The Spanish Experience in Taiwan, 1626–1642

The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavor

José Eugenio Borao Mateo

香港大學出版社
HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

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

© José Eugenio Borao Mateo 2009

ISBN 978-962-209-083-5

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

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

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

This digitally printed version 2010

Contents

List of Illustrations vii

List of Tables ix

Acknowledgments xi

Introduction 1

Chapter 1 7
The Dutch-Spanish Rivalry

Chapter 2 31
The Arrival in Taiwan

Chapter 3 53
The Encounter

Chapter 4 103
The "Embryonic" City of San Salvador

Chapter 5 135
Commerce in Northern Taiwan

Chapter 6 171
The Missionary Activity

Epilogue 201
The Baroque Ending

Annexes 207

Annex 1: The shipwreck in Taiwan of the galleon from Macao to Japan of 1582
Annex 2: The report of Bartolomé Martínez (1619)
Annex 3: The small armada of May 1626
Annex 4: Record of the taking of Isla Hermosa (1626)
Annex 5: The armada of August 1626
Annex 6: The armada of August 1627
Annex 7: The yacht "Domburch" reconnoitering Spanish posts in August 1629
Annex 8: The natives of Quelang
Annex 9: The natives along the Tamsui River
Annex 10: The initial acceptance of the missionary work by the natives (1632)
Annex 11: Religious acts in Senar (ca. 1634)
Annex 12: The death of the Dominican Fr. Francisco Váez (1636)
Annex 13: Memorial describing of the forts in San Salvador in 1636
Annex 14: The battle of San Salvador (September 1641)
Annex 15: How the captain of a *socorro* should behave (March 1642)
Annex 16: The battle of San Salvador (August 1642)
Annex 17: Interrogation by the Dutch of Teodoro, elder of Quimaurri (synopsis) (1644)
Annex 18: Observations of the Franciscan Antonio Caballero about Yiguan (1649)
Annex 19: Victorio Riccio met Koxinga in Anping (1662)
Annex 20: The construction of the fortress of Quelang during the Spanish period
Annex 21: The changes of the fortress during the Dutch occupation
Annex 22: Trade and the Price Revolution in the Far East

Notes 249

Bibliography 273

Index 289

List of Illustrations

Figures

5.1: Inventory of a Spanish junk from Quelang to Manila 147
5.2: General commercial system in northern Taiwan 154

Maps

General map of Southeast Asia xiii
3.1: Native villages in the Taipei Basin 58
3.2: Native villages of Cavalan and archeological sites of Yilan 64
3.3: Schematic distribution of the Turoboan village 69
3.4: Natives villages in the East Coast, near Hualian 71
3.5: Location of the Basay villages in 1642 76
3.6: Archeological sites of the Shisanhang culture in Caquiuanuan 78
6.1: The Catholic missions around 1636 177
A1: The flotilla of May 1626 for the conquest of Quelang 209
A2: The fleet of August 1626 against the Dutch 212
A3: The fleet of August–September 1627 against the Dutch 214
A4: Movements of the Dutch troops in the battle of San Salvador (1642) 229

List of Tables

1.1:	The Dutch blockade of Olivier van Noort, December, 1600	10
1.2:	Forces in the Battle of Playa Honda, 14–15 April 1617	14
1.3:	Forces during the sixth Manila blockade, 1618–1619	15
1.4:	Intitial composition of the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense	17
1.5:	Composition of the Reijersen Fleet, 1622	18
1.6:	Dutch fleets for the conquest of San Salvador city, August–September, 1642	24
3.1:	Population of Senar and Kipas	59
3.2:	Population of the Tamsui-Pulauan branch	62
3.3:	The six villages of Cavalan mentioned by the Basayan Teodoro in 1644	65
3.4:	Natives of the Taipei Basin in 1646	82
3.5:	General evolution of the number of natives in northern Taiwan	82
4.1:	Spanish troops in Isla Hermosa (1629–1641)	123
5.1:	Inventory of some important provisions sent on the relief voyage	142
5.2:	List of fleets and socorros in the Manila-Quelang route (1626–1642)	144–145
5.3:	Income and payments of the Spanish coffer in San Salvador (1637–1638)	149
5.4:	Esquivel's records of the exchange value of some goods	152
5.5:	Payments in the "Tayouan Account-Book" (November 1638–October 1639)	156
5.6:	Tobacco shipped from Manila to San Salvador's soldiers (1634–1642)	157
5.7:	Number of Japanese ships that arrived at Manila	164
A1:	Composition of the Spanish armada assigned to conquer Quelang 1626	210
A2:	Supply of lime from August 1637 to September 1638	238
A3:	Missionaries that came to Taiwan	244–247

Introduction

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

Renaissance as an extra-European dimension

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

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

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

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

Manila as a commercial republic

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

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

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

Conflict and exchange with the East during the Renaissance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The year 1635 as a turning point towards the Baroque experience

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

Chapter 1

The Dutch-Spanish Rivalry

THE EUROPEAN VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY started when the Portuguese explored the African coast at the end of the fifteenth century. It was immediately followed by the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 in the name of the queen of Castile, although the real aim of the expedition was to find the western route to the spices region, the Moluccas Islands, known in Europe since the Roman times. These discoveries created a colonial competition between Portugal and Spain joined soon after by Holland and England and to a lesser degree other European countries. Now we are going to present briefly the main European overseas empires as a way to understand the ultimate reasons for their arrival in Taiwan.

The Portuguese overseas empire

We can trace the beginning of the Portuguese Empire to the fifteenth century, when its naval power was built under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator who launched expedition after expedition to explore the Atlantic and the coast of Africa. The reign of Manuel I (1495–1521) saw the fruits of these expeditions after the Portuguese reached Brazil, occupying posts in East Africa and Madagascar, and gaining a foothold in India. They expanded this control to the sea routes up to Malacca (1511) and the Moluccas Islands, where the spices were located. After controlling the lucrative spice trade and during the rule of Juan III (1521–1557), they created the first great European overseas empire in just a few years, reaching Japan in 1542 and settling in Macao in 1557.

Juan III was succeeded by his grandson Sebastian (1557–1578), but Sebastian's successor, Cardinal Henry (1578–1580) died without having appointed a Council of Regency to choose his successor. Philip II of Spain, who was half Portuguese, made good his claim to the throne by bribery and force, and was recognized as King Philip I of Portugal. In return he agreed to preserve Portuguese institutions, in other words, not to merge them with the Spanish ones. This created situations like, for example, a restriction in the communication between Manila and Macao.

The Spanish overseas empire

This empire was basically located in America. Initially the Spaniards occupied the Antilles Islands, and in 1519 Hernán Cortés started to penetrate the Aztec Empire (modern Mexico), which after its conquest was called Nueva España (the New Spain). From there the Spaniards reached California and Florida in the north and Central America in the south. Later, the kingdom of the Incas (modern Peru) was conquered by Pizarro (1532–1535) and, subsequently, other South American territories met the same fate. In the Pacific Ocean, Magellan reached the Philippine region in 1521, and soon after his successor Elcano arrived in the Moluccas; but these discoveries only became effective forty-five years later when Urdaneta discovered the route back to Mexico.

Along the Atlantic Ocean, the economic exploitation was organized in the following way: from Europe to America they sent manufactured goods, like furniture, paper, etc. From America to Europe three kinds of products were sent: agricultural products (like corn, tobacco, potato, chocolate, coffee, tea, sunflower, tomato, cotton, etc.), goods for industrial use (colorants such as indigo and campeche), and precious metals (particularly gold and silver).

These metals had two destinations. The first one was to Spain through the Atlantic Ocean; but, paradoxically, the silver ended up in the hands of Spain's European enemies. It was used to pay the Spanish armies fighting in places like Holland and consequently it was spent in those lands. The silver later continued its movement to the East; the Portuguese and especially the Dutch used it in their trade with India and China, two countries with a huge demand for silver. The second destination of the metals was the Philippines. This Spanish colony was supported with a subsidy in silver called situado, which was used to buy Chinese silk to be placed in the Mexican and Peruvian markets.

The Dutch overseas empire

By the end of the sixteenth century the Netherlands was the premier North Atlantic naval and commercial power. In 1594, when Philip II closed the port of Lisbon and all other Portuguese ports to the Dutch merchants for re-exporting, the Dutch decided to organize direct trips to Asia. In fact, they were familiar with the sea route to India and beyond, because several Dutchmen had already sailed on board Portuguese ships. Scores of Dutch ships sailed, between 1595 and 1602, to establish direct relations with the Spice Islands. The timing was very propitious for the Dutch because the Portuguese fortresses in the Estado da India (State of India, the Portuguese Empire in the Orient) were at permanent war with the Muslim sultans. Besides, these sultanates were controlling vital points in the spice trade and very willing to accept other merchant competitors.

In 1596 the first Dutch fleet reached Bantam and was the first to succeed in signing a treaty with the sultan of Java in 1597. In 1598, the Dutch already had factories in the Banda Islands, Achim (present Aceh), Johor and Patani (in the north of the Malayan

Peninsula). In 1601 Jacob van Neck left Patani for China to explore its market. Also they ventured the western route. Olivier van Noort reached Manila in 1600 and from there proceeded towards the west. Initially, private companies carried out this trade, avoiding fights with the Portuguese. They were buying pepper, cloves, and nutmeg, in exchange for helmets, cuirasses, objects of glass, velvet, toys, etc. Finally the Portuguese viceroy of Goa decided to expel them. Conflicts thus erupted.

On the other hand, in 1600 the [English] East India Company (EIA) was founded in England, and English ships appeared in Asian waters. Consequently, the states general of the Netherlands became aware that the struggle to compete in Asia with the entrenched Portuguese and the emerging English would require a united effort. In 1602, they formed a single company, the VOC, financed by a national subscription and governed by a board which directly reflected the interest of the chief stockholders—the rich merchants of Amsterdam. It was given a twenty-one-year monopoly, freedom from import tariffs, and extensive political authority (to establish colonies, etc.) and military responsibilities (declaring war, seizing foreign ships, etc.) in the area of its operations. In the same year of its creation, a VOC fleet sailed out on a mission to obtain a part of the pepper and spice trade from the Portuguese. They arrived at the coast of Johor, where they captured the cargo of the Portuguese ship "Santa Catalina" on 25 February 1603. Then, the VOC assigned one of its employees, the young jurist Hugo Grotius, to find a legal justification for the case that could also be used in similar situations.[1]

In 1605, in the Spice Islands, the VOC conquered the Portuguese fortresses of Amboina and Tidore, forcing Manila to enter the area to help or substitute the Portuguese. But, after several skirmishes in 1609, the Dutch were practically in control of the spice area. The Iberians (Spaniards and the Portuguese) kept some parts of the Moluccas, Tidore, and a part of Ternate. The sultan of this island, who was in control of the production of cloves, became an ally of the Dutch. In other places, like Ceylon, the company initially failed against the Portuguese. However, in the coast of Coromandel, they established the factories of Masulipatan (1606) and Pulicat (1610), which became very important for their trade, because they supplied calicos, a product easily exchanged in Moluccas by pepper and spices.

Certainly, the external history of the Iberian colonies in the Far East, during the first half of the seventeenth century, can be defined by an increasing harassment by the Dutch economic, political, and ideological competitors. We can observe it through a myriad of sea battles and blockades, captives, deserters, shipwrecks, etc., from the Moluccas Islands in the south to Japan in the north. If we see this encroachment only with the information gathered from the Spaniards and the Portuguese, it is difficult to put some order and logic in all these military actions. But once we switch the view from these passive actors to the active ones, namely the Dutch, a more logical comprehension of the whole scenario emerges: a seasonal blockade of the Iberian harbors, especially Manila, to undermine their economic viability. We can say that there were five phases in that process.

From the blockade of Olivier van Noort to the Moluccas War (1600–1606)

In the first phase of the Dutch-Spanish rivalry (1600–1609), the Dutch tried to conquer the main spice production area, the Moluccas, by removing the Portuguese from there. The Spanish governor of the Philippines, Pedro de Acuña, met that challenge by organizing a successful expedition to conquer the Moluccas (1606), replacing the Portuguese and confronting the Dutch. Nevertheless, the Dutch consolidated after gaining a solid foothold in 1619, in Batavia (present Jakarta), the center of the spice distribution area.

The "San Diego" episode (1600)

Since 1596 the Dutch, after crossing the Indian Ocean, started to settle in the Moluccas region in competition with the Portuguese. In October 1600, Noort, coming from the Pacific Ocean, arrived in the straits of the Central Philippines to wait for the galleon "Santo Tomás" to seize its cargo. When he failed to see the galleon, he moved on to Manila. On his way he plundered a few native settlements in the Visayas Islands. In Manila he made a blockade and took some Chinese junks and other booty. Manila started its defense by arming one trade galleon and finishing the construction of one patache. Governor General Tello entrusted the defense to the senior member of the Audiencia (High Court), Antonio de Morga, because the main Spanish forces were in the South Philippines on a punitive expedition against the Moors. This was the composition of the two fleets:

Table 1.1
The Dutch blockade of Olivier van Noort, December, 1600

Spanish ships			Dutch ships		
Ships	**Tn**	**Commanders**	**Ships**	**Tn**	**Commanders**
"San Diego"	300	Antonio de Morga	"Mauritius"	275	Noort
			"Hoop": renamed "Eendracht"	50	
"San Bartolomé" 2 native vessels	50	Juan de Alcega	("Hendrik Frederik": got separated	350	–
"San Jacinto" (Port.)		Esteban Rodríguez	"Eendracht (Harmony)": until Brazil	50	

Jean-Paul Desroches, Fr. Gabriel Casal, Franck Goddio, *Treasures of the San Diego*, Elf Foundation, 1997

On 14 December, Morga sailed out of Manila Bay and engaged the two Dutch ships in a six-hour battle (*SIT*, 31). As a result, Noort lost one of his ships, the "Eendracht,"

but he was able to escape to the other, the "Mauritius." Morga also lost the flagship "San Diego," but he saved himself by swimming. The Spanish casualties were 109 Spaniards and 150 Filipinos. On the other hand, 13 Dutch were captured: among them, the British captain Wiseman.

From then on, the Dutch started to attack Portuguese settlements in the Moluccas and Macao. They appeared there in 1599[2] and in 1601 they made a first attempt to take the Portuguese colony. They tried again in 1603, 1604, and in the following year conquered the Portuguese settlement of Ambon. No wonder Acuña wrote in 1605: "I think that to drive the [Dutch] enemy from the Moluccas and from the islands of Banda, will be of great advantage to our affairs in Flanders, since the rebels of Holland and Zeeland harvest the products of these islands, and draw to them great wealth, by means of which they carry on war and become rich."[3]

The first Spanish counter-offensive (Pedro de Acuña, 1606)

Consequently, Acuña prepared a fleet of 1,672 Filipinos and 1,423 Spaniards against the Dutch. The governor stormed the Dutch fortification in Ternate and drove the Dutch from Tidore. Thus the three kings of this island (Batachina, Lalabua, and Cangaje) accepted the Spanish sovereignty. The sultan of Ternate was brought prisoner to Manila. The Dutch returned in May 1607 building a stronghold in the eastern coast of the small island of Ternate, from where they attacked the Spaniards and plotted with the native rulers against them.[4] This victory had such an impact in Spain that the count of Lemos tasked Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, a court writer, with writing a historical account based on all the available official documents that reached the Council of Indies to celebrate that victory.[5] This move made the Dutch see clearly the importance of taking over Manila, a city that started to suffer regular blockades. But, on the other hand, they did not bother Macao any more until the famous invasion of 1622 (that we will talk about later) and the attempt of 1627.

Blockades of Manila (1609–1619) during the Twelve Years' Truce

The second phase of the Dutch-Spanish rivalry (1610–1619) almost coincides with the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) between Spain and Holland. The latter country benefited because it was allowed to return to the Iberian harbors; and in any case they did not respect the truce in the Far East. It was clear to the Dutch that their victory in Europe entailed the exclusion of the Iberians from the Moluccas region. Consequently, the Dutch started to show great interest in Manila, not because of Manila itself, but as a means to expel the Spaniards. They did not try to conquer Manila, but to suffocate the Spanish colony economically through seasonal blockades, trying to catch the galleons from Acapulco, and plundering the Chinese trade. The main Spanish answer was given by the military counter-attack of Governor Juan de Silva (1616) in the Dutch area, but without success.

The beginning of the blockades

The Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) between Spain and the Netherlands was a peace agreement that took effect in Europe, but was ignored in the East. The Dutch tried now to drive the Spaniards from the spice production region by (1) making assaults on the Spanish posts in the Moluccas; (2) cutting off the yearly aid from Manila; (3) inciting the natives, like the Moors of the south (i.e. Muslims in Mindanao), against the Spaniards; and (4) directing attacks on the Spaniards in the Philippines, especially by Manila blockades.

The first Dutch blockade in the Philippines happened in 1609 (*SIT*, 106). A fleet under Captain François de Wittert's command[6] reached Iloilo and tried unsuccessfully to conquer the harbor. Wittert then went to Manila in April 1610 and started a blockade which lasted for six months.[7] During the same time De Silva, newly arrived from Mexico with five companies of infantry, prepared a fleet to face the Dutch in Cavite. On 21 October, the Spaniards met the Dutch fleet at the entrance of Manila Bay—the battle lasted six hours. The Dutch lost three of four ships, resulting in the death of Wittert, and the Spaniards captured abundant booty and prisoners. Later, in 1614, a Dutch fleet—with two or three English ships—lay off Manila Bay for several weeks, paralyzing the trade. This can be considered the second blockade.

The second Spanish counter-offensive (Juan de Silva, 1616)

In the face of the growing strength of the Dutch, the Portuguese and Spaniards decided to cooperate, but what was going to be an early model of an Iberian "union of arms" of the 1630's ended in a fiasco. Implementation started on 21 November 1614, when De Silva sent emissaries to Goa to prepare the offensive. As a result, on 12 May 1615 a fully equipped Portuguese armada left Goa to go supposedly to Manila, from where both Iberian fleets would set sail towards the Moluccas to meet the Dutch. But after passing by Malacca they decided to return to Manila, finding the city surrounded by a fleet of the neighboring kingdom of Aceh. Both fleets engaged in a battle in Malacca, and the Portuguese stopped the Aceh offensive, but their fleet was greatly damaged. In December 1615 the Spanish armada in Manila—being ignorant of the difficulties of the Portuguese—was ready but waiting in vain for the Portuguese arrival. Things got even worse for the Portuguese, because the rest of their fleet had to face another unexpected offensive, now from the Dutch fleet commanded by Van der Hagen. The Portuguese were able to stop the Dutch, but no Portuguese galleon was left after the offensive.[8]

Having no news from the Portuguese, De Silva left Manila in January 1616 with a powerful fleet of sixteen large ships (with 300 bronze cannon), manned by 2,000 Spaniards, 2,500 Filipinos, and 500 Japanese,[9] leaving the city totally disarmed in the case of a Dutch invasion. This fleet left on 9 February and intended to inflict a decisive blow on the Dutch throughout the whole East. This great armada—the biggest Spain had ever made in the Orient—reached the Singapore Straits at the end of February. They waited there for a month and warned the king of Johor to remain neutral in an impending Spanish-Dutch fight. But seeing that nothing had happened, two galleys, with De Silva

on board, went to Malacca to get more news, and they were very instrumental in the relief of beleaguered Malacca, which at the end of March was suffering the consequences of a new attack from the neighboring kingdom of Aceh. They abandoned the original plan after learning that the expected Portuguese reinforcements from Goa had been destroyed one month earlier by Van der Hagen and also because of the sudden death of De Silva at the end of April. The rest of the diminished fleet, packed with sick soldiers, returned to Manila in a deplorable state without achieving anything. As William Lytte Schurz stated: "The debacle of this expedition is as important in the history of the East Indies as was the failure of the Invincible [Armada] in 1588, for it definitively settled the question as to who should dominate that region."[10]

The third, fourth (Playa Honda battle), and fifth blockades (1616–1618)

The third blockade happened one month after the Spanish fleet of De Silva left for the Moluccas, when the Dutchman Joris van Spielbergen came from Mexico to Manila, confirming in this way all the bad omens that the critics of the expedition of De Silva had foreseen.[11] Spielbergen had been in Acapulco the previous year, unsuccessfully waiting for the galleons. He made his blockade (28 February–10 March 1616) and caused some harm,[12] but being unaware of the poor state of the city defenses he rushed to the Moluccas, thinking that there he could help the Dutch, who supposedly were under De Silva's attack.[13] From then on the blockades started to be more systematic.

