärung an den Munizipalpräsidenten von *Santo Domingo de Basco* (Insel Batán) Herrn Vicente Barsana gewendet, der die Güte hatte, mir folgendes mitzuteilen:

Ein Idiom *Baschi* gibt es hier nicht, denn die Inselchen *Siayan, Maisanga, Mabudis* tanim sind unbewohnt und die letzte, *Iami*, sagt man, sei bewohnt, aber die Leute dort haben ein besonderes Idiom, das nach Aussage derer, die dorthin von den Winden verschlagen wurden, von uns nicht verstanden wird. Es scheint mir, dass den Namen *Bachi* früher die Engländer gegeben haben, die hier in alten Zeiten passierten und denen, gemäss Angaben, die hiesigen Eingebornen ein Getränk anboten, das *bási* heisst, wonach sie dies hier bis jetzt so nannten. *Wir hier auf den Batanen kennen aber diesen Namen nicht.*

pagans of the Vaschi race. It is not known, whether the language spoken is derived from the Batan language or is peculiar to the inhabitants. In the northwest the inhabitants of the Batanes and of the Vaschi Islands understand each other, perhaps on account of certain words in common. No Spanish officer or missionary has ever visited these islands.

From another geographical work, the already older “*Diccionario Geografico*” [Geographic Dictionary] by the *Priests Buzeta and Bravo*, I take the following:

[The northernmost islands are] *Siayan, Ditorcan, Misanga* and *Mabadis*, but they are, for one, because of their small size, and secondly, due to their worthlessness, hardly worth mentioning. One also recognizes in this same group a conical rock, called *Diamis*, about 300 varas high [1 vara=0.835 m.] and close to it, another one, also called *Diami*; further north there is an inhabited and fertile island, whose residents are in constant feud with the Batanese, the [nominative] will not take them in unless there is a storm or currents that lead them to their islands, and also in which case, they will not let them go beyond the beach.

The name of this more distant island is not given, but there seems to be no doubt in my mind that it is the same as the one which Jesuits called Iami²¹ and described as lying out of sight. If the last of the inhabitants of this island were to be given the name *Vaschi tribe*, in other words, the cane-wine tribe, as it is obvious that Vaschi=Bashi=bási — I would like to view this as a completely arbitrary designation. I have asked the Municipal president of *Santo Domingo de Basco* (Batán Island) Mr. Vicente Barsana, for further clarification, and he had the goodness to communicate to me the following:

The idiom *Baschi* does not exist here because the islets *Siayan, Maisanga, Mabudis* tanim are uninhabited and with regard to the last one, *Iami*, it is said to be inhabited, but the people there have a special idiom, according to those who were carried there by the winds, one that we do not understand. It seems to me that the name *Bachi* was given in the olden days by the Englishmen and [specifically] by those, according to reports, who were offered a drink by the natives called *bási*, which is what they have been calling this place until now. *But we here in the Batanes do not know that name.*

²¹ Now known as ‘Yami’.

Es ist ferner aus den Angaben der Jesuiten leider nicht zu ersehen, ob unter der nördlichsten Insel ‚nahe bei Formosa‘ Jamia (Iami) schon die der Geographie allgemein als *Botel Tobago* bekannte Insel zu verstehen ist. Sie lassen uns in dieser Hinsicht in demselben Zweifel, der für ihren Gewährsmann für die Bashi Inseln, den *P. Anastasio Idigoras*, Missionär auf den Batanen, bestand, auf dessen in einer spanischen Zeitschrift veröffentlichten Brief über diese Inseln sie verweisen. Da die betreffende Stelle dieses Briefes auch noch in anderer Beziehung interessant ist, will ich sie in extenso hersetzen. Nach Aufzählung der Bashi Inseln: Siayam, Mabudis, Tanem, Maysanga und Iami fährt *Idigoras* fort:

Die beiden ersten ernähren viele Ziegen, Eigentum der Leute von Itbayat, die ab und an ihretwegen nach dort kommen; über die andern beiden ist mir nichts bekannt. Tanem, glaube ich, ist weiter nichts als ein Felsen. Die bedeutendste ist die letztgenannte, Iami, und sie ist die einzige bewohnte von den Vasshi; es sind Heiden und Barbaren, wie die Leute hier sagen; die einzigen Nachrichten, die wir von fraglicher Insel besitzen, rühren von zwei *pancos* [Segelfahrzeuge] hiesiger Inseln her, die von den Winden und Strömungen nach dort verschlagen wurden. Sie stiegen nicht ans Land, denn, die Eingeborenen in ihren kleinen Booten umzingelten den *panco* in feindlicher Absicht und wollten ihn durch Durchbohren zum Sinken bringen, so dass sie sich mit den Rudern zur Wehr setzen mussten. Die Eingeborenen fuhren fort, sie mit Steinen zu bewerfen, bis ein früherer Sergeant, der sich in dem Segelfahrzeug befand, auf den Einfall kam, die Schiffspumpe gegen sie zu richten. Dies entschied den Kampf gegen die Leute von Iami, die in ihnen flinken Gondeln in aller Eile das Weiße suchten, indem sie in ihrer Sprache: Kanone, Kanone! riefen, Dieser Ausruf ist ein bedeutsamer Umstand, denn als die Leute des *panco*, die sich das Wort gemerkt hatten, den Vorfall später erzählten, fiel es einigen auf, dass der Ausruf ein Wort aus dem Dialekt der alten Itbayaner war, ein Dialekt, der diesen eigentümlich war und von den andern Batanern nicht verstanden wurde; woraus folgt, dass die von Iami von den Batanen stammen ... Kein spanischer Beamter oder Missionär hat je die Vasshi Inseln betreten. Zwar hat es Gouvernure auf den Batanen gegeben, die von ihnen Besitz nehmen wollten und die Mittel dazu von Manila erbat, doch erreichten sie nichts. Im Jahre 1891 kam der Kreuzer *Velasco*, um in diesen Meeren zu kreuzen; man sprach dem Kapitän von der Insel Iami, er wollte sie auch rekognoszieren, doch kam er nicht bis dahin, er sagte, sie läge ausserhalb

Furthermore, it is unfortunately not possible from the information of the Jesuits to see if the northernmost island ‘near Formosa’, Jamia (Iami), is what is generally known in geography as *Botel Tobago*. They allow us the same doubt insisted upon by their authority on the Bashi Islands, *P. Anastasio Idigoras*, a missionary for the Batanes, which was expressed in a letter published in a Spanish magazine. Since the relevant passage of this letter is also interesting in other respects, I would like to present it here at length. After enumerating the Bashi Islands: Siayam, Mabudis, Tanem, Maysanga and Iami, *Idigoras* continues:

The first two support many goats, property of the people of Itbayat, who from time to time pay a visit; I know not of the other two. Tanem, I think, is nothing but a rock. The most significant is the latter, Iami, and it is the only one inhabited by the Vasshi; they are pagans and barbarians, as the people here say; the only news that we possess from the island in question comes from two *pancos* [sailing vessels] of local islands which have been drawn there by the winds and currents. They did not set foot on land, because the natives, in their little boats, surrounded the *panco* with hostile intent and wanted to sink it by piercing it, so that they had to use the oars to fight back. The natives continued to throw stones at them, until a former sergeant who was in the vessel thought it was a good idea to use the ship's pump against them. This decided the fight against the group of people from Iami, who, in their nimble gondolas, hurriedly made off into the distance, while calling out: cannon, cannon!, in their language. This act of exclaiming is a significant circumstance, because as the people of *panco*, who memorized that word, narrated the incident afterwards, some noticed that the exclamation was a word from the dialect of the old Itbayans, a dialect that was peculiar to them and was not comprehensible to other Batanese; from which follows that the people in Iami are from the Batanes ... [as no] Spanish official or missionary has ever set foot on the Vasshi Islands. However, there were indeed governors for the Batanes who wanted to take possession of them and requested for the means to do so from Manila, but [in the end] achieved nothing. In the year 1891, the cruiser *Velasco* came to sail these seas; one spoke to the Captain about the island of Iami, which he also wanted to reconnoiter, but never succeeded — he claimed it was outside of Spanish territory; he only brought us further news upon his return, noting that the inhabited island is not called Iami, but, if I remember correctly, *Tobago*, and that Iami is another uninhabited island. Here, they had

des spanischen Gebietes; er brachte uns nur bei seiner Rückkehr eine andere Neuigkeit, nämlich, dass die bewohnte Insel nicht Iami heisst, sondern, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, Tobago, und dass Iami eine andere unbewohnte Insel ist, Hier haben sie sie immer Iami genannt und ich weiss nicht, wer schliesslich recht hat; der Kreuzer hat sich der Insel nicht genähert.

Nach diesem Bericht fühlt man sich geneigt, dem Kommandanten des Kreuzers Recht zu geben: die Insel, die immer als die bedeutendste, entfernteste, allein bewohnte bezeichnet wird, gehört, als jenseits des Bashi Kanals gelegen, überhaupt nicht mehr zu den Bashi Inseln und ist *Botel Tobago*. Die Leute auf den Batanen, die diesen der europäischen Geographie angehörigen Namen nicht kennen, nennen sie *Iami* und zwar, wie ich noch zeigen werde, mit sehr gutem Recht. In der Bashi Gruppe selbst gibt es aber offenbar auch noch ein Stück terra firma namens Iami, wenn es auch weiter nichts als die von Buzeta y Bravo mit rühmenswerter Genauigkeit aufgeführten Felsen sein sollten,* Wir können sonach die Bashi Inseln als wahrscheinlich gänzlich unbewohnt mit gutem Gewissen verlassen und nehmen den Faden in formosanischen Gewässern wieder auf.

* Der '*Census of the Philippine Islands, taken in the year 1903*' führt auf S. 264 des ersten Bandes die *Batán Inseln* wie folgt auf:

<i>Islands</i>	<i>Area in square miles</i>
Y'Ami	0.4
North	0.2
Mabadis	0.6
Siayan	0.2
Isbayat	26.0
Diego	0.6
Batán	24.0
Saptán	9.7
Ibugos	1.6
Déquez	0.2
40 unnamed islets and rocks, areas not specified, sum.	0.1
50	63.6

always called it Iami, and I do not know who was right in the end; the cruiser did not approach the island.

After this report, one feels inclined to affirm the commander of the cruiser: the island, which has always been known as the most significant, remote, and the only populated one, as being located beyond the Bashi Channel, does not at all belong to the Bashi Islands and is [in fact] *Botel Tobago*. The people on the Batanes, who are not aware of the name given in European geography, call it *Iami* and that is, as I shall demonstrate, with just cause. In the Bashi group itself, however, there is apparently also a piece of terra firma called Iami, although it is nothing more than rocks* described by Buzeta and Bravo with praiseworthy accuracy. We can therefore regard the Bashi Islands with a clear conscience as likely completely uninhabited, and pick up the trail again in Formosan waters.

