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Chapter 12

Ilha Formosa, Seventeenth Century: Archaeology in Small Islands, History of Global Processes

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12.1 Introduction

According to written historical records and maps, the Spanish colony of San Salvador de Quelang (now Hoping Dao, Keelung) was founded in 1626 in Hoping Dao, a small island on the northern part of Taiwan (Borao et al. 2001, 2002; Fig. 12.1). Understanding this historical episode—as well as the broader context of Iberian colonialism in Southeast Asia and the Pacific—is essential to throw light on some key historical developments in this region in the seventeenth century, and their subsequent global repercussions.

Before going into further detail as to the specifics of the Taiwanese case study, I will make some previous considerations in order to contextualize the chapter. Indeed, this task is not completely out of place given the relative novelty of historical archaeology in Spain, where the research presented here was initially conceived of, and in Taiwan, where it is still being developed. If Orser (2010, p. 111) can refer to an ‘explosion’ of this discipline when noting the works published since 2000 in the USA, the subsequent academic debate and the setting out of its main notions do not necessarily apply easily to Europe and specifically in countries where archaeology is not anthropology based. Furthermore, in the USA the term has been mainly identified as a proxy for post-Columbian archaeology (e.g., Deetz 1977; Orser 1996, 2010; Mayne 2008; Pykles 2011). Both this limited post-1492 sense and intellectual roots in anthropology are linked phenomena and define historical archaeology in the Anglo-American tradition (Orser 2010, p. 112), whereas in other contexts some justification is needed, since the label appears to be redundant. In Spain, where archaeology has always been deeply anchored within history and therefore archaeology as a whole is observed as a source of historical knowledge, the adjective ‘historical’ may lack specificity. In this chapter, nonetheless, I choose to retain the narrow sense of post-Columbian historical archaeology which fits with the chronology of the processes I study. It also reflects the unprecedented scale and geographic spread of the historical developments under study, globe-spanning historical processes that were to shape today’s world. And archaeology, firmly rooted in global history, provides relevant approaches to grasp the articulation of the short- and long-term projection of different processes; beyond the understanding of the specific event, archaeology throws light on the environmental effects generated when species of plants and animals were transported across continents in mass amounts; the demographic impact of the first European landings on local populations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the spread of disease at an unprecedented pace over the entire

globe (e.g., the project '*Global History of Health*,' http://global.sbs.ohio-state.edu/european_module.htm); or the transformation of power relations and gender roles brought about by contact. Indeed, Asia-Pacific and specifically some regions in it, though relatively neglected up to recent times, must be observed as core areas of worldwide transformations, especially (though not only) with the development of global commerce routes through the so-called Manila Galleon trade since the sixteenth century.

The Manila Galleon has been a substantial research topic for historians and its huge significance for the beginning of global trade has been gradually acknowledged (e.g., Flynn and Giráldez 1995; Clossey 2006). Archaeological research on this subject, however, is still scarce, and this is all the more unfortunate given the light it might throw on recent historical debates over the definition of 'globalization,' one of its main aspects being whether the emphasis is placed on consumption over production, or vice versa (McCants 2007). For economists, production has traditionally been the classical *locus* from which explanations of the origin of globally connected market systems must originate. And yet consumption and its transformation is increasingly being seen as the real trigger for global trade or even globalization itself (McCants 2007), whose chronological coordinates are thus shifted back to the early modern period. With its focus on material culture, archaeology is ideally equipped to make significant contributions to this debate.

The research presented in this chapter must also be located within the context of the Taiwanese (local native) population's historical trajectory, allowing for the impact of colonialism to be more accurately evaluated. This is a significant factor in this project not the less due to the fact that the archaeologists involved in it have a background in prehistoric archaeology, having therefore an eye for peoples without a written voice and experience on the study of social dynamics extending across *deep time* (spanning millennia in some cases). This naturally affects the view of the archaeological record sustained by this project, which thus intends a loosening of a potential Eurocentric unique vision. Eurocentrism is indeed a most significant issue at the core of the entire discipline (Orser 2012), difficult to escape given the previous definition of what historical archaeology is, but much debated. It has abundantly been pointed out that the role played in early modern history by historical agents of non-European origin has been neglected (e.g., Stein 2005; Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Mayne 2008; Orser 2010), and in the Asia-Pacific region the charge is true with regard to native peoples (in Taiwan), Chinese, Japanese, other Southasian groups navigating and trading over the entire region, in addition to Muslim groups and the expansion of Islam. Most of these communities had been engaged in colonial expansion of sorts long before Colón reached America. The concept of colonialism itself may be reengineered to justify that only Europeans actually engaged in it, but even so, the exclusion of non-European agents is not tenable, whether we resort to the widespread notion of 'cultural encounter,' or to restrictive definitions of colonialism as wealth extraction. The game of exclusions seems to work at different scales; non-Chinese actors and sources, for instance, have also been consistently neglected within Southeast Asia at large (Stark and Allen 1998, pp. 163–164). This Russian doll-like mechanism of exclusions at the heart of many studies on early modern history and colonialism will probably need to be thoroughly addressed and dismantled in the coming years (e.g., Hall 2013). Part of the problem lies on the lack of written texts for these groups; but as historical archaeology has adopted as one of its core objectives the goal of revealing 'the subaltern lives of oppressed groups' of all kinds (Mayne 2008, p. 100), it has become a fundamental tool for the study

