

The Spanish Forts in Tidore – Marco Ramerini

THE SPANISH FORTS IN TIDORE

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1 - INTRODUCTION

This research aims to want to shed light on an aspect of the history of the Moluccas islands that is still largely unexplored. Its purpose is to trace through the study of manuscripts and other documents a preliminary framework of the fortifications, the Spanish had built on the island of Tidore, one of the Moluccas, the fabled Spice Islands, during the years 1521-1663.¹

As is well known, already from the Magellan expedition (1521) the Spaniards tried several times to gain control of the Spice Islands at the expense of the Portuguese, with whom they had often bitter differences. The Spaniards established alliances with the kings of Tidore and Jailolo and Spanish troops were on the islands during the years 1527-1534 and 1544-1545. The failure to discover a way back across the Pacific, however, prevented them to compete with the Portuguese naval power. In 1529 Spain and Portugal signed an agreement concerning the Moluccas the Treaty of Zaragoza, with whom the King of Spain abandoned all claims on the islands, at least nominally, in exchange for 350,000 ducats.

The first period of interest of the Spaniards in the Moluccas was characterized by the struggle against the Portuguese for the control of the islands. It began with the arrival of the Magellan expedition in 1521 and ended in 1545 with the surrender to the Portuguese Army of Villalobos. Between these two expeditions the Spaniards sent other fleets, including those of Loaisa (1527) and Saavedra (1528) as well as the unfortunate adventure of the Grijalva expedition (1538). The expedition of Villalobos was prepared after the Treaty of Zaragoza. For this reason the expedition was directed to unspecified Spice Islands not yet occupied by Portugal. The center of all these activities of the Spaniards remained throughout this period the island of Tidore.

¹ In addition to this study on the island of Tidore I am also preparing a study on the [Spanish forts on Ternate](#) and the other Moluccas islands. These specific researches are part of a larger study on the [Spanish presence in the Moluccas \(1606-1663\)](#), study to which I am already devoting several years, but due to its complexity it is still in the making. For the research purposes, I am doing, it would also be interesting to see the places mentioned in the documents on the spot and to carry out a systematic work of recognition of the remains of the fortifications. I would finally be able to study some basic documents, which I consider of great interest and importance, existing in the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental (AFIO) in Madrid and in other archives. Presently, however, I have not yet the chance and financial means to proceed with my research work on the spot.

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2 – THE EXPEDITIONS OF MAGELLAN AND VILLALOBOS: THE FIRST SPANISH CONTACTS WITH THE ISLAND OF TIDORE AND THE FIRST SPANISH FORT

In the first half of the sixteenth century, upon the arrival of the Europeans, two main kingdoms competed for control of the Moluccas islands, they were the Ternate sultanate and the kingdom of Tidore. The first, more powerful, controlled in addition to the island of Ternate also half of that of Moti, the northern part of the island of Halmahera called Moro, the island of Ambon, the eastern part of Ceram and the north-eastern area of Sulawesi. The kingdom of Tidore, in addition to the island of Tidore, controlled the other half of the island of Moti, the island of Makian, most of the island of Halmahera and the western part of New Guinea. Control over these lands was exercised directly or through vassalage.

Then there were two other minor kingdoms: that of Bacan and that of Jailolo. The kingdom of Bacan, whose capital was on the island of Kasiruta, extended its influence over the archipelago of Bacan and the northern part of Ceram. The kingdom of Bacan was a large producer of sago, a staple food of the Moluccan populations, but was sparsely populated. The kingdom of Jailolo instead had once been the most important of the region, but in 1500 it was in decline and controlled only the northwestern part of Halmahera, Jailolo will be essentially annexed by Ternate and the Portuguese in 1551.

Upon the arrival of the Portuguese, the sultan of Ternate managed to secure their alliance and in 1522 asked and obtained the construction of a Portuguese fortress on his island. The alliance with the Portuguese unbalanced even more in favor of Ternate the power relations with Tidore and on the other hand, Tidore, upon the arrival of the ships of the Magellan expedition, promptly requested the assistance of the Spaniards.²

The Spaniards had the first contacts with the island of Tidore, during the expedition of Magellan. In 1521 the two surviving ships of the expedition, the '*Trinidad*' and the '*Victoria*', arrived in the Moluccas Islands. The Spanish vessels entered the port of Tidore on November 8, 1521, where they were well received by the king of the island. The ship '*Victoria*' remained at Tidore until December 21, 1521, from where it set off again along the Indian Ocean route for Europe, which it successfully reached on September 6, 1522. The '*Trinidad*', on the other hand, which needed to be

² Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia I, 1542-1577*" (Roma, 1974) 3*-4*

De Silva, C. R. "*The Portuguese and the trade in cloves in Asia during the sixteenth century*" In: Various authors "*An expanding world*, vol. 11" 261.

repaired, set sail from Tidore on April 6, 1522, attempting without success to cross the Pacific Ocean, it was forced to return to the Moluccas in October 1522, where the crew was captured by the Portuguese. The Portuguese in the meantime had settled in Ternate where they had built a fortress.³

The first contact with the Tidorese was purely commercial, even if the Spanish, following the request of the king of Gilolo, an ally of Tidore, supplied two pieces of artillery and some soldiers to participate in a punitive expedition against an enemy of the king. The king of Gilolo and that of Tidore declared themselves subjects of the king of Spain, hoping in doing so to balance the excessive power of their bitter enemy, the sultan of Ternate, with Spanish help. This act of submission greatly angered the Portuguese, who had already had commercial relations with Ternate for some years and who considered the entire Moluccas archipelago as their possession.

Upon their departure, the Spaniards promised the king of Tidore that with the next expedition they would build a fortress in Tidore, and for this purpose, they left on their farm, in addition to the merchandise and 5 men⁴ also 40 'bombardadas', many 'beftas' and 'espigardas' and various other weapons.⁵

The promise of building a fort at Tidore was, in fact, fulfilled. The next expedition, under the command of which was originally Loaisa, built a fortress of stone, sand and crushed stone in Tidore. The small fort was built in January 1527 in the main city of the island.

Let's look in more detail at the events that led to the construction of the first Spanish fort at Tidore. After crossing the Pacific Ocean, the only surviving vessel of the Loaisa expedition, the vessel 'Victoria', commanded by Captain Martin Iñiguez de Carquizano, arrived within sight of the Moluccas and stopped for a few days at Zamafo, a village controlled by Tidore in the island of Halmahera. Following the request of the king of Tidore, the Spanish moved to Tidore, which they sighted on

³ The Portuguese fort was founded by António de Brito in June 1522, the first stone of the fortress was laid for the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1522, the fortress was called "São João Bautista de Ternate". The fortress was built by the Portuguese, where it was the main city of the Ternate sultanate (south of the island), one league from the main port of the island, called Talangame, where the ships were anchored.

⁴ They were: Juan de Campos de Escribano, Luis del Molino, Alonso de Cota Ginovés, Diego Arias and Maestre Pedro Lombardero. See: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 4" 98; and also "Declaraciones que dieron en Valladolid Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, Ginés de Mafra, y Leon Pancaldo, sobre los acontecimientos de la nao Trinidad en las Malucas" Document nº40 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 4" (Madrid, 1837) 381

According to Castanheda the men who remained in Tidore numbered 10-12 men. See: Lopes de Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro VI, cap. 5, 160

While according to Antonio Galvão there were 4 men. See: Galvão "História das Molucas" 205

⁵ Lopes de Castanheda "História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses" Livro VI, cap. 10, 169; Fernanadez de Navarrete "Colección de los viajes, vol. 4" 98

December 31, 1526 at the first light of dawn, they then took the boat to the north-eastern part of the island of Tidore where they spent the night.⁶

The following morning, January 1, 1527, the Spaniards headed to the place where the main city of the island was, called '*Tidori*'. The city was located in the eastern part of the island '*...el pueblo principal que se llama Tidori está por la parte de leste...*'⁷, it had been completely destroyed and burned by the Portuguese at the end of 1526 during the previous war.⁸ Here the Spaniards arrived at 10 in the morning and immediately met the young king of Tidore (Raja-Mirr) on board of the ship, he confirmed his loyalty to the king of Spain and asked for the help of the Spaniards to counter the Portuguese and their allies from Ternate. The Spaniards helped by the Tidorese, on the very day of their arrival, began the construction of three bulwarks '*...en este mismo dia comenzamos hacer tres baluartes en tierra para poner artilleria...*'⁹ of stone, earth and wood in order to be able to defend itself against a certain imminent attack by the Portuguese.

The sources do not agree on what the fortifications built by the Spaniards must have been like. According to the testimonies, the construction of an all-stone bulwark is reported '*...fizemos un baluarte a maneira de fortaleza de pedra soamente...*' where the artillery was placed, while on a point the Spaniards had placed two large pieces of artillery.¹⁰ Other sources speak of two bulwarks '*onde chegado & metida a nao dentro no arrecife, mandou fazer na entrada dele dous baluartes de pedra ensosa q artilhou muyto bé com algúa artelharia da nao*'¹¹ and more '*...e fez de pedra sequa dous baluartes sobre o arrecife em defesa da nao, e n'elles pôs artelharia, ...*'¹² others still talk about a '*...torre dos castelhanos, a que elles chamauão fortaleza, que tinha huma caua d'agoa derrador; ...*'.¹³ '*...torre dos Castelhanos, a que chamauão fortaleza, que como disse era cercada de caua*'.¹⁴ Diogo do Couto tells us that the Spaniards began to build very quickly two '*baluartes de pedra ençossa*' on the edge of the city, while another bastion was built to defend the port.¹⁵

⁶ "*Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...*" Document n° 14 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 285

⁷ "*Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...*" Document n°14 in: Martin Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles*, vol. 5" (Madrid, 1837) 286

⁸ According to a Portuguese slave who had fled to Zamafo, the destruction had taken place a few days before the arrival of the Spanish ships. For this episode see: Castanheda "*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*" Livro VII, cap. 39, 438

⁹ "*Relacion escrita y presentada al el Emperador por Andres de Urdaneta ...*" Document n°26 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 412

¹⁰ "*Carta de Pedro de Montemayor escrita desde Cochín al Rey de Re del Portugal..., Cochín 14 Janeiro 1533*" Document n°19 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 343

¹¹ Lopes de Castanheda "*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*" Livro VII, cap. 42, p. 441

¹² Gaspar Correa "*Lendas da Índia*" vol. III, 175

¹³ Gaspar Correa "*Lendas da Índia*" vol. III, 360

¹⁴ Lopes de Castanheda "*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*" Livro VIII, cap. 6, 569

¹⁵ Diogo do Couto "*Da Asia*" Decada IV, parte 1, 190

Other testimonies inform us that the bulwark was not only made of stone, but also of earth and wood ‘...y luego en la hora hecimos en tierra un reparo de piedra, y tierra, y madera para poner alguna artilleria para nos defender...’¹⁶ ‘se fortificó com fortes tramqueiras y artilleria con nombre de fortaleza’¹⁷

From the descriptions it is clear in any case that the fortifications that the Spaniards built at the time of the landing in Tidore were two bulwarks, one probably the main one, the one that was called a fortress, was built inside the city of the King near the sea, the other in its vicinity, on a point. Furthermore, later, in June 1528, Hernando de la Torre probably had another defensive bulwark built on the north side of the city. What is certain of this first Spanish fortification in Tidore is that it must have been a work of little importance, given the haste with which it was built. The small fortification was also used as a shelter for goods transported by ships ‘... e ally desembarcaron el artillería, y sus mercaderías y comenzaron á hacer un baluarte para su defensa: y metiéronse en él con todas sus mercaderías y artillería, ...’¹⁸

The day following the arrival of the Spaniards, the artillery and goods that were on board the ship were landed. About half of the ship's occupants went ashore, while the other half remained aboard because the Spanish feared that the Portuguese would try to sink the ship. There were just over 100¹⁹ the Spaniards arrived in Tidore, and the ship '*Victoria*' represented the only means at their disposal to be able to attempt the return to Spain. The Spaniards almost immediately had to repel an attack by the Portuguese, who also attacked Tidore several times in the following months. The Portuguese tried by all means to harm the Spanish, the Spanish captain Martin Iñiguez de Carquizano was poisoned by them and died on July 11, 1627²⁰, he was succeeded as leader of the Spaniards by Hernando de la Torre. The Spanish actively took part in the struggles between them, Tidore and Jailolo on one side and Ternate and the Portuguese on the other.

Meanwhile in New Spain a new expedition was being prepared for the Moluccas, this fleet, made up of three ships ('*Florida*', '*Santiago*' and '*Espiritu Santo*') with 30 cannons and 110 men, had left on October 31, 1527 from Mexican port of Zihuatanejo, the commander of the expedition was Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron. Of this expedition only the ship '*Florida*' commanded by Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron arrived

¹⁶ “Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...” Document nº14 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” 286

¹⁷ “Al Rey de Portugal, Alfonso Mexia, Cochin 30 diciembre 1528” Document nº13 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” 240

¹⁸ “Declaracion de Juan de Mazuecos” Documento nº21 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” 363

¹⁹ 105, 115, 116, 117 (Galvão “História das Molucas” p. 215), 123, 133 depending on the testimonials

²⁰ He was buried in the church of '*Nossa Senhora do Rozairo*' evidently the name of the chapel erected by the Spaniards in Tidore. “Carta de Pedro de Montemayor escrita desde Cochin al Rey de Re del Portugal..., Cochin 14 Janeiro 1533” Document nº19 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete “Colección de los viajes, vol. 5” 345

in Tidore on March 30, 1528, on board were 45 men who replenished the ranks of the scarce Spanish troops present in Tidore and Jailolo and strengthened the morale of the Spaniards.²¹ But the failure to discover a return route across the Pacific despite many desperate attempts prevented the Spanish from receiving further aid and communicating with their bases, while on the other hand the Portuguese constantly received reinforcements from Malacca and Goa.

Upon the arrival of the new Spanish ship at Tidore, the fortress of the Castilians appeared as a fortress of stone, sand and rubble (*'piedra, arena y cascajo'*) two arms high and six feet thick, it was armed with a cannon, a 'culebrina', two 'sacres' and many other pieces of iron artillery, a good quantity of 'escopetas' and 'ballestas', it appeared quite well stocked with artillery and the troops were well armed.²²

In addition, other defensive works were prepared by the Spaniards: In a report to the king of Spain written by Tidore on June 11, 1528, Hernando de la Torre indicated that in order to better defend the city it was necessary to build a bulwark at an entrance to the city of Tidore, he for this purpose had placed in that target 20 soldiers led by Diego de Ayala and with 5 or 6 artillery pieces.²³

Despite the construction of these successive defense works, the Spanish fort was taken by the Portuguese in October 1529. The Portuguese could not have chosen a better moment for the attack, in fact, the Spanish had divided their forces by sending 18 soldiers along with the troops of Tidore for a punitive expedition in the northern part of Halmahera. A small garrison of 37 Spaniards remained in defense of the city of Tidore of which only 25 were able to take up arms, the number of Tidore troops remaining in defense of the city was also reduced.

The city of Tidore was attacked on 28 October 1529 by the Portuguese and their Ternatense allies, here the Spanish initially attempted resistance along the city wall and along the bulwark that had been built at the entrance to the city, but then saw the superior number of the Portuguese and their allies, were forced to retreat within the walls of their fortress. The Portuguese burned the whole city of Tidore and laid siege to the Spanish fortress. The surrender was requested by the Portuguese, under penalty of killing all the defenders of the fortress, the Spaniards commanded by Hernando de la Torre, after several discussions, agreed to abandon the fortress on the condition of

²¹ Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 94-113

²² "*Relacion que presentó en Madrid el Año 1534 Vicente de Nápoles sobre los sucesos de la armada de Saavedra ...*" Document n°37 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 486

Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 113

²³ "*Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...*" Document n°14 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 308

Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes*, vol. 5" 123

being transferred to the village of Zamafo on the island of Halmahera. The Portuguese also imposed a ban on them from returning to the Moluccas '*...no fuese en ninguna de las cinco islas de clavo*'. Captain Fernando de la Torre left Tidore for Zamafo together with 23 Spanish soldiers, while another 12 remained with the Portuguese and entered their service.²⁴

In the fortress and in the farm that was inside the Spanish fortress, the Portuguese, in addition to various merchandise, confiscated many weapons including 6 large metal artillery pieces, 25 iron artillery pieces ('*...versos y falcones...*') , 4 large pieces, 4 '*pasamuros*', 8 '*falcones*' and other '*tiros pequeños*'.²⁵

After the Portuguese conquest of the Spanish fort of Tidore, it seems that some Portuguese soldiers remained to garrison the island '*... habia quedado gente de portugueses en Tidori...*'²⁶ Castanheda also mentions that some Portuguese remained in Tidore to teach the Tidorese '*os nossos costumes*' and to prevent an alliance between Tidorese and Spaniards from happening again in the future.²⁷

As we have seen this first fortress built by the Spanish at Tidore was a very simple construction of dry stone wall, probably just a small defensive bastion: '*Los portugueses nos echaron por armas de Tidori, donde teniamos una fortaleza de piedra seca y toda l'artillería y hacienda que teniamos para nuestro mantenimientos, y dos fustas...*'²⁸ '*...la fortaleza que tenian hecha los castellanos á manera de baluarte*'²⁹ The Spanish held the fort of Tidore for almost three years from January 1st, 1527 to October 28, 1529. The few Spaniards who remained with Hernando de la Torre remained for a few more years in Jailolo, from where they were then embarked between 1534 and 1535 towards the India and then to Spain.³⁰

The survivors of the Grijalva expedition arrived in the Moluccas a few years later, in 1537, but they immediately surrendered to the Portuguese and had no influence on power relations in the Moluccas.³¹

²⁴ "*Relacion de Hernando de la Torre de lo ocurrido en las Molucas contra los portugueses de la isla de Terrenate, desde su ingreso en aquellas islas hasta fin del año 1533*" Document n°20 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 353-360 Gaspar Correia "*Lendas da India*" vol. III, 359

²⁵ "*Declaracion de Francisco de Paris, marinero de la nao Victoria ..., 25 octubre 1536*" Document n°23 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 375

Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 133

²⁶ Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 356

²⁷ Lopes de Castanheda "*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*" Livro VIII, cap. 7, 571

²⁸ "*Carta de Hernando de la Torre a D. Alvaro de Zuñiga, Gilolo, marzo 1532*" Document n°18 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 337

²⁹ "*Declaracion de Juan de Mazuecos*" Documento n°21 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 364

³⁰ Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 150-155

³¹ On the vicissitudes of this expedition see: Galvão "*História das Molucas*" 307-317

The last Spanish contact with the Spice Islands before the union with Portugal was with the expedition led by Ruy López de Villalobos. The destination of the expedition, by virtue of the 1529 agreement, was the unspecified spice islands not yet occupied by the Portuguese. Villalobos departed from Mexico on November 1, 1542 with 4 ships, a galliot and a brigantine.

After a failed attempt to colonize the island of Sarragan, the remnants of the expedition reached Gilolo where they were well received by the king, who offered them permission to build a fortress. Subsequently the king of Tidore also went to Gilolo³² where he visited the Spaniards and a contract of alliance was again stipulated between Spain, Tidore and Gilolo. A group of 60 Spanish soldiers commanded by don Alonso Manrique was sent to Tidore. Later the other Spanish troops also moved to the island.³³

The Spaniards of Villalobos helped their allies against their enemies in several battles, but always avoided fighting against the Portuguese, maintaining friendly relations with them, and exchanging visits, which made the king of Tidore suspicious. The king of Tidore in August 1545, to defend and protect himself, had a dry stone fortress built on the top of a hill ‘... *hizo fortalecer un peñol y encima del hizo una fortaleza de piedra seca, para se recojer alli si neçessario fuese, ...*’.³⁴ The Spanish repeatedly tried to establish contacts with New Spain, but all the ships sent were forced to return to the Moluccas without having found a return route to America, this caused deep discouragement in the Spaniards, who began to desert and go over to the side of the Portuguese. After this the Spanish were forced to negotiate a surrender with the Portuguese and abandon Tidore, they had been in Tidore from March 1544 to November 1545.³⁵ In February 1546 the survivors of the Villalobos expedition left the Moluccas aboard Portuguese ships. Villalobos will die in Ambon on his return journey to Spain.³⁶

³² According to Couto, it was the Spaniards who asked the king of Tidore for permission to move to Tidore. Diogo do Couto “*Da Asia*” Decada V, parte 2, 406-407

³³ P. Pablo Pastells “*Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572*” vol. I, clxxi In: D. Pedro Torres y Lanzas “*Catalogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el archivo de Indias de Sevilla. Procedido de una História General de Filipinas, por el P. Pablo Pastells, S. J.*” (Barcelona, 1925-1936)

³⁴ “*Relacion de Garcia de Escalante Alvarado*” AGI: Patronato,23,R.10 in: Consuelo Varela “*El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542-1548*” (Milano, 1983) 143-144

Pastells “*Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572*” vol. I, clxxvi

³⁵ The agreement between the Spanish and the Portuguese was signed on November 4, 1545. “*Carta de fray Geronimo de Santisteban a don Antonio de Mendoza, de Cochín, en la India de Portugal a 22 de enero de 1547*” AGI: Patronato,20,R.12 in: Consuelo Varela “*El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542-1548*” (Milano, 1983) 30

³⁶ Pastells “*Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572*” vol. I, clxxxvi, exciii

Ciriaco Pérez-Bustamante “*La expedición de Ruy López de Villalobos a las Islas de Pacífico*” In: Various authors “*A viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a questão das Molucas. Actas do II colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina*” (Lisbona, 1975) 611-626

3 – THE SPANISH EXPEDITIONS TO THE MOLUCCAS AFTER THE UNION WITH PORTUGAL

The first period of interest of the Spaniards in the Moluccas, i.e. the one concerning the years 1521-1606, can be divided into two distinct parts: the first part was that, to which we have already mentioned, of the struggles against the Portuguese for control of the islands. It began with the arrival of Magellan's expedition in 1521 and ended in 1545 with the surrender of the men of the Villalobos expedition to the Portuguese.

The second part of this first period, was instead that of the union between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, during this time the Spanish expeditions departing from the base of Manila in the Philippines, were sent with the aim of helping the Portuguese troops against the enemies Ternate, who had rebelled against the Portuguese and who had expelled them from the island of Ternate in 1575.³⁷

The main aim of these last expeditions was the reconquest of the Portuguese fortress of Ternate. None of the six subsequent expeditions attempted by the Spaniards achieved their intended purpose. They began in 1582 with that of Francisco Dueñas, this first expedition had a purely informative nature on the military situation of the islands, Francisco Dueñas remained in the Moluccas for about two months between March and April 1582.

The next expedition was the one commanded by D. Juan Ronquillo it took place between 1582 and 1583, the Spaniards collaborated with the Portuguese by helping them in some punitive expeditions against the nearby islands. In 1584 it was the turn of Pedro Sarmiento and then in 1585 of Juan de Morón also these two expeditions did not have the desired success, the fortress of Ternate was attacked, but without result.

A larger and better assembled armada set out for the Moluccas in 1593 under the command of Philippine governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas himself, but a rebellion and assassination of the governor himself before reaching the Moluccas led to the cancellation of the whole operation. The last Spanish expedition of this period was the one sent from Manila to rescue the Portuguese admiral André Furtado de Mendonça's fleet, it was captained by Juan Juárez Gallinato, and departed from Manila in late 1602, a joint Spanish-Portuguese assault on the fortress of Ternate was unsuccessful.

³⁷The Portuguese, in 1578, to replace their fortress at Ternate had built a fort at Tidore.

Successful, however, were the two attacks a few months apart, in 1605, by the sworn enemies of the Spanish, the Dutch, led to the last forts still in Portuguese hands in the Moluccas: Ambon and Tidore. Ambon fell without a fight on February 23, 1605, apparently due to the cowardly conduct of the fortress captain Gaspar de Melo and the personal interest of some Portuguese *casados*, who aimed at safeguarding their possessions. The Dutch rebuilt the Portuguese fort and left 130 soldiers as a garrison. The Dutch ships then set course for Tidore.

The Portuguese from the fortress of Tidore, commanded by Pedro Álvares de Abreu, did not surrender at the sight of the ships, but forced the Dutch to fight, but as we will see later, despite their courage, the fort was taken by the Dutch. The key episode was the explosion of the powder magazine of the fort, which caused the death of many defenders and a huge gash in the walls.³⁸ Tidore was conquered by the Dutch on May 19, 1605. The Dutch, not having enough men to garrison a fortress, left Tidore with only a few men on a farm.

The Spanish response, this time, was not long in coming, and the 1606 expedition commanded by Philippine governor Pedro de Acuña re-established Iberian control over the Moluccas. After his quick victory, Acuña decided, for greater security, to deport the Sultan of Ternate, Said Barakat, to Manila, with the prince, his son, and all his dignitaries, in total about thirty people.

Acuña's haste to return to Manila, his sudden death, probably by poisoning, and the deportation of the Sultan of Ternate and his '*entourage*' will be among the causes that will prevent the consolidation of Spanish power in the islands and which will therefore consequently allow the Dutch to find fertile ground among the dissidents of Ternate. Esquivel also recognized that Acuña left Ternate in a confused situation, without having completely subjected the population and especially the chiefs who had remained and who had retreated to the coast of Halmahera in the villages of Sabubo and Gilolo.³⁹

Thus it was that from 1 April 1606 for 57 years, until 1663 (with a small appendage on the island of Siau where a tiny Spanish garrison remained from 1671 to 1677), the Spaniards occupied some spice islands. The period was characterized by a continuous and often bitter struggle against the Dutch almost always masters of the seas and in a condition of superiority in terms of armament, number of soldiers and ships. For

³⁸ "Fr. Gaspar Fernandes, provincial of Goa, to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, general. Goa, 6 de novembro de 1606" Document n° 10 in: Hubert Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" (Roma, 1984) 49
Francisco Colin, "*Labor Evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compania de Jesus, fundacion, y progresos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas*" Vol. 3 (Barcelona, 1900-1903 (first edition 1663)) 20-22

³⁹ "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey progresos islas del Maluco, 31-03-1607" AGI: Patronato, 47, R.22

much of the period the Spanish had a faithful ally in the king of Tidore, while the Dutch had an ally in the sultan of Ternate.

The Spaniards, who, in 1606 after the conquest of Ternate, were at least nominally masters of all the spice islands, were however unable to withstand the subsequent return of the Dutch armies allied with the rebel Ternate. The Spanish occupation mainly resulted in a military occupation, due to the hostility of the Ternate and the Dutch, who returned more aggressive than ever after the Spanish conquest of Ternate. Within a few years starting in 1607, the Dutch extended their control over the best and most profitable part of the Maluku Islands: They, in 1607, built a fort on the same island of Ternate a few kilometers away from the Spanish city ⁴⁰, the fort was built on the remains of a previous fortification ⁴¹, it was initially called Fort Malayo and then Fort Orange (the current Benteng Orange, in the city of Ternate).

On the same island a few years later, in October 1609, the Dutch built a fort at Tacome (Fort Willemstadt). Tacome Fort was located on the clove-rich north side of the island. A third fort was finally built, in 1612, in Tolucco ⁴² (Fort Hollandia), after an attempt to occupy the place by the Spaniards, which took place in 1611. ⁴³ The fort was located about half a mile north of Malayo and two miles from Tacome, it was built in a prime location, on a hill, and was made of stone and lime. The garrison of

⁴⁰ Sources indicate between two and three leagues.

⁴¹ A fort in Malayo is counted among the forts of the king of Ternate described in a document of 1584. "*Relación de la fuerza, poder y artillería que tiene el Rey de Terrenate*" AGI: Patronato 46, R 18

⁴² Toloco, era un villaggio situato a due leghe dalla fortezza portoghese di Ternate. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda "*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*" (Porto, 1979) Livro VI, cap. 128, 358

⁴³ From Spanish documents, it appears that in 1611, the Spaniards built the fort of San Juan (Joan) de Toloco. Of great interest are some papers kept in the archive of the Indies in Seville which deal extensively with this. The Spaniards began to build a fort in Toloco in 1611, in fact according to what is reported in the testimony of the governor of Ternate Cristobal de Azcueta, during the expedition of the governor of the Philippines Don Juan de Silva, '...*auiendo acordado el Señor D. Juan de Silva [...] tomar y fortify al puesto de Toloco cerca de Malayo*', in 1611, de Silva, decided to occupy and fortify the post of Toloco near Malayo, for this de Silva, ordered that three companies were sent to occupy the place. At the head of the three companies was appointed Fernando Centeno Maldonado who with his company and together with those commanded by Andres Hinete and Pedro Çapata began to fortify the place "*acudio ala fortificacion del por cauo de tres compañías de infanteria españolas*". "*Informaciones Fernando Centeno Maldonado, 1615*" AGI: Filipinas, 60, N.18

Another interesting reference to the construction of a Spanish fort in Toloco is made in another Spanish document, the "*Meritos*" of Fernando de Ayala, where it is mentioned that this captain and sergeant major on the occasion of Juan de Silva's expedition to Ternate built the fort of San Juan de Toloco: '*...con mucho trauaxo y rriesgo hizo el fuerte de San Juan de Toloco*'. "*Meritos, Fernando de Ayala, 27-07-1643*" AGI: Indiferente, 112, N.47

A more detailed testimony of the effective construction of a fort, by the Spaniards, in Toloco is given to us in Fernando de Ayala's "*Meritos y servicios*", here in fact it is clearly indicated that Fernando de Ayala on the orders of the governor Don Juan de Silva built the fort called San Juan de Toloco in the vicinity of Malayo: '*Por horden del diho Cap.n Gen.l (don Juan de Silva) paso de otra vanda de Malayo (que ?) llaman Toloco muy cerca dellas fuerças del enemigo que es a tiro de cañon y fabrico un fuerte de faxina con grandisimo trabajo e riesgo para tener mas oprimido y sitiado al diho enemigo*' '*hizo un fuerte llamado de San Juan de Toloco cerca del de Malayo*' '*por mandado del diho Gouer.or. (don Juan de Silva) hizo un fuerte llamado San Joan de Toloco que está a tiro de cañon della fuerça de Malayo*'. Don Fernando Centeno Maldonado, in his testimony specifies that the expedition led by Ayala was made up of 5 companies and he took part in the expedition himself. From Toloco then sailed the expedition of de Silva directed to Halmahera and with which the forts of Jailolo and Sabugo were captured. "*Méritos y servicios Fernando de Ayala Filipinas, 23-07-1622*" AGI: Patronato 53 R.25

Probably the Spaniards abandoned the fort shortly after its construction, probably already at the time of de Silva's departure for Halmahera, but this attempt nevertheless served as an alarm bell for the Dutch who a few months later built their own fort in Toloco.

the fort in 1612 consisted of 15-20 men. However, the main Dutch fort of the island and of the entire Moluccas remained that of Malayo.

Within a few years, practically most of the island of Ternate had been removed from Spanish control. Great help in this came to the Dutch from their natural allies the Ternatese.

In the same years in which these forts were built in Ternate, Dutch control also extended to other islands of the Moluccas. Starting from 1608, the whole island of Makian was also occupied by the Dutch who built three fortresses along the coast of the island. Makian was the richest island in cloves and the one most coveted by the Dutch who aimed to control the spice trade.

The first fortress captured by the Dutch at Makian, was that of Tafasoho, it was the old fortress of the king of Tidore ‘...*que os portugueses sempre procurarão de defenderem entanto que estiverão en Tidore*’ ‘...*que os portugueses sempre procuraram de defender*’. ⁴⁴ It was conquered from the Tidorese on June 21, 1608, it was without a Spanish garrison. The fort was located on the west coast of the island, and was called by the Dutch Fort De Zeven Provinciën. At Tafso, the Dutch greatly improved the fort's defenses, building four new great bastions (the fourth was still under construction in early 1609), and walled the post of ‘...*entulho e faxina e algum de pedra e cal*’. ⁴⁵

Also in Makian, to better control the coasts of the island, the Dutch built two other forts, the first called Fort Mauritius, it was located in Ngofakiaha ⁴⁶ in the north-east area of the island. While halfway between these two fortresses described as ‘*muy boas e bem fortificadas*’, in the south-west of the island, there was the third fortress defined as ‘*mediocre*’, called Tabilola (Tabelola, Tabelolo, Tobalola). ⁴⁷

The Dutch were in possession, at the end of 1608, of four fortresses in the north of the Moluccas, “*tem tres fortalezas muy boas e outra mediocre*” ⁴⁸, they were: Malayo and the three fortresses of Machian Island. Another fortress, Fort Nassau, was built in

⁴⁴ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 20 de março 1609” Document n° 38 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 135, 148

⁴⁵ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 20 de março 1609” Document n° 38 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 148

⁴⁶ Fortress already begun, in 1603, by André Furtado ‘...*que André Furtado começou, de pedra e cal muy forte*’ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 20 de março 1609” Document n° 38 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 148

⁴⁷ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 20 de março 1609” Document n° 38 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 148

⁴⁸ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 20 de março 1609” Document n° 38 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 148

1609 on the island of Moti (Motir), an island located between Tidore and Maquiem (Machian), this island was also rich in cloves.⁴⁹ In 1609, the Spanish fort of Bachan was also captured by the Dutch led by Vice Admiral Simon Jansz Hoen, the fort which was located in the village of Labuha, was garrisoned by a small Spanish garrison, it was captured on November 30, 1609, and later renamed by the Dutch fort Barnevelt.⁵⁰

Basically after 1606, between 1607 and 1610, the Dutch with their allies from Ternate managed to force the Spaniards on the defensive and took control of most of the islands from them. The Spanish remained in control only over the southern part of the island of Ternate, the entire island of Tidore and some ports in the islands of Halmahera and Morotai. The Dutch had as their strong point the constant flux of ships from Europe: two in 1606, eight in 1607, and ten to fourteen in the following years. In 1612 there were nine boats in Ternate while another seven were in Aubueno (Ambon). The Dutch tactic to attract the chiefs and the local population to their side is described by de Silva, they flaunted their power with their large ships loaded with artillery, they paid every chief who visited them with great salvos of artillery inspiring respect and fear at the population. Furthermore, from a commercial point of view they negotiated fixed prices with the local chiefs through a factor who resided in each place they visited, the agreement also provided for a favorable treatment towards the chiefs by giving them everything they needed free of charge.⁵¹

The Spanish garrisons had their center on the islands of Ternate and Tidore where it is often difficult to understand from the documents of the time where the various garrisons were located, sometimes the same fort is called with different names causing many difficulties. In addition to a multitude of fortified posts in Ternate and Tidore, the Spanish sometimes maintained for a few years some fortified posts also in the peripheral islands of Halmahera, Morotai and Sulawesi, important posts for the maintenance of the main garrisons because they allowed the supply of sago and another indispensable food for the major garrisons and for the sustenance of the population of the islands of Ternate and Tidore. These last two islands, due to the conformation of the land and the continuous state of war they were in, did not allow the cultivation of these products.

⁴⁹ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, superior, to Fr. Alberto Laerzio, provincial. Ternate, 17 de Agosto 1609” Document n° 41 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 161

⁵⁰ “Fr. Lorenzo Masonio, superior to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, general. Ternate, 12 de marzo 1610” Document n° 48 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 176 note 7

“*Journael ende verhael*” In: “*De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612*” vol. I, 276-281

⁵¹ “*Carta de don Geronimo de Silva a Felipe III, sobre el estado del Maluco. Terrenate, 13-04-1612*” In Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 5-15

Often the '*presidios*' depended for supplies of food, clothing and ammunition almost exclusively on the so-called '*socorro*' fleet that was sent every year from the Philippines. When one of these fleets missed the appointment either because it was captured by the Dutch or due to bad weather which caused frequent shipwrecks, those were times of great hardship for the Spanish soldiers of the garrisons and for the population of the city of Ternate. There are numerous letters from the Spanish captains of Ternate who complain about the deplorable living conditions of the Spanish soldiers and the population of the city of Ternate.

4 - THE SPANISH FORTS ON THE ISLAND OF TIDORE, 1606-1663

As we mentioned earlier, from April 1606 after the conquest by the troops of Acuña of the city of Ternate, the Spaniards had, in the Moluccas, as their main and often the only ally the King of Tidore. They tried for several decades to counter the growing power of the Dutch armies, occupying some islands with fortified garrisons. The island of Tidore played a key role between them.