The following year the Dutch reorganized a new fleet with ten well-equipped galleons along with other smaller ones. This was the fourth blockade. The Dutch, now under the command of Jan Rodwik, went back to Manila looking for De Silva. They started the blockade in October 1616 and it continued until April 1617.[14] By then, the destroyed Moluccas Spanish fleet had returned with the news of De Silva's death and the Audiencia, facing a new blockade, sent General Juan Ronquillo with seven galleons and other ships and a huge number of Filipino soldiers, who engaged in a fierce battle against the Dutch in Playa Honda.

Although General Juan Manuel de la Vega lost the galleon "San Marcos," the Dutch suffered a complete defeat. Their flagship, "Son van Holland" (Sun of Holland), was sunk, two more were burned, and others captured. Four ships withdrew to the Moluccas in bad condition, the rest of the fleet, including the "Rood Leeuwe" (Red Lion) and the "Fresne," went to Japan. These two galleons did not take part in the battle because they were plundering nine Chinese ships laden with valuable silks on their way to Manila. The galleons hastily unloaded their seized cargo because they were in a hurry to look for the yearly nao from Macao, which was expected to arrive soon; but a sudden furious storm devastated both of them when they were docking in the port of Cocci.[15]

A year later, in Manila, the Spaniards were able to gather more information on the rest of Rodwik's unfortunate fleet. Rodwik continued sailing the "Oude Son" (Old Sun). One of the contemporary chronicles, written in June 1618, considered that the "Oude Son" and the "Galiasse" started a new blockade from Ilocos to Manila in April that year, because "for almost two months two Dutch ships have been in the place and this has caused much apprehension in this city."[16]

Table 1.2
Forces in the Battle of Playa Honda, 14–15 April 1617

Spanish ships			Dutch ships		
Galleons	**Commanders**	**Artillery**	**Galleons**	**Commanders**	**Artillery**
"El Salvador"	General Juan Ronquillo	46	"Nieuwe Son"	Jacob Dircksz Lam	47
"San Marcos"	General Juan de la Vega	38	"Nieuwe Maen"	Martsz.'t Hoofling	32
"San Felipe"	Captain Juan de Madrid	30	"Oude Son"	Jansz. Vianen	
"Guadalupe"	Captain Juan Bta. Molina	24	"Oude Maen"	Meus Sandersz	
"San Miguel"	Capt Rodrigo Guillestegui	31	"Der Veer"	Willem Jacobsz	
"San Lorenzo"	Captain Juan de Acebedo	32	"D' Aeolus"	Job Corneliz	
"Juan Bautista"	Admiral Pedro de Heredia	30	"Roode Leeuw"		
1 patache			"Galiasse"		
3 galleys		25	"Fresne"		

Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo ...*, vol. VII, p. cccxcvi; Blair & Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. XVII, pp. 64 ff

The sixth blockade (12 October 1618–May 1619)

In September 1618, with a view towards a new blockade, Governor Alonso Fajardo sent a ship to Macao to buy ammunition and, additionally, to engage in a little trade. Fearing that the Chinese sampans bound for Manila would surely run into the Dutch fleet, he sent the Dominican Fr. Bartolomé Martínez as ambassador to warn the mandarins of Guangzhou (廣州) and Quanzhou (泉州).[17] Of course, the personal goal of Martínez was to see the possibility of establishing the Dominican order in Macao—something that he had already tried in 1612. The ship faced strong winds and was wrecked in Zambales, although no personnel damage was reported. On 12 October, five Dutch ships appeared in Manila to rob the boats from China, as had happened in the previous years. In November, they allowed a Japanese ship with a license from their emperor to enter the city, for the Dutch did not want to harass them so that the Dutch factory in Japan could be kept safe. Following the blockade pattern they remained during winter and spring at the entrance of Manila.

Meanwhile, Martínez was stationed in Lingayén, where he received orders to go to Cagayan to take a new ship and continue the trip to Macao. Martínez finally left

Cagayan in January 1619, but a big storm forced him to look twice for a shelter on the coast of Taiwan. He eventually reached Macao and returned to Manila, where he wrote an important document on the advisability of setting up a fort in Isla Hermosa to secure the Fujian-Manila trade and face the Dutch threat:

> It is said that the Dutch are trying to settle on this island at 24° … And if while awaiting his Majesty's permission, the enemy should establish there first, then the land will be lost and cut off from all trade. This will do the King no service, as [this question] could have been solved in time and without any cost. Once the [Dutch] have settled, it will be very difficult to drive them away because they will fortify themselves as required to destroy India and Manila. And because this is also important for Japan, the Japanese will surely help them. (*SIT*, 46)

At the beginning of May 1619, new Japanese ships arrived and were allowed to enter the bay. During this time Fajardo was preparing the defense and he was able to gather two big ships, two middle-sized, two pataches, and four galleys.

Table 1.3
Forces during the sixth Manila blockade, 1618–1619

Spanish ships		**Dutch ships**	
Ships	**Notes**	**Ships**	**Notes**
1 galleon	The one on board which Fajardo arrived	5 galleons	–
1 ship	Belonging to Japanese	9 ships	–
2 ships	Finished on time	caracoas	–
1 middle ship	Required to join the battle		
1 *patache*	That was constructed		
4 galleys			

Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* ..., vol. VII, pp. xxix–xxx

When the Dutch learned that the Spaniards had a force ready to fight, they left the place and went for pillaging a native town in Ilocos before leaving the archipelago. But, some Dutch galleons were sunk; many ship parts, masts, etc., appeared a few days later on the seashore of that Ilocos town.[18]

The situation in the Moluccas

We must not forget that the first area of rivalry between the Dutch and the Spaniards was the Moluccas region. Since 1582, the Spaniards had tried to penetrate the Moluccas trade, but this only succeeded in 1605 when the Dutch drove the Portuguese out of Amboina and Tidore and the latter's influence in the spices region declined dramatically. The Portuguese now concentrated on their trade with India, China, and Japan, but always under the threat of the Dutch, who were in the Singapore Straits waiting for the

Portuguese galleons going back to India after trading in China and Japan. This situation led the Spaniards to play a more active role in the spice area from 1606 on, after the successful campaign of Acuña. In 1617, the Spanish fortresses in Moluccas were located in Tidore, Jilolo, Tapongo, Payagi, and parts of Ternate; and their position was favored by the growing strife between the Dutch and the English.[19]

Although with some differences, every island had a similar complicated political environment[20] and Ternate was a clear example of such. On this island the Spaniards had the main fortress of Rosario, which had six bastions, manned by two Spanish companies with 300 soldiers and a Pampango company with 150. Very near was the Dutch fortress of Malaio, with 200 soldiers, 150 Japanese, and some Chinese; they also had the fort of Takome near the Spanish Rosario along with a third fort Taloko on another part of this volcanic island. A similar situation held true on the next island of Tidore, where the sultan also had his own fortress.

The interaction among natives and colonist was defined by alliances, treacheries, etc., complicating the situation in the area. First, the people from Ternate and Tidore remained loyal to Spain; but later on, they united with the Dutch to oppose the Spaniards. On the other hand, neither Spaniards nor the Dutch grew cloves or other spices, each in fear that they would be destroyed by the other. Nevertheless, the Dutch always took the biggest part of the trade of cloves, which were harvested only in Ternate, Tidore, and Moti. On other occasions, because the Dutch were increasing their control of the trade (especially after the foundation of Batavia in 1619), the natives became reluctant to sell cloves to them, and they sent the spices to the market of the nearby island of Macassar, where the European merchants also had commercial agents.[21]

The English arrived at Bantam in 1602 and met the Dutch, who had been present and in control of this town since 1596 after expelling the Portuguese merchants in 1601. In 1613, John Jourdain founded a factory at Macassar and soon later became president of the English settlement at Bantam and the leader in the growing struggle against the Dutch. They continued competing in the Banda Islands, until the VOC governor, Pietz Coen, attacked the English factory at Jacarta and destroyed it, building over it the colonial capital Batavia. In April 1620, when Coen had decided to strike the English in the Bandas, news of the Anglo-Dutch treaty of cooperation signed in Europe reached the archipelago.

Blockades of Manila (1620–1629) with Dutch fleets based mainly in Japan

In the third phase of the Dutch-Spanish rivalry (1620–1629) the Dutch felt ready to take over the entire Moluccas-Japan corridor, and they thought that the moment to set foot in Macao, or the Pescadores, or anywhere else like Taiwan, had arrived. If successful, this stronghold would open the door to a total control of the China coastal trade, but they did not forget that, being at war with Spain, they needed first to get rid of the Spaniards in the Philippines. This time, the Spaniards tried to counter the Dutch by putting a fortress in the north of Taiwan (1626).

The Anglo-Dutch cooperation against Portuguese-Spanish trade (1620–1623)

The Dominican Martínez had stated in his report that there was nothing to fear from the Dutch because at that moment they were engaged in war with the English (*SIT*, 46). However, precisely on 17 June 1619, the English and the Dutch governments signed the agreement known as the "Treaty of Defense" by which they united forces to fight against the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly in the Far East. The treaty allowed England to have one-third of the spice trade leaving two-thirds for the Dutch. The news of this agreement reached Bantam and Batavia in the spring of 1620 and forced the English and Dutch to put aside their old grievances and return confiscated goods. Under this new treaty with the English, the "Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense" was created. All the commanders would form a council in charge of taking all the relevant decisions.[22]

Table 1.4
Initial composition of the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense

Dutch ships		English ships	
Galleons	**Commanders**	**Galleons**	**Commanders**
"Haarlem"	Admiral William Janszoon	"Maan"	Admiral Robert Adams
"Trouw"	Vice Admiral Jacques Le Febvre	"Palsgrave"	Vice Admiral Charles Clefenger
"Bantan"	Captain Douwe Annesz	"Elizabeth"	Captain Edmund Lewis
"St. Michael"	Captain Leonard Jacobsz	"Bull"	Captain John Munden
"Hoop"	Chief Merchant Henry Vaecht	"Hope"	Captain Henry Carnaby

P. A. van Dyke, "The Anglo-Dutch fleet of Defense, 1618–1622," in *About and Around Formosa*, pp. 65–66

Just before the news of the Anglo-Dutch cooperation reached the East, the seventh Dutch blockade of Manila took place in 1620. The Dutch started their northern trip very late and, when going to Japan, they caught a sampan and a Portuguese frigate near Macao. Only three Dutch ships went to Manila to observe the situation and see if they had a chance to capture the galleon "San Nicolás," which was coming from Acapulco with two ships. The Dutch ships waited in Espíritu Santo Cape and later engaged in battle with "San Nicolas." The Dutch flagship was damaged and later sunk, but the two others managed to reach Hirado on 26 July. If we compare the timing of this blockade with the previous ones, the main difference is that the Dutch spent the rainy monsoon season in Japan, enabling them to prolong the blockade for several weeks.

Between January and June of 1621 the eighth blockade happened. This time the Spanish forces in Manila saw how the Dutch were accompanied for the first time by English warships. A few Spanish ships were there while others were absent or destroyed

by previous storms or fights. Fajardo was unable to do anything but to send a message to China to prevent the sangleys from coming to Manila,[23] and to hold the walled city against a possible attack that never happened. At the end of June, the Dutch and the English went back to Japan.

During this blockade, the Dutch and the English caught a Japanese ship, on board which were two missionaries, one Dominican and one Augustinian. The Dutch on their way to Japan feared the possible accusation that they had assaulted the Japanese ship. Therefore, upon arrival the attackers released the missionaries to the Japanese authorities to ingratiate themselves. According to the Spanish report of Jesuit Fr. Alonso Roman, the Dutch informed the Japanese that the only way to stop missionaries going to Japan was by destroying Macao and Manila, which they would be willing to do if they were provided with 3,000 to 4,000 Japanese warriors. The Japanese not only refused, but even ordered that these foreign ships were not to leave Japan with any Japanese on board.[24]

The ninth blockade of Manila occurred from December 1621 to May 1622. The Anglo-Dutch fleet started this blockade at the end of 1621—earlier than in previous years. In April 1622, they captured the sampan of the Macanese Salvador Díaz, who later witnessed many of the Dutch developments while he was held a prisoner. In May the Dutch were again off Cavite[25] and then moved towards Macao, where they blockaded the Portuguese colony from the middle of May to the middle of June. Something special happened at the same time. A big fleet of eight commanded by Cornelis Reijersen, which had left Batavia on 10 April, arrived to help the operations with orders given by Coen to establish a fortified settlement in the Pescadores and, if convenient, to attack Macao.

The English were disappointed because their equal partnership was destroyed; thus they split up with the Dutch and went to Japan. Eventually, the Dutch were defeated by the Portuguese; the remaining Dutch ships from the old Fleet of Defense along with some of Reijersen's ships created a new fleet, looking for places without European infrastructure. The Pescadores Islands were chosen for that (*SIT*, 63).

Table 1.5
Composition of the Reijersen Fleet, 1622

Ships	Tn	Complement	Captain
Zierichzee	800	221	Cornelis Reijersen
Groeningen	700	192	Willian Bontekoe
Oudt Delft	700	196	Andriessen
Enchuizen	500	165	D. Pietersen
De Gallias	220	91	D. Floris
De Engelsche Beer		96	L. Nanning
St. Nicholas		40	J. Constant
Paliacatta		23	J. Jacobsen

Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p. 76

The incident of Amboina (1623) and the Dutch arrival in Taiwan

The Anglo-Dutch cooperation formally ended after the "Amboina Incident" (February 1623), in which ten English traders, ten Japanese, and a Portuguese were put to death by the Dutch authorities, who considered them as intruders in the Dutch monopoly.[26] After that incident, the English ceased to be serious competitors in the great archipelago, which marked a new stage in the Dutch ascendancy in the Indies.

A new step forward of the Dutch bid for supremacy was their landing in Taiwan. The Fujian magistrate told the Dutch to move from the Pescadores and suggested they go to Taiwan, where the merchant-pirate Li Dan had the base of his network. Li Dan was a key person in these negotiations, while Díaz was the interpreter for the Dutch. At the end of 1623, the Dutch explored Taiwan and started to occupy the Tayouan area, using it to harass the Fujian-Manila trade (*SIT*, 62–70).

New Dutch offensives (1624–1625)

On 15 August 1624, the Spaniards thought that the Dutch would not come anymore that year (*SIT*, 57); but eventually they did and took a ship along with 30,000 pesos (*SIT*, 58).[27] The following year the Dutch resumed the blockade again, when on 4 February 1625 Captain Pieter Muyser arrived off Cavite. His first goal was to capture Chinese junks as he did on two occasions.[28] His second goal was, if possible, to attack Manila with the expected reinforcements, which were, however, never met up.[29] On 12 April, the Spaniards attacked Muyser's fleet somewhere between Cape Bolinao and Witter Island. Muyser lost his ship "Victoria," but the Dutch defended themselves and were easily permitted to leave the place. The Spanish Maestre de Campo and the former governor Jerónimo de Silva were accused of cowardice and imprisoned because they did not exploit the victory. However, in his defense, De Silva was able to prove that his galleon was the only one that really engaged in the fight. It is possible that Muyser went to Tayouan and spent the monsoon season there, because De Witt, the governor of Zeelandia, wrote to Governor General de Carpentier on 29 October, mentioning that he did not receive any complaints from China about the two junks captured by Muyser and the imprisoned Chinese. Nonetheless, the Dutch stopped their naval operations in the Philippines for a while, but continued cruising the seas between the coast of China and Manila.[30] At the beginning of 1626, the commercial situation was getting desperate in Manila, as we can see in this retrospective report of the Spanish governor to the king:

> Their object in fortifying it [the Zeelandia fort] now is that this place commands the passage of the ships from Chincheo (漳州) to this city [of Manila]. They have accomplished their end through the bribes which they have given to the mandarins, and the threats to rob them, as hitherto—namely, to secure the silks and carry them to Japan and Holland, as they are now doing, and take them away from this country, in this way ruining it, for

> there is nothing of importance except this commerce. This clearly shows the harm done [to us]. Of the 50 ships that have come to these islands, nothing came [except] 40 piculs of silk while the enemy [in Tayouan] had received 900, without counting the weaves. And, if it were not for what has come from Macao, the ships [for Nueva España] would have nothing to carry. (*SIT*, 81)

The moment for the Spaniards to initiate a new offensive had arrived. Taiwan was now the scenario of operations. They tried to prepare in the most discrete way, but it was impossible. News of this move soon reached Japan and was brought back to Batavia by the Dutch ship "Zierichzee." The whole preparation was known as early as at the beginning of February.[31] How was the counter-offensive prepared in Manila?

The third Spanish counter-offensive (Fernando de Silva, 1626): Taiwan as the main scenario

This new Spanish counter-offensive held Taiwan as its destination. We consider this counter-offensive by focusing on three moments (which we can read about in detail in the annexes 3, 5, and 6). In summary, we can say that the first one happened between February and May 1626. The moment was propitious, because for the very first time, during the regular months of blockade (December to July) in 1625, "the enemies didn't show up,"[32] as the bishop of Manila observed. Governor Fernando de Silva, expecting further attacks, developed a policy of defending the archipelago. The best defense was an attack, thus he organized a small Spanish fleet of two galleys. The fleet was under the command of Carreño, the commander of the Cagayano army which was moving around Ilocos from February to May. The fleet eventually received the order from De Silva and established a post in northern Taiwan. This was the first expedition of the entire counter-offensive. Besides the success of this timid counter-attack, other things also made it an auspicious time for the Spaniards, such as the arrival of the news from Macao—thanks to the information taken from the successful escape of Díaz in the April before—depicting the weak situation of the Dutch in Fort Zeelandia (Plate 5). As a consequence, the initial skepticism of Niño de Tavora, the newly arrived governor general, changed into an aggressive one in line with his predecessor.[33] The second moment occurred in August 1626. Tavora prepared the second expedition to expel the Dutch in Taiwan and to help those Spaniards who had established in the north. However, part of the fleet was destroyed by a storm and only a few ships managed to reach their destination (*SIT*, 89–90).[34] Finally, in August 1627, Tavora prepared the third expedition to expel the Dutch from Tayouan.[35] He personally commanded the fleet, leaving Manila on 17 August, but soon later, a storm prevented the fleet from continuing (*SIT*, 101).[36] The end of 1627 marked a change in the initiatives—the Spaniards renounced de facto the attack on Tayouan and began to work on establishing direct trade relations with China.

Spanish and Dutch dealings with the Japanese: The Tayouan and the Alcarazo Incidents

It is good to be reminded now of the role of the Japanese in this scenario. Both Dutch and Spaniards needed to be on good terms with them. The Dutch had important economic reasons since their main business was to conduct trade between China and Japan. On the other hand, in 1624 the Japanese had formally severed all their ties with Manila. The Spaniards tried to recover that relation, not only for economic reasons, but at least to give support to the persecuted missions in Japan, which the missionaries had never given up. But these aims resulted in a strong setback in both Dutch and Spanish camps for different but simultaneous reasons, in the so-called Tayouan Incident and Alcarazo Incident.

Pieter Nuyts was a twenty-nine-year-old lawyer when he arrived in Batavia in the service of the VOC, in 1627. After one month he was appointed governor of the nascent Dutch colony in Formosa and one month later was sent as ambassador to the shogun. His lack of experience and his arrogance antagonized the Japanese so much that the shogun refused to receive him and he had to leave Japan after his failed mission. Therefore the Dutch trade with Japan suffered for his behavior. Nuyts returned to Tayouan where other problems, like the third Spanish armada and the lack of success opening trade with China, were awaiting him. In Tayouan he put pressure on the Chinese but especially among the Japanese vessels visiting Zeelandia who asked for taxes. These complained to him saying that before the Dutch had arrived they were there trading. Hamada Yahei, the leader of the Japanese community revolted (Tayouan Incident, 29 June–5 July 1628)[37] and went to Japan with some Taiwan natives, pretending to be Formosan rulers, offering the control of the island to the shogun. After hearing this news from Hamada the shogunate declared an embargo on VOC merchants that lasted until 1632.[38]

After hearing this news the Spaniards in Manila became very happy because they saw that the opportunity to re-establish trade with Japan may have arrived. But the optimism only lasted a short time. General Alcarazo, one of the commanders of the failed armada to Taiwan in September 1627, passed by Siam in May 1628. He found there a red seal Japanese junk that—ignoring the Manila policy of appeasing the Japanese—he burned in revenge for a previous grievance.[39] Consequently the tension between Manila and the Japanese authorities rose sharply. Nuyts tried now to take advantage of this uncomfortable situation between the Spaniards and the Japanese. He wrote a detailed report to the council of the VOC and explained the situation, emphasizing such a point: "We must do our utmost as to destroy the trade between China and Manila, for, as soon as this is done, we firmly believe your Excellencies will see the Spaniards leave the Moluccas and even Manila of their own accord."[40]

Nuyts, still unaware of the Japanese revolt that was going to happen in his own palace, even ventured in 1629 with a small fleet led by the ships "Domburch," "Diemen," "Slooten," and the junk "Fortuyn," to evaluate the strength of the Spaniards in Quelang. The "Domburch" drew nice maps of the Spanish fortresses in Tamsui and Quelang (see Plate 7), but in the end, no offensive was made. It is ironic that the recently arrived

Spanish governor to Quelang was precisely the same Alcarazo, whose cannons in the fort of Santo Domingo in Tamsui repelled the ships sent by Nuyts.[41] This was the only military confrontation, since during the next decade the hostilities between the Dutch and the Spaniards ceased in Taiwan and the trade between Fujian and Manila was restored. As in the Moluccas, both powers coexisted on the same land.

