

〈信函譜、大員宗教會書〉簡介

An Introduction to *Brievenboek, Kerkboek van Formosa* (23 januari 1642 - 4 maart 1660)

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失真和誤報為 17 世紀台灣荷蘭社區蒙上一層陰影。目前在台灣歷史中，需要更多教會方面的研究，及重要跨文化遭遇的了解。這篇文章貢獻源自於一個大的研究計畫，該計畫研究焦點為尚未出版的手稿，這些手稿為關於台灣（1624-1662）荷蘭檔案資料和自我文獻（ego-documents）。筆者所要討論的手稿名為〈信函譜、大員宗教會書（1642 年 1 月 23 日至 1660 年 3 月 4 日）〉（*Brievenboek, Kerkboek van Formosa* (23 januari 1642 - 4 maart 1660)），屬於〈台灣教務議會決議錄〉的文獻。筆者將提供未揭露且詳細描述的荷蘭社區及其生活方式。

這未出版的手稿，引證有關台灣荷治時期的資料。這些資料共分三類：日誌、議會決議錄和往來信件。議會決議錄是目前保存〈台灣教務議會決議錄〉的重要部分。議會決議錄是殖民當局之備忘記載，由此可洞悉當日所推行決策的具體緣由。教務會議為台灣荷蘭改革宗教會內部的治理機構，主要任務在調解信徒之間的糾紛，並指派傳教士到原住民村落推行教會事工。

為了顧及員工之宗教需求，荷屬聯合東印度公司（VOC）也派遣荷蘭改革宗教的神職人員到東印度地區。荷蘭治台時期，神職人員大大活躍於台灣，並接掌世俗公務。他們不只照管公司員工和歐洲移民的生活，還積極向原住民傳福音。為此，他們在原住民各村落中設立學校，成功地教導原住民閱讀與寫字。學者對 17 世紀荷蘭時期台灣社會的教育，及學校發展史的了解，主要基於日誌及調查報告的內容，比較強調教育的行政制度。當然其價值很大，但是內容很少提及當時社會對讀寫教育的施行，及對教法教訓的接受程度。〈信函譜、大員宗教會書〉的豐富內容可讓我們知道，當時社會上對（宗教）教法及教訓所持有的態度。手稿的翻譯除了提供新資訊，增進我們對荷蘭福爾摩沙基督教教會的了解之外，也是認識當時荷蘭社區和他們生活方式的第一手資料。迄今，這些資料來源是有限的。比如，一部 17 世紀民間流行的劇本（1663 年印刷），包含兩位荷

蘭人在台灣當公司學校教師的對話錄，嘲諷學校教師和傳教士放浪的生活方式與道德態度。¹因為這是一篇虛構文章，屬於文學創作，這類小冊子的內容呈現現實的另一面。反之，〈信函譜、大員宗教會書〉則有歷史價值，是一種重要的文獻，可彰顯文學意象背後的歷史背景。

這些手稿係以 17 世紀尚未標準化的荷蘭文書寫，共計 403 頁，其內容包含兩個主要部分：第一部分為概括教會運作主要課題的決議案記錄，第二部分為宗教會大員小會跟阿姆斯特丹中會以及巴達維亞教務議會的往來信函。為此，本研究榮獲國科會研究補助計畫，供筆者完成了一個主題為翻譯檔案中未出版的 17 世紀手稿之計畫（2009 年 8 月至 2010 年 10 月，NSC 97WFA0300542）。而後又榮獲師大研發處「百年台灣：島嶼、旅行與文化再現」分項計畫之一的「17 世紀荷治期殖民地城市熱蘭遮城」。在此計畫中筆者將提供部分手稿的翻譯，尤其是第一部分，概括教會運作主要課題的決議案記錄。目前筆者正安排出版這些手稿。查昕博士也正著手進行把英譯版轉為中譯版，我們預期中譯版將在 2012 年秋天出版。