After the Spanish conquest of Ternate the King of Tidore had offered to Pedro de Acuña the subjugation of his kingdom to Spain and had also promised the construction of a Spanish fortress on his island. Acuña, in fact, at the time of his departure had ordered among the works to be carried out urgently the construction of a Spanish fort on the island of Tidore and according to this order a captain with some Spanish soldiers had to be stationed there.⁵²

This order, as we shall see, however, will not be executed by Juan de Esquivel, appointed by Acuña as governor of Ternate. The alliance with the king of Tidore for many years was essential for the maintenance of Spanish presence in the Moluccas. Indeed, at first, Acuña wanted to put the king of Tidore at the head of the kingdom of Ternate.⁵³

The importance for the Spanish of the island of Tidore is clearly described by the words of Pedro de Heredia: ‘...se si desmantelara la fuerça de Tidore no tuuiera el Rey nuestro señor en muy breue tiempo palmo de tierra que fuera suyo por ser plaça tan importante...’ ‘...pues sin aquella plaça no se podia conseruar un mes la de Terrenate...’⁵⁴ In fact, even Gerónimo de Silva considers Tidore crucial to the livelihood of Spanish Ternate, because in addition to being the king of Spain's main ally, the island was supplying Ternate with ‘... viandas de pescado y gallinas, y otras vituallas que de allá se traen.’⁵⁵

⁵² “Instrucción a Juan de Esquivel para conservación Terrenate, 02-11-1606” AGI: Patronato,47,R.17

In all probability the date November 2, 1606 is wrong, because Acuña died in June 1606, being a copy, it may have been a copyist's error; the date May 2, 1606 seems to be plausible.

⁵³ Argensola, Bartolomé Leonardo de “Conquista de las islas Malucas” (Madrid, 1609) (Madrid, 1992) 343

⁵⁴ Colin-Pastells “Labor Evangelica de los obreros de la compañía de Jesus en las isla Filipinas” (Barcelona, 1902) vol. III 317 note n°1

⁵⁵ “Carta di Geronimo de Silva a Felipe III, sobre el estado del Maluco, Terrenate, 13 de abril de 1612” in: Various authors “Correspondencia de Don Gerónimo de Silva con Felipe III, D. Juan de Silva, el Rey de Tidore y otros personajes desde abril de 1612 hasta febrero (abril) de 1617, sobre el estado de las islas Molucas” In: “Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España, tomo 52” (Madrid, 1868) 6

Again Gerónimo de Silva judges, in another letter, the island of Tidore, the most important of the Moluccas, and from which come the supplies needed for the livelihood of the city of Ternate.⁵⁶ Concerning the production of cloves, the island was producing it in small quantities, small compared to the amount produced in the islands of Maquien and Motiel, fully controlled by the Dutch, '*Y es muy poco en comparación del que tienen los holandeses en las islas de Maquien, y Motiel que estan tambien de uaxo ala equinoxial, y muy cercanas, y vecinas a Terrenate, y Tidore.*'⁵⁷

However, among their possessions, it was only the island of Tidore, which the Spaniards obtained a quantity of cloves '*... Tidore da un año con otro cuatrocientos bases*' that is, 2400 quintals, compared with a total production in the Maluku islands, estimated by Gerónimo de Silva at 9000 quintals '*mil y quinientos bases de clavo que son nueve mil quintales*'.⁵⁸ Starting from 1613, with the loss of the Fort of Marieko, the production of cloves controlled by the Spaniards will be even more insignificant, Marieko, in fact, was located in the most productive part of the island.

Critical is also the market management of cloves made by the Spaniards. Gerónimo de Silva infact is clear on this point, the amount in the hands of the Spaniards, although small, could, if traded, as do the Dutch, through a farm controlled by the King, could make 30,000 ducats, if traded in India, but would make even more, if traded directly to Europe, while with the existing system, operated by private persons, the Spanish crown did not receive any annuity. If the Spanish could have their hands full in the production of cloves of these islands, there would be about 1500 "*bases de clavo*", that is nine thousand quintals a year and they might get, if sold directly to the European market, 150,000 ducats a year.⁵⁹

The importance of Tidore and of the alliance, which the Spaniards maintained with the king of the island, was also very clear to the Dutch, who, especially in the early years, repeatedly tried to drive the Spaniards from the island: as early as May 1607 the fleet of Cornelis Matelief⁶⁰ designed to attack Tidore. For this purpose a boat to call for reinforcements was sent to the Ternatese rebels. The Dutch, despite the meager arrival of reinforcements, a boat with about 200 warriors, who arrived with the young sultans of Ternate and Jailolo, however, decided to attack the island, which

⁵⁶ "*Tanto de carta que el gobernador Gerónimo de Silva escribió al arzobispo de Manila, Terrenate, 28 de jullio de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 158-160

⁵⁷ "*Descripción de las islas de Terrenate, Tidore, y otras*" AGI: Patronato, 34, R.29

⁵⁸ "*Carta di D. Gerónimo de Silva al re Felipe III, Ternate, 13 abril 1612*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 13

⁵⁹ "*Carta de don Geronimo de Silva a Felipe III, sobre el estado del Maluco. Terrenate, 13-04-1612*" In Various authors. "*Correspondencia*" 5-15

⁶⁰ Matelief had arrived in Ternate with a fleet of eight vessels (six vessels and two 'yachts': Oranje, Mauritius, Erasmus, Kleine Zon, Pichon (?), one 'yacht' (Witte Leeuw ?), Enchuisa (Enkhuizen) (met in Ambon), Delft (which had come from Banda)) with 531 men on board.

was defended initially by thirty Spanish soldiers in addition to the Tidorese. The landing was attempted on some boats and '*caracoras*', on which were embarked about 300 soldiers, but the reception by the Spaniards and Tidorese was hot and the attackers were forced to retreat with several losses. The attempt ended poorly for both. The inexperience and unfamiliarity with the seabed by the Dutch was great, because the boats were in danger of overturning in the barrier and the governor Juan de Esquivel promptly rescued the island with some Spanish soldiers '*... con cierto golpe de españoles, ...*'. After this episode Matelief refolded on Ternate, where he founded the fort Malayo.⁶¹

On 16 June 1608 a new Dutch fleet (according to Esquivel participated in the attack: seven ships, a galley and a pataco) commanded by van Caerden, and aided by a contingent of 26 boats and many Ternatese soldiers, anchored in front of the old Portuguese fort of Tidore with the intention to attack and conquer the city, but the defenses prepared by the Tidorese and the Spaniards the attackers retreated, after having stayed about twenty days at anchor in front of the old Portuguese fort. They changed their goal by attacking the island of Makian.⁶²

After the attempted attack on Tidore led in June by the Dutch, the Spaniards were compelled to reinforce the garrison of the island. In August 1608 the Spaniards at Tidore were composed of 140 soldiers and a galley with another 40 soldiers on board with a total of 180 men.⁶³

During the government of Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, between the end of 1609 and January 1610, another abortive attempt to besiege Tidore was made by the fleet led by Simon Jansz Hoen, who simply run for a naval blockade of the island of Tidore and attack and capture the Spanish fort on the island of Bachan.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Tiele "De Europeers in den Maleischen archipel, 1606-1610" 70-72

"Fr. Luís Fernandes, superior to King Philip II of Portugal. Ternate, 27 de abril 1608" Documento n° 29 in: Jacobs, "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" 96

Prevost, Abate Antonio Francisco "*Historia General de los viajes, ó nueva colección de todas las relaciones de los que se han hecho por Mar y Tierra... Tomo XIII: Viajes de los Holandeses a las Indias Orientales*" (Madrid, 1773) 66-67

"Fr. Jerónimo Gomes to Fr. Jerónimo Gomes. Cochin, 25 de novembro de 1608" Documento n° 35 in: Jacobs, "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" 119

de Jonge "De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indien, 1595-1610" ('s-Gravenhage, 1862-1909) vol. III, 55

⁶² "Informatie van den stant van de Molucques, door Jan Bruyn, 12 may 1609" In: "De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612" vol. II, 303-304

de Booy "De derde reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van admiraal Paulus van Caerden uitgezeld in 1606" vol. I, 63-64

Pastells "*Historia general de Filipinas*" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxvi-xxxvii where is published the "Letter of Esquivel to the Audiencia, August 13, 1608" AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30

"Fr. Lorenzo Masonio to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 20 de março 1609" Document n° 38 in: Jacobs, "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" 135, 144.

⁶³ Pastells "*Historia general de Filipinas*" tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. xxxvii-xxxviii where is published the "Letter of Esquivel to the Audiencia, August 13, 1608" AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 30

⁶⁴ "Journael ende verhael" In: "De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612" vol. I, 276-281

"Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611" AGI: Filipinas, 60, N.12

The Jesuit Jorge da Fonseca, designed for the spiritual care of the Spanish garrison at Tidore, ⁶⁵ describes the island of Tidore in his letter of April 8, 1612: ‘... *que hé huma ilha quatro legoas de Ternate, de mouros amigos nossos, onde há alguns christãos da terra, portuguezes casados e hum presidio de soldados hespanhoes, que todo este tempo atrás avia estado sem padre por falta de sacerdotes*’.⁶⁶ The Jesuit mission of Tidore was in fact until the end of 1610 without a father, later in his letter Fonseca describes Tidore again, this time making reference to two Spanish forts on the island.⁶⁷

The existence of two forts there are further enhanced by "*Correspondencia*" by Geronimo de Silva, according to which, in 1612, the Spaniards occupied with their garrisons two forts on the island of Tidore⁶⁸, the two garrisons were the old Portuguese fort, near the town of Soa Siu and the fort in Marieko on the west coast, they had been reinforced and improved by the governor Vergara in 1609. In the following years because of the increasing pressure of the Dutch on Tidore, the Spaniards were forced to increase the forts and to garrison troops on the island and to abandon some strongholds on the outer islands of Morotai and Halmahera (in the middle of 1613 were abandoned the forts of Sabugo (May-July 1613) and San Juan de Tolo (August 1613)).

The year 1613 is the year when the Dutch tried several times to expel the Spaniards from the island permanently, with attacks towards Marieco and the fortifications of the main city of Tidore. In February 1613, the Dutch captured the fort of Marieco, rebuilt it and placed a strong garrison there. This fort was a thorn in the side of the Spanish until it was abandoned by the Dutch in 1621/1622. After the loss of Marieco, the Spaniards ran for cover, sending two companies of 100 soldiers each to Tidore, they were commanded by Captain Don Diego de Quiñones and by the ensign Don Fernando Becerra, who commanded the company of Captain Pedro Zapata.⁶⁹

A part of the soldiers destined to Becerra were, however, diverted to other garrisons, because, according to the testimony of Sergeant Fernando de Ayala, Becerra had

Tiele "*De Europeers in den Maleischen archipel, 1606-1610*" 102-103

⁶⁵ "*Fr. João Baptista to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 2 de abril 1611*" Document n° 53 in: Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" 192

Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" 24*

⁶⁶ "*Fr. Jorge da Fonseca to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 8 abril 1612*" Document n° 59 in: Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" 217-218

⁶⁷ "*Fr. Jorge da Fonseca to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva. Ternate, 8 abril 1612*" Document n° 59 in: Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" 224

⁶⁸ "*Carta di Geronimo de Silva a Felipe III, sobre el estado del Maluco, Terrenate, 13 de april de 1612*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 6

⁶⁹ "*Traslado de la carta que escribió el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva á el rey de Tidore, sobre la pérdida del puerto de Marieco, Terrenate, febrero 10 de 1613*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 85

twenty soldiers under his command with the ensign Arrequibar and the total of Spanish troops present at Tidore, counting the soldiers of Don Diego de Quiñones was 119 soldiers excluding officers.⁷⁰ A new fort called '*Marieco el Chico*', located in the vicinity of the fort of Marieco occupied by the Dutch, was garrisoned by Spanish troops. Also the fort of Socanora, located south of the capital of Tidore was garrisoned by a small Spanish garrison.

In July 1613, the Dutch and the Ternatense undertook their largest attack directly to the town of Tidore, where they could capture the old fort of the Portuguese, while several subsequent attacks against Socanora and the town of Tidore resulted in many failures for the Dutch, who then were forced to abandon the only conquest they made: the fort of the Portuguese.

In an interesting letter written by the king of Tidore, Cachil (Kaicil) Mole, July 9, 1613, the day of the conquest by the Dutch of the fort of the Portuguese, the King pointed out to the governor of Ternate, Gerónimo de Silva, his whole concern for the desperate situation of the Spanish and Tidorese troops in Tidore also due to the scarcity of food and supplies, the king called for the immediate sending of more Spanish troops, in his letter he came also to envisage the abandonment of the island and the withdrawal of all people in Ternate "*ó inviar aquí mas españoles, ó que nos vamos todos á Terrenate*".⁷¹

The continuous state of war between the Dutch and Spaniards, and among their allies ternatense and tidorese led to an impoverishment of the land and population, which was also noticed by the casual visitors like the English John Saris, who stopped for a few days in Tidore during 1613, which expressed its regret on the lamentable state of destruction brought to the islands by the continuous wars.⁷²

To indicate the importance which the Spaniards gave to the Tidore is that under the precise order of Juan de Silva also the governor of Ternate, Gerónimo de Silva, in late 1614 moved to Tidore, he will reside on the island, in the new fortress (Santiago de los Caballeros or Tahula) built by the Spaniards, for long periods in the years 1615 and 1616.⁷³

⁷⁰ "*Carta que escribió el sargento mayor don Fernando de Ayala [...] á el señor don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 16 de febrero de 1613*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 90-91

⁷¹ "*Lettera del Re di Tidore a D. Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 9 luglio 1613*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 138

⁷² Kerr, Robert "*A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VIII.*" Sec. XV. "*Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1611, by Captain John Saris*" Sec.5. "*Further Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan*"

⁷³ The orders to Gerónimo de Silva were clear, he had to move to Tidore with as many soldiers as possible, while still leaving a good garrison in Ternate. "*Tanto de carta quel señor don Juan de Silva escribió á el señor don Geronimo de Silva en 20 de setiembre de 1614*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 255. In the "*Correspondencia*" by Geronimo de Silva, were written in Tidore the letters dated: May 5, 1612; December 12, 1614; May 12, 1615; July 13, 1615; August 19, 1615; March 8, 1616; April 1, 1616; April 17, 1616; June 17, 1616; June 25, 1616; August 8, 1616; August 20, 1616 and March 12, 1617.

In subsequent years the state of war between two rival European powers is to persist, but apart from a few skirmishes, the Dutch will not attempt more attacks such as those brought on a large scale in 1613, for they will change tactics, trying to interfere in relations between the Spaniards and tidorese and to undermine the alliance between the two. Especially they come near the Prince of Tidore, who was madly in love with the Queen of Jailolo, trying to get him on their side.

However, even after 1613 the Spaniards were forced to constantly maintain a strong garrison on the island. In the middle of 1616 there were more than 200 Spanish soldiers to garrison the forts of Tidore, and that in the forts of Santiago, del Príncipe, Tomanira and Socanora.⁷⁴ “...por las pocas fuerzas que hoy tiene el rey de Tidore, por ser muy solo y no tener en su isla lo que tenia hasta aqui, por lo que me conviene tener siempre en esta isla sobre ducientos hombres en la plaza de Santiago y en el fuerte del Principe, Tomanira y Socanora”.⁷⁵

In May 1619 the governor of Ternate, Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, informs us that the Spanish island of Tidore has four forts: Tohula, Tomanira, Sokanora and the new fort of San Lucas de el Rume. The forts in Spanish hand, Vergara informs us, dispose of one third of a normal garrison.⁷⁶ This lack of troops is a constant throughout the period of Spanish control of the island.

The Dutch who occupied from 1613 the fort of Marieco between 1621 and 1622 dismantled and abandoned it. The entire island as of this date and until almost the final abandonment by the Spanish troops in 1663 remained under the control of the Spaniards and their Tidorese allies. The Spaniards kept on the island of Tidore until the last years of their presence the following three forts: Rume, Taula (Tahula) and Sobo (Cobo, Chobo).⁷⁷

In the following years as well as with the Dutch, the Spaniards had some serious problems and different crises in relations with their closest ally, the king of Tidore, especially between 1636-1640 and most severely in the years around 1655-1660, when the island of Tidore remained in a state of constant rebellion. The first period of

⁷⁴ Rios Coronel, Hernando de los “Memorial y relacion...” 1621, Madrid, Spagna. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 19 (1620-1621), 214 where is an excerpt of the letter of Gerónimo de Silva to the governor D. Juan de Silva, July 29, 1616.

⁷⁵ “Lettera di Gerónimo de Silva a D. Juan de Silva, Tidore, 8 agosto 1616” In: Various authors “Correspondencia” 387-388

⁷⁶ “Carta de Lucas de Vergara Gaviria al Rey defensa Maluco. Terrenate, 31 maggio 1619” AGI: Patronato, 47, R. 37

Pastells “Historia general de Filipinas” tomo VI (1608-1618) pp. clxvii-clxviii, Here are some passages of the same letter of Vergara.

⁷⁷ “Catalogue of the Philippine Jesuits for the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide. Manila, 20 Iunii 1662” Documento n° 196 in: Jacobs, “Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682” 615.

“Catalogue of the Jesuit missionaries in the Philippines for the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide. Manila, 31 Iulii 1663” Documento n° 201 in: Jacobs, “Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682” 624.

crisis coincided with the usurpation of the kingdom by cachil Naro, and the accession to the throne of Tidore by cachil Borotalo, endorsed by the Spanish Governor Pedro de Heredia.

The situation was resolved thanks to the steadfastness of the new governor, Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, called in to replace Pedro de Heredia. He came to Ternate with the specific order to put on the throne the rightful king of Tidore, the cachil Naro, who had been unjustly deprived of his crown by Pedro de Heredia, who had put in his place the cachil Borotalo (cousin of the king cachil Naro).

It seems that Heredia had had friction with cachil Naro regarding the sale of cloves, because of this Pedro de Heredia influenced the Tidorese to abandon him and swear allegiance to cachil Borontalo, his cousin. Cachil Naro was then forced to take refuge with the Dutch in their fort of Malayo. For this and other reasons it was later decided to open legal proceedings against the actions of Pedro de Heredia. The cachil Naro is described as a man loyal and brave and always loyal to the Spaniards.

The new governor Pedro de Mendiola was ordered to put in place cachil Naro, which for the moment he could not do, because cachil Naro had taken refuge at the Dutch fort Malayo. This was the situation, Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola found, when he came to rule in Ternate. He had received strict instructions from the governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera to restore legality, secretly contacting, by letter cachil Naro, who was exiled to Malayo, but now ordered to Ternate to be put back in place as the king of Tidore, since Pedro de Heredia had no authority to take away the kingdom.

As for what would be the moves of the Spaniards to reconnect with cachil Naro and put him back on his throne, there is an interesting document signed by the governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera: *“Orden e instrucción que los generales Pedro de Mendiola, gobernador de Terrenate y Jerónimo Somonte, capitán general de la armada real an de guardar en razón de la restitución del rey Cachil Naro a su reino, Cavite January 8, 1636”*.

In the document, which displays the Spanish plans, it appears that, once arrived in Ternate, Mendiola was secretly contacting cachil Naro and invite him or on a Spanish galleon or in the city of Ternate, guaranteeing the security through cards of the governor, once cachil Naro came to talk with Mendiola, the governor had to be pointed out the regret he had for the actions of Pedro de Heredia, who had not helped with the Spanish arms cachil Naro to defend himself against his opponents and had allowed him to be deprived of his kingdom.

The Spaniards now wished to remedy this by providing their troops to resettle cachil Naro in Tidore, provided, he acknowledges the Spanish aid and alliance with the Spaniards. The Spanish proposal was to unite the Tidorese in remaining faithful to cachil Naro along with the Spanish troops and take possession of the kingdom. The agreement was to be provided by an official pact between the two Spanish generals (Pedro de Mendiola and Jerónimo Somonte) and cachil Naro.

After reaching the agreement with cachil Naro, the document describes the moves to be made against the usurper. The first move was to release cachil de Reues so that he could give to his king cachil Bontalo (Borontalo) a card inviting him to the Spanish castle, where he was to be entertained with kind words and gifts before the cachil Naro would arrive to take over and occupy Tidore. These operations were important, keeping them secret, nobody except the Spanish sergeant Juan Gonçales de Caceres Melon, and the captains don Pedro de Almonte, Sebastian Bautista and Pedro de la Mata had to be made aware or even suspect something of what was preparing.

If things took the course hoped and cachil Naro was put back on his throne, General Geronimo de Somonte was to bring the king deposed cachil Borontalo to Manila, where he could get justice before the Audiencia and the governor and if proved his own reasons may be restored in the kingdom, although he must have made it clear that Pedro de Heredia had no right to depose cachil Naro and it was not possible for a Spanish officer at will depose a King ally, indeed, if this had been tried, Heredia risked his life for his actions.

Once the issue resolved and settled cachil Naro on the throne of Tidore, the new king had to be requested to provide to the Spaniards the usual 4 or 6 '*caracoras*' with 400 Tidorese, who had to receive the same pay as soldiers pampangas of the garrison. The instructions also included the possibility of the request for caracoras and men for the case cachil Borontalo would remain in power.⁷⁸

So far the plans of the Spaniards, but the absolute secrecy, basic thing of the whole operation, was not kept, because, cachil Borontalo had to be learned about the intentions of the Spaniards and at his request, the Dutch and the ternatense

⁷⁸ “Carta de Corcuera sobre socorro de Terrenate y Cachil Naro. Carta de Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, gobernador de Filipinas, dando cuenta del envío del socorro a Terrenate; encuentro que tuvieron con un galeón enemigo y regreso del gobernador de Terrenate, Pedro de Heredia. Por triplicado. (Cat. 16196) Acompaña: Orden e instrucción que los generales Pedro [Muñoz de Carmona y] Mendiola, gobernador de Terrenate y Jerónimo Somonte, capitán general de la armada real deben de guardar en razón de la restitución del rey Cachil Naro a su reino. Manila, 5 de julio de 1636. Con duplicado. (Cat. 16199). [c] 02-07-1636. Manila” AGI: Filipinas,8,R.3,N.72

treacherously killed cachil Naro, it seems that cachil Borotalo had promised to the Dutch to build a fort on the island.

Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola was able, however, to scare away (say documents with great difficulty) from Malayo, the son of the cachil Naro and his legitimate heir, cachil Sayde. The Spaniards then decided to lay cachil Borotalo and settle as King the son of the late King cachil Naro, the cachil Sayde. Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola acted with caution and managed to prevent the designs of the usurper King, managing to surprise him on his own island home and punish him as a traitor, managing to kill him stabbed. So he could carry out the orders he had received to capture or kill cachil Borotalo. All this was done by Sergeant Major Francisco Hernandez and by the ensign Bernaue de la Plaza, who was given as a reward a company. Thanks to this the entire island of Tidore was pacified and the rightful king cachil Sayde, son of cachil Naro, was enthroned, all the Tidorese leaders performed again an act of submission to the Spanish crown.

About this episode it is interesting to note that not all Spaniards approved, what had happened, in fact, some charges were raised in 1640 ‘*me tomó residencia de dhos cargos*’ by Sergeant Pedro Arias de Mora, against Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, on his conduct of government in Ternate. Of the 5 accusations reported by Arias de Mora, the fifth charge was that Carmona y Mendiola did not keep good friendship with the king of Tidore cachil Borotalo, who instead Carmona y Mendiola ordered to kill and was then stabbed to death without trial and without having tried the crime of treason, of which he was accused. All the charges were, of course, rejected by the governor of the Philippines Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera (he was the instigator of the whole operation), who acquitted Carmona y Mendiola of all charges.⁷⁹

The second crisis period was much more severe and lasted from the end of the reign of cachil Sayde until 1659. It all started with disputes between cachil Sayde, king of Tidore, and the Dutch, when cachil Calomata was elected Sultan of Ternate by some Ternatese, who rejected the legitimate Sultan cachil Mandaraja. The cachil Sayde, king of Tidore, who seems to help the rebels covertly, something he was not allowed to do, because as a subject of the King of Spain he was bound by the terms of the peace treaty, concluded between Spain and Holland.

⁷⁹ “Confirmación de encomienda de Bacnotan, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bacnotan y Binmaley en Pangasinan a Pedro Muñoz de [Carmona y] Mendiola. Resuelto. [ff] 23-05-1647” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.66 blocco 1 fogli 2-7
“Informaciones: Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro Muñoz de Carmona y Mendiola, general, vecino de Manila, casado con María de Valmaseda, única descendiente de Martín de Esquivel, sargento, Juan de Esquivel, maestro de Campo y Juan Ezquerro, general. Información con parecer. Duplicado. Tres minutas de pareceres. [ff] 1649” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.26 Block 1 sheets 3, 5, 11-13, 28-29, 38, 40, 50-52, 64-66, 76-79, 152-153, 161-191, 213-215; Block 2 sheet 3; Block 4 sheets 2-3; Block 5 sheets 2-3; Block 6 sheet 2; Block 8 sheets 9-11

The Dutch protested strongly against Cachil Sayde, who was for a certain period of time put under arrest by the Spaniards and then the rebellion was quelled. Then Cachil Sayde died and some Tidorese rebels elected in his place Cachil Golofino, who was general of the sea of Cachil Mandaraja and ally of the Dutch, thus rejecting the legitimate heir to the throne of the kingdom of Tidore, who was cachil Mole, son of cachil Sayde, who was supported by the Spaniards. But the rebels were assisted with weapons and supplies from the Dutch in violation of articles of the peace treaties concluded.⁸⁰

The most serious moment coincided with the so-called rebellion of the '*Moors*' of Toloa, which reached its zenith in the years 1657-1658, when the Tidorese rebels put under siege the Spanish garrison of Tidore for almost a year. Some documents are describing interesting facts of this period: an order, signed by Governor Diego Sarria Lascano and dated Tidore, March 12, 1657, provides us with interesting information about the rebellion of the Tidorese in 1657, which is defined in another document: '*alzamiento de los moros de los pueblos de Toloa*'.

The document discusses the organization of a punitive expedition against the rebels, because of the seriousness of the situation, the governor Diego Sarria Lascano, had come in person to Tidore to plan the expedition. In the document Captain Alonso Lossano, head of the fort of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*', leaving the command of Spanish and pampangia infantry, receives the order to go with the troops of the king of Tidore, a friend and confederate of the Spaniards, to punish some vassals of the king of the villages of Toluca and Tongoiza, who had rebelled.

Once arrived at the place, which had been identified and selected at the meeting (meeting of council of war, which had apparently preceded the expedition), the Spaniards were to occupy and fortify in the best possible way, because this place was to be the main base of the Spanish forces during the operations; in the fort had to be positioned at least two pieces of artillery and a good garrison. Then, the fortification of the outpost completed, the captain along with a troop of soldiers had to take another place, which was strategically located above the rebels' village, in which they had to fortify and put a garrison of soldiers. To garrison these outposts the captain could take many soldiers from the fort in Tomanira, where was in command the assistant Francisco Peres; the latter fort would still remain well-defended. The aim of the expedition was to reduce the rebels to obedience by force or bring them to sue for peace and to establish submission.⁸¹ The expedition, led by Captain Alonso Losano, was not quickly realized, in fact, the campaign for the subjugation of the two villages

⁸⁰ "Confirmación de encomienda de Mambusao. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Mambusao en Panay a Sebastián de Villarreal. Resuelto. [ff] 19-05-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.11

lasted over two months, during which the Spaniards burned and destroyed two enemy villages and then attacked and captured an enemy fortress, after this victory the Spaniards retreated to their fortress of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*'.⁸²

The above expedition of March 1657 did not solve the issue, in fact subsequently there occurred more clashes with the rebels, who even besieged the Spanish fortress of '*Santiago de los Caballeros*'.

Another document tells us of some of the events that occurred during the siege, during this long period of war, the Spanish soldiers to garrison the fortress of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' suffered hunger for the shortage of food caused by the continuous war against the Dutch, the Ternatense and Tidorese rebels. As the garrison of the fort was without food and without the ability to receive it from Ternate, because of the siege, to which they were subjected by the enemy, Joseph de Garces (who was in charge of the fort) decided to attack with a force of infantry a village of the enemy to raid the food. For this purpose Juan Rodríguez de Origüey was sent with two other soldiers on reconnaissance, they were able to spy on enemies and managed to catch one enemy and to have information, which then led to the conquest and capture of the enemy village. With the food found in the village the Spaniards were able to sustain for two days, very little, but fortunately four days after this arrived from Manila the rescue that allowed the Spaniards to continue to resist the siege. A few days after this event the Dutch and Ternatense rebels entrenched and besieged with artillery a fortress '*nuestra*'⁸³, For the rescue of the garrison of this fort some soldiers were sent, including Juan de Origüey. They remained in defense of this fortress as long as the rebellion lasted, occasionally making forays in order to nourish plants and other wild food. The fort of Gomafo in fact, being located on a high hill overlooking the city of the king of Tidore, was not easily supplied with food during a prolonged siege. Garces informs us that during this period, many Spanish soldiers of the fort passed to the enemy, in fact they could no longer tolerate hunger. Furthermore the enemies besieged every night a village of Tidorese friends of the Spaniards,⁸⁴ located near the Spanish fort, to burn and destroy it and so the Spanish sent as

⁸¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Baratao. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baratao en Pangasinan a Alonso Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 16-06-1676" AGI: Filipinas, 54, N.12

⁸² "Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origüey. Resuelto [ff]. 08-06-1695" AGI: Filipinas, 58, N.3

⁸³ This was the fort of Gomafo, as is to be seen from a later document, the memorial of Juan de Origüey: shortly after the enemy entrenched himself at a musket shot from the fortress '*Domafo*' (Gomafo) that was located in a very strategic place '*por ser eminente alas de mas*' and the fortress in question being in grave danger, the Spaniards sent some soldiers, including Juan de Origüey to reinforce the defenders of the fort, Origüey was fighting in defense of the fort day and night. Origüey did during this siege several sorties against enemy defenses and was trying to get food and also defended the village of '*mori*', faithful to the Spaniards; '*defendio el pueblo de los moros de nuestra parcialidad*', located below the fort until the enemy was forced to retire. "Memorial of the ensign Juan de Origüey" (Manila, 20 September 1673) (sheets 18-20), in: "Confirmación de encomienda de Batangas, Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batangas en Balayan a Lorenzo de Zuleta, Resuelto, [ff] 03-04-1677", AGI: Filipinas, 54, N.14.

⁸⁴ This was the city of the king of Tidore, located on the site of Soa Siu.

garrison in the village a troop of infantry. In 1658, the enemy having left the trenches in which they besieged the Spanish fort, a troop of soldiers attacked the enemies, putting them to flee. The siege lasted almost a year and Origuey tells us that the Spaniards suffered hunger, having to eat trees and wild herbs, because of these hardships more than 100 soldiers went to the enemy.⁸⁵ After these events the Spaniards remained at Tidore for a few more years, and as we shall see, dismantled some garrisons on the island already, starting in 1661-1662.

Now let us see in detail such forts the Spaniards occupied or built on the island of Tidore, in the period between 1606 and 1663. In Spanish documents, I have consulted, are mentioned about a dozen of names of forts⁸⁶ or so garrisons on the island of Tidore, which, however, are not always easy to tell where they were actually located and during what period they were actually occupied by Spanish troops. Sometimes the same fort is called by different names at different times. The actual position of the forts is very difficult to define, according to data, I could gather, these are the most probable locations of the Spanish forts on the island of Tidore:

Chobo: (Cobo, extreme northern tip of the island)

Rume: (Rum, northwest of the island)

Marieco: (Marieko, west of the island, directly on the beach)

Tomañira (probably also Marieco el Chico): (just south of Marieko, was built on a high place, near Marieco (about half a league from Marieco (2960 m)).

Marieco el Chico (probably Tomañira): ‘media legua’ (2960 m) from Marieko.

Sokanora: (just south of Soa Siu, half a league (2960 m) south of the Lugar Grande, on a hill near the sea)

Tahula, Santiago de los Caballeros: (Soa Siu, located on a hill above the sea overlooking the Lugar Grande, south of it)

Baluarte del Principe: (Soa Siu, ‘*fuerte de abajo*’ located on the beach under Tahula)

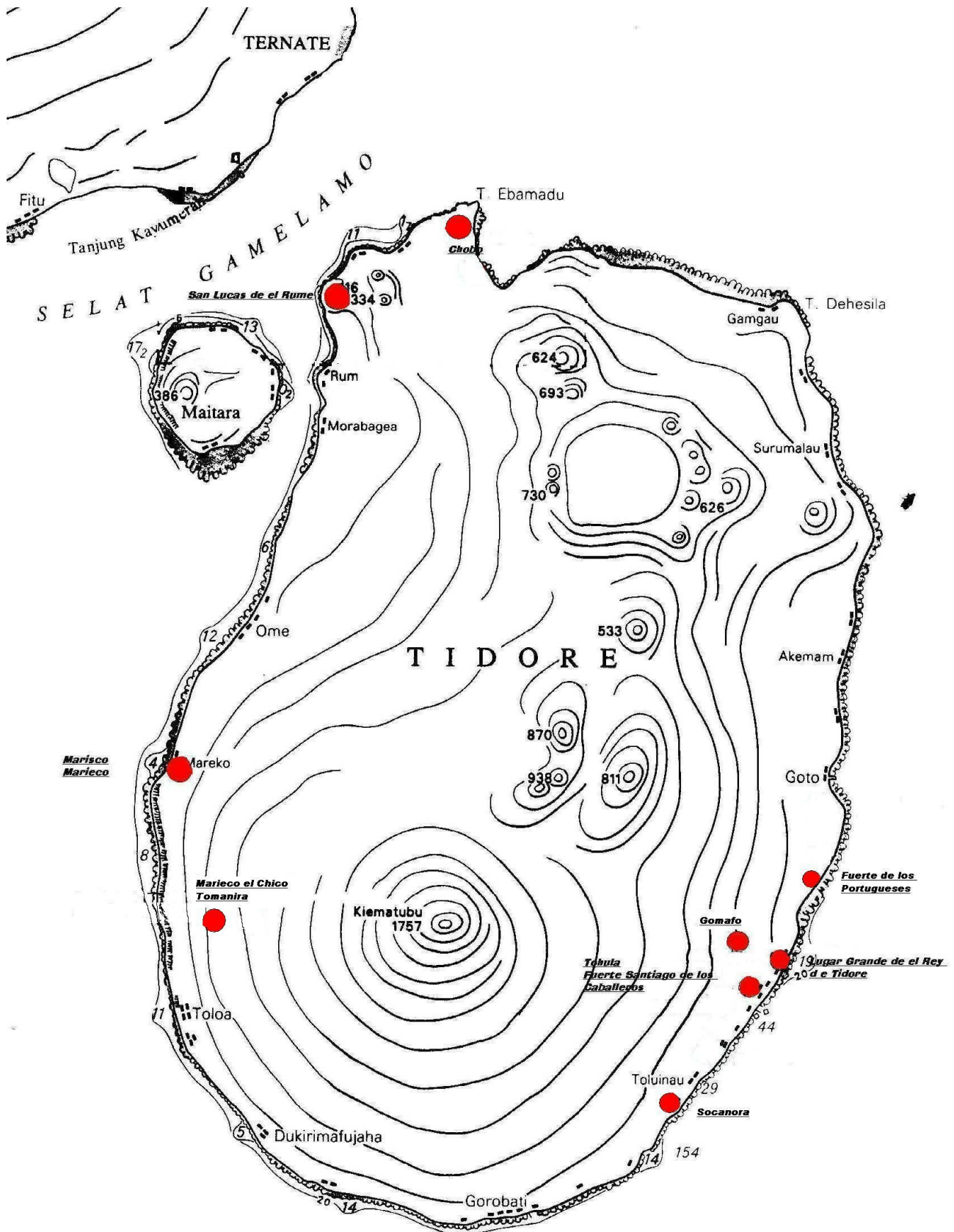
Gomafo: (Soa Siu, fort of the King of Tidore, located on a hill in the interior facing to the sea)

Fuerte de los Portugueses: (just north of Soa Siu, located north of the Lugar Grande 3 shots of espingarda 750 m), or a quarter of a league (1480 m) or a big gun shot (1000 m))

⁸⁵ “Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto[ff]. 08-06-1695” AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3

⁸⁶ For example, van de Wall lists only 4 forts on the island of Tidore: Vesting Tahoela (Soa-Sioe), Vesting Tsjobbe (Soa-Sioe), Fort Roemi (Roem), Fort Marieko (Marieko). Van de Wall, V. I. “*De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken*” (‘s-Gravenhage, 1928) 267-269, 291-292.

The Spanish Forts in Tidore – Marco Ramerini



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Map of forts in Tidore in 1612.



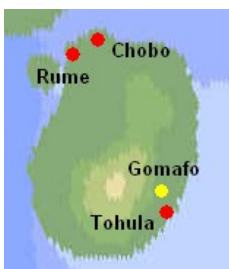
Map of forts in Tidore in 1614.



Map of forts in Tidore in 1619



Map of forts in Tidore in 1643.



Map of forts in Tidore in 1660.

