

陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫－西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案

陽明山國家公園管理處委託辦理報告（104年度）

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## —西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



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中華民國 104 年 12 月

(本報告內容及建議，純屬研究小組意見，不代表本機關意見)

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受委託者：財團法人自由思想學術基金會

研究主持人：翁佳音

研究助理：簡宏逸、林逸帆、洪維晟、蘇文邦、李碩珞

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陳國治



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### 成果報告基本資料表

一、辦理單位	陽明山國家公園管理處			
二、受託單位	財團法人自由思想學術基金會			
三、年 度	104 年度	計畫編號	1040706	
四、計畫性質	行政			
五、計畫期間	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日			
六、本期期間	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日			
七、計畫經費	870 千元			
	資本支出	0 仟元	經常支出	0 仟元
	土地建築	0 仟元	人事費	583.44 仟元
	儀器設備	0 仟元	業務費	32 仟元
	其 他	0 仟元	差旅費	5 仟元
			設備使用及維護費租金等	0 仟元
			材料費	0 仟元
			其 他	154.836 仟元
			雜支費	15.724 仟元
			行政管理費	79 仟元
八、摘要關鍵詞（中英文各三筆） 陽明山、淡水、硫磺 Yangmingshan, Tamsuy, sulfur				
九、參與計畫人力資料：				
參與計畫 人員姓名	工作要項 或撰稿章節	現職與 簡要學經歷	計畫參與期程	
翁佳音	計畫主持人、文章 撰寫、考訂、注釋	中央研究院台 灣史研究所副 研究員	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日	

簡宏逸	文章撰寫、資料彙整、資料收集	國立臺灣師範大學臺灣語文學系博士候選人	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 6 月 30 日
林逸帆	文章撰寫、資料彙整、排版、修訂	國立政治大學臺灣史研究所博士候選人	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日
蘇文邦	資料收集、修訂、文章撰寫、	國立政治大學臺灣史研究所碩士	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日
洪維晟	資料收集、排版、修訂、	國立清華大學歷史研究所博士候選人	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日
李瑞源	資料收集、修訂	國立成功大學博士	2015 年 7 月 1 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日
李碩珞	資料收集	國立政治大學臺灣史研究所碩士生	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日
陳貴美	行政庶務	國立空中大學公共行政學系	2015 年 2 月 14 日至 2015 年 12 月 25 日

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## 摘 要

關鍵詞：陽明山、淡水、硫磺,荷蘭東印度公司檔案

### 一、研究緣起

以陽明山及其周遭地區為中心，從社會經濟史長期結構的角度，蒐集與陽明山及其周遭地區有關的史料，以嘗試建構十六、七世紀陽明山周圍的相關可靠之歷史文獻。

### 二、研究方法及過程

研究方法以傳統的史料蒐集與考訂，主要以荷蘭檔案為主，其他相關文獻為輔，地理範疇為今日陽明山國家公園相關之地區。

### 三、重要發現

在修訂物產方面有一定的成果，特別是動植物。並註解相關度量衡、地名與社名。硫磺作為陽明山的重要產物，早已站上歷史舞台，在近代初期有一定的產量，其「歷史的結構性」值得注意。淡水紅毛城作為當時的行政中心，與陽明山在歷史上有一種密不可分的關係。

### 四、主要建議事項

具體建議，分別從立即可行建議及中長期建議加以列舉。

#### 建議一

建議主題：立即可行建議

主辦機關：陽明山國家公園

協辦機關：無

本計畫提到臺灣北部出口的籐數量即多，可能與陽明山相關性大。故於地方會議所使用的權杖，本體即可能為籐。故提供影像，建議將來可以與創產結合，以供重建與再製。

## 建議二

建議主題：立即可行建議

主辦機關：陽明山國家公園

協辦機關：無

透過本次資料蒐集計畫，可以發現陽明山重要產業如硫磺有其結構發展，建議重整、結合過去研究，以促進該研究深化。

## 建議二

(建議主題)：中長期建議

主辦機關：陽明山國家公園

協辦機關：新北市立淡水古蹟博物館

陽明山國家公園未來可以與新北市立淡水古蹟博物館交流合作。

## ABSTRACT

Keywords: Yangmingshan, Tamsuy, sulfur, VOC,

The purpose of the research is to establish a historical collection about Yangmingshan and surrounding area in 16th and 17th centuries by a long-term perspective of social and economic history, for construct a reliable history of Yangmingshan. The primary source of this research is based on VOC archives. The main results are to make a systematic collation of produce from Yangmingshan and surrounding area, and provide further explanations for related place or villages names, and nouns of measurement units at that time. The results revealed that sulfur as an important product of Yangmingshan, had a significant and long-lasting effect on Yangmingshan's historical development. Moreover, the redoubt Anthonio in Tamsuy, as an administration center in northern Taiwan during that period, also had an inseparable relationship with Yangmingshan's history.

## 第一章 研究緣起

### 一、研究緣起

從歷史文獻的角度來說，十六、十七世紀左右已有陽明山及其周遭地區相關的物產方面的明確記載。不少物產，透過當地原住民以及外來的漢人，於臺灣北交易，而交易的範圍包含基隆河北岸，士林北投、內湖等地以及沿海地區，儼然形成一個陽明山及其周遭地區下之臺灣北部的商業網絡圈。

本人自近幾年來以來，在研究方法上一直使用歐美學界的「近代初期史（Early Modern）」分期概念，即十六到十八世紀前期歷史，以期克服臺灣經歷荷蘭、西班牙、明鄭到清前期等諸政權所產生的分期問題，同時亦強調社會經濟史長期結構的發展與連續性。透過這樣的研究方法，本次史料收集計畫將可說明十六、十七世紀陽明山地區在東亞史，以至世界史之中的地位。這樣的成果，由此期報告中稍可見一端。另外，在史料上，本人自間接與直接參與江樹生教授主持之《熱蘭遮城日誌》<sup>1</sup>與《長官書信》譯註計畫以來，在翻譯經驗上雖略有建樹，但也清楚當時自己識見不足造成的錯誤，或是有欠考慮的中譯詞亦有不少。本次計畫的目標之一是整理史料並撰寫通俗說明以供大眾使用，故史料選擇上以目前既刊之中譯及英譯史料為主，並在整理過程中考訂修正既有翻譯中的問題，使本次計畫在整理與陽明山相關之檔案之外，亦有自我檢討以對學界、社會負責之意義。

本計畫主要以荷蘭臺灣檔案中的基礎史料《熱蘭遮城日誌》，近年已經由江樹生教授完成全四冊的中文翻譯。此外，荷蘭學者包樂史（Leonard Blussé）等人從荷蘭國家檔案館所藏原始檔案與文獻，摘選出有關荷治時代之臺灣原住民資料，以英語編譯成四冊之 *The Formosan encounter*。主要以這兩部史料為基礎，參照其他文獻或檔案（如西班牙史料 *Spaniards in Taiwan*、漢籍、日語文獻），整理並核對照原文獻，做出陽明山及其鄰近周圍的比較正確之史料，提供有意嘗試建構十六、七世紀陽明山周圍的北部臺灣歷史者更可靠之文獻。

本計畫希望透過如上所言的史料整理及分析，解讀臺灣北部之陽明山相關地區，是否在近代初期以來，便具有國際性格？臺灣的土地開發與經濟中心發展的歷程，是否如通俗觀念所說「由南而北」？北臺灣在歷史上，果真如南部臺灣來說為後進之區？而陽明山相關地區之產業發展又是如何？透過陽明山及其附近的史料，似乎可相當程度回應、或提供這方面的初步解答。

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<sup>1</sup> 本人一直使用《臺灣城日誌》之譯名，理由是原書書題如此，另一方面，「臺灣」兩字，較「熱蘭遮」易於誦記，唯此處所提及的是既刊出版品，故仍保留原有的書名。



## 二、研究方法及過程

本計畫資料整理之時間範圍，為十七世紀，即 1622-1688 年間產生的史料。以《熱蘭遮城日誌》與 *The Formosan Encounter* 兩套書籍之史料為主，並整理、摘要西班牙史料 *Spaniards in Taiwan* 於〈十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記〉，以補充 1642 年之前陽明山地區的相關記錄，繼而蒐集 17 世紀其他與陽明山相關史料，且進行彙整。

本計畫的研究方法，基本上是傳統的史料蒐集與考訂。除了蒐集之外，將《熱蘭遮城日誌》中的相關翻譯重新思考、修改，是本計畫重要的工作之一。

在本次研究過程中，將本計畫的地理範疇定在與今日陽明山國家公園相關之地區，故將其限制在淡水地區，也就是所謂的紅毛城、淡水河流域以北，沿著陽明山沿山的地理範圍，又雞籠地區因離本計畫相關地理範圍過遠，在資料收集中將盡量排除，然若在與淡水、陽明山地區相關時，不可避免的情況下將收錄。（見下頁研究範圍區域圖）

由於史料內容過分龐雜，在進行分類與收集的過程中，將其分為〈地圖彙整〉、〈史料彙整〉、〈十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記〉。〈地圖彙整〉則是整理與陽明山及周遭地區相關之古地圖；〈史料彙整〉則是整理與陽明山及周遭地區相關史料，以年排列並考證、修訂與註解。

〈十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記〉為使將本次史料彙整更易了解，同樣以年排列，並將〈史料彙整〉中的內容分類糧食、交通、硫磺、原住民、殖民、動植物等六種，並盡量簡單摘要，其中縮寫為 DZ 為《熱蘭遮城日誌》，FE 指 *The Formosan Encounter*，ST 是 *Spaniards in Taiwan*。

〈十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記〉與〈史料彙整〉可相互對照。



圖 1-1 上圖：研究範圍區域圖；下圖：研究範圍古地名與地圖

資料來源：上圖，google earth；下圖：大臺北古地圖。

陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



## 第二章 研究發現

### 第一節 史料提要

16 世紀中葉之前，有些論者以《明實錄》洪武二十五年五月有「才孤那等駕舟河蘭埠採硫黃於海洋，遇大風飄至小琉球界，取水被殺者八人，餘得脫」記載，主張十四世紀就已有外人來到臺灣北部採硫。<sup>2</sup>不過，「河蘭埠」地名，見諸鄭舜功《日本一鑑》，是在今奄美大島產硫之處。<sup>3</sup>亦有學者主張元人汪大淵的《島夷志略》，琉球部分是指臺灣，但學界仍未定論。無論如何，十六世紀中葉之後，明朝官方文獻已明確指出，「同安、海澄、龍溪、漳浦、詔安等處奸徒，每年四、五月間告給文引，駕駛烏船，稱往福寧載鐵、北港捕魚，及販雞籠、淡水者，往往私裝鉛硝等貨，潛赴倭，無販糴之名，有通倭之實」，<sup>4</sup>可見中國官方已發行執照，允許漢人前來淡水、雞籠捕魚、貿易。其中，「硫磺」等戰爭火藥原料違禁品，早已從雞籠、淡水秘密輸出。而且，我們進一步可看到，當時日本、中國與葡萄牙、西班牙船隻停留於淡水的紀錄。