在文獻回顧中，這篇文章將公開 1642 年教會會議錄的翻譯。首先，筆者將手稿放在脈絡下討論。〈信函譜、大員宗教會書〉是一篇教會文件，帶有 17 世紀特別意義。乍看之下似隨筆閒談，但因為這是手稿的特質：傳教士評論喀爾文教義精神中，社區道德情形。〈信函譜、大員宗教會書〉之大員宗教會書內容描述時間為 1642 年至 1649 年。由佈局和架構可得知該手稿撰寫起始時間為 1642 年。接下來幾年，分錄更具有架構性，舉例來說，每 3 到 4 個月，*sensoram morum*（行為檢查）總被列為第一項目，且總結視查結果。

手稿本身也是一種特殊的歷史文件。我們處理的文本乃是極有代表性的宣教史料。這些教會相關文件由宣教師撰寫，旨在評論社群的道德風氣。其著重的目標在於把「文獻轉變為歷史調查」用於研究問題的脈絡中。²此多元方法使我們草擬出結論，不只是超越「時間常規」，更是個人訴諸於闡明不尋常和多樣的方法，回應來自以上和人民有關的政策。在分析文件中，主題式文獻的重點將是焦點所在。初步的研究成果顯示，這些手稿呈現三項重點，提供三個主題參考架構（經驗類別），使我們得以從中建構整個社群圖像。這些參考架構和當時重要事件記錄、社會及經濟變動的觀察，還有對於人物的評價有所關聯。有關社會變遷的主要資料出現於教育推展，以及基督教社群相關的記載。另

¹ 參見賀安娟 Ann Heylen, 2010, 〈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〉（Lampoon in the 17th Century: Samen-Spraeck tusschen Jan ende Gerrit），《台灣學誌》（*Monumenta Taiwanica*），第二期，頁 131-142。

² 見 Watson, C.W. (2000) *Of Self and Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

一種可幫助我們建構社群圖像的閱讀方法，乃是解讀宣教師撰寫的社會流動相關記錄、探訪傳導（*krankenbesoekers*），與東印度公司工作人員居留於台灣或者返回荷蘭或巴達維亞的記錄、即將搭船來台就任新職的探訪傳導的記錄，還有遠在荷蘭的妻子獲准前來台灣與丈夫團聚的議決案等記錄。此外，閱讀這些資料還能得知荷蘭人社區的情況，像是死亡情形、寡婦要求的補助款，還有依據子女人數及健康狀況來決定撥付多少補助款等事項。

當我們想要建立文本脈絡時，也就是文本形式架構，有幾個主題參考點，這些都需放置於脈絡之中來討論。舉例來說，*censuram moram*（行為檢查）為文本形式中一個重要的元素，且建造一個社區影像。和行為檢查相關的人物評斷文章中，針對荷蘭人社區以及「行為不良」的台灣原住民則表現出不同的語氣。宣教師之間的書信則在教會議會中大聲朗讀，其內容也會在會中被提出討論。此類書信對於某些人的前途產生進一步的阻擾或影響。從頭到尾皆有與行為檢查相關的敘述，使我們能夠創造或者建構社區歷史的開端。

Het houden des H. Avondmaels nabij sijnde, worden de ledematen gecensureert, en hoort de kerkenraad met leedwesen... [Holy Super nearing, the members are examined, and the Church Council hears with regret...]³

為了舉行聖餐儀式，必須得允許行為檢查。行為檢查中所記載的討論並非那些虔誠之人，而是罪人，例如：宗教或是道德上的罪人，其罪孽深重足以被記錄。這涉及到荷蘭人及當地人、學校教師、傳教士、家庭主婦和丈夫。紀錄糾紛案件中，雙方皆有準備辯護，且有公證人作記錄。如果想要完成一個完整畫面，我們必須獲得這些文件檔案，但這些檔案很有可能已經不存在。

社會變化的描述主要為教育擴展的記錄，它使我們勾勒出當時的學校環境與學校教師的圖樣。我們能得知薪資和周日下午背誦教義。由於是宗教教育，我們也會蒐集更多關於學習和背誦教義進度的資料。同時進行的有基督教社區發展資料的蒐集，尤其是新教堂的興建和所需花費，服務所需的銀器獲得，以及在 *Merkinius* 牧師過世之後，圖書館書籍的獲取與經費。而一般項目也包含行政責任，如：小會的領導權。

能使我們進一步描繪社區圖像的，是各種人士的遷移與流動，包括居於島上或返回母國及巴達維亞的傳教士、探訪傳導與東印度公司職員，以及正受雇前來的探訪傳導與

³ Brievenboek, Kerkboek, Eerste sessie 6 October 1642.