The Spanish Forts in Tidore – Marco Ramerini

LEGEND:

Red: Spanish forts

Yellow: King of Tidore forts

Blue: Dutch forts

5 - DEFENSES OF THE CITY OF THE KING

The centerpiece of Tidore's defenses were the fortifications of the island's main city, which the Spanish called Lugar Grande del Rey. It was located on the southeast coast of the island, where today is the main city of Tidore, Soa Siu. Over the years, a series of forts and defensive posts were built around it. During the Spanish period, the following forts and defensive structures were part of its fortifications: the Portuguese fort, the King's fort, the Prince's bastion and the Tahula fort. Further south was the small fortification of Socanora.

5.1 - LUGAR GRANDE DEL REY (SOA SIU) AND GOMAFO FORT:

Spanish: **Lugar Grande de Tidore, Lugar Grande del Rey, Pueblo Grande de Tidore:** (Current name: Soa Siu)

Spanish: **Fuerte de el Rey de Tidore, Gomafo**⁸⁷, **Samafo**⁸⁸

Dutch: **Gomaffa**⁸⁹, **Gamaffa**⁹⁰, **Comaffa**⁹¹

This was the main city of the whole island of Tidore, where the sultan had his residence, it was located on the southeast coast of the island on the site of the current city of Soa Siu. It was in this city that in 1521 the ships of Magellan's expedition arrived. The Spanish were well received and an alliance was established with the Sultan of Tidore. It was precisely because of this alliance with the Spanish, in addition to the continuous state of war with Ternate which was a close ally of the Portuguese, that Tidore was often attacked and sacked by the Portuguese. Already at the end of 1526, shortly before the arrival of the Loaisa expedition, the city of the king of Tidore had been destroyed and burned by the Portuguese troops led by Garcia Anrriquez (Garcia Henriques). In the city the Portuguese captured seven pieces of artillery, probably some were those left by the Spaniards of Magellan's expedition.⁹²

It was here, as we have seen, that the Spanish built their first fortress in 1527. The city is described by Castanheda as a large city located a short distance from the sea and surrounded by a palisade instead of a wall ‘...*cercada de hũa tranqueyra de duas*

⁸⁷Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 330, 374-375, 378

⁸⁸Pastells “*Historia...*” tomo VI, p. ccclxxxiv

⁸⁹Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. “*Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*” (s’Gravenhage, 1886-1890-1895) vol. II, 382

⁹⁰Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. “*Bouwstoffen...*” vol. III, 382

⁹¹Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. “*Bouwstoffen...*” vol. III, 400

⁹²Lopes de Castanheda “*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*” Livro VII, cap. 39, p. 438; Gaspar Correia “*Lendas da Índia*” vol. III, 173; Diogo do Couto “*Da Asia*” (Lisbona, 1973) Decada IV, part 1, 176-178

*faces...’. The first fortress of the Spaniards was located within the city ‘...a fortaleza dos Castelhanos que astauã dentro’.*⁹³

Subsequently, during the government of the Portuguese captain Vincente da Fonseca, the city of Tidore was again attacked and sacked by the Portuguese, the king of Tidore and his subjects took refuge on a mountain which was located above the city, it was on this mountain where the fortress of the king of Tidore was later built.⁹⁴ This fortress must have been built immediately after the withdrawal of the Spanish soldiers of the expeditions of Loaisa and Saavedra Ceron, in fact the sources begin to speak of it starting from the time of the governor Antonio Galvão.

After the destruction brought by the Portuguese attacks, the king of Tidore wasted no time and prepared important defense works around his city. Around 1536, the city of Tidore is described as well fortified with walls, ramparts, ditches and palisades. It was located along the beach, where there were some well-manned bastions and artillery.⁹⁵ Near the city, towards the interior, was the king's fortress set on a cut rock, which could be reached by a narrow and steep path after a climb of more than a league.⁹⁶ The fortress of the king, is described by Diogo do Couto as a '*castello roqueiro arrezoadado*' located on top of a mountain at a certain distance from the city, but which dominated it from above.⁹⁷

The fortress, which according to some witnesses was judged impregnable, was however not as fortified as it might seem at first superficial observation, it had few men in its defense and no artillery. Antonio Galvão, the Portuguese governor of Ternate, who was preparing to lead a new punitive expedition against the king of Tidore, in fact decided to attack the fortress first, thinking that once captured, the city would also be easily taken. Galvão, after some Portuguese troops with a diversionary maneuver had feigned an attempt to land in front of the city, landed at the head of 120 Portuguese soldiers in the vicinity of the rock where the fortress was and climbed towards it by a path away from the city. But the surprise effect was not successful, in fact, about half a league from the fortress, the Portuguese had a hard battle against a contingent of enemy troops led by Cachil Dayalo, fortunately for the Portuguese, the battle ended with the death of Cachil Dayalo and with the victory of the Portuguese who pursued the fleeing enemies and entered the fortress.

⁹³ Lopes de Castanheda “*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*” Livro VIII, cap. 4, 567

⁹⁴ Lopes de Castanheda “*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*” Livro VIII, cap. 57, p. 660 Gaspar Correia “*Lendas da Índia*” vol. III, 492

⁹⁵ Antonio Galvão “*História das Molucas*” (Roma, 1971) 239, 247

Diogo do Couto “*Da Asia*” Decada V, parte 1, 147

⁹⁶ Lopes de Castanheda “*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*” Livro VIII, cap. 157, 824

⁹⁷ Diogo do Couto “*Da Asia*” Decada V, part 1, 147

The fort was captured and set on fire on December 21, 1536, it burned rapidly as the houses inside were all made of wood and reeds. Then the city of the King was also completely burned, its defense works, bastions and walls, were dismantled, which was done with extreme skill, requiring a few days of work.⁹⁸ Curious to note is the mention made by Galvão to the fact that the leaders of the island of Tidore could speak Portuguese, Castilian and Basque.⁹⁹ Confirmation of this also comes from Castanheda who explains how the then seventeen-year-old king of Tidore, having grown up with the Spaniards, knew Castilian, Basque and Portuguese well.¹⁰⁰

Other news on the fort of the King of Tidore comes from the expedition of Villalobos. The king of Tidore in August 1545, to better defend himself from enemies, had a dry stone fortress built on the top of a hill ‘... *hizo fortalecer un peñol y ençima del hizo una fortaleza de piedra seca, para se recojer alli si neçessario fuese, ...*’.¹⁰¹ As Diogo do Couto states, this fortress was built in the same place where the previous one was destroyed by Antonio Galvão, according to Couto the Spaniards of the Villalobos expedition also participated in the construction of this fort, the fort was ‘*huma fortaleza de pedra ençosso*’ located on a ‘*padrasto, que ficava sobre as costas da cidade*’.¹⁰²

The existence of this stronghold on the island of Tidore evidently greatly disturbed the Portuguese who demanded that it be immediately dismantled. In 1551, after long negotiations between the king of Tidore and Bernaldim de Sousa, the fortress of Tidore was finally dismantled ‘*acabou de por tudo por tera*’.¹⁰³ In the following years, however, the Tidorese rebuilt their fortress, because at the time of the Dutch attack on Tidore, in 1605, the women and children of the Portuguese community residing in Tidore took refuge in the fort of the king of Tidore.

A good overview of the city of Tidore is given to us by the plate XVIII published in "India Orientalis" pars VIII, Francofurti 1607. This overview of the city of Tidore is of great help to locate the defenses of the city also during the later Spanish period. It

⁹⁸ Galvão “*História das Molucas*” 245, 247-255; Lopes de Castanheda “*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*” Livro VIII, cap. 158, 825-828; Gaspar Correia “*Lendas da Índia*” vol. III, pp. 803-805; Diogo do Couto “*Da Asia*” Decada V, part 1, 147-153

⁹⁹ Galvão “*História das Molucas*” 259

¹⁰⁰ Lopes de Castanheda “*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*” Livro VIII, cap. 37, 625

¹⁰¹ “*Relacion de Garcia de Escalante Alvarado*” AGI: Patronato, 23, R.10 in: Consuelo Varela “*El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542-1548*” (Milano, 1983) 143-144

Pastells “*Historia general de las islas Filipinas, 1493-1572*” vol. I, clxxvi

¹⁰² Diogo do Couto “*Da Asia*” Decada V, part 2, 409

¹⁰³ “*Fr. Juan de Beira to Fr. Simão Rodrigues, Cochim 7 de Fevereiro de 1553*” in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia I, 1542-1577*”

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Gabriel Rebelo “*Informação das cousas de Maluco*” in: Artur Basilio de Sá “*Documentação para a historia das missões do padroado português do Oriente. Insulindia*” Vol. 6, 272-276

Couto “*Da Asia*” Decada VI, parte 2, 366-379

depicts the attack and capture of the Portuguese fort of Tidore by the Dutch in May 1605. On the far right of the plate (i.e. on the north side) the Portuguese fort is depicted with the powder magazine tower in flames. The fort has a round tower on the south side of the landward facing wall, while another round tower, that of the burning powder magazine, is located along the north wall, it was here that the Portuguese made their last desperate stand. On the side of the wall facing the sea was an artillery position and a sort of bastion where the attacks of the Dutch were concentrated and where their artillery had managed to open a breach. To the south next to the fort is the Jesuit church and then the village of the Portuguese casados.

In the center of the picture is the king's city with the mosque (the '*Lugar Grande de el Rey*', as the Spaniards would later call it) and the royal palace, in the background of the city is a hill with a fortified village, this is the place where the king has his fort and where the women and children of the Portuguese took refuge at the time of the Dutch attack.¹⁰⁴ A round hill located on the sea and overlooking the king's city from the south is the place where the Spaniards will later build their most important fortress on the island: Tahula. In the image on the tip at the foot of this hill some artillery pieces are mounted as well as along the coast in front of the king's city, one of these two artillery positions could be the place where the so-called bulwark of the Prince will then be erected. Over the hill, further to the left (i.e. south of town) is another burning village, it could be Socanora.

The voyage report of Admiral C. Matalief (1607), contains an interesting description of the Spanish fortifications of the city of Tidore: the Dutch fleet is anchored in front of the city of Tidore, on the east coast of the island. Along the beach the Spaniards have a stone bastion whose walls are as high as a man, and a few musket shots long (a musket shot corresponds to about 250 m.) in the direction from north to south (this bastion could be the bulwark of the Prince). In the southern part there is a round mountain, difficult to access, on top of which there are Spanish soldiers and three cannons (this hill is where in the following years the Spaniards will build the fortress of Tahula). Also on the north side the city is protected, in fact at the distance of a big cannon shot (a cannon shot is approximately between 600 m. and 1000 m.) there is the old Portuguese fort. In front of the city in the sea there is a coral reef that can only be crossed at high tide, it starts from the south of the city and reaches the Portuguese fort.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ It is certainly the same hill where the king of Tidore had a dry stone fortress built in August 1545.

¹⁰⁵ "Report of the voyage of the admiral C. Matelief, 1607" In: Commelin "*Begin ende voortgangh ...*" Vol. II, 63

This report must have been unknown to Admiral Paulus van Caerden since in a letter to the administrators of the VOC he complains of the poor knowledge that the Dutch had of the island of Tidore, in particular they had no information of the defenses of the capital of the island. "*Copie van het schrijven van Paulus van Caerden aan de bewindhebbers dd. 17 juni 1610*" In: de Booy "*De derde reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van admiraal Paulus van Caerden uitgezeild in 1606*" vol. II, 239

In June 1608 the Dutch, in anticipation of an attack to be carried on the city of Tidore, carried out an inspection in Tidore with a caracora and also described, among others, the fort of the king of Tidore, it is described as a fort difficult to besiege with their arms, the king could dispose according to the report of about 3000 men in arms.¹⁰⁶ The difficulty of siege was most likely due to the fact that the King's fort was located inland from the sea so the Dutch in the event of a siege could not rely on the superiority of the firepower of their ships.

Other subsequent documents still mention the fort of the king of Tidore: the fortress of the king of Tidore, appears to be heavily fortified, thanks to its location, but has little artillery: ‘...tres pesas de escolher e dez ou doze falcões...’. The fortress was located on a very high place and faced the Spanish fortress of Tahula. The troops available to the king of Tidore consisted of 4,000 men, including 2,000 musketeers and 2,000 ‘...campilão carrasca...’.¹⁰⁷ Confirming the lack of artillery in the fort is the request that the king of Tidore made to Geronimo de Silva in March 1613, at the most critical moment for Tidore during the year of the great Dutch assaults, in fact the king requested the sending, of even a small caliber artillery piece for his fort.¹⁰⁸

Some documents also tell us what was the name of the king's fort: in November 1615 the king of Tidore asked D. Gerónimo de Silva for a stonemason to renew the bulwark of the Gomafo fort, because it had leaned to one side.¹⁰⁹ That Gomafo was the name by which the fort of the king of Tidore was called is more clearly indicated in a letter from the governor of Ternate Gerónimo de Silva which tells of an episode that took place in 1616: the betrayal of the prince of Tidore. Out of love for the Princess of Jailolo, he had fled from the Dutch to Malayo, and it seems he had made an agreement with the Dutch to give them the fort of Gomafo. The prince then returned to Tidore attempted a coup by occupying his father's fort of Gomafo with his own garrison, in the attempt he also broke a water cistern of the fort. After this episode, the Spaniards asked for permission to place a garrison of soldiers in the fort of Gomafo, but the request, although the king was favourable, led to a harsh reaction from the Tidorese. It appears that no Spanish garrison was placed in the fort. On this occasion, given the extreme insecurity of the situation, the old king of Tidore, Cachil

¹⁰⁶ “*Informatie van den stant van de Molucques, door Jan Bruyn, 12 may 1609*” In: Opstall, M. E. “*De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612*” (‘s-Gravenhage, 1972) vol. II, 304

¹⁰⁷ “*Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tydore..., Malaca, 28 novembre 1619*” In: Various authors “*Doc. Ultramarina Portuguesa*” vol. I, 168

Rios Coronel, Hernando de los “*Memorial y relacion... 1621*” In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*” vol. 19 (1620-1621), 288

¹⁰⁸ “*Carta que escribió el rey de Tidore á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 30 de marzo de 1613*” In: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 93

¹⁰⁹ “*Tanto de carta que el rey de Tidore escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore en 18 de noviembre de 1615*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 330

Mole, was offered the possibility of residing in the Spanish fort of Tohula in the apartments of the governor.¹¹⁰

In April 1616, a Dutch sergeant, Arnaut de Capeu, who had escaped from the fortress of Malayo and had taken refuge with the Spaniards, declared among other things that there was a rumor in Malayo that as soon as more reinforcements reached the Dutch they would be sent to Tidore to get what the prince had promised to Governor Lorenzo Real, namely the submission of the kingdom of Tidore to the Dutch and the cession of the fortress of Samafo (Gomafo), all this in exchange for the hand of the queen of Jailolo of which he was madly in love.¹¹¹

Despite these precedents, the king of Tidore managed to maintain control over the fort and Dutch attempts were thwarted. Subsequently, in 1618, following the intense fortification works carried out both in Ternate and in Tidore by Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, the whole city of Tidore was surrounded by solid walls.¹¹² In 1634, the king of Tidore Cachil Varo (Naro), had as his principal residence his fort of Tidore, which, according to Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca, was by far the most important fort on the island, more important even than the forts owned in the island by the Spaniards, it had under its orders a large mass of soldiers with over 2,000 men who obeyed the King.¹¹³

In 1657, during the rebellion of the Tidorese, the fort of Gomafo reappears in some Spanish documents, in fact the fort was besieged by the rebels for several months, as is clear from the memorial of Juan de Origuey: the enemies entrenched themselves within a musket shot of the fortress of ‘*Domafo*’ (Gomafo) which was situated in a very strategic position ‘*por ser eminente alas de mas*’ and being the fortress in question in grave danger, the Spaniards sent some soldiers including Juan de Origuey to reinforce the defenders of the fort, Origuey remained in defense of the fort fighting day and night. During this siege Origuey made several sorties against the enemies to

¹¹⁰ “*Tanto de carta que el señor gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva de comun acuerdo y consejo de los capitanes, desde Tidore en 25 de junio de 1616*” In: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 374-375, 378

¹¹¹ Colin-Pastells “*Labor Evangelica*” vol. III, 628-631 note n°1 e 328-329
Pastells “*Historia general de Filipinas*” Tomo VI (1608-1618) ccclxxix-ccclxxxiv

“*Traslado de las declaraciones de Arnaut Lapen, holandés huído de los corsarios ante el capitán Alonso Martín Quirante el 28 de abril de 1616: que los navios holandeses llegados al Malayo eran seis, y que vinieron por el estrecho de Magallanes al mando del general Jorge de Espelbergue (sic). Manila, 10 de noviembre de 1616*” in: “*Informaciones sobre los corsarios holandeses, 1616[Probable]*” AGI: Filipinas,37,N.19

¹¹² “*Carta de Manuel Ribeiro a Fajardo de Tenza sobre Terrenate, 10-08-1618*” AGI: Filipinas,7,R.5,N.54

Publicata anche in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” Doc. n° 106, 375-378 e in Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*” vol. 18, 137-140.

“*Traslado de una carta del rey de Tidore, al gobernador de Filipinas, comunicando lo que supone para estas islas la pérdida de la armada y pidiendo le envíen algunas galeras para no interrumpir la comunicación entre las islas del Maluco, Tidore 17 de mayo de 1618*” In: “*Carta de Alonso Fajardo de Tenza sobre asuntos de gobierno, 10-08-1618*” AGI: Filipinas,7,R.5,N.53

¹¹³ “*Letter by Don Juan Cerazo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, 10 august 1634*” published in: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*” vol. 24, 330-334

get food and also defended the village of 'Mori' loyal to the Spanish '*defendio el pueblo de los moros de nuestra parcialidad*' located under the fort, where the Spanish sent a troop of infantry to garrison the village.¹¹⁴ In 1658, the enemy having abandoned the trenches with which besieged the fort, a troop of soldiers attacked the enemies, putting them to flight. The siege lasted almost a year and Origuey tells us that the Spaniards suffered from hunger, having to feed on trees and wild herbs, because of these privations over 100 soldiers went over to the enemy.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ “*Memorial of the ensign Juan de Origuey*” (Manila, 20 September 1673) (sheets 18-20) in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Batangas. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batangas en Balayan a Lorenzo de Zuleta. Resuelto. [ff] 03-04-1677*” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.14

¹¹⁵ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto[ff]. 08-06-1695*” AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3

5.2 – FUERTE DE LOS PORTUGUESES

Fuerte de los Portuguéses (Fortaleza dos Reis Magos): (Current name: ?)

CHRONOLOGY: Portuguese: January 6, 1578 - May 19, 1605

Captured by the Dutch on 19 May 1605 then abandoned.

Spanish: c.1609 – 9 July 1613

Dutch: 9 July 1613- August/November (?) 1613

This is the fort built in Tidore by the Portuguese in 1578, after the loss of the fortress of Ternate ‘...*de haver hecho los nuestros otra fortaleza en la isla de Tidore, dos leguas de la otra de Ternate que se perdió...*’¹¹⁶. The fort was built at the request of the king of Tidore, who in doing so intended to counterbalance the overwhelming power of his rival the sultan of Ternate. The Portuguese were happy to accept the offer, even if in Tidore they were mainly guests and never recovered the dominating position they had had in previous years when they controlled the island of Ternate.

The construction of this fort was begun on January 6, 1578, by Sancho de Vasconcellos, and for this reason it was called ‘*Fortaleza dos Reis Magos*’. The fort ‘... *de los portugueses que estaba en el lugar grande del Rey de Tidore*’¹¹⁷, it was located north of Soasiu at a distance ranging between 750 meters¹¹⁸ and 1500 meters¹¹⁹ according to the testimonies. The new fortress was square in shape with sides ‘...*por cada parte de 30 braças*’¹²⁰, on two opposite corners two bulwarks had been built, this fortress is described as ‘...*muy fraca e que facilmente se pode tomar*’, the building was of stone ‘*emsonsa*’.

In the vicinity of the fort, a small town soon developed, inhabited by Portuguese casados with their families, by Spanish soldiers (they were soldiers from the expeditions of Sarmiento and Morón who had remained in Tidore), merchants and natives: ‘*Está a povoação dos portugheses posta a longo da praia, em hum sitio muito aprazivel e sadio. Terá acerca de 60 casados portugheses com suas mulheres e cincoenta soldados castilhanos, afora dos mercadores que vem e vão com a nao da*

¹¹⁶ “Fr. Rui Vicente, provincial of India, to fr. Everard Mercurian, general, Goa 29-03-1579” in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606*” Doc. n° 13, 41

¹¹⁷ Colin-Pastells “*Labor Evangelica*” vol. III pp. 266 note n°3

¹¹⁸ ‘... longe da povoação d’el-Rey tres tiros de spingarda’a pitch from espingarda is about 250 m., so the fort was about 750 m. from the city of the king “*Informação da cristandade de Maluco, dada ao Padre Provincial, do Padre António Marta, no anno 1588*” Mardsen Collection n° 12876 in: Artur Basilio de Sá “*Documentação para a historia das missões do padroado português do Oriente. Insulindia. Vol. 5 (1580-1595)*” 116; published also in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606*” Doc. n° 73, 268

¹¹⁹ ‘um quarto de légua’ a quarter of a league corresponds approximately to 1480 m.

“Fr. Luís Fernandes’ report on the loss of Tidore and his voyage to Cebu, Cebu July 1605” in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606*” Doc. n° 179, 701

¹²⁰ A “braça” is 2.18 m. So the fort must have had sides about 64 meters long.

carreira e outra gente da terra.’ In the village the Jesuits had a plot of land that measured 70 ‘*braças*’ in length and 65 ‘*braças*’ in width, here in 1588 a church was built which, considering also the chapel, was 15 ‘*braças*’ long and 7 ‘*braças*’ wide. Together with the church, the Jesuits had a house with a warehouse, a refectory and a home for the boys. All these buildings were made of wood and were in a great location: ‘...*da levante tem o mar e atrás tem vista do guno (the volcano of Tidore), e por todas as partes tem vista muito aprazível.*’¹²¹ Throughout the period of Portuguese control (1578-1605), the village inhabited by the Portuguese *casados* was never protected by walls, in fact during the Dutch attack of 1605 the women and children were forced to take refuge inside the fort of the king of Tidore, the Portuguese fort being too small to accommodate all of them. The reason why a wall or at least a ‘*tranqueira*’ was never built around the village is to be found in the opposition to this by the king of Tidore.¹²²

An ambiguous description of the Portuguese fortress is given to us by “*Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India ...*” written in 1582: the fortress is described as small and of little importance, its ramparts were of ‘*pedra e barro*’, according to this testimony it was built ‘...*em hum outeiro alto (que chamão de Cachilduquo) que fica senhoreando a cidade principal da Ilha*’ where the king of the island resided, the king’s city was located approx ‘*hum tiro de berço*’ (a shot “*de berço*” corresponds to a distance between 300 m. and 400 m.) from the fortress. Here it seems that the source makes some confusion with the fort of the King of Tidore, indicating the Portuguese fort located on an “*outeiro alto*” which dominated the main city of the island, while in fact all the other testimonies indicate precisely in lack of commanding position over the city the weak point of the Portuguese fortress at Tidore.¹²³

The Portuguese fort of Tidore remained the last bastion of the Portuguese presence in the Moluccas, it was attacked in May 1605 by a flotilla of Dutch ships (5 large ships and 4 “*pataccos*”) commanded by Vice-Admiral Cornelis Bastiaensz, with a total of slightly more of 200 men, according to the Jesuit Luís Fernandes. The Dutch vessels, which were part of Admiral Steven van der Hagen’s flotilla, arrived at Tidore on May 2, 1605, where they anchored near the tip of ‘*Saconora*’¹²⁴. A few days later, on May 5, they had a hard fight with two Portuguese galleons¹²⁵ which were at anchor in the

¹²¹ “*Informação da cristandade de Maluco, dada ao Padre Provincial, do Padre António Marta, no anno 1588*” Mardsen Collection n° 12876 in: Artur Basílio de Sá “*Documentação para a historia das missões do padroado português do Oriente. Insulindia. Vol. 5 (1580-1595)*” 116-117; also published in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606*” Doc. n° 73, 268-269

¹²² “*Fr. Antonio Pereira to fr. Claudio Acquaviva, Manila 24-06-1594*” in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606*” Doc. n° 102, 401

¹²³ Anonymous “*Livro das cidades e fortalezas que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India ..., 1582.*” (Lisboa, 1960) sheet 66v

¹²⁴ Point located just south of the main city of Tidore.

¹²⁵ They were two galleons, with little artillery and with few men on board, captained by Fernão Pereira de Sande and Tomé de Torres.

port of Tidore, the boats had been positioned by the Portuguese in front of the city of Tidore where two trenches (*'twee schansen'*) had been built to defend the ships, the clash lasted about an hour (two hours according to the Jesuit Luís Fernandes) and ended with the capture of both Portuguese boats, to which the Dutch, in the following days, after taking the artillery, set fire. Dutch losses in this engagement were three killed and seventeen wounded, while the loot was only seven artillery pieces. On the Portuguese side, there were two dead and some wounded.

Despite the defeat in this first engagement, the Portuguese of the fortress of Tidore, commanded by Pedro Álvares de Abreu, did not surrender at the sight of the ships (unlike what had happened shortly before at Ambon) and at the ease with which the Dutch had destroyed the two galleons, but forced the Dutch to fight. About a month before the arrival of the Dutch ships, the Portuguese had learned, from an English ship (that of Henry Middleton), the news of the imminent possible arrival of the enemy fleet and had immediately set about reinforcing the fortress, in whose work the priests, women and children had also participated.

Despite the efforts, the fortress was poorly armed, it had only 11 pieces of artillery and of these six or seven could not reach the place where they had to stay, moreover the number of defenders was also small, about seventy men of which only thirty who could fight well, tells us the Jesuit Luís Fernandes, who was one of the survivors. The contrast is stark with the firepower of the Dutch fleet which had about 120 artillery pieces. In addition to this overwhelming superiority, the Dutch called the sultan of Ternate to their aid and guaranteed the neutrality of the king of Tidore who holed up in his fortress to observe the events.

On May 14, 150 Dutch soldiers, commanded by Captain Jansz-Mol (captain of the ship *'de Gelderland'*) and Captain la Derre (van der Perre or van de Verre), landed in the vicinity of the fort, where they attacked and burned two villages, one located north of the fort, the other south which belonged to the Portuguese. The sultan of Ternate, who had arrived on 16 May with fourteen *'caracoras'* and about 2,000 men, landed 500 of his soldiers and according to Dutch sources, he awaited the development of events (in the testimony of the Jesuit Luís Fernandes, however, the Ternatese took an active part in the attack, building the trench and participating in the final assault).

In the meantime, the Dutch, to the north of the fort, had built a trench (according to the Jesuit Luís Fernandes it was the Ternatese who built the *'tranqueira'*), made up of barrels filled with earth, from which they began to canonize the fort, which was also under the constant fire of the ships' artillery. Beginning on the morning of May 17,

the fortress was intensely bombarded for two days, but despite the massive bombardment, the Portuguese lost no men and had only one lightly wounded in these first two days of bombardment.

On the third day, May 19, 1605, the Dutch, after having brought the artillery closer to the fort at night and having arranged all the boats in front of the fortress, began from midnight to bombard the fort even more intensely.

At the same time the troops began to disembark and positioned themselves behind the battery, then, at dawn, noticing a breach in the walls (the breach was located '*debaixo do baluarte do capitão*' according to the testimony of the Jesuit Luís Fernandes) they attempted to enter in the fort. Jansz-Mol (Jan Janszen Moll) at the head of his soldiers impetuously attacked the side of the walls where the breach was, and Mol with seven other soldiers managed to enter the fort, but the defenders, who had taken refuge in the towers of the powder magazines, did not lose heart and counterattacked harshly managing to repel the Dutch and even chased them towards the trench.

But at this point bad luck raged against the Portuguese, in fact an artillery shot fired from the Dutch ship '*de Gelderland*' hit the powder magazine tower, just at the moment when the Portuguese were shouting victory, the tower blew up and with it also the sixty men who were in its defense, the huge explosion caused the death of many defenders and a huge gash in the walls of the fort. The Dutch revived by the incident went back to the counterattack and the Portuguese soldiers were forced to abandon the fort taking refuge in the city of the King of Tidore '*lugar de Tidor*'.

The Ternatense who until then had limited themselves to observing the situation, according to the version reported by the Dutch, once they saw the outcome of the battle began to loot the houses. All the battle for the fort cost the Dutch only two killed and eight wounded, while the Portuguese had seventy-three dead and 13 wounded according to Dutch sources, according to the Jesuit Luís Fernandes the Portuguese dead caused by the explosion of the powder magazine were about thirty.

The families of the Portuguese who resided in Tidore, and who had taken refuge in a '*casa fuerte*'¹²⁶ located in an inaccessible place on a high mountain not far from the fortress, after the surrender of the few remaining Portuguese soldiers, they decided to follow their fate and together with them were exiled from Tidore. The Dutch gave the survivors (according to the Dutch version about 500 people, among them also the Jesuit Luís Fernandes, superior of the Jesuit mission of the Moluccas; 400 people according to the Jesuit Luís Fernandes) four boats plus a boat offered by the King of

¹²⁶ This was the fort of the king of Tidore, which according to the Dutch could only be taken through hunger or thirst.

Tidore, with which they moved, via Siau, to Oton in the Panay Island (Philippines) where they arrived between the end of June and the first days of July 1605. The Portuguese fort of Tidore was conquered by the Dutch on May 19, 1605.¹²⁷

After the explosion of the powder magazine, the fort must have been in very bad shape, in fact the Dutch did not rebuild it and did not occupy it with a garrison, however this seems to be mainly due to the small number of troops who were on board the ships of the vice-admiral Cornelis Bastiaensz. The Dutch kept only one farm in Tidore, in fact in 1606, the Spaniards who passed through Tidore before attacking Ternate, captured a farmer and three sailors in the Dutch farm and also found 2,000 ducats, some merchandise and many weapons.¹²⁸

According to what declared, at the time of his capture by the Spanish in 1606, the factor of Tidore, Jacome Joan, the king of Tidore in the aftermath of the capture of the Portuguese fort had sworn allegiance to the Dutch and requested their protection, offering them the construction of a fort where they could station the troops for the defense of the island. But since the fleet commander (Cornieles Bastian, Cornelis Bastiaansz), who had captured the Portuguese fort, did not have enough men to leave to garrison the island, the offer was declined. Then at the specific request of the king it was decided to leave only a few Dutch on a farm to trade. The king of Tidore also undertook to defend the Dutch who remained on the island and to guarantee the Dutch the exclusivity on the clove trade.¹²⁹

According to the information collected by Esquivel in 1605 upon his arrival in the Philippines, the fort of Tidore was not the most robust and powerful '*... me dizen is bien debil*', despite this he judged it difficult for a fleet of only 5 ships to conquer it. Esquivel, as we have seen, was wrong in this judgment (even if the Dutch had been very lucky in hitting the powder magazine of the fort at the crucial moment), but he rightly expressed the opinion that even if the Dutch had succeeded in conquering the

¹²⁷ "Fr. Gaspar Fernandes, provincial of Goa to fr. Claudio Acquaviva, general, Goa 6-11-1606" in: Jacobs, H. "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" Doc. n°10, 49

Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III, 20-22

Middleton "The voyage of sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606" (London, 1943) 44-47

Prevost, Abate Antonio Francisco "Historia General de los viajes, ó nueva colección de todas las relaciones de los que se han hecho por Mar y Tierra... Tomo XIII: Viajes de los Holandeses a las Indias Orientales" (Madrid, 1773) 23-26

"Fr. Luis Fernandes' report on the loss of Tidore and his voyage to Cebu, Cebu July 1605" in: Jacobs, H. "Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606" Doc. n° 179, 699-704

¹²⁸ "Letter by Acuña to the king, 8 April 1606" in Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo V, pp. ccxvii-ccxix

Montero y Vidal, José "Historia general de Filipinas: desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta nuestros dias" (Madrid, 1887) 151

Hanna - Des Alwi "Turbulent times past in Ternate and Tidore" (Banda Neira, 1990) 132

According to Diego Aduarte, two Dutchmen were found on the Tidore farm: Aduarte, Diego "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 31, 249

¹²⁹ "The Dutch factory at Tidore" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" vol. 14, pp. 112-118 See also the version of the same document given by Pastells "Historia general de Filipinas" tomo V, ccxx-ccxxi

fort they could not have occupied it with a large garrison, so when Acuña's expedition arrived it would have been easily reconquerable.¹³⁰

The remains of the Portuguese fort must not have attracted the attention of Acuña and Esquivel either since after the conquest of Ternate, the orders left to Esquivel by Acuña were to build a new Spanish fort on the island of Tidore. In Esquivel's description of the site chosen for the construction of this new fortress, a mention is also made of the old Portuguese fort: the site chosen for the new fort was very close to the king's city (*'lugar del Rey'*) and about a quarter of a league from where was the fort which was burned *'...cosa de un quarto de legua de donde antes estaba, la que se boló y en la misma parte que dicen que Hurtado de Mendoça quizo hacerla quando estuvo aqui'*. The fortress *'que se boló'* was undoubtedly the old fort of the Portuguese, conquered by the Dutch on 19 May 1605, thanks to the explosion of the powder magazine of the fort.¹³¹

Subsequent Dutch reports also confirm that the fort had to be abandoned between 1606 and 1608: the Portuguese fort is mentioned in the description of the defenses of the cities of Tidore made in the report of Admiral Matalieff (1607), in fact to protect the north side of the city, at the distance of a big cannon shot (a cannon shot is approximately between 600 m. and 1000 m.) was the old Portuguese fort. In front of the city in the sea there was a coral reef that could only be crossed at high tide, it started from the south of the city and reached the Portuguese fort.¹³²

In June 1608, a new Dutch report describing the state of defense of the city of Tidore, indicates that due to the presence of the coral reef in front of the city, the only suitable place for a landing of troops was in front of the old and dilapidated Portuguese fort which was located a *'gootelincx shoot'* from the city, here in fact the coral reef ended and made landing possible. The old fort does not seem to have been maintained by the Spanish in a state of defence, it is in fact described as dilapidated, but the surrounding land was covered by bush and this allowed the Spanish to try to repel the landing, furthermore the route to be followed along the beach to reaching the city was feasible only at low tide, the path leading to the city was narrow and blocked by bamboo palisades which made it difficult for troops to advance and which could slow down the march of the Dutch soldiers.¹³³ All these difficulties dissuaded the Dutch from attempting an attack on Tidore.

¹³⁰ “Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey, llegada a Filipinas, 06-07-1605” AGI: Patronato,47,R.1

¹³¹ “Letter by Equivel to the king Ternate, 2 May 1606” in Pastells “Historia general de Filippines” tomo V, ccxxix-ccxxx

¹³² “Report of the voyage of Admiral C. Matelief, written in 1607” in: Commelin “Begin ende voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie” (Amsterdam, 1646) Vol. 2, 63;

¹³³ “Informatie van den stant van de Molucques, door Jan Bruyn, 12 may 1609” In: Opstall “De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612” vol. II, 303

The fact that the fort was located where the landing point closest to the city of Tidore was, still made its control of paramount importance to the city's defences. In 1609, the governor Vergara aware of the importance of the Portuguese fort decided to rebuild it ‘... *hiço de nuevo los fuertes de Marieco el fuerte vejo de portugueses*’ ‘*Que fortifico en la isla de Tidore el lugar de Marieco y el fuerte que los olandeses ganaron a los portugueses el ano de seiçientos y çinco*’.¹³⁴

Even if the subsequent testimony of Azcueta seems to deny that any work was actually done to this fort during the few months (March 1609-February 1610) of Vergara's rule. In fact, the Portuguese fort is mentioned again, in 1610, in a report drawn up by the governor of Ternate, Cristobal de Azcueta: the governor Azcueta in the first months of his government in Ternate visited the island of Tidore, where, in addition to locating the site where to build the new Spanish fortress, he also visited the place where the remains of the old Portuguese fortress were (*‘la fuerca vieja de los Portuguesses que estaua por el suelo perdida’*), he, in agreement with his captains, decided to partially restore the fort, due to the good port he had (*‘... por el buen puerto que tiene, y no auello mexor en esta isla de Tidoró ...’*).

