

十七世紀的諷刺文章：
閻和赫立（Jan and Gerrit）兩個荷蘭人教師的對話（下）
後記：福爾摩莎落入漢人手中

Lampoon in the 17th Century:
Samen-Spraeck tusschen Jan ende Gerrit (II)
An Epilogue: The Loss of Dutch Formosa to the Chinese

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Introduction

〈東印度群島巴達維亞城四個荷蘭人的閒談〉這篇諷刺文章是在1663年印刷的。作品中包含四個人物，第一位是商人，第二位是軍官，第三位是船員，最後一位則是教義問答教師。全文總共24頁，包括兩部分。《台灣學誌》*Monumenta Taiwanica* 期刊的第一期即以這篇對話作品第一部分的翻譯為專輯。第二部分的標題為「前大員及福爾摩莎總督尼可拉·福伯（Nicolaes Verburgh）任內的福爾摩莎政府」。此部分的附錄當中收錄另一篇文章，題目為「閻及赫立（Jan and Gerrit）兩位荷蘭人學校教師的對話——曾經進駐台灣，分別任職於蕭壠（今台南佳里）及法弗蘭（今雲林虎尾）」。現階段我們最感興趣的課題，也是這兩位曾經在台灣居留數年的荷蘭人教師之間的對話。《台灣學誌》*Monumenta Taiwanica* 期刊第二期的內容即有關兩位學校教師思考宣揚基督教的更好方式。赫立提出一個新的教育方案，閻則認為應改良治理手段。他們的看法都是以荷蘭人的人生觀為中心。兩人邊回想邊說，福爾摩莎原本可成為一塊樂土。

第二部分描述閻及赫立對於尼可拉·福伯總督（1650-1653）與東印度公司其他高階官員斂財的看法。這兩位教師的敘事都是繞著跟漢人商人打交道的錢財利益還有盜用公款的話題打轉，並且影射惡名昭彰的Pinqua。他們的對話以一篇摘錄的文章作為結語。其實就是把另一個原本分離的文本置入這段對話。結尾這篇節錄的文章是一封長達兩頁的書信，標題為「福爾摩莎落入漢人手中」，並以「親愛的讀者」開頭。此外有一段附加的介紹稱許這封信「精簡而完整的敘述有關美麗島福爾摩莎、在鄰近島嶼大員所設的荷蘭使節館，以及1661年7月5日荷蘭官員向漢人投降、讓出熱蘭遮城的經過。」下

一段是閩及赫立的對話第二部分的翻譯及這封信，已改寫成現代英語。

This contribution continues with the second part of the dialogue between the schoolteachers Jan and Gerrit. In the previous issue of *Monumenta Taiwanica*, the first part of the dialogue showed how the two schoolteachers speculate on what they consider a good remedy to better propagate Christianity. Gerrit described an educational initiative and Jan tackled the issue of “good governance,” framed in a very Dutch outlook on life. Hence both reminisced about how Formosa could have developed into a fine place. This second part illustrates Jan and Gerrit’s interpretation of the lust for wealth of Governor Verburgh (1650-1653) and other high-ranking officials of the VOC. The narrative of the two schoolteachers hinges on the financial profit and embezzlement practices in dealing with the Chinese merchants, with special reference to the infamous Pincqua¹. The dialogue concludes with an extract entitled “The Loss of Dutch Formosa to the Chinese”.² It is a separate text inserted in the dialogue starting with “Dear Reader”. The two-page letter is introduced as “A short and comprehensive story of the beautiful island Formosa, the Dutch legation at the nearby island Tyawan, and the surrender of Fort Zeelandia to the Chinese by the Dutch officers on the fifth of July 1661.” The following is a translation of the second part of the dialogue between Jan and Gerrit, followed by the extract. The translation has been adapted to contemporary English.