The 1630's stalemate (1630–1639)

The fourth phase in the Dutch-Spanish rivalry (1630–1639) was a very stable period without special conflicts, although the Spanish monarch tried unsuccessfully to enforce a policy of uniting his forces with Portuguese armies to fight against the Dutch in all occasions possible.

The Spanish projects of Union of Arms

The count-duke of Olivares, who acted as prime minister of Philip IV from 1621 to 1640, inspired the politics of the so-called Union of Arms. His political aim was to have all the territories under the same Crown contribute according to their capacity to the defense of the empire. This system took shape in 1625 with promising results. The Crown recovered Bahia (Brazil), which had been seized by the Dutch the year before. However, the duke's idea failed on the whole and even caused in 1640 the secession of Portugal and Catalonia (which lasted until 1653). In the East, the attempt to implement this system aimed to unite the Portuguese forces of the East Indies with those of the Philippines to oppose the Dutch forces. This never happened, although several orders were issued.

According to Benjamin Videira Pires, as early as 1609, when commerce between the Portuguese and the Spanish colonies was prohibited, it was ordered that the governments in Manila and Macao should help each other to face the Dutch and English menace. Pires also mentioned that Philip IV sent messages to promote the cooperation between the Spanish and the Portuguese armies against the Dutch in 1622, 1624, 1630, 1634, and 1639.[42] On the other hand, we are able to trace along the first half of this decade the moments when the king applied this policy particularly to the case of Isla Hermosa by sending messages to the governors of Macao and Manila to cooperate in expelling the Dutch under the Union of Arms scheme. We have registered them in the years 1627 (*SIT*, 108–109), 1628 (*SIT*, 116), 1629 (*SIT*, 136), 1630 (*SIT*, 143), 1632 (*SIT*, 159), 1633 (*SIT*, 212), and 1639 (*SIT*, 295). But the orders were never implemented.

The fourth Spanish symbolic "counter-offensive" (Corcuera, 1636–1637)

During these years, the Manila initiatives were addressed against the Moors of Mindanao, not the Dutch. The king of Mindanao, Kudarat, had sent a huge predatory fleet in 1633 to the Visayas (Central Philippines). Facing this problem, Governor Cerezo de Salamanca created a fortress in Zamboanga, from where Spanish ships could control

Moor movements. But in April 1636, Kudarat succeeded in dispatching a second fleet ravaging the Central Philippines. The first successful Spanish offensive took place on 21 December 1636, when the governor of the Zamboanga fort met the Moors in Punta Flechas (Cape Arrows), killing 300 enemies and rescuing 120 Christian natives and a Recollect friar. This encouraged the new Spanish governor, Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, to organize a strong punitive expedition with four companies at the beginning of 1637 and to decide whether or not to discontinue the forts in Zamboanga and Isla Hermosa (*SIT*, 262–271). In March, they reached Lamitan and faced Kudarat forces. Corcuera returned victoriously to Manila at the end of May, after signing an agreement with Cachil Moncay, the nephew of Kudarat.[43] Nevertheless, we can mention the last—but just as symbolic—counter-offensive against the Dutch, which took place just after the previous events. Pedro de Mendiola, the Ternate governor, sent two small galleys to fight against two passing Dutch ships; but the initial advantage of the galleys ended without consequence. This was a very relevant image of how the balance of power had changed definitively in favor of the Dutch.

From the falling of Malacca to the peace of Münster (1640–1648)

The fifth phase of what the Spaniards called "Dutch wars" (1640–1648) started at the same time as the independence of Portugal from Spain. The Dutch conquered Malacca from the Portuguese (1641) and Quelang from the Spaniards (1642), and resumed strong blockades of Manila. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Munster (one of those configuring the Westphalia Peace of 1648) between Spain and Holland ended the Dutch pressure, and the Spanish colony in the Philippines continued for two and a half centuries.

The Dutch conquest of San Salvador (1641–1642)

War erupted again in 1640. The Dutch started furious offensives against the Iberian possessions throughout the Orient. Firstly, on 14 January 1641, after having been in Portuguese hands for 130 years, Malacca fell. Goa was cut off from Manila, which isolated the Portuguese from the Spanish territories—in fact, these two countries also became disunited in Europe by a Portuguese revolt for independence. The pressure did not stop; a new attempt was made in the following year. In August 1641, the Dutch attempted for the first time to take the Spanish post in Quelang but failed (see annex 14). In 1642, between February and July, the Dutch navy cruised around the Cabo Espíritu Santo (Holy Spirit Cape) and Manila. Finally, in a second attempt made in August, the Dutch succeeded in taking the Spanish post in Quelang. How did it actually happen? On 10 August, Captain Hendrik Harouse arrived in Fort Zeelandia from the Pescadores with his soldiers. The council of Tayouan decided to send him on a military expedition to expel the Spaniards from Quelang. The main reason for this decision was that the southern monsoon was running to an end and it was impossible to predict when the promised reinforcements from Batavia would arrive. On 17 August, Harouse's fleet sailed to the north. It was a fleet 690 strong: 369 soldiers, 222 sailors, 48 Chinese, 8 Javanese, 30 Quinamese (from an old kingdom in the middle of Vietnam), and 13 slaves.

Table 1.6
Dutch fleets for the conquest of San Salvador city, August–September, 1642

Harouse advanced fleet		Lamotius main fleet	
Galleons and ships	**Captains**	**Galleons**	**Captains**
"Wydenes"	Captain Hendrik Harouse	"Achtersloot"	–
"Kievith"	Captain Johan van Linga	"Lillo"	–
"Zantvoort"	Steersman Simon Corneliz	"Oudewaeter"	–
"Waterhond"			
"Waterhond"			
"Waeckenboey"			
"Goede Fortuyn"			
"Goede Hoope"			

Source: *SIT*, 379–382, 389

The battle started on August 19 and the Spaniards surrendered on 26 August. The chronology of the events was as follows: the long-awaited reinforcements finally arrived in Tayouan on 5 September 1642 under the command of General Johannes Lamotius who bore orders from Batavia to conquer Quelang. At that time, the results of Harouse's campaign were not yet known. This was why the Dutch governor Traudenius and his council decided to dispatch Lamotius's fleet to Quelang to assist Harouse. However, in the short period between the signing of the instruction and the departure of Lamotius's fleet, the chief steersman Simon Cornelis unexpectedly showed up in Tayouan with a huge pilot boat, bearing the news that Quelang had been conquered.[44] Nevertheless, Lamotius departed for Quelang on 9 September. He arrived there on the 13 September and took over command.

The last pressure against Manila and the final peace

Between 1642 and 1648, the Dutch continued to cut off the trade of the Chinese junks bound for Manila. They created great naval pressure in the Philippine waters. The first encounter happened in 1644, but the main one was in 1646, which included several attempts. On 9 August of that year, instructions of the VOC command in Batavia were given to Marten Gerritsz de Fries, who was then in Capul Island (Central Philippines) waiting for the galleon from Acapulco.[45] The instructions include: (1) to try to capture the Manila ship returning from Ternate; (2) to conquer the Spanish fort Costy and demolish it; (3) to cruise in the areas of Embocadero (archipelago gate), Espíritu Santo Cape, and Cagayan, in order to catch the Spanish silver ships coming from Acapulco; (4) to attempt closing Manila Bay to impede the returning galleon from going back to New Spain; and (5) to cut the Manila-Fujian trade.

De Fries surrounded two Spanish galleons and another two ships in the Bay of Tingaw (near the Embocadero del Espíritu Santo), where the Spaniards were waiting

for the arrival of the silver galleon. The blockade lasted one month. The Dutch had to leave because they were losing too many men for lack of provisions. The Dutch retreated and the Spaniards pursued them. Finally, on 30 July 1646, a furious battle ensued, in which the Dutch lost the "Breskens," the "Wisscher," and other minor ships. The conditions were so bad and scurvy became so serious that a boat went ashore on Camarines Island. De Fries reached the village of Tagesuan and got a booty of "60 sixty head of cattle, which were used with satisfaction in restoring the fleet condition."[46] In a different document De Fries mentioned that their failure was due to the diligence of the Spaniards, who set up fires as warning signals all along the coastline, in case any Dutch ambush occurred.[47] De Fries wrote in the following year (1647) that after his arrival to Tagima Island to await the Spanish ships from Ternate, a boat from Zamboanga, under the command of a Spanish lieutenant and with fifteen Pampangos, came to await the Spanish fleet. De Fries took the lieutenant prisoner and got relevant information that was forwarded to Batavia,[48] when ending his mission. A new attempt was made in June 1647—Admiral Martin Gertzen attacked Cavite twice. During the second attack he met his death and his flagship also sank. The rest of the armada went on to plunder the Bataan coast. The long series of Dutch aggressions ended as the news of the Treaty of Münster (1648) between Spain and the Netherlands (in the context of the Peace of Westphalia) reached the East.

After this half century of Dutch pressure, what was the final result of this colonial clash between these European powers? Schurz summarizes in this way:

> When the long series of Dutch aggressions ended in 1648, the Spaniards still held the Philippines and the Acapulco line was yet to continue for over a century and a half. But the traffic's splendid possibilities of expansion had been checked. Of course, the restrictive policy of the Spanish government played its part in this result, but the cost of the Dutch attacks was irreparable. Not a galleon was taken by the enemy, though a few were driven ashore to be broken up by the waves, or scuttled to prevent their capture. However, to the comparatively slight loss of cargo that accompanied this sacrifice of the ship themselves, there must be counted in the cost of the Dutch wars: the capture of many Chinese and Japanese vessels with cargo for the galleons; the drain of means from a small population; the diversion into defense against the Dutch of money and energies that should have gone into commerce; the complete cessation in some years of traffic, and so, the temporary disruption of the whole economic life of the colony; the entrance of vigorous competition into the Chinese fields, which the Spaniards had hitherto enjoyed largely to themselves; and the almost complete loss of all Spain's possibilities in the coveted spice trade.[49]

Spaniards and Dutch in Taiwan: Rivals with a same fate

During the time in which both colonial powers coincided in Taiwan, their rivalry did not reach the level of confrontation but one of mutual mistrust and permanent observation. This situation started in 1627, after the last Spanish Armada, and was broken in 1641

when the VOC felt confident enough to oust the Spaniards from Taiwan. Now we are going to see how these colonial powers were confronted with two similar challenges and to see how they faced them. By comparing the simultaneous Alcarazo and Tayouan Incidents we can understand the way they were still pushed by Renaissance optimism. On the other hand, by comparing the ways the Spaniards and Dutch experienced their defeats in 1642 and 1662 respectively we will explore how Baroque pessimism started impregnating their policies.

Considerations on the Alcarazo and the Tayouan Incidents

The implications of the Alcarazo Incident—that we explained earlier—were handled in Manila like a state affair. On 19 January 1629, the governor summoned a council of theologians and lawyers to analyze the situation. The council concluded that the burning of the Japanese junk was unlawful, because of the lack of authority of Alcarazo for that action; therefore "he was obliged to compensate the Japanese for the damage he had infringed on them." Nevertheless, seven months later the secretary of that council recognized that the only action that the council had taken up to the present was to free the Japanese, "and send them well provisioned to the governor of Nagasaki. [Additionally] the value of the confiscated cargo will be compensated to their owners as long as Japan opens their ports to the Manila's ships … [And the reason why still there is an] omission of the payment is to consider that the Spanish king has legitimate cause for a 'just war' against the Japanese."[50] But it is surprising that after reaching that conclusion, Tavora—instead of forcing Alcarazo to implement the compensation—sent Alcarazo to Isla Hermosa as the new governor of Quelang to contain the Japanese menace, by reinforcing the defences of Tamsui. After his arrival in northern Taiwan Alcarazo reported to Tavora saying that everything was already prepared for a Japanese invasion, something that he "would not fear at all, even if they dare to come with all their might, that it is said may reach 40,000 soldiers."[51]

On the other hand, how did the Dutch react to the crisis created by the Tayouan Incident? As we have said earlier, the Dutch-Japanese dis-encounter started in 1627 during the arrogant Nuyts's embassy to Japan, continued during the mentioned Tayouan Incident (1628), and reached its peak in 1630 when Nuyts maltreated the bogus Formosan embassy to Japan and the Japanese subjects who masterminded the whole affair. The situation grew so tense that the Japanese formally stopped the VOC ships in Japan[52] and Nuyts was recalled to Batavia to be judged. At the same time, he was replaced by Putmants in Fort Zeelandia. This story was even recorded in Spanish records (*SIT*, 137). What happened to Nuyts in Batavia? We can answer that something similar to Alcarazo in Manila. He was found negligent (even guilty of promiscuity and illegal trade) and on 9 May 1630 was dismissed from his responsibilities and sent to prison, awaiting a formal judgement, although he was released from imprisonment after the arrival of his wife the following year. But in 1632 something happened that made his case different from the Alcarazo one. The High Government of the Indies decided to send Nuyts to Japan to account for his past actions at the Court of the Shogun. As Leonard Blussé pointed out,

"This extradition of a Company servant to a foreign despot was an unprecedented step in the annals of the Company."[53] This action pleased the Japanese very much, and not only was former trade resumed and expanded but also they released Nuyts after four years of imprisonment.

Were these two government resolutions different? We think that in the final analysis they were of the same nature, representing a still-alive Renaissance mentality common in both colonial powers of solving problems with audacity and self-confidence, while the differences show clearly each country's psyche. Alcarazo was declared guilty, but nothing was enforced against him; he was even sent on a bolder assignment to the Japanese frontier. The case of Nuyts seems the opposite but not if looked at from the VOC point of view. This apparent surrender was another real offensive, subtle enough to win the final battle of getting back the commerce at the expense of Nuyts, who acted as a scapegoat. Spaniards, like Japanese, were bonded to the "king's arms reputation," or to the "primacy of honour," while for the merchant nascent republic of Holland "strategy, opportunity and subtle diplomacy" was their main paradigm.

The Spanish and Dutch defeats

Spain was defeated virtually by the Dutch in Taiwan since 1637 when the newly arrived governor general Corcuera decided on a progressive dismantling of the fortresses and a reduction of the soldiers. Nevertheless, the decisive battle happened five years later. Corcuera had arrived in Philippines in 1635 after serving two years as the governor of Panama (1632–1634). The main concern of his policy was to control the Mindanao area disputed by Muslims. He was a brave man who even went to the military southern expedition of 1637 against the Moors. But the fact that he made these moves by diminishing the strength of Isla Hermosa reflected not only a change towards a more conservative policy but also a mentality that had immediate consequences. The Dominicans stopped sending new missionaries to Taiwan, and they focused their activity on the island only as their main jumping board to China. No wonder, this time coincides with the final decline of the Spanish strength in Europe.

The end of the military career of Gonzalo Portillo, the last governor of Quelang, was a clear example of this decline and change of mentality. We know very well his life as a soldier reading the appointment of the general governor for his new post in Quelang (*SIT*, 309–313). After initiating his martial life fighting in Flanders, he moved to Mexico in 1611, where he enrolled as a simple soldier. Four years later, probably at the age of twenty-five, he arrived in Terrenate and from then on, he participated in all the main battles of the Spaniards in the Philippines. Considered a trusted soldier, he was assigned to difficult missions and promoted for his bravery. Around 1625, he went to Manila and two years later he joined the third Spanish armada against the Dutch of Tayouan. He also accompanied Alcarazo during his expedition to Siam. His daring behavior led to his promotion as sergeant major of Terrenate—a full reward for this Renaissance soldier—when he was around forty years old. There, he continued fighting against the Moors, conquering their caracoas, and was even in charge of the Spanish fortress of

the neighboring island of Tidore. Five years later, in 1633, he went back to Manila and took the post of captain of the Spanish infantry in the fort and garrison of the Chinese town of Tondo. Simultaneously he was appointed mayor and commander of the troops of Caraga (Mindanao), from where he went in 1637 accompanying Corcuera in his campaign against the Moors, particularly against the strong king Kudarat. So enduring in the battlefield, he was wounded by an arquebus on the left ear. Back in Tondo he fought in the general uprising of the Chinese in 1639 that ended in a massacre. After considering his career, Corcuera thought that he was the ideal man to replace the outgoing governor of Isla Hermosa or at least the only available one, despite his shortcomings, like his lack of administrative knowledge or his illiteracy, accusations that he received later when he ended in disgrace.

When he became the governor of Quelang, Portillo was about fifty years old. There he evaluated the defences and tried to rebuild some, even against the orders of Corcuera. He repelled the first Dutch attack in 1641 with arrogant words that he was not afraid because he had met them before in Flanders. But the astonishing thing that happened to this professional soldier one year later is that he surrendered the fortress almost without a formal battle, risking the minimum. This behavior raises doubts whether he felt able to defend the fortress with the meager help sent to him by Corcuera (for which he blamed him constantly), or was he following a secret order of Corcuera of avoiding a formal battle to reach an honorable and fast unbloody conclusion. We think that his consistent career makes unthinkable the first possibility, because he was clearly ordered "to occupy the fortress in my name [i.e., Corcuera] unto death; never to surrender or give it up to an enemy or to any person other than me" (*SIT*, 312). But the second situation is also difficult to believe, because that would mean dishonor and severe punishment. But Portillo deserves a third possibility to understand his behavior and his fate. Upon his arrival in Isla Hermosa, he might have experienced the contradictory policy of Corcuera and he could not defend a position that had been dismantled on purpose a few years earlier. Initially he might have been shocked, but later all the circumstances would lead him to a deep disillusionment and a new perspective of life, that the Spaniards call the Baroque desengaño, one that Don Quixote experienced after his defeat on the beach of Barcelona. In other words, he might have decided that faced by an eventual serious Dutch attack he would act ambiguously. He would not surrender the fortress, but he neither—for the first time in his life—would send his soldiers to an unreasonable death. And he would take this responsibility alone, without expecting any human understanding, fearing how he would be legally treated, but at peace with his conscience. In his exile in Batavia he sent letters to the king imploring acquittal of his charges. Later, when his soldiers returned to Manila he moved to the friendly kingdom of Makassar, appealing again to the Spanish king and awaiting news of this. But the king ordered the Manila officers to capture him to be judged. We do not know what happened later because we lose track of him in 1645.

On the other hand, observing the moments of the last governor of Fort Zeelandia Frederich Coyett (1656–1662) in his post, we can see he was a man of a similar fate. After he experienced a successful career he was left alone almost with his own resources

to face Koxinga's invasion; or at least he felt so. Was he abandoned by Batavia or was it a problem of communication and bad luck? It is true that, despite the opposition between Verburgh (governor general at Batavia) and Coyett, the requested reinforcements, namely the fleet of Admiral Jan van der Laan, reached Fort Zeelandia on time for its defense, although most of them set sail for a Macao blockade before the arrival of Koxinga. It is also true that upon the arrival of news in Batavia of Koxinga's attack, new strong reinforcements were sent to Tayouan under Jacob Caeuw, who arrived to Zeelandia in the middle of the Chinese siege. The Dutch defenders received them with great joy, but in the final analysis this fleet did not accomplish very much, because they engaged in diversionary actions, and Caeuw went back to Batavia on the verge of the Dutch defeat. At the end, Batavia made Coyett the only one responsible for the loss of Taiwan. He did not escape like Portillo, and spent three years jailed in Batavia and was later confined for life on an island near Banda. When he was finally pardoned in 1674, thanks to the petition of his children and the intercession of the Prince of Orange, he wrote his magnificent Baroque account *Neglected Formosa*, presenting his version of the whole Formosa affair.[54] He put the blame on Verburgh, for his "deep hatred against Coyett," also on Van der Laan for his "insatiable avarice … in the Macao campaign," and finally on Caeuw, for "his faithless cowardice in fleeing from the siege with ships and the best men, thereby abandoning the besieged to their fate." *Neglected Formosa* is a monument to the thesis that the honorable times had long gone, and honorable service would not be rewarded anymore. As Coyett said in his concluding remarks: "But although Governor Coyett and his Council, both before and during Koxinga's siege, conducted themselves in everything like honorable men, it was all in vain, nor did it save them from being challenged in Batavia and imprisoned."[55]

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. See José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "Observaciones sobre traductores y traducciones en la frontera cultural del Mar de la China (siglos XVI y XVII)," *Proceedings of the V International Conference of the Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas Asiáticos (AIHA)*, Taipei, 8–9 January 2005, pp. 388–405.
2. See José Antonio Cervera Jiménez, *Ciencia misionera en Oriente. Los misioneros españoles como vía para los intercambios científicos y culturales entre el Extremo Oriente y Europa en los siglos XVI y XVII*, Cuadernos de Historia de la Ciencia, 12, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2001.