自 17 世紀 30 年代開始，《熱蘭遮城日誌》中記載：無論是西班牙人，或是荷蘭人，都得透過漢人來採買中國商品。1633 年 3 月 22 日船長 Claes Janssen 查獲帶著幾包畫有西班牙商標之麵粉，要從雞籠前往馬尼拉之中國船隻。船上人員聲稱，是於去年，在無通行證情況下航離福州前往雞籠，從雞籠前往馬尼拉。西班牙字母標示的貨物，主要的是麵粉、小麥，一些瓷器和其他雜物。1633 年 7 月 29 日，荷蘭人甚至向泉州的海道與廈門游擊，以及向一官（鄭芝龍）要求能在海澄、漳州（Chancheu）、安海、泉州自由通行買賣；同時也希望荷蘭船隻能夠安全在鼓浪嶼、廈門、烈嶼、浯嶼及其他優良的停泊處停靠。1654 年 8 月 13 日誌，提到荷蘭人雇用篷船要派往淡水和雞籠載運煤碳。可見漢人在北部臺灣的商業網絡圈中，佔有一定的地位。

中外文獻中，處處可見當時漢人已頻繁地往來於基隆（雞籠）、淡水一帶，這些被明朝官員形容為「閩省窮民走海如鶩」的人民，除了「指窟穴於臺灣」，即臺南之外，是否會如在日本一樣「長子孫於唐市」，可能也已在北部地區形成漢人聚落。

此外，1635 年以後，西班牙人因呂宋南部變亂迭起，漸無暇顧及臺灣，漸減臺灣北部的駐軍，1638 年，甚至從淡水撤兵。有意思的是，荷蘭人統治下的臺灣（臺南）商人已開始前來進行交易。之後，接替西班牙統治的荷蘭人已准許漢人居住雞籠、淡水，從事貿易、農耕等事。1655 年 6 月 28 日，臺灣評議會的會議上，討論要派一艘船隻前往雞籠，並運載胡椒、蘇木、鉛、錫或其他貨物，以便吸引福州或是稍北的沙埕商人前來貿易，促使商館貿易活動更加

<sup>2</sup> 小葉田淳，《金銀貿易史の研究》（東京：法政大學出版局，1976），頁 194，註 21。

<sup>3</sup> 鄭舜功，《日本一鑑》，頁 408。

<sup>4</sup> 許孚遠，〈疏通海禁疏〉，《敬和堂集》卷四，頁 27。

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案

活絡。顯示荷蘭東印度公司有將臺灣的貿易範圍推往北部，但 1655 年後北臺灣瘟疫連年，國姓爺來襲的傳言不斷，此事成效如何，有待進一步再探索。

根據本次整理史料的過程中，我們發現在北部的交易圈，以稻米跟硫磺之交易尤為突出。此外只要持有通行證，由臺灣北部出口的船隻不在少數，透過了解其出口貨品有助於對陽明山及其周遭地區物產能進一步了解。此外，荷蘭東印度公司對北部林木資源試圖進行探勘，也讓我們對十七世紀中葉陽明山地區及其附近的植物，稍有初步之理解。茲簡述如下：

一、稻米

對十七世紀北臺灣的外來者來說，糧食總是第一件煩惱的事。當西班牙人初抵北臺灣時，即使透過用武力向原住民取得不少稻米，但不到一年就遇到糧食不足的問題，需要派船至柬埔寨購米。當時北臺灣原住民大多有從事類似旱作的農耕，產量如何，文獻目前仍不完備，但由現有資料中，可發覺原住民的農耕相關禁忌，經常與荷蘭人互動時發生問題。進而，當淡水與雞籠發生食米不足時，往往需要從日本、中國，以及暹羅、柬埔寨等地運來，甚至有從噶瑪蘭收購而來。後者在十七世紀的紀錄中，常是淡水與雞籠的米糧糧食重要產地。由《日誌》記載來看，如在雞籠與荷蘭人互動頻繁的金包里（Kimauij）人，除操舟捕魚以外，在糧食不足時，也會操舟往後山噶瑪蘭交易稻米。

當時北臺灣的稻米經鼓勵種作後，似已有一定的生產量，但這些米穀的生產，有時也被當成經濟作物而非民生口糧。因此，1648 年臺灣商館便決議要求駐紮淡水的下席商務官 Antony Plokhoy 設法嚴禁任何穀物被運往中國。由於米穀被當成交易項目，自己存糧不足時，得向外購買。例如 1655 年，淡水與雞籠發生飢荒。7 月 24 日在臺灣評議會的許可下，從漢人由中國運來臺灣的貨物中，收購了一千袋米，用以援助正在飢荒中的淡水、雞籠原住民。這些米運到淡水和雞籠後，很快就被原住民買光。

二、動物

在 1631 年的記載，淡水有很多當地居民拿鹿、山羌（rhee）等野生動物，以及水果土產來交易。<sup>5</sup>鹿、山羌（rhee）則是以皮為交易，rhee 雖然在歐洲通常指「山羊」，但在亞洲脈絡中，則指「獐」、「麋」，其中台語通常叫「羌」。清代文獻作「淡水番社有獻獐皮者」（《東瀛識略》），即指淡水原住民用山羌皮貢納。鹿、山羌（rhee）。此外，尚可見含牛、馬、驢子。<sup>6</sup>海產則常見有鯊魚翅、蠔、淡菜與海菜（groente）之類。<sup>7</sup>而蠔殼也是當時石灰的重要來源。

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<sup>5</sup> 江樹生譯，《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 49。

<sup>6</sup> L. Blussé, N. Everts, *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol. 4, p. 153

<sup>7</sup> 江樹生譯，《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 112、124。



除此之外，雖然本次計畫中並未尋找到穿山甲的痕跡，但是臺灣登上近代初期世界舞台後，歐洲人對於島上陸地跑來跑去，又鑽洞的穿山甲非常好奇，稱之臺灣魔鬼（den Duyvel van Tajovan, the Devil of Formosa）。<sup>8</sup>穿山甲，台語通常叫 lâ-lí，文獻上漢字文雅化為「鱗鯉」，不知何故走獸會寫成帶有魚部，好像也沒聽過有人把穿山甲叫成 lêng-lí。既然有穿山甲蹤跡，照理應會反映在地名上。像屏東車城附近自古就有「鱗鯉溪」；中部大肚，以前有地名叫「勝胥（lâ-si）」，若非原住民語，是否大膽往穿山甲方面推想？臺灣魔鬼太奇特了，所以十七世紀以來就有歐洲人抓生體或做標本送回歐洲，還登上圖鑑咧。1717 年，俄國的彼得大帝去荷蘭，收購了一位非常有名荷蘭人的收藏品。清單中，有「福爾摩沙島臺灣魔鬼 Taoaansche Duivel van 't Eyland Formosa」。

牛隻的部份，在陽明山周遭地區，目前可見的資料顯示，於今日麟山鼻（dorren hoeck）地區，於荷蘭時代有開始養牛，而輸入臺灣的牛隻，從《日誌》可完全確定，絕大部分是由澎湖運來。



圖 2-1 穿山甲（lâ-lí）

資料來源：Albertus Seba, *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri accurata descriptio*. Amstelaedami : Apud J. Wetstenium, & Gul. Smith, & Janssonio-Waesbergios, 1734-1765.



圖 2-2 荷蘭時代牛隻（福爾摩沙荷蘭人港口描述圖）

資料來源：國立臺灣博物館

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 255, 541.

### 三、林木資源

#### 1. 竹子

1642 年荷蘭人在淡水建立統治後，便不斷要求淡水河沿岸原住民運竹子到淡水堡壘。從後續史料可知，這些竹子是要用來建造兵營、籬笆、倉庫、住宅之用。因此，我們可以想像在淡水紅毛城周圍佈滿竹屋、竹圍的景象。但竹造房屋不耐火，史料上有多次遭受祝融之災的紀錄。竹子作為建材也不具耐久性，故 1642、43 年間由 Thomas Pedel 建造的竹屋，不到十年即快腐爛光。

#### 2. 籐

史料中記載，臺灣北部出產或出口許多籐，恐怕產自於陽明山上，為此地區的重要物產。而籐除了出口以供製造器物外，也有作為固定物品的用途，如在淡水建造堡壘的時候，周圍有木柵，「堡壘周圍有木柵，木柵是用籐條綁住薄木板（dun hout）」。<sup>9</sup>除此之外，地方會議或儀式所使用的大量籐仗，恐怕也與本地有關，但籐仗的製造地不一定在淡水。



圖 2-3 籐仗圖

資料來源：瑞士人傭兵 Caspar Schmalkalden 手繪圖

<sup>9</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 49。

### 3.其他植物與木材

此次報告中，我們校正了一些果樹，如橘、桔與桑椹之外，也指出陽明山地區有良好的木材。<sup>10</sup>荷蘭人在 1650 年代有很積極的投入調查。雖然得有情報顯示圓山上蘊藏許多可以做為棟樑的木材，但實際調查後卻沒發現任何蹤影。<sup>11</sup>為了找尋建設用的林木，委任了隊長 Thomas Pedel 在雞籠淡水一帶實行探查，其中也得到了西班牙購買木材價錢的相關情報。<sup>12</sup>根據 Pedel 的調查結果，淡水附近的森林裡有可以做為桅杆和建材的木頭，原住民也願意在支付薪水的前提下，幫忙將木材運到淡水，但荷蘭人對此持保留的態度。<sup>13</sup>雖然 Pedel 的調查是如此樂觀，但上席商務官 Pieter Elsevier 則相對保守看待，雖然發現許多的樟樹，但並沒看到任何的針葉樹與橡樹，而且光是運送砍下的木材就會是一項艱難的工作。<sup>14</sup>因為如此，臺灣商館決定暫時擱置伐木的計畫。<sup>15</sup>

過程中，他們探勘了淡水河正後方的原野、磺山腳下、圓山等地的森林。與陽明山地區最有關的，為淡水河正後方之原野。根據 Pedel 的報告，當地有樟樹、橡樹、greyne 等樹種。而 Elsevier 也記載了硫磺山腳下有樟樹森林，該段描述對了解陽明山將有一定幫助。