Dialogue

Gerrit: Yes, some of them, and especially this Pincqua who could get anything he wanted from him [Verburgh]. Truly, he even would have taken it away from another to give it to him. Isn’t that some kind of big indulgence, if the weighing house first leases to a Chinese some goods for which the Company in 1654, offered a reduction of 5300 Rijcksdielders by public auction, and a few years later one is informed about other agreements so that the same goods sold out of hand to the aforementioned Chinese for 2000 Rijcksdielders? The same thing happened with the lease for pig-slaughter which in the year 1654, provided the Company with 1500 Rijcksdielders profit. Moreover, when one allows the Chinese to export Chinese

¹ Pincqua refers to the interpreter Pincqua, in service for the Compagnie. During the final decade of Dutch rule, he negotiated between the Dutch and Chinese traders at the coastal regions. These traders were very mighty pirates who monopolized the coastal waters and manipulated the Chinese coastal authorities. The Compagnie on the other hand, could not but recognize their influence and power since the early start. While still in service for the Compagnie, Pincqua had been acting as agent for Zheng Chenggong, popularly known as Koxinga (Coxinga). When the Governor found out that he had been embezzling money, he was reprimanded and ran over to Koxinga.

² A translation of this text is included in Llyn Scott (Ed.) *Scenes from Dutch Formosa* (forthcoming).

ship loads or junks filled with sugar, deerskins, and venison meat without charging any toll fees, these actions cannot make good friends, not for the buyer or for the one whose purse gets the money in the end.

Jan: Indeed, it went so far, that during my time in Tayoan, it was said that in one year's time, Verburgh had received an amount of 13000 Rijcksdelders, and the collector Damman 16 schuyt gold as a gift.

Gerrit: No one doubts that, but where Verburgh is concerned, he knew better to make a deal with the aforementioned Pincqua, and some other Chinese, by selling to them Company goods out of hand, when he could have made much more by public auction. Yes, and what is even more of a pity, the hands of justice are tied even after great crimes such as murder happened in the land of Saace. This act committed by a Chinese to a Dutchmen, as well as other things, have not been investigated although there is solid evidence in the hands of current Governor Caesar, as I was told by a certain clergyman. Indeed, things were going so badly in Tayoan that justice was no longer upheld. The councilors who did not wish to support Verburgh and help strengthen his wicked trade were repudiated or expelled. Moreover, Holy Communion was suspended for a considerable amount of time when Duo d'Alba and Vargas acted as presidents of the Blood-Council. This time violence prevailed, the poor Jacob Mayer who lost his sanity over endorsing the Reverends Gravius, and Reyers has experienced this as no one else.

Jan: The head merchant Coyet, Captain Pedel, and the eminent, devout, loyal and golden Baes van Alphen, did not gain anything by that. What I want to say about Jacob van den Broeck, of whom I heard that he fared the same bad way, I leave it up to you to guess what will happen if one of these days Verburgh comes back to the homeland to build his house...

Gerrit: Well, if they acted like the infamous Snoek Dankerts and Dammans, who nodded in agreement with everything, they would have remained friends with Verburgh. That same Snoeck Dankerts and Dammans for sure profited from it, otherwise they would not be worth the wages that they enjoyed from the Company. Especially that Babock Dammans, who due to his wife [’s name] has become the brother-in-law and nephew of some Directors which enables him to give orders at will. With regard to Danckerts, he knew all about the beauty of Chinese-made silver and gold, what he paraded for the Governor's daughter without having to spend much, which made him, besides other infamous services for the Governor, competent enough to remain in the good graces of the Governor. All this was unknown to the Directors. I believe that if they had known, they would not have honored Verburgh and

bestowed on him at the last minute the title of Ordinarius Raedt of India.

Gerrit: Ay, what a story! Can you imagine it; his wife's (supposed) father is a Director, and that such children here in this world are so fortunate? Well, whatever is remarked about him, he is quick enough to do his duty. There are others in India whom the Company keeps in her service that merit it less.

Jan: May God protect the Company from all evil. I hear so much from returning friends, that it makes my ears itch. On one hand, someone says India is ruled by a discrediting Catholic married to a woman who is set on pomp and splendor. She can help someone get a big promotion, but he is widely mocked and incompetent. On the other hand, there is nothing extra to gain anymore by mere duty, unless one has friends, or makes big gifts. Some people engage in theft and private trade, which in India is endemic throughout all echelons of the Ministers of the Company. Things are so corrupt that it is hard for the supreme authorities to set matters straight.

Gerrit: I do believe so. The devil knows, it is hard for the supreme authorities to rectify the situation because they are very the ones involved. Where do they get the means to act like royalty once they arrive in the patria/ fatherland?

Jan: They are with this talk the center-piece of our dialogue, inducing the government of Formosa to resign. Tell me how were matters over there?