CHAPTER 1

1. For the relevance of the "Santa Catalina" affair and the role of Grotius, see Peter Borschberg, "Hugo Grotius, East India Trade and the King of Johor," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 30 (2), September 1999, pp. 225–248; and "The seizure of the Sta. Catarina revisited: The Portuguese empire in Asia, VOC politics and the origins of the Dutch-Johor Alliance (c.1602–1616)," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 33 (1), 2002, pp. 31–62.
2. In the same trip the famous English captain William Adams was on board. After reaching Japan, he settled there and became an advisor of the shogun.
3. William Lytte Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, reprint: Historical Conservation Society, Manila, 1989, p. 283.
4. To know the preparation of this big fleet see F. Navas del Valle and P. Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. 5, pp. clxxiii–cci; to see a detailed table of the armada, *Ibid*., pp. ccxliii–ccxlv; to see how the conquest took place, *Ibid*., pp. ccxvi–ccxxix; to see the initial organization and problems, *Ibid*., pp. cclxxxvi–cccxiv.
5. Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las islas Malucas*, Madrid, 1609 (Reprint: Polifemo, Madrid, 2001). The classical account of Argensola on the Moluccas campaign includes many other details on China, Java, Sumatra, etc., the voyages of Sir Francis Drake and the one of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the exploration to the Strait of Magellan, etc.
6. This was a strong fleet of thirteen ships, which was dispatched by the VOC in Holland in 1607 under the command of Pieter Willemsz and François de Wittert. Its objectives

were to prey on the Portuguese possessions in Africa and the East Indies and to avenge the defeat in Moluccas in 1606.

7. This fleet could have been the same one that took Juan Cevicos prisoner when he was returning from Japan to the Philippines, after the shipwreck of galleon "San Francisco," of which he was the captain and the *maestre* (*SIT*, 167). It is interesting to mention that this first Dutch blockade of Manila was extended during the monsoon season (August–September), something subsequent blockades will avoid.
8. See Peter Borschberg, "Security, VOC penetration and Luso-Spanish co-operation: The armada of Philippines Governor Juan de Silva in the Straits of Singapore, 1616," *Iberians in the Singapore-Melaka Area and Adjacent Regions* (16th to 18th Century), Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Fundaçao Oriente, Lisboa, 2004, pp. 35–62.
9. See the whole affair in Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VI, pp. cccxxvi ff. To know the *oidores* opposition to this fleet see *Ibid*., p. ccclxviii; to see the quality of the ships of the armada, *Ibid*., pp. ccclxi–ccclxvii. See also BRPI, vol. XVII, pp. 251–280.
10. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 280.
11. We know many details of this armada thanks to the report "Relación que hizo al general Sebastián Vizcaino un flamenco llamado Pedro de Lest … que huyó en Acapulco" (Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VI, pp. ccclxix–ccclxxii).
12. The expedition of Spielbergen had started in Holland on 23 June 1614. He went to America plundering the coast of Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Acapulco, from where he crossed the Pacific Ocean and reached Manila. A vivid description can be found in Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VI, pp. ccclxix–ccclxxv; regarding the harm caused by Spielbergen, *Ibid*., pp. ccclxxiv–ccclxxviii.
13. In Ternate, another deserter, the Dutchman Arnauld de Capeau escaped to the city of El Rosario controlled by the Spaniards. The Spaniards interrogated him and learned of the former odyssey and the present whereabouts of the Spielbergen fleet (Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo …,* vol. VI, pp. ccclxxix–ccclxxxiv).
14. A description of the events can be read in the *carta annua* of the Jesuits written by Father Otazo (Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VI, pp. ccclxxxiv–cccxci; also in *BRPI*, vol. XVII, pp. 64 ff. For some echoes of this blockade, see: Álvarez, *Formosa* ..., pp. 35–36; *SIT*, 54).
15. For a detailed account of the battle see Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VI, pp. cccxcviii–cdvi.
16. *BRPI*, vol. XVII, p. 74.
17. Bartolomé Martínez had arrived in 1611 in the Philippines. The next year he stayed in Macao exploring the possibility of founding a Dominican mission. Later he stayed assigned in Binondo, where he mastered Chinese before becoming the vicar of the parian of Manila. See José María González, *Historia de las misiones dominicas en China*, 1732–1700, pp. 41–44, and Pablo Fernández, *Dominicos donde nace el Sol*, Barcelona, 1958, p. 76.
18. Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VII–I, p. xxxii.
19. Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* ..., vol. VII–I: a) letter of the Jesuit Manuel Ribeyro, who just arrived from Terrenate (pp. xviii–xx); b) letter from Lucas Vergara Gaviria, the governor of Moluccas (pp. xxii–xxiv), who reflected the strong rivalry between Dutch and English; c) letter from the king of Tidore written to the governor of Philippines (pp. xxiv–xxv); d) report of Francisco Rubián de Zubieta, the scribe of the ship "Nuestra Señora de Salvación" (pp. xx–xxii), who was taken prisoner by the Dutch in 1616 and forced to accompany them for two years.

20. "Relaçao breve de ilha de Ternate, Tydore e mais ilhas Malucas, aonde temos fortalezas, e presidios, e das forças, naos e fortalezas, que o enemigo olandes tem por aquelas partes. Malacca, 1619," *Documentaçao Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol. 2, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, 1962, pp. 49–55.
21. As far as we know, there are not studies on the figures of spices trade. The report of Grau y Monfalcón, referring to the situation of 1635, said that the total annual crop of Moluccan cloves was 2,816,00 lbs., of which the Dutch secured 1,098,000 lbs. and the Portuguese and the Spanish 1,718,000 in total. But these figures do not take into account those sold in Macassar. See John Villiers, "Manila and Maluku: Trade and warfare in the eastern archipelago, 1580–1640," *Philippine Studies* 30, p. 158.
22. *Ibid*., p. xxxvi. For a complete description of the activities of the fleet see P. A. van Dyke, "The Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense, 1618–1622," in Leonard Blussé (ed.), *About and Around Formosa*, T'sao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, Taipei, 2003, pp. 68–81.
23. Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo …*, vol. VII, p. xxxviii.
24. *Ibid*., pp. xlv–xlvi. In fact, this affair had more consequences. The two missionaries and the captain of the ship suffered martyrdom, the Christian persecution in Japan resumed, and the relations with the Manila authorities worsened. In fact, Japan severed formally its relations with Manila two years later. See these details in chapter 6.
25. In fact, the excuse Governor Fajardo gave to his wife on 11 May to leave his house, with the motive to spy on her, was that he was going to check the situation of the Dutch in front of Cavite. This move was fatal for Mrs. Fajardo (Catalina Zambrano) and her lover Juan de Mesa, as the storytellers were repeating generation after generation in Manila.
26. The Dutch at Amboina feared that the English would attack back and took the preventive measure of assaulting the neighboring British East Indian Company factory in 1623. This problem became a national event in England, but it was partially cooled down after compensation was paid to the relatives of the victims. After this massacre, the British turned their interest to India.
27. Another simultaneous episode in 1624 was the Dutchman Jacques l'Hermite's threat to the galleon commerce in South America. After the failure of his fleet, he went to the Dutch posts in the East Indies.
28. In one of them, 219 Chinese residents of Manila or other towns of Luzon were on board the junks on their return trip from the Chincheo River. Muyser followed the instructions originally given to Witerboon on 22 May 1625, caught these Chinese, and brought them back to Batavia.
29. The States General of Holland and Prince Maurits sent a fleet of eleven ships sailing east via America and Acapulco to meet Muyser's six ships in Cavite—but they did not meet at all. The *interim* governor Fernando de Silva (1625–1626) wrote in a letter to the king on August 1625 that these eleven ships left Holland in 1624 and caught three more ships in Peru; all of them reached Terrenate with 800 men on board. See Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo …*, vol. VII–1, p. lxiii.
30. It is worth mentioning now the adventure of the Jesuit Artemio de las Cortes. He left Manila on 25 January 1625 in the direction of Macao. But strong winds brought the ship to China and the ship wrecked on 14 February near Zhangzhou. After one year of captivity in China he was sent to Macao, and from there he reached Manila on 20 May 1626. This long journey allowed him to write a very important report of the Chinese daily life in Southern Fujian. See Artemio de las Cortes, *Viaje de China*, Alianza Universidad, Madrid, 1991.

31. See Yang Jie-yen 楊杰彥, 《荷據時代台灣史》 (The history of Taiwan during the Dutch period), 聯經出版, 台北, 2000, p. 67.
32. As stated by Bishop Serrano in a letter to the king. See *BRPI*, vol. XXII, p. 89.
33. For the detailed account see annex 3.
34. For the detailed account see annex 5.
35. For the detailed account see annex 6.
36. It was probably this pressure that diverted the Dutch action towards Macao—during that summer, four Dutch ships set up a blockade of the port in order to capture the annual nao bound for Japan. On 18 August, four galliots under the command of Captain Joao Soares Vivas confronted the Dutch ships. They destroyed the flagship "Ouwerkerk" and dispersed the others. According to Boxer, the Portuguese asked Manila for help, and Governor Niño de Tavora sent the galleon "Peña de Francia" to Macao—it was one of those ships initially bound for Isla Hermosa—but as it arrived at Macao, the problem was already settled. C. R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, Fundaçao Oriente & Centro de Estudios Marítimos de Macao, 1960, p. 98.
37. See W. M. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, reprint: Taipei, Southern Materials Center, 1987, 1992, pp. 42–51.
38. For more details see *Ibid*., pp. 38–51. Also in Leonard Blussé, "Bull in a China Shop. Pieter Nuyts in China and Japan (1627–1636)," Leonard Blussé (ed.), *About and Around Formosa*, T'sao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, Taipei, 2003, pp. 95–110.
39. In 1624, Sergeant Major Fernando de Silva going from Macao to Manila passed by Siam. There he showed a very arrogant attitude that the natives helped by the Japanese chopped his head to him and to most of his companions. Only thirty of them were sent to prison and the king of Siam confiscated the whole cargo. The Spaniards sent a diplomatic mission to clarify the incident in 1625 under the command of Andrés López de Azaldegui, but did not succeed in getting the confiscated cargo. See Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo …*, VII–1, p. xlix; Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangélica*, pp. 240–241; and Charles Ralph Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Amacau*, Fundación Oriente and Centro de Estudios Marítimos de Macao, Macao, 1960, p. 99.
40. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 283. Yang, based on the records of Batavia (*DB*, vol. 1, p. 99), also stressed the same idea; see Yang Jie-yen 楊杰彥, 《荷據時代台灣史》 (The history of Taiwan during the Dutch period), p. 68.
41. See annex 7.
42. Benjamin Videira Pires, *A viagen de comércio Macau-Manila*, Museu Marítimo, Macao, 1994, pp. 19–22.
43. See Carlos Quirino, "First newsletter in the Philippines," *Journal of the Philippine National Historical Society*, 1957, pp. 169–178.
44. VOC 1140, (1646III), ff. 470–473; VOC 1140, (1643) ff. 309–312; VOC 1140, (1643III) ff. 328–330.
45. VOC 1160, f. 454.
46. VOC 1170, f. 475.
47. VOC 1160, f. 466.
48. VOC 1160, f. 455.
49. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 287.
50. The reasons for this "just war" were four: (1) the Japanese have prohibited the trade to oppose Christian propaganda; (2) they have refused to listen to Spanish ambassadors from Manila, aiming to foster peace among both kingdoms; (3) there were previous

grievances that have not produced yet a Japanese apology, like in the case of the pillaging of the galleon "San Felipe," in 1597; and, finally (4), that the Japanese always have intended to conquer the Philippines since the arrival of the Spaniards. For the whole "Alcarazo Incident" see Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, VII–1, p. clxi.

51. Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, VII–1, p. clxiv.
52. In fact, there was not a total suppression but just an important reduction of arrivals of Dutch ships, see W. Z. Mulder, *Hollanders in Hirado*, pp. 281–288.
53. Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, VII–1, p. 106.
54. C. E. S., *Verwaarloosde Formosa*, 1675. English version in W. M. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch* (London, 1903), SMC, Taipei, 1992, pp. 383–492.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

CHAPTER 2

1. At the very beginning of the conquest of America the conquistadores applied the Spanish medieval methods of controlling the new lands taken from the Moors. First, they followed a system by which the soldiers that have participated in the conquest received as a reward a share of Indians to work in plantations or in mines, that is why the system was called *repartimiento* (in Spanish *repartir* means to distribute, to *share out*). Very soon the system proved to be inefficient because of the diminishment of the natives—not accustomed to a regular work—that the system brought along. Then, it was substituted by the so-called *encomienda system*, also from feudal origin (in Spanish *encomendar* means "to entrust"). The *encomienda* was the land entrusted temporally to the *encomendero,* who received tributes from the natives living there, and had the possibility of asking them to render other services, like to work a particular number of days for him. On the other hand, the *encomenderos* had obligations towards the Indians entrusted to him, for example to organize their life, to predispose them to organized work, and to provide them Christian teaching. The legislation regarding the *encomiendas* tried to be humanitarian, avoiding exploitation and abuses, but, far away from the administrative centers, the *encomenderos* oftentimes were more concerned of their rights than of their duties. The Crown, in order to eliminate this system, tried to impede the transmission of the *encomienda* in the New Laws (1542), but it was very difficult to find an alternative. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the formula of *concertaje* (in Spanish *concertar* means "to come to terms") was established in America. In this situation the work was offered in exchange of a salary. The consequence was the recession of the *encomienda* system and the emerging of the ranch, where the exploitation to the Indians was more limited. In any case, the word *encomienda* retained the connotation of "Spanish tyranny."
2. T. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines*, National Book Store, Manila, 1975, pp. 37–42.
3. See Lucio Gutiérrez*, Domingo de Salazar*, O. P., UST, Manila, 2001, pp. 123–152. See also José Luis Porras, *The Synod of Manila of 1582*, Historical Conservation Society, Manila, 1990.
4. Gutiérrez, *Domingo de Salazar*, pp. 137–142.
5. It is interesting to mention that Juan Cobo, after two years of studying Chinese, translated the *Ben Sim Po Can* (明心寶鑑) into Spanish (the first Chinese work translated into a Western language) and Miguel de Benavides translated a catechism into Chinese that was printed in the parian. See Borao, "Observaciones sobre traductores y traducciones."

It is worth mentioning now what happened with the Spanish translation by Cobo of the *Ben Sim Po Can*. Salazar, before his departure from Manila, praised the translation in a letter to the king. Knowing that Phillip II was a real book collector, Salazar probably requested from Cobo this little treasure for Philip II, upon his arrival in the court of Madrid. But the fact was that the gift was finally given by Benavides in 1596, not directly to the king, but dedicated to his son, the future Philip III.

6. Albert Kammerer, "La découverte de la Chine par les portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des portulans," *T'ung Pao*, Leiden, 1944, pp. 147ss, 224ss.
7. Luís G. Gomes, "Efémero estabelecimento dos castellanos nas vizinhanças de Macau no Século XVI," *Boletim do Instituto Luis de Camões*, Macao, 1970, pp. 325–339.
8. One important source that favored the thesis of Videira was the *History* of Aduarte (1962, pp. 348–363), who was a direct witness of the Dasmariñas episode. He stated clearly that the place where Dasmariñas was shipwrecked was on an island called Lampacao. See Benjamin Videira Pires, "Copia de hu'a do Irmão Andre Pinto Pera os padres E Irmãos da Compañía de Jesu no Collegio de S. Paulo de goa E de Cochím. A 13 de Novembro de 1564," *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, November, 1964, pp. 740–749.
9. He clarified this idea saying: "But if it is difficult to do so or if it is too dangerous to be waiting for an answer, they can of course start building it. This is even clearer in our case, not only in view of the grave risk posed both by the barbarians and, more so, by the Dutch. Thus it is urgent that this should be done" (*SIT*, 59).
10. Before giving his opinion, González summarized the main ideas of Vitoria's *Ius Gentium*, saying: "Ports must be common to all but without harming the land where outsiders desire to settle, … [consequently], the relation between kingdoms must be smooth-sailing. The Lord has it that all things are not be found in one kingdom alone, thus encourages communication, friendship, and trade. These tendencies are so intimately rooted in human nature that no matter how barbaric these people surrounding us may be, all of them value the warm welcome; that, in turn, they extend to foreigners who come to these parts without the intention to do harm" (*SIT*, 60).
11. This point matches with the principles of Vitoria, because the pope is not considered the secular lord of these territories.
12. This point clearly coincides with the ones of Vitoria.
13. This reason was presented as a kind of self-defense. It was Gonzalez's own opinion, because Vitoria did not analyze in his treaty "On the Indis" the Dutch question.
14. This refers clearly to Vitoria, but it is a little bit redundant with the second reason.
15. We do not know exactly how the conversations with the natives developed. Was it a kind of "Requerimiento" formula (i.e., a way to force negotiations) or a real case of "free negotiations"? The difference matters because the latter is the only one matching the principles of Vitoria.
16. This idea is not mentioned in the principles of Vitoria.
17. This contradicts the principles of Vitoria, to whom the natives' decision must be totally free and without coercion.
18. This desire to compensate victims seems in accordance with Vitoria's opinions as well as the idea of canceling this compensation because of the later belligerent behavior of the natives who—after some time—ought to have known the intentions of the Spaniards.
19. Tonio Andrade, "Political spectacle and colonial rule: The Landdag on Dutch Taiwan, 1629–1648," *Itinerario*, vol. 21–3, 1997, pp. 57–93.

20. See Martine Julia van Ittersum (ed.), *Table of Contents for Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty of Hugo Grotius*, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 2006.

CHAPTER 3

1. Paul Jen-kuei Li, "The dispersal of the Formosan Aborigines in Taiwan," *Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2, No. 1 (January 2001), p. 274. This theory has been challenged recently by DNA genetic studies, like those of Dr. Marie Lin, who claims that "the genetic structure of present-day Taiwanese aborigines cannot be found anywhere in Mainland China." See her paper "Taiwan Population Genetics, Past and Present," in the *International Conference on History and Culture of Taiwan*, Taipei, 2006. On the other hand, according to Australian archeologist Peter Bellwood, Taiwan can be considered as the origin of the proto-Austronesian language, whose early dispersion started around 4,000–1,000 B.C. Austronesian languages are reaching nowadays 270 million people speakers: Peter Bellwood, "Formosan prehistory and Austronesian dispersion," in David Blundell (ed.), *Austronesian Taiwan*, University of California, Berkeley, 2001, p. 337.
2. To understand the evolution of the process leading to the present classification, see Margaret M. Y. Sung, "The languages of the Taiwan aborigines," in Kwang-chih Chang et al. (ed.), *Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan Area: Accomplishments and Prospects*, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1989, pp. 37–58.
3. For a summary of the scholars' perception of the geographical boundaries of Ketagalan tribes see 詹素娟 and 劉益昌，大臺北都會區原住民歷史專輯：凱達格蘭調查報告，臺北：臺北市文獻委員會, 1999, p. 97.
4. Shigeru Tsuchida, "Kulong: Yet another Austronesian language in Taiwan?", *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, No. 60, Academia Sinica, 1985.
5. Wen-hsun Sung, "Unity and diversity in prehistoric Taiwan: a cultural perspective," in Kwang-chih Chang et al. (ed.), *Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan Area: Accomplishments and Prospects*, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1989, pp. 99–110.
6. This archeological site is the most important one in Taiwan, with 1,500 stone coffins and 20,000 artifacts that can be visited in the National Museum of Prehistory (國立史前博物館) in Taitung (台東).
7. Liu Yi-chang (劉益昌) advances the archeological sequence of these periods in the Taipei Basin; for him, the Taipei Basin entered the Paleolithic era around 30,000–50,000 B.P. and lasted till 10,000 B.P. On the other hand, the Neolithic era began around 6,500 B.P. when the early Dabenkeng culture appeared. See Liu Yi-chang 劉益昌，淡水河口的史前文化與族群 (Native settlements and prehistoric culture in the mouth of the Tamsui River), Shisanhang Museum, Taipei, 2002, p. 45.
8. According to Liu Yi-chang (*Ibid*., p. 118), Taiwan had skipped the bronze period; therefore the bronze found in the Shisanhang site should be from China.
9. Chao-Mei Lien, "The interrelationship of Taiwan's prehistoric archeology and ethnology," Kwang-chih Chang, et al. (ed.), *Anthropological Studies of the Taiwan Area: Accomplishments and Prospects*, National Taiwan University, Taipei, 1989, pp. 162–173.
10. 張耀錡，平埔社名對照表 (A comparative name-list of peo-po-fang's villages through the historical ages), 台北：台灣省文獻委員會, 1951.
11. The most available collection for northern Taiwan is *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol. II: 1636–1645 (2000), Vol. III: 1646–1662 (2006), Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, Taipei. We are citing this book here as *FE*.