of communities neglected by texts, an endeavor, by the way, which began within history itself, from micro-history to *Annales*, as well as through the impact of ‘anthropological history’ works such as Wolf’s 1982 *Europe and the People without History*. This influence can reframe historical archaeology as the study of peoples traditionally disregarded as passive recipients of others’ actions, the analysis of their agency, their negotiation with the colonists, their attitude toward the environment, or the colonists’ and locals’ daily practices in a colonial situation; all of the topics that can be seen as aspects of the development of social complexity, conflict, and social transformation, issues not far from (my own) prehistorical interests. Both historical archaeology and the archaeology of early modern colonialism are openly political endeavors, dealing (needless to say not exclusively) with issues such as discrimination, poverty, liberty, slavery, repression, torture, and incarceration (e.g., Leone 2005; Funari et al. 2010; Orser 2011; DAACS: *Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery*, <http://www.daacs.org/>). It thus may—and wishes to—have an impact on current politics (e.g., Matthews et al. 2002). Indeed, the current concern for globalization and its links with neoliberalism, and the understanding of their origins are main inspirations for many authors working within historical archaeology.

12.2 Spanish Colonialism in Taiwan

The initiative to found a colony in Hoping Dao was launched by the Spanish government in the Philippines, which was under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (*Virreinato de Nueva España*) since 1565, when the trade route between Manila and Acapulco—the so-called Manila Galleon—was inaugurated. This commercial route (which lasted until 1815, when the Mexican War of Independence disrupted it) was for centuries the vector structuring three-way trade flows between Spain, its overseas domains in the Americas, and the Asia-Pacific region. It is therefore thought to be the first actual globe-spanning connection with significant repercussions, both in terms of the world economy (see Flynn and Giráldez 1995), as well as in terms of local lifestyles around different parts of the globe. The Manila Galleon trade is a fine illustration of the mutual interdependence of the global and the local. As Clossey puts it, ‘the China galleons (...) drew together the histories of peoples on opposite sides of the Pacific. The commodities transported did not upon arrival dissolve into inspectors’ account books; they took their places in everyday life. Their consumption, an ocean or more away from their origins, had cultural consequences’ (2006, p. 46).

After a long internal debate, the Spanish launched the conquest of Taiwan from the Philippines, finally establishing two colonies: San Salvador de Isla Hermosa (or San Salvador de Quelang), founded in present-day Hoping Dao (Keelung) in 1626, and Santo Domingo, founded in present-day Tamsui in 1628 (Borao et al. 2001, 2002). San Salvador held at least a fortress, three auxiliary forts, a church, and a convent—*Convento de Todos los Santos*—and several quarters including Spanish, Chinese (*Parian*), and native ones. ‘Quelang used to be incredibly busy: Spanish galleons from Manila used to ply there, ships were loaded for Japan, and Cavalangians came there with their merchandise. Quelang used to have a built-up area with streets and all kinds of shops, run by traders,’ as Lucas Kilas, a native informer for the Dutch, reported (Blussé and Everts 2006, p. 565).

The Spanish and their allies kept their presence in Tamsui until, after a native revolt, the fort of Santo Domingo was dismantled in 1637–1639. The grounds of the fort would later be occupied by the Dutch, and the Chinese after them. For centuries, the site has never ceased being in use, and in our times the restored remains

of the successive edifications built to take advantage of its privileged position still bear witness to its strategic value. On its part, the fort of San Salvador, the main Spanish stronghold in Taiwan, remained in Spanish hands until 1642. At the end of August that year, the Dutch attacked from their main base at Fort Zeelandia in Tayouan (now the Anping District of Tainan City), launching a combined operation by land and sea that culminated in the taking of the strategic outposts of La Mira and La Retirada in Hoping Dao. Under these circumstances the fort of San Salvador, threatened by enemy artillery on higher grounds, had no choice but to surrender. It was the end of the Spanish presence on the island (for a full account of the action, see Borao 2009).

The Dutch lost the fort temporarily in 1662, when Fort Zeelandia also fell in Chinese hands. When, in 1664, the Dutch tried to regain a foothold on the island, Hoping Dao was chosen as their main base of operation. They occupied the old fort of San Salvador, as well as some of its outposts, and modified them to suit their needs. But this attempt never truly succeeded, and 4 years later, in 1668, they definitely left the fort and Taiwan.

It has been proposed that there were three main motivations behind Spain's attempt at colonial expansion in Taiwan: (a) counterbalancing Dutch power, (b) trade with China, and (c) evangelization (Borao 2009). Perhaps, it was the threat posed by the Dutch presence that was the single most decisive factor, given the context of fluctuating alliances and struggles, both among the region's neighboring countries (China and Japan) and European imperial powers (mainly the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Spanish, since the English had abandoned the area after the Amboina Incident in 1623). Since the 1600s the Dutch had been progressively increasing their presence in the area. After a failed attempt at seizing Macao in continental China, they settled in Pescadores (Penghu Islands) in 1622. Finally, in 1624, they agreed with the Chinese to shift their position to Tayouan, from where they continually disrupted Spanish trade routes between Fujian (China) and Manila. They effectively managed to cut down maritime commercial traffic between Manila and Fujian at the beginning of 1626. For the Spanish, the best option to neutralize these attacks, expel the Dutch from Tayouan, and defend the Philippines, involved the conquest of Taiwan. All this was happening, moreover, around 1624, when Japan cut off all ties with Manila, a situation that potentially created an opportunity to open new commercial routes through Taiwan, after repeated failures to establish Spanish trade posts in China and Japan.