Gerrit: Not very well. If Caesar would have been a man of good repute like a loyal servant of the Company, things would have fared better. What shall I say? From what I hear, the man was not competent to govern. The same was felt by the Company; but his successor will make sure, that he, like his brother-in-law, will not return home empty handed.

Jan: I have known Caesar for a long time, and am aware that he was a big debauchee, even though otherwise he was generous and friendly to deal with.

Gerrit: All right, although one wished, that matters (as you mentioned) could have been a bit better in Formosa, it seems that the Lord God wanted to visit the place in a serious way, and let his wrath befall it.

Jan: How so?

Gerrit: I could tell you many things like the plagues that invaded the land since the 1650s, the

earthquakes, and the locust invasion that stripped the land of its corn and produce are beyond description. My heart still races when I think of them. If it had stopped there, the Company could have dealt with the damage eventually, but what happened afterwards resulted in the near total destruction of the Company fleet and her cargo in 1654. As usual for that time of year, the Jacht Tayoan, the ship Vrede (Peace) with 101 men, and the Fluyt-ship Lam (Lamb) with 28 men had set out for the north, but were shipwrecked by unseasonable strong winds and heavy storms, and especially the flooded canals. At the same time, the ship Utrecht was on its journey to Tayoan, but was held up nearing Ihla de Prat, so the crew was saved by God's mercy, and arrived safely in Tayoan. What do you think Jan, my friend, what about Formosa now the way it had been flourishing.

Jan: My heart feels sad about what I hear you tell me, but God knows why He pays the Company the kind of visit He does.

Gerrit: And so He does, but it did not stop there. God the Lord sent even more waves of wrath upon those poor people, as we will learn from the following extract.

Dear Reader,

The more Man is driven by desire or destitution to hunt for treasures and riches in these corrupt days, hoping to create his small heaven on earth, the more he will do so by hurting his fellow-man, even to the extent of depriving another human being of life by a sudden and violent death. Yet, the Almighty, often by the use of the rod of His wrath, skillfully directs evil in such a way that it has turned out profitable for Church or State, for even the most extreme examples of those who want to grasp everything for themselves, finally will come to an end. This is an ancient wisdom now to be revealed by the performance of this sad and bloody story, truly a piteous tragedy for all Christians.

When the Mighty Tartar conquered the famous Kingdom of China with steel weapons, and the rebellious Chinese, almost all of whom were dispersed and driven outside the borders of his Kingdom, he assumed that he had firmly established the Throne of his Authority as victorious monarch. Yet, there remained a few Chinese who refused to bow to the commands of his superior weaponry. These loyalists fled to different small isles, and for lack of vessels could not be pursued. Unable to operate on land, they stripped and pillaged the offshore waters of whatever they could lay their hands on, not only from public enemies, but also from

well-known friends. United under the supreme command of the famous pirate Equan,³ who in earlier days had been a tailor on Tyawan, the rebels befriended and made close allies with other dissidents. Equan became respected and feared by all as Master of the Sea until, pulled away by death, his son Coxcenia took over in his stead.

Because of the mounting power of the Tartars, the above mentioned expelled Chinese could no longer remain in their hideouts. Consequently, they gradually took root on the fertile island of Formosa in order to regroup and recover the Ming dynasty. They claimed that they wanted to settle in Formosa to make a secure living since they knew that the forts and strongholds of the honorary rulers were no match for their overwhelming might. This is how Coxcinia⁴ cunningly tried to persuade the inhabitants to make himself ruler of Formosa. The Governor, having been warned about the matter, hastily informed the General and other Councils of India as far as Batavia seeking assistance, which was granted and sent to him by the quickest means. However, this Coxcinia did not keep his promise; instead he arrived with more than 600 Chinese junks, or vessels loaded with men and artillery, and attacked the island Formosa in March. Immediately his army captured the Fort Stekan that was under the command of an Amsterdam-born governor and landowner who, unable to resist the violence, was forced to surrender. The surrender of other strongholds, including all the Negerye, followed. Because Fort Zeelandia was too powerful to be conquered, Coxcinia gave an audience to Reverend Hantbroeck⁵, a pious man, and other servants of the Holy Word, and sent them to Mr. Cojet, governor of the mentioned Fort Zeelandia with a request. Coxcinia wanted the fortress to surrender willingly; and in return, Coxcinia would grant that the governor together with all the Dutch people to live freely, keeping all their possessions on Formosa. However if on the contrary the governor refused, then he swore not to spare the life of a single woman or child, but kill everything by the sword and guarantee extermination.