* The '*Census of the Philippine Islands*, taken in the year 1903' lists on p. 264 of the first volume of the *Batán Islands* as so:

<i>Islands</i>	<i>Area in square miles</i>
Y'Ami	0.4
North	0.2
Mabadis	0.6
Siayan	0.2
Isbayat	26.0
Diego	0.6
Batán	24.0
Saptán	9.7
Ibugos	1.6
Déquez	0.2
40 unnamed islets and rocks, areas not specified, sum.	0.1
<hr/>	<hr/>
50	63.6

4.— Botel Tobago.

Im Jahre 1898 wollte Herr *R. Torii* von der Anthropologischen Abteilung der Universität in Tōkyō zwei Monate in einer ethnographischen Mission auf Botel Tobago. † Seinem sehr eingehenden, in japanischer Sprache verfassten Bericht, den ich noch in vollständiger Uebersetzung vorzulegen hoffe, entnehme ich folgendes über

Traditionen auf Botel Tobago.

In *Irarai Nahmen*‡ geht über die Vorfahren folgende Geschichte:

In alten Zeiten lebten ein Mann und ein Weib, die viele Kinder erzeugten. Der Mann starb jung und liess die Frau allein zurück, die Kinder aufzuziehen. Einige Jahre später wurde die Frau durch Eingeborene von der Insel *Ibatan* entführt. Die zurückgelassenen Kinder wuchsen heran, heirateten untereinander und gründeten so dieses Dorf.

In *Ibarinu Nahmen* hat man folgende Ueberlieferung: Die Leute, die das Weib aus *Irarai Nahmen* entführten, hatten auf der See mit vielen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen und vermochten die Heimat nicht wieder zu erreichen. Sie kamen daher nach *Ibarinu* und legten den Grund zu diesem Dorf. Aehnliche Ueberlieferungen existieren in *Yayu Nahmen* und *Iratai Nahmen*.

In *Imorod Nahmen* erzählt man, dass der Stammvater der Gemeinde ein Mann von *Ikbarat* war, der, auf der See vom Sturme betroffen, sich nach diesem Platze rettete, ein Weib aus den benachbarten *Iratai Nahmen* heiratete und so Gründer des Dorfes wurde.

In diesen Ueberlieferungen kehren immer die Namen *Ibatan* und *Ikbarat* wieder, Plätze, nach denen man nicht weit zu suchen hat. Es unterliegt für mich

† Der Name *Botel Tobago* soll der Insel von den Portugiesen gegeben worden sein wegen der Aehnlichkeit ihrer Umrisse mit einem Tabaks-Flakon der Chinesen.

‡ Das Wort *Nahmen* kehrt in allen Dorfnamen der Insel wieder, ebenso wie das Heimats-Präfix *i-* im ersten Gliede der Apposition, welche Partikel auf den Filipinen meist ‚*Leute von-*‘, seltener en Ort selbst, bezeichnet. Für *nahmen* vergl. Ilokanisch: *namên*, Prät. von *mamin*, = ‚Beisteuer, Beihülfe eines Clan, um einem der Mitglieder in seinen Lebensbedürfnissen zu helfen‘. So geht auf den Filipinen der Hausbau noch vielfach unter spontaner Mitwirkung der Nachbarn vor sich.

4. Botel Tobago.

In 1898, Mr. *R. Torii* of the Anthropology Department of the University of Tokyo²² took part in a two-month ethnographic mission on Botel Tobago. † From his very detailed report, written in Japanese, which I hope to present in full translation, I gather the following about

Traditions on Botel Tobago.

In *Irarai Nahmen*‡ this tale has been passed on by ancestors:

In ancient times, there lived a man and a woman who produced many children. The man died young and left his wife behind to raise the children alone. A few years later, the woman was abducted by natives of the island *Ibatan*. The abandoned children grew up, married amongst themselves and thus founded this village.

In *Ibarinu Nahmen* you have the following tradition: The people who took the woman from *Irarai Nahmen* had to struggle with many difficulties at sea and were not in a position to return home, so they came to *Ibarinu* and laid the foundations of the village. Similar traditions exist in *Yayu Nahmen* and *Iratai Nahmen*.

In *Imorod Nahmen* they say that the progenitor of the community was a man from *Ikbarat*, who, while caught in a storm at sea, found sanctuary there, married a woman of the neighboring *Iratai Nahmen* and thus became the founder of the village.

In these traditions, the names *Ibatan* and *Ikbarat* are seen once more and one need not have looked far to find them. There is no doubt in my mind that

† The name *Botel Tobago* is said to have been given to the island by the Portuguese because of the resemblance of the island's outline to a Chinese tobacco flacon.

‡ The word *Nahmen* recurs in all village names on the island, as well as the homeland prefix *i-* in the first part of the apposition, a particle which, in the Philippines, signifies 'people from -', more rarely, it is used for the place itself. For *nahmen* in Ilocano is: *namên*, simple past of *mamin* = 'contributor, aid of a clan, to help one of the members in his life's needs'. This is why Philippine house-building is still undertaken with the help of spontaneous participation of one's neighbors.

²² 'University of Tokyo' is used here as this was the home institution of R. Torii (Ryuzo Torii).

keinen Zweifel, dass unter *Ibatan* die Inseln im Süden der Bashi Strasse zu verstehen sind, unter denen sich auch eine namens Ikbarat* befindet.

Die in diesen Traditionen enthaltenen, umständlichen und direkt glaubwürdigen Angaben, noch von keiner Sagenbildung verschminkt, lassen auf ein verhältnismässig rezentes Alter schliessen. Freilich sprechen sie nur von mehr oder weniger *unfreiwilligen* Ankünften einzelner Bataner, die dann allerdings zu Stammvätern ganzer Dorfgemeinden wurden, doch findet sich in Torii's Bericht auch eine Stelle, die auf einen regelrechten Zuzug schliessen lässt. Der Verfasser beschreibt ein am 25. Dezember von den Imurod-Leuten abgehaltenes grosses Fest, dem er als Augenzeuge beiwohnte. Im Verlauf desselben begeben sich 22 Männer in vollem Staat, jeder einen Korb mit Portionen aller ihrer täglichen Nahrungsmittel (Ziegen- und Schweinefleisch, Colocassia ant., Dioscorea spec. u. s. w.) tragend, an den nach Süden gelegenen Strand, kauern dort nieder und rezitieren etwas, worauf sie sich trennen und in zwei Gruppen von 4 und 18 Mann auf verschiedenen Wegen zum Dorf zurückkehren, wo sie die Körbe mit ihrem Inhalt tierischer und pflanzlicher Nahrung auf die Dächer ihrer Häuser stellen. Torii wirft dazu die Frage auf, ob hierin nicht ein Simulacrum der Ankunft ihrer Vorfahren zu erblicken sei, durch das sie das Andenken an dieselbe zu erhalten wünschen und wobei die Speiseproben die von jenen mitgeführten Haustiere und Nutzpflanzen vorstellen, eine Vermutung, die mir in der Tat um so näher zu liegen scheint, als eine ähnliche Jahresfeier von den *Nord-Ami* (Lam-si-hoang der Kirai Ebene) an der Südostküste Formosas berichtet wird, die geradezu erklären, dass die von ihnen dabei in Szene gesetzte Landung mit einem altertümlichen Boote eine mimische Gedenkfeier der Ankunft ihrer Voreltern sei.

Neben den hier wiedergegebenen Traditionen finden sich in dem Toriischen Bericht noch mehrere andere Angaben verstreut, die alle auf frühere Verbindungen der Insulaner von Botel Tobago mit den Filipinen hindeuten, so z. B. dass sie die in ihren Geweben verwendeten Baumwollfäden *ituru no Manila*, Schiffe, darunter auch Dampfschiffe, *aban no Manila* nennen, u. s. w.

So klar und deutlich alles dieses nun auch die Herkunft eines ethnischen Elementes auf Botel Tobago von den Batán Inseln dartut, so bleibt doch der

* Für den Lautwandel von *Ikbarat* zu *Ibayat* vergl. das Wort für Boot auf Botel Tobago: *tatara* mit *tataya* für gleiche Bedeutung im Batanischen, Der Wechsel von *k* zu *t* ist nicht aussergewöhnlich.

Ibatan stands for the islands in the south of Bashi Strait, where yet another island called Ikbarat* is located.

The information contained in these traditions, lengthy and immediately credible, not yet adorned by any mythology, can be traced back to a relatively recent age. Admittedly, they only speak of more or less of *involuntary* arrivals of individual Batanese, who then, however, became the progenitors of entire village communities, nonetheless, there is another passage in Torii's report that suggests a more regular form of migration. The author describes an event that took place on the 25th of December at an important festival held by the Imurod people, which he observed as an eyewitness. In the course of this, there were 22 men in full attire, each carrying a basket with servings of all their daily food (goat and pig, Colocassia ant.,²³ Dioscorea spec.²⁴ and so on), to the south-facing beach, and began squatting and reciting something after which they split into two groups of 4 and 18 men and returned in separate routes to the village, where they place the baskets, with their load of animals and vegetables for consumption, on the roofs of their houses. Torii asks the question as to whether this custom could not be a simulacrum of the arrival of their ancestors, through which they could preserve their memory by presenting food samples of the pets and crops carried by them, a conjecture which seems even more likely considering reports of a similar anniversary celebration by the *North Ami* (Lam-si-hoang of the Kirai lowlands) on the southeast coast of Formosa, who explain that what they stage as a landing with an ancient boat is a commemoration that mimics the arrival of their ancestors.

In addition to the traditions presented here, the Torii report contains several other descriptions, all of which suggest previous connections between the Botel Tobago islanders and the Filipinos, in the manner, for example, that they call the cotton threads in their fabrics *ituru no Manila*, and also steamboats, *aban no Manila*, etc.

As clearly and distinctly as all of this may further substantiate the origin of an ethnic element on Botel Tobago from the Batanes, doubts remain as to whether we

* For the sound change from *Ikabarat* to *Itbodyat*, refer to the word for boat on Botel Tobago: *tatara* to *tataya* for the same meaning in Batanese; the change from *k* to *t* is not unusual.

²³ *Colocasia antiquorum*, taro.

²⁴ *Dioscorea spectabilis*, yam.

Zweifel, ob wir hierin nichts weiter als die Antwort auf die Frage zu sehen haben nach dem Verbleib der durch spanischen Bekehrungseifer zwischen 1686 und 1783 von den südlichen Inseln der Kette Vertriebenen, oder, ob die Ueberlieferungen die Antwort hierauf wohl einschliessen, im übrigen aber auch noch eine weiter zurückliegende Einwanderung betreffen. Wir können auch so fragen: Fanden die batanischen Flüchtlinge der Missionsperiode schon Eingesessene auf Botel Tobago vor und wer waren diese? — Bei dem Fehlen aller positiven Nachrichten zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen liegt es nahe, die vergleichende Völkerkunde um einige Anhaltspunkte anzugehen, zu welchem Zweck die Frage nun so gestellt sein mag: Wie passen die Insulaner von Botel Tobago in den Rahmen der filipinischen Völkerfamilie?

5.—Botel Tobago Insulaner und Bewohner Luzons.