On the other hand, the evangelization of China and Japan had been a constant obsession for different religious orders, and the Augustinians in particular had been lobbying the Spanish authorities to push their way into the region through the Philippines.

Augustinian priests had been suggesting the conquest of China since 1569, and they kept on insisting throughout the rest of the sixteenth century (Ollé 2002). The first Spanish expeditions and embassies to China started with crew being sent from the Philippines in 1572, mainly led by Augustinians at the beginning, though the Jesuits took over from 1586.

In this context, seizing Taiwan was seen by the Spanish authorities as a stepping stone in the process leading to the evangelization of the region. In fact, Dominicans were prominently behind the colonization of the island. Not by chance, a church and convent was built in San Salvador de Isla Hermosa as soon as the colony was founded, and a number of Dominican missionaries reached Fujian from Taiwan during the 1630s. Despite the short time they had at their disposal, the impact of

the presence of Spanish priests on native populations in Taiwan seems comparable to the effects they had in the Marianas or the Batanes islands, since they made a relevant number of converts, and local people kept a memory of their presence and referred to it in later dealings with the Dutch: ‘The inhabitants, partly in earnest and partly in jest, have sometimes inquired if we Dutch people really be Christians, seeing that we make no show of Divine service, or try to bring them to the faith and baptize their children—which latter they have, in truth, often and earnestly asked us to do. (...) Many of the natives in that northern region are able to read Spanish, and make use of the R.C. missionary books on religious and other subjects (...) Some people of Tamsuy have more than once requested us to baptize three or four children of Dutch or other Christian fathers who were not inhabitants of the place; and we consulted with the clergymen, but found it was impossible to do so’ (letter from President Overtwater to the Governor-General of India, November 2, 1648, in Campbell 1903, p. 231); also, ‘in 1651, during a period of famine, Teodoro [a Quimaurrian elder] approached the Dutch asking for help and saying that in a similar situation the Spanish missionaries had helped them’ (cited in Borao 2009, p. 101). Although the drive to convert China to Christianity has been studied in connection with further historical developments in the Asia–Pacific region (see Clossey 2006 for a recent example), the role of Taiwan in the whole process has not yet been sufficiently analyzed.

12.3 Archaeological Research in Taiwan

Evidence of early settlements in Taiwan during the Palaeolithic period, some 25,000 years ago, has been recently uncovered (see Tsang 2011). There seems to be, however, an intriguing gap in the archaeological record until the Neolithic, around 6,000 years ago. Ongoing debates about cultural change connected with migrations from the continent are far from being closed in Taiwan, and there are growing discussions on a number of issues such as the role of the island in the Austronesian expansion, the emergence of social complexity at the end of the Neolithic, and the significance of Taiwan within the regional network of contacts throughout prehistory (see, for instance, Hung et al. 2007 on the jade trade between Taiwan and the rest of the region in the Neolithic–Bronze Age periods). Probably as a result of Taiwan’s complex history, the island has a surprisingly varied population, with at least 14 (recognized) ethnic groups. Interestingly enough, despite a long history of intense interaction with neighboring nation–states or fairly complex chiefdoms, annexation by Qing China as a province in the seventeenth century, and colonization by Japan in the late nineteenth century, a large part of the native population seem to have remained at a relatively low level of social complexity well into the twentieth century. The research presented here is trying to elucidate the social developments that may have occurred during the Neolithic, as well as the transition to the Iron Age, an open question in Taiwan—the concepts ‘Neolithic’ and ‘Iron Age’ (a ‘Bronze Age’ is not recognized in Taiwan) will be themselves objects of discussion in another publication.

If China’s impact on Taiwan, especially between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, is still insufficiently understood, the same is true of early European colonialism in the seventeenth century. There are very scarce references to Taiwanese peoples in Chinese documents either before or after this period and up to the eighteenth century (Thompson 1964). The real turning point in documentation appears to happen when the Europeans need to manage their relationships with the locals in a profitable way. European sources of information comprise, among others, letters

and official reports sent by the Spanish Governor in Taiwan to the Governor of the Philippines, reports from missionaries to their superiors (Borao et al. 2001, 2002), and Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) records (Blussé et al. 1999; Blussé and Everts 2000, 2006, 2010; Andrade 2008).

