

馬六甲的旅遊：2011 年 8 月 20-24 日

A Visit to Malacca: August 20-24, 2011

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摘 要

本期 Dutch Formosa 專欄內容與以往有些許不同。我將提出與四位博士生蔡惠名、王桂蘭、陳慕真、張玉萍一同參訪馬來西亞的訪問報告，特別是馬六甲。參訪期間為 2011 年 8 月 20 至 24 日，此乃 2011 年教育部「學海築夢」海外實習計畫的一部分，計畫名稱為「東南亞閩南（福建）移民史：馬來西亞檳城和馬六甲的語言接觸個案研究，過去和現在」（東南亞華人移民文獻史專業研習計畫）。此篇文章之貢獻在於闡述荷蘭統治下約 160 年（1641 年至 1795 年，1818 年至 1825 年）的馬六甲歷史，並特別關注我們在聖保羅教堂廢墟中，發現一個 17 世紀晚期墓碑上刻有「Tayoan」字眼。文章最後總結對台灣和馬六甲等地荷蘭遺產的一些觀察。

For this edition, the special column on Dutch Formosa is a bit different from usual, but not totally dissimilar. I will be providing you with a report of my visit to Malaysia, and in particular to the city of Malacca 馬六甲 with four of our program's doctoral students, Ms Tshua Hui-bing 蔡惠名, Ms Ong Kui-lan 王桂蘭, Ms Tan Bou-chin 陳慕真 and Ms Tiunn Giok-pheng 張玉萍. The visit took place between 20 and 24 August 2011, and was part of the 2011 Ministry of Education (MOE) Summer Internship (教育部「學海築夢」計畫), with a project entitled "The History of Southern Min (Hokkien) in Southeast Asia. A Case Study of Language Contact in Penang and Malacca in Malaysia, Past and Present" (東南亞華人移民文獻史專業研習計劃).

Within the field of Chinese linguistics, the study of dialectology has a long tradition. Whereas most attention has been given to these countries where the Chinese language is the national language, linguists have recently started researching other regions where Chinese is

one of the minor languages, in spite of the fact that it may be spoken by quite a large section of the population. With regard to the study of Chinese dialects in Southeast nations, work has been done on Cantonese, Hakka and the Chaozhou dialect.¹ The aim of this research proposal is to gather field data that aids the documentation and study of the history of Southern Min (Hokkien/ Fukienese) in Penang and Malacca which are important Chinese speaking regions in Malaysia. In this respect, historical linguistics on Southern Min recognizes the geographical importance of Southeast Asia. In spite of its documentation in Chinese migration history, the study of Southern Min in the Chinese speaking regions of Malaysia is less well studied. Significantly, it was one of the central regions where early 19th century Western missionaries were stationed and compiled works that are now known as “missionary linguistics,” these included amongst others dictionaries, glossaries, grammars and bible translation. The first dictionary in Southern Min was compiled by Reverend Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857) of the London Missionary Society (LMS). In 1817, he was accepted by the Directors of the LMS as a printer to join the mission in Malacca. His task was to continue the (printing) work of Reverend Robert Morrison (1782-1834) and Reverend William Milne (1785-1822). Initially he studied the literary *guwen* 古文, but soon realized that it was of little use amongst the predominantly Fujian emigrant Chinese community, and he began the study of their local vernacular.

By 1820 he had drawn up a small vocabulary and had a few sheets printed. In 1823 the work was enlarged and sent to Singapore, to be printed under the patronage of the Singapore Institution, whose Committee offered to publish it at their expense. The manuscript lay untouched for several years and was returned to Medhurst in 1829. In the meantime, he had made further progress in the language, enlarging the version with several thousand characters and quotations from the Chinese Classics. This compilation was completed in 1831, but was not published in Batavia until 1837 as *Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms*.² Medhurst's contributions can be summarized by the following: First, his compilation is the first Romanized dictionary in Southern Min and the founding work for the future representation of character division according to tonal changes (nasal and stop ends included) which is still in use up to the present. He inherited this system from the rhyme glossary, and indirectly introduced this work for later research on Southern Min. Second, Medhurst's dictionary is a valuable source for