Thus the old terreplein was used where a parapet was erected, and where 16 soldiers with 3 artillery pieces were stationed. Azcueta wisely paid no heed to the king of Tidore and his *‘cachiles’*, who asked the Spaniards to fortify the only Portuguese fort and not to build a new one above their city. In fact Azcueta judged the old fort too far from the king's city to be able to defend and control it and so it was that, as we will see, he decided to build the fort of Tahula.¹³⁵ Confirming the partial restoration of the old fort by the Spanish, a Dutch report from 1610 informs us that the old Portuguese fort had a garrison of 13 Spanish soldiers and 2 cannons had been mounted in the fort.¹³⁶

In the spring of 1613, immediately after the Dutch conquest of Marieco, work was feverish to bring this fort to a minimal state of defence. It is still considered very important in the defenses of the city of Tidore, for this reason the king of Tidore asked de Silva to order that this fort be immediately restored and reinforced.¹³⁷ De Silva immediately gave the order that it be fortified, for this purpose he placed the works for the fortification of the *‘fuerte de los portugueses’* under the direct control of the Prince of Tidore. While he put under the control of the King the works of the

¹³⁴ “*Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611*” AGI: Filipinas,60,N.12

¹³⁵ “*Cartas del Virrey Luis de Velasco (El Hijo) (1607-1611): 5-El Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Azcoeta al Gobernador de las Filipinas Don Juan de Silva, sobre le estado de las fuerzas a su cargo. Fuerza de Terrenate, 23-IV-1610*” AGI: Mexico, 28, N.2

¹³⁶ “*Voyage of Admiral Pieter W. Verhoeven, written in 1610*” in: Commelin “*Begin ende voortganch van de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*” 112

¹³⁷ “*Carta que escribió el rey de Tidore á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 30 de marzo de 1613*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 93

other fort that he judged indispensable in the defense works of the city, the fort of Tahula ('... *la fortificacion de arriba*'). He also ordered to abandon any other fortification work along the shore (probably this was the '*baluarte del Principe*'), since on that side there was the coral reef, which prevented any attempt to disembark. To speed up the work all the stonecutters present in Ternate were sent to Tidore, the construction of some ovens to bake the bricks was also ordered both in Tahula and in the '*fuerte de los portugueses*'.¹³⁸

A hint of the Portuguese fort and its artillery equipment a few months before the Dutch attack is offered to us in the report left by the English captain John Saris, who visited Tidore in April 1613. In fact, after the British had stopped in the vicinity of the fort of Tohula, in the evening they anchored with the assistance of the chief of the galleys Gomez about a league and a half away from the fort, here the next morning the British realized they were in the vicinity of a battery of 8 guns which they had not noticed during the night and which was evidently what remained of the Portuguese fort after the fortification work carried out by the Spanish.¹³⁹

In June 1613, the king of Tidore changed his opinion on the usefulness of restoring the Portuguese fort, in fact in a letter to Geronimo de Silva he stated that he had been to see the fort, which is described as not very robust '*... tan flaco por ser de piedra sobre piedra*', who greatly doubted its usefulness in the event of an attack, he suggested to de Silva, on the advice of his '*cachiles*', that he dismantle it and concentrate all efforts on the defenses of the city of Tidore.¹⁴⁰ However, Geronimo de Silva's answer left no room for discussion, he considered the Portuguese fort to be of fundamental importance for the city's defenses and this for several reasons: the first for the great '*opinion*' that the fort had, the second for being defended many other times from enemy attacks with fewer soldiers than those who were present at the moment, finally it was de Silva's opinion, that the Dutch would never be so foolish as to attack and place their troops between two forts where there were Spanish soldiers. The governor ordered to continue with the fortification work of the fort and to clear the area around the fort of the bush for the length of an arquebus shot. He was convinced that in the event of an attack on Tidore, the Dutch would have to land their troops near the Portuguese fort.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ "*Carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió al rey de Tidore, Terrenate, 31 de marzo de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 94

¹³⁹ Kerr, Robert "*A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VIII.*" Sec. XV. "*Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1611, by Captain John Saris*" Sec. 4. "*The Voyage of Captain Saris, in the Clove, towards Japan, with Observations respecting the Dutch and Spaniards at the Molucca Islands*"

¹⁴⁰ "*Carta que escribió el rey de Tidore á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 30 de junio de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 134

¹⁴¹ "*Tanto de carta que escribió don Gerónimo de Silva á el rey de Tidore, Terrenate, 1 de jullio de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 135-137

It was in fact this fort, the one attacked by Pieter Both in July 1613 with a fleet of 12 ships and under the command of 700-800 soldiers, including 50 Japanese mercenaries hired by Hendrick Brouwer and with a fleet of 40 '*caracoas*' and about 2000 Ternatense.

On July 7, at 5 in the afternoon, 13 Dutch ships sailed from Malayo to Tidore, one vessel remained to guard the fort of Marieco el Grande, which had been captured a few months earlier. The others brought themselves within sight of the great city of the king. The main target of the attack was the large city of Tahula (i.e. Lugar Grande de el Rey, Soa Siu), but due to the lack of a suitable place to anchor the fleet, it was decided first of all to attack the old Portuguese fort, located about ½ hour from the city ('*que es ántes de llegar á el pueblo grande de Tidore, aun no un cuarto de legua*') and in front of which the anchorage closest to the city was located. On the evening of July 8, 1613, 12 Dutch ships moored in front of the old fort, the Spanish garrison, which on the same day had been reinforced by 40 soldiers, opened fire and incessantly bombarded the enemy boats in order to force them to abandon the anchorage but the Dutch held firm.

The next day, July 9, 1613, at dawn, the Dutch, with 4 ships, beat the old Portuguese fort with artillery for more than three hours, firing more than 200 shots, then 8 companies of soldiers were landed, about 800 men, in addition to many Ternatense who immediately assaulted the fort. After 1 hour and a half of continuous assaults, the Dutch troops managed to enter the fort, the Spanish fought fiercely to the death. Despite this fierce resistance of the Spanish the fort was conquered by the Dutch, the losses for the Spanish were very serious, in fact were killed, in this battle, according to Dutch sources 63 of their best soldiers (around 50 according to Spanish sources) including 48 Spaniards and 15 mestiços and papangers. On the Dutch side the dead were 8 (Coen more precisely speaks of 9 Dutch, 2 Japanese and 1 Indian) as well as 12-14 wounded. Much of the veteran and more experienced soldiers of the Moluccans died in this battle ('... *me mató en el fuerte de los portuguéses la gente [...] que era de la mejor y mas briosa que abia en estas islas ...*'¹⁴²).

According to Dutch sources, it seems that the Spanish soldiers had received the sacrament of extreme unction the night before the battle. Gerónimo de Silva informs us that defending the fort the Spanish had a garrison made up of 47 Spanish soldiers plus 5 artillerymen and sailors, so a total of 52 men. Furthermore, Both tells us, two Spanish soldiers who had been hiding among the dead, came out half an hour after the end of the battle and began to fight, they were taken prisoner by the Dutch and were the only survivors of the Spanish garrison. The inactivity of the Tidorese allies

¹⁴² "*Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, su capitan general, Terrenate 18 de jullio de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 148

according to the governor Geronimo de Silva was one of the main causes of this heavy defeat suffered by the Spanish, in fact if during the attack on the fort, Tidorese troops had attacked the Dutch from behind, the clash could have had a completely different outcome.¹⁴³

Luckily for the Spaniards, the subsequent attacks carried out against the fort of Socanora and the city of Tidore itself were not successful, so the Dutch, after this partial result, must have been undecided about what to do with the conquered fort. In fact in the first days of August of 1613 they still occupied the old fort, as evidenced by two letters written on the first and second August 1613 by Lourens Real and Jacques Specx.¹⁴⁴ However later due to the shortage of their troops, the Dutch dismantled and abandoned the old Portuguese fort, a letter by Geronimo de Silva dated November 17, 1613 informs us of this.¹⁴⁵ After the Dutch destruction works, the glorious old Portuguese fort disappears from the chronicles and will never be reoccupied by the Spanish, probably because it was completely dismantled by the Dutch and perhaps also due to the completion of the new Spanish fortress of Tahula.

¹⁴³ Rietbergen, P. J. A. N. “*De eerste landvoogd Pieter Both, 1568-1615*” Vol. I, 100-101; Vol. II, “*Verhaal Both*” 349-352 e “*Brief 15*” 284-286

Coen, J. P. “*Aanval op Tidore*” In: Colenbrander, H. T. “*Jan Pietersz Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*” (s’-Gravenhage, 1919-1953) vol. I, 16-21

Wessels, C. “*De katholieke missie in de Molukken, Noord Celebes en de Sangihe eilanden. Gedurende de spaansche bestuursperiode, 1606-1677*” (Tilburg, 1935), 50-51

Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. “*Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes*” In: “*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* n°VII” (Firenze, 1914), 221-222

“*Carta que el Rey de Tidore escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva sobre la perdida del fuerte de los portugueses, cuyo original queda en poder de su señoría, Tidore, 9 de jullio 1613*” In: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 138 See also several other letters dealing with the fact: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 138-179

¹⁴⁴ “*Message from Jacques Specx written at the conquered Portuguese fort on the island of Tidor, 1613*” ARA: VOC 1056, fols. 87-92

“*Message from Lourens Rael at the conquered Portuguese fort on Tidor, 1613*” ARA: VOC 1056, fols. 119-126

Citati anche in: van Veen-Klijn “*A guide to de sources of the history of Dutch-Portuguese relations in Asia, 1594-1797*” (Leiden, 2001)

¹⁴⁵ “*Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el rey de Tidore, Terrenate en 17 de noviembre de 1613*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 178-179

5.3 – SANTIAGO DE LOS CABALLEROS (TOHULA)

Tohula¹⁴⁶, Santiago de los Caballeros¹⁴⁷, Sanctiago de los Caualleros¹⁴⁸, Tahula, Taula, Thaula Olandese: Tahoela¹⁴⁹, Tahoelo¹⁵⁰, Tahoele¹⁵¹: (Current name: Benteng Tohula)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: The construction of this fortress was begun by Azcqueta, in 1610, the works were resumed more intensely starting from 1613, it was finished by Geronimo de Silva in 1615, it remained in Spanish hands until 1662 (?)

Other fortification nearby: **Fuerte del Principe**¹⁵², **Baluarte del Principe**.

The fort of Tahula was the main Spanish fortress on the island of Tidore, it dominated from the top of a hill the city of the king of Tidore and the sea. This was the fort that Acuña had ordered to be built upon his departure, in 1606, and according to his orders, a captain with 50 Spanish soldiers was to reside in this fortress.¹⁵³

The site chosen for the construction of this new fortress was located very close to the king's city ('*lugar del Rey*') and about a quarter of a league from where the old Portuguese fort stood, which caught fire in May 1605 when it was conquered by the Dutch '*cosa de un quarto de legua de donde antes estaba, la que se boló*'. The new fort had to be built on a hill above the sea, the site chosen was in a highly defensible position, because it had two precipices on both sides, while behind it was the volcano, under the fire of the fort's artillery could repair 2 or 3 galleons. The place chosen was according to the information collected by Juan de Esquivel '*...en la misma parte que dicen que Hurtado de Mendoza quizo hacerla quando estuvo aquí*'.¹⁵⁴

Of this new fort, when Acuña left in May 1606, a plan had been drawn, which unfortunately does not seem to have come down to us. Its construction was placed among the priorities in the orders left by Acuña to Esquivel. In Acuña's intentions,

¹⁴⁶ Various authors "Correspondencia" 378

¹⁴⁷ "Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 1661-12-17" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

¹⁴⁸ "Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 1661-12-17" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

¹⁴⁹ Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. "Bouwstoffen" vol. II, 379, 382, 383

¹⁵⁰ Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. "Bouwstoffen" vol. II, 381

¹⁵¹ Tiele, P. A. & Heeres, J. E. "Bouwstoffen" vol. III, 399; Various authors "Dagh-Register, anno 1664" 286, 389, 598.

¹⁵² "...por las pocas fuerzas que hoy tiene el rey de Tidore, por ser muy solo y no tener en su isla lo que tenia hasta aquí, por lo que me conviene tener siempre en esta isla sobre ducientos hombres en la plaza de Santiago y en el fuerte del Principe, Tomanira y Socanora". "Tanto de carta que el señor don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, Tidore en 8 de agosto de 1616" In: "Correspondencia" 387-388

¹⁵³ Argensola, Bartolomé Leonardo de "Conquista de las islas Malucas" 345

¹⁵⁴ "Carta de Juan de Esquivel al Rey, Terrenate 02 de mayo 1606" AGI: Patronato,47,R.19 pubblicata anche in: Pastells "Historia general de Filippines" tomo V, ccxxix-ccxxx

Other than this statement by Esquivel, I have found no other evidence regarding Hurtado de Mendoza's intentions to build a new fortress at Tidore at this spot.

the fort was to be well equipped with artillery, to defend the galleons that were to anchor in the port, and with a strong garrison commanded by a captain. Its construction had to be carried out as quickly as possible. To do this, an agreement had been made with the king of Tidore, who had undertaken to bring three '*caracoas*' with people from the island of Maquien every eight days to work on the fortification.¹⁵⁵

But Acuña's will was not respected, Esquivel informs us that in April 1607, about a year after the conquest of Ternate, he had not yet begun to build the fortress that Acuña had ordered him to build in Tidore, this due to the lack of men with whom to build it and with whom to guard it.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, due to its highly strategic position, its construction was severely hindered in the first years by the Tidorese, who preferred that the Spanish reuse the old Portuguese fort located further away from their city and less dangerously positioned for their interests.

Also some Dutch documents mention this fort or rather the hill on which the fort will later be built: the mountain, which is described in the voyage report of Admiral C. Matalief (1607), round in shape and difficult to access, located at south of the king's city and on top of which there are Spanish soldiers and three cannons, it is certainly the hill where in the following years the Spaniards will build the fortress of Tahula. While the stone rampart located along the beach and whose walls are as high as a man, and a few musket shots long in the north-south direction, could be the other small defensive post that the Spaniards called the '*baluarte del Principe*'.¹⁵⁷

Another Dutch report of June 1608 mentions, among other things, also the hill of Tahula (calling it '*Thahulo*'), where the Spaniards had barricaded themselves and where they had positioned two artillery emplacements, there were probably at least 200 soldiers present in Tidore according to Dutch estimates. The ascent to Tahula Hill must have been very steep as the Dutch saw the Spanish soldiers climb on all fours. The same document also tells us about the fortifications of the city, it was surrounded by a weak wall, but it had a sturdy bulwark of wood and earth on the sea side, this bulwark must have been the embryo of what will later be called the bulwark of the Prince. The Dutch judged this last stronghold quite easy to conquer due to its proximity to the sea.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ "Instrucción a Juan de Esquivel para conservación. Terrenate, 02-11-1606" probably 2 May 1606 AGI: Patronato,47,R.17

¹⁵⁶ "Carta de Juan de Esquivel a la Audiencia sobre Terrenate, 04-04-1607" AGI: Filipinas,20,R.1,N.2

¹⁵⁷ "Report of the voyage of Admiral C. Matelief, written in 1607" in: Commelin's "Begin ende voortgangh" Vol. 2, 63

¹⁵⁸ "Informatie van den stant van de Molucques, door Jan Bruyn, 12 may 1609" In: "De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612" vol. II, 304

de Booy "De derde reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van admiraal Paulus van Caerden uitgezeld in 1606" vol. I, 63-64

As can be seen from the Spanish and Dutch testimonies, in the first years of their occupation, the Spaniards had evidently limited themselves to placing only a few pieces of artillery and a few troops on the hill of Tahula, without building a real fort, which then, as we shall see, was built only a few years later. In fact, the years of Juan de Esquivel's government in Ternate (May 1606-March 1609) are characterized by little action and exasperating slowness in the construction and improvement of the works of the fortifications.¹⁵⁹

Only after the death of Esquivel, first with the brief government of Lucas de Vergara Gaviria and then with Cristobal de Azcueta, the Spaniards intensified the works for the construction of new fortifications both in Ternate and in Tidore. In particular it was the governor Christobal de Azcueta who during the first months of his government in Ternate, in the year 1610, visited the island of Tidore, where together with his captains he looked for a site where to build the new Spanish fortress.

For this purpose, a hill was chosen which overlooked the whole city of the king, the same one that Pedro de Acuña had identified in 1606. Azcueta asked the king for permission to build a fortress in that place, but during the negotiations, the cachiles of the king of Tidore opposed the Spanish request, saying that if the Spanish had built their own fortress in that place, all of them would have been forced to become Christians and to submit to the Spaniards '*que en haziendo fuerte alli los spanoles, los auean de hazer atodos hristianos*' '*les parece a los cachiles y al Rey que donde se haze el fuerte le tenemos el pueblo a cavallero y muy subgeto*'.

The cachiles and the king offered the Spanish to build their new fort on the site of the old Portuguese fort, but Azcueta wisely ignored the king of Tidore and his cachiles and declined the offer. Azcueta judged the old fort too far from the king's city to be able to defend and control it. The firm decision of the Spaniards prevailed over the opposition of the cachiles, and the king finally gave permission for the construction of the fort. The works, Azcueta informs us, began under the direction of Pedro de Avellaneda, who was the leader of the Spanish troops at Tidore. In the paper in which Azcueta informs us of these events, he tells us that together with the letter he also sent a plan of the fort to the governor of the Philippines D. Juan de Silva '*Emblio a Vs.A. con esta aunque no sacada muy en forma la planta del fuerte*'.¹⁶⁰ Where this map can be kept today is not known.

¹⁵⁹ The new governor of the Philippines, Vivero, received rumors from Ternate of complaints against Esquivel. He was accused of not being the right man to manage the situation of the islands, the judgment expressed by the "*oidor*" don Juan de la Vega was particularly harsh, he judged Esquivel to be an unsuitable man and of little experience for matters of war, moreover, he judged his conduct towards the rebels too little aggressive and accused him of not having proceeded as due with the fortification works. De la Vega also recalls that Esquivel had also allowed the Dutch to occupy and fortify Malayo without doing anything important to prevent it. AGI 1-2-1/14, ramo 27 e AGI 67-6-20 in: Pastells "*Historia general de Filipinas*" tomo VI (1608-1618), xl-xli

¹⁶⁰ "*Cartas del Virrey Luis de Velasco (El Hijo) (1607-1611): 5-El Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Azcoeta al Gobernador de las Filipinas Don Juan de Silva, sobre le estado de las fuerzas a su cargo. Fuerza de Terrenate, 23-IV-1610*" AGI: Mexico, 28, N.2

Another Dutch report written in 1610 informs us that on a high hill, called Taroula, which overlooks the large city where the king of the island resides, the Spaniards have built a fortification with 10 cannons and a garrison of 50 Spaniards and 8-10 papangos.¹⁶¹ The Dutch testimony evidently refers to the beginning of the works. The works for the new fort, in 1610, had only been started by the Spaniards, in fact their completion required several more years. The slowness with which the works were carried out, as well as the hostility of the Tidorese, was due to the actual difficulty of transporting the materials and of building such an imposing fortification in such an impervious place.

In conclusion, the works that were never begun during the governments of Juan de Esquivel (May 1606-March 1609) and Lucas de Vergaria Gabiria (March 1609-February 1610), were, as we have seen, started by Azcueta (February 1610-March 1612), continued for several years, and were completed, as we shall see, only at the end of 1615 by the next governor Gerónimo de Silva (March 1612-April 1617). In July 1611, the fort of Tidore had six pieces of artillery, of which three were of bronze and the other three of iron '*colado con sus cuchara y atacadores*'.¹⁶²

Simultaneously with the work on the new fort, the Spanish also improved the defenses located under the hill and which directly affected the city. In all probability it is precisely the '*baluarte del Principe*' the fort mentioned by Don Fernando de Ayala in one of his letters, when together with Sergeant Major Balcazar (Esteban de Alcazar) and Don Fernando Becerra in February 1613, he viewed in the city of Tidore the defenses of the fort below '*... fuerte de abajo ...*' where it was decided to demolish '*... algunos padrastrós que tenia ...*'.¹⁶³

At the end of March 1613, the year of greatest Dutch pressure on Tidore, Geronimo de Silva was certainly referring to the fort of Tahula, when he gave the order to put control of the work on the fortification at the top directly into the hands of the king of Tidore '*... que V. A. acuda á la fortificacion de arriba ...*'. These works were judged of capital importance together with those to be done at the '*fuerte de los portugueses*', and which had been entrusted to the supervision of the Prince. In order to speed up the works, de Silva promised the King to immediately send to Tidore all the stonemasons and workers he had at his disposal in Ternate '*... y así irán luego todos los canteros y obreros que aquí tengo, ...*'. The governor also ordered to abandon any

¹⁶¹ "Journal of Pieter W. Verhoeven, 1610" in: Commelin "Begin ende voortganch van de Vereenighde Nederlandsche geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie" vol. II, 112

¹⁶² "Confirmación de encomienda de Burauen. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Burauen a Bartolomé Díaz Barrera. Resuelto. [ff] 18-01-1627" AGI: Filipinas, 48, N.13

¹⁶³ "Carta que escribió el sargento mayor don Fernando de Ayala [...] á el señor don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 16 de febrero de 1613" in: Various authors "Correspondencia" 90

other fortification work along the shore, referring in all probability to the so-called '*Baluarte del Principe*'. However, the Prince of Tidore must have already completed his fort, so much so that on April 18, 1613, he arrived in Ternate to request an artillery piece for the bastion he had built.¹⁶⁴

A picture of the situation of the Spanish fortifications in the city of Tidore is offered to us by the report left by the English captain John Saris, who visited Tidore in April 1613. The Spanish fort was located on the east coast of Tidore, where it was possible to anchor in deep waters near the coast, at the time of the arrival of the English ship, at anchor under the fort were two Spanish galleys. The British did not stop overnight under the Spanish fort, but being dark they anchored with the assistance of the head of the galleys Gomez about a league and a half away from the fort, where the next morning the British realized they were in the vicinity of a battery of 8 cannons (which was what remained of the Portuguese fort), so they decided to move out of the range of the artillery and anchored a league further south, where they remained for a few days, then upon Spanish request they decided to move to Ternate, to do so they headed south passing again under the Spanish fort, which saluted the British with 5 gun salutes, and then rounded the southern tip of Tidore, where they spotted two Dutch boats anchored near the recently captured Marieco fort.¹⁶⁵

The continuous military pressure brought by the Dutch on the Spanish positions in Tidore had the effect of accelerating the works for the construction of the fort which lead the governor de Silva to consider its construction completed in the year 1615. In fact, de Silva speaks to us again of this fortress in a letter dated 12 May 1615, in which he informs the king of Spain that he had built a fortress in Tidore to defend the island from possible Dutch attacks but also from possible coups by the Tidorese, the fortress has three '*caballeros*' and 2 '*baluartes*'.¹⁶⁶ In September 1615 the construction work was practically finished in fact de Silva tells us that the new fortress '*...está ya cerrada y con su puerta y en tan buena defesa...*'.¹⁶⁷ With this letter, the governor also sent Don Juan de Silva a '*pintura*' of the fortress, unfortunately I was unable to find any trace of this in the archives either. He declares himself particularly proud of having managed to complete this fort even if at the cost of enormous sacrifices.

¹⁶⁴ "Carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió al rey de Tidore, Terrenate, 31 de marzo de 1613" in: Various authors "Correspondencia" 94

"Carta que escribió el señor don Gerónimo de Silva al señor don Juan de Silva" in: Various authors "Correspondencia" 104

"Carta dirigida á S. M. por don Gerónimo de Silva, Terrenate" in: Various authors "Correspondencia" 125

¹⁶⁵ Kerr, Robert "A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VIII." Sec. XV. "Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1611, by Captain John Saris" Sec. 4. "The Voyage of Captain Saris, in the Clove, towards Japan, with Observations respecting the Dutch and Spaniards at the Molucca Islands" e Sec.5. "Further Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan"

¹⁶⁶ "Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el rey, nuestro señor, Tidore en 12 de mayo de 1615" in: Various authors "Correspondencia" 284

¹⁶⁷ "Tanto de carta que el señor gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, Terrenate en 9 de setiembre de 1615" In: Various authors "Correspondencia" 310

Subsequent documents indicate the importance given by the Spanish to this fort: this fortress was located on a hill above the '*Lugar Grande*' where the king of Tidore had his city and his court ('...y el día de hoy está en la forma que he sinificado, bien contra el gusto de los naturales por la carga y freno que tienen en verla sobra si') and was defined by Gerónimo de Silva, thanks to his '*...buen sitio y eminencia, caballeros, cortinas y baluartes, algibes y almagacenes...*' as capable of '*...defenderse por mucho tiempo de todo el poder de Holanda...*' although the artillery present was not much, the fort was judged impregnable '*...con lo que hay en ella, por muchos días, habiendo de comer, se puede defender por ser inespugnable, aunque me costó excesivo trabajo por ser la cosa que jamas ninguno de mis antecesores pudieron acabar, que los moros lo permitiesen ni diesen consentimiento a ello...*' although de Silva admits the fortress needs more artillery. From the same letter dated 17 June 1616, it can be deduced that the works for the construction of the fortress had started (or restarted) in 1613: '*...me fundo en una de cal y canto que he labrado desde su primer cimiento, de tres años á esta parte...*'. De Silva therefore takes all the credit for the construction, even if, as we have seen, the works were started by Azcueta in 1610.¹⁶⁸

The fortress of Thaula, is defined as '*força grande*', together with it was also a small population ('*cidade pequena*') where the Portuguese also lived. The fortress '*he em maneira forte, e inexpugnavel*' was located '*muito alta*' and is '*toda amurada*', it had 10 pieces of artillery and a garrison of 40 soldiers commanded by a captain. Near the fortress the Spaniards also had a bulwark called '*de Principe*', with three pieces of artillery and where 10 soldiers were stationed with their ensign.¹⁶⁹ A confirmation of the fact that this fort was in the immediate vicinity of the Spanish fortress is also given to us in a brief reference to the '*Fuerte del Principe*' made by Captain Pedro Martinez Cid, who sent, around 1618, as head the garrison of this fort the ensign Pedro de Mora Salcedo. The fort, Cid informs us, was located '*tras muro de la fuerza de Tidore*'¹⁷⁰ Unlike the king's fort, which was never garrisoned by the Spaniards, the Prince's fort was garrisoned by Spanish troops, generally it was the ensign of the captain's company stationed in the fortress of Tidore who commanded the fort, from the documents viewed other names of leaders of the '*baluarte*' have come up in addition to that of Pedro de Mora Salcedo (1618). At the head of the '*baluarte*' were

¹⁶⁸ "Tanto de carta que el señor gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á S.M., Tidore en 17 de junio de 1616" In: "Correspondencia" 368

¹⁶⁹ "Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tydore..., Malaca, 28 novembre 1619" in: Various authors "Doc. Ultramarina Portuguesa" vol. I, 168

¹⁷⁰ See the statement of Captain Pedro Martinez Cid dated March 10, 1620 in: "Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 1639-05-13" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

Pedro de la Fuente Urroz¹⁷¹ (c.1613/1614), Juan de Medina Bermudez¹⁷² (probably before 1618) and Antonio Maldonado y Moscoso¹⁷³

Some letters¹⁷⁴ from Governor Gerónimo de Silva reveal the name by which the Spanish called the fort of Tahula: Forte Santiago, Plaza de Santiago¹⁷⁵, Fuerza de Santiago de los Caballeros¹⁷⁶ which is evidently the full name by which the fort was called. Further testimony on the name of the fort of Tidore is provided to us in two other Spanish documents, where we are informed that the sergeant major Gonzalo Portillo (who was also governor of the Spanish settlements on the island of Formosa) had the fort of '*Santiago de los Caballeros de Tidore*'¹⁷⁷ Finally, Captain Bartholome Alonso was chief (in 1642 or shortly after) of the fort of '*Sanctiago de los Caualleros de la ysla de Tidore*'. Further on in the same document, we are informed that in 1653-1654, under the government of Francisco de Esteybar, the fortress of '*Sanctiago de los Caualleros questos en la isla de Tidore*' was rebuilt and restored.¹⁷⁸ Finally, two declarations, one from Captain Gregorio Lopez (captain of the island's fortresses) signed by the '*ciudad de Tidore y fuerza de Santiago de los Caualleros, 13 de diciembre de 1617*' and another from Captain Juan de la Umbria signed '*en la ciudad de Tidore fuerza de S. Tiago de los Caualleros, 14 de mayo de 1618*' remove all doubts.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹ He was in charge of the trenches that were made to defend Tidore from enemies. He was also in charge of a fort built by the Prince of Tidore during the period of greatest Dutch pressure. "*Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632*" AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12; "*Confirmación de encomienda de Agoo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Agoo en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [ff] 28-09-1630*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

¹⁷² "*Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [ff] 12-08-1633*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67

¹⁷³ He served for nine years in Ternate, starting in 1612, during these nine years he was also head of the '*fuerte y fortaleza*' of the Prince of Tidore. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Paracale, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Paracale y Capalonga en Camarines a Antonio Maldonado y Moscoso. Resuelto, [ff] 05-07-1659*" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.3

¹⁷⁴ See the extract from the letter of Geronimo de Silva to D. Juan de Silva, July 29, 1616 In: Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "*Memorial y relacion...*" 1621, Madrid, Spain. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*" vol. 19 (1620-1621), 214

"*Tanto de carta que el señor gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, Tidore 8 de agosto de 1616*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 388

¹⁷⁵ "*Tanto de carta que el señor gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, Tidore 8 de agosto de 1616*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 388

¹⁷⁶ "*Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el rey de Tidore, Fuerza de Santiago de los Caballeros, en 13 de julio de 1615*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 297

¹⁷⁷ "*Respuesta de Gabriel Ruiz en nombre de Corcuera. Manila, 21 de octubre de 1644*" AGI: Escribania 409B f. 144v publicato in: Borao J. E. "*Spaniards in Taiwan*" (Taipei, 2002) vol. II, 524

"*Nombramiento e instrucciones de Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera a Gonzalo Portillo, nuevo gobernador de la Isla Hermosa, en nombre del Rey Felipe IV. Se mencionan sus meritos e historia militar. Manila, 13 de abril de 1640*" AGI: Escribania 409B f. 153 publicato in: : Borao J. E. "*Spaniards in Taiwan*" vol. I, 311

¹⁷⁸ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 1661-12-17*" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

¹⁷⁹ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [ff] 1633-08-12*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67

Around 1659, Alonso del Castillo was appointed head of the fort of the Prince, which was located in the '*barra*' of the port of the fortress of Santiago, this bastion was to defend the port of the city.¹⁸⁰ The port under the fort of Santiago de los Caballeros was used by the Spaniards as a base for the galleys, which, at least in the intentions of the governor Francisco Suarez de Figueroa, were to serve to attack the Dutch convoys. In fact, the Dutch generally received their relief in Malayo and then subsequently sent some ships to Maquien and Bachan to supply the forts of those islands, Francisco Suarez de Figueroa, planned in September 1640, that in case one or two enemy boats had passed in the vicinity of the fort of Tidore, especially in calm winds, to attack them with the galleys which were anchored in the port of Tidore. It seems that such circumstances, at least on this occasion, did not occur.¹⁸¹

The Spanish commander of the garrisons on the island of Tidore resided in the fortress of Santiago de los Caballeros, who also had jurisdiction over the garrisons of Payaje and Tafongo on the island of Halmahera. It was also in this fortress that the governors of Ternate resided when they were in Tidore.

An interesting document, dated Tidore March 29, 1648, signed by Captain Juan de Zaualeta (Head of the fortress of '*Sanctiago de los Caualleros de la ysla y reyno de Tidore*'), where Zaualeta himself gives orders to the ensign Miguel de Guinea, who had been appointed head of the garrisons of the island during the absence of Zaualeta who was to go to Ternate at the request of the governor don Lorenzo de Olaso, gives us a small insight into how life went on in the fort of Santiago de los Caballeros of Tidore: The gates of the fort had to remain closed from sunset until 7 in the morning (when the sun was high and the surrounding countryside was visible), furthermore the gates of the fort had to remain closed from noon until two in the afternoon (evidently for the siesta). Every day after the gates of the fort were closed, the Rosary was to be recited. Every day 5 men had to go to the '*pueblo de los moros*' (i.e. to the city of Tidore) to buy food for the garrison and until they returned it was expressly forbidden for other soldiers to go to the town of Tidore. Particular attention was due to any possible dispute between soldiers and between soldiers and Tidorese who had to be immediately punished, while the most serious crimes had to be reported to the captain who gave the punishments. In case of need to send notices to Ternate, the dispatches had to be sent both by sea and by land, sending them first to the '*fuertça del Rume*' so that from there they were sent to Ternate.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ "Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Santa Catalina en Ilocos a Alonso del Castillo. Resuelto[ff] 17-12-1686" AGI: Filipinas,55,N.12

¹⁸¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Viri. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Viri en Ibabao (Samar) a Ginés Rojas Narvaez. Resuelto. [ff] 09-01-1645" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.61

¹⁸² "Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [ff] 09-12-1655" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.52 order of Juan de Zaualeta (Tidore, March 29, 1648)

Some other details concerning the life and the dispositions that the Spaniards had to follow in the fort of '*Santiago de los Caballeros*', are provided by two other similar documents, the first dated April 13, 1640, in which the governor Francisco Suarez de Figueroa, imparts orders to the new head of the fortress, Captain Ginés Rojas Narvaez. The second is dated 1656 and is signed by the governor Diego Sarria Lascano.

For example, military orders but also penalties for any offenses against God had to be posted in the fort's guardhouse. Interesting are the orders to be respected in case of a visit to the fort of the king of Tidore. Indeed the king of Tidore was at times in the habit of visiting the head of the fortress, on these occasions only the king could enter the fortress with his arms, if his '*rregidor*' was present he could bring his '*clis*' (dagger?), the other dignitaries and companions had to leave their weapons at the gate of the fortress. Furthermore, for the entire duration of the visit, the soldiers had to be ready with weapons in hand, especially those in the guardhouse, because, the document informs us, the Tidorese are our friends but we must be careful, because they are always enemies of the our holy faith. If, on the other hand, two or three '*cayiles*' or '*guimalaes*' visited the fortress, they could bring their weapons into the fortress. Another custom that Francisco Suarez de Figueroa asked to respect in order not to offend the susceptibility of the king of Tidore was the one according to which every 15 days a boat had to be sent to bring the requests of the king of Tidore to Ternate, as was his custom.

The gates of the fort were to be closed from half past five in the evening and by no means opened during the night. During the night it was forbidden to let anyone in or out and the captain had to keep the keys to the fort. Furthermore, communications with Ternate could be made by sea or by the Via del Rume. It was forbidden to fire artillery shells that were not intended against the enemy. Only in the case of the passage of the king of Tidore under the Spanish fortress with his boat was it allowed to fire only one shot with '*una pièce suela pequeña*' which was positioned on the platform, this because by now it had become customary.

In the event of minor disagreements between soldiers, the fort captain was the one to administer the punishments, for the most serious cases the soldiers had to be sent to Ternate, furthermore the sick also had to be sent to be treated in Ternate. Furthermore, it was extremely important to maintain good relations with the '*cachiles*', the '*guimalaes*' and the important personalities of the island. Finally, from

the instructions, we know that a religious was present in the Spanish fort who took care of the spiritual care of the soldiers of the garrison.¹⁸³

Tahula fort remained under firm Spanish control until nearly the end of the Spanish presence in the Moluccas. It seems that '*Santiago de los Cavalleros*' was abandoned between 1661-1662, when the governor of Ternate, Agustin de Cepeda, on the orders of Manrique de Lara, sent the company where Juan de Origuey was ensign to Tidore to withdraw (and demolish) the garrisons of some forts on the island: '*que asistiese y aiudase a su capitan al rretirar las fuerzas de Tidore, con las de Chobo y otras circumbecinas a los pueblos de los Moros toloas*'. According to the testimony of Diego de Salazar, captain of the royal galleys of Ternate, the fortresses that the Spaniards had to demolish and the garrisons they withdrew in 1662 were '*... me ordeno retirara las de Tidore Chouo, y Puli Cauallo ...*' the demolition and withdrawal works were entrusted to the ensign Juan de Origuey, who worked personally managing to transport the artillery and ammunition to Ternate.¹⁸⁴ When the Spaniards left, the fort was occupied by the Sultan of Tidore.