In line with previous projects in the region (to mention but a few examples: Junker 1998, and Peterson et al. 2005 in the Philippines; Lape 2002, 2005 in Island Southeast Asia [Banda and Timor]; Katsuyama-machi 2003, and Miyamoto 2004 in Japan; see also Skowronek 2009), archaeological research on early modern colonialism in Taiwan has been conducted in Tainan by Liu Yichang (personal communication); in Tamsui (Hsie 2007), and in Penghu Islands (Tsang 1992). Our excavations in Hoping Dao are, however, the first long-term comprehensive historical archaeology project in Taiwan. They began in 2011 within the framework of a bilateral Spanish–Taiwanese project (see acknowledgements). Previous excavations of the Spanish fortress of San Salvador were undertaken by a Japanese team from October 20 to November 10, 1936, focusing mainly on the northeastern bastion of the fort. However, the information obtained was never published, and it is for the most part now lost, although extensive photographic recording of the excavation has been preserved and can be seen at the database of the National Taiwan University Museum, Department of Anthropology (<http://acis.digital.ntu.edu.tw/image/main.php>, numbers 3068–3073, 3076–3156 and 3158–3170; Fig. 12.2a, b, and c). Only a brief and sketchy collection of manuscript notes was discovered in the University of Tenri, Japan, after extensive research by J. Borao (unpublished). There is no archaeological material that can be unquestionably linked to the Japanese 1936 excavation of the fort, except maybe for some ceramic vessels and fragments of the Anping Hu type, currently kept in the National Taiwan Museum in Taipei. This work in Hoping Dao is therefore the first systematic archaeological research in the settlement of San Salvador. This investigation aims not only at uncovering the remains of the Spanish enclave, but also at sketching an accurate picture of how landscapes and settlement evolved through time: the San Salvador site has a very complete sequence of occupation that includes prehistoric Taiwanese settlement, Chinese contact, European contact and colonization, Chinese later colonization, and Japanese imperialist occupation, ranging from at least the second millennium BC to the twentieth century. Though the density of urban settlement in the area makes it difficult to find building-free zones where the country’s history itself has not erased its past, this project is trying to take advantage of relatively empty spots within and close to the Spanish colony (Fig. 12.3).

12.4 Main Research Issues

The issues attracting the project’s interest can be condensed into four topics: interaction, disruption/accommodation, global trade, and environmental impacts.

12.4.1 Interaction

San Salvador de Isla Hermosa held a very complex demographic base and large variability in terms of ethnicity, class, gender, and occupation. Spanish, Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, and Dutch populations, along with the Taiwanese locals and even African slaves and other ethnicities, formed an intricate microcosm, richer and more varied than might be reflected in the written sources (Fang *in press* has recently found references to ethnic groups previously unremarked).

Filipinos formed a sizable part of the demographic contingent deployed by the Spanish in Taiwan (in 1636, there were ‘allí ocupados 220 españoles, y una compañía

de 100 indios de la Nueva Segovia.’¹ (Borao et al. 2001, p. 256), but any trace of their social, cultural, or religious identity must be determined through archaeology. The same may hold true for women, although there is in fact some information on the role of native women. A written account by Esquivel gives an image of San Salvador as having ‘a presidio de soldados, con un negro pueblecillo que se empieza ahora de soldados que se casan con las indias, y de algunas indiejuelas huidas de sus pueblos y que vienen a lo mismo, que ha de ser con el tiempo otra rochela.’² (Borao et al. 2001, p. 188). The study of this kind of accounts may be of great help to understand life in the colony; it seems that the practice of marriage between Spanish soldiers and indigenous women was encouraged by the Dominicans to promote social stability and to avoid illicit relations, and it continued during the Dutch period. Interestingly, the Dutch were particularly active in promoting marriages between Chinese men and local women.

The formation of new, creolized, or hybridized identities in this environment rises immediately as a legitimate topic for research. The study of material culture is crucial, and its variations are indicative of changing social understandings of the self. For that reason, ethnographic and archaeological examples of ‘mixed artifacts’ are especially interesting, although their chronological context still remains unclear. For instance, at the National Taiwan University Museum, and as part of the project, buttons added to certain precious garments, probably to replace more traditional shell beads (see e.g., Atayal clothing piece, VVAA 2004) have been recorded, in addition to coins employed in traditional headdresses. One of such coins was even a Chinese imitation of a Spanish coin (Borao et al. 2001, p. xvii). The project will aim to trace back in time the origins of this material hybridization whenever possible. But colonists, as well as the Taiwanese, seem to have been using Taiwanese and Chinese material culture thoroughly, much easier for them to acquire than European goods. Of course, this creates a methodological challenge for the interpretation of the archaeological record that demands a global perspective on material culture and archaeological evidence from Taiwan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or even the region as a whole. The evidence coming from shipwrecks shows the existence of mixed cargos, as in the example of the *San Diego*, a Spanish galleon sunk in 1600 in front of Cavite port that carried Chinese export porcelain, Spanish ware and Filipino, Siamese, and Chinese domestic pottery for quotidian use in the ship. This should make clear the potential complexity that should be encountered in terrestrial sites in the area, such as San Salvador. However, the evidence up to now does not hold to these expectations. In San Salvador there is just one piece of European material culture (a buckle) that can be safely identified as such, and two pottery sherds that could potentially belong to Filipino traditions but are difficult to assess. The European presence is rather indirectly asserted by the abundant findings of Chinese material culture normally associated with it, such as Batavia porcelain, Chinese export porcelain from Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou, and Anping vessels. Since the colonial households have probably not been excavated yet, this feature could just be an artifact produced by our sampling. However, this trend appears in other colonial contexts in the region, prominently in the Marianas (see Bayman and Peterson, Chap. 10) and possibly in the Philippines. It could be a result of small contingents of Europeans being settled down in the area. This issue will be investigated more thoroughly in the following years.

In any case the blurring of cultural boundaries can be documented in other ways. During the Japanese excavation in Hoping Dao in 1936, a native burial of an adult was uncovered in spatial association with a large European building (Fig. 12.4).