¹ 陳曉錦，2003，《馬來西亞的三個漢語方言》，北京：中國社會科學出版社（第1版第1刷）。

² Medhurst, W. H. (1837). *Dictionary of the Hok-kien Dialect of the Chinese Language, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idiom*. Batavia.

understanding the position of colloquial dictionaries and their role in 19th century Chinese literate society. It was not a colloquial dictionary by definition, but a dictionary compiled in one of the leading Southern Chinese dialects, recognizing the importance of the written character in Chinese society.³

In view of this, our team visited the city of Malacca in search for documentation of the life and works of Rev Medhurst during his stay there. We started our journey with a visit to Christ Church Melaka. To date, Christ Church is the oldest Protestant church in Malaysia. Its construction started in 1714 under Dutch rule and was completed in 1753. Inside the church, we noticed a commemoration plaque dedicated to the memory of Rev William Milne and Rev Robert Morrison, known for their pioneering work in setting up the LMS mission. It happened that the Cheng Ho Cultural Museum had a special exhibition on the history of Christianity in Malaysia, organized by the Malaysia Bible Seminary. The exhibition had limited exhibits, but read like a “crash- course” overview on missionary activities in the Chinese speaking world in East and Southeast Asia. Our minds were refreshed about the extensive Morrison Collection at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library, the several Protestant denominations that came to Asia throughout the 19th century and how they evolved up to the present day. Evidently, Malacca’s Christian past was exemplified with historical references to the city’s Portuguese, Dutch and English Christian heritage. But we also learnt about Fr. Favre’s French-Malay dictionary⁴, about Chinese churches overseas, and even about the missionary presence in Taiwan.

³ Heylen, Ann. (2001). Missionary Linguistics on Taiwan. Romanizing Taiwanese: Codification and Standardization of Dictionaries in Southern Min (1837-1923). In Ku Wei-ying & K. De Ridder (Eds.), *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)* (pp. 135-174). Louvain Chinese Studies. Leuven: F. Verbiest Foundation and Leuven University Press.

⁴ Favre, Pierre Etienne Lazare. (1875). *Français-Malais Dictionnaire*, volume 1. Vienne: Imprimerie Impériale et Royale.



Figure 1. Plaque Rev Milne and Rev Morrison



Figure 2. Malaysia Bible Seminary Exhibition

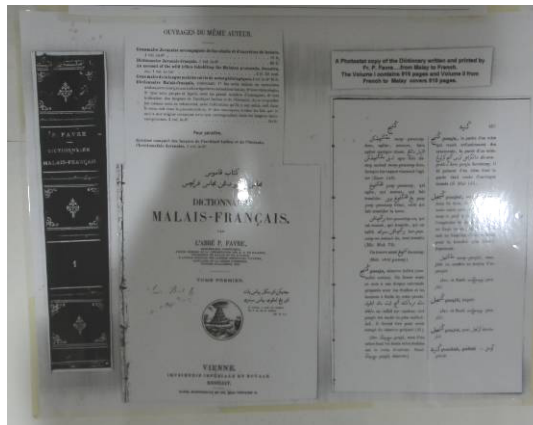


Figure 3. Fr Fabre's Dictionary

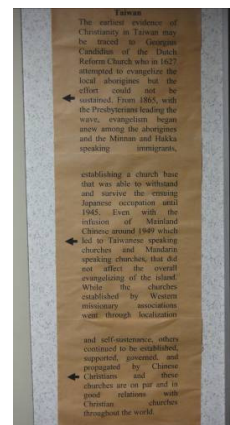


Figure 4. About Taiwan Christianity



Figure 5. 白話字 in Malacca

The former trading port city of Malacca has more to offer. Malaysia has three UNESCO heritage sites. Gunung Mulu National Park (Sarawak) and Mount Kinabalu (Sabah) entered the list under natural category in 2000. The latest addition, the historic cities of Strait of Malacca, Melaka (Malacca) and George Town (Penang) entered the list in 2008 under the cultural category. Precisely it's long foregone past interests us, but does it also make room for drawing parallels with the history of Taiwan?