Ich will nur einige der hervorstechendsten Eigentümlichkeiten der Leute von Botel Tobago in Betracht ziehen, wie ich sie den beiden eingehendsten unter den mir zugänglichen Quellen über diese Insel entnehme, nämlich dem schon zitierten Bericht des Herrn Torii und dem Werke des amerikanischen Konsuls Davidson: *Formosa, Past and Present*. Dank dem Entgegenkommen des Herrn Professor Dr. Tsuboi, Chef der Anthropologischen Abteilung der Kaiserlichen Universität in Tōkyō, bin ich in der Lage, meine Ausführungen durch einige Typenbilder von Botel Tobago zu veranschaulichen.

Konsul *Davidson*, der sich einer im Jahre 1896 nach Botel Tobago entsandten japanischen Forschungs-Expedition anschloss, und sich über die in ihrer Abgeschlossenheit glücklich und harmlos dahinlebenden Insulaner in derselben sympathischen Weise äussert, wie es Leutnant Meares im Jahre 1786 bezüglich der Bataner tat, sagt von ihnen:

Several experienced Japanese anthropologists have, since the date of our expedition, visited Botel Tobago; and I believe it is their unanimous opinion that the inhabitants are of Malay origin. Undoubtedly these gentlemen are right in the main, the evidence even to an inexperienced layman appearing to show that the Malay element predominates. There are also, however, signs of outside influence in their life, sufficiently pronounced to demand some

have not found more than just the answer to the question of the settlement of the people from the southern islands of the chain who were displaced due to Spanish proselytizing between 1686 and 1783, or whether the traditions themselves might have the answer to this question, implicating another migration further back in time. We could thus ask: Did the Batanese refugees of the mission period discover inhabitants living on Botel Tobago, and if so, who were they? — In the absence of any positive answers in response to these questions, it becomes necessary to look towards comparative ethnology for some clues, with the purpose of answering the question: How do the islanders of Botel Tobago fit within the framework of the Philippine family of people?

5. Botel Tobago Islanders and Residents of Luzon.

I just want to point out some of the most salient peculiarities of the people of Botel Tobago that I have inferred from two of the most detailed sources available to me about the island, namely from the already quoted report of Mr. Torii and the work of the American Consul Davidson: *Formosa, Past and Present*. Thanks to the kindness of Professor Dr. Tsuboi, head of the Anthropology Department of the Imperial University in Tokyo,²⁵ I am able to illustrate my remarks with some type pictures of Botel Tobago.

Consul *Davidson*, who in 1896 joined a Japanese research expedition to Botel Tobago, and expressed himself with much sympathy towards the islanders, as harmless and happy as they were in their isolation, just as Lt. Meares did for the Batanese in 1786, and said of them:²⁶

Several experienced Japanese anthropologists have, since the date of our expedition, visited Botel Tobago; and I believe it is their unanimous opinion that the inhabitants are of Malay origin. Undoubtedly these gentlemen are right in the main, the evidence even to an inexperienced layman appearing to show that the Malay element predominates. There are also, however, signs of outside influence in their life, sufficiently pronounced to demand some

²⁵ Now the University of Tokyo.

²⁶ This citation was retained in its original English.

attention, and if this side of the question is carefully investigated, I believe evidence will be found sufficient to justify the announcement that the Botel Tobago savages, while approaching the pure Malay, are a mixed race.

The inhabitants of Botel Tobago, some 1200 or 1300 in all, occupy eight villages; Yakunawvmen, the largest settlement, being on the west coast and containing about 50 houses. The natives are small, averaging only 5 feet 2 inches in height. They are yellowish-brown in color; and, with one individual exception, possess straight hair, black with a brownish tint. While thus conforming with the Malayan type in their straight hair and complexion, they appear, so far as face character is concerned, to be two types. We find the rather small nose and non-protruding lips of the Malay; and again a type with projecting eyebrows, deeply sunk orbits, short noses rather depressed at the root and with large nostrils, — in fact almost a Negrito nose, — together with the comparatively large mouth and thick lips of the pure Papuan type. One of the chief characteristics of the Papuan is his frizzled hair, of which no trace is found among the Botel Tobago natives save in the case of one male adult who possesses hair distinctly curly ... The hair is shaved or closely cut about the neck and lower part of the head, in such a manner as to leave a circular mop of hair which is really quite ornamental.

Herr Torii beschreibt die Haartracht der Leute so:

Die Eingebornen tragen ihr Haan in einer Weise, die an das japanische ‚kappa‘, ein im Wasser lebendes Fabeltier erinnert: der hängende Teil des Haars ist rund um den Kopf abgekappt, so dass es vorne mit der Stirn abschneidet, hinten aber die Schultern nicht berührt, sondern schon im Genick verschnitten ist. Diese Haartracht ist [unter den Männern] bei Alt und Jung gleich. Das Haar im Nacken wird, wenn zu lang, mit dem Waldmesser abgesäubelt, wobei ein dünnes Brettchen untergeschoben wird. Diese Haartracht heisst bei ihnen guruguru und von ihr leiten sie für sich selbst die Benennung *guruguru-Leute* (*guruguru-sera*) ab. Sie sagen: „Uns gleiche *guruguru-sera* wohnen auf den Inseln Ibatan und Ikbarat nicht weit von Kōtōshō [japanischer Name für Botel Tobago]“. Die Wilden im Südosten Formosas, besonders die *Ami-* und *Pilam-Leute* im Süden von Taikōkō ähneln denen auf Botel Tobago. Sie tragen das Haar fast in der gleichen Weise, nur im Nacken ist es länger. Auch die *Tsaris-* und *Paiwan-Leute* sind wahrscheinlich mit ihnen verwandt.

attention, and if this side of the question is carefully investigated, I believe evidence will be found sufficient to justify the announcement that the Botel Tobago savages, while approaching the pure Malay, are a mixed race.

The inhabitants of Botel Tobago, some 1200 or 1300 in all, occupy eight villages; Yakunawvmen, the largest settlement, being on the west coast and containing about 50 houses. The natives are small, averaging only 5 feet 2 inches in height. They are yellowish-brown in color; and, with one individual exception, possess straight hair, black with a brownish tint. While thus conforming with the Malayan type in their straight hair and complexion, they appear, so far as face character is concerned, to be two types. We find the rather small nose and non-protruding lips of the Malay; and again a type with projecting eyebrows, deeply sunk orbits, short noses rather depressed at the root and with large nostrils, — in fact almost a Negrito nose, — together with the comparatively large mouth and thick lips of the pure Papuan type. One of the chief characteristics of the Papuan is his frizzled hair, of which no trace is found among the Botel Tobago natives save in the case of one male adult who possesses hair distinctly curly . . . The hair is shaved or closely cut about the neck and lower part of the head, in such a manner as to leave a circular mop of hair which is really quite ornamental.

Mr. Torii describes the hairstyle of the people in the following way:

The natives carry their hair in a style reminiscent of the Japanese ‘kappa’, a legendary amphibious creature: the loose part of the hair is cropped around the head, so that it is trimmed in front of the forehead but in such a way that it does not touch the shoulders, yet is cut at around the nape. This hairstyle is the same [in men] for both the old and young. The hair reaching the nape is trimmed if it is too long, a forest knife is used to hack at it, while a thin wooden board is pushed underneath. They call this hairstyle *guruguru* and it is from this term that they adopted the word *guruguru-people* (*guruguru-sera*) as a name for themselves. They say, “we *guruguru-sera* live on the islands of Ibatan and Ikbarat not far from Kōtōshō²⁷ [Japanese name for Botel Tobago]”. The savages²⁸ in the southeast of Formosa, especially the *Ami* and the *Pilam* people

²⁷ Kōtōshō should read Kōtōsho.

²⁸ I have chosen ‘savages’ here as a translation for ‘die Wilden’ in consideration of the common English equivalents of the German term in Scheerer’s time. This nomenclature, predominantly used for non-Western peoples, is now considered problematic, imbued with the biases and limitations of knowledge in the early 20th century.

Hier erhalten wir also aus dem Munde der Botel Tobago Insulaner selbst eine direkte Bestätigung ihrer Identität mit Bewohnern der beiden grössten Batanen Inseln, wobei sie unter den ihnen gleichen Guruguru-Leuten, aber vermutlich nicht die modernen, christlichen Bataner (Ex-Babuyaner?) sondern eine alte Bevölkerung verstehen. Ihre Erwähnung von ihnen gleichen Leuten auf Itbayat (Ikbarat) ist übrigens insofern von besonderem Interesse, als noch Dampier, nach meiner oben angegebenen Quelle, diese Insel als unbewohnt bezeichnete. Was die Worte *guruguru sera* angeht, so glaube ich nicht fehlzugehen, wenn ich dies nach Analogie filipinischer Dialekte, wo mehrfach *sera*, *sira*, *sila*, *siera* das Pronomen der 3. Person Pluralis bezeichnet, mit: *sie (sind) guruguru* übersetze. Ich möchte ferner *guruguru* als identisch ansehen mit ilokanischem *gorogoró* (oder auch *gosogosó*), das ‚wirr‘ bedeutet; ‚dein Haar ist wirr‘ heisst im Ilokano: *na gorogoró ti book mo*.^{*} Danach würde auch *guruguru* auf Botel Tobago nicht eigentlich die sehr adrette, in der Form einem umgestülptem Napfe ähnelnde Frisur (Tafel 1) bezeichnen, die Davidson sogar ornamental nennt, als vielmehr einen daneben vorkommenden wüsten Strubbelkopf, der, wie ich gleich zeigen werde, nicht minder charakteristisch sein könnte. Zunächst sei erst noch daran erinnert, dass für die Anspielung auf körperliche Eigentümlichkeiten zur Bezeichnung eines Volkes ein ganz ähnlicher Fall in dem Worte *Papúa* vorliegt, das meistens aus dem malaiischen *papúwah* = ‚kraus‘ erklärt wird.

Die beschriebene, von den Eingebornen Botel Tobagos selbst als für sie charakteristisch aufgefasste Haartracht — oder sollte man sagen Haarwuchs? — findet sich nun ganz ähnlich auf den Filipinen wieder und zwar, unter andern, bei Leuten, bei denen sie so unmittelbar mit der eigentümlichen Deszendenz ihrer Träger in Verbindung zu bringen ist, das man versucht wird, — *similia similibus*, — auch für die Insulaner von Botel Tobago an eine gleiche Abstammung zu denken. Ich beziehe mich auf die sogenannten *Baluga* (=Mischlinge), wie sie in den Gebirgen östlich von *Manila*, besonders in den Waldwildnissen un den *Monte Limutan* in der Nordost-Ecke des alten spanischen *Distrito de Morong* (heute *Provincia de Rizal*) gefunden werden. Diese Leute wurden vor mehreren Jahren von dem verdienten Botaniker August Loher in Manila auf einer Forschungsreise in jene Gegenden besucht und seiner Güte verdanke ich die hier beigefügten Photographien, die er selber an Ort und Stelle aufnahm. Man wird bei einer Vergleichung sowohl die runde, perrückenartige Haartracht, wie auch das wirre

* Vgl. auch Tagalog: *naguló* = verwirrt.

in the south of Taikōkō resemble those on Botel Tobago. They wear their hair in almost the same style, but longer along the nape. The *Tsarisen* and *Paiwan* people are probably also related to them.