Miguel de Pareja, a Jesuit father who visited Ternate and Tidore in 1670, informs us that the '*nuestra fuerza grande*' of Tidore had been elected as the residence of the king of the island '*Saifudin, que vulgarmente llaman Golofino*' and that in it resided a guardhouse made up of 8-10 Dutch soldiers.¹⁸⁵ According to Pastells, Tahula ('*la fuerza grande de esta isla*') was occupied by '*Golofino*' (the king of Tidore Saifudin) to whom the Dutch gave 16 soldiers as a guardhouse.¹⁸⁶

According to a Dutch report of 1707, after the departure of the Spanish, the King of Tidore accepted the Dutch request to demolish the forts of Tahoele, Romij and Tiobbe on the promise of 300 Rs.s, but the forts were not completely dismantled and on subsequent King's request, approved by the company on 19 January 1666, Tahoele fort was retained as a royal residence and was still in fairly good condition in 1707 having been repaired by the recently deceased King Hamza Faharoedin.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ "Confirmación de encomienda de Viri. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Viri en Ibabao (Samar) a Ginés Rojas Narvaez. Resuelto. [ff] 09-01-1645" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.61

"Confirmación de encomienda de Baratao. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baratao en Pangasinan a Alonso Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 16-06-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.12. orders and instructions for the head of the fort of '*Santiago de los Cavalleros*', signed by Diego Sarria Lascano (Terrenate, 6 June 1656) (sheets 154-165)

¹⁸⁴ "Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto[ff]. 08-06-1695" AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3

Memoriale dell'alfiere Juan de Origuey (Manila, 20 settembre 1673) (fogli 18-20) in: "Confirmación de encomienda de Batangas. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batangas en Balayan a Lorenzo de Zuleta. Resuelto. [ff] 03-04-1677" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.14

¹⁸⁵ "Fr. Miguel de Pareja to governor Manuel de Leon. Manila, 25 enero 1671" in: Jacobs, "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" Doc. n° 215, p. 660 e anche nota 6

¹⁸⁶ Colin-Pastells "Labor Evangelica" vol. III, 812 note n°1

¹⁸⁷ ARA: VOC 8076 Ternate 1707, 429-430

Another mention of the Spanish fort of Tohula is made in a document that is present in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville where there is an interesting correspondence on the Moluccas dated 1778, over one hundred years after the abandonment of the Moluccas by the Spaniards. The correspondence originates from a request made by an envoy of three sultans of the Moluccas (Ternate, Tidore (Taduri) and Bachian) to return under Spanish protection. The envoy of the sultans arrived in Zamboanga in 1778. The envoy brought with him a letter from the sultans of 'Taduri' (Tidore) and Bachan (dated August 1778), as well as a bottle of water from the spring of 'Torula' and a lot of land from the old fort of the Spaniards. From the fact that the two sultans of Tidore and Bachan wrote the document, it seems that in fact only these two sultans were the architects of this initiative. The only result of this embassy was the correspondence in question.¹⁸⁸

The fort is described by De Clercq¹⁸⁹, in 1890 as a small fort called Kota Hula or Tohula. In 1928, van de Wall in his book "*De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken*" describes Tohula as a fortress located on an almost inaccessible cliff, high on the coast. At that time the fort still showed its five parapets, of which the best preserved was the one located on the sea side. The entrance to the fort was still characterized by a Gothic arch, even the room used as a powder magazine was in a good state of conservation with its stairs. Also visible were large stretches of walls along the perimeter of the fort. The impression that van de Wall made was of a large and important fortification.¹⁹⁰

The ruins of the fort are still visible but unfortunately they are described in a state of pitiful abandonment. According to Lonely Planet's "*Indonesia*" guide, the ruins of the fort are located above the road at the entrance to Soa Siu, the fort is almost completely engulfed by vegetation.¹⁹¹ Even the Periplus guide "*Maluku*" makes a small mention of this fort which is described as being in a bad state, it is located on a steep slope just before the entrance to the city of Soa Siu.¹⁹² Some recent photos of the remains of the fort walls and the entrance gate of the fortified tower of this fort have been published in the book "Spain and the Moluccas. Galleons around the world".¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ "Gobernador Filipinas sobre los tres sultanes de Terrenate" AGI: Estado, 45, N. 5

¹⁸⁹ De Clercq F.S.A. "Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate, 1890" (Leiden, 1890) 46

¹⁹⁰ Van de Wall, V. I. "De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken" ('s-Gravenhage, 1928) 267-268

¹⁹¹ Various authors "Indonesia, a travel survival kit" (Hawthorn, 1990) 780

¹⁹² Muller, Kal "Maluku: Indonesian Spice Islands" (Singapore, 1997) 115

¹⁹³ See photos in: Various authors "Spain and the Moluccas. Galleons around the world" (Jakarta, 1992) 64-65

The Spanish Forts in Tidore – Marco Ramerini

Update: In recent years, the Indonesian government has "restored" the fort in a profound way. The fort today is in an excellent state of conservation and has become a tourist attraction of the island of Tidore.

5.4 – SOKANORA

Sokanora, Socanora¹⁹⁴, Sokanosa, Saconora¹⁹⁵, Zoconora¹⁹⁶: (Current name: ?)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: 1613-c.1620 (?)

Socanora, was a village located on the coast to south of the city of the king of Tidore ('*Lugar Grande*'). Here the Spanish maintained a small fortified post for some years.

We already have a first mention of the village of Socanora in the collection of Navarrete, on the occasion of the expedition of Loaisa, Socanora (called 'Zocoñora') is described as a '*pueblo*' of the island of Tidore.¹⁹⁷ Subsequently Socanora is also mentioned at the time of the Portuguese, in fact in the report on the loss of Tidore made by the Jesuit father Luis Fernandes in July 1605, a place called '*Saconora*' is mentioned. The place is mentioned not as a function of a fortress present there, but because it was the name of a tip of the island of Tidore where the Dutch ships were anchored '*...as naus foram surgir em uma ponta da ilha que chamam Saconora...*'¹⁹⁸

After the Dutch conquest of Marieco (February 1613), the king of Tidore had the tip of Socanora fortified, perhaps recalling the episode of 1605, when the Dutch had anchored their fleet in Socanora before the attack led to the Portuguese fort. In February 1613 the Spanish sent the ensign Arrequibar with 8 soldiers to garrison the fort of Socanora, the fort is described as the most important fort that the king of Tidore owns it was located half a league from the king's city. The king had placed an artillery piece in the fort and asked for powder for this cannon, which however the Spaniards could not provide.¹⁹⁹

The possession of Socanora was important because it guaranteed the Spanish troops stationed in the city of Tidore connections with Ternate, as, in fact, the king of Tidore affirms in a letter written to Gerónimo de Silva, in 1613, during the great attack

¹⁹⁴ "*Tanto de carta que el señor don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, Tidore, 8 de agosto 1616*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 388

¹⁹⁵ '*Saconora*' is described as '*ponta da ilha que chamam Saconora*'. Doc. n° 179° "*Fr. Luís Fernandes' report on the loss of Tidore and his voyage to Cebu, Cebu July 1605*" in: Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia II, 1577-1606*" 701

¹⁹⁶ It is described as a pueblo of the island of Tidore. Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 2*" 115

¹⁹⁷ "*Derrotero del viage y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...*" document n°14 in: Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 5*" 298 Fernanadez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes, vol. 2*" 115

¹⁹⁸ Doc. n° 179° "*Fr. Luís Fernandes' report on the loss of Tidore and his voyage to Cebu, Cebu July 1605*" in: "*Documenta Malucensia, I, 1577-1606*" 701

¹⁹⁹ "*Carta que escribió el sargento mayor don Fernando de Ayala [...] á el señor don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 16 de febrero de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 90-91

launched by the Dutch in Tidore: '*si ellos ponen naos de la banda de Socanora no ha de poder entrar aquí socorro ninguno*'.²⁰⁰

In addition to the importance for the connections with Ternate, Socanora was important because it could be a place to land troops and then be able to attack the king's city from the south, this due to its proximity to the city of Tidore '*...lugar de Socanora en la isla de Tidore, que es aun no media legua del lugar Grande de Tidore*'.²⁰¹ Socanora completed the defenses of the city, which was guarded to the north by the Portuguese fort and to the south by Socanora: '*...otro lugar de esotra banda del Grande, que se llama Socanora, que entre este y el fuerte, que ganaron, está el lugar del rey...*', the fort of Socanora had been built in a strategic position on a hill overlooking the sea: '*...este lugar, que está fundado en una eminencia cerca de la marina...*'.²⁰²

In July 1613, the Dutch, returning from the conquest of the old Portuguese fort, decided on the wave of enthusiasm for this victory to also attack the new Spanish fort of Tahula, located on a hill in the southern part of the capital and which was still under construction. The Dutch embarked, in the middle of the night, all the soldiers on 3 ships (4 ships according to Spanish sources) and on 20 Ternatese '*caracoas*' (40-43 '*caracoas grandes y chicas*' according to Spanish sources) and moved to the vicinity of the hill on which the fort was located.

But here the Dutch ran into problems and were unable to disembark due to the wind and strong currents, which drove the ships further south in front of the fortified village ('*fuertecillo*') of Sokanora, located about ½ mile (or half a league) south of the city and which had recently been abandoned by the small Spanish garrison, led by ensign Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. The small garrison of the fort had been recalled to the defense of Tidore and had recently left the garrison of the small fort in the hands of the villagers.

While some Dutch ships bombarded the town of Tidore to keep the defenders occupied and other attacks were simulated on the side of the Portuguese fort. The Dutch ships, led by Laurens Reaal, landed their troops at Socanora, 6 companies totaling more than 1000 men. The Dutch on July 11, 1613 (according to Spanish sources) in an attempt to make a way overland to the town of Tidore, attacked the village twice (three times according to Spanish sources).

²⁰⁰ "*Carta que el rey de Tidore escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva sobre la pérdida del fuerte de los portugueses, 9 de jullio de 1613*" In: "*Correspondencia*" 138

²⁰¹ "*Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el fiscal don Juan de Alvarado y Bracamonte. Terrenate, á 27 de jullio de 1613*" In: AA.VV. "*Correspondencia*" 155

²⁰² "*Tanto de carta que el señor don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el Rey nuestro señor. Terrenate, 3 jullio de 1614*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 230

During the first attack, the resistance of the king of Tidore's men was almost overcome, but just as they were about to surrender, reinforcements arrived from Tidore commanded by the ensign Pedro de la Fuente who with 5 other Spanish soldiers and some Tidorese suddenly attacked the enemy troops (which it should be remembered were made up of more than 800 Dutch and over 1,500 Ternatese) for the rearguard. The Dutch, perhaps surprised by the attack and thinking they were being attacked by a large enemy force, panicked and fled, the Spaniards entered the fort and with the artillery repeatedly struck the enemies, killing and wounding many of them.

Thanks to this action and mainly due to the inexperience of the Dutch guides and commanders, the attackers had to retreat with heavy losses, 15-16 Dutch and 25 Ternatese were killed as well as many wounded. Even the Dutch sources state that the Spaniards and the Tidorese had already abandoned the village, but realizing that the attackers had gone the wrong way, they went back and attacked the Dutch who suffered heavy losses.

Subsequently, although it was the opinion of many to proceed towards the city of Tidore as agreed, the Ternatese proved confident of being able to conquer Socanora, so it was decided to attempt another attack on the village, which however, like the other one, ended in a colossal fiasco, also this time the Dutch and Ternatese took the wrong direction again and were attacked and decimated by the Spanish and Tidorese.

The attacks had followed one another from morning until night, the king of Tidore informs us, causing only one death and some injuries among the Tidorese. After the failures at Socanora, the Dutch returned to the old Portuguese fort where, on 13 July (12 according to Dutch sources), they made a last abortive attack on the city of Tidore. Two companies of soldiers were sent against the city, but the sight of a small force of just over 30 Tidorese led by the Prince of Tidore managed to put them to flight. The Dutch lost 24 soldiers and many weapons in this clash, Dutch sources speak of 11 dead on their side and 4 dead among the enemies including the third richest person in all of Tidore. Pieter Both blamed these repeated defeats of Dutch troops on the fact that the Dutch had used sailors as soldiers. In fact according to Both the sailors were good soldiers as long as things went well, but when obstacles arise they are easily demoralized.²⁰³

²⁰³ Rietbergen, P. J. A. N. “*De eerste landvoogd Pieter Both, 1568-1615*” Vol. I, 100-101; Vol. II “*Verhaal Both*” 349-352 e “*Brief 15*” 284-286

Several letters in Geronimo de Silva's "Correspondencia" speak of the clashes that took place in Socanora: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 138-179

Colenbrander, H. T. “*Jan Pietersz Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*” “*Aanval op Tidore*” 16-21

Wessels “*De katholieke missie in de Molukken, Noord Celebes en de Sangihe eilanden. Gedurende de spaansche bestuursperiode, 1606-1677*” 50-51

Most likely the miracle of St. Francis Xavier described by Father Colin in his book "*Labor Evangelica*" is to be linked to the episode of the battle of Socanora. Witness of the miraculous event is a Spanish soldier, who was in charge of a small fort '*furtecillo*' with a garrison of 14 Spanish soldiers, who learned that the Dutch and the Ternatese were preparing to attack it and being the small and indefensible fort faced with so many enemies, he decided together with his soldiers to meet the enemy troops in the open field. Realizing the desperate situation they were in, the soldier placed himself in the hands of the Lord through St. Francis Xavier. The clash began and in the bloodiest moment of the battle, some Spanish soldiers noticed a Jesuit who was driving away the Dutch from the walls of the small fort, according to the witness it was St. Francis Xavier, thanks to this miraculous intervention, the enemy troops were forced to flee.²⁰⁴

After withstanding the Dutch attack, the small fortification of Socanora continued to have a Spanish garrison. In mid-1616 there were over 200 Spanish soldiers garrisoning the forts of Tidore, i.e. in the forts of Santiago, del Príncipe, Tomanira and Socanora "...por las pocas fuerzas que hoy tiene el rey de Tidore, por ser muy solo y no tener en su isla lo que tenia hasta aqui, por lo que me conviene tener siempre en esta isla sobre ducientos hombres en la plaza de Santiago y en el fuerte del Principe, Tomanira y Socanora".²⁰⁵ In 1618, during the second period of government of Vergara, who renewed many of the fortifications of the islands, the stronghold of Socanora in Tidore was among others fortified again. This happened because Socanora was located in a very strategic point, and which, because of this, had repeatedly suffered attacks by the Dutch.²⁰⁶ Subsequently there are no more mentions of Socanora, probably the Spanish garrison was withdrawn on the occasion of the abandonment of Marieco by the Dutch.

Captains of Socanora

Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. "Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes" In: "*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*" VII (1914) 221-222

"Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632" AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

"Confirmación de encomienda de Agoo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Agoo en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [ff] 28-09-1630" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

²⁰⁴ Colin-Pastells "*Labor Evangelica*, vol. III" 569

²⁰⁵ Rios Coronel, Hernando de los "Memorial y relacion..." (1621, Madrid) In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*" vol. 19 (1620-1621), 214 "Extract from Gerónimo de Silva's letter to Governor D. Juan de Silva, July 29, 1616" see also: "Tanto de carta que el señor don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva, Tidore, 8 de agosto 1616" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 387-388

²⁰⁶ "Letter by Fajardo to the King Felipe III, 10 August 1618" in Blair vol. 18 pp. 137-140 where the letter of the Jesuit Manuel Ribeyra is reported, also reported in "Fr. Manuel Ribeiro to governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza. Cavite, 10 August 1618" in: Jacobs, H. "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" Doc. n° 106, 375-378.

"Carta de Manuel Ribeiro a Fajardo de Tenza sobre Terrenate, 10-08-1618" AGI: Filipinas,7,R.5,N.54

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Arrequibar ²⁰⁷ , ensign	February 1613-
Pedro de la Fuente Urroz ²⁰⁸ , ensign	1613
Pedro de la Fuente Urroz ²⁰⁹	

²⁰⁷ “Carta que escribió el sargento mayor don Fernando de Ayala [...] á el señor don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore, 16 de febrero de 1613” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 90-91

²⁰⁸ Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, was in charge of the fort shortly before the Dutch attack of July 1613 (the date 1614 is reported in the document, certainly an error by the copyist for 1613), then following the Dutch attack on Tidore, the order to leave the garrison of the fort in the hands of the villagers and to return to Tidore with the small garrison, the Spanish document says that, having learned of it, the Dutch attacked Socanora with 4 war galleons, 43 boats from Ternate and a boat of Japanese. The enemies besieged the fort, which was defended by the men of the king of Tidore and who were almost on the verge of surrendering when Pedro de la Fuente was again sent from Tidore with 5 other Spanish soldiers and some Tidorese. The small Spanish contingent suddenly attacked the enemy troops (which were made up of more than 800 Dutch and over 1,500 Ternatese) for the rearguard, the enemy troops perhaps surprised by the attack fled, the Spaniards entered the fort and with the artillery repeatedly hit the enemy, killing and wounding many. The Dutch tried three times to take the fortification, but the Spanish always managed to push them back. After this fight the Dutch embarked in their ships and abandoned Socanora. This victory was decisive for the defense of the island of Tidore, because Socanora was the key to the island. “*Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632*” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Agoo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Agoo en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [ff] 28-09-1630*” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

²⁰⁹ Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, on the orders of Geronimo de Silva was again for the second time head of Socanora. “*Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632*” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Agoo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Agoo en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [ff] 28-09-1630*” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

6 - WEST COAST AND NORTH COAST OF THE ISLAND

On the western coast of Tidore the Spanish had garrisons in the localities of Marieco, Rume, Tomañira (which was almost certainly the same fort sometimes also called Marieco el Chico) and finally in the extreme northern tip at Chobo. This part of the island which faces the south coast of the island of Ternate and the island of Maitara was the area of Tidore richest in clove plants, its possession allowed the control of the passage of ships on the channel between Tidore and Ternate, which was mainly controlled by the forts of Rume and Chobo. Also along this coast the Dutch maintained, for less than 10 years, their only outpost on the island, the fort of Marieko.

6.1 – MARIECO

Marieco, Marieko, Marisco, Mariaco, Maxico el Grande²¹⁰: (Current name: Mareko o Mareku)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: 1609 – 8 or 9 February 1613

Dutch: 8 or 9 February 1613-1621/22

Reoccupied by the Spanish in 1621/22-c.1646

According to tradition, Marieco was the village where the first kings of Tidore had originated. The village was originally located on the slopes of the mountain, then later it was moved to the coast due to the development of the clove trade.²¹¹

According to de Clercq, Marieco consisted of two villages called respectively Mariku Loah Ho (Upper Mariku) and Mariku Loah Isa (Lower Mariku) strangely the village called Mariku Loah Ho (Upper Mariku) was located on the beach while Mariku Loah Isa (Lower Mariku) was located on a hill. De Clercq also explains the reason for this strangeness, the names, high and low, indicated the position of the two villages towards the north, which was the typical way of orienting the Moluccas. So the village Mariku Loah Isa (Lower Mariku) was the one located further south (albeit on a hill) and Mariku Loah Ho (Upper Mariku) was instead the one located further north.²¹²

²¹⁰ “Carta del Alférez Juan Centeno, cabo del presidio de Maxico el Grande, escrita al gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva. Maxico, de 20 de julio hoy viernes de 1612” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 34

²¹¹ Andaya, L. “The world of Maluku” (Honolulu, 1993) 51.

²¹² De Clercq, F.S.A. “Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate” (1890, Leiden) 69 (In the English translation, pdf edition p. 46)

From this description it seems possible to identify the village of Marieco called Mariku Loah Ho (Upper Marieco) in the Marieco el Grande conquered by the Dutch in February 1613, it was in fact the village located north along the beach. While Mariku Loah Isa (Lower Marieco) is probably Tomañira (or Marieco el Chico) of the Spanish, located on a hill south of the other Marieco. Formerly Marieco was the main village and capital of the island of Tidore, then it seems as early as the arrival of the first Europeans, the capital was moved to Soa Siu, better positioned to trade with the newcomers.²¹³

The first sources that mention Marieco are the Portuguese historians Fernão Lopes de Castanheda and Gaspar Correa. The village of Marieco (called Mariaco), is described by Castanheda as the '*lugar principal*' of the island of Tidore. A very large place, located on a mountain almost in the middle of the island, a place where the kings of Tidore once resided. This was before the city by the sea was populated, which at the time of Castanheda had become the main settlement of the king of Tidore.

Marieco was surrounded by '*tranqueiras*' on one side while on the other sides there were '*algûa caua*' (probably = precipitous rock walls or caves?), this position contributed to making it a difficult place to conquer. It was attacked several times by the Portuguese.²¹⁴ Gaspar Correa also tells us the same story about the village of Marieco: '*hum lugar que estaua em huma serra, que soya a aposento dos Reis de Tidore, que depois se passarão abaixo á fralda do mar, por caso do trato dos mercados; o qual lugar era cerquado de tranqueiras de páos com algumas entradas, com que estaua forte.*' After an unsuccessful attempt, the Portuguese managed to capture Marieco in 1524. The captain of the Ternate fortress Antonio de Brito, saw from the fortress the fire caused by the looting of the Portuguese soldiers ('*Antonio de Brito da fortaleza bem vio o fogo no lugar, que era a vista...*').²¹⁵ Marieco (called in the document '*Mariecu*'), is mentioned around 1528 by the Spaniards as a place on the island of Tidore which was located in front of Ternate.²¹⁶

In 1609, a Dutch document describes Marieco as the second most important city of the island of Tidore after the capital, in Marieco there was also a pier for the galleys.²¹⁷

²¹³ Valentijn, F. "*Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*" Vol. I (Dordrecht, Amsterdam 1724-1726) 160

²¹⁴ Fernão Lopes de Castanheda "*História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*" Livro VI, cap. 64, 252-253

²¹⁵ Correa "*Lendas da Índia*" vol. II, 806, 808

²¹⁶ "*Derrotero del viaje y navegacion de la armada de Loaisa...*" Document n°14 in: Martin Fernandez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles, vol. 5*" 306

Martin Fernandez de Navarrete "*Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles, vol. 2*" 188-189

²¹⁷ "*Informatie van den stant van de Molucques, door Jan Bruyn, 12 may 1609*" In: "*De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612*" vol. II; 317

The first news of a Spanish fort in Marieco comes to us in 1609, when the governor of Ternate Lucas de Vergara Gaviria fortified the place of Marieco on the island of Tidore ‘... *hiço de nuebo los fuertes de Marieco* ...’. The usefulness of this fortification was tested shortly after its construction when, between the month of November 1609 and January 1610, the fleet commanded by Simon Jansz Hoen attempted to besiege the island of Tidore, on this occasion a naval blockade was also made at the fort of Marieco whose defense was attended by the company of Captain Pedro Zapata which included the soldier Juan de Medina Bermudez.

On this occasion, the ship '*Middelburgh*' commanded by Commander Crackeel was in charge of checking and preventing supplies to the fort of Marieco. Evidently the Dutch did not succeed in their plans, because Juan Martin de Liedena who was captain of the '*capitana*' galley '*San Xptoual*' (he served in this position from 1 August 1609 until 30 January 1610), brought large quantities of weapons, ammunition, soldiers and supplies to the Spanish garrisons, especially Marieco, which were besieged by the Dutch.²¹⁸

Further confirmation of the existence, in this period, of the fort of Marieco is a letter from 1610 in which Paulus van Caerden informed the administrators of the VOC of the limited knowledge that the Dutch had of the island of Tidore, in particular they had no information of the defenses of the capital of the island, while they were informed of the existence of a fort in Marieco.²¹⁹

Another Dutch report written in 1610 gives us a description of the small village of Marieco, which is located opposite the Spanish city of '*Nuestra Signora del Rosario*' of Ternate, some Tidorese lived here and the Spaniards had surrounded the place with two bastions, where 14 Spanish soldiers and two cannons were stationed.²²⁰

In fact, the Spanish built this small fort ('*fortezinho*'), located on the west coast of the island of Tidore and in front of the Spanish city of Ternate, directly at the level of the beach, it must have been a small thing, a simple wall with one or two bastions, probably not even completely of stone. According to some testimonies, its normal

²¹⁸ “*Journal ende verhael*” In: “*De reis van de vloot van Pieter Willemsz Verhoeff naar Azie, 1607-1612*” vol. I, 276-281; “*Informaciones Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, 1611*” AGI: Filipinas,60,N.12; Tiele “*De Europeers in den Maleischen archipel, 1606-1610*” 102-103 footnote 3 where reference is made to a letter written from Mariequo on Tidore: “*Brief van C. Lz. Crackeel (schipper op de Middelburg) voor Mariequo op Tidore, aan Hoen van 3 Jan. 1610*”; “*Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [ff] 12-08-1633*” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67; “*Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Cuyo en Calamianes a Juan Martínez de Liedena. Resuelto, [ff] 10-02-1623*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.47

²¹⁹ de Booy “*De derde reis van de VOC naar Oost-Indië onder het beleid van admiraal Paulus van Caerden uitgezeld in 1606*” vol. II, 239 “*Copie van het schrijven van Paulus van Caerden aan de bewindhebbers dd. 17 juni 1610*”

²²⁰ “*Voyage of Admiral Pieter W. Verhoeven, 1610*” 112

garrison consisted of 12 soldiers and an ensign, '*fortezuelo de fajina con doce españoles y un cabo*', the fort appears to have been armed with two cannons.²²¹

The objective of the Spaniards was to control with the small garrison a vital area for the sustenance of their garrisons and to be able to control the transit between the islands of Ternate and Tidore, the low number of soldiers who garrisoned the place was perhaps due to the excessive confidence that the Spaniards had in the help of the troops of the local '*sangaje*', as well as obviously the scarcity of troops at their disposal, something the governors of Ternate always complained about. It was precisely the betrayal of the local '*sangaje*' in addition to the excessive power of firepower fielded by the Dutch and the inactivity of the governor de Silva and the king of Tidore that allowed the Dutch to conquer the fort in February 1613.

THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF MARIEKO

In the first days of February 1613, 5 Dutch ships (4 warships and 1 cargo ship) arrived in the Moluccas, one of these was shipwrecked due to bad weather between the islands of Maquien and Motiel, according to da Silva, this was the '*captain*' ship which had 300 men and 45 artillery pieces on board as well as most of the money for the garrisons, only 40 men were saved from the sinking.

The other ships of the fleet arrived in Ternate. At midnight on February 8, 1613, 5 Dutch ships, commanded by Pieter Both, 7 '*caracoas*' and many other small boats, carrying more than 800 men, both European and indigenous, headed for the island of Tidore, where they anchored off to the village of Marieko and the small garrison that the Spaniards had there, which was defended by only 12 Spanish soldiers and an ensign '*fortezuelo de fajina con doce españoles y un cabo*'. According to Gerónimo de Silva, the Dutch attack on Marieko took place on February 9, 1613 "*á el cuarto del alba*" time when the Dutch began shelling the blockhouse so intensely, "*mas de 160 balas*", so as to level all the embankments and part of the wall of the small fortification.

The Spanish troops led by the ensign Juan Centeno did not surrender, but fought to the death, and in the battle practically all the small Spanish garrison of the fort was killed (12 Spaniards and 12 Pampangos according to Pérez who quotes Fr. Gregorio

²²¹ "*Carta dirigida á S. M. por don Gerónimo de Silva, Terrenate*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 121; "*Memorial Grau y Montfalcon, 1637*" In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. "*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*" vol. 27, 105; "*Fr. João Baptista, visitator, to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General. Ternate, 14 marzo 1613*" Doc. n° 64 in: Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" 246 e nota 22; Van de Wall Van de Wall, V. I. "*De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken*" 269

de S. Esteban²²²), only the gunner was taken prisoner and taken to the fortress of Malayo.

The Dutch, who according to the testimony of Gerónimo de Silva, had attacked the small fort with 500 Dutch soldiers and more than 300 Ternatense, lost in the battle 6 soldiers, a captain of a ship and the lieutenant of the fort of Malayo as well as 12 men seriously wounded. In this episode de Silva's letters highlight the cowardice of the natives, in fact they all fled abandoning the Spaniards during the attack so that only one of them, called Rubaongue, fought until his death. After three hours of battle, the victors set fire to the village, fearing the arrival of the Spanish and Tidorese, and then began to rebuild the fort.²²³

According to what Gerónimo de Silva tells us, the behavior of the few Spanish soldiers garrisoning the fort was exemplary, '*... no habia mas de 12 españoles y uno ó dos piececitas ...*',²²⁴ while he defines '*grandes bellacos*' that is, great cowards the Tidorese who were defending the village who passed over to the enemy '*... se debiera consolar por haber perdido tan grandes bellacos indios como allí estaban y dignos de castigo.*' The Dutch capture of the fort had been favored by the behavior of the '*sanjaje*' of Marieco, who was in league with the Dutch with whom he traded and that the day before the Dutch attack he had shipped his wife and much of his property. Confirming the fact that he was in league with the Dutch is the testimony cited by de Silva that before leaving, the wife of the '*sangaje*' had advised the ensign Juan Centeno, head of the garrison, to stay awake at night and not sleep during the day. In addition to the betrayal of the '*sangaje*' de Silva also complained of the fact that the Tidorese had always prevented him from adequately fortifying that port.²²⁵ This relationship of mutual distrust between the two allies often comes to light in Spanish documents and will be the cause of major problems and misunderstandings between the Tidorese and the Spanish.

The Dutch immediately after their victory began to rebuild the fort, they built a new fort whose structure was formed by 4 bastions and placed two garrison companies there, already at the departure of Both, in March 1613, one of the bastions had been finished. Both describes Marieco as the richest place in all of Tidore Island, where the best quality of cloves was produced and from where the Spaniards of Ternate

²²² Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. "*Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes*" In: "*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*" VII (1914) 221

²²³ "*Carta que escribió á el rey de Tidore el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Ternate, 14 de febrero 1613*" e "*Carta que escribió el señor don Gerónimo de Silva al señor don Juan de Silva*" "*Carta dirigida á S. M. por don Gerónimo de Silva, desde Terrenate, dándole cuenta del estado de las islas*" In: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 88-89, 95-98, 121-122

²²⁴ "*Carta que escribió á el rey de Tidore el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Terrenate, 14 febrero de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 89

²²⁵ "*Traslado de la carta que escribió el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva á el rey de Tidore, Terrenate, febrero 10 de 1613*" in: Various authors "*Correspondencia*" 84-85

received wool, fruit and fish for their garrisons, the loss of Marieco had been according to the Dutch admiral a heavy blow to the Spanish who now found themselves deprived of their main source of food as well as the only clove-producing area which until then had remained under Spanish control.²²⁶ Furthermore, the possession of Marieco allowed the Dutch to control the stretch of sea immediately in front of the main Spanish city of '*Nuestra Señora del Rosario di Terrenate*', the fort also served as a base for the company's ships waiting for the arrival of Spanish relief from Manila, whose capture was a constant nightmare for the Spanish, who had their only chance of survival in this tenuous link with Manila.

According to the sketch of an anonymous Dutch soldier the fort that the Dutch built was square in shape and with 4 bastions on the sides. The entrance gate was positioned in the center of the wall that joined the two bastions located on the sea side, between the gate and the coast there was a small indigenous village.²²⁷ The Dutch called the new fort of Marieco (*Marieecke*), '*de Vereenichde Provintien*', the 4 bulwarks were baptized: '*Utrecht*', '*Enckhuysen*', '*Amersfort*' and '*Reaell*'.²²⁸

Another interesting representation of this fort is present in the French National Library in Paris cataloged with the number 6545 of the "*Gaignieres Collection*" in this image entitled "*T'fort Mariecco op t'eylant Tidore*" there is a schematic plan of the fort and a very detailed "*bird's eye*" view. In it the fort is represented in a square shape and with 4 bastions at the corners, 4 pieces of artillery were mounted on each bastion, to reach the ramparts from inside the fort, wooden stairs were positioned as the ramparts were raised with respect to the internal floor of the fort.

Inside the fort there were several buildings, probably the accommodation for troops and warehouses. The entrance to the fort was positioned in the center of the wall which overlooked the sea and between the fort and the sea on this side there was a village with cultivated gardens and several huts, the whole village was surrounded on three sides by a wooden palisade which it connected on both sides to the ramparts of the fort.²²⁹ The Dutch fort of Marieco was garrisoned by a garrison made up of a captain and 60 soldiers and had 17 artillery pieces on its ramparts including a very large one called '*o Raymundo*'. The quantity of artillery and the number of soldiers garrisoning the Dutch forts was generally always much higher than that available to the Spanish. Around the fort ('*a roda del forte*'), there was a wooden palisade inside

²²⁶ Rietbergen, P.J.A.N. "*De eerste landvoogd Pieter Both, 1568-1615*" Vol. II, "*Brief 15*", 275-276

²²⁷ See the interesting anonymous drawing of the west coast of Tidore, undated but probably done around c.1620: "*Tidor en Mitarra, 2 kleine eil. Ten Z. van Ternate, ten W. van Gilolo op Halmahera*" Preserved in the University Library of Leiden, the Netherlands: "*Collectie Bodel Nyenhuis*" P. 314-I-n° 99

My thanks to Walter Hellebrand for alerting me to the existence of this important document.

²²⁸ Various authors "*Generale Missiven*, I" 35

²²⁹ Anonymous "*T'fort Mariecco op t'eylant Tidore*" Preserved in the French National Library, Paris: "*Collection Gaignieres*" 6545

which were the homes of the soldiers and the natives. The Spanish had their own fortress (Tomanira) near this Dutch fort and due to the proximity between the two forts skirmishes between the two garrisons were frequent.²³⁰

Despite the advantages that the occupation of this fort brought to the Dutch and the problems it created in opposition to the Spanish, the duration of the Dutch occupation of Marieco was short, in fact, following an order from Coen in June 1621, the Dutch dismantled and abandoned the fort of Marieko. In confirmation of this, in July 1621, the king of Tidore wrote in a letter to Alonso Serrano, who was in charge of the garrison of Payaje, that he had received news that the Dutch were intending to withdraw from the forts of Calomata and Marieco. The Spaniards promptly rebuilt the fortifications and posted a garrison there. The dates of the abandonment of Marieko by the Dutch and the occupation of the fort by the Spanish are to be placed between the end of 1621 and the beginning of 1622.²³¹

The causes of the abandonment of the fort by the Dutch are probably to be found in the excessive costs of maintaining such a large garrison in a generally hostile territory and in the continuous and incessant attacks that the Spaniards from their forts of Rume and Tomanira regularly carried out at Marieco to prevent them from picking cloves and which practically confined the garrison of Marieco closed inside the fort. Furthermore, last but not least, the Spaniards, as well as in Tidore, had intensified their disturbance operations also on the island of Ternate where the chronicles tell of frequent clashes along the border, especially in the immediate vicinity of the new Dutch fort of Calomata. All these factors convinced the Dutch to concentrate their forces on the garrisons they deemed most important.

There is not much information regarding the subsequent Spanish occupation of the place, but to confirm it, Marieco is mentioned among the Spanish forts in “*Livro das plataforma das fortalezas da India*”: ‘...na ponta do Mariaco em Tidore temos outra fortaleza: è a fortaleza que está na ponta do Mariaco, defronte de Tarnate...’²³² However, the few documents that speak of Marieco in the following years suggest that the presence of a Spanish garrison and fortification in the village continued until at least 1646. In fact, in that year, Juan Camacho de la Peña, who was the head of the galleys of Ternate, helped with the galleys the 'socorro' that came from Manila to

²³⁰ Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A “*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*” vol. 27, 104-109; Various authors “*Doc. Ultram. Portuguesa*” vol. II, “*Relaicon de las fortalezas y factorias que tienen los olandeses en la India y ingleses*” 269-270; Various authors “*Doc. Ultramarina Portuguesa*” vol. I, “*Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tydore... Malaca, 28 novembre 1619*” 167

²³¹ “*Instructie voor F. Houtman, gegeven te Ambon, 11 Juni 1621*”; Tiele, P.A. “*De Europeans in the Malayan Archipelago, 1618-1623*” 272-273; Pérez, L. “*Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes*” In: “*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*” n° VII (1914) 622 che cita: Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban “*Historia de las Islas Malucas*” 133; “*Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina a Alonso Serrano. Resuelto. [ff] 19-09-1638*” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.25

²³² Various authors “*Livro das plataforma das fortalezas da India, 1620-1640*”

defend themselves from a Dutch galleon and subsequently having received certain news that the Dutch intended to take over the fort of Marieco on the island of Tidore, with the 5 galleons that were anchored in Malayo, was sent to demolish and raze that fortification.²³³

Confirming that the fort was actually abandoned is that it is not listed among the forts garrisoned and dismantled in 1663, when all the Spanish garrisons were withdrawn from the Moluccas. Probably being the village still of a certain importance, it was garrisoned by Tidorese soldiers. In 1662, towards the end of the Spanish period in Tidore, the '*sangaje*' of the village of Marieco was considered the second most important figure in the hierarchy of the island after the king of Tidore.²³⁴

Not much remained of the fort in the 1920s, all that was visible was a pile of stones with remnants of masonry, and then a long part of a bulwark which was covered in sand and where two parapets were still recognizable.²³⁵ It seems that some blocks of stones believed to have belonged to the old fort are still visible among the vegetation of Marieco.²³⁶

Captains of Marieco	
Juan de Astera ²³⁷ , sergeant	? – June 1611
Hernando [Fernando] Xuarez (Suárez) ²³⁸ , ensign	June 1611- August 1611
Juan de Salinas ²³⁹ , ensign	August 1611 - ?
Juan Centeno ²⁴⁰ , ensign	1612 – February 1613

²³³ “Confirmación de encomienda de Bagatayan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bagatayan, Pajo y Liloan en Cebu, Bislig y Catel en Caraga a Juan Camacho de la Peña. Resuelto. [ff] 09-10-1653” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.40

²³⁴ Andaya, L. “The world of Maluku” 71.