Taiwan has a 38 year long Dutch legacy (1624-1662).⁵ The port city of Malacca in Malaysia was under the Dutch from 1641-1795 and from 1818-1825. The VOC victory in 1641 almost coincided with the Dutch move north in Taiwan when the Spanish left their Isla Hermosa to better concentrate their forces in the Philippines. One thought came to mind: how it seems that Dutch Malacca is often regarded as being “forgotten” in a way very much similar to that of Dutch Formosa. Nonetheless, Dutch rule over Malacca lasted 160 years, the longest. “Dutch Malakka” served as a base from where the Dutch tried to control the trade passing through the Straits of Malacca. Unlike the beginning of Dutch Formosa, Malacca was seized - the Dutch being victorious over the Portuguese in 1641 after several unsuccessful attempts as early as 1606. The Portuguese had been in Malacca since 1511. By the time the VOC coveted Malacca, the port city was no longer a pivotal center for Portuguese maritime Asian trade. The Dutch siege cost many lives, because of the stronghold of the Portuguese A Famosa Fortress (The Famous) built under the first Portuguese administration of Viceroy Alfonso d’Albuquerque. Under Dutch administration, Melaka continued to be a flourishing trading city where mainly Chinese and Malay merchants traded commodities such as spices (pepper, nutmeg, clovers, cinnamon), tobacco, salt, dried fish, rice, rattan, ceramics and textiles. An important commodity at the time was tin, which the Dutch exported from Malaya.

Dutch rule prides itself for laying the foundations of a multicultural city. Residents not only consisted of Dutch, Chinese, evidently Malay but also a growing population of Portuguese, and *mestizo* or *casados* progeny. The collectivity of factories and fortresses that the Portuguese established all over Asia were known as *Estado da India* (State of India). For when the Portuguese, or citizens employed by the Portuguese crown, whose service in one of the factories of *Estado da India* ended, there remained the choice to either return home or to

⁵ We need to start paying attention that from 1664 to 1668 the VOC returned to Taiwan and had a settlement in Kelang. See Wills, John E. Jr. (2003). The Dutch Reoccupation of Chi-lung, 1664-1668. In Leonard Blussé (Ed.), *Around and About Formosa. Essays in Honor of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (pp. 273-290). Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education.

settle. Settlement required marriage, because only married men were permitted to settle. These policies imposed in the past still partly account for the diversity of ethnicities and Eurasians living in Malacca up to this day.

Here in Taiwan we are not so much interested in Dutch overseas expansion history when it is not directly related to Taiwan. But our internship fieldtrip to Malacca threw a different light on this, in particular our visit to St Paul's Church. St Paul's Church stands at the summit of St Paul's hills and was built by the Portuguese (originally built in 1521, renovated and completed in 1566). The church is famous as one of the burial sites of Francis Xavier (1506-1552)⁶. After the VOC siege, the church was used by the Dutch until they completed Christ Church Melaka down the hill about 212 years later. Precisely on the top of the hill, we did our discovery in the ruins of St Paul's Church. One enters the ruins through the side entrance. What looks like walking into an open space is in fact the church but without a roof. The rear is supported by a modern red steel arch and this section harbors the temporary grave of Francis Xavier. Souvenir vendors sit among the display of large grey tombstones that show remnants of the Dutch presence with inscriptions of prominent Dutch burials. The tombstones are put up vertically, resting against the church walls, and in no particular order of significance they are showcased to the public. It was on one of these inscriptions that we found the following text:

*Hier onder legt begraven
Joanna Six geboortich van
Tayoan huysvrouw vanden Coopman
en Sabandaer deser plaatse
Jacobus Pedel overleden den 1
January A 1696 out 40 jaren
9 maaanden en 15 dagen
Insgelyks
Haar voor haar op den 21 May 1695
overleden Soontyen Jacobus Pedel
de jonge out 7 maanden min 2 dagen*

⁶ Xavier had been an active missionary in the Maluku region of Indonesia from 1546-47. His work there paved the way for permanent missions in the years to come. Afterward, Xavier continued his missionary activities in Japan. He was such a success that the Catholic Church considers him to have converted the most number of people to Christianity since Saint Paul. Retrieved from <http://www.orientalarchitecture.com/malaysia/melaka/stpauls.php>, accessed 29 September 2011.