12. One study of the Taipei Basin population: Ang Kaim 翁佳音，大臺北古地圖考釋 (Interpretation of the Great Taipei Area), 臺北：臺北縣立文化中心, 1998.
13. In our opinion this map was made by three or four teams of cartographers (or by a single team but working in detail only in four or five particular areas). Later those independent works were assembled in a single map. The result is that there are some sections (like the Tamsui River, some parts of the Quelang Harbor and the present Taipei area) whose proportions are very well kept and their accuracy is higher than initially expected.
14. Three levels were excavated: (a) 0–25 cm, with some modern Chinese pottery and porcelain; (b) 25–60 cm, with stone coffins and Chinese pottery; (c) below 60 cm, with some iron items and green and white porcelains. Because the place was near a strategic military site, the archeologists were not able to start in site A until the end of the war, in May 1947. See 國分直一 and 金關丈夫，台灣考古誌，東京：法政大學出版局, 1979 (reprint 台北：武陵出版社, 1990), p. 88.
15. 河井隆敏，基隆大沙灣的貝塚發掘記，民俗臺灣, 4 (3), 1944, pp. 30–31. The archeological chart of northern Taiwan names this site as TSW, and dates it around 1400–1650 A.D.
16. "The natives of Senar comprise eight or nine villages and live near the fort [Santo Domingo]. We are trying to unite them into one village where they used to live and where their houses stand. They abandoned the place out of fear when the Spaniards took over the piece of land [to build their fort]. They moved to the interior to cultivate other farmlands, and to build houses and *tambobos*. The place where we are trying to gather them is on a mountain, which is cool and pleasant to live in, as they can shelter themselves in their thatched huts from the cold of winter and from the fury of the winds that usually topple down their houses and *tambobos*. In this mountain there are many fruit trees, like peach and orange. It is about half a league from the fort of the Spaniards and the road is good due to some flatlands that used to be farmlands before the Spaniards came" (*SIT*, 166; also in *SIT*, 184).
17. About this Basayan identification, let us mention just now that Overtwater called this place "Kabila," and Keerdekoe in his map calls the same village "Kaggilach." It seems that in both cases the village is identified with the name of her headman (see Table 3.1: "Population of Senar and Kipas").
18. For a discussion of the possible identification of the location of the village see: 康培德 (Peter Kang), 台灣原住民史政策篇（一）—— 荷西明鄭時期 (The history of Formosan aborigines: Policy formulation 1), 南投：國史館台灣文獻館, 2005, p. 293.
19. Nevertheless, the Dutch recorded them with some detail. In 1650 the villages in the other side of the Tamsui River (and their population) were Parrigon (122), Parricoutsie (530), Pocael (520), Dockudukol (401), Paipeitsie (221), Warre Warre (221), Darridauw (189), Parriwan (200), Routsoudt (115), Ballebal (420), Taggewaer (187), Hallabas (115), and Warrouwar (394). They were very populated, totaling 3,587 souls (*FE* III, 293). According to Peter Kang some can be identified like Parricoutsie: Nankan (南嵌) of today's Tayouan County (桃園縣), or Pocael: Chuchien (竹塹), near today's Hsinchu City (新竹市). See Peter Kang, *Ibid*., p. 178.
20. If this person was a descendant of a Spanish or Portuguese survivor of the shipwreck of 1582, he might have been born a few years after the wreck, then, in 1632, he would be around forty-five years old. Nevertheless, none of those documents referring to the shipwreck mentions that anyone stayed behind; rather, it is implied that all the survivors went back to Macao.

21. Ang Kaim,大臺北古地圖考釋, pp. 71–72.
22. Amongthese scholars we can mention Peter Kang, who additionally considers that the villages along the Tamsui River have an inland area of influence projected uphill the nearby mountains. See his research report《大屯山、七星山系聚落史調查研究計畫》, Yangminshan National Park, 2002.
23. One *braza* is 1.67 meters.
24. To know the colorful life of this insane criminal Lamma see*FE* III, pp. 113–114.
25. Nevertheless,scholars analyzing Qing land contracts say that Siron was located partly on present Zhonghe (中和) and partly Yonghe (永和).
26. The relation of Dutch place names with the names of Qing archives can be this: Pinnonouan (武勝灣), Rieuweovas (了阿), Rivrycq (雷裡), Cournangh (龜崙蘭), and Siron (秀朗). See: 詹素娟, 劉益昌, 大臺北都會區原住民歷史專輯：凱達格蘭調查報告 (Historical collections on the Aborigines in the Great Taipei Area: Investigation report on the Ketagalan), 臺北：臺北市文獻委員會, 1999, p. 69.
27. Ifwe observe the Dutch lists we notice that they are quite consistent in their spelling and number of inhabitants. Some small villages only appear once or twice in consecutive years; therefore we presume that they were so small that they passed unnoticed in the other surveys. Interesting to mention that the list offered by Esquivel, though smaller, can be correlated with the Dutch ones, especially if the villages have more than 200 inhabitants. Spanish and Dutch transliterations of native villages offer a close spelling, although few names are difficult to reconcile.
28. 中村孝志，荷蘭時代台灣史研究（下冊） (Studies of Taiwan history of the Dutch period, II), 台北: 稻鄉, 2002, pp. 1–55.
29. 詹素娟，族群、歷史與地域：噶瑪蘭人的歷史變遷（從史前到1900年）(*Ethno-groups, history and area — the history of Kavalan*), 國立台灣師範大學歷史學系博士論文, 1998.
30. See Peter Kang 康培德，"荷蘭時代蘭陽平原的聚落與地區性互動，" 臺灣文獻, 52, 2001, pp. 219–253.
31. 劉益昌 (Liu Yi-chang), 台北縣北海岸地區考古遺址調查報告 (Archeological sites in the northern coastal area of the Taipei County: A survey report), 台北縣立文化中心，1997; and 臺閩地區考古遺址（宜蘭縣、花蓮縣）(Yilan and Hualian Counties in the charter of the archeological sites of Taiwan and the Min regions of Fujian), 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, 台北, 2004.
32. Ifwe compare the name of these two neighboring villages, Sinarochan and Sinachan, we can see how close they are and how much they differ from the rest of the names in the Lang Yang Plain. Therefore a close relation might be suspected.
33. Thiscooperation was seen as important, because weeks before an incident occurred, probably in the Basay village of Quitalabiauan, between his people and a Dutch party made of two soldiers (one of them was killed) and two Basayans elders. Once the incident was over, one of the Basayans, Teodoro, suggested to the Dutch winning the confidence of Tarribe, in order to cooperate with him in the relation with Turoboan (*FE* III, 389–391).
34. Itis strange that Domingo Aguilar only went there for such a purpose. The account continues saying that: "Those slaves, who had run off from Quelang, had been beaten to death by the Parrougearons" (*FE* III, 75). These fierce people were living in the mountains and were very jealous of their gold.
35. Accordingto the local amateur historian Wang Tiensung 王天送, in the 1930's a great quantity of human bones (near eighty persons) were discovered in that area, which

are commonly believed to belong to Spaniards who were passing by. The bones were transferred soon after to a common mausoleum near the primary school Chung Deh 崇德國小. With his materials we proceed to make a C14 time period estimation of the bones that revealed they were of the fifteenth century. If this data is right we have to think more of a fight among natives themselves for the control of the area rather than a massacre of Spaniards. A modern DNA study of the remaining bones might offer new insights.

36. For the identification of Basey with Turoboan see Peter Kang 康培德〈十七世紀上半的馬賽人〉(The Basay people in the first half of the 17th century), 《臺灣史研究》10 (1), 2003, pp. 1–32.
37. According to the way Esquivel listed the village, Rarangus should be next after Turoboan, and the closest place is the area of present Xincheng (新城). Another reason to locate Rarangus in Xincheng is the explanation of the history of the Ami clan Raranges (rock column). According to this history, this clan used to live at the foot of the Bainan North Mountain (卑南北山), southwest to the new train station of Bainan. At some moment they reached as far north as Xincheng Township in Hualien County (花蓮縣新城鄉). Later on they were under the threat of the Truku people and they left that place, and they went to Taitung, first to Hengchun (恆春), and later to Guanshan (關山). See 許木柱, 廖守臣，吳明義，台灣原住民史：阿美族史篇 (The history of Formosan Aborigines: Amis), 南投：台灣省文獻會, 2001, p. 11.
38. This episode is probably the same one known by the Dutch, which they wanted to verify by interrogating Domingo Aguilar (*SIT*, 477). Nevertheless there are two important differences in the two stories, one is that the episode is located around 1635 and the event happened in Kipormowa, a place impossible to identify, because it does not appear in the lists made by the Dutch.
39. In January 2007 a new ethnic group was recognized by the Taiwan government under the name of Sakizaya, and located in the Hualian area.
40. Unfortunately, the three manuscripts of Esquivel on the grammar, the dictionary, and the catechism in the language of the Indies of Tamchui are lost.
41. The hagiography of Esquivel was made by Diego de Aduarte in his *History*, Zaragoza, Imprenta del Hospital Real de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1693, pp. 413–426.
42. For Esquivel, Quelang was an intermediate stopover on his way to Japan, his final destination. That is why, while preparing himself in Manila for that trip, he published in that city, in 1630, a Japanese dictionary, based on a previous one made by the Jesuits and with the help of a Japanese Dominican.
43. The same happened, with the manuscripts of another missionary that was very knowledgeable in the Basay language, Teodoro Quirós, who—according Victorio Riccio—after learning the Tagalo language: "was the first to acquire a systematic knowledge of that [Basay] language and, from it, formulated a grammar, vocabulary, doctrine, confession, and a voluminous catechism wherein, through the dialogue, he made known everything that is necessary, from the creation to the end of this world" (*SIT*, 624).
44. Paul Li, "Some Problems in the Basay Language," *Symposium Series of the Institute of Linguistics (Preparatory Office)*, Academia Sinica, No. 1, May, 1999, p. 637.
45. See "Asai's Basay vocabulary," in Tsuchida Shigeru (土田 滋), Yamada Yukihiro (山田幸宏), Moriguchi Tsunekazu (森口恒一), *Linguistic Materials of the Formosan Sinicized Populations I: Siraya and Basay*, Research report, The University of Tokio, Department of Linguistics, March, 1991, pp. 195–257.

46. In1987, Paul Li was also able to interview in Keelung an eighty-three-year-old lady called Tseng Panrao (曾潘蟯), who originated also from Xinshe (新社) and referred to him sixty-seven words. When she was asked for the meaning of 山地人 (mountain people), she answered: Basay.
47. PaulLi, "Some problems in the Basay language," p. 164. According to the lexicon of Farrell, "water" is also pronounced in other Taiwan aboriginal languages as "za: núm," "zanum," "ranum." Other possibilities of the meaning of the stem "uanu," following Ferrell lexicon can be: cloud ("ranun"), mountain ("na:ún"), forest/jungle ("nauna´ún"). See R. Ferrell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups. Problems in cultural and linguistic classification.* Monograph 17, Institute of Ethnology, Academica Sinica, 1969.
48. PaulLi concludes that, linguistically, among all the Austronesian languages in Taiwan, it is Basay that is closest to Kavalan (Cabaran as written by Esquivel), rather than Amis. That is to say, our knowledge of modern Kavalan language may be a tool in "decoding" some Basay place names. *Ibid.*, pp. 166–168. The lexicon of Ferrell gives also the meaning of the Cavalan words: "tanan" (hole) and "burau" (sea-shell) that might explain the meaning of the village Quitanaburauan, as something like the place having/producing shells with holes.
49. Wethink that these two names refer to different persons because—as it happened in Quimaurri—the Dutch appointed young headmen in the nearest villages in order to make them more suitable for the service of the VOC.
50. PeterKang,《大屯山、七星山系聚落史調查研究計畫》published by the Yangminshan National Park, 2002.
51. If this is the case, those villages might have a certain correspondence to some archeological sites like Renli 仁里 (JL), Yanliao 塩寮 (YL), Hesichang 1 核四場 I (HSC1), Jioushe 舊社 (CS), and basically Fulong 福隆 (FL).
52. Inthat case this might correspond by the archeological sites of Shisanxin 十三姓 (SSH) and Tzirengong 慈仁宮 (TJK).
53. Inthis place is located the archeological site TLM with archeological data between the years 1400 to 1800.
54. Nevertheless,it is strange that in the census of 1654 this village appears as one of those that "so far have not received a cane from the Honourable Company or did not want to accept one, but rebelled against the Company rule," something that seems to conflict with the Basay way of doing (*FE* III, 502).
55. The whole story in*SIT*, 335, 377, 410, 442.
56. Canwe find other Basayan villages outside Taiwan, or some place names that might explain their origin in the Philippines or their expansion from Taiwan? At the present stage it is difficult to say, but it is surprising that the principal island of the Batanes Archipelago (located between Luzon and Taiwan) was called "Basay." Nowadays is called "Basco" because Governor of the Philippines José Basco y Vargas sent an expedition in 1782 to force the Ivatans to agree to become Spanish subjects. After the success of this mission, Governor Basco was named count of Batanes, the new province was named Concepción, and the capital town was named after him. See *Vocabulario Ibatán-Español, o sea del dialecto hablado por los naturales de las Islas Batanes y Calayan (Filipinas). Acopiado y compuesto por varios PP. Dominicos españoles misioneros en aquellas islas. Con prólogo of Otto Scheerer*, Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila, 1933. Additionally, in the most northern part of the Philippines (in the Cagayan Province) we can also find place names like Aparri (similar to Taparri) or Camalaniugan (similar to Cavalan or Camalan).

57. TheDutch sources refer to the villages Kipangas (Kipanas?), Kiliessouw (Lichoco?), and Madamadou (?) (*FE* II, 305).
58. *FE* II, 439, 449–450. Regarding the interpreters, there was also a Japanese with the Spanish name of Jacinto (Jasinto Cousaymondonne in Dutch sources). In the year 1645, he was considered an old person (*FE* II, 556). Most probably he was the Japanese Christian who the Spaniards met upon their arrival, in 1626, that he was married to a Basay and had two daughters who were baptized by the missionaries (*SIT*, 86).
59. VOC 1183, f. 770v.
60. See Laurence G. Thompson, "The earliest Chinese Eyewitness accounts of the Formosan aborigines," *Monumenta Serica*, 23, 1964, pp. 170–178.
61. Thompson,*Ibid.*, p. 172.
62. Campbell,*Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 15.
63. TheDutch sometimes use the term *cabessa*, borrowed from the homonymous Portuguese *cabeça* (meaning head), to signify a leadership, not only in natives villages, but also in Chinese settlements.
64. This explanation seems to contradict the Dutch lists of native villages that are accompanied by the correspondent headman. We can find different explanations for this; first, the interest of the Dutch in appointing a particular person to make him responsible for the affairs of the village, and therefore to facilitate negotiations. Another explanation is that the name of the representative elder in a given moment, for example a *landdag*, is not always the same in the succeeding lists.
65. Twelveyears later the elder of Quimaurri, Teodoro, commenting probably on the same affair, identified the place as Kipormowa. He related the story with a more bizarre approach; and, substituting the Cagayanos by the Basayans, he said: "A party of 100 Spaniards and the same number of auxiliary troops from Kimauri and St Jago, a total of 200 men, attacked and burned their villages and captured three heads" (*SIT*, 477).
66. Thompson,*Ibid.*, p. 174.
67. *A situationer on the conversion of the Isla Hermosa* (*SIT*, 179–182).
68. SeeLeonard Blussé, "The eclipse of the *inibs*: The Protestant mission in 17th century Taiwan and its persecution of native priestesses." *International Conference on the Formosan Indigenous Peoples*, Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1999.
69. Thompson,*Ibid.* p. 173.
70. ShinzoHayase, *Mindanao Ethnohistory Beyond Nations: Maguindanao, Sangir, and Bagobo Societies in East Maritime Southeast Asia*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2007, pp. 16–17.
71. Qudarat,or Corralat as the Spaniards called him, was recently featured in a historical novel of Cui-Perales, *Qudarat, Lord of the Pulang*, Manila, 2001.
72. Campbell,*Formosa under the Dutch*, 115.
73. See Ang Kaim 翁佳音，〈被遺忘的臺灣原住民史：Quata（大肚番王）初考〉 The forgotten history of Taiwan aborigines: A preliminary study of Quata)《臺北文物》，42卷4期，1992.
74. Peter Kang 康培德，〈環境、空間與區域——地理學觀點下十七世紀中葉「大肚王」統治的消長〉(Environment, space, and the ebb and flow of the 17th century Quataongh reign: A geographic perspective),《臺大文史哲學報》59 (2003), p. 106.
75. See Peter Kang, "Inherited geography: Post-national history and the emerging dominance of Pimaba in East Taiwan," *Taiwan Historical Research*, 12.2, 2005, pp. 1–33.

76. One case of that was in 1622 when the natives of Lamey Island pillaged a Dutch merchant ship. The revenge made by the Dutch eleven years later led to the depopulation of that small island.
77. We have changed in this sentence the "indirect style" used in the document by a more literary "direct style." In fact, Governor François Caron, when making a report based on the same information (although in a more briefly manner) at the end of that year, used the direct style (*FE* III, 142).
78. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 149. As regards the reference to Quelang, Putmans is bringing the issue of the killing of some Spaniards and one missionary that happened a few months earlier when they were in Tamsui buying rice. This incident was understood in a solipsistic view by the Dutch who perceived it as a native revolt against taxation (*SIT*, 244, 249, 477).
79. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 231.
80. VOC 1183, f. 770v

CHAPTER 4

1. During these years, those in charge of the vice-kingdom of Mexico were Rodrigo Pacheco (1624–1635); the marquis of Cadereytia (or Cadeireta), Lope Díaz de Armendáriz (1635–1640); Diego López Pacheco (1640–1642); and the Aragonian Juan Palafox y Mendoza (10 June–23 November 1642), who later was archbishop of Mexico (1643–1653). From this city he monitored East Asia events; and in 1670, eleven years after his death, his book *The History of the Conquest of China by the Tartar* was published in Paris.
2. During the Spanish presence in Isla Hermosa, the governors general in the Philippines were Fernando de Silva (interim) (1624–1626), Juan Niño de Tavora (1626–1632), Lorenzo de Olasso (interim) (1632–1633), Juan Cerezo de Salamanca (interim) (1633–1635), and Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (1635–1644).
3. See Nicolas P. Cushner, John A. Larkin, "Royal land grants in the colonial Philippines (1571–1626): Implications for the formation of a social elite," *Philippine Studies*, No. 26, 1978, pp. 102–111.
4. See Alberto Santamaría, "The Chinese parian (el parian de los sangleyes)," in Alfonso Felix, Jr. (ed.), *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570–1770*, vol. 1, Manila, 1966, pp. 67–118.
5. See J. E. Borao, "The massacre of 1603: Chinese perception of the Spaniards in the Philippines," *Itinerario*, vol. 23, No. 1, 1998, pp. 22–39.
6. See *Relación verdadera del levantamiento de los Sangleyes en la Islas Filipinas, y de las victorias que tuvo contra ellos el Gouernador Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, el año de 1640–1641*, ed. Catalina de Barrio y Angul, Madrid, 1642, 4 fls.
7. The bottom of the bay, in the place where the passenger harbor is now located, was an extensive muddy area with two small islands at the entrance that probably made that place totally deserted. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century the Japanese started to remove these islands and excavate the area in order to create the present harbor in the city.
8. They gave this name to that place because the first time they reached the area was that saint's day (*SIT*, 72, 162).
9. VOC 1149, f. 772; also in *FE* II, pp. 359, 540, 563.
10. Map of Jan Van Braam, eighteenth century.

