

西班牙人在台灣(1626—1642)

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SPANISH PRESENCE IN TAIWAN, 1626-1642*

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The forthcoming Fifth Centennial of the discovery of America has aroused much interest in understanding more the influence of Spain in her former colonies that now constitute a great part of modern nations. But the presence of Spaniards in the island of Formosa has always been allotted a very sketchy historiographical reference, limited to some simple accounts about their arrival in the island to defend the commercial route between the Philippines and China and Japan from the Dutch competitors, and a brief reference to their departure after their defeat by the latter, in 1642. This event was like an omen for Spain, since this defeat --which occurred in the remotest point of the then Spanish Empire-- was followed by the first significant defeat for Spain in the European setting--that of Rocroi, in 1643. This was the beginning of a string of misadventures, both in the European and in the overseas theaters, which only ended with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and the consequent withdrawal of Spain as a world power and her place taken over by France, the Netherlands, and England.

This historical manner of depicting these small colonial points as insignificant pieces of a gigantic and complicated commercial network, which could be singly lost or won at will,¹ has made it dif-

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1. In this sense, the great key ideas outlined by the work of William L. Schurch, *The Manila Galleon, 1939*, continue to firmly hold their ground, in a manner that other works like that of O.H.K. Spate, *Monopolists and freebooters, The Pacific since Magellan, Canberra, 1983*, only serve as a complement to what has been cited.

difficult on many occasions to find out exact details about those colonies in themselves, from the point of view of their social organization and the relations among the groups which composed such colonies, including the aboriginal peoples. For this reason, I will attempt in this paper to clarify who exactly were the inhabitants of the beautiful island of Formosa during the brief period of Spanish occupation (16 years), under what conditions they lived, what they did, and what repercussions, if any, these factors had in the latter periods of the history of the island.²

THE SPANIARDS AND THE DUTCH

In general, we know that in the early part of the 17th century, what for the Spaniards had hitherto been a prosperous commerce in Manila thanks to the regular arrival of junk boats from the Chinese coast,³ began to decline due to the build up of Dutch commercial piracy in those waters.⁴ As such, towards the end of the 16th century, what originally was merely the idea of conquest of Formosa⁵ was seen eventually as a clear necessity, which was to take place only during the brief rule of the provisional Governor of the Philippines, D. Fernando de Silva. Furthermore, it would be seen as a

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2. What is presented here is a small portion of a much more extensive research work which I am doing, inspired by the same motives, and sponsored by the Pacific Cultural Foundation. The main documentary sources come obviously from the General Archives of the Indies (AGI), Sevilla and from the General Archives of the Dominicans in Avila, as well as from the General Archives of the University of Santo Tomas (UST), Manila.
 3. It was estimated that at that time, about 40 or 50 big junk boats arrived annually.
 4. For those who would like to go deeper into this question, aside from the abundant literature about the topic, very soon a work of Maria Dolores Guerrero entitled *The Dutch Wars* will be published by the Historical Conservation Society of Manila.
 5. A project which has produced, for example, the first detailed maps of the island, which even though already published by ALVAREZ, J.M. (*Formosa. Geográfica e Históricamente considerada*, Barcelona, 1931), are still not widely known by the majority of specialists on the subject matter.

prestigious endeavor, with the imminent arrival of the new Governor General of the Philippines from New Spain, D. Juan Nino de Tavora, who would come leading a 600-strong company of soldiers. The occupation of the northern part of the island therefore took place in 1626, with hardly any problems or resistance whatsoever, and this was merely two years after the Dutch had already established a foothold in the southern part of the island. There would be two Spanish settlements established, one in Tamsui, the other in Keelung, which would receive the name of San Salvador. In fact, these two places, together with the settlement of the Dutch in Tainan, would be among those points of greater historical importance in the island.

What soon became evident was that the island was just too large for the two rival empires, in such a way that both actually settled side by side for 15 years, without any mutual relationship, but not without the usual mutual monitoring of each other.⁶ They dedicated themselves to their own commercial affairs, which were more profitable in the case of the Dutch, since their modern concept of commerce, based on the primitive commercial capitalism, led them to carry out business operations exclusively oriented towards the requirements of profitability. Only when they learned that the Spanish settlements in the north were experiencing substantial decline did the Dutch decide to drive them out. More than any reason of necessity, this action was actually motivated by the desire for prestige, in view of their ultimate design to eventually take control of Manila.