So here we are given explicitly a direct confirmation by the Botel Tobago islanders themselves of the roots of their identity in the inhabitants of the two largest Batan Islands, in that they regard the guruguru people, but not the modern Christian Batanese (ex-Babuyanese?), as an ancient people. Their mention of peoples similar to them on Itbayat (Ikbarat) is, even more so of particular interest, insofar as even Dampier, in the above-cited source, designated this island as uninhabited. With regard to the term *guruguru sera*, I do not think it would be misleading to compare the word with its analogies in Philippine languages,²⁹ where *sera*, *sira*, *sila*, *siera* designate the pronoun of the 3rd person, and this would translate to: *they (are) guruguru*. I would also like to view guruguru as identical to the Ilocano *gorogoró* (alternatively, *gosogoso*), meaning ‘tangled’; ‘your hair is tangled’; in Ilokano is: *na gorogoró ti book imo*.^{*} Thus, guruguru on Botel Tobago would not in fact refer to that one rather comely hairstyle, resembling an upturned bow (Plate 1) which Davidson even calls ornamental, but rather an unkempt tousle-head that is observed alongside the former, which I will show presently, could be no less characteristic [of the area]. First of all, it should be remembered that speaking in favor of the insinuation that physical peculiarities designate a people, is a very similar case in the word *Papúa*, which can mostly be explained by the Malay *papúwah* = “curly”.

The hairstyle described above, or should we say hair growth? — which is considered characteristic of the natives of Botel Tobago even by their own account — is commonly found around the Philippines, namely amongst other peoples, who may be closely connected to each other through the specific descentance of their bearers, that one can attempt — *similia similibus*, — to think of an identical origin for the islanders of Botel Tobago. I am referring to the so-called *Baluga*³⁰ (=half-breeds), as found in the mountains east of *Manila*, especially in the wilderness of the forest around the *Monte Limutan* in the northeast corner of the old Spanish *Distrito de Morong* (now *Provincia de Rizal*). These people were visited many years

* cf. also Tagalog: *naguló* = confused.

²⁹ Here Scheerer uses the word dialects, when these examples are in fact from various Philippine languages.

³⁰ *Baluga* is considered an outdated and derogatory term in the present day.

Haar von Botel Tobago auf diesen Bildern wiederfinden, doch tritt hier noch der Krauskopf hinzu und zwar anscheinend als eine die beiden anderen bedingende Grundform. Wie nämlich aus der Betrachtung der Bilder hervorgeht, (Tafel 5 und 6) handelt es sich hier um Abkömmlinge von Negritos und Tagalog-Weibern, von denen die Urtypen gleichfalls noch zu erkennen sind, erstere in einigen reiner erhaltenen, krausköpfigen Individuen, letztere in den voller bekleideten weiblichen Gestalten, die durchaus denen entsprechen, die man in den nächstgelegenen tagalischen Ortschaften (Montalbán, Bosoboso, Mórong u. s. w.) antrifft.

Zum besseren Verständnis: der Sachlage sei erwähnt, dass wegen des Abscheues der Malaiinnen vor den Negritos einerseits und des Vermeidens ortsflichtiger Tagalen (sog. *remontados*) durch die Negritohorden andererseits die Vermischung nur durch *geraubte* Tagalinnen möglich wird (siehe hierüber Blumentritt: ‚Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen‘, Seite 9). Ueber die näheren Umstände dieses Frauenraubes befragt, haben mir Einwohner oben genannter Dörfer versichert, die Negritos besässen die Kenntnis einer gewissen Pflanze (bei den Tagalen *gayúma*=Zaubermittel genannt), die, von dem Entführer in den Mund genommen, die Kraft habe, angeredete Mädchen zum Mitgehen zu bewegen. Aehnliches wird von den *Tinggian* in Nord-Luzon berichtet.*

Die hier in Rede stehende Blutmischung muss jedenfalls nach ihrem aus den Bildern ersichtlichen, anthropologischen Resultat als eine sehr glückliche bezeichnet werden. Die prachtvollen Gestalten dieser Kinder der Natur erinnern an die von dem Engländer Meares im Jahre 1786 für die Bataner gebrauchte Bezeichnung ‚a race of strong athletic men‘. Man mag nun über die oben von mir gemachte Bemerkung über eine mögliche ähnliche Deszendenz der Leute von Botel Tobago urteilen, wie man will, ich wünschte zunächst nur die Tatsache festzustellen, dass die von Botel Tobago berichtete, von ihren Trägern als typisch aufgefasste Haartracht der Männer sich auch auf Luzon und zwar, unter anderen, bei den im Bilde vorgeführten Negrito-Mischlingen vorfindet. Dass im übrigen auf den Filipinen in alten Zeiten Verschmelzungen zwischen Negritos und den eingewanderten Malaien nachweisbar in grösserem Umfange stattgefunden haben, ist eine bekannte Tatsache, um sie hier besonders erörtern zu müssen.

* Ueber gleichfalls durch den Duft wirkende ‚Aphrodisiaca‘ vergl. Dr. O. Schellong: ‚Ueber Familienleben und Gebräuche der Papúa der Umgebung von Finschhafen‘ in Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, Band 21, 1889.

ago by the renowned botanist August Loher in Manila on a research trip in the area, and it is to his kindness that I owe the attached photographs, which he himself took on site. One can compare both the round, wig-like hairstyle, as well as the tangled hair of Botel Tobago in these pictures, but here the frizzy head still appears, apparently as the conditional basic form of the other two. As you can see by examining the pictures (Plates 5 and 6), it is a matter here of the descendants of Negritos and Tagalog women, from whom the original types can still be recognized, the former in some more purely preserved curly-headed individuals, the latter in the fully-clothed female figures, who entirely correspond to those that can be found in the nearest Tagalog villages (Montalbán, Bosoboso, Mórong, etc.).

For a better understanding of the situation, it should be mentioned that because of the disgust of the Malay women towards the Negritos on the one hand, and the avoidance of volatile Tagalogs (the so-called remontados) by the Negrito hordes on the other hand, racial mixing was only possible through *abducted* Tagalog women (see Blumentritt's "Attempt at an Ethnography of the Philippines", page 9). As to the circumstances of this abduction of women, the inhabitants of the above-mentioned villages have led me to believe that the Negritos possess the knowledge of a certain plant (known by the Tagalogs as *gayúma*=magic potion), which, when taken by the kidnapper in the mouth, gives him the power to talk to girls and convince them to come along with him. Something similar is reportedly done by the *Tinggian* in North Luzon.*

The resulting blood mixture in question must, in any case, in terms of the anthropological results gleaned from the pictures, be described as a very fortunate one. The magnificent stature of these children of nature remind us of how they were described by the Englishman Meares in 1786 with the designation used for the Batanese "A race of strong athletic men". One may, if one wishes, from my above commentary, infer a potentially similar ancestry of the people of Botel Tobago — I only wished to mull over the fact that that which is considered as a typical hairstyle for men by its bearers from Botel Tobago, can also be found in Luzon, namely in the Negrito half-breeds shown in the pictures, among others. The fact that racial mixtures were found in earlier times in the Philippines between Negritos and Malay migrants in verifiably large numbers is too well-known to go into further detail here.

* Akin to the 'Aphrodisiaca' that takes effect through inhalation, cf. Dr. O. Schellong: "On the family life and traditions of the Papúa in the vicinity of Finschhafen" in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnology*, Volume 21, 1889.

Als ein hervorstechendes ethnographisches Wahrzeichen der Botel Tobago Insulaner weist *Davidson* auf ihre künstlich gebauten Boote hin, von denen hier eine Photographie beigelegt ist. Er beschreibt und bespricht sie wie folgt:

The boat built by the Botel Tobago savages is almost an exact counterpart of the craft constructed by the Papuans on the Solomon islands, both as to form, method of construction and ornamentation, and it is entirely unlike the boats built by any other peoples, including Malays, whose favourite model is a dug-out provided with an outrigger. It is a unique model and it is almost unconceivable that a Malay savage should originate a boat agreeing so minutely with the rather complicated Papuan model. It would appear beyond dispute that the system of boat building referred to was introduced to the Botel Tobago natives by either a Papuan or one familiar with Papuan life. There are several sizes of the truly splendid craft made in Botel Tobago ranging from a small canoe with a capacity for 2 persons up to a large boat which will hold 20 passengers. All appear to be of one model. They are beautifully rounded and *both stem and stern are shaped alike*, being prolonged upwards in a graceful curve ending in a point from which, in time of festivity, is projected a bunch of feathers or some other decoration. It is a built up boat and considering the crude tools used in its construction, is a remarkably creditable affair. The tribe possesses no saws and consequently each plank is adzed down, apparently from single trees. These planks, forming the sides of the boat, are so carefully shaped, that they fit closely. Holes are bored near the seams, through which rattan lashings are passed and drawn tightly, literally tying the parts together. The bottom planks are fastened to the strong V shape keel in the same manner. As in the Solomon islands the principal tool for this work is an adze. In Botel Tobago this implement is so made that it can be converted into a chisel by altering the position of the blade, so that the edge will point to the front. The native boats were found superior to the foreign modelled shipboats for landing. The savages moved their craft about at will, the high bow cutting through the waves; and in landing they passed through a rather dangerous surf without the least difficulty, whereas we found landing with our boats, during at least one day, a rather exciting experience. — The Botel Tobago crafts are nicely decorated, and with regard to the designs used, not only their boats, but on other articles as well Papuan influence seems in evidence. Thus, the human figure nearly always appears in their decorations, whereas the wild Malay as a rule restricts his efforts to the production of geometrical designs. It is well to

Davidson suggests that a striking ethnographic symbol of the Botel Tobago islanders is their boats, of which a photograph is attached here. He describes and discusses them as follows:³¹

The boat built by the Botel Tobago savages is almost an exact counterpart of the craft constructed by the Papuans on the Solomon islands, both as to form, method of construction and ornamentation, and it is entirely unlike the boats built by any other peoples, including Malays, whose favourite model is a dug-out provided with an outrigger. It is a unique model and it is almost unconceivable that a Malay savage should originate a boat agreeing so minutely with the rather complicated Papuan model. It would appear beyond dispute that the system of boat building referred to was introduced to the Botel Tobago natives by either a Papuan or one familiar with Papuan life. There are several sizes of the truly splendid craft made in Botel Tobago ranging from a small canoe with a capacity for 2 persons up to a large boat which will hold 20 passengers. All appear to be of one model. They are beautifully rounded and *both stem and stern are shaped alike*, being prolonged upwards in a graceful curve ending in a point from which, in time of festivity, is projected a bunch of feathers or some other decoration. It is a built up boat and considering the crude tools used in its construction, is a remarkably creditable affair. The tribe possesses no saws and consequently each plank is adzed down, apparently from single trees. These planks, forming the sides of the boat, are so carefully shaped, that they fit closely. Holes are bored near the seams, through which rattan lashings are passed and drawn tightly, literally tying the parts together. The bottom planks are fastened to the strong V shape keel in the same manner. As in the Solomon islands the principal tool for this work is an adze. In Botel Tobago this implement is so made that it can be converted into a chisel by altering the position of the blade, so that the edge will point to the front. The native boats were found superior to the foreign modelled shipboats for landing. The savages moved their craft about at will, the high bow cutting through the waves; and in landing they passed through a rather dangerous surf without the least difficulty, whereas we found landing with our boats, during at least one day, a rather exciting experience. — The Botel Tobago crafts are nicely decorated, and with regard to the designs used, not only their boats, but on other articles as well Papuan influence seems in evidence. Thus, the human figure nearly always appears in their decorations, whereas the wild Malay as a rule restricts his efforts to the production of geometrical designs. It is well to

³¹ This citation was retained in its original English.

note, however, that some of the Formosa groups also make use of the human figure for ornament, though not to the extent we find among Botel Tobago savages.