11. Map of the Jesuit Carlo Trigona: "Quantung, e Fokien Provincie della China."
12. Nicolas Bellin in "L'isle de Formose et Partie des Costes de la Chine," eighteenth century.
13. J. L. P. J. *Vogels, Het Nieuwe Tayouan.* De Verenigde Oostindische Companie op Kelang, 1664–1668, Doctoral Dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, p. 71.
14. The Japanese excavation of 1936 of the fortress did not find any native dwellings. This place still can be excavated and could become a very important archeological site in northern Taiwan. The succeeding efforts we have made in the last years to push for this excavation have not found sufficient echo in the respective administrative authorities and academic circles. At present it is still possible to excavate the area, but we are afraid that a delay could be very harmful, since it is a very attractive area for private housing.
15. In fact, in 1636 this had appeared in Dutch sources as Sanckodeeff (*SIT*, 245).
16. When Colombus discovered the island in 1493 he gave the name of San Juan Bautista to the island. In 1508 the Spaniards started exploring the island and discovered a big bay which they named Puerto Rico (meaning: Rich Harbor), and one year later, after the conquest of the island, the city of Puerto Rico was formally founded. But, in 1521, when the city acquired the status of capital of the island, both names were exchanged: the island was called Puerto Rico and the city San Juan.
17. In 1635, García Romero referred that some money was charged to some people "in the fort of San Salvador" (*SIT*, 255), and later when he listed the cannon, he referred to "the fortress of San Salvador which is the principal fort" (*SIT*, 259). We have also the case of Corcuera when he ordered in 1637 that "all the forces, artillery and ammunition should be gathered in the castle of San Salvador" (*SIT*, 276), or when he appointed Portillo as "the keeper of the fort of San Salvador" (SIT, 309). Aduarte in 1640 said "they set up a fort called San Salvador" (*SIT*, 72). The same usage in the trial of Corcuera (*SIT*, 430, 464).
18. VOC 1040, f. 317.
19. For example the memorial of cannon written by Governor Portillo reads as follows "List of the existing armaments in the garrison in these forces of San Salvador of Isla Hermosa" (*SIT*, 343). The same wording of "forces of San Salvador" was used, in 1644, by the lawyer of Corcuera in a trial against the ex-governor (*SIT*, 507).
20. VOC 1170, f. 498 v.
21. VOC 1176, f. 741.
22. Nevertheless, it is possible that there were two different churches, as expressed in the map of Keerdekoe. In that case, the Franciscan church must be the one burnt by the natives.
23. VOC 1170, f. 491v. Another report said that there were fifty-five in Quelang and thirteen in Tamsuij (VOC 1179, f. 495).
24. VOC 1170, f. 506.
25. See Tsunekazu Moriguchi, "Asa's Basai vocabulary," *Linguistic Materials of the Formosan Sinized Populations. I: Siraya and Basai*, Research Report of Department of Linguistics of the University of Tokyo, March 1991, p. 219.
26. VOC 1170, f. 505.
27. VOC 1140, f. 301v.
28. Borao, "The massacre of 1603," p. 25.
29. See Lourdes Díaz Trechuelo, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565–1800)*, Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos, Sevilla, 1959, pp. 41–42.

30. Some optimistic accounts said that seven more died (*SIT*, 132) and the rest escaped to Quelang after killing the Senar headman in the fight. Others said that thirty Spaniards died in total (*SIT*, 135).
31. He also stayed fighting until the last moment (*SIT*, 371). He was one of the few that from his exile in Batavia decided not to go back to Manila, but to Spain, but he died in Germany, on his way back (*SIT*, 468).
32. Carvajal died during the first attack of the Dutch in September 1641. He was sent to spy the approaching movements of the Dutch with two Cagayanos and four Basayans. The seven of them were captured by the natives colligated with the Dutch, who killed them (*SIT*, 333).
33. VOC 1146, f. 530v.
34. VOC 1149, f. 777v.
35. VOC 1149, f. 791.
36. VOC 1149, f. 740.
37. VOC 1207, f. 596v.
38. VOC 1176, f. 752.
39. This ship arrived that summer bringing some help, and it was the only one from the armada of 1627 that reached Isla Hermosa. See annex 6.
40. The judgment of residence was the investigation made by the incoming governor, upon his arrival, on the services and management of the governorship of the outgoing one. Any person could present any complaint against the governor before his departure. To better understand the proceedings of the judgment of residence we can see the instructions given by the governor general of the Philippines Corcuera to the incoming Quelang governor Portillo on how to proceed in the case of the judgment of his predecessor Cristóbal Márquez (*SIT*, 313, 316, 334). The main problem of this procedure was that the system can be indulgent and consequently corrupted, because the judge was equal in rank to the person to be judged, and the new judge will meet the same fate once his period ends.
41. VOC 1149, f. 774v.
42. *Ibid.*
43. VOC 1148, f. 739.
44. VOC 1149, f. 774v.
45. See Pol Heyns 韓家寶，《荷蘭時代台灣的經濟、土地與稅務》(Dutch Formosa's economy, land rights and taxation), p. 193.
46. One of the theories for the origin of this name is related with the Spanish chivalry novel *Las Sergas de Esplandian* (Seville, 1515), where it said that one island called California existed near the Indies, and it was populated by black women like the Amazons, those mythical female warriors mentioned by Herodotus.
47. It was discovered on Easter Sunday (in Spanish: "Pascua Florida").
48. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution Military Innovation and the Rise of the West*, 1500–1800, Cambridge University Press, New York, p. 24.
49. Alicia Cámara Muñoz, "Tratados de arquitectura militar en España. Siglos XVI y XVII," *Goya*, No. 156, May–June 1980, p. 339.
50. Sebastián Fernández de Medrano, *El Architecto perfecto en el Arte Militar*, Brussels, 1700, p. 8.
51. In the first decades of the seventeenth century there were several engineers dealing with the theory of fortification. Among them we can cite Cristóbal de Rojas, *Teoría y práctica de fortificación* (1598); Diego González de Medina Barba, Examen de fortificación

(1599); Cristóbal Lechuga, *Tratado de la Artillería y de fortificación* (1611); and Luis Coscón, Expugnación de plazas (1629).

52. See Cámara, "Tratados de arquitectura militar ...," p. 344.
53. See Esperanza B. Gatbonton, *Bastión San Diego*, Intramuros Administration, Manila, 1985.
54. The divine world is sometimes represented by a triangle, a figure that shaped the first Spanish fort in the Philippines, fort San Pedro, in Cebú.
55. Sedeño joined the Jesuits in Loreto and later stayed several years in Rome as rector or the Jesuit "German college" before going to America. He arrived in 1581 in the Philippines, where he founded the mission of the Jesuits. See N. P. Cushner, "Los jesuitas en Filipinas en el siglo decimosexto, según el menologio inédito del Padre Pedro Murillo Velarde," *Missionalia Hispánica*, No. 34, 1967, pp. 332–333.
56. Sebastián Fernández Medrano, *El Architecto perfecto en el Arte Militar*, p. 34.
57. But after its abandonment by the Dutch it became a ruin hardly used by the Chinese and a total displaced structure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Similarly the Spaniards abandoned Zamboanga in 1662 (and Terrenate in 1663) in fear of the Koxinga invasion. But the case of Zamboanga is different because the Spaniards went back in 1718, under Governor General Fernando Bustillos Bustamante, who assigned General Gregorio de Padilla y Escalante to rebuild the old fort. The new fortification received the name of Nuestra Señora del Pilar.
58. Parker, *The Military Revolution*, p. 40.
59. Certainly, these cities celebrated special days. For instance, in Manila in the year 1597, on the eve of the feast day of Santa Potenciana (the patroness of the city), the governor rallied and cheered up the city, in the evening fireworks were offered and during the feast day itself there was a masquerade and much rejoicing (*SIT*, 25–26). Not to mention the bullfighting festival—an activity revitalized in the Baroque times—that the city enjoyed in 1626.
60. One rectangle will have the perfect *aurea proportion* if the ratio between the long and the short sides is 1.618.
61. Ron van Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas during VOC and WIC Rule (1600–1800)*, Walburg Pers, Delf, 2000, p. 10–11.
62. Enrico Guidoni, Angela Marino, *Historia del Urbanismo. Siglo XVII*, Instituto de Estudios de Administración local, Madrid, 1982, pp. 202–203.
63. Translated by John Masefield. See Thomas Walsh (ed.), *Hispanic Anthology: Poems Translated from the Spanish by English and North American Poets*, Putnam's Sons, New York, 1920.
64. See J. E. Borao, "Acercamientos literarios occidentales a la presencia holandesa y española en el Taiwan y las Filipinas del siglo XVII," *Encuentros en Catay*, No. 19, Fu-jen University, 2005, pp. 117–140.

CHAPTER 5

1. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, p. 283.
2. Ts'ao Yung-ho, "Taiwan as an entrepôt in East Asia in the seventeenth century," *Itinerario*, Vol. XXI (1997), No. 3, pp. 94–114.
3. The Ming Court, after this move set up a new county jurisdiction in Yuegang called Haicheng (海澄). This county finally merged into Lunghai (龍海) city in 1993.
4. See Cesar V. Callanta, *The Limahong Invasion*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City, 1989.

5. For a collection of Chinese references on Limahong, see: Tang Kaijian 湯開建，〈劉堯誨《督撫疏議》中保存的林鳳及其與西班牙關係史料〉 (The contents related to Lin Fong and his connection with Spain in Liu Yaohui's "Du Fu Shi Yi")，《明清時期的中國與西班牙國際學術研討會論文匯編》，30 October–2 November 2007, pp. 29–38.
6. See the letter of Juan Bautista Román to the viceroy of Mexico, in 25 June 1582 (AGI, Filipinas 29). Also see Pablo Pastells, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, vol. 2, Barcelona 1926, pp. ccxxii–ccxxiii; and Virgina Benitez and José Llavador, *The Philippines under Spain*, vol. 3, NTHCPP, Manila, 1991, pp. 381–382. These sources about this Japanese affair do not mention that particular name of Tayfusu, but it appears in secondary sources like Fernández, *Dominicos donde nace el Sol*, p. 34. Fernández quoted from the *History* of Aduarte (p. 134), but we have not found that name in that location.
7. See Seiichi Iwao, "Li Tan, chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan, in the last days of the Ming Dinasty," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, The Tokio Bunko, Tokio, 1958.
8. I want to thank Professor Ang Kaim who commented to me that in contemporary Chinese literature a similar expression exists for "pretending to be the king of China," which is *jian hao* (僭號), referring to the attempt of gaining the title of king or emperor. One case can be a man called Li Xin that appears in *Shenzong Shilu*, vol. 583, 5th month of 47th year (1619) of Shenzong reign (神宗實錄，卷583， 47年5月): "Li Xin the treacherous Fujianese from Zhangzhou, [who pretended to the throne and] who illegally proclaimed himself the reign title of Hongwulao (弘武老 the "great martial master"), the pirate Yuan Balao and others led their gang of more than a thousand followers, rampantly plundering, setting fire, and destroying [many places]." Whether this Li Xin is Li Dan or not is a matter of discussion.
9. Letter of Richard Cooks on 25 February 1616: in William Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, vol. IV, London, 1900, p. 54.
10. For a contemporary impression of Iquam by the Franciscan missionary Antonio Caballero, see annex 18.
11. Mark Vink, George Winius, "South India and the China Seas: How the VOC shifted its weight from China & Japan to India around A.D. 1636," in *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente*, Actas do VI Seminario International de História Indo-Portuguesa, Macao, 1991.
12. Ts'ao Yungho, "Taiwan as an entrepôt …," p. 105.
13. Some of these products remained in Nueva España. Some were transferred by mule to Veracruz, in the Atlantic, to be reshipped to Spain, and another small part was kept to be sent to Lima (Perú).
14. See J. E. Borao, "The arrival of the Spanish galleons in Manila from the Pacific Ocean and their departure along the Kuroshio stream (16th–17th centuries)," *Journal of Geographical Research*, No. 47, November 2007, pp. 17–37.
15. For the whole seventeenth century the value of the merchandise was fixed at 250,000 pesos (which was doubled on the return voyage) to be carried in 4,000 registered boxes.
16. The Franciscan was Antonio María Caballero with a special mission related to the Chinese Rites controversy, that we will comment on in the following chapter.
17. See Pol Heyns, *Economy, Lands Rights and Taxation in Dutch Formosa*, Appleseed Publishing, Taipei, 2002, pp. 71–72.

18. Pacheco appears listed among the regular soldiers (with 2 pesos as salary) in 1641 (*SIT*, 336), making unclear his status of merchant or of commissioned soldier for commercial activities.
19. Referring to the Chinese rebellion and subsequent massacre of Chinese in 1639.
20. Esquivel mentions several times this substance "bonga." The *bonga* is a Filipino word that means a mixture of the fruit of the "areca" (betel palm) with betel leaves; a mixture that is also called "buyo." This substance, *bonga* or *buyo*, is used for two purposes, first for chewing (as modern ping-lang) and other is for dying in red color. Other times, when Esquivel is trying to explain what *bonga* looks like, he says it is similar to the shape of the "turmas de la tierra" (*SIT*, 163), which is a kind of underground mushroom, very delicious and well known by the Spaniards at that time.
21. VOC 1149, f. 767.
22. VOC 1149, f. 769.
23. See Thomas O. Höllmann, "Formosa and the trade in venison and deerskins," in *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, C. 1400–1750*. See also: Pol Heyns, "Deer hunting in Dutch Formosa," *Missionary Approaches and Linguistic in Mainland China and Taiwan*, Leuven Chinese Studies 10, pp. 69–72.
24. See John Crawford, "On the history and consumption of tobacco," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1853, p. 45.
25. This is a suggestion offered in a note in the *BRPI*, vol. XVII, p. 334. But, the first reference that we had found of Philippine tobacco production is in the *General History of the Discalced Augustinian Fathers*, of Pedro de San Francisco de Assis (Zaragoza, 1756). There, referring to the last attempt of the Dutch in conquering the archipelago (1649) by subverting the natives, it is narrated a native subversion in the island of Samar, where they profaned liturgical vestments and "they destined the ciboriums and sacred chalices to the dirty use of their wine, tobacco, and buyo [betel-nuts]" (*BRPI*, vol. XLI, p. 111). In the description of the Philippines in the book of Domingo Fernández Navarrete (Madrid, 1676), that portrays the archipelago around 1650, after saying the excellent temperatures of the land to grow wheat, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, and mulberry trees to feed silkworms, states: There is excellent tobacco" (*BRPI*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 52). In the report of Dampier in the Philippines (1697) we can see how tobacco and betel-nuts were common for entertaining guests even in Muslim Mindanao (*BRPI*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 57, 70).
26. L. Carrington Goodrich, "Early prohibitions of Tobacco in China and Manchuria," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 58, No. 4, Dec. 1938, pp. 648–657.
27. The original transcription of "tabaco," the Spanish term for tobacco, in all the main Eastern languages is quite close, sometimes identical, to the Spanish one, see Carrington, *Ibid.*, p. 657.
28. Carrington, *Ibid.*, p. 649.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 650. Here Carrington relates the decree to a Manchu emperor, but according to the Chinese sources, this very prohibitory edict was issued by Chongzhong, a Ming emperor, not the Manchu emperor Abahai suggested by Carrington, although Abahai did proclaim several similar edicts.
30. Arnoldus Montanus (ed.), *Atlas Chinensis*, translated by John Ogilby, London, 1671, p. 24.
31. Tarsis and Ofir were two Eastern regions mentioned in the book of Kings, in the Bible. They were famous for their richness, coming from farther islands whose beaches were

made of gold. From these two vaguely located places King Solomon received every three years a cargo of gold and silver, but also sandalwood, precious stones, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks.

32. See Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del Descubrimiento*: *El Pacífico*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1989.
33. Gil, *Ibid*., p. 20.
34. See J. E. Borao. "La llegada de Españoles a Isla Hermosa en el contexto del mito orientalista," *Encuentros en Catay*, No. 6, Fu-jen University, 1992, pp. 183–205.
35. See Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del Descubrimiento*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1989, p. 19.
36. Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, p. 212.
37. A Chinese who arrived in Manila during the times of the pirate Limahong, to whom he served. At that time, he was appointed governor of the sangleys and was "respected by the Spaniards and loved by the sangleys" (*Ibid.,* p. 230).
38. *MSL*, Chapter 404 (Vol. XII, p. 12090).
39. See J. E. Borao, "The massacre of 1603: Chinese perception of the Spaniards in the Philippines."
40. Seiichi Iwao, *Early Japanese Settlers in the Phillipines*, reprinted in *Contemporary Japan* 9, p. 32.
41. *Ibid*., p. 13.
42. See Josef Franz Schütte, "Don Rodrigo de Vivero de Velasco y Sebastián Vizcaíno en Japón (1609–1610)," and Arcadio Schwade, "Las primeras relaciones entre Japón y México (1609–1616)," in *La expansión Hispanoamericana en Asia, siglos XVI y XVII*, México, FCE, pp. 96–122 and 123–133 respectively.
43. See Demetrio Ramos, *Historia General de España en América*, vol. IX–I, Rialp, Madrid, 1985, p. 506.
44. See Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del Descubrimiento*, pp. 142–147.
45. This led Hamilton to his famous thesis relating profit inflation with the birth of modern industrial capitalism. According to him, the inflationary forces of the Price Revolution era produced a widening gap between prices and wages, providing in Europe industrial entrepreneurs with windfall profit that they reinvested on a larger scale.
46. In fact the practice was perpetuated as we can see from fake coins of Spanish-Mexican dollars of the year 1800 threaded in the headband of a native from Central Taiwan, kept in the Museum of Anthropology at National Taiwan University.

CHAPTER 6

1. Other attempts at reaching Central Asia from Europe were made. Here, we can mention the two embassies that the Castilian king Henry III (1390–1406) sent to Tamerlan. The first one was held by Hernán Sánchez de Palazuelos and the second by Ruy González de Clavijo. In both cases the aim was not missionary but political. Henry III was looking for an alliance with Tamerlan to fight against the Turks. As for Clavijo, when in 1404 he reached the court of Tamerlan in Samarkanda, the Mongol ruler was leaving for the conquest of China, which did not happen because he died the following year. Clavijo went back to Castile without success.
2. See Celedonio A. Ancheta, "One hundred revolts against the Spaniards," *Philippine Historical Review*, Vol. 5, Manila, 1972, pp. 165–179.

3. Félix de Huerta, *Estudio Geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico, religioso de la Santa y apostólica provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Religiosos Menores descalzos de N. P. S. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas*, Imprenta de M. Sánchez, Binondo, 1865, p. 405.
4. In fact, it is not clear if there were one or two churches (as portrayed in the map of Keerdekoe), and, in this second case, if the one burnt by the natives was the Franciscan one. In any case, Quirós decided to get the remains of the church (either the Dominican one, or the only existing one), and bring it to a new more solid church in Quelang Island (*SIT*, 304).
5. We have mentioned that the year of the smallpox epidemic might refer to 1635. There are two main reasons. First, the large number of baptisms of Quirós in Tamchui happened in that fatal year. Therefore, the smallpox epidemic cannot have occurred in 1636, since early that year the Spaniards lost control of the area. The other reason is that Governor García Romero, who stayed in San Salvador basically in 1635, claimed that during his governorship 1,000 natives were converted. Obviously this is an exaggeration, but somehow it matches the report of baptisms cited by Quirós in that epidemic year: 320 in Tamsui, 141 in Caquiuanuan, 186 in Cavalan, plus those made by García, which altogether reach the figure of 700.
6. For a general introduction to this topic see Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "Da Fundação e da Originalidade das Misericórdias Portuguesas (1498–1500)," *Oceanos*, No. 35, 1998, pp. 24–39.
7. See J. E. Borao, "Some notes about the Misericordia of Isla Hermosa." *Review of Culture*, No. 14, Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2005, pp. 101–111.
8. Antonio M. Molina, *Historia de Filipinas*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1984, p. 93.
9. According to Pablo Fernández the story should be traced to the "Spanish artilleryman Francisco de Nava, who had a slave girl with whom he maintained illicit relations. The archbishop learned of this and told him to sell her. A Spanish lady, the wife of the governor's nephew Pedro de Corcuera, bought her. The soldier, unable to forget her, promised to marry her. But, unsuccessful in his suit, he treacherously killed her on 19 August 1635. For his wife's sake, Pedro took interest in the case, so much so that the unfortunate Nava expired on the gallows on 6 September. Neither his right of sanctuary in the San Agustín convent nor the archbishop's claim of jurisdiction over his person saved him. For this reason, the archbishop excommunicated the judge, who was then a general of the artillery, and later put the city under interdict. The litigation was complicated with the intervention of Pedro de Monroy, who was persona non grata to the governor, since he had a hand in the excommunication. See Pablo Fernández, *History of the Church in the Philippines*, Life Today Publications, Manila, 1988, pp. 126–127. For more details about this matter, see Ruperto Santos (ed.), *Anales Ecclesiásticos de Philipinas*, Vol. I, Manila, 1994.
10. In 1644, the Dutch asked the chieftain of Quimaurri, Teodoro, if they had paid taxes to the Spaniards. The Dutch recorded: "They did not pay tribute to the Spaniards and this was also never demanded by the latter. They only paid for the candles that were used in the churches. And he, the one who was interrogated, was responsible for the receipts and expenditures of the candles" (*SIT*, 477).
11. See Peter Kang 康培德，〈林仔人與西班牙人〉(Lin-Zai villagers and the Spaniards), *La frontera entre dos imperios*, National Museum of Taiwan History, Tainan, 2006, pp. 209–222.