In this context, and in line with the statements mentioned above,

6. Not only did the Spaniards, but also the Dutch, had regular monitoring done on the movements of the enemy force. This can be gleaned from reading the diaries which the V.O.C. had established in the Castle of Zeelandia. See the magnificent work of BLUSSE, J. L.; VAN OPSTALL, M.E.; TS'AO YUNG-HO. *De dadregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia*. Taiwan, 1629-1662. Vol. 1: 1629-1641, Gravenhage, ed. Martinus Mihoff, 1986. I would like to thank Willem R.M. van Rossem for the translation of some of the chapters of said work.

we will now consider briefly what the Spanish presence in Taiwan really meant, focusing our attention primarily in those years of greatest splendor, years following immediately the conquest of the island until 1635, when the colony began its decline.

SOCIAL GROUPS

As far as the topic of this paper is concerned, the most significant group to be considered is obviously the Spaniards, the majority of whom were subject to military discipline. This group had in general a stable, competent and professional standing in the island for a period of four to five years. The highest rank was that of a major sergeant who acted at the same time as the mayor and governor of the island, helped in this task by various corporals. Under the orders of these were the soldiers subject to the rule of closed garrison, without a clear understanding of when they will finish their stay there. Added to this were a measly salary, meager food supply which basically came from Manila, as well as insufficient provisions for clothing and military uniforms (though the budget seemed to provide for their real needs, in practice, this was mysteriously not carried out). All these factors created a climate of permanent discontent among the soldiers, in such a way that though it did not threaten the internal security, at least it hampered the possibilities for reconnaissance and colonization of the territory. The small group of specialized forces, like the marines and the artillery group, served as a buffer to diffuse the tension among the two groups referred to.

There was also a small group of other personnel --directly responsible to the Governor, though without military rank-- like the carpenters, surgeons, the treasurer, etc. who were very useful and of which an increase in number was always requested in all correspondence sent to Manila. Even included among them, were the so-called "slaves of His Majesty", who were nevertheless taken care of by the officialdom.

Notwithstanding what was said above, the actual core of the small army was composed of native Filipinos, whose towns had formed alliances with the Spaniards. Outstanding in number were the Cagayenos (from the province of Cagayan, which is the province nearest to the island of Formosa), followed by the Pampangos, and in a lesser degree, the Pandajes. As has been mentioned, all of them were conscripted under agreements made in the new federal relations, with the advantage of requiring a cheaper military budget on the part of the Spaniards.⁷ In general, the Filipinos were loyal to the directives of the Spanish crown, but they easily organized themselves into groups of deserters when their stay was prolonged contrary to initial plans. Jacinto Esquivel, a Dominican missionary who came to know in detail the vicissitudes of the colony, declares: "*All they have are complaints, and not without reason do they feel desperate since they are not reassigned to their native lands, for some of them were conscripted with the promise that it would only be for two months, and some others came in the galleys as punishment for their crimes, and having made up for these, they are retained under the guise of sappers (gastadores), for there were no replacements sent from Manila.*"⁸

In fact, the Spanish group which was not under the military jurisdiction, and which had a great influence in the presidium was that of the Dominicans. They were replaced constantly, for reasons of death, or because their stay in the island was only temporary, as a first stage of their trip to China or Japan. Nevertheless, there was a stable group of 4 to 5 religious, who worked with great mobility, in such a way that more than 1,500 native inhabitants were baptized,

7. According to Dutch sources (vid. Blusse, op. cit., p.47) --which are possibly exaggerated-- in April 1631, there were about 300 to 400 Pampanguenos, and about 200 to 300 Spaniards. In 1640, according to the official statistics (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 409-B), the figure has been reduced to half.

8. ESQUIVEL, Jacinto. *Memoria de las cosas pertenecientes al estado de Isla Hermosa*, 1633, UST.

thus making it possible for Catholicism to take root especially in the areas close to the fort of San Salvador in Keelung.

The last group of Spaniards was composed of the merchants. These, aside from being small in number, were unstable, without any possibility of establishing their roots, as signified by the fact that there are only a few names which came down to us. They would immediately either go to Japan or China --where they were eyed with suspicion by the authorities--, or go back to Manila where they had their stable base. They were usually agents of the merchants at the Nao de Acapulco, and whom the religious tried to attract to the island, to help establish stable townships.