獲准遠渡重洋的母國妻子等，而上述情形之文獻記載將有助於建構更完整的社區圖像。來自各地區的傳道者與學校教師之替換原因如下：死亡、疾病、素行不良等。透過文本中各項專業職務的異動，我們得以追蹤並觀察人員間之流動情形。

就流動性的角度觀察，我們注意到這主要呈現在學校教師與探訪傳導之間。小會負責協調人事職務的流動，而流動的原因可從備忘錄中略知一二。1642-1649 年間，職務流動的原因包括生病、死亡、行狀及對調職的要求，如希望由探訪傳導調任為學校教師、政策顧問或士兵，反之亦同。有時候，是由小會強迫變更職責。例如 Jan Pietersz van Amesfoort 曾為探訪傳導，但受所謂降職為士兵階級。我們不清楚在何等情況會發生降職，通常是由於道德瑕疵。他申請成為探訪傳導的要求被拒絕了，因為並沒有任何改善跡象。⁴

在國外的期間亦據契約而定。契約之終結影響流動性。因此我們發現請求返回巴達維亞或荷蘭。這表示小會必須尋求其他人員取代。通常人員留置超過約定期間，是因為欠缺替換人。有趣的是士兵角色。在先前研究，筆者提及他們需要接受一定程度之教育。⁵就識字角度觀之，他們需符合所謂的基本識字。

以下有〈大員宗教會書〉1642 年 10 月 6 日、10 月 9 日、10 月 28 日及 11 月 23 日的英文翻譯。

First session held on 6 October

D. Simon van Breen and Sr Nicasius d'Hooze are appointed, in addition to Sr. Cornelius Cesar, appointed by the Council, on behalf of D. Rob. Junius and Bavius to visit some of the northern villages in Formosa, i.e. Soulang, Mattou, Sinckan, Backluan and Tavokan, and report their findings. They declare that they have found the congregations in these above-mentioned places in good condition. In spite of the fact that the light of the Gospel has only shone there for such a short time, it was hard not to find someone, even children from 7 to 8 years old, who didn't know how to recite the Lord's prayer, the articles of faith, ten commandments, morning and evening prayer as well as the prayers before and after the meal. Some young men who had been specifically instructed to be schoolmasters had made so much progress that even on the more prominent subjects of our religion, they could argue with particular knowledge and

⁴ *Kerkboek* (Fol. 31) 18 Sessie Den 3 May 1643 "Jan Pietersz van Amesfoort gewesene krankbesoecker tegenwoordich soldaet, versoeckende dat in zijn voorgaende ampt mochte gestelt werden, werde afgeslagen alsoo noch geen tekenen van beterschap betoont."

⁵ 賀安娟，1998，〈荷蘭統治之下的台灣教會語言學——荷蘭語言政策與原住民認字能力的引進 (1624-1662)〉，《台北文獻》直字第 125 期，頁 81-119。

discernment. The skill of writing also increased among the Formosan youth, and this is expected to increase even more if they are provided with good writing teachers.

With the ship d'Salmander about to depart for Batavia in a few days, it was deemed appropriate to inform not only the Church Council of Batavia, but also the homeland Classes of Amsterdam and Middelburg about the condition of the congregations of Teyoan and Formosa. Moreover, D. Simon van Breen, the elder Sr. Pieter Boon and the Deacon Mr. Philips have been chosen, together with the elders of Soulang, to hear the letter being read out loud, which will be sent in [our] collective name, and which was drafted by D. Bavius.