²³⁵ Van de Wall “De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken” 269

²³⁶ See photos in: Various authors “Spain and the Moluccas. Galleons around the world” (Jakarta, 1992) 59

²³⁷ Sergeant Juan de Astera was head of the fort of Marieco, however he was then entrusted with the command of the fort of Payahe, in his place, on June 16, 1611, the ensign Hernando [Fernando] Xuarez (Suárez) was appointed superior head of the fort of Marieco. “Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto, [ff] 22-11-1623” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.65

²³⁸ The ensign Hernando (Fernando) Suárez on June 16, 1611, by order of Azcueta was sent to Tidore as head of the garrison of Marieco to replace the sergeant Juan de Astera, who was sent in charge of the fort of Payahe. On August 1, 1611 he was replaced in command of Marieco by the ensign Juan de Salinas.

“Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto, [ff] 22-11-1623” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.65

²³⁹ Head of Marieco starting from August 1611. “Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto, [ff] 22-11-1623” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.65

²⁴⁰ In July 1612 the ensign Juan Centeno was head of the garrison of Maxico el Grande “Carta del alférez Juan Centeno, cabo del presidio de Maxico el Grande, escrita al gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Maxico, 20 luglio 1612” In: Various authors ‘Correspondencia’ 34. Centeno was the ensign in charge of Marieco when the Dutch attacked the fort in February 1613, all the defenders, including Centeno were killed in the battle (12 men in total) only the gunner was saved who was captured by the Dutch. “Traslado de la carta que escribió el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva á el Rey de Tidore, sobre la pérdida del puerto de Marieco, Terrenate, 10 febbraio 1613” In: Various authors ‘Correspondencia’ 84-86.

The Spanish Forts in Tidore – Marco Ramerini

Occupied by the Dutch	February 1613 – end of 1621 or beginning of 1622	
	Abraham Hallinck 1615	
	Willem van Anssing 1616	
Juan de Chaves ²⁴¹ , captain	? - June 1623	
Gaspar de Enebro ²⁴² , captain	June 1623 - ?	

²⁴¹ Juan de Chaves, was in charge of the forts of Xilolo, Marieco and Tidore (these before April 1623). Juan de Chaves, Bracamonte tells us, always had a good relationship with the king and prince of Tidore. He probably served in 1619 as the head of the Tomanira fort. He had been made captain by Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, June 27, 1617, and governed his own company until he was succeeded by Master Sergeant Pedro de Cuenca Montalbo, then later Juan de Chaves returned to command his company where he served for more than 5 years. In these five years he was in charge of the forts of San Pedro y San Pablo and Santa Lucia, Xilolo (Hilolo), Tomanira (Tomanera), Marieco (Merieco) and Tidore ('*Santiago de los Caualleros en la ysla de Tidore*') in addition, due to the absence of the governor, was charged with the city of Ternate. In a summary (see sheet 38) it is said that he was also responsible for the Rume fort. He was head of the fort of Marieco, a position he held until June 1623. In fact, there is an order from Heredia (dated 5 June 1623) in which Chaves is commanded to give the captain don Gaspar de Enebro the command of the "*fuera de Marieco*" together with the ammunition, artillery and infantry which were in his charge. Chaves had been licensed to go to Manila due to his failing health. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Caraga a Juan de Chaves. Resuelto, [ff] 14-02-1631*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.49

²⁴² There is an order from Heredia (dated June 5, 1623) in which Juan de Chaves is commanded to pass the command of the "*fuera de Marieco*" to the captain don Gaspar de Enebro together with the ammunition, artillery and infantry that were in his charge. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Caraga a Juan de Chaves. Resuelto, [ff] 14-02-1631*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.49

6.2 – MARIECO EL CHICO OR TOMANIRA

Spanish: **Marieco el Chico:**

Dutch: **Kleine Marieko, Spaens Mariecque.**

This fort was built by Geronimo de Silva in 1613, after the loss of Marieco (Marieco el Grande), and was located half a league from Marieco. After the conquest of Marieco by the Dutch, Geronimo de Silva describes in two letters, one to Don Juan de Silva and the other to King Felipe III, the countermeasures he took to defend Tidore from the Dutch, one of them being the fortification of Marieco el Chico: *“Piensa lo primero embestir á Marieco el Chico, donde le tengo fortificado lo mejor que se ha podido y puesto allí un capitan con 50 infantes, sin los soldados que el rey y principe han enviado suyos, y algunos naturales”*²⁴³, *“....he fortificado lo mejor que se ha podido otro lugar media legua de este, donde tengo puesto un capitan con cincuenta españoles”*²⁴⁴, the captain of Marieco el Chico mentioned by de Silva is Don Juan de Espinosa, he is captain of this garrison in 1613.²⁴⁵ On February 14, 1613, the Dutch to disturb the fortification work of the Spanish in Marieco (Marieco el Chico), bombarded the place, with two ships, from morning until noon *‘... y le metieron dentro mas de setenta balas, ...’*²⁴⁶

According to the information gathered, Marieco el Chico and Tomanira were the same fort, called in two different ways. The use of the name Marieco el Chico is made in Spanish documents only for a short period of time mainly during 1613.

Spanish: **Tomanira**²⁴⁷, **Tomanyira**, **Tomañira**, **Tomarina**, **Tamarina**, **Tomanera**²⁴⁸, **Tamañira**: (Current name: ?)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: 1613-1621/22 ?; 1657 ?-1662 ?

Tomanira, as we have already mentioned above, was most likely the same fort as Marieco el Chico. According to the documentation collected, the most plausible explanation regarding the position of this fortress is that Tomañira was located on a hill south of Marieco.

²⁴³ “Carta que escribió el señor don Gerónimo de Silva al señor don Juan de Silva” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 99

²⁴⁴ “Carta dirigida á S. M. por don Gerónimo de Silva, Terrenate” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 122

²⁴⁵ “Carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el capitan don Juan de Espinosa, á cuyo cargo està Marieco el Chico, en 26 junio de 1613” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 133

²⁴⁶ “Carta que escribió el señor don Gerónimo de Silva al señor don Juan de Silva” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 102

²⁴⁷ Various authors “Correspondencia” 226, 329, 358, 388, 397

Rios Coronel, Hernando de los “Memorial y relacion...” 1621, Madrid, Spain. In: Blair, E. H. e Robertson, J. A. “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898” vol. 19 (1620-1621), 214, where an extract from Jeronimo de Silva's letter to D. Juan de Silva, dated July 29, 1616, is reported.

²⁴⁸ Various authors “Correspondencia” 309

The study of the documents has shown that Tomanira must have been located in the western or north-western part of the island, the only one from which the port of Malayo in nearby Ternate is visible. In fact, a letter from Gerónimo de Silva dated 17 April 1616, which describes the arrival of some Dutch ships in the port of Malayo, indicates that they were seen by Tomanira, already at anchor in the port of Malayo. So from Tomanira Malayo was visible.²⁴⁹

Other documents lead us to define more accurately the area of the island where this fortress must have been located. Tomanira is described by Gerónimo de Silva as a port in the vicinity of Marieco el Grande, from where the Dutch had twice attacked it. The garrison of Tomanira in 1614 was formed by a company of Spanish soldiers commanded by Don Diego Quinones: *‘Tambien desde Marieco el Grande va el nemico á el puerto de Tomanira por momentos á tocarles arma, y aun le ha querido embestir por dos veces.’* *‘...está en él el capitan don Diego de Quiñones con su compaignia.’*²⁵⁰ D. Diego de Quiñones y Arguelles himself, first captain of the fort of San Pedro y San Pablo in Ternate, and then captain of the *‘fuerça’* of Tomanira in Tidore in one of his statements indicates that Tomanira was *‘frontera de Marieco’*.²⁵¹ In another document, the fortress of Tomanira in Tidore is defined as a fortress close to that of the Dutch of Marieco *‘las fuerzas de Tomanira ysla de Tidore serca alas del enemigo olandez de Marieco’* *‘la fuerza de Tomanira frente de las de Marieco’*.²⁵²

Probably, the solution, to the fact that Tomanira and Marieco el Chico are the same fort, is given to us in the *“Correspondencia”*, in fact Gerónimo de Silva wrote a letter on June 26, 1613 to don Juan de Espinosa (i.e. don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas), in whose charge was the fort of Marieco el Chico, a few days after July 10, 1613, da Silva himself wrote another letter to don Juan de Zayas (i.e. don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas himself) this time quoting Tomanira as the place where he resided.

This closeness of date between the letters, the fact that nothing in the letters seems to indicate a change of assignment of don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas in the meantime, makes me suppose that Marieco el Chico and Tomanira are two different names by which the same fort was called.²⁵³ As further confirmation of what has been said,

²⁴⁹ *“Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva capitan general, en 17 abril de 1616. Esta carta llevó una caracoa de rey de Tidore”* In: Various authors *“Correspondencia”* 358

²⁵⁰ *“Tanto de carta que el señor don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva con Zapata, 3 jullio de 1614”* In: Various authors *“Correspondencia”* 226

²⁵¹ Colin-Pastells *“Labor Evangelica”* vol. III, 571 nota n°1

²⁵² *“Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [ff] 12-08-1633”* AGI: Filipinas, 48, N.67

²⁵³ *“Carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el capitan don Juan de Espinosa, á cuyo cargo está Marieco el Chico, en 26 junio de 1613”* in: Various authors *“Correspondencia”* 133

“Tanto de carta que escribió á el capitan don Juan de Zayas en Tomanira á 10 de jullio de 1613 el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva” in: Various authors *“Correspondencia”* 141-142

there is another document dated May 24, 1613 drawn up '*en la ffuerça de Tomanira y ysla de Tidore*' of which Juan de Espinosa y Zayas signs himself as captain.²⁵⁴

To resolve the doubt about where Tomanira was located, other documents help us, for example Captain Francisco Ximénes who was head of the forts of Rum and Tomanira, informs us that the two fortresses were '*unas y otras proximas ala que el enemigo tenia en la ysla de Tidore en el lugar de Marieco*'.²⁵⁵

Another document informs us that Tomanira was located at a distance of '*media legua*' from the Dutch fort (of Marieco). Since the two forts were located so close, they witnessed several clashes between Spanish and Dutch troops. The testimony of Agustín Pérez tells us about one of these clashes. He in 1613 was with his company, that of the captain don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas, in garrison of the fortress of Tomanira on the island of Tidore. From Tomanira, Pérez was sent by Zayas under the command of ensign Anton Castellanos to Marieco where the Spanish had a brief skirmish against some Dutch who were surprised within sight of the Dutch fort, some enemy soldiers were killed in the action. Immediately, from the fort of Marieco the Dutch sent troops into the countryside to help their soldiers, these troops clashed against the Spanish squad and in the clash there were several deaths on both sides.

On another occasion, Pérez was sent by Zayas to Marieco to recognize and spy on the construction of a '*baluarte*' that the enemy was fortifying, making a report of what the enemy was building and bringing some '*herramienta*' that the enemy used to make the fortification.

Following the report on the work that the Dutch were doing in Marieco, Pérez was sent, again from Tomanira, by Captain don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas back to the enemy fort of Marieco where with three other soldiers and with great danger of their lives (in fact during the retreat, the Dutch from the fort fired many artillery and musket shots against the Spanish) a warehouse and some houses were burned with a fire bomb, which were located at the foot of a bastion inside an '*estacada*' where '*peltrechos y gastadores*' had been collected.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ “Confirmación de encomienda de Canaman, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Canaman, Milavit, Camalingan, Bagtas y Daet en Camarines a Pedro Martínez Cid. Resuelto, [ff] 23-12-1624” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.72

²⁵⁵ “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

²⁵⁶ “Confirmación de encomienda de Maquila, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Maquila y Tulaque en Cagayan a Agustín Pérez. Resuelto. [ff] 21-10-1633” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.76

“Confirmación de encomienda de Filipinas. Expediente de confirmación de encomienda en el distrito de la Audiencia de Filipinas a Agustín Pérez. Resuelto. [ff] 11-01-1638” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.18

The fort of Tomarina was built on a high hill '*por estar situada em hum alto*' difficult to conquer, 40 Spaniards resided in the fort and there were more than 300 men '*todos naturaes da terra*' armed with muskets. The fort was equipped with only three pieces of artillery, the scarcity of artillery pieces in the garrisons of the Moluccas is an often recurring note. Also there were many other warriors '*gente de espada*' who helped the Spaniards in case of war. Probably part of the population of the village of Marieco, who remained loyal to the king of Tidore, had moved to this fortification.²⁵⁷

Fr. Manuel Ribeiro also makes a brief mention of Tomañira: '*....Tidore, Don Gil y Tomañira, que son las 3 fuerças que tenemos sobre los tres canales, por donde ordinario las naos enemigas entran y salen, sin que asta agora se les pudiese acer daño*'²⁵⁸ Indeed the three channels mentioned above are the channel between Tidore and Halmahera controlled by the fort of Tidore, the channel between Ternate and Maitara controlled by the fort of Don Gil and finally the channel between Tidore and Maitara controlled, in a rather precarious way, by the fort of Tomañira, in fact the Rume fort which will control the canal in a safer way, will be built by the Spaniards only in November 1618.

Also for the description of this fort, the interesting sketch of the west coast of Tidore comes to our aid, preserved in the university library of Leiden and belonging to the "*Bodel Njenhuis*" collection. It was drawn by an anonymous Dutch soldier or sailor and is perhaps the only fairly detailed representation that has come down to us of Tomanira (the fort is called '*Spaens Mariecque*' in the sketch), in it the Spanish fort is represented high on a hill overlooking the sea, it is characterized by two bastions, the fortification seems to be totally of stone.

No structure is drawn inside the fortress. The Spanish flag stands on the highest part of the fortification (this is the characteristic flag with the Burgundy cross, used by Spanish infantry troops in the 16th-17th centuries). Further down on the north side of the Spanish fortification, to be understood on the side where the ramparts are, there is an indigenous village characterized by two groups of houses as well as by a tall minaret-shaped structure which is surmounted by a crescent on the cusp, probably the village mosque. The indigenous village is surrounded by a wall that appears to be of bricks. Both the Spanish fort and the indigenous village are located along the buttresses of a high mountain. The caption above the fort shows the words '*Spaens Mariecque*' i.e. Spanish Marieco.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ "*Relação breve da ilha de Ternate, Tydore...., Malaca, 28 novembre 1619*" in: Various authors "*Doc. Ultramarina Portuguesa*" vol. I, 167

²⁵⁸ "*Lettera di Fr. Manuel Ribeiro al governatore Fajardo, Cavite, 10 agosto 1618*" in: Jacobs, H. "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" Doc. n° 106, 377

²⁵⁹ "*Tidor en Mitarra, 2 kleine eil. Ten Z. van Ternate, ten W. van Gilolo op Halmahera*" University Library of Leiden, the Netherlands: "*Collectie Bodel Njenhuis*" P. 314-I-n° 99

Spanish documents report the existence of Tomanira in the years between 1613 and c.1620, probably with the abandonment of the fort of Marieco by the Dutch, and the subsequent Spanish occupation of the place, the Spaniards withdrew the garrison from Tomanira.

Tomanira, during the Dutch occupation of Marieco, was, after the fortress of Santiago de los Caballeros, the most important fortification that the Spanish had on the island of Tidore, because being on the border with the Dutch, it had the function of controlling and contrasting the enemy troops who garrisoned Marieco. From Tomanira as we have seen the raids that the Spanish troops carried out against the territories controlled by the Dutch started. Generally a company of Spanish infantry commanded by a captain was present in the fort.

Tomanira is mentioned again in some subsequent documents, where the rebellion (1657-1658) of some Tidorese villages (Toluca and Tongoiza) is narrated. On the death of Cachil Sayde, these villages elected cachil Golofino as his successor, deposing the legitimate heir to the kingdom of Tidore who was cachil Mole, son of cachil Sayde.²⁶⁰

In the documents that speak of this rebellion, Tomanira is also mentioned. Here the Spaniards had a garrison at that time headed by adjutant Francisco Peres.²⁶¹ Another document from that period mentions Tomanira, where Admiral Juan de Aytamarren was with Nicolas de Aybar at '*talar las puertas y sembrados de Marrico y Tomanira*' ('to cut down doors and crops'). Tomanira, was situated on a narrow pass ('por estar desembocada y sobre abizo') and the enemies had been warned of the action of the Spaniards. In the ensuing battle, Captain Manuel de Billa Sola (Villasola?), who commanded the vanguard of the Spanish troops. The other troops, however, managed to react and push back the enemies who then fled, leaving the countryside in Spanish hands.²⁶²

Subsequently the Spaniards must have maintained garrisons in the area of Tomanira and Toloa, in fact in 1662, some documents describing the abandonment of some forts in Tidore also speak of the abandonment of some forts close to the villages of

My thanks to Walter Hellebrand for alerting me to the existence of this important document.

²⁶⁰ "Confirmación de encomienda de Mambusao. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Mambusao en Panay a Sebastián de Villarreal. Resuelto. [ff] 19-05-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.11

²⁶¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Baratao. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baratao en Pangasinan a Alonso Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 16-06-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.12

²⁶² "Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Abucay y Samal en Pampanga a Diego Cortés. Resuelto. [ff] 12-05-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.9

the ‘Mori’ of Toloa: ‘*que asistiese y ayudase a su capitan al rretirar las fuerzas de Tidore, con las de Chobo y otras circumbecinas a los pueblos de los Moros toloas*’.²⁶³

Captains of Tomanira	
Juan de Espinosa y Zayas ²⁶⁴ , captain	1613
Diego de Quiñones y Arguelles ²⁶⁵ , captain	1614
Hernando (Fernando) Suárez ²⁶⁶	Between the years 1614 and 1618
Gregorio Lopes ²⁶⁷ , captain	?
Pedro de la Fuente Urres (Urrez) ²⁶⁸	
Pedro de Saavedra ²⁶⁹ , captain	?
Pedro de la Fuente Urres (Urrez) ²⁷⁰ , captain	?
Alonso Martín Quirante ²⁷¹ , captain	1617-1618

²⁶³ “Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto[ff]. 08-06-1695” AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3
Memorial of the ensign Juan de Origuey (Manila, 20 September 1673) (sheets 18-20) in: “Confirmación de encomienda de Batangas. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batangas en Balayan a Lorenzo de Zuleta. Resuelto. [ff] 03-04-1677” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.14

²⁶⁴ It appears to be captain of the fortress of Tomanira in a written document dated May 24, 1613 ‘en la ffuerça de Tomanira y ysla de Tidore’. “Confirmación de encomienda de Canaman, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Canaman, Milavit, Camalingan, Bagtas y Daet en Camarines a Pedro Martínez Cid. Resuelto, [ff] 23-12-1624” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.72

E’ ancora capitano del forte di Tomanira nel luglio 1613 “Tanto de carta que escribió á el capitan don Juan de Zayas en Tomanira á 10 de jullio de 1613 el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 141-142

²⁶⁵ In July 1614 the captain don Diego de Quiñones with his company was in garrison of the fort of Tomanira. “Tanto de carta que el señor don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva con Zapata, 3 jullio de 1614” In: Various authors “Correspondencia” 226

²⁶⁶ The testimony of Juan de la Umbria dated November 30, 1618, mentions that Hernando (Fernando) Suárez was chief of the forts of Tomanira, San Pedro y Sant Pablo, Tafongo y Payaxe, without however indicating in which period. “Confirmación de encomienda de Masbate. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de la isla de Masbate en Ibalon (Albay) a Fernando [Hernando] Suárez. Resuelto, [ff] 22-11-1623” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.65

²⁶⁷ “Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

²⁶⁸ Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, was appointed by the governor Don Geronimo de Silva head of the fortress of Tomanira, a fort close to the Dutch one, 4 times in deferent times. The first time he succeeded Captain Gregorio Lopes, the second time he replaced Captain Pedro de Saavedra, the third time he replaced Captain and Major Sergeant Alonso Martin Quirante, the fourth and last time he replaced Captain Don Rodrigo de Moscoso. Four times in different periods he commanded this fort.

“Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

“Confirmación de encomienda de Ago. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Ago en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [ff] 28-09-1630” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

²⁶⁹ “Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

²⁷⁰ “Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632” AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

“Confirmación de encomienda de Ago. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Ago en Pangasinan a Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (sic por Urroz). Resuelto. [ff] 28-09-1630” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

²⁷¹ In 1617, Captain Alonso Martín Quirante was castellan of the fortress of Tamarina. Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. “Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes” In: “Archivum Franciscanum Historicum” VII (1914) 429.

Another document indirectly informs us that Alonso Martin Quirante was still in charge of Tomanira in 1618, in fact, Juan de Medina Bermudez, was a soldier of the company of Alonso Martin Quirante in charge of the fortress of Tomanira in Tidore, close to that of

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Pedro de la Fuente Urres (Urrez) ²⁷²	?
Rodrigo de Moscoso y Sotomayor ²⁷³ , captain	?
Pedro de la Fuente Urres (Urrez) ²⁷⁴	1618
Pedro Martinez Cid ²⁷⁵ , captain	1618 ?
Juan de la Umbria ²⁷⁶ , captain	?
Juan de Chaves ²⁷⁷ , captain	1619 ?
Antonio Maldonado y Moscoso (Moscoso) ²⁷⁸	?
Francisco Ximenes ²⁷⁹ , captain	

the Dutch of Marieco ('las fuerzas de Tomanira ysla de Tidore serca alas del enemigo olandez de Marieco') ('la fuerza de Tomanira frente de las de Marieco'), here he had a hard fight against the Dutch where many enemies were killed and where Juan de Medina was wounded by a musket shot in the left shoulder. On April 18, 1618, Medina had license by Lucas Vergara Gaviria to come to Manila, to recover from a wound in his left arm. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [ff] 12-08-1633*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67

According to another document, he was succeeded by Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. "*Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632*" AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

²⁷² Pedro de la Fuente Urres (Urrez) was in 1616 head of the fortress of Tomanira, he commanded the company of Captain don Rodrigo de Moscoso y Sotomayor. He commanded this fort four times in different periods. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Ago. Pedro de la Fuente Uriez (Uroz). 28-09-1630*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.39

²⁷³ "*Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [ff] 1632*" AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

²⁷⁴ In 1618, Captain Pedro de la Fuente Urres (Urrez), by order of Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, was again appointed head of the fortress of Tomanira. "*Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente, 1632*" AGI: Filipinas, 61, N.12

²⁷⁵ Pedro Martinez Cid, in 1617 had the force of Jilolo at his charge. He then became head of the fortress of Tomanira. Subsequently he was then appointed head of the fortress of Tidore, a position he held for a year and a half maintaining order and good relations with the citizens and the king of Tidore. On February 19, 1620 he ceased his service as captain at Ternate, he must have departed for Manila shortly after due to ill health. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Canaman, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Canaman, Milavit, Camalingan, Bagtas y Daet en Camarines a Pedro Martínez Cid. Resuelto, [ff] 23-12-1624*" AGI: Filipinas,47,N.72

²⁷⁶ Juan de la Umbria, in December 1616 was sent by the Audiencia, to Ternate, for the occasion he was appointed captain of an infantry company and head of the "socorro" sent to warn Gerónimo de Silva of Juan de Silva's death. He remained in Ternate at the head of an infantry company. During this period he served as captain of the presidios of Tidore, Tomanira, Xilolo, San Pedro y San Pablo. During the absence of the governor Vergara (who often resided in Tidore), Juan de la Umbria took his place in the city of Ternate. In May 1618 he was chief of the forts of Tidore. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [ff] 12-08-1633*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67

²⁷⁷ Juan de Chaves, was in charge of the forts of Xilolo, Marieco and Tidore (these before April 1623). Juan de Chaves, Bracamonte tells us, always had a good relationship with the king and prince of Tidore. He probably served in 1619 as the head of the Tomanira fort. He had already been made captain by Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, on June 27, 1617, and governed his own company until he was succeeded by Master Sergeant Pedro de Cuenca Montalbo, then later Juan de Chaves returned to command his company where he served for more than 5 years. In these five years he was in charge of the forts of San Pedro y San Pablo and Santa Lucia, Xilolo (Hilolo), Tomanira (Tomanera), Marieco (Merieco) and Tidore ('*Santiago de los Caualleros en la ysla de Tidore*') as well as that due to the absence of the governor he had the city of Ternate in his charge. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Caraga a Juan de Chaves. Resuelto, [ff] 14-02-1631*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.49

²⁷⁸ Antonio Maldonado y Moscoso, was chief of the fort of 'San Xpoual' in the kingdom of Jilolo, of the '*fuerte y fuerza*' of Tomanira in the kingdom of Tidore, and of the fort of San Pedro y San Pablo which he fortified, by order of the governor Lucas de Vergara Gaviria. He was head of the '*fuerte y fortaleza*' del Principe di Tidore. "*Confirmación de encomienda de Paracale, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Paracale y Capalonga en Camarines a Antonio Maldonado y Moscoso. Resuelto, [ff] 05-07-1659*" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.3

²⁷⁹ He arrived in Ternate around 1620 and replaced Captain Pedro Martinez Cid in command of his company. He was chief of the forts of Rum and Tomanira '*unas y otras proximas ala que el enemigo tenia en la ysla de Tidore en el lugar de*

Julio de Helguera ²⁸⁰ , captain	1621/22 ?
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Marieco’. “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31; “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

²⁸⁰ Julio de Helguera, was captain of the fort of Tomanira (Somamra in the transcription), a fortress located 'a tiro de cañón' from the Dutch fort of Marieco (Amarisco in the transcription). Gonzalo Portillo was serving as squad leader of Captain Julio de Helguera's company which was stationed at Tomanira and was sent to Marieco to see if the Dutch actually intended to dismantle that fort. A precise date is not indicated in the document, but the episode should refer approximately to the years around 1620, i.e. when the Dutch actually abandoned Marieco. “Nombramiento e instrucciones de Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera a Gonzalo Portillo, nuevo gobernador de la Isla Hermosa, en nombre del Rey Felipe IV. Se mencionan sus meritos e historia militar. Manila, 13 de abril de 1640” AGI: Escribania 409B f. 153 published in: : Borao J. E. “Spaniards in Taiwan” vol. I, 310

6.3 – CHOBO

Spanish: **Cubo**²⁸¹, **Sobo**²⁸², **Chobo**²⁸³, **Chovo**²⁸⁴, **Cobo**, **Tjobo**, **San(t) Joseph de Chouo**²⁸⁵: (Current name: Cobo)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: 1643 ? –1661 ? o 1662 ?

Dutch: **Chiobbe**²⁸⁶, **T'Siobbo**²⁸⁷, **Siobbo**²⁸⁸, **Ziobbo**²⁸⁹, **Tsiobbe**²⁹⁰, **t'Siobbe**²⁹¹, **Sjobbo**²⁹², **Sjobbe**²⁹³

Spanish garrison located on the extreme northern offshoot of the island of Tidore, called by the Spaniards San Joseph de Chovo. There is not much information about this fort, it is only mentioned as a fortified place in the last years of the Spanish period. Gerónimo de Silva, in 1613, speaks of the '*punta de Chovo*' as one of the places that the Dutch intended to occupy on the island of Tidore.²⁹⁴ While it is mentioned in the year 1615, by the king of Tidore, as a possible meeting point between Ternate and Tidore for the marriage negotiations between the Prince of Tidore and the Queen of Jilolo.²⁹⁵

The Dutch sources start mentioning a Spanish fort at Tsiobbe around 1643.²⁹⁶ According to the Dutch, the Spaniards intended to install two large cannons on the hill of the T'Siobbo fortification, in order to reach the Malayo bay with their shots. In

²⁸¹ “Fr. Miguel de Pareja to governor Manuel de Leon. Manila, 25 enero 1671” Document n° 215 in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 660 and also note 5

²⁸² Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 615, 624.

²⁸³ “*Tanto de carta que el capitan don Fernando Becerra escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore 29 de octubre de 1615*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 318

“*Tanto de carta que el rey de Tidore escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore 21 de diciembre de 1615*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 339

“*Tanto de carta que el el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el rey de Tidore, Terrenate 22 de diciembre de 1615*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 339

²⁸⁴ “*Tanto de carta que el rey de Tidore escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore 18 de noviembre de 1615*” in: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 330

²⁸⁵ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 1661-12-17*” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

²⁸⁶ “*Generale Missiven*” vol. III, 30 Januari 1662, 384

²⁸⁷ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 179

²⁸⁸ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 386

²⁸⁹ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 384, 401

²⁹⁰ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 148

²⁹¹ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 148

²⁹² “*Dagh-Register, anno 1664*” 286, 389

²⁹³ “*Dagh-Register, anno 1664*” 598

²⁹⁴ “*Carta que el rey de Tidore escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva. Tidore, 18 de noviembre 1615*” In: In: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 99

²⁹⁵ “*Tanmtto de carta que escribió el señor don Gerónimo de Silva al señor don Juan de Silva*” In: In: Various authors “*Correspondencia*” 330

²⁹⁶ “*Wouter Seroijen, gouverneur der Molukken, aan Antonio Caen op Ambon, 28 Januari 1643*” in: “*Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*” vol. III, 148

response to the Spanish move, the Dutch placed a cannon at Talangame.²⁹⁷ Then the governor Wouter Seroijen built a real fort called '*Caille la Boca*' located on the beach two musket shots from Malayo, from this new fort the Dutch could hit any boat passing in the strait between the islands of Ternate and Tidore and it was also possible to reach the Spanish fort of Ziobbo by '*boogh-schoot*'.²⁹⁸

A Spanish document from 1653 sheds light on the date on which the Spanish built the Chovo fort and confirms what was reported by Dutch sources: In 1643, Juan Camacho de la Peña embarked on the galleon '*San Juan Bautista*' as a soldier in the company of the new governor of Ternate don Lorenço de Olaso. In Ternate he was charged with taking care of the fortification works of the '*fuerça de Chouo*' and of the disposition of the port of Rume in the island of Tidore. Both posts were put into a state of defence.²⁹⁹

From another document we also learn that, in 1643, the command of the fort was entrusted to Juan de Heredia Ormastegui, he too had arrived in Ternate that same year with the '*socorro*' led by the new governor don Lorenço de Olaso. Juan de Heredia Ormastegui also worked on the fortifications of the fort of Chovo until it was in a good state of defense.³⁰⁰ The fort was located on a high promontory which dominated the sea strait between Tidore and Ternate.

Little other information about this fortification can be found in the documents I have seen, for example, Pedro de Figueroa Pardo, who must have been in the Moluccas in the years between 1640 and 1650, was head of the fort of '*San Joseph de Chobo*' which describes as '*frontera del enemigo olandez y therrenate*'.³⁰¹ Around 1650, the captain and sergeant major Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta, was sent by order of the governor Pedro Fernandez del Rio to the forts of San Lucas del Rumen and Chobo.³⁰²

Another of the few Spanish documents that mentions this fort is a document from 1661 where it is stated that the governor Francisco de Esteybar in the years 1653 and 1654 rebuilt the fort of '*San Joseph de Chouo*' where new fortifications and new

²⁹⁷ "Gouverneur-Generaal (Antonio van Diemen) en Raden aan Bewindhebbers der O. I. Compagnie, 23 December 1644" in: "Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel" vol. III, 178-179

²⁹⁸ "Rapport en declaratie van Antonio Caen ..., 1 Juli 1648" in: "Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel" vol. III, 384-385

²⁹⁹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Bagatayan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bagatayan, Pajo y Liloan en Cebu, Bislig y Catel en Caraga a Juan Camacho de la Peña. Resuelto. [ff] 09-10-1653" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.40

³⁰⁰ "Confirmación de encomienda de Antique. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Antique en Oton a Juan de Heredia Ormastegui. Resuelto. [ff] 13-09-1647" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.69

³⁰¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Caraga, Surigao y Sidarga en Cebu a Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta. Resuelto, [ff] 19-06-1659" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.1

³⁰² "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Caraga, Surigao y Sidarga en Cebu a Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta. Resuelto, [ff] 19-06-1659" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.1

housing were built for the infantry.³⁰³ Diego de Cardenas was head of the fortress of 'San Joseph de Chovo' and as relief did not arrive due to the loss of the galleon 'Nuestra señora de la Vitoria' (relief of 1660) he pledged his possessions to relieve the troops of the garrison with food and ammunition.³⁰⁴

According to Dutch sources it seems that this fort was abandoned by the Spanish in 1661, therefore two years before the definitive abandonment of the Moluccas by the Iberian troops, the reason for the abandonment of the fort is ascribed to the fact that the Spanish troops were decimated and could not keep all the '*presidios*' they had. The fort that the Spanish abandoned is described as the upper fort of Chiobbe, this would suggest that this fort too was composed, like that of Rum, of two distinct fortifications, one in an elevated position and the other on the beach.³⁰⁵

Some Spanish documents shed further light on the abandonment of the fort of Chobo, in fact, in 1662, Agustin de Cepeda, governor of Ternate, after having received orders from Manrique de Lara to dismantle the forts of the Moluccas and withdraw the Spanish garrisons, sent the company where Juan de Origuey was ensign in Tidore to withdraw (and demolish) the garrisons from the Chobo fort and other forts near the villages of the '*Moros*' of Toloa: '*que asistiese y ayudase a su capitan al rretirar las fuerzas de Tidore, con las de Chobo y otras circumbecinas a los pueblos de los Moros toloas*'. According to the testimony of Diego de Salazar, captain of the royal galleys of Ternate, the fortresses that the Spaniards had to demolish and the garrisons they withdrew in 1662 were '*... me ordeno retirara las de Tidore Chouo, y Puli Cauallo ...*' the demolition and withdrawal works were entrusted to the ensign Juan de Origuey, who worked on it personally managing to transport the artillery and ammunition to Ternate.³⁰⁶

The report of Father Miguel de Pareja, sent to the Moluccas in 1670 by the governor of the Philippines Manuel de Leon, to claim Spanish rights over the islands and to safeguard the Christians of the Moluccas, also describes the state of the Spanish

³⁰³ "Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 17-12-1661" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

³⁰⁴ "Confirmación de encomienda de Baratao. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baratao en Pangasinan a Alonso Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 16-06-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.12

"Confirmación de encomienda de Paracale, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Paracale y Capalonga en Camarines a Alonso Velázquez de la Cadena. Resuelto. [ff] 12-02-1677" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.13

"Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Cuyo y Calamianes a Lorenzo Vázquez Coronado. Resuelto[ff] 27-11-1681" AGI: Filipinas,55,N.3

"Fr. Miguel de Pareja to governor Manuel de Leon. Manila, 25 enero 1671" Document n° 215 in: Jacobs, "Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682" 660

³⁰⁵ According to reports in the "Generale Missiven" vol. III, 30 January 1662, 384

³⁰⁶ "Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto[ff]. 08-06-1695" AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3

Memorial of the ensign Juan de Origuey (Manila, 20 September 1673) (sheets 18-20) in: "Confirmación de encomienda de Batangas. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batangas en Balayan a Lorenzo de Zuleta. Resuelto. [ff] 03-04-1677" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.14

fortifications, some years after their abandonment. This document among others informs us that the state of the fort that the Spaniards called '*Cubo*' is so altered that there is no memory of it. In his description of the state of the forts abandoned by the Spanish at Tidore and Ternate, Pareja is much more catastrophic than the reports drawn up by the Dutch in the same years.³⁰⁷

Captains of San Joseph de Chovo	
Juan de Heredia Ormastegui	1643
Pedro de Figueroa Pardo ³⁰⁸	c.1643
Diego de Cardenas ³⁰⁹	c.1660

³⁰⁷ “Fr. Miguel de Pareja to governor Manuel de Leon. Manila, 25 enero 1671” Document n° 215 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 660 and also note 5

³⁰⁸ He had arrived in the Philippines in 1640, served for a couple of years in Ternate between 1641 and 1642, subsequently, he was allowed to return to the Philippines and embarked together with the 'licenciado' don Diego de la Rassa on the galleon 'San Juan Bautista'. He left his company in Ternate to Captain Don Francisco Çeron.

He then served in Manila, but having received news that the Dutch were going to besiege Ternate with 10 ships, he volunteered for the relief with which the governor Lorenzo de Olaso was going (1643). Once in Ternate he was given command of the fort of San Joseph del Chouo 'frontera de la de Malayo'. He then had leave to return to Manila and embarked with the 'captain' ship at the expense of General Juan de Chaves.

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Manuel Noroña y Olivera. Resuelto. [ff] 13-11-1666*” AGI: Filipinas,53,N.2

³⁰⁹ He was head of the fortress of 'San Joseph de Chovo' and since relief did not arrive due to the loss of the galleon 'Nuestra señora de la Vitoria' (relief of 1660) he committed his possessions to rescue the troops of the garrison with food and ammunition. He then moved on to serve in the Philippines.