Again in December 2011, the native burial of a baby was found in San Salvador, in apparent spatial relationship to a European building. At first sight, these two burials could indicate a reutilization of spaces formerly used by the Europeans once they had been abandoned. But in 2014 three more adult burials were uncovered, also in clear spatial association with a European building. The baby burial was at this time rightly placed in this context, and therefore four burials have been recorded by now, located on the southwestern side of a European building. Whereas the baby was interred following a well-documented native ritual, the three adults appear to have been interred according to a Christian ritual. This raises interesting questions as to the acceptance of native rituals or to the degrees of adoption of Christianity. DNA analyses will determine, if possible, the ethnicity of the deceased people. Finally, another topic of great interest connected with the issue of cultural diversity is the coexistence of Spanish and Chinese. It is known that Spanish authorities in Manila kept a xenophobic attitude toward the Chinese (e.g., Chia 2006), as exemplified among other things by the massacres and several decrees of expulsion that were more or less strictly enforced. Given the fascination with China over all of Europe, this (almost state-sponsored) disposition in the Spanish community is worth comparing with the evidence from other predominantly Chinese colonial contexts, such as Hoping Dao, where racial policies may have been different.

12.4.2 Disruption/Accommodation

Eurocentrism, considered above as one of the ‘original sins’ of historical archaeology, has affected the understanding of the role of three population groups in our study area: (1) Taiwanese natives, (2) Chinese, Japanese, and Muslims, and, interestingly, (3) particular groups of Europeans in Asia–Pacific and especially Oceania. The inclusion of Taiwanese local peoples in our analysis is not just a matter of adding ‘local color’ to the study, as they were key agents in the colonial process. In the particular case of San Salvador site, the above-mentioned discussion about the continuity and/or potential disruption of native settlement during the Neolithic and the Iron Age in this area is especially relevant, because it places before us two very different potential scenarios: on the one hand, a millennia-long settlement was disrupted by the European irruption on the island; on the other hand, the possibility that previously Chinese and later European occupation in Hoping Dao actually attracted local peoples to settle down and possibly trade local goods with them (or marry). The archaeological record is still imprecise about this point, but it is an important issue to determine through future work, as it has diverse implications.

The situation appears to be somewhat clearer regarding the Chinese presence. Early Chinese presence seems to be attested throughout the Asia–Pacific region. In the Philippines, the earliest known Chinese records referring to trade dates back to the tenth century (Stark and Allen 1998). In the Batanes, there is evidence of Chinese pottery since at least the twelfth century (e.g., Mijares and Jago-on 2001). Chinese porcelain was highly valued in different cultures in Southeast Asia and can be found throughout the region since very early periods (Finlay 2010). As for Taiwan, there is a lively debate over the time of the arrival of Chinese traders in modern times. Contending hypotheses are based on different evidence, ranging from the dates for the appearance of Chinese porcelain in Shihshang in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (Tsang 2010, p. 59), to their traces at the impressive archaeological site of Kiwulan (Chen 2007) in the fourteenth century, to much more recent evidence dating from the seventeenth century (e.g., in Tainan Science Park, work currently being conducted by Prof. Tsang Chenghwa). Temporary Chinese

and Japanese settlements may have also existed in Hopping Dao, as well as in other areas in Taiwan, before the arrival of Europeans. One of the names given to the San Salvador colony, Quelang (or Kelang), could be a Chinese loanword reinterpreted in accordance with Spanish phonetics. Indeed, the archaeological record at Hopping Dao shows Chinese presence on the site before the European presence, observed in the extremely abundant appearance of stoneware and even Celadon porcelain. The unclear nature of the Iron Age in Hopping Dao (and for that matter, in Taiwan) and the imprecise character of the record during the phases prior to the European presence makes it difficult at this point to give a straightforward answer to the question. However, it can be hypothesized that the Chinese presence in Hopping Dao and the links they had undoubtedly established with native peoples were key factors for the Spanish settlement there.

The Japanese presence prior to the Europeans is even more scarcely known. It is known that they led a revolt against the Dutch in Fort Zeelandia, which resulted in the Shogunate cutting off relations with the VOC until 1632 (Andrade 2008). The Dutch had tried to levy taxes on the Chinese and Japanese, who replied that they were already there before the Dutch arrived. In San Salvador, the Japanese presence prior to the Europeans is not clearly established either by written texts or by archaeology.

Establishing whether this kind of settlements really existed is important because it may have interesting implications regarding European colonization. Chinese and Europeans shared their commercial interests in Taiwan. The Chinese trade was conducted privately by entrepreneurs, and it is comparable to most colonial enterprises carried out by Europeans on a private basis. And without doubt, the Chinese (along with the Japanese) were the first colonial powers in the Asia–Pacific area. The main difference between the two seems to lie in the fact that European colonialism, supported by the state, formalized this preexisting relationship; Europeans became actual middlemen, and their colonies set the ground for later developments. In this sense, the European colonies might be regarded as a secondary, formal development over pre-fertilized ground.