The English translation: “Laid to rest here is [I]onna Six who was born in Tayoan, wife of Jacobus Pedel, a merchant and a harbour master for Malacca town, departed this life on 1 January 1696 at the age of 40 years, 9 months and 15 days. Also, before her, on 21 May 1695 their son Jacobus Pedel Junior passed away at the age of less 2 days to 7 months.”⁷



Figure 6. St Paul's Church

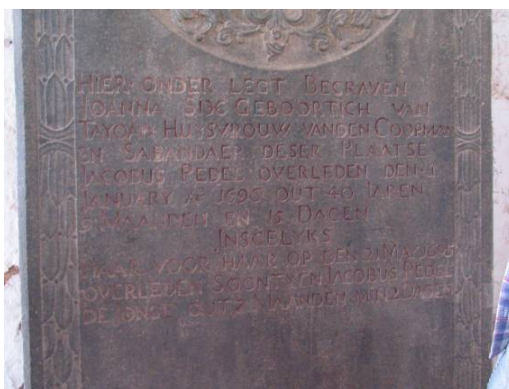


Figure 7. “Tayoan”



Figure 8. The Inscription in Translation

⁷ The text is transcribed from the plaque next to the tombstone.

Students of Taiwan's Dutch Formosa history are familiar with the names Pedel and Six. Lieutenant Thomas Pedel (ca 1610 Utrecht – 1661?) who made his career as the head of the Dutch local administration in Tampsuy after 1642 and Commissioner Daniel Six (1620-1675).⁸ Captain Jacobus Pedel (1653-1700) and Johanna Six (1655-1695/1696) were the son and daughter of Thomas and Daniel respectively.⁹ Jacobus and Joanna were born in Tayoan, but were married in Batavia in 1688, and it was their second marriage for both. Joanna's first husband was Johannes Rhynsdyck, (born in Delft) and they married in Batavia in 1671. Jacobus' first wife was Johanna Bosch (born in Malacca) and the couple married on 5 September 1675 in Batavia. With Joanna he had 2 children: Sara Pedel (1689 Batavia – 1751 Batavia) and Jacobus Pedel (1694-1695).¹⁰

What is the significance of this discovery in the Taiwan Studies context? We can hardly speak of an archeological discovery. The tombstones have been cleaned, the inscriptions transcribed and translated into English, and rendered in a plaque next to the tombstone. Yet the “discovery” of the word Tayoan filled us with joy and ecstasy. Is it the part of seeing 17th century Taiwan mapped outside of the island in one of the regions of Dutch rule in Southeast Asia? Is it the inscription of the word Tayoan that renders further legitimization to its existence in its geopolitical setting? The search for relics is another expression of the need to be recognized, that the VOC was in Taiwan, but that Taiwan also gained meaning in the collective memory of other nations, not just some idle spot. That one keeps looking for the visibility of Taiwan – past and present – is not totally unrelated to the invisibility of Taiwan in historical realities abroad, partly attributed to academic ignorance and reinforced by ideological One China pressure.

The vertical display of the tombstones inside the church' ruins are not the original sites. They used to be located outside on the surrounding hill which was the graveyard. In hindsight, the puzzling question was “how come the tombstone is preserved in Malacca while the person seemingly died in Batavia”? Is there some mistake in the records about their whereabouts

⁸ Daniel Six was born in 1620 in Middelburg (1620-1675) whose father was Anthony Six born in Antwerp ca 1590. His first wife was Catharina Stadlander. This information is retrieved from the database <http://www.martherus.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I2718&tree=martherus>, accessed 29 September 2011.