過去，本人與江樹生教授沒能正確解讀 greyne 是何樹種，但目前已判明是與 *pinus sylvestris* 相似之類。雖然這種樹木為北歐寒帶地區的樹種，但荷蘭人以熟悉的詞彙描述自己陌生的植物，亦為正常之事。故 greyne 應指某種松樹。由此例，不只可說明學術後出而轉精，亦可證明透過歷史語言之解讀，臺灣的歷史環境史還有很多故事可寫。

### 四、原住民

在本計畫的番社中，若透過蕃社戶口表來看，應屬於淡水地方集會區之一。淡水地方集會區根據中村孝志的整理，包含雞籠、淡水河流域、新店溪流域、龜崙地區、淡水堡壘以南（淡水河以南）以及噶瑪蘭地區。真正屬於本計畫的只有淡水地方以及淡水河流域以北，以下簡列該區有記錄的村落名：

村落名	漢譯名	荷語拼音
Kirabaraba	嘎嘮別（北投）	
Kimassauw	麻少翁、毛少翁	Kimassouw / Kimassou / Kimassouw / Kimassau / Malsaou / Masiaou

<sup>10</sup> 江樹生譯，《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 637。

<sup>11</sup> 江樹生譯，《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊，頁 290。L. Blussé, N. Everts, *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol. 3, pp. 506-507。

<sup>12</sup> L. Blussé, N. Everts, *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol.4, pp. 29-33。

<sup>13</sup> L. Blussé, N. Everts, *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol.4, pp. 63-64。

<sup>14</sup> L. Blussé, N. Everts, *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol.4, pp. 73-76。

<sup>15</sup> L. Blussé, N. Everts, *The Formosan Encounter*, Vol.4, pp. 97-98。



Lisiouck	里族	Litsoeck / Litsiongh / Litsock / Litsouck / Litsvongh / Kiliessouw
Kipatauw	北投	Kijpatauw / Kijpatou / Kipatauw / Kippatauw / Kipatou / Kipatouw / Kijpatauw / Kijpatou
Touckunan	奇獨龜崙社、大屯山社	Touckenan / Towquenan / Touckunan
Kirragenan	奇里岸、噶里岸	/Kieraanganon / Kerannanna / Kernannananna / Quiranganan
Pourompon	巴琅泵、大浪泵、大龍峒	Pourompom / Paronpon / Paronghpo
Kimoitsie	奇武卒、奎府聚	Kimoijtsie / Kimaltsiou / Kimoutsiou / Kimoetsiouw / Kijmoutsiou / kinoitsie / kimoijtsie / kimaltsion / kinouthie / kieuwetchie / kimoitsie
Cattayo	搭搭攸	Kataya / Cattaja / Kataijo / Kataijo / Cattaye / Kaijtaijo / Catajou / Catuya / Cattia / Kattia
Kimalitsigowan	麻里即吼、錫口	/Malotsigauan / Kimalotsigauan / Malessekou / Malotserouaen / Kimadaminadauw / Madomadou
Kipangas	峰仔峙	Kipanas / Kipangas / Kypanas / Ratsecan
Chinaer	林子社	Sinack / Senaer / Chinas / Cenaer / Chinar / Chinaer / Chettaer / Cginaar / Senaer / Cenar / Caenaer / Cenor / Cenner / Chinaen / Chinaar
Kypabe	小雞籠社	Kaggilach / Cackerlack / Cackerlac ; Kipas / Kypabe / Kibabbe
Cackerkack	小雞籠社	
Toetona	大屯山社	
Tappare	沙八里	Tapare / Tappare / Taparri / Tapparij

資料來源：中村孝志，《荷蘭時代臺灣史研究》下卷，（台北縣：稻鄉，2001），1-23；翁佳音，《大臺北古地圖考釋》，台北縣：稻鄉，2006。

## 第二節 陽明山交通

聯絡雞籠與淡水這兩個重要據點的來往交通，根據西班牙傳教士以及荷蘭人自西班牙相關人士打聽來的記錄，基本上聯絡這兩個據點可以走海路與陸路兩種。若根據 1631 年荷蘭檔案的記載，若從雞籠到淡水，沿著沿岸由海上聯絡兩地，大約需行走 111 公里，<sup>16</sup>但是沿途有淺灘不易航行；<sup>17</sup>陸路的話，行走約 222 公里（或 148 公里）<sup>18</sup>，有兩種途徑，一種是沿著海岸，一種是走內陸，據稱這兩種陸路都是適合行走的平順道路。<sup>19</sup>隔年的 Diego Aduarte 神父寫下他行走於雞籠、淡水之間，自行估計大約有 110 公里（20 league），前往淡水是行走海路，但海象不好，回程則改走陸路。<sup>20</sup>但在同一個檔案中，他又稱雞籠、淡水兩個據點之間，約有 165 公里（30 league）。

就陸上交通而言，絕非西班牙、荷蘭人來之後才新行開闢，而是在當地居民帶領之下，長久以來的慣行道路。就像我之前所說「路，通常是番人或人走出來的。」<sup>21</sup>這是因此透過檔案所描述的道路，將其視為居民的聯絡兩地的交通道路也不為過。而這裡提到聯絡雞籠、淡水陸路有兩種，一種應該是經由北海岸的道路，另一種則是透過河流，如 Diego Aduarte 神父所寫，其回程的時候經由河流回到雞籠，<sup>22</sup>同樣也可以見於耶士基佛神父（Fr. J. Esquivel）的報告「從〔聖多明哥（Santo Domingo）〕城砦往內陸走，約 2、3 西里（league），



圖 2-4 交通路線示意圖

資料來源：大台北古地圖

<sup>16</sup> 15 荷里（mijllen），1 mijll 是 7.407 公里。

<sup>17</sup> 另參考 1654 年古地圖報告中，淡水往雞籠的海路路線。見《大台北故地圖》，頁 241。

<sup>18</sup> 30 荷里，另一副本作 20 荷里，VOC 1103, fol. 345.

<sup>19</sup> VOC 1102, fol. 553v, VOC 1103 fol. 345. J. Borao, *Spainiards in Taiwan*, vol. 1, p. 149; *The Formosan Encounter*, vol.1, p. 194, 195; 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 49; DZI, p. 52.

<sup>20</sup> J. Borao, *Spainiards in Taiwan*, vol. I, p. 190,191.

<sup>21</sup> 下述 1632 年耶士基佛神父（Fr. J. Esquivell）記載是西班牙士兵們「發現」了這條路，這是「誤會」。J. Borao, *Spainiards in Taiwan*, vol. I, p. 166,167

<sup>22</sup> J. Borao, *Spainiards in Taiwan*, vol. I, p. 190,191. the river flanked by many stony banks. Thus we had to drag our vessel across the waters and then walk for about a league more through dense mountain forest.

河流分成兩支，其中一條名叫 Quimacon (Kimazón)，由此可通達此島（指雞籠島）或聖薩爾瓦多城.....，另一條往武勝灣（Pulauan）.....。」<sup>23</sup>因此，從淡水道雞籠的陸路路線，應該是經由雞籠（Quelanghsche）河<sup>24</sup>，即今日的基隆河。

若要了解更詳細的上述這條陸路路線，可以透過 1654 年古地圖報告中的描述，如同上述，由雞籠到淡水可由內陸的路線行走，這當中又更清楚寫道可沿著河流或山崙兩條路線，河流即上述的雞籠河經過八暖暖，需攀爬 1 個小時越過此山，才能繼續航行。<sup>25</sup>1664 年隊長 Pieter Boon 的日誌於 5 月 2 日記載。由雞籠搭船約花了 9 個小時來到里族社，<sup>26</sup>接著順流下，大約花 1、2 小時即到淡水。<sup>27</sup>也是同樣的路線，就今日而言，就是由基隆經過七堵、五堵、汐止沿著基隆河接入淡水河。

即使如此，1644 年 10 月 5 日的《日誌》中寫道，「早上，指揮官給那些快艇的主管和駐軍下達所需要的一切命令之後，指揮官閣下就抄近路，從溪流下來，前往淡水，於今晚入夜以前抵達淡水。」<sup>28</sup>這段資料雖然曖昧，卻給一些提示，即淡水與雞籠之間的道路，可能尚有「近路」。



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<sup>23</sup> J. Borao, *Spainiards in Taiwan*, vol. I, pp. 166-167

<sup>24</sup> 又稱基馬遜（Kimazón）河、里族（Ritsouquie）河、麻少翁（Kimassouw）溪。《大台北故地圖》，頁 31-32。

<sup>25</sup> 《大台北故地圖》，頁 245-246。

<sup>26</sup> 有關里族社（Lisiouck），見《大台北故地圖》，頁 45-50。

<sup>27</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 269。

<sup>28</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 364。

## 第三章 陽明山土硫磺

### 早期硫磺交易

今天的陽明山國家公園，在臺灣近代初期歷史上展露頭角，其包含在「雞籠、淡水」的範圍。「雞籠、淡水」作為近代初期東亞航路的要衝，經常被作為針路的標誌地，與北部原住民交易活動也成為其在歷史留名的原因之一，其中經常被記載的就是臺灣北部盛產硫磺，16世紀末期成書的慎懋賞《四夷廣記》就記載「雞籠國、淡水國，俱出硫黃，杭人販舊破衣服換之，俱硫土載至福建海澄縣……。」<sup>29</sup>稍後17世紀初成書的《東西洋考》也提到臺灣有硫磺。

在「前荷蘭時代」，即16世紀末期，漢籍文獻已指出陽明山地區最著名的物產為硫磺，過去研究也指出淡水雞籠地區的貿易狀況十分活躍，如《東西洋考》中便提到淡水人與雞籠人，與外人交易的狀況與差異。<sup>30</sup>而《四夷廣記》中所記便是中國商人交易以衣服交易硫磺的情形，這些情況與後來的西荷文獻記載都可以互相呼應。下面就透過本次計畫蒐集的相關西荷文獻進行討論。

### 淡水雞籠對外貿易

淡水、雞籠地處東亞航海經過路線之一，又因地產硫磺，使其在「前荷蘭時代」已見光於漢籍文獻，除了上述《東西洋考》、《四夷廣記》外，1600年前後的明代官員熊明遇亦書，東番中「山之雞籠、淡水最名，議者欲置戍其間與海中諸夷市。」<sup>31</sup>意即談到淡水、雞籠人與外國商人的交易。更明確記載則可見於1631年來自馬尼拉的道明會傳教士 Jacinto Esquivel，於1632年所寫下著名的福爾摩沙事務相關記錄，該記錄為研究臺灣北部近代初期之重要材料之一。