The native inhabitants consisted of the extinct group known as Basay.⁹ In the eyes of the Spaniards, interested in direct contact with them, there was in this ethnic group diverse sub-groups differentiated both by geographical reasons and for reasons of friendship or enmity among them. As such, covering the coast from East to West, in all the northern sector of Taiwan, was in the first place, the group of Cabaran (Cavalan), which inhabited what is now the plain of Ilan and Suao. This group was the most bellicose of all, and permanently at war with all the rest. As such, being a dangerous spot, the Spaniards thought of setting the third presidium in this place. This was followed by Caguinauan (also called Caquiuanuan or Santiago), which although consisted only of a town, was located very strategically, and thus with it were easily associated the towns which later on were formed, devoted to mining gold and silver, though not in large quantities. Next comes the ample estuary of Keelung, where in its eastern zone, the Spaniards had converted several towns into a settlement, that of the Quimaurri, following the models of the Americas and the Philippines.¹⁰ A similar procedure was followed in the

9. See Tsuchida Shigeru, *Kulon. Yet Another Austronesian Language in Taiwan*. Academia Sinica. Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnologie, n. 60, Taipei, 1985.

10. This settlement goes back to 1630, the date when the Governor of the Philippines

western zone, creating the settlement of Taparri, which would have 600 families.¹¹ These two settlements, in time, would be considered as the areas best identified with the Spanish control of the island. The Taparris which have not yet been incorporated to the settlement were in small dwellings which extended throughout the northern zone reaching almost as far as the mouth of Tamsui river, where they met with the next group, the Indians of Senar, a peace-loving people due in part to their continuous exposure to commerce. Crossing the Tamsui river and following the coastline, one could find the indians of Pantao, whose proximity to the river also made them a rival group to that of the Senar settlement. Both tribes were engaged in simple self-sufficient agricultural production along the entire area of the Tamsui river. This manner of agricultural production continued for some time, and was only altered by the pressure from the Spaniards who sought additional food provisions to those provided by the "socorro de Manila" (help from Manila). Finally, all along the internal road which connected both forts, was the group of the Quipatas --according to its Spanish designation-- who mined sulfur. And arriving at San Salvador, in the mountainous region, was the settlement of Lichoco, with 200 or 300 houses.

The missionaries, who described very well the customs of the natives, noted that each group had its own dialect, even though there was a common language among them, which was the Bacay dialect. Neither did they fail to mention the widespread custom in the Polynesian and Malaysian areas of beheading enemies, a custom which -- as the missionaries claimed-- was practically abolished from among the inhabitants of the entire 30 leagues of the northern coast, as a result of several years of missionary work.

mentioned it for the first time in a report to the King. AGI, Philippines, 67.

11. At any rate, D. Fernando de Silva declared in a letter to the King in 1628, that the town in that port had about 1,500 houses. AGI, Philippines, 67.

Among the Sangleys, or Chinese merchants, one could distinguish two groups. One group consisted of those who stayed in a stable manner in the settlements of Keelung and Tamsui, together with those in Tainan who, although already present even before the arrival of the Dutch and the Spaniards, actually grew more in number when these foreigners came, something similar to the situation in Manila. The other group consisted of those who would come with their junk boats or sampans from the coast of Fukien, with silk which they tried to exchange for silver, which usually came as agreed upon from New Spain and the Philippines, or from the Japanese merchants who came around looking for Chinese silk, since at that time there was mutual prohibition of commerce between China and Japan. The Sangleys' commerce was more of a contraband in nature either because --as we say-- they lacked the export license from China, or because they found it difficult and expensive to obtain the Spanish "chapa". Nevertheless, in the last analysis, this known and tolerated commerce ultimately became dependent on the laws of supply and demand.

Finally, the Japanese were also present, who years before had shown a real expansionist interest towards the island, and who at this time were in a stage of timid political relations with other countries. This situation limited the Spanish presence along the Japanese coastlines; nevertheless, there was still a small number of Japanese who maintained commercial dealings with foreigners, especially in the trade of silk and animal hide.