Verfasser zitiert hierzu *Hickam* (A Naturalist in North-Celebes):

If we compare the Malay throughout the Archipelago with their neighbors, the Papuans, we can not fail to be impressed under the wide difference that exists between the two races in this respect. The Malay uses spears, shields, swords, canoes and other weapons and implements, which are often entirely without ornament, and the colored designs on his clothes, his ceremonial shields &c. are of the simplest geometrical patterns. The Papuan, on the other hand, covers everything he possesses with strange figures of men and animals and fills up all the interstices between them with convenient designs.

Sollte sich nicht auch hier, ohne dass man auf sich schroff gegenüber stehende, extreme Urtypen zurückgeht, eine geographisch nahe liegende Uebereinstimmung finden lassen bei einer Völkerfamilie, die in vielen ihrer Mitglieder bereits eine Mischung darstellt von malaiischem und von —ich sage nicht spezifisch papuanischem, aber — Negrito-Blut, also bei den Filipinern? Leider liegt mir von den Batanen kein genaueres Vergleichsmaterial vor, als die im Anfang aus *Pennant* (*Dampier*) zitierte Bemerkung über die damals auf jenen Inseln vorgefundenen, aus schmalen Planken mit Bolzen und Nägeln sehr geschickt zusammengefügtten Boote, die also keinesfalls Einbäume waren und, gleich denen von Botel Tobago, mit Riemen (oars), nicht mit Paddeln, gerudert wurden; doch wissen wir aus *Morgas Beschreibung atlfilipinischer Boote*, wie sie von den Spaniern bei ihrer Ankunft vorgefunden wurden, dass zu jenen Zeiten der Schiffsbau auf den Inseln sehr ausgebildet und durchaus nicht vorwiegend auf Einbäume beschränkt war. Es heisst da am Anfang einer längeren Schilderung:

Ihre Schiffe und Fahrzeuge bestehen aus vielerlei Arten, denn in den Flüssen und Kanälen am Lande benutzen sie sehr grosse Einbäume, und *bancas*, von Planken auf einem Kiel gezimmert. Und *vireyes* und *barangayes*, feine, leichte Fahrzeuge, niedrig von Bord, mit hölzernen Bolzen zusammengefügt, hinten so scharf wie vorn ... (S. 266).

note, however, that some of the Formosa groups also make use of the human figure for ornament, though not to the extent we find among Botel Tobago savages.

The author further quotes *Hickam* (A Naturalist in North-Celebes):³²

If we compare the Malay throughout the Archipelago with their neighbors, the Papuans, we can not fail to be impressed under the wide difference that exists between the two races in this respect. The Malay uses spears, shields, swords, canoes and other weapons and implements, which are often entirely without ornament, and the colored designs on his clothes, his ceremonial shields &c. are of the simplest geometrical patterns. The Papuan, on the other hand, covers everything he possesses with strange figures of men and animals and fills up all the interstices between them with convenient designs.

Should there not be here, without resorting to crudely opposing, extreme archetypes, a geographically obvious parallelism in a family of nations, wherein many members already represent a mixture of Malay and — I am not saying specifically Papuan, but — Negrito blood in the Filipinos? Unfortunately, I have no more precise comparative material from the Batanes other than the remark quoted in the beginning from *Pennant* (*Dampier*) about the boats found on those islands, made of narrow planks with bolts and nails, very cleverly joined, which were by no means dugouts,³³ and just like those from Botel Tobago, were rowed with oars, not with paddles; but we know from *Morga's Description of Old Philippine Boats*, as found by the Spaniards upon their arrival, that in those days, shipbuilding on the islands was very well developed and not at all limited to predominantly dugouts. He says at the beginning of a long description:

Their ships and vehicles consist of a variety of types, because in the rivers and canals in the countryside they use very large dugouts, and *bancas*, made of planks put together on a keel. And *vireyes* and *barangayes*, fine, lightweight vehicles, with a low deck, joined together with wooden bolts, which are just as sharp at the back as in front ... (p. 266).

³² This citation was retained in its original English.

³³ Dugout canoes.

In *Blumentritts*, *Verzeichnis philippinischer Sachwörter* findet sich ferner unter dem Titel ‚Schiffahrt‘ ein Boot der *Bisaier* aufgeführt namens *Balángay*, in der Art einer Felucke, mit hohem und spitzem Schnabel vorn und am Heck. Wenn bei den heutigen Filipinern jene alten Bootsformen nicht mehr so häufig angetroffen werden, oder gar ausgestorben sind, so weist *Rizal*, der Kommentator Morgas, auf den allgemeinen Rückgang hin, den, seit Ankunft der Spanier, neben mehreren anderen einst blühenden Industrien des Landes auch der alteinheimische Schiffsbau erlitten hat, von dem kaum noch einige Namen Kunde geben. Danach ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es sich bei dem eigentümlichen Boot von Botel Tobago um eine Form handelt, die in alten Zeiten auf den Filipinen, einschliesslich der Batanen, einheimisch war, im Lauf der Zeit aber verschwand und sich nur auf jener abgeschiedenen Insel, durch örtliche Verhältnisse wie steile Küsten, Brandungen, Strömungen u. dergl. bedingt, erhalten hat.

Um schliesslich noch die Frage der Ornamentik zu berühren: nach Davidson und Torii finden sich hierzu auf Botel Tobago neben geometrischen auch menschliche Figuren in Gebrauch. Torii rühmt zudem die Geschicklichkeit der Leute im Schnitzen und ihre Vorliebe dafür. Beispiele für das Gleiche sind auf Luzon nicht selten: die *Igorot* verwenden in ihrem, von harten Lebensbedingungen freilich recht beschränkten Kunstleben sowohl geometrische, als auch tierische und menschliche Figuren, letztere besonders auf hölzernen Schüsseln, Löffeln und Pfeifen, und zwar in einer Weise, die an derbster Realistik der Auffassung des menschlichen Körpers nicht das Geringste zu wünschen übrig lässt. Die Holzschnitzerei ist ferner als Kunst zumal zu Hause in *Lepanto* (Stöcke), *Laguna* (geschnittene Möbel von *Paete*) und *Manila* (feinste Skulpturen mit gern der einheimischen Pflanzenwelt entnommenen Mustern), an welchen Orten sie sich ganz aus sich selbst heraus zu schönster Blüte entwickelt hat. Also auch in dieser Beziehung wird uns von Botel Tobago nichts berichtet, was den Filipinen fremd wäre.

Ich habe in dem Toriischen Berichte auch sonst wohl vielerlei mit genanntem Archipel in ethnographischer Beziehung Uebereinstimmendes vorgefunden, dagegen keinerlei Abweichungen, die sich nicht als durch lokale Verhältnisse bedingt zwanglos erklären liessen, oder auf Varianten hinausliefen, wie sie auch die filipinischen Völker von einander unterscheiden. *Einen* Zug muss ich aber doch ausnehmen, da er nicht nur meines Wissens einzig dasteht, sondern einen grellen Gegensatz zu einer der Lebensgewohnheiten bietet, die uns von den Batanern

In Blumentritt's "*Verzeichnis Philippinischer Sachwörter*" [*Index of Philippine Technical Terms*], one finds under the heading 'Schiffahrt'³⁴ a boat of the *Visayans* called *balángay*, in the manner of a felucca, with a high and pointed beak in front and at the rear. If these old boat types are no longer commonly encountered in today's Filipinos, or even extinct, as suggested by *Rizal*, the commentator of Morga, who points towards their general decline since the arrival of the Spanish, in addition to several other once-thriving industries in the country, including old domestic shipbuilding, all of which are rarely acknowledged today. According to this, it cannot be ruled out that the peculiar boat from Botel Tobago represents a type, which, in ancient times on the Philippine islands, including the Batanes, was native to the area, but disappeared over time and eventually found itself only on that remote island, through local conditions such as steep coasts, surf, currents, and the like.

Finally, to touch on the remaining question of ornamentation: According to Davidson and Torii, there are, besides geometric figures, also human figures in use on Botel Tobago. Torii further praises the skill of the people in carving and their fondness for it. Examples of the same are not uncommon on Luzon: the *Igorot* use these as well — both geometric as well as animal figures, despite their limited artistic life as a result of hard living conditions, the latter on wooden bowls, spoons and pipes, and indeed, in a way that the crudest realism of the concept of the human body leaves nothing left to be desired. Wood carving is further considered to be an art, especially at home in *Lepanto*³⁵ (sticks), *Laguna* (carved furniture from *Paete*), and *Manila* (the finest sculptures with patterns taken from the local plant world), where they have developed completely independently to bear succulent fruit. Therefore also in this respect, nothing has been reported with regard to Botel Tobago that would be considered alien to the Filipinos.

I found many other things in that Torii report about the archipelago that were consistent with an ethnographic relationship, but no deviations whatsoever that cannot be regarded as merely due to local conditions, or that suggest variants which distinguish the Filipino peoples from each other. I will have to exclude *one* train of thought, because not only does it represent an outlier, according to my knowledge, but offers a stark contrast to one of the habits that are handed down to us by the

³⁴ German: 'shipping'.

³⁵ Possibly Lepanto-Bontoc.

durch die alten englischen Seefahrer überliefert werden. Ich meine die berichtete Vorliebe für das Nationalgetränk, den *bási*. Herr Torii schreibt:

Alle wilden Völker haben eine Vorliebe für berauschende Getränke und kennen die eine oder die andere Methode ihrer Bereitung. Die Eingebornen von Botel Tobago teilen dagegen diese Vorliebe durchaus nicht. Es ist das eine interessante Frage. Selbst als wir ihnen ein alkoholisches Getränk anboten und empfahlen, wollten sie es in keinem Fall trinken. Sie haben diese Gewohnheit nicht.