當中記載硫磺盛產於淡水河，特別是北投社（Quipatao），另外一個礦脈是沙巴里（Taparri），沙巴里在西班牙人來之前，盛產硫磺並賣給「生理人」（sangleys），但是後來當地人停止採礦，因為採礦會帶來厄運。<sup>32</sup>可知早在1620年代以前，所謂的中國商人已經與淡水一帶原住民進行交易，與文獻中所記「杭人販舊破衣服換之，俱硫土載至福建海澄縣」不謀而合。該記錄除了尚提到交易情況、數量與價格，這部份後面再談，而與外國人的交易的記載，則突顯了十六世紀末到十七世紀初「前荷蘭時代」的東亞貿易網絡與淡水、雞籠居中的地位。

在傳教士 Jacinto Esquivel 的記載可知道至少在1630年代是由中國商人與淡水原住民的以物易物交易。如前所述，中國商人在淡水、雞籠交易硫磺從16世紀末以來及可見，其臺灣北

<sup>29</sup> 【明】慎懋賞，《四夷廣記》下（臺北：中央圖書館，1985），頁2-22。

<sup>30</sup> 【明】張燮，《東西洋考》卷5，頁17，惜陰軒叢書。交易：夷人舟至，無長幼皆索微贈。淡水人貧，然售易平直。雞籠人差富而慳，每攜貨易物，次日必來言售價不準，索物補償；後日復至，欲以元物還之，則言物已雜，不肯受也。必疊捐少許，以塞所請；不則，諠譁不肯歸。至商人上山，諸所嘗識面者，輒踴躍延致彼家，以酒食待我。絕島好客，亦自疎莽有韻。

<sup>31</sup> 【明】熊明遇《文直行書詩文》文選卷13，清順治十七年熊人霖刻本。

<sup>32</sup> *Spaniards in Taiwan*, Vol. 1, p. 168

部地區的原住民交往甚久，因此在荷蘭記錄中，1641 年 11 月 6 前往淡水偵查的 Wesselingh 因為淡水原住民被硫磺中國商人煽動而未受到協助。<sup>33</sup>而從後來荷蘭人的描述中，在 Jacinto Esquivel 記錄中的中國官員，應該是來自福州的官員。<sup>34</sup>當時福州與臺灣北部的交易來往已有很多研究，在此就不贅述。

Jacinto Esquivel 所接受到的訊息，有來自原住民、中國商人以及日本人。船隻來航有從日本、中國，日本人應是來交易絲或絲織品、而中國則是來交易硫磺，當中有中國的低階官員與一般商人。除了在淡水獲得硫磺，中國硫磺的獲得來自日本與硫磺，如記載 1631 年，中國有 80 艘舢舨載絲去日本賣，回程載著〔日本〕硫磺回來，或是每年為了國王去琉球的兩艘，回來載著硫磺。<sup>35</sup>這與漢籍文獻記載情況差不多，但礙於主題，這裡姑且不談。

淡水、雞籠與「東洋」航線中的關係密切之外，由於 1626 年西班牙佔領臺灣北部後，中國、淡水雞籠與馬尼拉之間的航線也不間斷。《熱蘭遮城日誌》中最早出現「硫磺」的時間為 1633 年 3 月 23 日。荷蘭人因收到傳聞 Hoetsee 要在艋港、二林和鹿港（Betgilem）間劫掠船隻，而 3 月 13 日決議派船長 Claes Janssen 前往攻擊海盜，而在 3 月 22 日船長 Claes Janssen 在艋港與二林之間逮捕一艘西班牙人的篷船，<sup>36</sup>經隔日詢問，這艘船隻是去年由福州前往雞籠，再從雞籠前往馬尼拉，等待季風，再從馬尼拉前往雞籠，因此船上載有西班牙物品，船中帶有應從雞籠運出的未提煉硫土（ongeraffineert silfer）3000 斤。<sup>37</sup>當然淡水、雞籠原住民對外交易已是歷史上有名，而透過中國東南沿海，特別是福建對於硫磺的需求，促使淡水、雞籠從貿易網絡上，往北可接琉球、日本，往南可接馬尼拉。

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<sup>33</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 7。

<sup>34</sup> 相關記載可見《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 31。

<sup>35</sup> *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. 1*, p. 172

<sup>36</sup> 近來我主張回到歷史名詞，將過去翻作「戎克船」、「中國式帆船」等 Junk 之翻譯，以篷船取代之。

<sup>37</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 84-85；DZI, p.88.



## 硫磺產地

有關臺灣硫磺的產地，從 1644 年一個來自金包里（Kimauij）的通事 Theodore 與荷蘭人的問答記錄中提到「淡水出產米和硫磺……。」<sup>38</sup>這是已知的事實，在前述 Jacinto Esquivel 也提到硫磺盛產於淡水河，特別是北投社（Quipatao），<sup>39</sup>而還有一個礦脈是沙巴里（Taparri），<sup>40</sup>可以知道在臺灣北部淡水河流域是產磺或原住民採磺的地方，直到 1642 年 10 月 14 日荷蘭人來到淡水<sup>41</sup>有了比較明確的紀錄，可以縮小範圍。該報告指出中國人的篷船從「那條河」流下

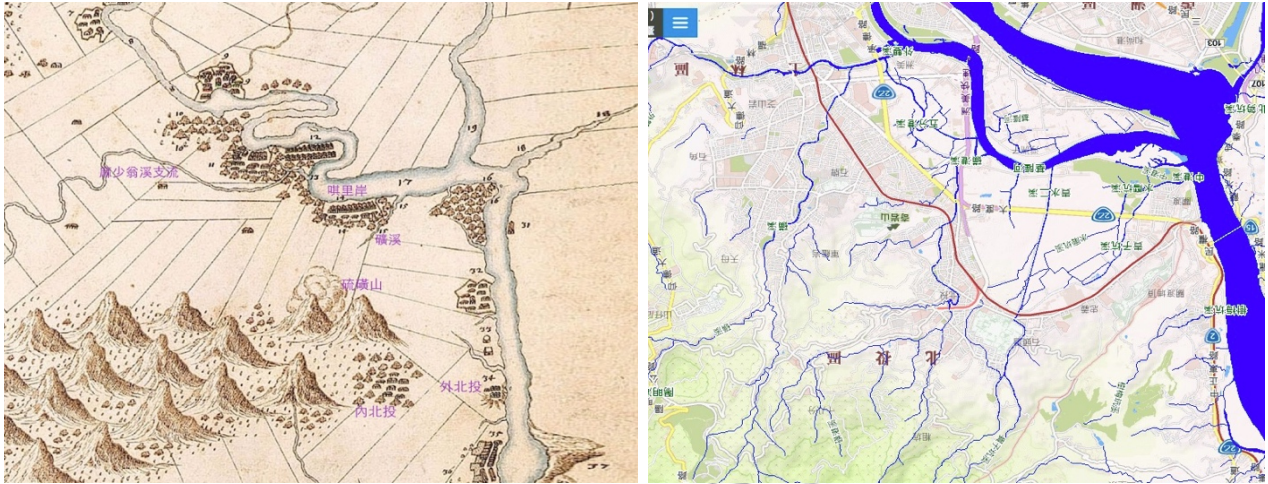


圖 3-1 磺溪相關位置示意圖（左：古地圖標號及河川位置；右：今日河川位置）

資料來源：左圖，大台北古地圖；右圖，水利署地理資訊倉儲中心。<http://gic.wra.gov.tw/gic/GIS/JS/MainJs.aspx>

來，尚有其他船隻載著硫磺停在河流上游。<sup>42</sup>篷船為了載硫磺由河川航行進入，而該硫磺產地被稱為硫磺山，也是在河的附近，那座硫磺山經由荷蘭官員查看，其描述為

在 30 個不同的地方沸騰，有大大小小的坑坑洞洞，溫度高到那附近的土地都是熱的，我們把石頭丟進去，就噴出風（氣泡）和火燄，大部份的時間都在冒煙。流經的那條河流，繼續的燃燒和冒煙，河水非常熱，熱到我們的腳不能踏入水裡，要渡過那條河流，就必須踏石頭過去。

43

<sup>38</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 274。

<sup>39</sup> 《大台北古地圖考》，荷蘭人作 Kipatauw。

<sup>40</sup> *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. 1, p. 168.*

<sup>41</sup> 廣泛指的是淡水河流域，而非今日狹義的淡水。

<sup>42</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 36。

<sup>43</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 119。

這裡的硫磺山應有指特定地區，山的附近有河流經是可以航行，但也有不能航行的河流，為溫泉。十分趣味盎然的是對照 50 年後清官員郁永河探查礦坑路徑也是十分相似，<sup>44</sup>郁永河經由內北〔投〕社嚮導指引的「硫穴」今日多半認為是硫磺谷，應該沒有疑問，問題在於其搭乘莽葛（艋舺），沿溪進後的路線，而該溪是否為清代文獻中的「磺溪」，「磺溪」與「磺山」又為何？

早在《東西洋考》已出現「磺山」一詞，<sup>45</sup>，應與「磺山」、「硫磺山」同，都因為硫磺交易在 17、18 世紀作為臺灣北部的地標之一，而「磺溪」的位置，則牽涉到《大台北古地圖考》中第 13 號麻少翁溪支流（Sprijt van Kimassouw）與第 15 號磺溪（Swavel spruijt）的考訂。

在《大台北古地圖考》一書中，第 13 號麻少翁溪支流作為今日的磺溪，而第 15 號磺溪作貴子坑溪。然在第 16 號關渡（Ruijgen Hoeck）旁已被認為是為貴子坑溪的可能性較大，因此位於第 14 號噶里岸（Kirananna）旁的第 15 號磺溪若為貴子坑溪在位置上問題也很大。而第 34 號北投社為外北投，前方冒煙的地方應該是今日北投硫磺谷，而其無名山頭，根據前述《日誌》應該可稱之為硫磺山。

若根據今日水系圖以及山勢位置，有問題的是第 15 號磺溪、第 13 號麻少翁溪支流的位置。從日本堡圖到今日水系圖，可以知道相關的溪流有關渡旁的貴子坑溪，沿北投入硫磺谷的磺港溪，噶哩岸山、磺溪山旁流經石碑、天母為磺溪。若單就荷蘭古地圖的地理位置來看，第 15 號磺溪位於硫磺山之右，而內北投社位於硫磺山之左，與今日十分相近，因此第 15 號磺溪應為今日磺溪，而第 13 號麻少翁溪支流為外雙溪，比較合理。