"Memorial of Diego de Cardenas" (Manila, August 31, 1673) (sheets 17-20) in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Baratao. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baratao en Pangasinan a Alonso Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 16-06-1676*” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.12

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Paracale, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Paracale y Capalonga en Camarines a Alonso Velázquez de la Cadena. Resuelto. [ff] 12-02-1677*” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.13

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Cuyo y Calamianes a Lorenzo Vázquez Coronado. Resuelto[ff] 27-11-1681*” AGI: Filipinas,55,N.3

6.4 – RUME

Spanish: **Rume, Rum, Rumen**³¹⁰, **El Rume, San Lucas de el Rume, San Lucas del Rumen**³¹¹: (Current name: Rum)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: November 1618-May/June 1663

Dutch: **Roemy**³¹², **Roumy**³¹³, **Romi**³¹⁴, **Roumi**³¹⁵, **Roemij**³¹⁶, **Roumij**³¹⁷, **Roemi, Romy**³¹⁸

A mention of the port of Rume was already made in 1585 in the report of the friar Cristoval Salvatierra: ‘...*el armada de los españoles que estaua junto a la tierra de Terrenate, entre ella y la isla de Tidore donde con otro yslotillo questaua entre medias haze muy buen puerto esta a la vista de la fortaleza de Terrenate y dos leguas de la de Tidore llamase este puerto el Rume*’.³¹⁹

The place where the Spaniards built the Rume fort was located in the north-western part of the island opposite the island of Maitara and dominated the narrow channel between Tidore and Ternate, furthermore here was the best port³²⁰ on the island of Tidore where boats often Europeans stopped.

In November 1618, the Spaniards, led by the governor of Ternate Lucas Vergara Gabiria built a fort which was called San Lucas de el Rume in honor of the governor.³²¹ To inform us in detail of the events that led to the construction of the fort is an eyewitness, the Franciscan friar Gregorio de S. Esteban.

The fort of Rume was built following a letter from the king of Tidore sent to the governor Vergara and delivered to the same governor by the prince of Tidore Cachil Naro, in which the king asked the Spaniards to build a Spanish fortress in a place, next to the Dutch fort of Marisco (Marieko), where the Portuguese had already established themselves ‘*que construyera una fortaleza en un lugar próximo á la*

³¹⁰ “Fr. Miguel de Pareja to governor Manuel de Leon. Manila, 25 enero 1671” Document n° 215 in: Jacobs, H. “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 660

³¹¹ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 17-12-1661*” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

³¹² “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. II, 135

³¹³ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. II, 259

³¹⁴ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 58

³¹⁵ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 59

³¹⁶ “*Bouwstoffen*” vol. III, 146, 386.

³¹⁷ “*Dagh-Register, anno 1631-1634*” 347

³¹⁸ “*Dagh-Register, anno 1664*” 3, 20, 286, 389.

³¹⁹ “*Relación de Cristóbal de Salvatierra: jornada del Maluco. Terrenate, abril de 1585*” AGI: Patronato,46,R.20

³²⁰ ‘... nuestro puerto llamado el rume ...’ “*Meritos: Pedro Fernández del Rio, 1647*” AGI: Indiferente,113,N.50 testimony of Captain Francisco Perez Nabarro, ‘*piloto mayor*’.

³²¹ “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 412 note 3

fuerza de los holandeses de Marisco, donde ya habían estado establecidos los portugueses’, in order to encircle the Dutch (who had their fort in Marieko) and to prevent them from harvesting cloves which were produced in abundance in that area of the island.

Vergara at the head of 150 Spaniards and many Indian soldiers and accompanied by Cachil Naro and two Franciscans, Fr. Pedro de los Cobos and Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban, on November 23, 1618, founded the fort of S. Lucas de el Rume, the fort was built on a high place, where Dutch artillery shots could not reach. In fact, during the construction of the fort, the Dutch attempted an attack against the Spaniards, which however had no practical result precisely because of the dominant position of the place chosen by the Spaniards for the construction of the fort. The fort was named San Lucas in honor of the governor who founded it: Lucas de Vergara.³²²

Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban also leaves us an interesting description of the Spanish and Dutch forts present in recent years on the arm of the sea between the islands of Ternate and Tidore: *‘Es Terrenate un volcan redondo; el pueblo y ciudad de Terrenate está á la banda de el sur, Tacome á la banda del norte, Malayo á la banda del este, y costeando hacia el sur, está el puerto que llaman de Talangamé, y un poco más adelante está el puerto que tratamos de Calomata, y un poco más adelante nuestra fuerza de Dongil. De la otra banda está la isla de Tidore, que tambien es un volcan redondo y alto, pero tiene hacia la parte del norte, que cae hacia Malayo, una grande falda con unos mogotes grandes, y enesta parte está nuestro fuerte de S. Lucas, suerte que están mirando S. Lucas y Calomata, pero está la mar en medio, y es la travesia de una isla á otra, la más corta, un tiro de cañon, aunque las fuerzas están muy desviadas. Junto á la isla de Tidore y cerca de S. Lucas está otra isla pequeña, que se llama Meytara, de suerte que está en medio de Tidore y de Terrenate, pero mas llegada á la isla de Tidore que de Terrenate, y así hace dos brazos de mar, el uno más estrecho que el otro, fondeables; el uno le guarda nuestra fuerza de Dongil y el otro le guarda el fuerte de S. Lucas; pues para estorbar nuestras embarcaciones que no fuesen á S. Lucas, tomaron el puerto de Calomata, que tambien alcanza con su artilleria á la isla de Meytara. El otro brazo de hacia Tidore, tambien lo guarda la fuerza de Marisco que está alli junto’*³²³

³²² Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. “*Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes*” In: “*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*” VII (1914) 430 which cites the manuscript of Br. Gregorio de S. Esteban, who was present at the foundation of the fort. Unfortunately I was not able to consult or have a copy of this manuscript, which is kept in the Franciscan Ibero-Oriental Archive of Madrid and which seems to be in very bad conditions of conservation, from what I have been able to know in this archive there seem to be very interesting documents which they could shed new light on the obscure and little-studied history of the Spanish presence in the Moluccas.

³²³ Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. “*Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes*” In: “*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*” VII (1914) 430-431 note 4 where this passage from the manuscript of Fr. Gregorio de S. Esteban is transcribed.

The fort of Rum is represented in an interesting sketch of the west coast of Tidore, preserved in the University Library of Leiden, and drawn by an anonymous Dutch soldier or sailor. In it the Spanish fort of Rum is called Rúmo. The fort, which from the representation appears to be a small fort or a casemate, is located high on a hill near the sea, it is covered by a gabled roof and has a square shape. On the south side outside the fortification stands the Spanish flag (this is the characteristic flag with the Burgundy cross, used by Spanish infantry troops in the 16th-17th centuries). There are a few lines of description next to the fort with the following sentence: '*Rúmo. Hier hadde den Spaignard @j621 een cleyne vastich.t*', i.e. 'The Spanish had a small fortification here in 1621'.³²⁴

Some other Spanish documents deal extensively with this fort citing soldiers or captains who had served in the fort: Vergara himself describes Rume as a fortification located in the vicinity of Marieco: '*...fuerza del Rumē sercana a la del enemigo Olandes y Terrenate de Marieco ...*', Vergara, sent Rodrigo de Mesa to garrison the Rume fort, with the position of governor of the company of the captain and sergeant major Alonso Martin Quirante. Rodrigo de Mesa was probably one of the first to have command of this fort.³²⁵ The ensign Pedro de Mora Salcedo, around 1621, served with his company '*enlas fuerças del Rume*' (which suggests the existence of two forts), then since his captain (perhaps Francisco Ximenes) had been in charge of to travel to the city of Tidore, Pedro de Mora Salcedo was temporarily given charge of the fort.³²⁶ Around 1625-1626 the captain Esteban de Somoza y Losada was appointed head of the forts of the '*Rrume*' where he remained for a few months.³²⁷

Other interesting information on the Rume fort and a cross-section of the events that concerned the life of the fort are present in various other documents: on 23 August 1632, Pedro de Heredia, who had had a sight conversation with the king of Tidore, had been informed by the king of the intention of the Dutch to attack the fort of Rume, Heredia, informed of this Alonso Serrano, who was in garrison and head of the fort of Rume with most of his company. Since there were three posts to watch and garrison at the Rume (evidently the two platforms and the fort at the top), Heredia sent another 20 soldiers commanded by Captain Andres de Azcueta Menchaca to garrison the fort and its platforms.

³²⁴ "*Tidor en Mitarra, 2 kleine eil. Ten Z. van Ternate, ten W. van Gilolo op Halmahera*" Leiden University Library, The Netherlands: "*Collectie Bodel Nijenhuis*" P. 314-I-n° 99. My thanks to Walter Hellebrand for alerting me to the existence of this important document.

³²⁵ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Ayumbon, etc. Rodrigo de Mesa, [c] 02-07-1633*" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.64 Statement by Lucas Vergara Gaviria.

³²⁶ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639*" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

³²⁷ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Guimbal. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Guimbal en Oton a Esteban de Somoza y Losada. Resuelto. [ff] 02-02-1651*" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.20

The command of the fort remained in the hands of Alonso Serrano, Azcueta with his soldiers had to garrison one of the platforms. Subsequently, a letter from the king of Tidore informed Heredia of the risk of possible rebellion by the Tidorese, for which the forts of Tidore and Rume were put on alarm (on 17 September 1632), and it was ordered not to admit anyone '*moro*' inside the Spanish forts.

On October 18, 1632, an order from Heredia informed Alonso Serrano that if any boat of '*mori*' arrived with a white flag to negotiate they were to be captured or killed, because they were enemies. It seems that an '*indio*' from Rume had made an agreement with the enemies to betray the Spaniards. In the paper dated November 18, 1632, it seems to read between the lines that Pedro de Heredia also suspected the treachery of the king of Tidore.

In fact, the king of Tidore wanted to withdraw some of the 70 Tidorese soldiers present in Rume, but Pedro de Heredia ordered Serrano to keep at least 40 Tidorese in the garrison, because he suspected that the king wanted to weaken the Spanish defenses. In case of attack Heredia advised Serrano to keep the '*Jacalos*' under the high fort ('*da ariua*') and the platform below so that the Spaniards would have nothing to fear.

To divert the enemy Heredia intended to carry out a diversionary maneuver (perhaps in Ternate?), for the purpose he needed Serrano to send him the '*guilalo*' (a type of boat?) as armed as possible with some pampangos and 10 soldiers of the bravest on board, what Heredia wanted to do he does not say because he feared leaks, he informs Serrano (head of the forces of Rumen), that only he and the one who will have to command the troops knew the plans of the attack.

A new paper by Pedro de Heredia dated December 5, 1632 informed Serrano that Heredia had the intention of bringing the number of soldiers garrisoning the Rume fort back to 40 men as it was in the past. From this document it appears that the danger had passed.

Another paper dated December 11, 1632, presents us with an inverted situation, in fact Heredia had received information from a wounded '*moro Rumen*', who had fled from the Spaniards three months earlier and who had passed over to the enemies, but who had been captured again by the Spanish, that the king don Pedro (the sultan of Ternate Cachil Hamja, called by the Spanish don Pedro de Acuña) had the intention of capturing the fort of the Rumen, moreover it seems that he wanted to fortify Tacome.

Pedro de Heredia suspected that the enemy wanted to attack the Rume by way of Chouo, for from there it was an easy path that led to the Rumen, which was located only a quarter of a league away from Chovo. Orders were to post more sentries (half a dozen) on the side from which the enemy was expected to arrive.

Interesting is the Heredia paper of December 15, 1632, which informs us that the garrison of the Rumen forces were, included Alonso Serrano, 71 Spaniards, furthermore another 21 soldiers were subsequently sent from Ternate which brought the total of the garrison to 92 Spaniards, in addition, another gunner was sent in the brigantine that had brought the message. Thanks to the prevention made by Alonso Serrano, Heredia thought that neither the Dutch nor the Ternese had dared to attempt to land troops, but otherwise he judged the fort well defended. For that night Heredia ordered the '*Indians*' of the village of Rume to be kept inside the fort as well. During the following night, however, Heredia ordered the sentries to be doubled, and if the ship and the enemy caracoras did not take any action by the following morning, the brigantine was to be sent to Ternate so that the remaining troops could be sent the next day to the Rume, so that in the garrison of the Rume there were many more than the 40 soldiers who normally garrisoned the place.³²⁸

In 1643, Lope de Colindres, being a soldier in the company of the master of the field don Lorenzo de Olaso, embarked with him for Ternate, where he was in charge of the fort of San Lucas del Rumen.³²⁹ In the same period Juan Camacho de la Peña was commissioned to take care of the fortification works of the '*fuerça de Chouo*' and the arrangement of the port of Rume.³³⁰ Both posts were put into a state of defence. Around 1650, Captain Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta was sent by order of Governor Pedro Fernandez del Rio to the forts of San Lucas del Rumen and Chobo.³³¹

From the reading of some documents it is evident that the fortifications of Rume consisted of two distinct defensive works, one located at the level of the beach and the other above the hill overlooking the port and the canal between Tidore and Ternate. Pedro Bravo de Acuña, for example, after having been, in the years 1627 and 1628, head of the infantry of one of the galleys. He later became head of one of the two platforms of the port of Rumen.³³² In the years 1653-1654, under the government of Francisco de Esteybar, the Spaniards rebuilt the '*rretirada*' of the fort

³²⁸ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina a Alonso Serrano. Resuelto. [f] 19-09-1638*” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.25

³²⁹ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Tulaque en Cagayan a Lope de Colindres. Resuelto, [f] 24-04-1649*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.2

³³⁰ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Bagatayan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bagatayan, Pajo y Liloan en Cebu, Bislig y Catel en Caraga a Juan Camacho de la Peña. Resuelto. [f] 09-10-1653*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.40

³³¹ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [f] 19-06-1659*” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.1

³³² “*Meritos: Pedro Bravo de Acuña. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Pedro Bravo de Acuña, Capitán, sirvió en Filipinas, Armada, La Habana y San Antonio de Gibraltar. [c] 07-03-1660*” AGI: Indiferente,118,N.65

of San Lucas del Rumen (i.e. the topmost fortification), having been of '*madera vieja y podrida*' they rebuilt it of '*cal y canto*', this operation made very difficult also due to the conformation of the land on which the fortification was located and the steep slope.³³³

The importance of the port of Rume is also highlighted in a series of documents dated between June and July 1650 and signed by the governor Francisco de Esteybar. The governor speak of the works to 'aderejar' the galley, and where Esteybar informs us that such works would have been done in the port of Rumen.

The galley probably had a leak and the Spaniards were repairing it. The king of Tidore was also to come to visit the works on the galley, in a note in response to a request from Miguel de Guinea on how to behave upon the king's arrival, Esteybar informed him that when the king's boat was sighted three salvos of artillery was to be fired from Chovo's fort and later also from his galley.

Two rafts were built for the transport of the '*monara*' which was in Don Xil and which had to be transported to the Rume where the galley was anchored. For dragging the rafts, the Spaniards thought of using two '*barcos*'. Esteybar absolutely forbade the galley to leave said port to drag the rafts. It was also forbidden for the galley crew to collect the '*monaras*'. Captain Melchor took charge of transporting the '*monara*', collected on two rafts.

In the opinion of Diego Rodriguez however, in this period, it was better to use the port of Chovo where the galley was safer and where the crew could subsist on papaya and other local fruit (this information is interesting because it eliminates any doubt that Rume and Chobo could be the same fortifications). The advice of Diego Rodriguez was evidently followed and the galley was moved to the port of Chovo where the works were started, in fact, subsequently, Esteybar expressed his concern for the galley, since the wind had changed and the season had been bad. Esteybar wondered if it wasn't the case to move the galley from the port where it was (Chobo?) to the Rumen.³³⁴

The Spanish troops will occupy the fort continuously from its foundation until the abandonment of their garrisons in the Moluccas. In 1663, when they left, the fort was only partially dismantled. And it is the last one that the Spaniards abandoned, in fact its port was used as a gathering point for Spanish boats after the city of Ternate and the other garrisons were destroyed and set on fire. In accordance with the orders of

³³³ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 1661-12-17*” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

³³⁴ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [ff] 09-12-1655*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.52

Manrique de Lara, the dismantling of the Spanish forts had to follow a precise criterion which was to transport all the material (ammunition, artillery, etc.) removed from the dismantled forts “*alas fuerzas del Rumen*”³³⁵ in the island of Tidore, which was to be the last place to be demolished, because it was here that was the most important and safest port in the hands of the Spaniards.³³⁶ From the correspondence between Atienza and the Dutch governor of Ternate, Antonio Van Voort, it is clear that the Spaniards abandoned the city of Ternate on May 29, 1663, moving to Rume from where they wrote several letters dated May 30, 1663. Therefore it seems plausible that among the last day of May and the first days of June 1663, the last Spanish troops left the island of Tidore. According to what Jacobs reports, on June 2, 1663, the Spanish abandoned the forts of the Moluccas, to concentrate all their forces on the defense of Manila. It was the last episode of a relationship that began 142 years earlier with the arrival in Tidore of Magellan's expedition on November 8, 1521.³³⁷

Soon after the Spanish departure, the king of Tidore occupied the forts on his own island which the Spanish had abandoned and attempted to destroy. A contingent of 40-50 soldiers of the king occupied the fort of Rum (Romi) at the time when the Spanish were leaving. On 18 June at the invitation of the king of Tidore, the Dutch commander visited the Spanish fort of Rum (Romy) together with the king, finding it in excellent condition, only the staircase and the balconies of the upper fort had been destroyed, some buildings had been filled with wood by the Spaniards with the clear intention of burning everything before leaving, but something or someone (probably the Tidorese) had prevented them from carrying out their plans. According to the Dutch report, the fort of Rum (Romy) consisted of a fortification at the level of the beach called “*the platform*” which continued upwards in a triangular shape, completing this structure were three small redoubts. Even the upper fort was in good condition and kept its walls intact, on the side facing the sea there was also an iron cannon.³³⁸

The report of Father Miguel de Pareja, dated 1670, describes in a catastrophic way the state of the fort of 'Rumen' of which, according to his testimony, not a single stone remains, all transported to Ternate to be used in the fortification works of the Dutch. Pareja even states that even the place where the fort was located is, even to the most

³³⁵ Also this mention of the '*fuerzas del Rumen*', later confirmed by some Dutch and Spanish reports, indicates the presence of more fortifications in Rume.

³³⁶ “Manrique de Lara al gobernador de las fuerzas de Terrenate, 9-12-1662” AGI: Filipinas,9,R.2,N.34

³³⁷ “Fr. Diego de Esquivel certificación. Rume, 30 mayo 1663” Document n° 199 in: Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 617-622 and also note 1

Jacobs, “*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*” 2*

³³⁸ “*Dagh-Register, 1663*” 395-396, 531-532

practical, unknown. As we have seen, the reports drawn up by the Dutch in the same years inform us that a large part of the fort is still intact.³³⁹

One of the few "recent" descriptions of the Rume fort is the description that Van de Wall gives us in his book *"De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken"* where however several inaccuracies are reported: the fort was located on a hill above the beach in the eastern part of the island (this is certainly an error, in fact Rum was in the north-western part, to corroborate this hypothesis, is the fact that a few lines further on Van de Wall tells us that the cannons of the fort covered the strait between Tidore and Malayo). The bay where the fort was located was undoubtedly the best port on the island. The fort was square in shape and was armed, in 1627, with 4 cannons. Under the fort, on the beach, a crescent was built where 5 cannons were mounted to protect both the ships moored in the port and the sea strait between Tidore and Malayo.

According to Van de Wall, the fort was built by the Portuguese and conquered by the Dutch in 1605 (to date, in the documents I have consulted, I have not found any mention of a Portuguese fort in Rum, it seems that van de Wall confuses (as indeed also does Valentijn) the fort of Rum with the fort of the Portuguese which was instead located near Soasiu and which in 1605 was conquered by the Dutch), then it was occupied by the Spanish to be occupied again by the Dutch at the time of the evacuation of the Spanish troops from the Moluccas (instead from the '*Dagh-Register*' 1663, it appears that the fort was occupied immediately after the departure of the Spaniards by troops of the king of Tidore). At the time Van de Wall writes (c. 1920), part of the half-moon structure on the beach was still standing as was the powder store.³⁴⁰

As regards the current situation of the ruins of the fort of Rum, it is difficult to get first-hand information, I have repeatedly tried to contact public offices both in Ternate and in Tidore but I have never received answers to my requests on the matter, the current (2005) situation of instability in the Moluccas has for the moment prevented me from carrying out an inspection on site which would be quite interesting. Only a small mention of a fort near Rum is made by the Lonely Planet's "Indonesia" guide.³⁴¹ Even the Periplus guide "Maluku" makes little mention of this fort which is described as a low-walled, infested with creepers fort just north of Rum anchorage.³⁴² Finally, it seems that the entrance to the Rum fort was destroyed during

³³⁹ "Fr. Miguel de Pareja to governor Manuel de Leon. Manila, 25 enero 1671" Documento n° 215 in: Jacobs, "*Documenta Malucensia III, 1606-1682*" 660 and also note 4

³⁴⁰ Van de Wall "*De Nederlandsche oudheden in de Molukken*" 268-269

³⁴¹ Various authors "*Indonesia, a travel survival kit*" (1990, Hawthorn) 780

³⁴² Muller, K. "*Maluku*" (1997, Singapore) 115

the construction of the new road.³⁴³ The state of abandonment in which these last remnants of the Spanish presence on the island of Tidore find themselves suggests that if nothing is done to preserve them within a few years, even the memory of these last vestiges of that fascinating period will be lost, making current the words of Father Miguel de Pareja.

According to the information collected on the island of Tidore, only the remains of the forts of Tohula and Rum (and perhaps that of Chovo, but it would be interesting to explore the subject further) resist the passage of time and human neglect.

³⁴³ Labrousse “*Ternate et Tidore. Notes de voyage*” In: “*Archipel n° 39*” (1990, Paris) 46

Captains of San Lucas del Rume	
Rodrigo de Mesa ³⁴⁴ , captain	c.1619
Francisco Ximenes ³⁴⁵ , captain	c.1620
Pedro de Mora Salcedo ³⁴⁶ , ensign (interim)	c.1621
Pedro (Xaraquemada) Jaraquemada ³⁴⁷ , captain	18 April 1625-29 (or 27) June 1625
Juan Garcia, captain	29 (o 27) June 1625
Esteban de Somoza y Losada ³⁴⁸ , captain	1625 ?-1626 ?
Francisco de Alfaro ³⁴⁹	(between 1630 and 1635)
Alonso Serrano ³⁵⁰ , captain	1632
Agustín Cepeda ³⁵¹ , captain	In the years between 1635 and 1639
Francisco de Zuniga ³⁵² , captain	c.1639 c.1640
Manuel Correa ³⁵³	c.1640

³⁴⁴ Vergara, sent Rodrigo de Mesa to garrison the Rume fort, with the position of governor of the company of the captain and sergeant major Alonso Martín Quirante. Rodrigo de Mesa was probably one of the first to have command of this fort. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Ayumbon, etc. Rodrigo de Mesa, [c] 02-07-1633*” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.64 Declaration of Lucas Vergara Gaviria.

³⁴⁵ He arrived in Ternate around 1620 and replaced Captain Pedro Martínez Cid in command of his company. He was chief of the forts of Rum and Tomanira ‘*unas y otras proximas ala que el enemigo tenia en la ysla de Tidore en el lugar de Marieco*’ then having been Francisco Ximenes in charge of going to the city of Tidore, he left the command of the fort to the ensign Pedro de Mora Salcedo.

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639*” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639*” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

³⁴⁶ The ensign Pedro de Mora Salcedo, in February 1620 is in the company of Captain Francisco Ximenes. On 22 January 1621 (enrolled in Ternate on 20 April 1621) he was promoted ‘*entretenido*’ (one of the 4 ‘*entrenamientos*’ which were granted in Ternate to reformed ensigns) by Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, a position he held until 19 May 1622. He served with his company ‘*en las fuerças del Rume*’ (and also Tomanira), then having been his captain (Francisco Ximenes) in charge of going to the city of Tidore, he left him the command of the fort. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639*” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

³⁴⁷ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Sogod, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sogod y Cabalian en Leyte y Ginatilan en Cebu a Ana Jaraquemada. Resuelto. [ff] 27-04-1649*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.4

³⁴⁸ Around 1625-1626, Captain Esteban de Somoza y Losada was appointed head of the forts of the ‘Rume’ where he remained for a few months. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Guimbal. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Guimbal en Oton a Esteban de Somoza y Losada. Resuelto. [ff] 02-02-1651*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.20

³⁴⁹ In 1630 he was ensign in Ternate. He was then appointed head of the forts of San Lucas del Rume and Santiago de los Caualleros de Tidore. In 1634 he obtained the license for Manila. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Bito, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bito, Binca, Manliron y Malaguicay en las provincias de Leyte, Samar e Ibabao (Samar) a Francisco de Alfaro. Resuelto. [ff] 22-08-1654*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.45

³⁵⁰ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina a Alonso Serrano. Resuelto. [ff] 19-09-1638*” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.25

³⁵¹ “*Meritos: Agustín Cepeda. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Agustín Cepeda, Gobernador de la gente de guerra de la fuerza de san Sebastián en la isla de Mindanao. Observaciones: Ampliada hasta 1667-03-10. [c] 01-07-1652*” AGI: Indiferente,121,N.89

³⁵² “*Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Manuel Correa. Resuelto. [ff] 28-11-1661*” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.12

³⁵³ Manuel Correa, who was serving with his company at the fort of San Lucas del Rume, where Captain Francisco de Zuniga was in charge, was promoted to chief of the fort when Zuniga was recalled to Ternate for other duties. Manuel Correa remained in charge of the Rume fort until he was promoted to adjutant to the sergeant major. On April 3, 1640 he was appointed by the governor Francisco Suarez de Figueroa, in place of the adjutant Juan Cerrano de Aguilera, adjutant to the sergeant major. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Manuel Correa. Resuelto.*

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Francisco Gutierrez (Gutierrez) ³⁵⁴	Between 1630 and 1652
Lope de Colindres ³⁵⁵	c.1643
Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta ³⁵⁶ , captain	c.1650
Francisco de Recabarren ³⁵⁷ , captain	?-April 1656
Juan García ³⁵⁸ , ensign (interim)	April 1656-18 April 1656
Pedro de la Mota ³⁵⁹ , adjutant	18 April 1656-
Juan de Herrera ³⁶⁰ , captain	?- 28 April 1661
Antonio de Ortega ³⁶¹ , captain	28 April 1661-1 July
Hernando de Soto Cauezon ³⁶² , Sergeant major	1 July 1661-?
Nicolás Jurado ³⁶³ , captain	4 April 1662-23 April 1662

[ff] 28-11-1661” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.12

³⁵⁴ In 1653 he had served the king for 22 years, of which 13 years in Ternate. Where he served as chief of the galley twice, he was then chief of the forts of Calomata, Don Xil, Chouo, Rume (*‘su plataforma y rochela’*).

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [ff] 09-12-1655*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.52

³⁵⁵ In 1643, Lope de Colindres, being a soldier in the company of the master of the field don Lorenzo de Olasso, embarked with him for Ternate, where he was in charge of the fort of San Lucas del Rumen. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Tulaque en Cagayan a Lope de Colindres. Resuelto, [ff] 24-04-1649*” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.2

³⁵⁶ Around 1650, Captain Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta was sent by order of Governor Pedro Fernandez del Rio to the forts of San Lucas del Rumen and Chobo.

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc. Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [ff] 19-06-1659*” AGI: Filipinas,51,N.1

³⁵⁷ In April 1656, Captain Francisco de Recabarren was the head of the fort of San Lucas del Rume, but being seriously ill, he had to leave the command of the fort to the ensign Juan García to go to Ternate, where Recabarren then died (before of May 25, 1656).

“*Order of Francisco de Esteybar*” (Terrenate, 18 abril 1656) (sheet 14) in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Quinagon. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Quinagon en Leyte a Juan García. Resuelto[ff]. 17-04-1692*” AGI: Filipinas,57,N.7

³⁵⁸ In April 1656 we find him garrisoning the fort of San Lucas del Rume with the company of Captain Francisco de Recabarren, who was the head of the fort, but who, being seriously ill, had to leave the command of the fort to the ensign Juan García, to go to Ternate, where Recabarren then died (before May 25, 1656). On April 18, 1656, Juan García received the order to leave the fort in the hands of the adjutant Pedro de la Mota. In the fort of Rume, Juan García, also worked on the fortifications.

“*Order of Francisco de Esteybar*” (Terrenate, 18 abril 1656) (sheet 14) in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Quinagon. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Quinagon en Leyte a Juan García. Resuelto[ff]. 17-04-1692*” AGI: Filipinas,57,N.7

³⁵⁹ “*Order of Francisco de Esteybar*” (Terrenate, 18 abril 1656) (sheet 14) in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Quinagon. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Quinagon en Leyte a Juan García. Resuelto[ff]. 17-04-1692*” AGI: Filipinas,57,N.7

³⁶⁰ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Silan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Silan e Indan en Tondo a Antonio de Ortega. Resuelto. [ff] 29-08-1690*” AGI: Filipinas,56,N.10

³⁶¹ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Silan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Silan e Indan en Tondo a Antonio de Ortega. Resuelto. [ff] 29-08-1690*” AGI: Filipinas,56,N.10

³⁶² “*Confirmación de encomienda de Silan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Silan e Indan en Tondo a Antonio de Ortega. Resuelto. [ff] 29-08-1690*” AGI: Filipinas,56,N.10

³⁶³ On April 4, 1662 he was appointed by the governor Agustín de Cepeda head of Rume, a position he held until April 23, 1662, he left the command of the fort to the adjutant Felipe (y Ay ?), the latter was to remain in charge of the fort until had not arrived the captain don Diego de Vluiarri who was in charge of the fort of San Miguel on the island of Puli Cauallo and who had been promoted to head of the fort of Rume. He returned to Manila on June 30, 1662. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Tagui, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tugui (sic por Tagui) por otro nombre Masinloc, Sigayan, Ala Alan, Buquil, Bolinao y Agno en Pangasinan a Nicolás Jurado. Resuelto. [ff] 28-04-1676*” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.3

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Phelipe Yay ³⁶⁴ , adjutant (interim)	23 April 1662-
Diego de (Vluiarri ?) ³⁶⁵ , captain	1662 ?

³⁶⁴ “Confirmación de encomienda de Tagui, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tugui (sic por Tagui) por otro nombre Masinloc, Sigayan, Ala Alan, Buquil, Bolinao y Agno en Pangasinan a Nicolás Jurado. Resuelto. [ff] 28-04-1676” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.3

³⁶⁵ “Confirmación de encomienda de Tagui, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tugui (sic por Tagui) por otro nombre Masinloc, Sigayan, Ala Alan, Buquil, Bolinao y Agno en Pangasinan a Nicolás Jurado. Resuelto. [ff] 28-04-1676” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.3

6.5 – PULI CABALLO

Spanish: **Puli Caballo: Sant Miguel de la isla de Puri Cauallo (Puli Cauallo)**

(Current name: Pulau Mare)

CHRONOLOGY: Spanish: c.1650 ?-1662 ?

Dutch: **Pottebackers Eyland**

The island in question is a small island located south of Tidore, according to what de Clercq tells us, the name Mare meant 'stone' both in Tidorese and in Ternatese, the island was renowned for its production of vases (hence derives the Dutch name of 'Pottebacker Eyland'), which were made with clay extracted from a hill located in the south-western part of the island. The only village on the island, called Mare, was located on the east coast.³⁶⁶ On the island of Puli Caballo, the Spanish maintained a fort during the last years of their presence. In some documents the name of the fort is also reported, which was that of '*Sant Miguel de la isla de Puli Cauallo*'.³⁶⁷

As for this fort, its foundation date is not certain, however, it is certain that in the years 1653 and 1654 Francisco de Estaybar rebuilt it.³⁶⁸ In 1654 the fort was garrisoned by 8 Spanish soldiers with a chief appointed by the governor of Ternate and 24 soldiers 'pampangos'.³⁶⁹ During the period of the Tidorese rebellion (1657-1658), this fort had to endure several sieges.

In 1657 the fortress, under siege, by sea and land by the Dutch, Ternese and Tidorese rebels, was rescued with the galley 'capitana' by Sebastian de Villa Real (Villareal). Once the Spanish galley arrived in the vicinity of the island of Puli Cauallo, it was attacked by 18 boats of the rebels 'mori' and 2 'charruas' of the Dutch, the Spaniards still managed to bring relief to the fort, disembarking a troop of infantry that was attacked by the enemies but they were routed and retreated, the Spaniards thus managed to free the fort from the siege.³⁷⁰ Sebastian de Villa Real with the 'capitana' galley brought relief to the garrisons of Tidore and Puli Cauallo 4 times, during the

³⁶⁶ De Clercq F.S.A. "*Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate, 1890*" (Leiden, 1890) 76-78

³⁶⁷ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Tagui, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tugui (sic por Tagui) por otro nombre Masinloc, Sigayan, Ala Alan, Buquil, Bolinao y Agno en Pangasinan a Nicolás Jurado. Resuelto. [ff] 28-04-1676*" AGI: Filipinas, 54, N.3

"*Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Abucay y Samal en Pampanga a Diego Cortés. Resuelto. [ff] 12-05-1676*" AGI: Filipinas, 54, N.9 folio 93

³⁶⁸ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Abucay y Samal en Pampanga a Francisco de Esteybar. Resuelto. [ff] 17-12-1661*" AGI: Filipinas, 51, N.14

³⁶⁹ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Pedro Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 02-05-1676*" AGI: Filipinas, 54, N.6

³⁷⁰ "*Certification of the sergeant major don Sebastian de Villa Real*" (Manila, 20 September 1673) (sheets 18-21) in: "*Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto [ff]. 1695-06-08*" AGI: Filipinas, 58, N.3

period in which the '*mori*' had rebelled and had denied obedience to the king '*cachil Mole*', he rescued the garrisons of 'Rrumen, Chouo, Tidore y Puri Cauallo' with the galley with food and ammunition.

News of another siege of Puli Cauallo was reported in August 1658, when at a meeting of the '*Junta*' of Ternate (which took place on 12 August 1658) presided over by the governor Francisco de Esteybar, it was decided (with an order dated 13 August) to urgently send the '*capitana*' galley, which had been beached inside the barrier to careen it, and as many boats as possible loaded with soldiers, ammunition and artillery to help the fort of Puli Cauallo, because news had arrived that on Sunday 11 August had left from Malayo 10 '*caracoas*' and 2 enemy '*charruas*' with the aim of conquering the fort of Puli Cauallo.

Orders for the Villareals were to attack and destroy the enemy, doing all they could to relieve the fort. On this occasion the Spanish fleet consisted of the '*capitana*' galley and two '*caracoras*' and was led by sergeant major Felipe de Ugalde, while in command of the '*capitana*' galley was Sebastian de Villa Real (Villareal). The Spanish came within sight of the fort on August 15, 1658³⁷¹, when the enemy was assaulting the port with 2 '*charraul*' of 8 pieces each and 12 large '*caracoas*', the Spaniards managed to rout the ships and to make the enemies who had landed flee, freeing the fort from the siege.

It is interesting to note that in this document, a mention is made of the Spanish fort of '*Santa Isauel*' (probably a copyist's mistake for: San Miguel ?) of the island of Puli Cauallo and its '*rretirada*' and '*nuestra fuerza Santa Isauel y su rretirada en la ysla de Puli Cauallo*'. So this passage suggests the existence of two fortresses (as indeed in Rume and Chobo) whose names were perhaps '*Santa Isabel*' and '*San Miguel*'. On another occasion, Villareal collided off Tidore with 12 '*caracoas*' escorted by a Dutch ship, which '*salieron sobre Tomaloe a estoruarle*' to prevent the arrival of help at the fort of '*Puri Cauallo*', despite the attack also this time the Spanish managed to relieve the fort.³⁷²

In 1662, when most of the Spanish forts on the island of Tidore were abandoned, the garrison of the Puli Cauallo fort was also withdrawn. According to the testimony of Diego de Salazar, captain of the royal galleys of Ternate, the fortresses that the Spaniards had to demolish and the garrisons they withdrew in 1662 were those of

³⁷¹ In the document it is written 1659, but it is probably an error by the copyist for 1658, since all other testimonies always indicate the fact as having occurred in 1658.