(Fol 2) With the celebration of the Lord's Supper approaching, the members are being examined and the Church Council hears with sorrow how Miss Pijls and Paulus Struijs along with his wife had verbally abused each other inappropriately. Sr. Schillemans was in dispute with Miss Pels, and was in particular most displeased with Sr. Cesar and his wife. Without restraint, Mayken Huiberts ...*moer* had scolded Miss Pijls on the street as an 'old woman'. Bartel Arendse and his wife were involved in a heated argument, which came close to irreconcilable disagreement with Willem Gijsens and Maiken Huiberts. Not only were very aggravating insults exchanged, but the women also got into a fight, hitting each other and inciting Bartel Arendse and Willem Gijsens to a duel. Arend Rossennaed, an attendant to the sick, lived in an unchristian and intemperate manner in the castle, keeping a slow and quarrelsome household. Hence the Church Council means to punish the most serious offences, admonish in order to improve, with the threat that in case of disobedience, it will terminate his employment and replace [him] with someone more competent. The other members mentioned would not only be punished and admonished in relation to their employment, but also be encouraged towards reconciliation, with the unruly being excluded from the Supper.

Simon van Breen

Preacher

Pieter Boon

Elder

Philippus Heijlman

Deacon

Nicolaes Reijerss Deacon

(Fol 3) 2 S, 9 October

The representatives report to the Council meeting that the letter drafted by Bavius was seen and read aloud. D. Simon van Breen observed that the letter mentioned that D. Bavius would take up residence in Soulang to replace Junius, but that D. Brenius would go and live in Sinckan, and supervise that place as well as Backluang and Tavocan, in addition to taking on the duty of carrying out the Dutch service in the castle. Consequently, the Council meeting considered whether it would be advisable and appropriate to either change or leave the aforementioned words intact as regards meaning. This way D. Bavius (as D. Junius had done before) would have universal authority over all the churches in that district. D. Brenius, with the exception of the Dutch service at the castle, and the study of the Sinkan language, while on duty would also supervise to some extent the behaviour of the attendants to the sick and the schoolmasters in the aforementioned locations, as well as the supervision over the southern villages that was ascribed in the same letter to the licentiate Merkuni. Such seemed to be the meaning implied by the words of Bavius because a few days earlier his E. [President] had with a long and serious argument maintained during the meeting that nevertheless supervision ought to be with D. Brenius, who has the most ecclesiastical authority and power over the congregations of Sinckan, Backloan and Tavocan. The Council meeting understood unanimously that those suspect words should be changed so that they could be cleared of any possible suspicion of exaggerated opinions. However, D. Bavius would not hear of it and rejecting the conclusion of the meeting disapproved of a letter being sent in the collective name. He [said he] would write one in the name of Soulang. The Church Council in Teyoan could do likewise, let it be understood, however, during the day it had given the matter more consideration, and agreed to the changes made in the letter, such as that which mentioned the sending of it in the collective name. These were approved in all parts, and D. Junius was given the task of ordering this to be done.

(Fol 4) The preacher Simon van Breen and Sr. Boon, elder, also reported the visits which they had made. Sr. Schillemans and Miss Pels were reconciled, as well as the aforementioned Schillemans and his wife with Sr. Cesar and his wife, Miss Pijls with Paulus Struis and his wife, Mayken Huiberts with Miss Pijls, Bartel Arendse and his wife with Willem Gijssen and his wife. Arend Rossennaed denied much and made many excuses, promising in future to walk the Christian way, not committing any offence. With the remainder of the congregation all was well.

The brothers of the Church Council celebrate *censuram morum* with complete contentment amongst themselves.

Simon van Breen
Nicasius de Hooghe
Elder
Pieter Boon
Philippus Heylman
Nicolaes Reyerss

(Fol 5) 3 S, 28 October

With two attendants to the sick, who had been residing in Soulang, not having much work to do, and as Backluan was in need of a good attendant to the sick, due to the illness of Hendrik van Beek, whose condition did not show signs of immediate improvement, it has been agreed that Joost Gillisz would be transferred from Soulang to Backluan, not only to give him more practice in the Sinckan language, but also for him to supervise the schoolmaster in Backluan who is still a young man, intending that in time he will perform all the duties of the attendants to the sick. These matters will be communicated to D. Bavius.