This is not intended to imply that Europeans had no relevant impact on the region. On the contrary, their influence might have been underestimated (e.g., Campbell 2003). The influence of early Iberian colonialism beyond the Philippines, in Southeast Asia, and the Pacific at large has recently been made clear at some particular spots (e.g., Bedford et al. 2009, p. 86) but it does not generally attract attention from dominant archaeological, historical, and anthropological historiographies. Spanish presence brought about the introduction of certain products in the Asia-Pacific region, such as sweet potato, which became a food staple in Melanesia, Micronesia, or China (Spriggs 2008; see also Clossey 2006, p. 46). Other products soon became part of local economies, social representations, and personal habits throughout the area, including Taiwan and Oceanic regions (e.g., tobacco, in Höllmann 1988), a fact that bears witness to both the intensity of local and regional dynamics of exchange and social interaction, and the preexistence of socioeconomic niches that could easily accommodate new products. Colonial inputs may thus heighten certain local dynamics that would otherwise remain hardly archaeologically visible in many cases.

12.4.3 Global Trade

What we might term ‘glocalism’ is clearly observable in certain settings if we turn our attention to material culture. Certain goods that were crucial to local economies

were at the same time commodities moving through global networks. Such goods are highly significant archaeological markers providing information on the social interactions, the movement of commodities, and the patterns of consumption in colonial contexts.

I have identified four main archaeological markers that should a priori be useful in this case study: silver, beads, tobacco-related items, and pottery. Together they provide an archaeological characterization of global trade, showing how the threads formed by material culture are interwoven into the early processes of globalization, including changes in consumption patterns, health trends, and massive voyaging. For the time being, two of these markers have been identified in the record of San Salvador de Isla Hermosa.

Beads

Beads were the regular currency employed by Europeans in bartering with the Taiwanese and other local peoples. Apparently, the Spanish used to carry great quantities of a type of yellow bead that gained a lot of importance in the north of Taiwan, as it was employed for arranging marriages. In San Salvador one of these beads has been documented, although the context cannot be safely established. Other beads were obtained by the locals through Chinese traders, and some examples of these have also been found in San Salvador.

Tobacco and Items Related to Its Consumption

Tobacco seems to have been introduced in Taiwan from the Philippines. Due to its position in the regional trade network, the island probably had a role in this product's quick dissemination throughout the Asia-Pacific area. In fact, in Taiwan tobacco became quite important in native societies, as can be deduced from ethnographic collections, although it is still too early to establish the precise date of its introduction. Kiwulan, an archaeological site located in northeastern Taiwan and dated to the seventeenth century, provides the best evidence of the impact of tobacco in the Taiwanese society. Here, almost 300 pipes have been recorded, made both in stone and clay, all of them locally made, and many of them with apparent property marks. The very characteristic hand-made pottery considered typical of Kiwulan is also found in large quantities in Hopping Dao, so the relationship between both sites, and the indirect impact of Europeans in relatively distant places, in this case through tobacco, can be tentatively hypothesized.

Tobacco is an important marker of global consumption networks, and may yield relevant information bearing on the debate on 'small luxuries' as indexes of the living standards of entire populations, and the revolution in consumption that (allegedly) led to the first globalization (McCants 2007, p. 439). Tobacco, sugar, pepper, tea, and coffee are the most conspicuous 'small luxuries,' and among them, tobacco is the one most capable of becoming an archaeological marker, due to its inextricable association with specific material culture. In fact, historical archaeology has paid wide attention to tobacco through the study of clay pipes, a most ubiquitous archaeological remain all over the world since the seventeenth century (see e.g., the project *Clay tobacco pipe makers' marks from London*, <http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/claypipes/index.asp>). In Asia, the consumption of small luxuries—and most specifically of tobacco—seems to have been as remarkable as in Europe, even becoming a public health issue in China by the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Melanesia seems to have been importing huge amounts of tobacco (Höllmann 1988), although as a region (like Micronesia for that matter) it can hardly be seen

as one of the origin points where globalization was set in motion. The study of the transformation in living standards at such locations is nevertheless relevant, for we are dealing with huge areas of the world, where transformations in consumption patterns brought about by early globalization had great historical and social significance.

Silver

Chinese demand for silver during the seventeenth century was high enough to transform the world economy (Flynn and Giráldez 1995; Frank 1998). The silver that found its way into China was produced both in Japan and in South America, but during the 1620s, the latter definitely replaced the former as the main supplier. Europeans took advantage of the enormous production of silver from America, and the metal reached China, in bullion and coin, mainly through the Manila Galleon. But much of this trade was illegal (Flynn and Giráldez 1995), and operated through very small-scale smuggling, therefore, outside control from Manila. This, of course, required a diversification of alternative trade posts, and Taiwan could have been one of them ('...mercaderes que hurtan siempre al Rey sus fletes y derechos, y que no quieren embarcar una hilacha de ropa sin que primero quiten de la nao los cargadores,'³ Borao et al. 2001, p. 187). Indeed, Chinese merchants introduced silver in Taiwan illegally, but to which degree the natives were introduced into monetary economy through silver coins (Borao 2009, p. 90) can still be debated. In the view of Jacinto Esquivel, 'la segunda cosa perniciosa es el rescatar con plata de los indios el pescado, caza, leña, sal y otras cosillas que nos venden. Los sangleyes, como andan con sus chucherías rescatando el oro que tienen, el azufre, bejuco, corambre (...) y las demás cosas, les han impuesto a los indios de la isla, con su gran codicia, el que pidan la paga en plata de lo que nos venden para tener de ellos más que recoger, y es cierto que les han sacado plata por este medio, y como estos indios de Quimaurri y Taparri son los que todo lo trajinan, llenaron de esta doctrina a los indios de Tamchuy que estaban harto inocentes del valor de ella, y a mi me sucedió que estando concertando un casamiento de un español con una india del río, y comprándoles la mujer, como ellos acostumbran, dando el precio de ella a sus parientes, en tibores, carars (...), mantas, y piedras, ellos se volvían atrás y no querían diciendo les dieran el precio de ella en pesos, pero si lo han hecho, y lo harán, teniendo tierra. Ahora no solo aquí en Tamchuy, sino también en la isla han dado todos el rescate con cuentas o piedras de las sobredichas, y sale todo muy barato porque nos está muy bien el precio en que los tienen puesto los sangleyes, y así los soldados juzgarán piedras como si fueran dinero, porque ellas son el dinero con que compran todo y sería muy bien pasar esto adelante, lo cual se podría hacer dándoles parte del socorro en ello, y parte en dinero con que poder vestirse'⁴ (Borao et al. 2001, pp. 177–178). Thus, two possibilities (that the natives were engaged in monetary economy, and that the Spaniards were disengaged from it) could theoretically be proposed. If, in fact, Taiwan became a recipient of silver, which was already potentially impacting the local Taiwanese economy in the seventeenth century, this is difficult to assess through archaeological records. Silver apparently did not accumulate to a large extent during the Spanish times; rather, it appears to have been extremely socially mobile, and to have been channeled toward China, both through the Spanish colonists and Taiwanese native inhabitants. Indeed, scarce evidence of metal, generally speaking, has been found overall in Hoping Dao until now. However, Mexican silver has been attested to have been in use by local populations until the eighteenth century; this silver is named fóyín (佛銀) in Chinese sources (Chen