³⁷² "*Confirmación de encomienda de Mambusao. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Mambusao en Panay a Sebastián de Villarreal. Resuelto. [ff] 19-05-1676*" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.11

Tidore Chouo and Puli Cauallo ‘... *me ordeno retirara las de Tidore Chouo, y Puli Cauallo ...*’.³⁷³

Captains of San Miguel de la isla de Puli Cauallo	
Diego de (Vluiarri?) ³⁷⁴	?-April/May 1662

³⁷³ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto*[ff. 08-06-1695” AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3
Memorial of the ensign Juan de Origuey (Manila, 20 September 1673) (sheets 18-20) in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Batangas. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Batangas en Balayan a Lorenzo de Zuleta. Resuelto. [ff] 03-04-1677*” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.14

³⁷⁴ In 1662, he was in charge of the fort of 'San Miguel' of 'Puli Cauallo', in April/May 1662 he was appointed head of the fort of Rume. “*Confirmación de encomienda de Tagui, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tugui (sic por Tagui) por otro nombre Masinloc, Sigayan, Ala Alan, Buquil, Bolinao y Agno en Pangasinan a Nicolás Jurado. Resuelto. [ff] 28-04-1676*” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.3

7 - CAPTAINS OF TIDORE (Fortress of Santiago de los Caballeros)

In Tidore resided a Spanish captain who commanded the garrisoned troops in the '*presidios*' of the island and who also had under his jurisdiction the garrisons of Payaye and Tafongo located on the island of Halmahera and during the period in which the Spanish maintained a redoubt there also the garrison of the island of Puli Cauallo. Starting in 1613 the captain who ruled Tidore had his residence in the fortress of Santiago de los Caballeros of Tidore. From the documents consulted we can highlight some of the names of these captains:

Pasqual de Alarcon Pacheco: April/May 1606-December 1606

Pasqual de Alarcon arrived in Ternate in 1606, where he participated in the conquest of the city with the troops of Pedro de Acuña. After the capture of Ternate, some secondary sources mention that 100 men were left to garrison the island of Tidore under the command of Captain Pasqual de Alarcón.³⁷⁵ In December 1606, Pasqual de Alarcon Pacheco had the command of an expedition to Jilolo, in which the king of Tidore and Pedro de Heredia also participated. During this expedition, the friar Antonio Flores informs us, Captain Alarcon was seriously wounded in the thigh from an enemy shot, due to this wound, after being taken to the '*san Rramon*' galley, he lost his life.³⁷⁶

Gregorio de Vidaña: c.1607-c.1608

Gregorio de Vidaña arrived in Ternate in 1606, where he participated in the conquest of the city with the troops of Pedro de Acuña with the task of ensign. In April 1607 he was promoted captain of infantry. In May 1607, Gregorio de Vidaña was the captain in the garrison of the island of Tidore. We find him at the head of Tidore also in May 1608, when Juan Martínez de Liedena was sent to Tidore together with Captain Heredia (who commanded the boats), with the '*socorro*' destined to Captain Gregorio de Vidaña who was in charge of Tidore. The '*socorro*' was made up of 60 Spaniards, of which 40 embarked on the '*caracoas*' and 30 on the galley. In Tidore in 1608 Vidaña defended the city from the Dutch attack.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁵ Montero y Vidal, José "*Historia general de Filipinas: desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta nuestros días, volume I*" (1887, Madrid) 151. The same information is also reproduced in: Pérez, Lorenzo O.F.M. "*Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes*" In: "*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*" VI (1913) 684. E in: Hanna, Willard A. & Des Alwi "*Turbolent times past in Ternate and Tidore*" (1990, Banda Naira) 132

³⁷⁶ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Cuyo en Calamianes a Juan Martínez de Liedena. Resuelto, [ff] 10-02-1623*" AGI: Filipinas,47,N.47

³⁷⁷ "*Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Cuyo en Calamianes a Juan Martínez de Liedena. Resuelto, [ff] 10-02-1623*" AGI: Filipinas,47,N.47

"*Confirmación de encomienda de Albay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Albay y Canaman en Camarines y Catanduanes, a Gregorio de Vidaña. Resuelto, [ff] 21-10-1620*" AGI: Filipinas,47,N.38

Francisco Salceda: c.1609-c.1610

Francisco Salceda, in October 1609 signed himself as captain '*a cuyo cargo está la fortaleza de Tidore*'.³⁷⁸ Already in April 1610 he no longer held this position, in fact he signed himself as captain of infantry to whom '*la ysla de Tidore y presidio de Tafongo e Payage*' had been charged, the declaration of Salceda is dated Ternate, 6 April 1610.³⁷⁹

Pedro de Avellaneda: c.1610 – August 1610

Pedro de Avellaneda, had the title of superior chief '*de la ysla y fuerzas de Tidore*'. Upon his death, with a document dated August 23, 1610, Azcueta appointed Pedro de Hermua in his place. The date of Avellaneda's death is to be positioned between August 6, 1610 and August 23, 1610. An interesting news of Avellaneda's bad condition is given in a document dated Terrenate, August 6, 1610, where Avellaneda declares the merits of Pedro Martinez Cid, his declaration was not signed by Avellaneda due to his serious health conditions. Probably the cause of Avellaneda's death is due to the wounds that the captain received following the clash with the Dutch which led to the second capture of the Dutch admiral Brancaerden.³⁸⁰

Pedro de Hermua: August 23, 1610 – 1611

Pedro de Hermua with a paper dated August 23, 1610 was appointed by Azcueta, replacing the deceased Pedro de Avellaneda, head of the forces of Tidore, Payaye and Tafongo. He remained in Tidore until the arrival of D. Juan de Silva in 1611. He Participated in the conquest of Sabugo in 1611 where he was wounded in the thigh by a musket shot and then returned to command the garrisons of Tidore probably until 1612.³⁸¹

Bartolomé Díaz Barrera: June 3, 1611 - July 16, 1611

He was appointed on June 3, 1611 in place of Pedro de Hermua who was convalescing in Ternate after suffering a thigh wound from a musket shot. However, Hermua quickly recovered, so much so that on 16 July 1611 he resumed his office.³⁸²

³⁷⁸ “*Confirmación de encomienda de San Salvador de Palo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Salvador de Palo, Sampoetan y Ormoc en Leyte a Hernando del Castillo. Resuelto, [ff] 11-08-1623*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.58 Vedi sua stessa dichiarazione datata Tidore, 1 ottobre 1609 in: “*Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Cuyo en Calamianes a Juan Martínez de Liedena. Resuelto, [ff] 1623-02-10*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.47

³⁷⁹ “*Confirmación de encomienda de San Salvador de Palo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Salvador de Palo, Sampoetan y Ormoc en Leyte a Hernando del Castillo. Resuelto, [ff] 11-08-1623*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.58

³⁸⁰ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc, 13-07-1619*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.28

“*Confirmación de encomienda de Canaman, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Canaman, Milavit, Camalingan, Bagtas y Daet en Camarines a Pedro Martínez Cid. Resuelto, [ff] 23-12-1624*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.72

³⁸¹ “*Confirmación de encomienda de Laglag, etc Pedro de Hermua, 13-07-1619*” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.28 See Geronimo de Silva's letter of January 1, 1614.

³⁸² “*Confirmación de encomienda de Burauen. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Burauen a Bartolomé Díaz Barrera. Resuelto. [ff] 18-01-1627*” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.13

Pedro de Hermua: July 16, 1611- c. 1612 (?)

Francisco de Bera (Vera) y Aragon: (?)

He was chief of the island and force of Tidore.³⁸³

Juan de Espinosa y Zayas: 1612

Governor Geronimo de Silva appointed, in 1612 (after March 1612 date of arrival of Geronimo de Silva and before December 1612), Juan de Espinosa y Zayas head of the garrisons of Tidore, Payaje, Marieco and the Portuguese fort.³⁸⁴ In December 1612, Juan de Espinosa Casas (Zayas), Spanish infantry captain, is captain of the forces of Tidore.³⁸⁵

Fernando Becerra: c. 1613, c.1614, c.1615, c.1616 (?)

In 1613 he was at Tidore and Saris in the account of his journey to the Moluccas mentions him as ‘*Don Fernand Byseere, the captain-general of Tidore*’.³⁸⁶ In 1614 Captain Fernando Becerra heads the Spanish forces stationed on the island of Tidore.³⁸⁷ In August 1615 he was in Tidore as captain.³⁸⁸ Still in October 1615 he was captain in Tidore.³⁸⁹ As of June 1616 he is still serving in Tidore as a captain.³⁹⁰

Esteban de Alcázar: 1613

The sergeant major Esteban de Alcázar was sent, in 1613 by Gerónimo de Silva to Tidore to prepare the defenses of the island against the Dutch and to advise the king and the prince. In some documents de Silva indicates, without giving his name, that Tidore was commanded by the sergeant major.³⁹¹

Juan de Azevedo: c.1613 (?)

³⁸³ “Confirmación de encomienda de Candaba, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Candaba y Arayat en Pampanga a Francisco de Vera y Aragón. Resuelto. [ff] 09-10-1630” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.44

³⁸⁴ “Carta di Fernando de Ayala, Terrenate, 1 maggio 1613” in “Confirmación de encomienda de Bongol, etc. Juan de Espinosa y Zayas. 10-10-1618” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.11

³⁸⁵ “Carta que le escribió á don Geronimo de Silva don Juan de Espinosa Casas, capitan de infanteria española, á cuyos cargos están las fuerzas de Tidore, Tidore, en 12 diciembre de 1612” In: Various authors “Correspondencia” 72

³⁸⁶ Kerr, Robert “A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. VIII.” Sec. XV. “Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1611, by Captain John Saris” Sec. 4. “The Voyage of Captain Saris, in the Clove, towards Japan, with Observations respecting the Dutch and Spaniards at the Molucca Islands”

³⁸⁷ “Carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á la Real Audiencia de Manila, Terrenate 15 de setiembre de 1614” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 250.

³⁸⁸ “Confirmación de encomienda de Ayumbon, etc. Rodrigo de Mesa [c] 02-07-1633” AGI: Filipinas,48,N.64

³⁸⁹ “Tanto de carta quel capitan don Fernando Becerra escribió á el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva, Tidore 29 de octubre de 1615” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 318-319.

³⁹⁰ “Tanto de carta que el señor gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el señor don Juan de Silva de comun acuerdo y cinsejo de los capitanes, desde Tidore 25 de junio de 1616” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 373-378.

³⁹¹ “Tanto de carta que el gobernador don Gerónimo de Silva escribió á el capitan don Juan de Espinosa y Zayas en 14 de agosto 1613 sobre que obedezca las órdenes de sus jefes, Terrenate 14 de agosto 1613” in: Various authors “Correspondencia” 161.

Juan de Azevedo, perhaps in 1613, was appointed head of the Spanish fortresses of Tidore and two other garrisons, during this assignment he saved a Spanish ship which arrived loaded with food from the Philippines and which had been attacked by the Dutch.³⁹²

Juan Gutierrez Paramo: 1613

According to this document, the sergeant major Juan Gutierrez Paramo was head of the island of Tidore at the time of the attack on Socanora, so in 1613.³⁹³

Juan de Espinosa y Zayas: c.1614

On 8 November 1614 he was at the head of the forts of Tidore.³⁹⁴

Gregorio Lopez: c.1617

In December 1617 he was the captain in charge of the fortresses of the island of Tidore.³⁹⁵

Juan de la Umbria: certainly in May 1618

In December 1616 he was sent by the Audiencia to Ternate, for the occasion he was appointed captain of an infantry company and head of the "*socorro*" sent to warn Geronimo de Silva of the death of Juan de Silva. He remained in Ternate at the head of an infantry company. During this period he served as captain of the presidios of Tidore and Tomanira, Xilolo, San Pedro y San Pablo. During the absence of the governor, Vergara (who often resided in Tidore), Juan de la Umbria took his place in the city of Ternate. In May 1618 he was chief of the forts of Tidore.³⁹⁶

Pedro Martinez Cid: c.1618- February 9, 1620

In 1617 he had Jilolo's force at his charge. He then became head of the fortress of Tomanira. He was appointed head of the fortress of Tidore, a position he held for a year and a half, maintaining order and good relations with the Tidorese and the king of Tidore. On February 19, 1620 he ceased his service as captain at Ternate, he must

³⁹² "Meritos, Juan de Acevedo 1625" AGI: Indiferente,111,N.56

"Parecer de la Audiencia sobre Esteban de Alcazar, 07-08-1615" AGI: Filipinas,20,R.9,N.57

"Confirmación de encomienda de Hagonoy, etc. Esteban de Alcazar. Manila, 21-10-1616" AGI: Filipinas,47,N.5

³⁹³ "Informaciones: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Pedro de la Fuente Urroz, capitán, vecino de Manila. Informaciones y poder. [f] 1632" AGI: Filipinas,61,N.12

³⁹⁴ "Confirmación de encomienda de Burauen. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Burauen a Bartolomé Díaz Barrera. Resuelto. [f] 18-01-1627" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.13

³⁹⁵ "Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [f] 12-08-1633" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67

³⁹⁶ "Confirmación de encomienda de Guisan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Guisan, Lantac, Adpili, Panglao, Masago, Panaon y Ormoc en Cebu en Leyte a Juan de Medina Bermudez. Resuelto, [f] 12-08-1633" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.67

have departed for Manila shortly after due to ill health.³⁹⁷ On August 27, 1618 he was in charge of the fort of Tidore where he promoted Pedro de Mora Salcedo to ensign of his company.³⁹⁸

Hernando del Castillo: 1620

Arrived in Ternate he was officially invested with his company on February 12, 1620 by the governor don Luis de Bracamonte. As soon as he arrived in Ternate he was appointed head of the island of Tidore (*'cabo de la isla y ciudad de Tidore' 'cauo dela dichas fuerzas delos vezinos y moradores de aquella ciudad'*) and placed as a garrison in the main fortress. He remained in Tidore in this position for eight months. He then had health problems, in fact in September 1620 a request must have been made to the governor of the Philippines Faxardo de Tença for *'dexacion'* because with his subsequent letter of January 1621, the governor authorized Hernando del Castillo to return to Manila for treatment, in his place Captain Juan Garcia Peleas (who was serving at Oton) was sent with the relief of 1621.³⁹⁹

Juan de Chaves: (?) (between 1617 and 1623)

Juan de Chaves, was in charge of the forts of Xilolo, Marieco and Tidore (these before April 1623). During his service in Tidore, Bracamonte tells us, Juan de Chaves always had a good relationship with the king and prince of Tidore. He probably served in 1619 as the head of the Tomanira fort. He had already been made captain by Lucas de Vergara Gaviria, June 27, 1617, and governed his own company until he was succeeded by Master Sergeant Pedro de Cuenca Montalbo. Then later Juan de Chaves returned to command his company where he served for more than 5 years. In these five years he was in charge of the forts of San Pedro y San Pablo and Santa Lucia, Xilolo (Hilolo), Tomanira (Tomanera), Marieco (Merieco) and Tidore (*'Santiago de los Caualleros en la ysla de Tidore'*) as well as that due to the absence of the governor he had the city of Ternate in his charge. In a summary it is said that he also had the Rume fort at his charge (which, however, was never affirmed in the testimonies reported). He was head of the fort of Marieco, a position he held until June 1623. In fact, there is an order from Heredia (dated 5 June 1623) in which Chaves is commanded to give to the captain don Gaspar de Enebro the command of the *"fuerza de Marieco"* together with the ammunition, artillery and infantry which

³⁹⁷ “Confirmación de encomienda de Canaman, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Canaman, Milavit, Camalingan, Bagtas y Daet en Camarines a Pedro Martínez Cid. Resuelto, [ff] 23-12-1624” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.72

³⁹⁸ “Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

³⁹⁹ “Confirmación de encomienda de San Salvador de Palo, etc.Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de San Salvador de Palo, Sampoetan y Ormoc en Leyte a Hernando del Castillo. Resuelto, [ff] 11-08-1623” AGI: Filipinas,47,N.58

“Meritos: Hernando del Castillo. Relación de Méritos y servicios del capitán Hernando del Castillo, vecino de Manila, [c] 1645 (SUP)” AGI: Indiferente,112,N.145

were in his charge. Chaves had been given leave to go to Manila due to his failing health.⁴⁰⁰

Francisco Ximénes (Ximenez): c.1622- May 1623

He arrived in Ternate with the new governor Bracamonte as head of one of the boats loaded with food and ammunition ('*el navio Rossario*') some boats of this rescue were captured by the Dutch, but not that of Ximenes, who arrived with his boat at Tidore. He was invested with this office on February 20, 1620. He was appointed head of the forts of Don Gil and of Santa Lucia di Calomata, both located within a musket shot of an enemy fort (Calomata), here he fortified the two garrisons. He was chief of the forts of Rum and Tomanira. He was then appointed head of the fortress of Santiago de los Caualleros '*da la ciudad de Tidore*' where he remained until the end of the government of Bracamonte (Pedro de Heredia when he came to govern Ternate found him in charge of the main fortress of the island of Tidore), doing an excellent job in a place where much tact was necessary to live among the Moors friends of the Spaniards, and where he assisted the king of Tidore. He made a '*dexacion*' and obtained a license to return to Manila from Faxardo de Tenza in February 1623, endorsed by Pedro de Heredia on May 22, 1623. In his place, on May 5, 1623, Captain Juan de Medina was appointed. He returned to Manila.⁴⁰¹

Pedro (Xaraquemada) Jaraquemada: September 1623 - December 17, 1623

He was in charge of the fort of Santiago de los Caualleros of Tidore from September 1623 until December 17, 1623. On December 17, 1623 he was ordered by Pedro de Heredia to hand over command of the fort to Captain Geronimo Alonso, the order being that once given the command of the fort to Xaraquemada he had to embark on the captain's galley and go to Ternate.⁴⁰²

Geronimo Alonso (Xaraquemada): December 17, 1623- c.1624⁴⁰³

Esteban de Somoza y Losada: c.1624-c.1625

⁴⁰⁰ "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Caraga a Juan de Chaves. Resuelto, [ff] 14-02-1631" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.49

⁴⁰¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Barugo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Barugo y Tambo en Cebu a Francisco Jiménez. Resuelto. [ff] 18-09-1630" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.36

"Confirmación de encomienda de Barugo, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Barugo y Tambo en Leyte a Francisco Jiménez. Resuelto. [ff] 07-09-1633" AGI: Filipinas,48,N.71

"Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque, Mandayat y Buguey en Cagayan a Pedro de Mora. Resuelto, [ff] 13-05-1639" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.31

⁴⁰² "Confirmación de encomienda de Sogod, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sogod y Cabalian en Leyte y Ginatilan en Cebu a Ana Jaraquemada. Resuelto. [ff] 27-04-1649" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.4

⁴⁰³ "Confirmación de encomienda de Sogod, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sogod y Cabalian en Leyte y Ginatilan en Cebu a Ana Jaraquemada. Resuelto. [ff] 27-04-1649" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.4

Esteban de Somoza y Losada, in 1620, moved to Ternate in the company of Captain Anton Castellano. He was sergeant and ensign in the company of Captain Francisco Melendez Marques. He participated with the captain Anton Castellano, in a battle against the Dutch and Ternatese in the vicinity of the fort of Calomata, during the battle the Spaniards captured the head of the fort. In 1623 he was appointed captain of the company of sergeant major Alonso Martin Quirante. Then he was given leave to return to Manila. In 1624 he returned to Ternate as captain of the company where Captain Geronimo Alonso had served, he embarked as captain of the ship '*Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza*'. Once he arrived in Ternate he was appointed head of the fortress of Tidore by the governor Pedro de Heredia, he remained in service with this position for a year.⁴⁰⁴

Diego de Alcarasso (Alcaraso ?): c.1625

In 1625, the governor of the Philippines don Fernando de Silva appointed Pedro Bravo de Acuña ensign of the company of don Diego de Alcarasso which was in charge of the fortress of Tojula on the island of Tidore, in which in the absence of its captain he governed the company.⁴⁰⁵

Alonso Serrano: ?

According to the statements of the former sergeants major of Ternate don Juan de Santisteban Bracamonte, Juan Gonzales de Caceres Melon and the captain don Andres de Azcueta Menchaca, Captain Alonso Serrano was in charge of the fort Santiago of the kingdom of Tidore.⁴⁰⁶

Geronimo de Somonte:

In the period he remained in Ternate (1629-1632) he was in charge of the forts of Tidore and Calomata.⁴⁰⁷

Francisco de Alfaro: (in an indefinite period between 1630 and 1635)

⁴⁰⁴ “Confirmación de encomienda de Guimbal. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Guimbal en Oton a Esteban de Somoza y Losada. Resuelto. [ff] 02-02-1651” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.20

⁴⁰⁵ “Meritos: Pedro Bravo de Acuña. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Pedro Bravo de Acuña, Capitán, sirvió en Filipinas, Armada, La Habana y San Antonio de Gibraltar. [c] 07-03-1660” AGI: Indiferente,118,N.65

⁴⁰⁶ “Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina a Alonso Serrano. Resuelto. [ff] 19-09-1638” Filipinas,49,N.25 block 2 sheets 1-47

⁴⁰⁷ “Confirmación de encomienda de Samal, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Samal y Abucay en Pampanga a José de Somonte y Ramírez. Resuelto. [ff] 25-05-1694” AGI: Filipinas,58,N.2

“Confirmación de encomienda de Meycauayan. Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Meycauayan en Bulacan a Jerónimo Somonte. Resuelto. [ff] 13-05-1639” AGI: Filipinas,49,N.32

“Meritos: Jerónimo Somonte. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Jerónimo Somonte, General en Filipinas. Referencias: José de Somonte Juan de Somonte Observaciones: Ampliada hasta 12-1655. [c] 02-05-1648” Indiferente,116,N.2

“Meritos: Jerónimo Somonte. Relación de Méritos y servicios del general Jerónimo Somonte, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de Ilocos, Cagayan y Pangasinan, y justicia mayor de Nueva Segovia. [c] 04-08-1645” Indiferente,112,N.120

In 1630 he was ensign in Ternate. He was then appointed head of the forts of San Lucas del Rume and Santiago de los Caualleros de Tidore. In 1634 he obtained the license for Manila.⁴⁰⁸

Rafael Home de Acevedo: probably before 1635

He served in Europe for several years then via New Spain he went to the Philippines together with don Juan Nino de Tavora, who had received the position of governor of the Philippines. Then he served in Formosa. He then came to Ternate as head of a ship and with the position of captain of an infantry company (deftly managing to avoid a Dutch ship that was in ambush). He was immediately sent to Tidore as head of the fortress of Santiago de los Caualleros.⁴⁰⁹

Gonzalo Portillo: (probably between 1627 and 1633)

Gonzalo Portillo, who had the position of assistant to the sergeant major, was in charge of the fort of '*Santiago de los Caballeros de Tidore*', the date of his assignment in Tidore is to be placed between 1627 and 1633.⁴¹⁰ Portillo was also the last governor of the Spanish settlements on the island of Formosa in the years 1640-1642.

Diego Maldonado Bonal: (c.1635? c.1636?)

Diego Maldonado Bonal arrived in Ternate with the rescue of 1634, in this '*socorro*' he was head of the ship '*Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion*'. He was responsible for the forts of Don Gil and San Francisco de Calomata, located on the border with the Dutch, as well as the fort of Santiago de los Caualleros on the island of Tidore. In the battle that General Geronimo Enrriquez Sotelo had near Malayo, on March 14, 1637, he participated as a soldier in the company of Captain and Major Sergeant Juan Gonçales Caceres Melon, with the task of distributing cartridges and ammunition. After his services in Ternate he participated in the conquest of Jolo.⁴¹¹

Agustín Cepeda: (?) (between 1635 and 1639)

⁴⁰⁸ “Confirmación de encomienda de Bito, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bito, Binca, Manliron y Malaguicay en las provincias de Leyte, Samar e Ibabao (Samar) a Francisco de Alfaro. Resuelto, [f] 22-08-1654” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.45

⁴⁰⁹ “Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Santa Catalina en Ilocos y Dumaguete y Tanjay en la isla de Negros a Rafael Home de Acevedo. Resuelto, [f] 18-05-1649” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.10

⁴¹⁰ “Respuesta de Gabriel Ruiz en nombre de Corcuera. Manila, 21 de octubre de 1644” AGI: Escribania 409B publicato in: Borao J. E. “Spaniards in Taiwan” (Taipei, 2002) vol. II, 524

“Nombramiento e instrucciones de Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera a Gonzalo Portillo, nuevo gobernador de la Isla Hermosa, en nombre del Rey Felipe IV. Se mencionan sus meritos e historia militar. Manila, 13 de abril de 1640” AGI: Escribania 409B publicato in: : Borao J. E. “Spaniards in Taiwan” vol. I, 311

⁴¹¹ “Confirmación de encomienda de Sampongan, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Sampongan, Anbongal, Maylon, El Buqui, Iligan, Bayu, Balo, Naguan, Tog, Baganga, Manoliguo, Caragan, Manay, Marayo, Casalman, Quinolan y Bitanagan a Diego Maldonado Bonal. Resuelto, [f] 07-10-1649” AGI: Filipinas,50,N.14

Agustín Cepeda moved with his company to Ternate where he served from July 19, 1635 until March 1, 1637. Then he was reformed and after serving as a simple soldier, he was appointed head of the galley captain '*Santa Clara*' where he served for a year and seven months. He was then made captain of a company of infantry, with which he fought at Malayo against enemy 'bartizans', then another engagement at Malayo when the enemies were driven back to their fort. He was chief of the forts of Tidore, Rume and Calomata. Later, in 1639, he was granted license for Manila. He later served in the Philippines.⁴¹²

Andrés Ezquerro: c.1637-1638

Andrés Ezquerro arrived in Ternate in 1637 as an infantry captain. On Mendiola's orders, he was then head of the fort of Santiago de los Caualleros of Tidore until 1638, when he was reformed and obtained the license to go to Manila.⁴¹³

Juan Fernandez Sevillano: c. 1639

In 1639, Juan Fernandez Sevillano was head of the fort of Santiago de los Caualleros of Tidore.⁴¹⁴

Manuel Correa: c.1639

Probably at the end of 1639, Juan Fernandez Sevillano being head of the fort of Santiago de los Caualleros of Tidore and having to go to Ternate, Manuel Correa was put in charge of the command in his place, the absence of Sevillano da Tidore lasted for a month. In the period from his arrival in Ternate until his departure in 1644, Manuel Correa was in charge of the forts of Santiago de los Caballeros of Tidore, San Lucas del Rume, the fort of Calomata and San Pedro y San Pablo de Don Xil.⁴¹⁵

Nicolas Sarm. To (Sarmiento?): ? - April 1640

He was with the post of ensign in charge of the fort of '*Santiago de los Caualleros del Reyno de Tidore*', he was replaced by Ginés Rojas y Narvaez in April 1640.⁴¹⁶

Ginés Rojas y Narvaez: April 13, 1640- February/March 1641

⁴¹² "Meritos: Agustín Cepeda. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Agustín Cepeda, Gobernador de la gente de guerra de la fuerza de san Sebastián en la isla de Mindanao. Observaciones: Ampliada hasta 10-03-1667. [c] 01-07-1652" AGI: Indiferente,121,N.89

⁴¹³ "Meritos: Andrés Ezquerro. Relación de Méritos y servicios de Andrés Ezquerro, capitán, sirvió en Filipinas. Referencias: Gonzalo Carvajal Andrés Esquerro Francisco Ezquerro Juan Ezquerro Gabriel Rivera Gonzalo Sánchez Carvajal, escudero. [c] 23-10-1659" AGI: Indiferente,118,N.44

⁴¹⁴ "Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Manuel Correa. Resuelto. [ff] 28-11-1661" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.12

⁴¹⁵ "Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Manuel Correa. Resuelto. [ff] 28-11-1661" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.12

⁴¹⁶ "Confirmación de encomienda de Viri. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Viri en Ibabao (Samar) a Ginés Rojas Narvaez. Resuelto. [ff] 09-01-1645" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.61

On November 10, 1639, Ginés Rojas y Narvaez was appointed captain of an infantry company that was going to rescue Ternate, he embarked as chief on the '*capitana*' galley '*Nuestra Señeroa dela Encarnazion*' that was going to Ternate. He arrived in Ternate (probably by the end of January 1640) with the other rescue boats. The governor and sergeant major Francisco Suárez de Figueroa y Azeuedo, appointed him head of the San Francisco Calomata fort on the Dutch border. On April 13, 1640 he was appointed head of the '*fuerza de Santiago de los Caualleros del Reyno de Tidore*' in place of the ensign Don Nicolas Sarm.to (Sarmiento?), where he remained until he received leave to return to Manila. While he was in Tidore, since there was an urgent need for food for the city of Ternate, he was ordered to collect everything he had and that it was possible to find on the island of Tidore and to take it to the royal warehouses of Ternate. He was then reformed with his company because he had obtained leave to return to Manila, he left for Manila probably in March 1641.⁴¹⁷

Pedro de Figueroa Pardo: c. 1641

He arrived in the Philippines in 1640. He then went on to serve in Ternate where he was in charge of the government of the fortress of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' of the kingdom of Tidore, from Tidore he then went on to serve in Ternate where on 27 March 1642 (during the government of Pedro Fernandez del Rio) had a clash with the Dutch and Ternese in the '*rossado*' of Malayo, the Spanish repulsed the Dutch and Ternatese attacks twice, in the battle the sangage Cudaben, the leader of the enemy troops, died.⁴¹⁸

Esteuan Orella y Ugalde: c.1641-c.1644

He was the brother of Lorenzo Orella y Ugalde. He arrived in the Philippines in 1639. In 1640, he moved to Ternate as head of a '*patacco*' and as sergeant major. In 1641 he was appointed chief of the fort of Tidore a position he held until 1644, when he retired to Manila.⁴¹⁹

Bartholome (Bartolomé) Alonso: (in or shortly after 1642)

Captain Bartholome Alonso was head (in 1642 or shortly thereafter) of the fort of '*Sanctiago de los Caualleros de la ysla de Tidore*'.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ "Meritos: Ginés Rojas y Narvaez. *Relación de Méritos y servicios de Ginés Rojas y Narváez, castellano del castillo de Santiago en Manila, [c] 29-11-1655*" AGI: Indiferente,116,N.42

"Confirmación de encomienda de Viri. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Viri en Ibabao (Samar) a Ginés Rojas Narvaez. Resuelto. [ff] 09-01-1645" AGI: Filipinas,49,N.61

⁴¹⁸ "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [ff] 19-06-1659" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.1

"Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Manuel Noroña y Olivera. Resuelto. [ff] 13-11-1666" AGI: Filipinas,53,N.2

⁴¹⁹ "Meritos: Lorenzo Orella y Ugalde. *Relación de Méritos y servicios de Lorenzo Orella y Ugalde, castellano de Santiago de Manila. Referencias: Esteban Orella y Ugalde, castellano de Xolo. [c] 19-12-1663*" AGI: Indiferente,120,N.43

⁴²⁰ "Confirmación de encomienda de Abucay, etc Francisco de Esteybar [c] 17-12-1661" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.14

Juan de Zaualeta: c.1647- c.1648

He was '*alcayde y gouernador de la gente de Guerra y que sirven a S.Mag.ad en las fuerças de Santiago de los Caualleros de la ysla del R.no de Tidore*'. Juan de Zaualeta was captain in Ternate and head of the forces of the island and of the kingdom of Tidore. On July 24, 1647, he was in charge of the fortress of '*Sanctiago de los Caualleros de la ysla y reyno de Tidore*'. On July 24, 1647, when, Miguel de Guinea, was appointed ensign, we find him in Tidore, where he serves in the company of Captain Juan de Zaualeta, who is the leader of the Spanish troops garrisoning Tidore and serves in the fortress of '*Sanctiago de los Caualleros*'. In 1648, by order of the governor of Ternate don Lorenzo de Olaso de Achotegui, captain Zaualeta was asked to go to Ternate to meet the governor, he during the period of his absence from Tidore appointed the ensign Miguel de Guinea as head of the garrisons of the island. The order of Captain Zaualeta is dated Tidore 29 March 1648.⁴²¹

Miguel de Guinea: March 29, 1648-

Ensign, on March 29, 1648, was appointed by Zalaqueta, who was to go to Ternate to meet the governor, in charge of the fort of Tidore for the period of his absence.

Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta: (c.1650 ?)

Around 1650, Captain Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta was sent by order of Governor Pedro Fernandez del Rio to the forts of San Lucas del Rumen and Chobo. Having then received news of Dutch preparations for a more massive attack on Tidore, the governor Pedro Fernandez del Rio, unable (he was engaged in the fortification of Ternate) to intervene directly in aid of the king of Tidore, sent Martin Sanchez de la Cuesta to Tidore as head of the island and in charge of the main fortress of Tidore called Sanctiago de los Caualleros, of the "*fuerte Principal*" (of the Prince (?)) and that of Puli Cauallo.⁴²²

Lázaro de Herrera: c.1651-(April ?) 1652

Governor Francisco de Esteybar, who was to visit the various garrisons of the islands, appointed Lázaro de Herrera, in his absence, as head of Ternate. Subsequently appointed him as head of the fort of '*Sanctiago de los Caulleros*' in the kingdom of Tidore, a position he held for a year (1651-April (?) 1652) until he returned to Manila. He was captain until April 10, 1652, the next day captain don Juan Zorrilla de Velazco took his place. From April 11, 1652 until April 24, 1652 he was again a

⁴²¹ "Confirmación de encomienda de Binalatonga, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Binalatonga, Bolonguey y Telban en Pangasinan a Miguel de Guinea. Resuelto, [ff] 09-12-1655" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.52

"Confirmación de encomienda de Maquila, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Maquila, Tulaque y Mandayat en Cagayan a Juan de Zabaleta. Resuelto. [ff] 09-12-1655" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.53

⁴²² "Confirmación de encomienda de Caraga, etc, Martín Sánchez de la Cuesta, [ff] 19-06-1659" AGI: Filipinas,51,N.1

private in the company of don Juan Zorrilla de Velazco. The next day he joined the company of sergeant major don Pedro Tamajo y Mendoza, to return to Manila on leave.⁴²³

Pedro Lossano (Lozano): December 20, 1654-June 6, 1656

On December 20, 1654 he was officially invested with the position of head of the fortress of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' on the island of Tidore, a position he held for a year and a half. On June 6, 1656, the new governor Diego Sarria Lascano replaced him at the head of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' with Captain Alonso Lossano, this because the license to return to Manila had arrived.⁴²⁴

Alonso Lossano (Lozano): June 6, 1656 - April 29, 1657

On June 6, 1656, he was appointed head of the fortress of Santiago de los Caualleros of the kingdom of Tidore, where he fought and put down the revolts of the rebel '*mori*'. Subsequently, with an order dated April 29, 1657, Alonso Lossano was commanded to cede command of the fort of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' to Captain Don Joseph Garzes.⁴²⁵

Joseph Garces (José Garces): April 29, 1657-

He was head of the fortress of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' of Tidore in 1657.⁴²⁶

Antonio Vasquez: 1659

Alonso del Castillo in 1659 (after March 1659) was in garrison of the castle of '*Sanctiago*' on the island of Tidore, where Antonio Vasquez was chief.⁴²⁷

Andrés Zerrano (Serrano): ?

In 1675 he had served the king for more than 30 years, 10 years of which in Ternate. He served as sergeant, ensign and then castellan of the fort of '*Pasacao*', was then adjutant and was twice captain of infantry, then head of the fortress of '*Santiago de los Caualleros*' of Tidore. In 1675 he was captain of the Spanish infantry company which was garrisoned in the kingdom of Siao.⁴²⁸ Surely he was present in Ternate in

⁴²³ "Confirmación de encomienda de Tulaque, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Tulaque y Mandayat en Cagayan a Lázaro de Herrera. Resuelto, [f] 17-12-1655" AGI: Filipinas,50,N.54

⁴²⁴ "Confirmación de encomienda de Casiguran, etc. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Casiguran y Palanan en Tayabas a Pedro Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 02-05-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.6

⁴²⁵ "Confirmación de encomienda de Baratao. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Baratao en Pangasinan a Alonso Lozano. Resuelto. [ff] 16-06-1676" AGI: Filipinas,54,N.12

⁴²⁶ "Confirmación de encomienda de Majayjay, etc. Expediente de confirmacion de las encomiendas de Majayjay y Santa Cruz en La Laguna de Bay a Juan Rodríguez de Origuey. Resuelto[ff]. 08-06-1695" AGI: Filipinas,58,N.3

⁴²⁷ "Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Santa Catalina en Ilocos a Alonso del Castillo. Resuelto[ff] 17-12-1686" AGI: Filipinas,55,N.12

⁴²⁸ "Confirmación de encomienda de Cuyo, etc Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Cuyo y Calamianes a Lorenzo Vázquez Coronado. Resuelto[ff] 27-11-1681" AGI: Filipinas,55,N.3

the years 1661-1662, in fact in those years served in his company Alonso del Castillo who from July 28, 1661 until April 20, 1662 served as reformed ensign in the company of Captain Andres Zerrano (Serrano).⁴²⁹

LEGENDA:

AGI: Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

ARA: National Archief, Den Haag, The Netherlands.

“Confirmación de encomienda de Bacarra. Expediente de confirmación de las encomiendas de Bacarra en Ilocos a Luis de Pineda Matienzo. Resuelto. [ff] 24-10-1679” AGI: Filipinas,54,N.15

⁴²⁹ *“Confirmación de encomienda de Santa Catalina Expediente de confirmación de la encomienda de Santa Catalina en Ilocos a Alonso del Castillo. Resuelto[ff] 17-12-1686”* AGI: Filipinas,55,N.12