TENSIONS AMONG THE DIVERSE SOCIAL GROUPS

A good take-off point to understand the relations among the diverse social groups is the lack of political unity in the island. Undoubtedly this was heightened further by the difficult natural conditions of the island. As such, the situation of frequent tribal conflicts among the native inhabitants did not pose any real threat to any of

the groups. Nevertheless, from the Spanish side, the police work needed to pacify them had to be sufficiently intense. As a matter of fact, the Spaniard's entrance to the port of San Salvador was already accompanied by a hard repressive measure in the face of the hostility shown by the natives who "did not understand" what it meant to render vassallage to the King of Spain. Soon after, that there were other incidents of violent dealings with the natives. There was a particularly bitter experience in the eastern coast of the island, the zone of communication used with Manila to avoid the Dutch. In this incident, the natives of the mountains of Ilan, very jealous of its own gold and silver, gave a dramatic reception to a shipwrecked crew, killing 10 passengers, and leaving only just enough men to report the incident. But by then, the death toll for the Spaniards had already reached more than 30. This turn of events led to a policy of repression on the eastern coast based on the maxim "an eye for an eye".¹² At the same time a preventive policy in the northern zone -- the means of communication between the two forts--, was implemented through the development of the settlement of Taparri, whose inhabitants hardly made trouble afterwards. But this was not the case with the inhabitants of Ilan, who, in a new move in 1632, took advantage of a storm-battered ship and put the 80 passengers to the sword, including Japanese and Chinese. After this incident, the Indians received new reprisals, with seven towns being razed to the ground, and 12 natives being killed.

This heavy-handed measure and other similar ones left the Dominican theologians with some moral questions, not so much oriented to the licitness of the act of conquest --of which they never had any doubts-- but as to whether there had been sufficient reparation made to the damage inflicted upon the natives.¹³ All these brought

12. As mentioned earlier, the possibility of establishing a presidium in this area was also considered, though this never became a reality.

13. This can be gleaned from a consultation made to the famous Dominican theologian

into light the double concept of occupation and exploration of the northern zone of the island. We therefore find here a secular outlook on one side, divided among the high officials of the Council of the Indies --advisers to the King-- who were strongly for the conquest of the island as a deterrent force to the danger created by the Dutch; a situation which served as an occasion for Philip IV¹⁴ to write two letters with expressed orders to expel them from their fort in Tainan, orders which were never really fulfilled. On the other hand, there was a group who, with direct knowledge of the terrain, and overcome by a feeling of instability of the permanent defense "in extremis" of the Philippine archipelago, contemplated, like Juan Cevicos¹⁵ or the Governor Corcuera himself, the abandonment of the island, thinking that with this move, no strategic point would ever be lost; on the contrary, it could at the same time mean more reinforcement for those places which they considered were of greater importance. At the vanguard of this secular outlook were the religious, fully supportive of the move to keep the island, both because of the apostolic success they had achieved, as well as because the Chinese mission territory wherein the Dominicans could expand in was that of Fukien, in front of the coastline of Formosa, being, as it were, an important stepping stone to their work in China and Japan.

Though in principle the relations between the religious and the officials were not bad, at the same time, conflicts were always around, normally brought about by the undesirable conduct of some of the soldiers, since in these extreme corners of the Spanish empire

in Manila, Fr. Domingo Gonzalez, concerning "*whether the harm done by the Spaniards to the natives, from the moment they arrived there till now, was justified, or whether they should have to make reparations*". FERNANDEZ, Pablo. *Dominicos donde nace el Sol*, Barcelona, 1958, p. 136.

14. Letter of April 21 and December 4, 1640, AGI, Philippines, 329.

15. AGI, Philippines, 37.

no elite troops were assigned. Some of them had established illicit relations with native female inhabitants, who at times had run away from their hometowns. Such incidents were indeed deplorable, making the missionary work more difficult. To this problem should be added an assignment entrusted to the missionaries by the governor of Manila: to act as judges in the diverse civil suits among the soldiers. This was a thankless job to carry out in a situation where robbery was frequent among the soldiers, the consequence of a low quality of life in the barracks --accentuated by a measly budget which almost transformed the soldier into a "meteco"-- and without doubt, as a reflection of how the coast of China looked then: a nest of greediness, smuggling and piracy in all imaginable forms.