Anna van Lameyen is pregnant, and a monthly allowance which has been set at 4rl and 56 pennies a month has been requested from the revenue of the church social welfare fund. Morens Stormgoed, a schoolmaster, who has been sacristan for a while, from now on requires a monthly salary. It has been approved that he will receive 1/2rl and 56 pennies at the beginning of every month; because the new church was repaired and his position has involved extra duties, and [because] his behaviour has not given cause for complaint, he may seek [financial] improvement and can expect it.

After it was debated several times among the brothers as to whether it was advisable to make, for the use of the church, some silver utensils, such as two goblets, a jug, three table dishes, a bread dish and two smaller dishes to be put on the table for collecting the special alms during the celebration of the Lord's Supper: this matter was finally given good consideration in all its aspects and unanimously approved.

Simon van Breen
Nicasius de Hooghe
Pieter Boon
Philippus Heijlman
Nicolaes Reijerss

(Fol 6) 4 S, 23 November presided over by Simone van Breen

Attendant to the sick Hendrick van Beek demonstrated his weakness and bodily impotence, and as a result of his determined resolution to leave for the motherland after the termination of his contract, which is now about half-finished, he has requested to be dismissed from Backluan, where he has been ordered to reside for a couple of months now, and to be dispatched from here on an expedition. His dismissal from Backluan has been approved by the Church Council, but his dispatch will be communicated to D. Bavius.

Attendant to the sick Jan Bouwensz van Leeuwarden, currently appointed on the jacht Breskens requests as a result of his qualifications to be employed in Formosa; which will be granted to him by the Church Council after the approval of the E. President and his Council. He is to be contracted for seven years, and after the end of the first year of the contract, he will receive a rise in accordance with the services rendered.

Attendant to the sick Daniel Jonassz van Enkhuisen, currently appointed on the fleet ship Castricum, making the same request as above, was likewise given approval, but contracted for ten years, and after the end of the first year of the contract, will receive a rise, in accordance with services rendered, and the following year will be given permission to bring his wife here from the motherland.

Simon van Breen

Nicasius de Hooghe

Pieter Boon

Philippus Heijlman

Nicolaes Reijerss

(Fol 7) 5 S

Simon van Breen and Sr. Nicasius d'Hooge report how the honorable President and his Council had been pleased by the hiring of Jan Bouwerss and Daniel Jonass as well as the dismissal of Hendrik van Beecq, all of them attendants to the sick.

Then, a letter, sent by D. Bavius, was read out, in which he agreed with the departure and dispatch of Hendric van Beecq, and [said] that the newly hired attendants to the sick would first be put under some supervision. However, he cannot comprehend at all why Joost Gillisz is to be appointed in Backluan, and indicated several locations, which, in his opinion, were

more in need of attendants to the sick than Backluan.

The Church Council considering this letter – which was written in a somewhat proud way – agrees not to reply to it; however, it will dispatch Hendric van Beecq at the first opportunity to Batavia or elsewhere; make Daniel Jonassz reside in Mattou; and postpone the placement of Jan Bouwensz until D. Bavius arrives. But with regard to Joost Gillisz, the Church Council understands that he will go to Backluan for reasons best known to himself. It envisages all the more that other places, which are in need, will be helped by the newly-hired attendants to the sick no less than by Joost Gillisz.

D. Bavius will be notified in writing of all the things, which will emerge during the coming weeks, amongst which several issues will be debated in the Church Council. And if it were to happen that D. Bavius should bring elders with him from Soulang, the meeting would not accept these members (for E. President and his Council, the Soulang Church Council, has not and cannot approve this).

Attendant to the sick Gerrit Jansz Hartgring van Hasselt, recently moved here by recommendation from Kelang (Fol 8) has been hired in service of the churches on the same conditions as Jan Bouwersz van Leeuwarden.

Simon van Breen

Nicasius de Hooghe

Philippus Heylman

Nicolas Reyerss