⁹ Johanna Six was the daughter of Daniel Six and Sara Gerrits van de Wilder (born ca 1630). They married in Batavia 1648/49. Jacobus Pedel was the son of Thomas Pedel and Francina Cunningham (ca 1617 Siam – 1659 Formosa). This information is retrieved from the database <http://www.martherus.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I2718&tree=martherus>, accessed 29 September 2011.

¹⁰ His third wife was Clara Reyniers, they married in 1698 and had another son called Jacobus Pedel, (ca 1699-?). This information is retrieved from the database <http://www.martherus.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I2718&tree=martherus>, accessed 29 September 2011.

around the time of the decease? Could they have been residing in Malacca? Has the tombstone been traveling? If so, where are the corporal remains? Is there maybe a connection with Pedel's first wife Johanna Bosch who was born in Malacca? The answer is on the tombstone itself; it mentions that Jacobus Pedel was a harbour master at Malacca.

Interestingly, earlier that day we had visited The Dutch Graveyard, which is located at a remote corner at the foot of St Paul's Hill. With regard to the Dutch presence in Malacca, the plaque at the entrance of the graveyard reads: "This graveyard was first used at the last quarter of the 17th century, presently 5 Dutch and 33 British graves are sited within its compound. This cemetery was used in two stages – that is between 1670-1682 and later between 1818-1838".

Translated from Bahasa melayu, there are two identified references to the Dutch graves¹¹:

7. Anna Raynierse van Schoon-hoven (27 years). Buried on 28-11-1670¹²

8. Louis Ferdinandus van Gale (46 years). Buried on 1-12-1674¹³

Our brief investigation made us conclude that there were indeed two engraved tombstones and two "empty" ones. The inscription to the right of the two "empty" ones, reads as follows:

*Hieronder ligt begraven Anna Reynierse van Schoonhoven, Huysvrouw van Jan Beeck,
vry coopman. Is geboren 24 Aug Anno 1645 : en overleden 28 Novemb 1670 out :27:
jaren 3: maenden 4: dagen
Mons Jan Beeck Saliger in zijn Leven
Vrijcoopman in Malacca
Obit den 28 Maert Anno 1682.*

The English translation: "Here is buried Anna Reynierse van Schoonhoven, houswewife of Jan Beeck, free merchant. Born 24 August 1645, and deceased on 28 November 1670. Age: 27 years, 3 months and 4 days

Mr Jan Beeck the late, in his lifetime

Free merchant in Malacca

¹¹ See "The Dutch Graveyard" entrance plaque, see Figure 9.

¹² See "The Dutch Graveyard" entrance plaque, see Figure 9.

¹³ See "The Dutch Graveyard" entrance plaque, see Figure 9.

Obit. 28 March 1682”

The engraved poem reads:

*'t Is haren man te ras
ontnomen door de Doot,
Die om haar Diensten groot,
Hem noch so nodig was*

The English translation: “Her husband taken away by Death before long,
Whose services were still in need, by him now gone”



Figure 9. Dutch Graveyard



Figure 10. Dutch Graves



Figure 11. Reading the Inscription

The confusing part for us was that on the spot no matter how hard we looked, we could not locate graves where in total five Dutch people were buried, as was mentioned on the entrance plaque. We also visited up the hill's summit in search for more tombstones of Dutch Malacca. We did not find any. Most of the tombstones were British, but then inside Christ Church Melaka at the foot of the hill, we found another tombstone that had the following Dutch inscription.¹⁴

*Hier leyd het lichaam van D'Heer Jacob Shamier Armensche Koopman
Dewelcke is overleden
Op den 7 Jyuly Anno Domini 1771
In den Ouderdom van 29 Jaeren*

The English translation: "Here lies the body of Mr Jacob Shamier Armenian merchant Who passed away on 7 July 1771 AD. At the age of 29 years"

To gaze at this tombstone, one of a commoner – Armenian merchant – in the mid-hall way passage of the church and of which the main inscription was carved in Portuguese, was even more surprising. The woman caretaker of the church told us that in want of materials to complete the church, the builders dragged one of the tombstones from the hill. That explains the presence of a commoner so-called buried in the church, but could it also be the "missing" tombstone from the Dutch grave? According to one posting that I came across accidentally, it were Portuguese wives of Dutchmen who were behind the idea to install the tombstones in the church – whether or not for lack of building materials – or to reveal some element of social standing or as the posting read "to be able to boast of a noble Portuguese ancestor to the Dutch."¹⁵ We were assured that the human remains were not transported to the church with the tombstone.