Angesichts der für die Identität der Botel Tobago Insulaner mit gewissen Bewohnern der Batanen beigebrachten Zeugnisse würde sich hier, wie gesagt, ein auffallender Widerspruch ergeben. Man würde nach einem Grunde für diesen Umschwung von nationaler Feuchtfröhlichkeit zu puritanischer Enthaltbarkeit suchen müssen, doch wäre es müßig, dies anders als durch Befragen der Leute selber zu tun, insofern doch nicht anzunehmen ist, dass bei einem pietätvollen Volke, das das Andenken der Ahnen durch eine besondere Feier wach zu erhalten bestrebt ist, die Erinnerung an die Gelage der Altvordern, deren Durst ihrem Vaterlande, ja, einer ganzen Meeresstrasse den Namen gab, auf der andern Seite dieser verloren gegangen sein sollte.

Auch dem Tabakrauchen wird auf Botel Tobago nicht gehuldigt, wenschon das Wort ‚tabaco‘ bekannt ist; dagegen kauen die Leute Betel, eine Gewohnheit, die der Mehrzahl der Filipiner eigen ist, von den Igorot Benguets z.B. aber nicht geteilt wird.

6.— Iami.

Ich habe mir bis hierher die Besprechung eines ins Gebiet der Linguistik fallenden Umstandes betreffs der in Rede stehenden Insulaner aufgespart, da er danach angetan ist, uns in unserer Untersuchung noch einen Schritt weiter nördlich zu führen. Torii verzeichnet auf seiner Kartenskizze von Botel Tobago als einheimische Landesnamen *Yami-kami* und *Yami Nahmen*. Hiervon kann man sich letzteren, als etwa Yami-Dörfer oder-Siedelung bedeutend, wohl gefallen lassen; dagegen möchte ich *Yami-kami* als eine Antwort auf die wohl vorausgegangene Frage: Wie heisst euer Volk? ansehen; *kami* ist nämlich die

Batanese through the old English sailors. I refer to the reported preference for the national drink, *bási*. Mr. Torii writes:

All wild peoples have a penchant for intoxicating drinks and are familiar with one or another method of preparation. The natives of Botel Tobago, on the other hand, do not share this preference in the least. This is the one interesting question. Even when we presented and recommended to them an alcoholic drink, they would not drink it under any circumstances. They simply do not possess this habit.

Given the presented evidence for the identity links of the Botel Tobago islanders with certain inhabitants of the Batanes, a striking contradiction presents itself here, as previously mentioned. One would look for a reason for this turnaround to puritanical austerity from the national propensity to drink, but it would be necessary to do this in another manner than by asking the people themselves, insofar as it is not to be assumed that the memory of these reverent people, who keep the remembrance of their ancestors alive through a special celebration which commemorates the banquet of the ancients, the very name of whose drink was given to their fatherland, indeed, after which a whole strait of sea was named, should have been lost.

Even tobacco smoking is not allowed on Botel Tobago, even if the word ‘tabaco’ is well-known; instead, people chew betel nuts, a habit that the majority of Filipinos share, except for the Igorot of Benguet, for example.

6. Iami.

So far I have spared a discussion of a condition concerning the islanders in the field of linguistics, as this is needed for our own investigation to go one step further to the north. Torii lists on his map a sketch of Botel Tobago with the local country names *Yami-kami* and *Yami Nahmen*. One can dismiss the latter, referring to Yami villages or settlement, however, I would like to see *Yami-kami* as an answer to the potential question: What is the name of your people?; *kami* is namely the common Philippine form for the pronoun of the 1st person plural and, “*Yami kami*” is a declarative sentence, as one can similarly hear in Luzon by analogy; it means: ‘*We are Yami*’. As far as the word *Yami* is concerned, it seems to me that it comes from

gewöhnliche filipinische Form für das Fürwort der 1. Person Pluralis und ‚*Yami kami*‘ ist ein Aussagesatz, wie man ihn ganz analog auf Luzon hören könnte; er bedeutet: ‚*Wir sind Yami*‘. Was das Wort *Yami* betrifft, so scheint es mir aus dem Präfix *i-* und dem Stamm *ami* zusammengesetzt zu sein, welches letzterer sich in dem in mehreren Dialekten der Filipinen wiederkehrenden Worte *amián*, *amian*, *amihan* u.s.a. vorfindet, das Nordwind, und auch die Richtung aus der dieser weht, bezeichnet; auf Formosa heisst im Favorlang und Sekhwan *amisan* Norden, im Pilam Dialekt ist *ami*=Osten; *i-* wird in Nordluzon ganz allgemein in der Bedeutung ‚Leute oder Bewöhner von...‘ zur Bildung von Stamm- oder Dorfgemeinschafts-Namen verwendet: *Igorot*=Bewohner der Gebirge, *Idaya* (oder *Iraya*)=Bewohner des Ostens, *Itetapan*=Bewohner des Westens, sogar *Iespaña*=Spanier. Ebenso gebildet sind *Iloko*, *Isinai*, *Italon*, *Ifugaw*, *Ilongot* u.v.a. Schon bei Besprechung der Bashi-Gruppe trat uns der Name *Iami* entgegen. Da nun ein Uebergehen der mit *i* gebildeten Heimatsbezeichnung von den Leuten auf den Ort selbst nahe liegt und tatsächlich vorkommt (*Ibatan* neben *Batán*, *Ibayat* neben *Bayat*), so finden wir hier die Berechtigung für die Anwendung des Namens *Iami* im Munde der heutigen Bataner auf die Insel Botel Tobago, während der gleiche Name zur Bezeichnung eines Eilands in der Bashi-Gruppe an eine Art Etappe des nach Norden gerichteten Zugs jener alten Insulaner erinnern könnte. Aber auch auf Formosa finden wir denselben Namen, wenschon ohne das präfigierte *i-*, als Benennung eines am Südostrand dieser Insel, nördlich von Botel Tobago, ansässigen Bevölkerungssteils, die *Ami* geheissen.

7.—Die Ami Südost-Formosas.

Die von mir nachgelesenen Berichte über die *Ami* lassen es unklar, ob unter diesem Namen eine ganze Gruppe von Stämmen, oder nur ein Stamm zu verstehen ist, der ein lang gestrecktes Küstengebiet (von Pinam, oder Pilam, bis über Karenko hinaus) einnimmt und auch sonst noch versprengt vorgefunden wird. *Davidson*, der von ihnen (S. 147) sagt:

This tribe, which is scattered in various parts of the south, is looked upon as an inferior one, and is allowed to exist solely because of its weakness, which is taken advantage of by its stronger neighbours, who force its members to perform menial services,

the prefix *i-* and the stem *ami* being joined together, of which the latter can be found in recurring words throughout the many dialects³⁶ of the Philippines: *amián*, *amian*, *amihan* and so on, which designate the north wind, and also the direction from which it blows; on Formosa, in Favorlang and Sekhwan the word *amisan* means north, in the Pilam dialect *ami*=East; generally, *i-* is used in North Luzon in the sense of “people or occupants of ...” to form the name of tribal or village communities: *Igorot*=inhabitants of the mountains, *Idaya* (or *Iraya*)=inhabitants of the East, *Itetapan*=inhabitants of the West, even *Iespaña*=Spanish. Similarly formed are *Iloko*, *Isinai*, *Italon*, *Ifugaw*, *Ilongot*, and many others. Already during the meeting of the Bashi group we came across the name *Iami*. As it is suggested that the homeland designation formed with *i-* was neglected by the locals themselves, and does in fact occur (*Ibatan* and *Batán*, *Ibayat*, and *Bayat*), we can thereby find here the justification for the use of the name *Iami* in today's Batanese on the island of Botel Tobago, while the same name is used to designate an island in the Bashi group that recalls a sort of stage in the northwards migration of the old islanders. But on Formosa we also find the same name, even if without the prefixed *i-*, in the form of a beach in the southeast of the Island, north of Botel Tobago, with a resident population who were called *Ami*.

7. The Ami of Southeast Formosa.

The reports I read about the *Ami* are unclear about whether this name encompasses a whole group of tribes, or just a single tribe, which occupies a long coastal region (that stretches from Pinam, or Pilam, to Karenko) and is also sporadically found elsewhere. *Davidson*, who says of them (p. 147):³⁷

This tribe, which is scattered in various parts of the south, is looked upon as an inferior one, and is allowed to exist solely because of its weakness, which is taken advantage of by its stronger neighbours, who force its members to perform menial services,

³⁶ Here Scheerer writes dialects, but these words are in fact from different Philippine languages.

³⁷ This citation was retained in its original English.

macht an einer anderen Stelle (S. 564), gestützt auf die Autorität des japanischen Forschers *Y. Ino*, die folgende statistische Angabe:

Name of Group: *Ami*; number of tribes: 84; number of houses: 3183; population: 21775;

doch will es mir scheinen, als ob hier tribe nicht ganz richtig aus dem Japanischen übersetzt wäre, oder doch jedenfalls nicht ethnographisch gesonderte Stämme, sondern nur clans oder Dorfgemeinschaften bezeichnete. Ein anderer Japaner, *Ino Kakyō*, spricht nur von *einem* Stamm *Ami*, den er in zwei Abteilungen teilt: *Kawanan Ami* und *Kaele Ami*, was ich nach filipinischer Etymologie mit *Rechts-* und *Links-Ami* übersetze. Der deutsche Reisende *A. Fischer* endlich, nachdem er sich dahin geäußert hat, dass der Name *Ami* wahrscheinlich ein Sammelname für mehrere, verschiedenartige Stämme ist, die sich auf die ganzen, ungeheueren Gefilde des östlichen Formosas verteilen, gibt als Ansicht der mit den Wilden betrauten japanischen Beamten, dass es besser sei, nur im allgemeinen von *Ami* zu sprechen und darunter eine Gruppe verschiedener Wildenstämme zu verstehen, die nur in Kleinigkeiten differieren, in den Grundzügen aber dieselben sind. Im übrigen berichtet er:

Unter allen Stämmen, die ich um *Pilam* kennen lernte, sind die *Ami* weitaus die kräftigsten; von den *Paiwan* unterscheiden sie sich durch mehr gelbliche Hautfarbe ... Einst waren die *Ami* die Herren der *Pilam* Ebene, doch wurden sie von den andern Stämmen nicht als ebenbürtig betrachtet, da man sie für Einwanderer, nicht für Ureinwohner hielt; heute nehmen sie nur eine bescheidene, den anderen Stämmen gegenüber eine untergeordnete Stellung ein.