臺灣北部地區的硫磺產地，除了北投之外，尚有好幾處。《臺灣志略》除了提到北投硫磺山之外，在金包里亦有磺穴，<sup>46</sup>故《乾隆臺灣輿圖》所繪「磺港」應與《淡水廳志》記載同，為今日金山的磺溪，故約「淡北之金包里、北投社等處，皆產硫磺。」<sup>47</sup>除此之外，尚有冷水窟、大磺山等產地。<sup>48</sup>並於光緒三年再次試採北投、油坑、金包里等地硫磺。<sup>49</sup>在 19 世紀之後，在整個大屯山群中都是硫磺的開採區域。這裡就要回到所謂的「前荷蘭時代」，《四夷廣記》中提到「雞籠國、淡水國，俱出硫黃……。」

整個 16 世紀末及 17 世紀的臺灣北部硫磺產區，並非只有淡水，當時雞籠也是有運出硫磺的紀錄，而 1642 年荷蘭人來到淡水、雞籠後，也記錄了一位福州官員來到淡水，要求要回已

<sup>44</sup> 郁永何，《裨海紀遊》，文叢 44，頁 24-25

<sup>45</sup> 「磺山（琉磺氣每作，火光沿山躲鑠）、沙巴里、大幫坑、大圓、堯港。」【明】張燮，《東西洋考》卷 5，頁 16，惜陰軒叢書。

<sup>46</sup>，《臺灣志略》，頁 60。

<sup>47</sup> 陳培桂，《淡水廳志》，頁 337。

<sup>48</sup> 「硫磺產於金包里、冷水窟、大磺山、北投等處。」夏獻綸，《臺灣輿圖》文叢 45，頁 38。

<sup>49</sup> 蔣師轍、薛紹元，《臺灣通志》文叢 130，頁 258。

預付款項三貂社（St. Jago）的 10,000 斤硫土。<sup>50</sup>可知除了前述淡水的北投地區之外，另外在雞籠的產地則是今日金山一帶，也就是前述磺溪一帶。因此，在 1642 年 10 月 14 日，指揮官 Lamotius 派人前往查看產硫地點查看後，決議為了公司利益，應將「大部分」的硫磺山（zwavelberg）列入公司管轄。<sup>51</sup>

在荷蘭檔案中，描述硫磺山可以是複數的，在產區不只一處的情況下，直到 19 世紀末，日本人最初對臺灣的產業調查記錄來看，也可以呼應。也就是以淡水河這邊的今北投等地的硫磺山，以及今日金山地區的油礦坑與大磺嘴等硫磺山。<sup>52</sup>也就是，臺灣傳統的產硫地區是為今日陽明山國家公園內大小出產硫磺的山。

### 硫磺開採情況

臺灣硫磺交易的產量，到 19 世紀已有登記在冊，但是在 17 世紀前期，只能用零星的紀錄以及《熱蘭遮城日誌》記載推估。但《熱蘭遮城日誌》年份、記載並未完全，有時只記載船隻運送貨品至何處，但未記數量。雖然在 1642 年以後，通行雞籠、淡水的船隻，若無公司通行證，一旦被巡弋到就會被查扣，1643 年並決議來雞籠、淡水的中國人要交易硫磺，需持有通行證，並繳納硫磺出口稅，<sup>53</sup>但是《熱蘭遮城日誌》並未詳細記載出口數量，況且有通行證，且繳納過什一稅的人，可直接從淡水、雞籠到中國，故出口數量一定比現有數據超出很多，故目前只能透過檔案中的數量瞭解當時交易之片影。

在 1642 年前，只能透過前述 Jacinto Esquivel 記錄，來看當時的交易情況。其所描述的淡水原住民只接受以物易物交易，特別是衣料，<sup>54</sup>一塊衣料約可換 200-250 斤約值 1.5-1.6 里爾。而當地原住民在特定時間，才有開採硫磺，如在 1632 年，只有在 9、10、11、12 月原住民才有採礦並交易。<sup>55</sup>有關開採的數量，以 1631 年為例，來自中國的低階官員即「生理人」，買了約 100,000 斤的硫磺，<sup>56</sup>而原住民還另外賣給了西班牙了，因此當時的產量可能超過 100,000 斤。

在荷蘭檔案中，最早記錄到為前述 1633 年船長 Claes Janssen 捕獲的船之中，未提煉硫土是 3,000 斤。再來就是，在荷蘭人的允許下，1640 年 8 月中國商人八哥（Peco）和 Campe 派三艘篷船去淡水，10 月中則載著 100,000 斤生硫土（sulfur）回到台南，且將在台南進行純化。載回來的 100,000 斤中有 20,000 斤是大塊且透明的，其他都是粉末，應該將大塊的硫磺純

<sup>50</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 31。該硫土最後三貂社運給到雞籠給公司，《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 38。

<sup>51</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 36-37。《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 119；DZII, p.121.

<sup>52</sup> 台灣總督府民政局殖產部，《台灣產業調查錄》（東京市：台灣總督府民政局殖產部，1896），175-194。

<sup>53</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 188、201。

<sup>54</sup> 同樣交易情況可見於後來清代文獻。

<sup>55</sup> 後來《臺灣外記》則稱雞籠「硫磺所產，最盛於夏秋，故五穀不生，難以聚眾。」《臺灣外記》，頁 375-376。

<sup>56</sup> *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. 1*, pp. 168-172.



化，但是其所需要的油脂（roet ofte oly）<sup>57</sup>本地不夠，將等待中國的訂貨抵達才能快速製作。<sup>58</sup> 同年 11 月 6 日及 12 月 27 日，從臺灣出口的分別有到巴達維亞的篷船 Uytrecht 號中有 200 斤硫磺；快艇 De Pau 號運往蘇特拉（Suratte）和波斯，載有純化過的硫磺 32,475 斤。<sup>59</sup> 這艘 De Pau 號所載的純化後硫磺 32,475 斤是在臺灣向中國人買的，而之前八哥（Peco）從淡水載到台南的，經過了約一個半月，不過純化了 17,000 斤，當中 10,000 斤將由上席商務官 Hartsinck 送到東京，剩下 2,000 斤加上來自日本的 5,000 斤將送到柬埔寨。<sup>60</sup> 同報告中，應該是在 1640 年年底，亦有篷船三艘從雞籠、淡水，帶來的生硫土為 120,000 或 130,000 斤，如果純化之後將剩不到 50,000 斤，剩下都是土壤，下次再從臺灣送出。<sup>61</sup>

1640 年可計算的臺灣硫磺產量，應該是中國商人八哥（Peco）和 Campe 所採的 100,000 斤以及另外的 120,000-130,000 斤，共計約 230,000 斤生硫土，若姑且將公司另外向中國人買的純化後硫磺 32,475 斤也算入，生硫土應超過 30 萬斤。<sup>62</sup>

1641 到 1643 年初的《熱蘭遮城日誌》檔案散失，以下是根據《熱蘭遮城日誌》以及《巴達維亞城日誌》的補充資料做一個大概的統計。1641 年 1 月 14、25 日分別從臺灣出發，快船（fluytschip）Oostcappel 號及 De Meerman 號，前者去柬埔寨，載有 2,026 斤純化後硫磺（geraffineerde solpher）；<sup>63</sup> 後者載有 10,000 斤的品質好的精鍊硫磺（solpher）<sup>64</sup>、3,105 斤蘇拉特的精鍊硝石（salpeter）<sup>65</sup> 出航要經由東京前往巴達維亞。<sup>66</sup> 4 月中，幾乎是公司認定為專任採硫一職的八哥，請求公司的護衛下再度派兩艘篷船前往淡水交易硫土。11 月中前述商人八哥、Samsjacque 與 Sitsick，<sup>67</sup> 由荷蘭人與中國人組成的船隊在，公司篷船淡水號的護衛下，

<sup>57</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》翻譯成石礬有誤，在《巴城日誌》中很明顯的是油。《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 38

<sup>58</sup> 《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 38；*Dagregister Batavia anno 1640-1641*, p. 118. 《熱蘭遮城日誌》亦簡單抄錄，但此處以《巴城日誌》為主，《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 474。

<sup>59</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 474、477；DZI, p. 501, 504.

<sup>60</sup> 《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 108；*Dagregister Batavia anno 1640-1641*, p. 176

<sup>61</sup> 《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 109；*Dagregister Batavia anno 1640-1641*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>62</sup> 當年日本商館向日本買的硫磺 5,000 斤，應該沒有進到臺灣，而直接前往東京。《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 73；《平戸オランダしょ商館日誌》4，頁 409。

<sup>63</sup> 原譯樟腦《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 479；DZI, p. 506. 該船到巴達維亞記錄見《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 112。

<sup>64</sup> 原譯樟腦。*Dagregister Batavia anno 1640-1641*, p. 248.

<sup>65</sup> 原譯硫磺。

<sup>66</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊，頁 479；DZI, p. 507. 該船到巴達維亞記錄見《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 113。結果 10,000 斤的精鍊硫磺仍到着巴達維亞。

<sup>67</sup> Peco, Samsiacq en Jan Soetecau, *Dagregister Batavia anno 1641-1642*, p. 57.