A reflection of this was the ambivalent attitude of the natives toward the Spaniards, whether soldiers or religious. They boasted in saying that they could walk alone from one side of the island to the other with no risk --which definitely was not true at all-- and to enjoy the esteem of the natives --something more akin to the truth. It was not in vain that they succeeded in creating institutions of learning, which even though few in number, were established under the inspiration of those already existing in Manila, where the Santo Tomas College would later acquire the status of a university, the first one in Asia. In this institution of Formosa, they planned to raise children who were given away by their parents (with the goal of preserving them from death), a custom which was in vogue in the missions. As a consequence, the Spanish language --in these first "departments of Spanish"-- started to be spoken with great fluency, and not only by the children but also by the natives who frequented the settlements, whose Spanish was very much comparable to those of the settlements in Flandes. The Dominicans, on their part, "reduced to art" --that is to say, transformed into grammar-- the language of the natives of Tamsui, which they thought --considering the

other dialects in the same category-- was quite easy to learn.¹⁶

In the last analysis, the external activity which concerned the officialdom most was that of commerce, since that was what in great measure justified their presence there. In reality, the commercial life in Manila, which was dependent on the commerce with Cambodia, Siam, Indochina, and especially with China, experienced in those years a very favorable development, simultaneous with the Spanish presence in Taiwan, even though it may be difficult to know exactly if the latter fact had a direct relationship to the former, or vice-versa, or if this was just a coincidence.¹⁷ The fact was that the chronic decrease in frequency of the arrival of the junk boats during the first quarter of the 17th century (caused by commercial piracy of the Dutch) would only be turned around towards 1627, when the settlements of Formosa were founded. In the same manner, they would again decline when the policy of the Governor of the Philippines, Corcuera, opposing the orders of the King,¹⁸ became more and more hostile to the presence of said establishments, alleging that there was much more need of such military forces for the defense of Manila, and in the conflicts in Mindanao.

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16. To these studies of the filology of native dialects, one must add, as Fernando Mateos recently emphasized (MATEOS, Fernando. *La primera escuela de mandarín para extranjeros*, in "Encuentros en Catay", no. 4, 1990, Fujen University, pp. 13-22), the creation of the first school of Mandarin for strangers in Taiwan, which though expert in its teaching method, did not have that much number of students.
17. See the review and reconstruction of this commerce done by Demetrio Ramos (*Historia General de España y América*, Vol. 16, p. 506), from the series given by Pierre Chaunu (*Seville et l'Atlantique*), and María Lourdes Díaz Trechuelo (*Relaciones de Oriente en la Edad Moderna. Veinte años de comercio entre China y Filipinas*, FCE, México, 1968).
18. The King wrote again, this time to Corcuera, urging him to expulse from the island the Dutch (AGI, Philippines, 330). Nevertheless, in 1637, the budget for Formosa was reduced by half of the previous years budget, and in 1638, to just a third of it (AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 409-b, folios 29-49). Take note that the mail between Spain and the Philippines used to take anywhere between one to two years, or even more.

In fact, during the period of greatest commercial activity in the port of San Salvador, between 1627 and 1632, the governor of the plaza had a clear and effective commercial control by his power of granting business licenses. In the beginning, there were even important developments, since the Mandarins from the Pescadores and from the coast of China, eyeing keenly the Spanish armada in Formosa, went to the extent of establishing diplomatic relations with the latter, which finally led to the establishment of an embassy in Formosa.¹⁹ Commercial activity along the coast of Fukien revolved principally around the initiative of the Chinese, who went in search of silver, and who managed to deal with the Japanese, offering the latter silk, in exchange for their metal, which they observed to be produced in increasingly greater quantity in their country. They also obtained silver from the subsequent trips of Spanish merchants, who, in their absence, caused the governor to actually become the client, making use of the little silver coming from New Spain which had arrived to him through the "socorro de Manila". In so doing, the governor was able to maintain in good standing the plaza, a system which was provisional in nature and which would have been impossible to prolong indefinitely.²⁰ Another source of silver for the Chinese were the natives, in which case they made use of two methods. One was by direct interchange with the metal they got from their mines, and another way was to persuade them to demand silver from the Spaniards as payment for the provisions which the latter acquired from the natives. But since, the silver obtained from either of these

19. The governor of the plaza of San Salvador, and the provincial of the Dominicans, Fr. Bartolomé Martínez, established an embassy which nurtured great hopes, but the events of 1627 in the Continent converted these expectations into nothing.

20. According to certified reports of the accountant of the Real Hacienda, Simón de Toro, about 78,000 pesos was sent from Manila to the Formosa Island between 1634 and 1642, with this amount decreasing in the latter years. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 409-b, folios 29-49, The greater part of this money was not saved by the soldiers; on the contrary, it finally ended up with the Sangleys.

methods did not have such a high value, the commerce with the natives was directed at the same time to obtain sulphur, hemp and hide, the latter item being coveted also by the Japanese, and which the Dutch from Tainan exported in great quantity.