12. See Pol Heyns 韓家寶，荷蘭時代臺灣告令集：婚姻與洗禮登錄簿 (Baptisms and marriages records in Dutch Formosa), T'sao Yung-ho Foundation, Taipei, 2005.
13. See J. E. Borao, "La colonia de japoneses en Manila, en el marco de las relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Cuadernos CANELA*, No. 17, Tokyo, 2005, pp. 25–53.
14. This persecution can be traced back to the famous incident of the galleon "San Felipe" (1596). This galleon was going from Manila to Acapulco but suffered a misfortune in Japanese waters. Misunderstandings produced by this incident caused Hideyoshi to suspect the ultimate intention of the Spanish missionaries, which eventually led to the persecution (*SIT*, 24, 26, 35).
15. After a year, Caballero was sent to the Moluccas and later to Batavia. Finally he arrived in Manila in 1637 after being rescued by some compatriots.
16. Governor De Vitt confessed his religion to the Macanese prisoner Salvador Díaz, also a Catholic. Also told him that he had a sister who was a nun living in Spain, and that he went to Rome for a pilgrimage. He even showed to Díaz a bull with permission to hide his Catholic condition (*SIT*, 64).
17. M. J. Roos, *The Amalgamation of Church and State in a Formula for Colonial Rule. Clergymen in the Dutch Administration of Formosa, 1627–1651*, Ph.D Dissertation, Leiden, 2000, (1.1.).
18. The Esquivel's family belonged to the Basc Nobility. He was a young teacher of philosophy in Valladolid and for four years (1627–1631) professor of theology in the University of Santo Tomas (Manila), where he studied Japanese with the Dominican Kiusei Gorobioye Tomonaga.
19. In fact, the first one using Nadal's book in China was Mateo Ricci, who reproduced some of the prints. See Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Mateo Ricci*, Penguin Books, 1985.
20. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, pp. 328–330.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 336–379.
22. Roos, *The Amalgamation* … (1.1.).
23. The first Dutch missionaries were those graduated from the Seminary School of Leiden at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and their first destinations were in Southeast Asia and Taiwan.
24. Leonard Blussé, "Retribution and remorse: The interaction between the administration and the Protestant mission in early colonial Formosa," Gyan Prakash (ed.), *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, Princeton University Press, p. 154.
25. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 146.
26. Roos, *The Amalgamation* … (2.4.2.).
27. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 328.
28. See Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China*, Acantilado, Barcelona, 2002.
29. See Juan Antonio Cervera, "Misioneros en Filipinas y su relación con la ciencia en China: Fray Cobo y su libro *Shi Lu*," *Llull, Revista de la Sociedad Española de las Ciencias y de las Técnicas*, vol. 20, No. 39, 1997, pp. 491–506.
30. See J. E. Borao, "Observaciones sobre traductores y traducciones," 2005, pp. 388–404.
31. See Navas & Pastells, *Catálogo* …, vol. VI, pp. cccxix–cccxxxi.
32. Aduarte, *Historia*, vol. 2, chapter XXXIX, pp. 345–355.
33. Mariano Velasco, *Bio-bibliografía de los religiosos de la Provincia del Santo Rosario*. Dominican Archives, II–64, Avila.

34. Vittorio Messori, *El gran milagro*, Planeta, Barcelona, 1998. We must add that in the same year of 1636 another Dominican, the Portuguese brother Antonio de Viana, died in Isla Hermosa of natural death (*SIT*, 238).
35. Pablo Fernández, *Dominicos donde nace el Sol*, Barcelona, 1958, pp. 67–69.
36. Diego Collado, *Dictionarivm; sive Thesavri lingvae iaponicae compendivm, compositum*, Rome, 1632. One original copy can be seen in the Research Library of National Taiwan University.
37. See Ruperto Santos, *Annales Ecclesiasticos de Philipinas (1574–1862)*, 2 vols., Archdioceses of Manila, 1994, p. 67.
38. He was there until 1641 where he was recalled by the king to go back to Spain, but he got drawn in Cabicungan, on his way to Manila. *BRPI*, vol. XXV, p. 158.
39. These palaces were "mnemonic constructions" very much in fashion in Europe at that moment. That technique Ricci himself traced back to the old Greek poet Simonides. See Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Mateo Ricci*, Penguin Books, 1985.
40. Zhang Kai, *Diego de Pantoja y China (1597–1618)*, Biblioteca de Pekín, 1987, p. 52.
41. See J. E. Borao, "Consideraciones en torno a la imagen de Koxinga vertida por Victorio Ricci en Occidente," *Encuentros en Catay*, No. 11, pp. 48–77.
42. Rosario Villari, *El hombre barroco*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1992, p. 14.
43. Fernando Mateos, "First Jesuits arriving in Taiwan: the 16th to the 20th Centurias," *Proceedings of the International Symposium Christianity in Taiwan: Review of Historical Materials* (臺灣基督教：史料與研究回顧國際學術研討會) by the Chinese University and Cosmic Light, Taipei, 1998.

EPILOGUE

1. Demetrio Ramos, "Mentalidades e ideas en la América de la época colonial," p. 504.
2. See Rosario Villarí (ed.), *El hombre barroco*, Alianza Universidad, Madrid, 1992.
3. The "Compendio de Las Leyes de Indias" was edited in 1690, under the orders of King Charles II. There are four volumes (*tomos*), that include eight books (*libros*), containing in total 218 titles (*títulos*), leading to the different laws (*leyes*). For example, the titles of Book III have 410 laws. Every law has a short description, the year, the king and the place where it was issued, accompanied with an explanation. Regarding the laws for Philippine natives see Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, "*Origen y desactivación de la protectoría de indios en la Presidencia-Gobernación de las Islas Filipinas,*" *Revista Española del Pacífico*, No. 8, 1998, pp. 213–233.
4. The laws in the Compendio regarding the sangleys are in the Title 18 of Book VI (located in Volume II). See also *BRPI*, vol. XXII, pp. 151–159.
5. See Eduardo Fructuoso, "Population, economy and commerce: Macao and the Philippines on the road of Iberian *arbitrism* in the first half of the 17th century," *Macao-Philippines, historical relations*, University of Macao & CEPESA, pp. 179–201.
6. See Nicolas P. Cushner, "Manila-Acapulco trade and the Grau y Monfalcón memorial (1635–1637)," *Historical Bulletin*, Manila, June 1959, pp. 40–50.
7. In fact, Portillo had been assigned to other difficult missions, like to build a barricaded stockade in Tondo in 1639 to accommodate the 7,000 sangleys who were left behind after a second Chinese massacre (*SIT*, 503).

ANNEXES

1. This place might refer to Beigang. A discussion of this matter, see 陳宗仁，“「北港」與「Pacan」地名考釋：兼論十六、七世紀之際台灣西南海域貿易情釋的變遷，”漢學研究，21, 2 (December 2003), pp. 249–278.
2. Another Spanish source seems to agree with this part of the account: “Our soldiers have excellently fortified themselves there. However, at the beginning, the land tested them, for many died and suffered great misery and hardships—eating even dogs and rats, also grubs and strange herbs because they soon consumed the provisions that they had brought with them and others had not arrived from Manila” (*SIT*, 88).
3. This might have been the previous expedition, the fleet of Carreño (May 1626).
4. Professor Kaim Ang suggested to me that Huping must be He Bin (何斌), the Chinese interpreter that provided Koxinga a map with details of Fort Zelandia, and probably he was also the main instigator for the invasion of Formosa. For this reason the VOC considered him a traitor. Huping was also known as Pinqua (斌官). His father, Kimptingh (also mentioned by Riccio) was a famous merchant sending ships to northern Formosa and Vietnam, Manila and other Southeast Asia countries. Around 1650, ten years before the invasion of Koxinga, we can see both of them requesting a lease of land around Fort Zeelandia to the Dutch. See Pol Heyns 韓家寶，《荷蘭時代台灣的經濟、土地與稅務》(Dutch Formosa’s Economy, Land Rights and Taxation), 播種者文化，台北，2001.
5. For a medical discusson on the death of Koxinga see: 鄭仰峻，〈鄭成功死因考〉，《高苑學報》，第十二卷（2006/7），頁211–228.

Index

Names

Acebedo, Juan de 14
Acevedo 109, 244
Adams, Robert 17
Adams, William 165, 249
Aduarte, Diego de 42, 74, 87, 109, 113, 153, 156, 176, 181, 184, 194–195, 197, 203, 210–211, 221–222, 244, 254, 258, 262, 265
Aguiar, Andrés de 181
Aguilar, Domingo 63, 70, 75, 80, 87, 92, 125, 151, 165–166, 187, 257–258
Alcarazo, Juan de 21–22, 26–27, 60, 70, 72, 118–119, 143–144, 165, 176, 180–181, 183, 198, 213, 236–237, 253
Alcega, Juan de 10
Alenda, Gaspar 120, 178, 184, 189, 200, 244
Alonso / Tamory Alonce 80, 90–91
Andrea Dittis 138
Andriessen 18
Ángeles, Juan de los 63, 65, 73, 75, 79–80, 91, 109, 116, 151–152, 184, 197, 203, 230, 246
Annesz, Douwe 17
Arce, Pedro de 182
Aréchaga, Valentín de 121, 206, 227–228, 230–231
Argensola, Bartolomé Leonardo de 11, 52, 161, 249, 267
Arnedo, Lorenzo 197
Atienza, Lucas de 188, 244
Ayala, Fernando de 126

Baez (Váez), Bartolomé 207
Bagoula 67
Balcázar, Juan de 168, 184
Baquedano, Juan 181
Barreto, Isabel 160
Batachina 11
Bello, Manuel 233
Benavides, Miguel 38, 105, 175, 253, 254
Benua 148–149, 238–239
Bermúdez, Francisco 189, 200, 244
Black, Gerbrantsz 111, 236
Boetajomajauw 68
Bolen, Nicolás 236
Bontekoe, Willian 18
Boon, Pieter 67–68, 70, 79–80, 92–93, 166, 169
Borda, Domingo de la 211, 244
Boutay Madawis 68
Braam, Jan van 261
Bravo, Francisco 181, 244
Bravo de Acuña, Pedro 11, 14, 135

Caballero, Antonio María 126, 189, 200, 233, 244, 265, 269
Cachil Moncay 23
Caesar, Cornelis 83, 98–99, 117, 158, 166
Caeuw, Jacob 29
Candidus, George 84, 95–98, 156, 190, 192

Canevari, Pedro 233
Cangaje 11
Capeau, Arnauld de 250
Captain China 138
Carnaby, Henry 17
Caron, François 80, 99, 116–117, 127, 151, 159, 166, 261
Caroubotaij 66
Carpentier, Pieter de 19
Carreño Valdés, Antonio 20, 52, 105, 118–119, 121, 123, 126, 144, 165, 176, 211, 236, 271
Carrillo, Andrés 230
Carrión, Juan Pablo de 138
Carvajal, Cristóbal de 85, 115, 143, 165, 263
Cavadta, Domingo de 123, 210
Cerezo de Salamanca, Juan 22, 133, 261
Cevicos, Juan 42, 45, 128, 203, 250
Chaves, Juan de 211
Chaves, Pedro 77, 153, 180, 189–190, 244
Ciudad Rodrigo, Antonio de 179, 244
Clefenger, Charles 17
Cobisa, Mateo 195, 244, 269
Cobo, Juan 38, 105, 194, 253–254
Cocci, Angelo 114, 119, 154, 168, 176, 189, 195
Coen, Jan Pieterszoon 16, 18
Collado, Diego 196–197, 270
Constant, J. 18
Corcuera, Pedro 268
Corena, Miguel de 197, 244
Cornelis, Simon 24, 93
Cortes, Artemio de las 134, 251
Coyett, Frederich 28–29

Date Masuname 188
Días, Álvaro 174
Díaz, Francisco 180, 189–190, 197, 246
Díaz, Salvador 18–20, 44, 95, 138, 215, 269
Díaz Barrera, Bartolomé 118–119, 181, 237
Díaz de Cevallos 114
Diemen, Anthonio van 116, 130
Dircksz Lam, Jacob 14

Eguíluz, Pedro de 115
Enríquez, Luis 175
Escalona, Francisco 189, 244
Esquivel, Jacinto 47–48, 57, 59–63, 65, 69, 72–75, 77, 79–81, 83–89, 96–98, 108–109, 112–117, 122–124, 126, 130, 146, 150–154, 165, 176–184, 188–191, 195, 198, 203, 217–218, 220, 244, 257–259, 266, 269

Fajardo, Alonso 14–15, 18, 42, 52
Fajardo Chacón, Diego 134, 251
Felipe del Espíritu Santo 189, 197, 246
Fernández Capillas, Francisco 176, 190, 197, 246
Fernández de Medrano, Sebastián 131
Fernández León, Juan 181
Fernández Navarrete, Domingo 194, 266
Fernández Quirós, 160
Flores, Benito 211
Floris, D. 18
Francisco de "casta bengala" 126, 181

García, Juan 180, 189–190, 246
García de Campos, Antonio 113
García Romero, Alonso 101, 116, 118–119, 149, 179, 186, 224, 237, 262, 268
García Serrano, Miguel 41, 46, 136
Gerritsz de Fries, Marten 24
Gertzen, Martin 25
Goiti, Martín de 35
Gómez, Mateo 79
Gómez, Pedro 174, 207
González, Domingo 42–43, 46–48, 52, 127–128, 148, 179, 182, 246, 254
González de Cellórigo, Martín 203
Grau y Monfalcón, Juan 203, 251
Gravius, Daniel 191
Grotius, Hugo 9, 33, 49, 52, 249, 255
Guerrero, Hernando 197
Guillestegui, Rodrigo 14
Guzmán, Luis de 57, 115, 181

Hagen, Van der 12–13
Hamada, Yahei 21
Happart, Gabriël 99, 158

Harouse, Hendrik 23–24, 90–92, 111, 166, 228, 230–231
Hasekura, Rokuemon Tsunenaga 165
Heemskerk, Jacob van 52
Heredia, Pedro de 14
Hernández, Francisco 118–119, 185, 237–238
Herrera, Jerónimo de 109, 121, 124, 238–239
Hioji, Rokuzayemon Nishi 188, 244
Hurtado de Corcuera, Sebastián 5, 22–23, 27–28, 94, 105, 119–121, 124, 126, 146, 148, 166, 180, 182–186, 196–197, 203–206, 227, 237, 261–263
Ibarra, Bernardino de 124
Ipai 74
Iperen 83, 117

Jacinto / Jasinto Cousaymondonne 70, 260
Jacobsen, J. 18
Jacobsz, Leonard 17
Janco 151
Jan Lauw 138
Janszoon, William 17
Jara Quemada, Pedro 110
Jiménez, Andrés 221, 244
Jourdain, John 16
Junius, Robert 95, 190–193

Kakijlach 59, 77, 82
Keerdekoe, Simon 55, 57, 59–60, 63, 77, 81, 101, 110–112, 117, 158, 178, 240, 256, 262, 268
Kilas sa Romana 75, 87, 151
Kimptingh 151, 271

Kruyf, Joannes 191, 193

Laan, Jan van der 29
Lakandula 35
Lalabua 11
Lamlok 95
Lamma 61, 257
Lamotius, Johannes 24, 77, 90–93, 96, 111, 114, 230–231
Lampcan 151
Lanco / Banco 148–149, 239
Langenaer, Joost Cornelissen van 113, 125, 127
Las Casas, Bartolomé de 32–33, 36–38, 52
Lechuga, Cristóbal 131
Le Fèbvre, Jacques 17
Lemaire, Maximiliaan 92, 166
Lewis, Edmund 17
Li Dan 19, 138, 265
Limahong 3, 137, 161, 267
Linga, Johan van 24, 158
López Azaldegui, Andrés 252
López de Andoaín, Juan 119, 146
López de Legazpi, Miguel 31, 33–36, 114
Loupo 81
Lucas Kilas 75, 80–81, 99

Madrid, Juan de 14
Maetsuycker, Joan 110
Mailla, Joseph Marie de 200
Major, John 32
Manzano, Melchor del 136, 193, 211
María van Aelst 116
Márquez, Cristóbal 79, 114, 118, 120–121, 145, 168, 205, 263
Martínez, Bartolomé 14, 17, 39–42, 45, 47, 51–52, 57, 107, 115, 138, 140, 143, 165, 195, 203, 208, 211, 222, 244, 250
Martínez de Liédana, Juan 211
Martín Garay, Pedro 210–211
Martini, Martin 174
Mártir, Pedro 159
Matandá 35
Mendaña, Álvaro 159–160
Mendiola, Pedro de 23
Mesa, Juan de 251
Molina, Juan Bta. 14
Moncay, Cachil 23
Monroy, Pedro 183–184
Montanus, Arnoldus 158
Monteiro, Balthasar 59, 152
Morales, Juan Bautista 176, 189–190, 200, 233, 244
Moreira, Christovão 174
Morera, Jerónimo 211
Morga, Antonio de 10–11, 155

Munden, John 17
Muñoz, Alonso 164
Muñoz, Nicolás 191
Muro, Luis 57, 86, 179, 184–185, 195, 197, 246
Muysert, Pieter 19

Nanning, L. 18
Narváez, Andrés 238
Nava, Francisco de 268
Neck, Jacob van 9
Niño de Tavora, Juan 20
Nobel 107
Nolpe, Jacob 59, 158, 168
Noort, Olivier van 4, 9–10
Novas, Diego de 211
Nuyts, Pieter 21–22, 26–27, 252

Olaso, Matías de 181
Olasso, Lorenzo de 261
Olivares, Count-Duke of 22, 203
Ootman, Jan Hendricksz 98–99
Oquendo 205
Ortiz, Luis 203
Otazo, Francisco de 194
Overtwater, Anthonisz 59, 100, 111, 113, 256

Pacheco, Alonso 148–149
Pacheco, Rodrigo 261
Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de 261
Palomino, Pedro 109, 112, 118–120, 124, 145, 148, 179, 238–239
Pantoja, Diego 198
Pardo, Jacinto 175
Patsien 98–99
Pedel, Thomas 91, 166
Pedro China 138
Pelleja, Onofre 189, 244
Pérez Dasmariñas, Gómez 37–38, 40, 105, 161
Pérez Dasmariñas, Luis 39–40, 105, 161, 203, 254
Pérez de Rueda, Juan 121, 181–182, 186
Pietersen, D. 18
Pila 57, 184, 223
Pilet 90–91
Pineda, Dominga de 126
Pirez, Francisco 59, 152, 174
Pizarro, Francisco 8
Ponap 61, 82
Portillo, Gonzalo 27–29, 79, 105, 109, 112, 118, 120, 133, 145, 150, 182, 204–206, 226–228, 230–231, 239–240, 262–263, 270
Putmans, Hans 99, 261

Quataong 92–93, 95
Qudarat / Kudarat / Corralat 22–23, 28, 94, 260
Quesada, Jiménez de 159
Qui-quiet / Qui qua 148–149
Quirós, Teodoro 63, 77, 84, 91, 100–101, 112, 119, 140, 148, 150, 153, 166, 176, 179–180, 186, 190–191, 197, 203, 231, 244, 258, 268
Quitsick 138