Auch die von Davidson wiedergegebenen *Traditionen der Ami* liefern kein einheitliches Bild ihrer Herkunft, doch hat sich bei mehreren Stämmen die Erinnerung an eine Zuwanderung von seewärts her erhalten und Davidson ist der Ansicht, dass es sich bei einem Teil der berichteten Fahrten um verhältnismässig rezente Vorfälle handelt. Wensschon in diesen Ueberlieferungen von dem Ausgangspunkt gegenwärtiger Untersuchung, von den Filipinen, nicht mehr direkt die Rede ist, so verdienen sie immerhin hier nach genanntem Autor zitiert zu werden:

provides elsewhere (p. 564) the following statistical information, supported by the authority of the Japanese researcher *Y. Ino*:

Name of Group: *Ami*; number of tribes: 384; number of houses: 3183; population: 21775;

but it seems to me that the tribe described here is not quite correctly translated from Japanese, or at least, it does not designate ethnographically separate tribes, but only clans or village cooperatives. Another Japanese, *Ino Kakyō*, speaks only of a *single* tribe of *Ami*, which he divided into two groups: *Kawanan Ami* and *Kaele Ami*, which I translated according to Philippine etymology to *Right-* and *Left-Ami*. Lastly, the German traveler *A. Fischer*, after giving his opinion on the matter, said that the name *Ami* is probably a collective name for several different tribes that are distributed amongst the vast fields of eastern Formosa, and provides the view of the Japanese who were entrusted with the savages, namely that it would be better to only speak in general terms about the *Ami* and to designate a group of different savage tribes with the name, which distinguished themselves only marginally and were essentially the same in their fundamental traits. Furthermore he reported:

Of all the tribes I was acquainted with around Pilam, the *Ami* are by far the most powerful; they distinguish themselves from the *Paiwan* through their yellowish skin colour ... Once, the *Ami* were the lords of the *Pilam* plain, but they were considered by the others as tribesmen who were not seen as equals in that they were treated as immigrants, not as natives; today, they only occupy a modest position compared to other tribes.

Even Davidson's *Traditions of the Ami* does not provide a consistent picture of their origin, but the memory was retained of an immigration of several tribes from the sea towards their destination, and Davidson believes that some of the trips reported were relatively recent incidents. Even if these traditions no longer reference the Philippines, the starting point of the current investigation, the statements of the previously named author are worth citing here:³⁸

³⁸ This citation was retained in its original English.

The Ami tribe account for their origin in two ways. One tradition resembles the Puyuma in that their ancestors were born from a stone which lay on a mountain near Chipun river. Tiruti and Tihongan being thus created, founded a village called Varangao. Four of their descendants, all brothers, proceeded to the north across the Pinan river, and became the ancestors of the tribe now there. Several of the tribes possess traditions describing the arrival of their ancestors from distant lands. According to the belief of the tribe occupying the Shukoran river valley, they originally occupied the neighbouring island of *Sanasanac* and were called *Sanasai*. Later they came in boats, landed at the mouth of the Shukoran river, and established seven large villages there. Thus the name at present given to the island is perhaps a corruption of *Sanasana*. The Riru tribe of Kirai district of the Northern Amis state that their forefathers originally lived in an island to the east of Formosa. One savage, called Tipots, and his family were out at sea when a terrific gale arose, sweeping them away from their home land, and wrecking then on the coast of Formosa, where they built houses and gave life to the present Riru tribe. This tribe possesses an old canoe, which they claim is the model of the one used by their forefathers. At present the village people once a year put the canoe into the sea and mimic the landing of their ancestors. After this ceremony, the spirits of their departed forefathers are worshipped. A more fanciful tradition is to the effect that their ancestors came from over the sea on the back of a large tortoise.

Zu der Sage des Riru-Stammes und seiner Denkfeier ist zu bemerken, dass *Mackay* in seinem der Ethnologie Formosas gewidmeten 9. Kapitel, das auch sonst mancherlei Bemerkenswertes über die Herkunft der Formosaner vom malaiischen Archipel enthält, dasselbe von einem Stamm der Ki-lai (Kirai) Ebene berichtet, der Lam-si-hoan genannt wird, aber mit den Riru identisch sein dürfte. *Mackay* spricht indessen von *zwei* Booten, die, wenn dem Verfall nahe, ausgebessert oder ersetzt werden; auch berichteten ihm die Leute, ihre Vorfahren seien von *Plätzen südlich und östlich* von Formosa gekommen. Herrn Torii, der die fraglichen Boote gesehen hat, verdanke ich die Mitteilung, dass sie nicht von dem Typ mit Schnabelhörnern sind.

Muss ich mich nach dem hier Angeführten damit begnügen, festgestellt zu haben, dass die Verwandtschaft der Ami Formosas und der Yami Botel Tobagos, neben der Aehnlichkeit im Namen, durch die geographische Nachbarschaft und

The Ami tribe account for their origin in two ways. One tradition resembles the Puyuma in that their ancestors were born from a stone which lay on a mountain near Chipun river. Tiruti and Tihongan being thus created, founded a village called Varangao. Four of their descendants, all brothers, proceeded to the north across the Pinan river, and became the ancestors of the tribe now there. Several of the tribes possess traditions describing the arrival of their ancestors from distant lands. According to the belief of the tribe occupying the Shukoran river valley, they originally occupied the neighbouring island of *Sanasanac* and were called *Sanasai*. Later they came in boats, landed at the mouth of the Shukoran river, and established seven large villages there. Thus the name at present given to the island is perhaps a corruption of *Sanasana*. The Riru tribe of Kirai district of the Northern Amis state that their forefathers originally lived in an island to the east of Formosa. One savage, called Tipots, and his family were out at sea when a terrific gale arose, sweeping them away from their home land, and wrecking then on the coast of Formosa, where they built houses and gave life to the present Riru tribe. This tribe possesses an old canoe, which they claim is the model of the one used by their forefathers. At present the village people once a year put the canoe into the sea and mimic the landing of their ancestors. After this ceremony, the spirits of their departed forefathers are worshipped. A more fanciful tradition is to the effect that their ancestors came from over the sea on the back of a large tortoise.

What ought to be noted with regard to the legend of the Riru tribe and its memorial service is that *Mackay*, writing in his ninth chapter dedicated to the ethnology of Formosa, which also contains a lot of remarkable information about the origin of the Formosan people from the Malay Archipelago, reports the same about a tribe of the Ki-lai (Kirai) plain, which is known as Lam-si-hoan, but may be identical to the Riru. Meanwhile, Mackay mentions *two* boats which, when close to dilapidation, are repaired or replaced; the locals also told him that their ancestors were from *places south and east* of Formosa. I owe Mr. Torii a word of thanks, as it was he who saw the boats in question, and informed me that they are not of the beak-horn type.

If I must be content to have established that there is at least a certain probability of the relationship between the Ami of the Formosa and the Yami of Botel Tobago, besides the similarity in name, and because of the geographical proximity and the

den Charakter der Ami als verhältnismässig neue Ankömmlinge am Südostrand Formosas, vielleicht auch durch ihre trotz körperlicher Kraft nicht-kriegerische Veranlagung, eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit erhält, der durch die Traditionen der Ami mindestens nicht widersprochen wird, so ist doch zu Gunsten einer solchen Verwandtschaft der weiter oben gelegentlich der Haar-Frage schon zitierte Ausspruch Toriis zu verzeichnen, welchen Forscher seine eingehenden Studien beider Bevölkerungen zur Annahme ihrer Stammverwandtschaft geführt haben. Bei einer Vergleichung von Toriis Ethnographie der Botel Tobago Insulaner und Davidsons ethnographischem Abriss über die Ami finde ich in der Tat mehrere markante Uebereinstimmungen, von denen ich hier als Beispiele die besondere Geschicklichkeit und Gleichheit des Verfahrens in der Töpferei, die Kunst des Brunnenbaues, gewisse Sitten bei der Totenbestattung und das Nicht-Tätowieren anführen will. Sollte sich diese Verwandtschaft als eine engere bestätigen, wobei die Linguistik ein gewichtiges Wort zu sprechen haben wird, so möchte das Wort *Ami* wohl eine Verkürzung von *Iami* sein und letzteres die gemeinsame Bezeichnung für Leute, die heute über Botel Tobago und einen Teil von Südost Formosa verteilt wohnen, einst wahrscheinlich aber alle zusammen im äussersten Norden der Filipinen ansässig waren. Es mag dabei erwähnt werden, dass die Batanen und Babuyanen zusammen zu Dampiers Zeiten eine Bevölkerung von 30,000 Seelen — gegen heute nur ca. 9,000 — gehabt haben sollen.

Eine, heute, vorzufindende, mehr oder weniger beträchtliche, Differenzirung der Iami untereinander würde demgegenüber nichts anderes bedeuten, als die gesetzmässige Anpassung an veränderte Umgebung, wohl auch die Vermischung mit anderen Elementen. So macht bezüglich der seewärts gekommenen Ansiedler auf der Ostküste Formosas der *Rev. Wm. Campbell* in seinem Vorwort zu: 'The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan' die Bemerkung:

As a matter of fact, the villagers there spend their lives in constant oscillation between loyalty to traditions which have come across the sea and efforts to adapt themselves to their present surroundings.

8.—Vermischung auf Botel Tobago?

Was die Iami von Botel Tobago betrifft, so ist die Möglichkeit einer Mischung schon bei Besprechung der Haartracht gestreift worden. Eine solche könnte schon

character of the Ami as relatively new arrivals on the southeast beach of Formosa, and perhaps also due to their non-warlike predisposition despite physical strength, then this is at least not contradicted by the traditions of the Ami. Speaking in favor of such a relationship is the Torii citation above on the question of hairstyles, which researchers have used to hypothesize tribal relations in their extensive studies of both populations. In a comparison between Torii's ethnography of the Botel Tobago islanders and Davidson's ethnographic profile on the Ami, I have in fact found several striking similarities, of which I will introduce here as examples, the special skill and similarity in the process of pottery-making, the art of building wells, certain mores at funerals, and the absence of tattooing. Should this confirm a closer relationship, whereby linguistics of course will play an important role, then the word *Ami* would then be a shortening of the word of *Iami* and the latter is the common name for people who today are dispersed throughout Botel Tobago and part of southeast Formosa, a long time ago, but likely all of them resided in the far north of the Philippine Islands. It ought to be mentioned that in Dampier's times, the Batanes and Babuyan Islands should have had a total population of 30,000 souls — against today's 9,000.

One more or less considerable current difference amongst the Iami would, however, mean nothing other than their appropriate adaptation to a changed environment, most likely in combination with other elements. So with regard to the seaborne settlers on the east coast of Formosa, *Rev. Wm. Campbell* wrote the following remark in his preface to “The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan”:³⁹

As a matter of fact, the villagers there spend their lives in constant oscillation between loyalty to traditions which have come across the sea and efforts to adapt themselves to their present surroundings.