The benefits obtained by the Spaniards from this commerce, carried out in the territory under their control and regulation, was not much either. Since this commerce was not immediately converted into a flourishing one, there was a fear that a package of unfavorable measures would ultimately dissolve it. This was in fact one of those points in which the officialdom clashed head-on with the Religious who in their greatest moments of creativity, about the year 1632, outlined projects of development and establishment of institutions in the colony, seeking, among other things, the creation of hospitals which should, they said, be financed by the creation of a monopoly on the sale of some of these commercial products. But neither these nor other measures like the increasing of agricultural production, the raising of livestock, etc., which they discussed and proposed, was to be successfully implemented. On the contrary, commerce in the colony became more and more disorganized, somehow anticipating its end with the abandoning of the fort in Tamsui in 1639, upon the orders of Corcuera.²¹ Finally, the Spanish adventure finally ended with their defeat in 1642 by the Dutch who, a decade earlier, having learned about the Spanish settlement, decided to reinforce their Zeelandia castle. Then they began extensive movement deeper into the island, wherein they found that the realities of life, though more complex than those encountered by the Spaniards, were, after all not as insurmountable as what was initially expected.

21. And out of fear of the Chinese, caused by the revolts they instigated in places near Manila, and the harshness by which these were put down.

CONCLUSION

The fact that the Spanish presence in Taiwan constituted another strategic point in the commercial routes of the Spaniards --as manifested by the fragment expeditions from Manila to Acapulco-- seemed to justify the attitude of those who at the beginning of the century defended their conquest of the island, or at least their presence in the island. The same justification can be put forward, to explain why, once the settlements have been set up, more and more resources were assigned to them in anticipation of a contest with the Dutch over the possession of the island. This seems even more logical, as it was evident in the beginning --when there was still an equilibrium of power-- that not only a confluence of policy with the Chinese, but in addition, the apparent lack of Spanish colonial ambition also brought them much closer to the former --as noted by Goddard-- in contrast to the cold relations which developed between the Dutch and the Chinese.²²

Moreover, the increase in commerce inspired not only the transfer of silver from New Spain to Manila; in addition, as has been seen earlier, the work in the local silver mines improved, as well as those in Japan, thus strengthening the circulation of this metal, the sale of which, at that time, was almost completely absorbed by China alone. This silver, together with that coming from Holland and England --which also came from America-- contributed in creating a precious metal-based economy in China.

22. GODDARD, W. G. *Formosa. A study in Chinese History*, Melbourne, MacMillan, 1966. Goddard considered positively the Spanish presence, saying that "*They (the Spaniards) followed very much the Chinese philosophy of tsung, chu ch'uan, with the difference that the Christian way of life, as Spain understood it, and not Chinese civilization, was to be the norm of life among the people. This Spanish policy was much closer to that of China than to the Dutch. Had the Spaniards prevailed in Formosa the history of the island might have been entirely different and much bloodshed and disorder prevented*" (p. 53).

Finally, I believe that what has been explained above contributes to verify those theses which claim that the example of organization and occupation of a territory, both by the Spaniards as well as by the Dutch (the Portuguese and the English could also be included), was what inspired the adventures of Koxinga whose *"mental horizon exceeded that of his compatriots, and there is no doubt that if he conceived the idea of forming an empire, it was by way of imitation of the European navigators. His attempt constituted the first exposure of the Chinese people to the outside world, and marked for this people the beginnings of an era of overseas emigration, a phenomenon destined to find an immense extension in the centuries which followed."*²³

23. PILLORGET, Rene. *Historia Universal*, Vol. IX. "Del Absolutismo a las Revoluciones", EUNSA, Pamplona, 1985. It should not be forgotten that the father of Koxinga, also known as Iquam, had a continuous dealing with the Spaniards and the Dutch --as both Spanish and Dutch sources confirm--; the Dutch say that after many years of acting as interpreter in the V.O.C., he left the company in 1627 in order to head a group of pirates (GODDARD, *op. cit.* p. 64); in other words, after learning the job, he then established himself on his own. Moreover, Koxinga, immediately after the conquest of Taiwan, already planned the extension of his empire to the Philippines (which only his death prevented him from doing so), sending as an ambassador to Manila, the Dominican from Amoy, Fr. Victorio Ricci.