Chen Fang, personal communication). Also, silver droplets in clothing are characteristic of Rukai nobility (VVAA 2004).

Pottery

Chinese porcelain also had a huge impact on the world economy, unleashing, among a wide array of other processes, a change in consumption patterns first in Southeast Asia and, ultimately, in Europe (e.g., Finlay 2010). Pottery constitutes therefore a key archaeological marker in the entire region that also applies to the San Salvador colony, where Chinese pottery—and more specifically porcelain—has been found in abundance since times prior to the seventeenth century. The use of porcelain in domestic contexts reflects the above-mentioned change in the consumption of ‘small luxuries’ all over the world (McCants 2007). The archaeological detection of porcelain is interesting outside domestic contexts, too, as a case study in a location north of Acapulco shows that the discovery of sixteenth-century Chinese porcelain at the site supports the interpretation that this was a smuggling point on the Manila Galleon trade (Junco 2011). And as mentioned, smuggling is probably a hot topic to really understand the articulation of global and local trade in the region.

Porcelain from China (especially from Zhangzhou kilns) is not the only type of pottery wares being investigated in recent times; Japanese Hizen pottery has been identified so far both in Manila and Tainan (Nogami 2006). As Nogami observes, ‘it is not certain that Chinese ships went directly from Nagasaki to Manila. I suppose that some cities in Taiwan and southern China, around the South China Sea, were relay ports for the trade network of Hizen porcelain in Chinese junks (...) As for the Hizen porcelain imported to Manila, it is highly possible that many pieces of it were imported to Manila by Chinese junks via Taiwan. I think Taiwan played an important role in the trade in Hizen porcelain between the 1660s and 1680s’ (2006, pp. 127–128). Thorough archaeological confirmation of this hypothesis would support the idea of Taiwan as a significant part of the regional trade network.

Potential finding of European wares, still unknown in Hopping Dao, could, among other things, signal the replacement of Asian manufactures by lower quality European products, such as delftware (McCants 2007, p. 436), and pinpoint the strength of particular production centers in Europe. From the point of view of Chinese historiography, implications can of course differ.

12.4.4 Environmental Impacts

Generally speaking, what we might call the ecology of early colonialism is a topic still awaiting attention. In addition to the potential environmental impacts generated by the introduction of new and hugely successful plant species in the region (e.g., Bañas 1991)—for example, the introduction of new species by the Europeans appears to be attested in Kiwulan with the guava—other processes must be taken into account. A large episode of sedimentation—to the point of obliteration of the former bay—was observed in the Dutch colony of Tayouan. Our preliminary inquiries at Hopping Dao point to two possible large episodes of soil deposition (Juana Pérez and Santiago Ormeño, personal communication). In Hopping Dao, apparently, later Dutch sources pointed to an increase in sediment deposition in the bay, which made more difficult for big ships to anchor (Borao 2009, p. 106). Deforestation, perhaps caused by the (as yet hypothetical) need for wood for ship-building, could be one reason, wood being a strategic resource in a ship-based economy. This issue clearly needs further attention, as it reflects (like the focal points of research mentioned above) the intersection between intangible global dynamics and life-affecting local

impacts.

Another way of explaining at least one large episode of soil deposition apparently related to the European period in Hoping Dao is a human-driven contribution of rich organic soil that can be interpreted as the intentional formation of a garden (Fig. 12.5), which would be consistent with the written sources in that the convent of Todos los Santos, in San Salvador de Quelang colony, had an associated garden. The remains of the European building found in 2012 and 2014, together with the four burials recorded, may point to the potential discovery of this convent/church and a related cemetery. In this case, the study of the introduction of European species, a fact based on the written sources, would be brought to the fore. More research is currently being developed in this direction.