Rada, Martín de 193
Reijersen, Cornelis 18
Rendón, Duarte 182,
Ribeyro, Manuel 250
Ricci, Mateo 174, 198, 200, 269–270
Riccio, Victorio 61–62, 198–200, 234–235, 258, 271
Ríos Coronel, Hernando de los 5, 40, 106, 163, 203
Riveros 121
Rodríguez, Esteban 10
Rodwik, Jan 13
Rojas, Cristóbal de 131, 263
Román, Alonso 18
Román, Juan Bautista 265
Ronquillo, Diego 105
Ronquillo, Gonzalo 105, 138
Ronquillo, Juan 13, 14
Rosas, Ginés de 124
Rubián de Zubieta, Francisco 250
Rueda, Diego de 121
Ruiz, Lorenzo 189, 197

Sáez de Alcaraz, Miguel 181
Salazar, Domingo de 36–38, 162, 254
Salcedo, Juan de 34–35
Sánchez, Alonso 37, 174, 194, 207
Sanqua / Saqua 151

Santo Domingo, Francisco de 211
Saraos, Juan de 226
Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro 249
Schall, Adam 200
Schillemans 158
Sedeño, Antonio 115, 131, 264
Semedo, Álvaro 174
Sierra, Tomás 195
Silva, Jerónimo de 19
Silva, Juan de 11–13, 250
Silva, Fernando de 20, 40, 42, 44, 51–52, 108, 126, 136, 211, 251–252, 261
Siotangh 117
Sipter, Daniël 98–99
Sisinjan 90
Soares Vivas, Joao 252
Soria, Diego de 38
Sotelo, Luis 165, 195–196
Sotelo de Ulloa, Pedro 211
Soto, de Luis 191
Spielbergen, Joris van 13, 250
Steen, Hendrick 117, 127, 150–151
Stevin, Simon 132–133

Tamargo, Diego 186
Tarribe 66
Tarrinouw 98
Tayfusu 138, 265
Tello de Guzmán, Francisco de 10, 38, 105
Teman 59
Tenayan 57, 82
Teodoro 48, 65, 67–68, 70, 79–80, 90–93, 96, 99–101, 112, 127, 168–169, 231, 257, 260, 268
Tiniso 151

Tjonthaij 150–151
Tokugawa Hidetada 188
Tokugawa Iemitsu 188
Tomonaga, Kiusei Gorobioye 188, 195, 244, 269
Toro, Simón de 181
Torres, Lázaro de 115
Toulacque, Alonso de 123, 210
Tousailack 138
Toyotomi Hideyoshi 3–4, 39–40, 159, 163, 187, 269
Traudenius, Paulus 24, 110, 159, 166, 231
Trigault, Nicolas 174
Tupas 34

Urdaneta, Andrés de 5, 8, 193
Urquicio, Domingo 189, 244
Ursúa, Pedro de 159–160
Utre, Felipe de 159

Vaecht, Henry 17
Váez, Francisco 57, 74, 84, 86, 176, 179, 184–185, 195–197, 221–222, 244
Valignano, Alexander 174, 198
Vega, Juan Manuel de 13–14
Vera, Antonio de 115, 211
Vera, Juan Bautista de 162
Vera, Melchor de 132
Vera, Pedro de 106, 178, 236
Vera, Santiago de 37, 40, 105
Verburg (Verbuch), Nicolaes 29
Viana, Antonio de 270, 244
Vianen, Jansz 14
Vichbee, Cornelis 106, 132, 241
Villanueva, Antonio 230
Vitoria, Francisco de 2, 31–33, 36–38, 42–43, 46, 49, 52, 118, 125, 254
Vivero, Francisco de 121, 181
Vivero y Velasco, Rodrigo de 164
Vizcaíno, Sebastián 159, 164–165, 250

Warwijk, van 52
Wel, Adrijaen van der 216
Wesselingh, Maerten 72
Willemsz, Pieter 249
Wiseman 11
Witerboon 251
Witt, Fredericx de 19
Wittert, François de 12

Zambrano, Catalina 251
Zamudio, Juan 39
Zárate, Andrés 230
Zhang Yi / Tio Heng 159, 162–163
Zheng Chenggong / Koxinga 29, 134, 138–139, 191, 198–199, 233–235, 240–241, 264, 271
Zheng Jilong / Yiguan / Yquam 105, 114, 120, 126, 138–139, 149–150, 153, 233, 265

Places / Others

aberroa 88
Abuatan 175
Acapulco 3–4, 11, 13, 17, 24–25, 41, 45, 51, 125, 136, 139–140, 142, 163, 165, 175, 193, 243, 250–251, 269–270
Achim / Aceh 8, 12
Alcarazo Incident 21–22, 26–27, 253
Amboina 9, 15, 251
Amboina Incident 19
Anping 4, 139, 198–199, 234
arbitristas / arbitrios 97, 143, 203
Arroceros 105
Audiencia de Manila 10, 13, 34, 37, 42, 44, 104, 118, 120–121, 162, 202

Babatangan / Bawatang 107
Baboloan 66
Babuyanes Islands 40, 175
bagui 84
Ballebal 256
Banda Islands 8, 11, 16, 29, 205
Bangui 106
Bantam 8, 16–17
Baritschoen 60, 89
Basay / Basayans 54–57, 59, 62, 65, 68–70, 73–75, 77, 79–81, 86–87, 89–90, 94, 96, 113, 133, 150, 198, 206, 256–260, 263
bastions
- María 116, 130
- Oosterpunt 130, 241
- San Antonio el Chico 129, 237, 240
- San Antonio el Grande 111, 129, 236–237, 240
- San Diego 115, 131
- San Juan 237, 239
- San Sebastián 130, 230, 237, 239–241
- Small Half Moon 241

Bataan 25
Batanes Archipelago 42, 259
Batavia 16–18, 23
bejuco 148, 151, 180
Bicol 175
Binondo 100, 105, 197, 250
Bohol 175
boletas 141
bonga / buyos 150–152, 155, 266
Burney 40

cabeza / cabessa 38, 66, 84, 96, 104, 151, 260
Cagayan / Cagayanos 14–15, 59, 62, 86, 91–92, 94, 122–124, 138, 143, 146, 175, 178, 190, 196–197, 202, 204, 208, 217, 219–221, 226, 230–231, 259–260, 263
calico 9
Camalaniugan 259
Camarines Island 25
Cambodia 39, 85, 120, 194, 208, 211, 213, 217
campeche 8
cangans 98–99, 147, 158
Cape Bojeador 209
Cape Bolinao 19
Cape Espíritu Santo 17, 23–24
Capul Island 24
Caquiuanuan / Santiago / Hock van St. Jacob 57, 67, 70, 75, 77–80, 87, 90–93, 107, 179, 219–220, 268
Caraga 28
carayo 83
Carolinas Islands 140
Catinunum / San Lorenzo 79–80, 93, 106, 117
Cattaio 61
Cavalan / Camalan 56, 63–65, 67–68, 70, 72–73, 77, 79–83, 85–86, 92–93, 96, 101, 106, 119, 155, 169, 179–180, 185, 259, 268
Cavite 4, 12, 18–19, 25, 35, 42, 132, 134, 139, 161–162, 197, 208, 212, 214, 227, 251
Cebú 2, 31, 33–35, 141, 182, 264
Chiacan 234
Chicasuan / Sicosuan 72, 75, 165
Chiulien / Sibilien 72, 75, 165
Chupre / Supra 72, 165
churches
- Our Lady of the Rosary (Tamchuy) 176, 179, 195

St. Dominic (Caquiuanuan) 180
St. John the Baptist (Taparri) 176, 178
St. Joseph (Quimaurri) 178
St. Peter (San Salvador) 178
Concepción Province 259
Conchinchina 208
contador 104, 120–121
convents
San Agustín 268
San Francisco 168
Santo Domingo 182
Todos los Santos 112, 132, 178, 181–182, 191, 197, 236, 141
corambre 153, 180
Cordovan clogs 142
Cordovan shoes 142
Coromandel 9
Corregidor 104
Corregidor Island 184
Council of Indies 11, 33, 36–38, 40, 52, 100, 103
Cournangh 62–63, 257
cuentas / chicubises 70, 87, 150, 168

Dadanghs 69–70
Daracop / Dorcop 72
Deshima 139
Dilao 117
Dockudukol 256
Domburch (ship) 21, 115, 116, 119, 215–216, 236

Embocadero del Espíritu Santo 24
Embocadero de San Bernardino 140
encomiendas / encomenderos 33, 36–37, 39, 51, 104, 175, 253
esclavos del rey 126–127
estanco 180

Fleet of Defense, Anglo-Dutch 17–19, 251
fortresses
Malaio (Ternate) 16
Rosario 16
San José (Zamboanga) 22–23, 108, 111, 132, 134, 237, 264
San Paulo (Macao) 111
San Salvador / Sanctissima Trinidado 81, 89, 108–111, 120, 129, 131–134, 204–205, 210–211, 240, 262
Santiago 132
Takome 16
Taloko 16
Zeelandia 20, 23, 26, 28–29, 49–50, 95, 97, 120, 132, 151, 158, 189, 228, 271
forts
Costy (Ternate) 24
el cubo / San Luis / Nobelenburg / Eltenburg 109, 111, 130, 133, 204, 225–227, 237–240
la mira / San Millán / Victoria 109, 111, 133, 204, 224, 226, 238–240
la retirada / San Antón 109, 111, 130, 133, 204, 224, 226, 228, 230–231, 237–240
Nuestra Señora de la Guía (Manila) 114, 131
Provintia 97
San José (Tondo) 105
San Pedro (Cebú) 264
Santo Domingo 22, 59–60, 75, 114–115, 117, 119, 129, 173, 176, 185, 215, 218, 225, 238–239, 256

Gaddanes 175
galligal 117
Gentlemen XVII 100, 166
Goa 9, 12–13, 254
gobernadorcillo 134
Guangzhou 14, 39

Heyankan 158
Hirado 17, 137, 138, 244

Igorrotes 94
Ilocos 13, 15, 20, 119, 175
Ilocos blankets 142
Iloilo 12, 108, 111, 132
indigo 8
inibs 88, 191
Intramuros 114, 131
Irrayas 94, 175

Isla de Pascua 129
Ius gentium 31, 43, 46, 254

Jajinjurus / Parerier 64, 67
Java / Jabas 8, 23, 238, 249
Jilolo 16
Johor 8
Joló 94
judgments of residence 44, 120, 142, 203, 263
just war 26, 31, 33, 36, 43, 52, 252

Kerrionan 68
Ketagalan 26, 53–54, 56–57, 74, 255
Kibanorra 65–66
Kimabolao / Mabolauw 67
Kimalitsigowan 61
Kimassow 56, 61
Kimotsi 61
Kipas / Kabila / Kaggilach 59, 256
Kippanas 61
Kirananna 60
Kriouan River 68, 79

Ladrones (Islands) 129
Lal-loc 175
Lamcam 92
Lamitan 23
lancet 181
lanckijns 147
landdag 50, 65, 93, 98, 100, 260
Lantau Island 4, 39
Laws of the Indies 36, 100
Lequios 40, 150, 160, 182, 189, 213
Leyte 175
Lichoco 60–62, 82, 178–179, 218–219, 221, 260
Linaw 72
Lingayén 14
Longkiau 95

Macabebé 35
Macao / Macan 4, 7, 11, 13–18, 20, 22, 29, 39, 41–42, 44–45, 49, 111, 126, 132, 137, 142, 144, 174, 181, 187–188, 193–194, 200, 207–208, 233, 243, 246, 250–252, 254, 256
Macassar 16, 116, 120, 204, 251
Madagascar 7, 53
Magindanao 132
majuorbol 88–89
Malabrigo 107
Malacca 7, 12–13, 23, 137, 194, 206, 231
Manila 2–7, 9, 10–15, 19–21, 23–24, 26–28, 35–46, 51, 63, 72, 79–80, 85, 88, 90–91, 97, 100, 103–106, 108, 113–114, 117–121, 123–128, 131–134, 136–150, 154, 156–157, 159, 161–165, 167–168, 175–176, 180–184, 187–190, 193–200, 202–208, 213, 217, 220, 222, 224, 227–228, 232, 235–237, 240, 242–245, 247, 250–265, 267, 271
Marianas Islands 140–141
Marshall Islands 140
masimanamananur 89
masitanguitanguich 84, 89, 220
Mattaw 48–49, 138, 149, 156
Maynilad 35
Mekong 53
Mindanao 12, 22, 27–28, 40, 94, 132, 141, 175, 266
Mindoro 35
Miyako 165
Moluccas 9–13, 15–16, 21–22, 34, 135, 143, 146, 161, 190, 192, 194, 249–250, 269
Moti 16
Myanmar 53

Nagasaki 26, 139, 163, 187, 189, 195, 206, 211, 243
negroes 126, 226
Negros 175
Noord Holland 111, 129, 240–241
Nueva Castilla 35
Nueva España 8, 20, 103, 129, 164, 265
Nueva Granada 129
Nueva Segovia 38, 42, 129, 175–176, 197, 210, 227

oidores 104, 120, 250, 165
Okinawa 129, 189

Pabanan 71–72
Pabanangh 69–70
Pacan 41

padrastro 112,
pagador 104, 120–121
Palan 72
Pali 54, 59
Pampanga / Pampangos 16, 25, 35, 91, 94, 122–124, 168, 210, 213, 230–231, 238–239
Panay 34–35
pancada 141, 243
Pangasinan 38, 94, 137, 150, 175, 217
Pantao / Parrigon 56, 59, 62, 84–85, 115, 177, 179, 184–185, 219–221, 223, 256
paraos 35
parian 38, 42, 100, 105, 113–114, 117, 161, 175, 177–178, 197, 199, 202, 221, 250, 253
Parricoutsie 256
Parriwan 256
Parrougearon 69–70, 257
Parusarun / Parusaron 63, 72, 165
paso de la cuesta 230
Patani 8–9, 52, 114
Patibur / Patsilar 72, 165
Payagi 16
Paytsie 62–63
Pescadores Islands 16–19, 23, 41, 49, 119, 132, 138, 143, 228
Pimaba 72, 92, 95, 158, 166
Pinar, El / Pinhal, El 4, 39
Pintados 129
Playa Honda 13–14
Pocael 256
Porompon 61
Protector of the Indians 36
proveedor 181–182
provisor 181
pueblo de indios 104
Pulangi 94
Pulicat 9
Pulauan / Pinnonouan / Pinerouan 56, 60–63, 74, 79, 81–82, 84, 177, 218, 220–221
Punta (cape)
 de Monos 107
 de Santa Catalina 107
 Diablos 107, 227
 Flechas 23
Quanzhou 14, 173, 199
Quelang 4, 21–24, 26–28, 39, 43–44, 47–48, 56–57, 60–63, 70, 73–75, 77, 79–81, 85, 89–94, 97, 100, 106–115, 117–120, 122–123, 125, 127, 130, 132, 136, 138–141, 143–145, 147–148, 150–153, 156–167, 166, 168, 176–178, 180–181, 185, 189–191, 197, 199, 204–206, 210, 213, 217, 231–233, 236–241, 256–258, 261–263, 268, 278
Quessajosojol / Sagol Sagol / Sochel Sochel 65–67, 79, 93
Quibanuran / Kibanorra / Kimablauw 65–66
Quimabolao / Kimabolao 65, 68
Quimare 62
Quimaurri / Camaurri / Kemora 56–57, 62, 70, 77, 79–81, 84–85, 87, 90–93, 96, 100, 101, 106, 108–110, 112, 127, 150, 176, 178, 186, 206, 217, 219–221, 226, 231, 259–260, 268
Quimazon River 56, 60–62, 74, 79, 82, 179, 218
Quinamese 23
quinine 167
Quinmuen / Quemoy 234
Quiparrusinauan / Parissinawan 68, 79–80, 93
Quipatao 60–61, 150, 218–219
Quitalabiauan / Taloebayan /Talebeauan 64–65, 74, 76, 79, 93, 257
Quitatupaan / Kittotepan / Kakitapan 68, 79, 93
Quitubitubi 65–66

Rabath / Sapat 72
Rapan 60, 82
Rarangus 72, 85–86, 115, 165, 258
Rauay 165
real de a dos 168
reducción 104, 178–179
regidores 104
Reyes Magos Island 129
Rica de Oro 2, 164
Rica de Plata 2, 164
Rieuweovas 62–63, 257
Rivrycq 63, 257
rochela 113

Rosario (ship) 115, 118, 144, 188
royal coffer 120, 238
Royal Patronage 173, 180, 183–184, 197
Rybats 62–63

sakoku 49, 139, 181, 187–189, 195, 243
Samar Island 159, 175, 266
Samarkanda 267
San Bernardino 140
San Felipe (galleon) 3, 163, 195, 253, 269
San Francisco (galleon) 45, 164, 188, 250
San Gabriel 197
sangleys 18, 70, 85, 114, 117, 120, 124, 128, 148–151, 154, 161–162, 168, 180, 202, 217, 219–221, 226, 238–239, 261, 267, 270
Santa Potenciana 113, 264
Santísima Trinidad, La 108, 110, 129, 210–211, 215, 238, 240–241
Saquiraya / Sakiraya 72, 165
Saruman 72, 165
sayal 126
Senar 56–60, 73–74, 77, 79, 84–87, 96, 98, 115–116, 133, 151–152, 176–177, 179, 184–185, 218–223, 256, 263
shogun / shogunate 3, 21, 26, 39, 137, 139, 163–165, 187–188, 249
shuyinsen 21, 139
Siam 2–3, 21, 27, 37, 208, 252
Siao 40
sijpous 143
Sikoku 187
Sinachan / Sasinagan 66, 257
Sinarogan / Sinarochan 66
Sincan / Sinkan 50, 150
Sincapora Strait 12, 94
Siron / Sirong 62–63, 257
situado 8, 140–142
socorro 113, 119, 121, 141–144, 154, 157, 165, 181, 227
Solomon Islands 126, 160
Synod of Manila 36–37, 40

Tabaron / Tavoran 165, 71, 72
Tacciraya 71–72
taels 151–152, 161, 219
Tagalo 91, 94, 189, 202, 258
Tagesuan 25
Taggewaer 256
Tagima Island 25
Takilis River 98
tambobos 84, 217–218, 256
Tamsui / Tamchui / Tammpsua 21–22, 26, 54, 60, 63, 69, 73–74, 80, 83–91, 93–94, 107, 109–110, 112–113, 116–117, 119, 124, 130, 133, 148, 150–151, 158, 166, 167–178, 184, 189, 195, 215, 218–220, 225, 226, 232, 237–241, 255–257, 261–262
Taocan 153
Taparri / Taparrians 56–58, 60, 70, 74–75, 77, 80–82, 84–85, 87, 90–91, 96–97, 106, 109–110, 112, 125, 150–151, 176, 178, 186, 206, 217, 219–221, 259
Taparri el Viejo 58, 77, 85–86, 151
Tapongo 16
Taptap 66
Taradingan 66
Tataruma / Talleroma 69, 71–72, 100, 165
Tayouan 4, 19–20, 21, 23–24, 26–27, 29, 41, 49–50, 55, 63, 80, 81, 91–93, 95, 101, 110–111, 113, 122–123, 127–129, 132–134, 138–139, 146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 156, 166, 168, 190–191, 199, 206, 211, 213, 215, 240
Tayouan Council 50, 153
Tayouan Incident 21, 26, 49
tenedor 104, 120–121
Ternate / Terrenate 9, 11, 16, 23–25, 27, 94, 105, 108, 134, 141, 250–251, 264
Terrachia 79, 93
tesorero 120
Tevorang 156
tibucao / sibucao 154
Tidore Island 9, 11, 15–16, 28, 250
Toetona 58, 76–77
Tondo 28, 35, 105, 162, 270
Toro 203
Treaty of Defense 17
Treaty of Münster 23
Treaty of Zaragoza 2
Tuguegarao 175
Turoboan / Taraboan / Torrobouan 56, 68–74, 76, 79–80, 85, 90, 92–93, 98–99, 118, 125, 140, 165–166, 257, 258
Twelve Year's Truce 11–12, 52

Ullebecan 72
Union of Arms 12, 22, 215

veedor 104, 120, 121, 124
Visayas Islands 10, 22, 94
VOC 4, 9, 16, 21, 24, 26–27, 49–50, 52, 60, 65–67, 83, 91, 93, 101, 116, 127–128, 130, 139, 156, 168, 192, 231, 240–241, 249

Warre Warre 256
Warrouwar 256
Witter Island 19
Wulauan 63

Xiamen / Zumingcheu / Emuy 198–199, 233

Zambales 14
Zamboanga 22–23, 25, 108, 111, 132, 134, 141, 237, 264
Zhangzhou / Chincheo 19, 251