8. Racial mixing on Botel Tobago?

As for the Iami of Botel Tobago, the possibility of racial mixing was already remarked upon in the discussion of their hairstyle. This could have already

³⁹ This citation was retained in its original English.

auf den Batanen ihren Ursprung gehabt haben; dass auf Botel Tobago selbst eine Vermischung stattgefunden hat, darauf scheinen zwei Umstände hinzudeuten: einmal der in den Ueberlieferungen berichtete Frauenraub, bei dem Eindringlinge von Ibatan gegenüber einer eingessenen Familie auftreten, sodann die folgende Stelle bei Torii:

Die wilden Stämme auf Formosa haben jeder ihren Häuptling. Einen solchen gibt es auf Botel Tobago nicht. Wenn eine wichtige Angelegenheit zur Entscheidung steht, versammeln sie sich an einem bestimmten Platz und bilden einen Kreis. Einer, der sich durch grössere, Kraft, Klugheit und Beredsamkeit auszeichnet, fungiert als Präsident. Weiber, Kinder, Jungesellen, zuweilen auch welche von den Verheirateten, sind von der Beratung ausgeschlossen. Auf mein Befragen der Imurod Leute erfuhr ich nämlich, dass es einige Männer gibt, die nicht die allgemeinen Rechte geniessen; diese können weder an der Versammlung, noch da teilnehmen, wo es sich um Verteilung von Gütern handelt; es ist ihnen nicht einmal gestattet, bei Ceremonien zugegen zu sein. Wenschon das Warum der Behandlung dieser rechtlosen Leute nicht klar ist, so scheint doch jedenfalls ihre Behandlung eine solche zu sein, als ob sie die Hefe des Stammes wären.*

Man ist versucht, hier an das alte Verhältnis von Einwanderern zu Ureinwohnern zu denken, das in der Regel entweder das von siegreichen Invasoren zu Unterworfenen oder aber von gelittenen Ansiedlern zu Herren des Landes ist. Sollte nun auf Botel Tobago das heute herrschende Element von Süden vorgedrungene Iami sein, wie es nach allem den Anschein hat, so könnte man in den erwähnten Heloten die Nachkommen von Ureinwohnern vermuten. Ob dem so ist und ob diese Ureinwohner etwa Negritos oder Negrito-Mischlinge waren, muss weiteren Forschungen anheimgegeben werden.

* * * * *

* Dieser letzte Satz lautet im Text: *Karera mukenrisha wa naniga yue ni kaku nasaruru ka akiraka narazaredomo tonikaku karera wa issha no emin to shite atsukawaruru ga gotoshi.*

originated from the Batanes — that a mixing took place on Botel Tobago itself, appears to be suggested by two circumstances. On the one hand, the reported tradition of the female abduction in which intruders from Ibatan appear in front of a resident family, thereupon the following passage by Torii:

Each of the wild tribes on Formosa has a chief. There is no such position on Botel Tobago. When an important matter is at stake, they gather in a certain place and form a circle. One of them, through great strength, wisdom, and eloquence, acts as president. Women, children, bachelors, sometimes a few married individuals, are excluded from the consultation. Upon investigating the Imurod people, I learned that there are some men who do not enjoy universal rights, they cannot attend the meeting, nor can they participate in the distribution of goods; they are not even allowed to be present during ceremonies. Even if the reasons behind the treatment of these people without rights are not clear, it seems, in any case, that they are treated like scum within the tribe.*

One is tempted here to think of the old relationship between a migrant and the natives, which is usually either one of victorious invaders to subjects or of long-suffering settlers to the masters of the land. Should today's dominant element on Botel Tobago consist of Iami that advanced toward the south, as it would appear from all accounts, the aforementioned Helots are presumably the descendants of the indigenous people. To determine whether this is indeed so, and whether these indigenous people were Negritos or Negrito mixes, further research must be done.

* * * * *

* This last sentence in the text reads: *Karera mukenrisha wa naniga yue ni kaku nasaruru ka akiraka narazaredomo tonikaku karera wa issa no emin to shite atsukawaruru ga gotoshi.*⁴⁰

⁴⁰ EN: Special thanks to A. Fukayama for her assistance in verifying the meaning of the Japanese text.

Ich halte es nicht für überflüssig, zum Schluss nochmals auszusprechen, dass es, trotz verschiedentlich von mir geäußelter Meinungen, bei der versuchten Verknüpfung vorstehend wiedergegebener Berichte zu einem Ganzen nicht meine Absicht war, eine Theorie mehr in die Welt zu setzen, sondern nur vorhandenes Material zu sichten. Fernere Forschungen werden danach hoffentlich der Wahrheit näher kommen.

NACHWEIS DER BENUTZTEN LITERATUR.

FILIPINEN:

- P. José Algué S. J. Atlas de Filipinas. (Special Publication No. 3 of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington 1900). Manila 1899.
- Dr. C. Semper. Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner. Würzburg 1869.
- William Allan Reed. Negritos of Zambales. (Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Vol. II, Part I).
- Thomas Pennant. Outlines of the Globe. Vol. IV. London 1800.
- W. E. Retana. Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas por el Padre Fr. Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga. Madrid 1893. Band I und II.
- John Meares. Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789 from China to the Northwest Coast of America &c. London 1790.

I do not believe it to be superfluous to conclude that despite the different opinions provided here that have been linked to form a whole in the attempted synthesis of the foregoing reproduction of reports, it was not my intention to put forth yet another theory, but only to sift through the material on hand. It is my hope that further research will get closer to the truth in the future.

REFERENCES OF THE CITED LITERATURE.

PHILIPPINES:

- P. José Algué S. J. Atlas de Filipinas. [Atlas of the Philippines].
(Special Publication No. 3 of the
U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey,
Washington 1900). Manila 1899.
- Dr. C. Semper. Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner.
[The Philippines and its inhabitants].
Würzburg 1869.
- William Allan Reed. Negritos of Zambales. (Ethnological Survey
for the Philippine Islands,
Vol. II, Part I).
- Thomas Pennant. Outlines of the Globe. Vol. IV. London
1800.
- W. E. Retana. Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas por el
Padre Fr. Joaquín Martínez de
Zúñiga. [Status of the Philippine
Islands by Fr. Joaquín Martínez de
Zúñiga]. Madrid 1893.
Volumes I and II.

- James Horsburgh. India Directory or Directions for Sailing to
and from the East-Indies, China &c.,
Vol. I, 3rd ed. London 1826.
- Ferdinand Blumentritt. Der Batan Archipel und die Babuyanen-
Inseln. (Mittheil. der K. K. Geogr.
Ges. in Wien, 1898. XLI. Band.)
- derselbe Versuch einer Ethnographie der
Philippinen. (Ergänzungsheft
No. 67. von Petermann's
Mittheilungen. Gotha 1882).
- derselbe Verzeichnis philippinischer Sachwörter.
(Abh. und Ber. des K. Zool. und
Anthropol-Ethnogr. Mus. zu
Dresden, Festschrift 1899 No. 1.)
- Philippine Commission. Report to the President. Vol. III.
Washington 1901. Paper No. I.
Chorography. (Observatory of
Manila).
- Fr. Manuel Buzeta y }
Fr. Felipe Bravo } Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico,
Histórico de los Islas Filipinas.
Madrid 1850.
- José Rizal. Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, por el
Doctor Antonio de Morga.
Paris 1890.
- Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera. Etimología de los nombres de Razas de
Filipinas. Manila 1901.
- P. Fr. Anastasio Idigoras. Las Islas Batanes. (in 'La Política de
España en Filipinas' No. 138-142,
Vol. VI. 1896. Madrid).

- John Meares. Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789
from China to the Northwest Coast
of America &c. London 1790.
- James Horsburgh. India Directory or Directions for Sailing to
and from the East-Indies, China &c.,
Vol. I, 3rd ed. London 1826.
- Ferdinand Blumentritt. Der Batan Archipel und die Babuyan-
Inseln. [The Batan Archipelago and
the Babuyan Islands]. (Mittheil. der
K. K. Geogr. Ges. in Wien, 1898.
XLI. Volume.)
- as above Versuch einer Ethnographie der
Philippinen. [Attempt at an
Ethnography of the Philippines].
(Ergänzungsheft No. 67. von
Petermann's Mittheilungen.
Gotha 1882).
- as above Verzeichnis philippinischer Sachwörter.
[Index of Philippine Technical
Terms]. (Abh. und Ber. des K. Zool.
und Anthropol-Ethnogr. Mus. zu
Dresden, Festschrift 1899 No. 1.)
- Philippine Commission. Report to the President. Vol. III.
Washington 1901. Paper No. I.
Chorography. (Observatory of
Manila).
- Fr. Manuel Buzeta and }
Fr. Felipe Bravo } Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico,
Histórico de los Islas Filipinas.
[Geographic, Statistical and
Historical Dictionary of the
Philippine Islands].
Madrid 1850.

FORMOSA :

- R. Torii. Kōtōshō Dozoku Chōsa Hōkoku.
(Bericht über die Untersuchung der
Landessitten Botel Tobagos).
Tōkyō 1902.
- derselbe Jinruigaku Shashin Shū, Taiwan Kōtōshō no
Bu. (Sammlung anthrop. Photogr.,
Abteilung Taiwan Kōtōshō).
- James W. Davidson. The Island of Formosa, Past and Present.
London and New York 1903.
- Ino Kakyō. Die wilden Stämme von Formosa.
(Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Ethn. in Berlin,
Band 34, 1899).
- A. Fischer. Streifzüge in Formosa. Berlin 1900.
- G. L. Mackay. From Far Formosa. New York 1896.
- Wm. Campbell. The Articles of Christian Instruction in
Favorlang-Formosan. London 1896.
-

- José Rizal. Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, por el Doctor Antonio de Morga. [Events in the Philippine Islands, by Doctor Antonio de Morga]. Paris 1890.
- Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera. Etimologia de los nombres de Razas de Filipinas. [Etymology of Racial Names of the Philippines]. Manila 1901.
- P. Fr. Anastasio Idigoras. Las Islas Batanes (in 'La Política de España en Filipinas' No. 138-142, Vol. VI. 1896. Madrid). [The Batanes Islands, in 'Spanish Politics in the Philippines'].

FORMOSA:

- R. Torii. Kōtōshō Dozoku Chōsa Hōkoku. (Bericht über die Untersuchung der Landessitten Botel Tobagos). [Report on the Survey of the Customs of Botel Tobago]. Tokyo 1902.
- as above Jinruigaku Shashin Shū, Taiwan Kōtōshō no Bu. (Sammlung anthrop. Photogr., Abteilung Taiwan Kōtōshō). [Collection of Anthropological Photographs, Taiwan Kōtōshō⁴⁰ Section].
- James W. Davidson. The Island of Formosa, Past and Present. London and New York 1903.

⁴⁰ Kōtōshō appears in the original text, references Kōtōsho.

This page intentionally left blank.

- Ino Kakyo. Die wilden Stämme von Formosa. [The Wild Tribes of Formosa]. (Zeitschr. d, Ges. f. Ethn. in Berlin, Vol. 34, 1899).
- A. Fischer. Streifzüge in Formosa. [Forays into Formosa]. Berlin 1900.
- G. L. Mackay. From Far Formosa. New York 1896.
- Wm. Campbell. The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan. London 1896.
-

EN: The original article includes five photos and a map which the editorial team decided not to include for possible ownership and ethical concerns that they may entail. Below is a list of plate titles in both the original German text and the English translation.

Tafel 1. Eingeborener von Botel Tobago.
Plate 1. Native of Botel Tobago.

Tafel 2. Eingeborener von Botel Tobago.
Plate 2. Native of Botel Tobago.

Tafel 3. Bote von Botel Tobago.
Plate 3. Boats of Botel Tobago.

Tafel 4. [Plate 4.]
(Plate 4 is a map showing the Island Chain between Luzon and Formosa. No title was provided.)

Tafel 5. Baluga von Luzon.
Plate 5. Balugas of Luzon.

Tafel 6. Baluga von Luzon.
Plate 6. Balugas of Luzon.