Walking around in Melaka is pretty much dominated by a feeling of European historical presence and combines well with the multicultural expression of the city today. The accumulation of historical layers Portuguese, Dutch and British in architecture and other cultural remnants is tale-telling. To date, only the Porta de Santiago gate of the once impressive Portuguese built A Famosa Fortress (built 1511 onwards) is remaining. With the

¹⁴ Taking photographs in the church is not permitted.

¹⁵ <http://www.orientalarchitecture.com/malaysia/melaka/christchurch.php>. Accessed 29 September 2011.

VOC siege of Melaka, the insigna VOC Anno 1670 was sculptured into the gate as a marker of Dutch rule after the gate had been renovated that year.

The Stadhuis or Town Hall (built 1641 -1660) is to date among the oldest and largest VOC building in Southeast Asia. It served as the civic center and housed the Dutch governor and his entourage. It is now converted to History, Ethnography Museum and Admiral Cheng Ho Gallery. The galleries cover the history of Melaka in chronological order, from its founding by the exiled Prince Parameswara, the Portuguese, Dutch and British rule of the city-state. The upper floors focus on modern history and Merdeka or the independence of Malaysia after the Second World War. Because the museum is housed in the old Dutch Stadhuis, it contains a replica of the Governor's housing quarters and offices, together with several other exhibits that exemplify Dutch rule of Malacca. These exhibits vary from commodities that were important in the VOC trade to military exhibits such as canons. In the adjacent galleries, the history is recounted on wall placards, with plenty of illustrations, paintings, sketches and maps. However, our visit to the Cheng Ho gave us a very memorable visual of the significance of Malacca as a trading port to intraregional and international trade at the time.



Figure 12. VOC in Stadhuis



Figure 13. Reading Malaysia's History



Figure 14. Section on Dutch Malakka



Figure 15. Portrait of Dutch Siege over Portuguese



Figure 16. Canon with VOC Insigna

In vein of this, I would like to conclude this report with some observations on the Dutch Formosa and Spanish Hermosa remnants in Taiwan today. The Japanese Government-General is responsible for the whole scale destruction of the 17th century Dutch fortresses, both in the south and the north. Fort Anping/ Fort Zeelandia 安平古堡 was demolished to build the dormitory for the Japanese customs, in which the museum and display hall is now located. Fort Noord-Holland – which was built on the foundations of the Spanish fortress – had to make way with the expansion of Jilong (Keelung) harbor in the interwar years. What is left of Fort Anping – a piece of the original red brick walls and entrance – is reminiscent of the gate at A Famosa Fortress. Similar is the Fort Provintia 赤崁樓 ruins. The “red-haired-people” Fort 紅毛城 in Danshui (Tamsui), called Fort Anthonio which still stands today dates from 1644.¹⁶ Inside the fortress is a museum. It is not my intention here to provide an in-depth analysis of comparison. That can wait for some other time as quite a few things still remain to be looked at, said and researched. I also noticed a couple of similarities. One of these was the random display of the tombstones. They reminded me of a similar display of Qing-dynasty tombstones as we can witness in Fort Provintia. Likewise for the state of the Dutch graveyard we visited. It was lying about deserted. Not dirty or untidy, but merely forgotten. We actually wiped the graves clean of the leaves that covered them so that we could read the inscriptions. I have heard similar remarks being made of foreign graveyards and cemeteries with forgotten graves in Taiwan. Some other time we can explore more about tombstones and graveyards in Dutch Formosa.

¹⁶ Fort Santo Domingo, use of Spanish still used until today.