This burdensome task was carried out by the trustworthy Reverend Hantbroeck. Arriving at the Fort, in all sincerity, he recited and requested that which had been mapped out. But Mr. Cojet⁶ replied that having taken the oath, it was not in his ability; that he was expecting help from Batavia; that he felt grief for the miserable state of affairs, but even if this meant that all

³ Equan refers to Iquan or Zheng Zhilong who acted as intermediary between the Dutch and Chinese maritime trade. He was the father of Zheng Chenggong or Coxinga.

⁴ Coxcenia or Coxcinia refers to Coxinga. Coxinga had allied himself with the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) in Nanjing in its last years of resistance against the invading Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Due to his loyalty to the Ming court, Zheng Chenggong was given the honorary title of —Kok Seng ia (in Mandarin, —Guoxingye or —he who bares the title of the emperor). The name was pronounced, Coxinga (Koxinga) by the Dutch. After the political chaos in China, Coxinga retreated to Formosa from Amoy in 1661, and brought Taoyouan under siege.

⁵ Hantbroek is the name used here for Reverend Anthonius Hambroek (1648-1661).

⁶ Mr. Cojet is the name for Frederick Coyett, the last appointed governor of Formosa (1656-1662).

would go down and out and lost, he still could not grant or accept that [request]. Subsequently, the aforementioned teacher, while bitterly crying departed along with those that had accompanied him, and in descending from the Castle exclaimed these words: —Oh My! I pity my life that I will have to witness such cruel tyranny from such heathen people. After he delivered the governor's answer to Coxcinia and his men, immediately the tyrant ordered not to spare anyone, however pitifully one may pray for mercy. With inhuman brutality, God's glorious creatures were abused, with no regard for children or simpletons. No pen can write without tears the cruelty by which the blood of saints was spilt like water.

In the meantime, the tyrant and his cohorts tried to take the Fort by surprise. Yet nine ships equipped with manpower and supplies arrived to assist Tyawan. These reinforcements and also those of the mentioned Fort challenged the enemy, but were slaughtered on a beach where there was a Reduyt on the other side of Baxemboi. The Chinese reconstructed the Reduyt and from there they fired onto Fort Zeelandia. The Dutch who had been shipped over there, found the resistance so fierce, that they were forced to withdraw with a loss of 400 men. The Chinese force was 6000 men strong, armed from head to toe and shining like a tin mountain by the look of their silver colored weapons. When the Dutch ships arrived, dispatched to destroy the junks, it was all in vain, because in no time they were surrounded on every side making escape nearly impossible. The Junks withdrew to the sand-bank right underneath the Fort. One of the ships called Hector sank, and another one ran- aground and was captured by the Chinese along with 400 men and two ships, in spite of the fact that Governor Cojet tried very hard to prevent this. Hence, the rescue-ships departed again, under the command of Jacob Gauwen,⁷ together with 200 women and children of the refugees. Fortunately they arrived safely in Batavia after four weeks and six days, which is by special Providence of the Almighty for the fast journey which otherwise would have led to starvation of many due to lack of provisions.

Subsequently, in an attempt to assist and rescue Fort Zeelandia, four ships were sent to the Tartar, to bring over more brothers in arms to oust the Chinese from Formosa. Additionally, a fair number of the Company had been dispatched to stop the Tyrant from advancing ahead. However, before such a great plan could be put into practice, Governor Cojet, unable to resist such a large number of enemies and moreover, because he did not know that relief was so near, handed over by treaty the mentioned Fort Zeelandia to the Chinese. All the Dutchmen sailed off to Batavia, so that Cojet could gain safety to await further orders.

While there is still hope that the shrewd Chinese, either by the weapons of the Dutch, or by

⁷ Jacob Gauwen refers to Captain Jacob Caeuw, appointed commander of the relief expedition.

that powerful Tartar, sooner or later will have to leave these conquests or make room for others, by virtue of the Almighty, this is where we want to end our story. On top of that so to speak, that the Tartar would be kind enough to allow and grant the Dutch to trade in China and nearby places, upon which the Almighty would give his Blessing.