前去淡水採硫。<sup>68</sup>1642年1月7日在臺灣長官寫給東印度總督的書信中，在台南的硫磺已經累積到 200,000 至 250,000 斤，但因為都缺乏椰子油（klapper olie）而無法提煉。<sup>69</sup>也可以說在前一年所累積的採硫成果至少為 200,000 至 250,000 斤的生硫土。

1642年9月荷蘭人已經控制了淡水、雞籠，將大部分的心力花在建堡壘與周遭勢力的建立，當時的硫磺記錄只有搶奪來的中國人篷船中生硫土 72,000 斤，此外中國福州官員要來三貂社取回之前約定的 10,000 斤硫磺，這兩筆出產都是雞籠的產硫地區。前往淡水、雞籠的採硫船隻，若沒有持公司的通行證都會被公司扣留，而 1643 年有記錄的採硫船隻為 36 艘，出口純化硫磺約 8,300 斤，除了中國商人八哥（Peco）出船一艘純化硫磺 5300 斤，其他都是前往中國。同年臺灣議會決議：「以後在雞籠與淡水，純化過的硫磺，即此地最純的硫磺，必須繳納什一稅。」<sup>70</sup>兩個月後又決議每 10,000 斤生硫磺要納稅，淡水為 20 里爾、雞籠 30 里爾。<sup>71</sup>1644 年，從淡水運到台南約 15,600 斤，出口生硫土 600 斤，而有船隻拿了許可證就直接從淡水、雞籠回到中國，因此沒有數量記錄。

1645 年的採硫記錄是目前最完整，大部分進出口的船隻，都有數量記錄，1644 年 12 月 27 日臺灣長官卡隆寫給東印度總督 A. van Diemen 的書信提到，因為中國內戰的緣故，中國人對於臺灣貨物的需求為硫磺和鉛，<sup>72</sup>延續去年，1645 年的硫磺出口盛況仍在，根據統計出口 188118.7 斤，當中有記錄的純化後硫磺 2,000 斤，生硫土 80,000 斤，而從淡水、雞籠運來台南的約有 861,000 斤，當中有記錄的純化後硫磺 20,000 斤、生硫土 223,000 斤。

1646 年出口 69953.2 斤以及 54 籃（canassers），<sup>73</sup>當中有記錄純化後硫磺 7616.8 斤、生硫土 25458.4 斤，北部運來的只有一艘記錄，來自雞籠 1,794 斤。1647 年只有記載 1,000 斤的，且只有一艘來自淡水載有 30,000 斤的紀錄。1648 年出口 50,000 斤。1651 年淡水、雞籠運來 138,000 斤，1654 年仍有船隻持許可證，前往淡水，取得硫磺之後可直接回中國，其中裝運純化後硫磺 30,000 斤的中國人篷船，純化後硫磺每 10,000 斤收稅 40 里爾。<sup>74</sup>1655、1656 年只有簡單中國人前往淡水、雞籠運硫記錄，1665 年 9 月，臺灣議會為了公司賣往克羅曼得爾海岸（Choromandel）的硫磺，透過一艘中國船隻前往淡水運硫回到台南提煉，且免收稅。<sup>75</sup>1657

<sup>68</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 4、8。《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 128、145。Dagregister Batavia anno 1641-1642, p. 111.

<sup>69</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 12。《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 204。

<sup>70</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 118。DZII, p. 187. tem dat men een ider bij placcate aencundigen sal dat voortaan van de swavel die in Quelang en Tamsuy thien ten hondert suyver suyveren, swavel van de suyvere swavel alhier, alsmede van alle in te brengen graenen, 'tzij rijs, taruwe, meel, boon- tjens etc. thien per cento betaalen sullen.

<sup>71</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 201。DZII, p. 199.

<sup>72</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 378；《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 328。

<sup>73</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊，頁 524；DZII, p.490.

<sup>74</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊，頁 361；DZIII, p.375.

<sup>75</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊，頁 551。臺灣長官寫給淡水主管 Pieter Elsevier 的信件，詳見 VOC 1212 fol.380.

年只有雞籠運來 100 斤的紀錄，最後荷蘭人在熱蘭遮城的最後清點財產，1661 年 8 月 31 日倉庫裡的存貨中有 525 斤硫磺。<sup>76</sup>

在公司統治後期，有關硫磺的紀錄在《日誌》幾乎很少，主要可能是船隻持了通行證後，在臺灣北部繳完稅，就可直接出帆前往目的地。至少目前所知，1645 年以後，北部提煉硫磺已可見，若要前往中國，不再需要回到台南提煉，這可能是最主要的原因之一。

### 臺灣土硫磺

商人八哥等人 1640 年開始前往淡水、雞籠採硫，都是先將硫土運回台南再製，但最晚到了 1645 年，至少臺灣北部已有地方進行純化硫土。其例證就是何斌的父親，商人 Kimptingh（何金定？），在 1643 年當公司通事，其船隻來往於中國、淡水、廣南及臺灣商館之間，包含從北部運出硫磺，值得注意的是 1645 年 8 月 30 日 Kimptingh 從淡水運來 700 擔未提煉的硫磺和 200 擔提煉過的硫磺。<sup>77</sup>可見，其後知名的清朝官員在北投產區附近純化硫土也不是一日之事。

在台南方面，則是 1640 年開始純化硫磺土，當時幫公司純化硫土的商人八哥等人，負責到淡水運硫後，回到台南進行純化，將去雜質後的磺硫交付公司。一開始公司是以 100 斤 3 里爾的價格，但八哥向公司抱怨有困難後，沒多久則改為 100 斤 3.5 里爾。八哥提到獲得金額不足，因為他所使用來自中國的油脂（roet ofte oly）<sup>78</sup>100 斤就要 8 里爾。<sup>79</sup>有關純化土硫磺所需要的油，讓我們回想到慎懋賞所說來自「雞籠國、淡水國」的硫土，載回福建後，則是「掘一坑，加牛油做成。」<sup>80</sup>這是早於《兵錄》使用牛油純化的記載，不過其「掘一坑」的方式來看，應該比後來的方式簡單。就目前所見漢籍文獻的記載，中國純化硫磺有分醫藥及火藥用，醫藥用的方式出現較早，而火藥用則可見於 16 世紀以後，大體上可分為用水、用麻油、牛油或者是麻、牛油混用以及用藥草等，不同方式所得純度不同。至少到了 17 世紀中葉，純化的方式差不多，使用牛油的煎煮法為主，而不似近代科學所使用的蒸餾法。<sup>81</sup>但其實純化所採取的方式，應該是視其成分所定。

在臺灣的煉硫方式，一如前述「掘一坑，加牛油做成」。在 17 世紀中葉，大部分漢籍所記載都是加牛油將其熔化為液體，再去除土等其他雜質。而臺灣出產的硫磺有史冊稱之為「土硫磺」，《本草乘雅半偈》描述其純化方式「有山名雞籠頭，刮取山邊砂土，日中暴乾，和牛脂煎

<sup>76</sup> 1649、1652、1653、1658-1661 年份的部分檔案遺失。

<sup>77</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊，頁 453，

<sup>78</sup> roet 除了意指「炭」之外，亦為動物油脂，特別是牛、羊脂等。

<sup>79</sup> 《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁 38、108-109；*Dagregister Batavia anno 1640-1641*, pp. 118, 176.

<sup>80</sup> 【明】慎懋賞，《四夷廣記》下（臺北：中央圖書館，1985），頁 2-22。

<sup>81</sup> 劉廣定，〈中國用硫史研究：古代純化硫磺法初探〉，《中國科學史論集》（台北市：臺大出版中心，2002），頁 377-390。

研去砂土，瀉出清汁，乾之，即土硫黃也。」<sup>82</sup> 該土硫磺「入藥亦佳」，但若入藥則要經過其他程序去臭氣與毒性。使用牛油是因為「以牛油之潤殺磺燥性，不即燃耳。」<sup>83</sup>或以牛油協助去雜質，但是「若油之藏伏於磺者，一毫未淨則磺性終不猛也。」故湯若望所記之法，以水輔助以「油垢兩盡」。<sup>84</sup>直至郁永河時亦是以相當大的鍋，將其「油土相融」，工人則要「時時以鐵鍬取汁，瀝突旁察之，過則添土，不及則增油。」故稱「關鍵處雖在油，而工人視火候，似亦有微權也。」<sup>85</sup>不論是油或是煎煮工人，過程中最主要就是「不可使一毫著火，亦不可使一毫沾鍋」<sup>86</sup>，否則將會發生爆炸。

回頭來看，1645年7月，荷蘭人抱怨臺灣街（臺南）因為中國居民在家的前面或後面或在附近的公共場所進行進行純化硫土，也不是沒有原因。從當年的硫土產量來看，提煉的活動應是如火如荼的進行，用現在的眼光以當時的技術看來，也是令人心驚膽跳，一個不小心，就可能引起事故。公司也認為煎煮硫土使街道髒亂，提煉的煙也有害健康，會引起哮喘、肺炎等疾病，故進行管制，要求居民拆除屋宅前後爐灶等道具，若要煎煉只限定在赤崁（Saccam）公司馬廄（台南烏鬼井附近）後面的地方。<sup>87</sup>

再者，前述中國商人八哥所定購煎煉硫土所要使用的油（roet），雖然很有可能是牛油之外，但在1641年底記錄，商人們因為缺乏煎煉的椰子油（klapperolie），使在臺灣的200,000到250,000斤的硫土無法煎煉。<sup>88</sup>依照漢籍文獻的記載，不論是牛油或是麻油，硫土與油的比例為5比1，因此，至少需要40,000到50,000斤油來煎煉，所以不論是使用牛油或是椰子油，都是需要相當的量，也值得進一步研究與考察。

<sup>82</sup> 【明】盧之頤，《本草乘雅半偈》卷6，清文淵閣四庫全書本。該方式與何汝賓《兵錄》卷13、孫元化《西法神機》卷下、李盤《金湯借箸十二籌》卷4相似。何汝賓《兵錄》卷13「磺用，生者佳，先搥碎去砂土，後用牛油煮磺，火不可太旺，以木棍旋轉鍋底，看磺溶化時，方以麻布作濾巾，濾在缸內，則油浮居於上，磺寔沉於底去，油用磺研，細聽用。」

<sup>83</sup> 孫元化，《西法神機》卷下，頁12。

<sup>84</sup> 湯若望，《火攻挈要》卷中，頁3。

<sup>85</sup> 郁永河，《裨海紀遊》，頁24。台銀版

<sup>86</sup> 孫元化，《西法神機》卷下，頁12。

<sup>87</sup> 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊，頁434；DZII, p. 409.

<sup>88</sup> 長官 P.Traudenius 於1642年1月7日寫給總督 A.van Diemen 的書信 A.vanDiemen 的書信。《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊，頁12。《バタウィア城日誌》2，頁201；Dagregister Batavia anno 1640-1641, pp. 111.

陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



## 第四章 結論與建議

### 第一節 結論

本次計畫的最初目標之一，即為整理史料並撰寫通俗說明以供大眾使用，故史料選擇上以目前既刊之中譯及英譯史料為主，並行譯註。通過本次計畫，本人將部分相關之譯名再行考證並修訂，特別是有關於物產、度量衡方面，主要希望透過考證的修訂，將物產或度量衡實物化、可想像化，以達到大眾或研究者，可以透過對物產的瞭解，表現當時陽明山周遭地區的時代性、世界性與結構性。

本計畫的研究地理範疇為今日陽明山國家公園相關之地區，與其最相關的就是淡水地區，具體而言則是紅毛城、淡水河流域以北，以及沿著陽明山沿山的地理範圍。故本計畫蒐集了《熱蘭遮城日誌》並搭配 *Spaniards in Taiwan*、*The Formosan Encounter* 兩套 17 世紀臺灣相關的史料紀錄。此外，也補充蒐集了「前荷蘭時代」與「鄭氏時代」相關的中、外文史料，「前荷蘭時代」有漢籍史料及西班牙、葡萄牙傳教士相關史料，而「鄭氏時代」則蒐集了荷蘭與日本對鄭氏時代對淡水地區的史料記載，使本計畫蒐集 1622-1688 年相關史料達到充沛。

在本計畫中，本人及其團隊修訂的成果，在物產方面提出 *rhee* 應為山羌；*greyne* 應指某種松樹；*orangappelen* (*oranjeappel*) 指柑、橘之類；*Limoen*，則指桔、棗之類；酸果樹苗 (*besieboomtjen*) 為桑樹樹苗；玉米 (*mijlie*) 應屬黍；蔬菜 (*groente*) 為海菜；*roet*，以前翻成「煙煤」，誤，應指牛油或動物油脂類。此外，對於度量衡也盡量註解如何換算「(台)斤」、「公尺」與「公里」，提供使用者未來進行一步統計、研究用。這裡對於動植物的修訂，並非站在一種動物學、植物學的觀點，精確定位，而是以歷史學的角度，透過相關資料，站在當時的時空、環境指出並修改，而提供相關動物學、植物學或博物學等學者一種可能性，可進一步研究臺灣的動植物。

在資料蒐集的過程中，雖然直接指出陽明山國家公園相關的恐怕只有硫磺等物產，硫磺卻也是長期以來，臺灣北部相當重要的物產，透過硫磺的貿易，促使臺灣北部在「前荷蘭時代」就出現在歷史舞台，到了清代、日治也是一項重要物產，如同本人經常強調的「歷史的結構性」，若將硫磺這項物產，放在長期結構來看，將會得到相當的有趣的歷史景象。此外，沿著陽明山國家公園周圍，物產與活動也是相當豐富，如原住民的日常生活、維生活動，都將陽明山國家公園與其周遭地區結合，成為一塊密不可分的地區。如陽明山產籐，故臺灣北部出口相當數量的籐，籐也應用在日常生活，但是最值得注目則是「籐仗」，在淡水地方集會，就是在淡水紅毛城，而使用的籐仗成為儀式關係的重要象徵，意外地，將淡水紅毛城與陽明山間接的連接起來。因此，淡水紅毛城與陽明山國家公園在歷史上有一種密不可分的關係，若將來進一步合作、統整，應可達到雙贏的局面。

## 第二節 建議

### 建議一

建議主題：立即可行建議

主辦機關：陽明山國家公園

協辦機關：無

本計畫提到臺灣北部出口的簾數量即多，可能與陽明山相關性大。故於地方會議所使用的權杖，本體可能為簾，儘管權杖可能不是淡水製造，但是仍可與物產結合故提供影像，建議將來可以與創產結合，以供重建與再製。

### 建議二

建議主題：立即可行建議

主辦機關：陽明山國家公園

協辦機關：無

透過本次資料蒐集計畫，可以發現陽明山重要產業如硫磺有其結構發展，建議可以與過去陽明山國家公園之相關研究報告如清代、日治史料，以及相關口述資料進行比對，將所有資料結合起來，可對此產業有更深化、縱向及橫向的瞭解。

### 建議二

(建議主題)：中長期建議

主辦機關：陽明山國家公園

協辦機關：新北市立淡水古蹟博物館

本次資料蒐集結果可以發現，圍繞在陽明山相關的重要活動與資料都與淡水紅毛城有密切關係，不論是產業出口、政治活動、交通路線或動植

物研究。故建議陽明山國家公園未來可以與新北市立淡水古蹟博物館交流合作，開發寓教寓樂的活動行程，如「淡水、陽明山地區古蹟考察」、「陽明山、淡水地區生態與巡古之旅」，透過淡水、陽明山一日或兩日遊，將現有發現進行導覽，使民眾瞭解近代初期大台北地區之活動重心，其產業活動、交通路線的發展，進一步使民眾深化對鄉土之情，同時帶動產業發展。





陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



## 附錄一 通俗文章

### 陽明山的早期歷史

翁佳音・林逸帆

#### 一、陽明山（草山）何時出現在文獻上

陽明山，原名草山，也許是十六世紀以後，來臺漢人見這裡除噴有硫磺煙氣之外，一片芒草覆蓋於群山，因此習慣稱草山。當然，住在陽明山周圍的原住民，對這些山，會有自己的稱呼。可惜，文獻不足，目前我們知到很少，其中，中文文獻記載的「奇獨龜崙 Ki-tok-ku-lûn」，與荷語文獻的 Touckinan，或許是陽明山部分地點之名，但意義不詳。

北部陽明山與附近產硫磺，在近代初期（十六到十八世紀）東亞歷史上，相當有名，也標誌著臺灣本島已堂堂登上大航海時代的舞台。換句話說，十六世紀以後，陽明山被包括在「淡水（Tamsui）」區域中，已有可反覆證明的資料出現在中外文獻裡。淡水，一方面，作為海上船隻人群的交易中途站，汲水，或者是走私地點之一。但另一方面，由於十六世紀以後，東亞世紀，如日本與中國，國內面臨內亂、戰爭，武器更廣泛使用槍砲。火藥原料之一的硫磺，成為市場上奇貨可居之商品。產硫的陽明山，於是躍上世界歷史。所以，這篇文章，主要是以硫磺來講陽明山的早期故事。

以前的研究者，曾根據十四世紀元代人汪大淵的《島夷誌略》有琉球「地產沙金、黃豆、黍子、琉黃」，以及明朝《皇明實錄》記載洪武二十五（1392）年，有「才孤那等駕舟河蘭埠，採硫磺於海洋。遇大風，飄至小琉球界」，認為北部臺灣的硫磺已為外界所知。但這不對，王大淵所描述的琉球，如今研究者大體認為是指現在的沖繩。至於《皇明實錄》上的「河蘭埠、小琉球界」，十六世紀明朝人鄭舜功的《日本一鑑》，已經確證是指沖繩北邊的「奄美大島」，與我們陽明山沒有關係。無爭議的歷史事實，得從十六世紀後半葉以後講起。

#### 二、陽明山下原住民

十六世紀後半葉，陽明山與周圍地區的歷史，輪廓慢慢地開始呈現。到了十七世紀，從外人，包括中國與歐洲人的系統觀察中，我們已可得知，淡水河口一帶居住的原住民，叫沙巴里（Tapparij）人，與基隆（雞籠）和平島及對岸一帶的金包里（Kimpaulij）人屬同一族，叫馬賽（Basaijo）人。長期以來，他們與外界已有接觸，並善於操舟，在北海岸與東部臺灣從事交易。這個族群，在日本時代，被日本學者改用一種文獻上不容易再檢證的怪異族名，即：凱達格蘭族（Ketagalan）。這些原住民，為淡水、基隆最早居民，但日本時代迄今，並不被政府承認為法律上的原住民。

十七世紀初的明朝人張燮《東西洋考》，是這樣形容淡水與雞籠人：

**交易：夷人舟至，無長幼皆索微贈。淡水人貧，然售易平直。雞籠人差富而慳，每攜貨易物，次日必來言售價不準，索物補償……。至商人上山，諸所嘗識面者，輒踴躍延致彼家，以酒食待我。絕島好客，亦自疏莽有韻。**

由此可見，陽明山下的原住民並不與外界隔絕，除與外界有交易行為外，甚至對外來的商人表現好客行為，有關係良好的一面。而且，「金包里，是淡水小社；亦產硫。人性差巧，知會計，社人不能欺」，記錄也顯示馬賽族原住民並不是完全屬於原始社會「不識不知」的狀況。

也許不少人會問，今天的陽明山區域內，在近代初期中，有無原住民聚落的存在？目前文獻的答案，可能比較消極。荷蘭文獻多少已指出，產硫黃的陽明山與附近有森林地帶，常被原住民視為禁忌的山區（Marenasberg），認為硫磺氣易使人致病。清代《諸羅縣志》也說：

**麻少翁、內北投，在磺山之左右，毒氣蒸鬱，觸鼻昏悶。金銀藏身者，不數日皆黑色，諸番常以糖水洗眼。入山掘磺，必以半夜，日初出即歸；以地熱而人不可耐也。**

近代初期的中外文獻一致顯示，依當時的風俗習慣，陽明山應不適合成立常居式的聚落。上舉資料說原住民常常用「糖水」洗眼睛，很巧的是，我們可以在荷語資料中，看到南部臺灣船隻常運載「糖水」來淡水。

### 三、外人的到臨

前面說過，由於十六世紀中葉，日本與中國的內亂。一為戰國時代之日本，一為飽受「北虜南倭」外患的明朝。加上西方葡萄牙人東來，他們在東南亞已與華人有所接觸，「……佛郎機……苦無如彼銃，……彼中有廣人楊三、戴明者，亡命其國久，盡諳鑄銃製藥之法」（《文直行書詩文》）；1540年代，東南亞的華人陪同葡萄牙人開駛船隻渡日，在九州的種子島傳授日本人「鐵砲」，也是讀歷史的人都知道的事。火藥，在當時因此需求量大增。

明代文獻常言福建商人「販雞籠、淡水者，往往私裝鉛、硝等貨，潛赴倭」，此外，《四夷廣記》也提到：「雞籠國、淡水國，俱出硫黃，杭人販舊破衣服換之，俱硫土載至福建海澄縣，掘一坑，加牛由做成」。「杭人」，就是福建販海的商人，他們用舊衣服來淡水、基隆，與原住民交易硫土原料，載回漳州海澄加工。換句話說，遠在十七世紀九〇年代末浙江人郁永河來臺採硫之前，閩粵海商，早已從十六世紀中葉開始在淡水一帶，或明或暗交易硫磺了。硫磺交易，在西班牙、荷蘭文獻中，還可看到由福建省城，即福州的官員派遣船隻前來收購。

十六世紀後半以來，大明中國的華人來淡水與雞籠，從中外文獻來看，他們與當地的原住民關係還不惡。《巴達維亞城日誌》提到 1664 年荷蘭人再度佔領雞籠，驅逐當地華人時，華人逃到淡水，淡水原住民竟然加以收容。

淡水、雞籠原住民善待華人，不是沒有原因。中外文獻多少透露箇中信息。明代人姚旅《露書》說：

**北港……其人散居無君長，惟甲長之類為頭目。中國十人以下至其地，則彼殺之；五十人以上，則彼閉戶而避我。捕魚逐鹿者入其境，必分贈甲長土宜。**

原來，當華人人數少時，都會給原住民頭目禮物，多少表示尊敬。大約 1610 前後，在日本的耶穌會士書信中，提到日本人曾遣人來雞籠，但被原住民所殺。書信又說：這是當地原住民敵視外人之故，不過，他們對華人較特別，因為華人有交「稅」給原住民，所以允許華人留在那裡。