12.5 Conclusions

Every colonial setting needs to be deciphered in its own terms, but the investigation of particular events does not rule out comparisons, analysis of similar patterns, or the detection of variations in the programs carried out by different colonizing polities (Stein 2005, p. 29). Colonial contexts are particular combinations of homeland ideologies and *Realpolitik*, which tend to generate utterly complex social formations, and Hoping Dao is no exception. Our case study is particularly rich, with a large variety of heterogeneous agents interacting in a setting that, although an island, does not seem to have been in isolation at any time in history. The Taiwan case study is also relevant insofar as it highlights certain failures in our discipline, such as the lack of attention to early colonial endeavors on the part of neglected historical agents that, interestingly enough, seem to converge here in the seventeenth century. Europeans draw on preexisting commercial relations between Taiwan and continental China and Japan, creating state institutions where previously there were only individual enterprises run on a private basis.

Taiwan, with its links to the Philippines, is important for any investigation of the beginnings of global trade in the area. Although hitherto rather neglected, its strategic importance in the region's maritime trade networks is being increasingly acknowledged (e.g., Ollé 2005; Chia 2006). It has been noted that there was a much larger traffic between Manila and Taiwan between 1664 and 1684 than had been traditionally acknowledged (see Fang 2006). Especially between 1624 and 1685 (when the Qing reestablish commercial relations), Taiwan was a point of passage in sea routes in the area. Its role in the region's economy between 1662 and 1683, as the seat of Ming loyalists, was crucial (Chen Chen Fang, personal communication). Historians' views have already evolved into a recognition of Asia's significance in the early modern period (e.g., Frank 1998, Hamashita et al. 2008), and increasingly richer and wider visions need to be taken into account. This entails including within the picture certain previously neglected areas of the world, and certain colonial agents that have been systematically ignored; and it also means resorting to other disciplines, such as archaeology.

In discussions on the beginnings of globalization, a new paradigm is emerging—one which sees globalization triggered by a revolution in consumption rather than by industrial production processes (McCants 2007). McCants (2007, p. 434) suggests that historians must not simply relocate 'the epicenter of globalization outside of Europe or in an earlier time period,' but also change the 'very questions that are asked, and the kinds of data thought suitable for or worthy of comparative historical analysis.' For her, the 'growing body of documentation provided by early modern household inventory studies' (McCants 2007, p. 435) is crucial. It is clear, however,

that archaeology has much to say in this debate, given its focus on material remains and material culture, which enables it to analyze actual consumption patterns at the local, microscale. In fact, the new questions that McCants believes need to be asked by historians are core concerns in our discipline.

McCants' (2007, p. 435) program for historians includes '(1) develop new chronologies of globalization; (2) recognize that there were multiple geographic centers of economic achievement at different times (...); and (3) develop and use alternative yardsticks of economic success in place of, or at least in addition to, the theoretically unsatisfactory, albeit ubiquitous, measure of gross domestic product (GDP).' An archaeological program on the same wavelength must focus, in my view, on (1) demographic pulses in colonial situations, (2) economic exploitation brought about by colonialism, (3) the growth of social inequality within local societies as a result of foreign irruption, (4) consumption of commodities circulating through global trade networks, (5) maritime networks (through a better development of maritime and underwater archaeology; e.g., Flatman and Staniforth 2006), and (6) changes in the environment at the local scale. All of these processes are of great relevance in our present world.

Although comprehensive archaeological research on historical subjects—even on historical institutions as significant as the Manila Galleon—is unfortunately not very abundant yet (e.g., Junco 2011), this chapter argues for the relevance of historical archaeology for global history, especially as regards a set of specific issues such as the study of consumption. Cracks and fissures in the edifice of our discipline—including flaws as yet undetected—may be revised from the perspective of academic traditions hitherto regarded as 'marginal' (Spanish and Taiwanese ones, being, why not, good examples of them), taking advantage of their different backgrounds, sources, and perceptions of the role of archaeology.

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1 'The 220 Spaniards and a company of 100 indios from Nueva Segovia.'

2 'An encampment and a troublesome village to attend to, the soldiers have started to marry the native women, some of whom have left their villages to live near the fort, which can cause other frictions in the future.'

3 'Merchants who always try to defraud the king of his taxes and rights, refusing to load even a single piece of cloth unless the inspectors and guards leave the ship.'

4 'The second pernicious thing [in Taiwan, for the Spanish] is the practice of using silver to barter fish, game, logs, salt and other items that the natives sell to us. The sangleys, who go about bartering their trinkets for the natives' gold, sulphur, liana, hide (...) and such things have, in their greed, required the natives of the island to ask us to pay for what they sell us in silver so that they (the sangleys) could collect more from them; and they have succeeded in getting more silver that way. The natives of Quimaurri and Taparri, who are wor[ld]ier and who know this way around, taught this practice to the natives of Tamsui, who were previously ignorant of the value of silver. I was once officiating the marriage of a Spaniard with a native girl from a town along the river. As it is customary, the girl was bought from her relatives with clay jars, carar (...), cloth, and stones. But they refused, asking instead to be paid in pesos, which was and will be done, since they had lands. Now, barter with beads and stones is done not only in Tamsui but also in the island. It turns out cheaper for us because of the price set by the sangleys. And so the soldiers would consider the beads as money, since these are used to buy everything. It is good to allow this to go on, and to give part of the aid to them in that form, and the other in money for clothes'.