因此，上面所舉張燮的文句「至商人上山，諸所嘗識面者，輒踴躍延致彼家」，有事實根據。總而言之，就是在外來「政權」尚未取得權力之前，華人多少不敢亂造次，在商言商，因而與原住民相安少衝突。

#### 四、西班牙、荷蘭與鄭氏時代

然而，十六世紀中葉以後，除閩粵華人外，又有先後有不同的外來族群入侵，局勢逐漸轉變。1582 年，有一艘從澳門出航的篷船（jonk），船主是有名的猶裔葡萄牙商人。該艘篷船載滿絲綢類貨物，要前往日本販售，卻因風在淡水河口船難，船上散亂貨物為淡水原住民所拿去，因為葡萄牙人不知他們是哪一種族，只聽到口中一直講「Katiu」，所以就暫時稱淡水原住民為 Katiu 族。Katiu 是馬賽語，意思是「走」。

幾年後，即 1594 年，西班牙道明會的著名神父 Juan Cobo（漢名：噶嘔嘰）出使日本返馬尼拉，途中遭風暴，停泊於臺灣（Isla Hermosa），為原住民所殺，研判也是淡水河口一帶，這也使得西班牙人有意征伐北台原住民。淡水原住民於是在近代初期的歐語文獻，或圖像中，成為「兇番」意象。淡水陽明山歷史開始翻轉。西班牙佔領雞籠與淡水期間，淡水一直被描述成多亂之區。荷蘭人接續佔領後，前期致力於引進動植物，以及漢人前來開墾，荷蘭人甚至有意把經濟重心往北移到淡水來。不過，時不我予。1650 年代末期，多族群社會逐漸形成，也開始有了族群之間的社會糾紛，荷語史料很清楚地表明了這個狀況。

及至鄭氏政權驅走荷蘭公司，荷蘭公司不久又佔領雞籠四年（1664～1668），在淡水的鄭軍一方面需抵抗荷蘭人，也需防範對岸大清中國。陽明山旁的淡水紅毛城寨，時而充當貯藏淡水區的米穀，時而當防衛據點，甚至是政治鬥爭失利的流放場所。淡水遂在這種情況下，不再是官方史冊上描述的區域。然而，這並不代表淡水陽明山再度成為荒蕪之地。

## 五、歷史遺產

無論如何，近代初期以來，陽明山的硫磺已成為臺灣歷史重要一部份。從原料採挖，運往福建製成品，發展到荷蘭時代將硫磺原料運到臺南製作。清康熙三六年（1697），郁永河因福建省成缺硫磺而來採硫，也在臺北現場製作，可謂都是陽明山長期歷史一環節。大清中國領臺後，採硫或採礦，一度曾嚴禁，官方時而派人破壞、掩埋硫坑。但若說有清一代，硫磺不再製作與交易，恐怕也不合事實。

荷蘭統治時代，從文獻來看，他們除了採伐陽明山，甚至是淡水河更上游一帶的林木，也引進如荔枝、柚子與桑椹之類植物。陽明山區域內，有與大菁相關的地名，也不排除是荷蘭時代傳到這裡來。因為當時栽培大菁（藍靛），已製作衣物染料，是公司的重要方針之一。

另一方面，荷蘭東印度公司也鼓勵陽明山下平地的農業開墾，甚至從南部引進牛隻來陽明山附近養殖。牛隻之耕作外，牛皮亦可出口，鄭氏時代的出口品中，就有牛皮一項。而且，根據荷蘭文獻，硫磺製作時，還得靠油脂，牛油因此充當重要原料一部份。

荷蘭時代，陽明山、淡水地區雖未為發展成政治經濟中心，但當時有「地方會議 Landdag」制度，全臺分成四個會議區，有：南、北路地方會議、卑南地方會議，以及淡水地方會議。淡水地方會議，就在今天淡水紅毛城旁舉行。到了清代，政治中心回歸南部，但官兵還是得照例北巡，到淡水紅毛城「宿日」而返，淡水陽明山並未在歷史舞台消逝。至少，淡水地區的硫磺、米穀依然是重要的礦產與經濟作物，不可能至此中斷，要等十九世紀才再開。當然，這都有待研究者繼續進一步挖掘新資料，以及解讀舊文獻。

圖片請參見圖1-1及圖2-2。







## 2. 呂宋島、福爾摩沙島及中國的部分沿岸圖

本圖由西班牙派駐馬尼拉的軍官所繪，於 1597 年左右已經繪出淡水河口及其流域。



圖 附 2-2 呂宋島、福爾摩沙島及中國的部分沿岸圖（1597）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。

### 3. 福爾摩沙、中國部分及馬尼拉島描述圖

本圖中臺灣北部的淡水、雞籠並未標出，但仍可見淡水河流域。反倒是三貂角、蘭陽溪口的聖卡達林納（Catalina）標出，顯示其對這些地方關心。而聖卡達林納（Catalina）灣下面則是蘇澳灣（Lorenzo）



圖 附 2-3 福爾摩沙、中國部分及馬尼拉島描述圖（1626）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。



#### 4. 荷蘭人所繪雞籠、淡水港口圖

本圖為荷蘭人調查北部情況所繪，可見今日陽明山國家公園山腳下的淡水紅毛城，被註記為淡水寨（de Rondout Tamsuij）

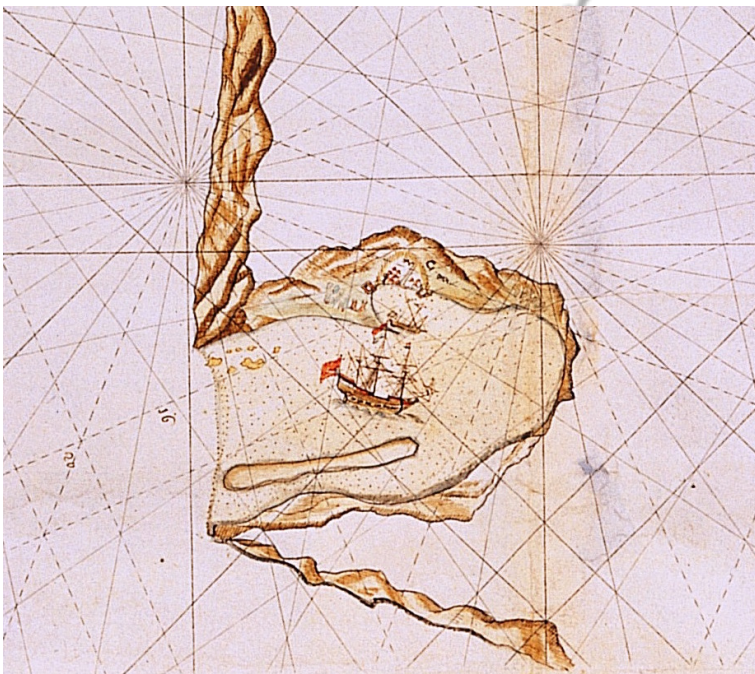
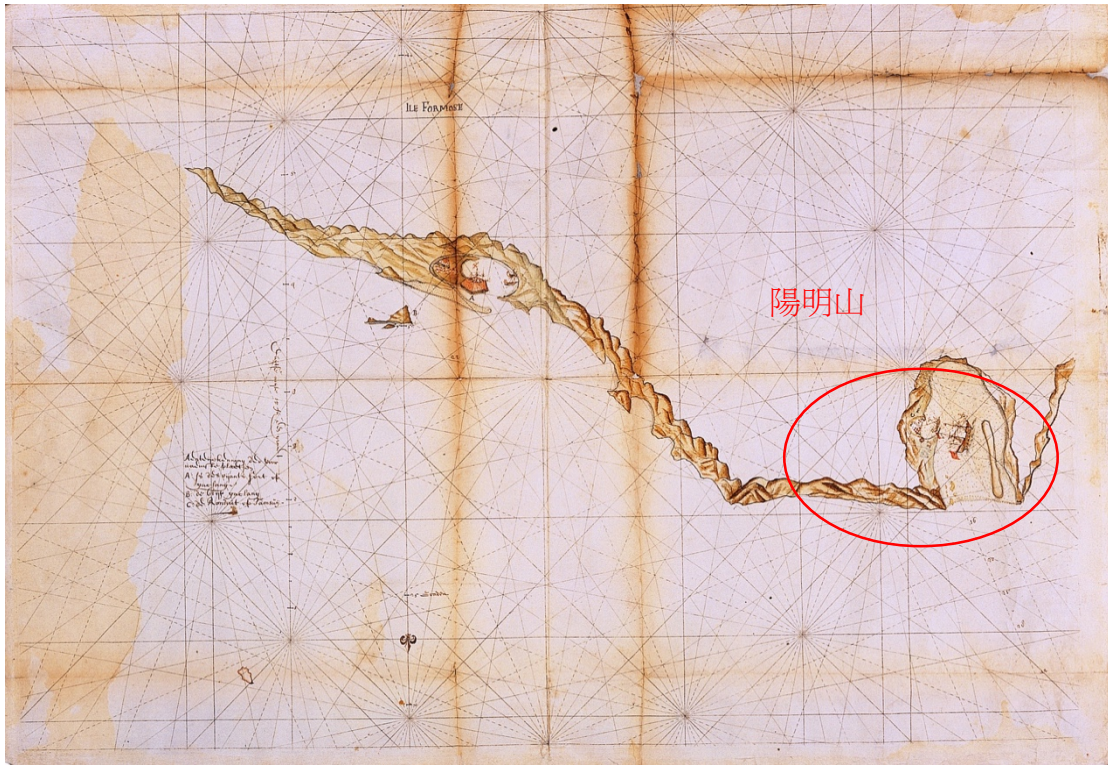


圖 附 2-4 荷蘭人所繪雞籠、淡水港口圖（1629）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。



### 5. 福爾摩沙島和澎湖群島地圖

本圖為由 Johannes Vingboons 所繪今日十分著名的臺灣島地圖，圖中清晰可見今日陽明山公園之群山，而山腳下緊鄰淡水河口及其流域。



圖 附 2-5 福爾摩沙島和澎湖群島地圖（1636）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。

## 6. 臺灣海圖

本圖為 W. J. Blaeu 所發行，圖中標示著淡水（Tamsuij）與基隆。

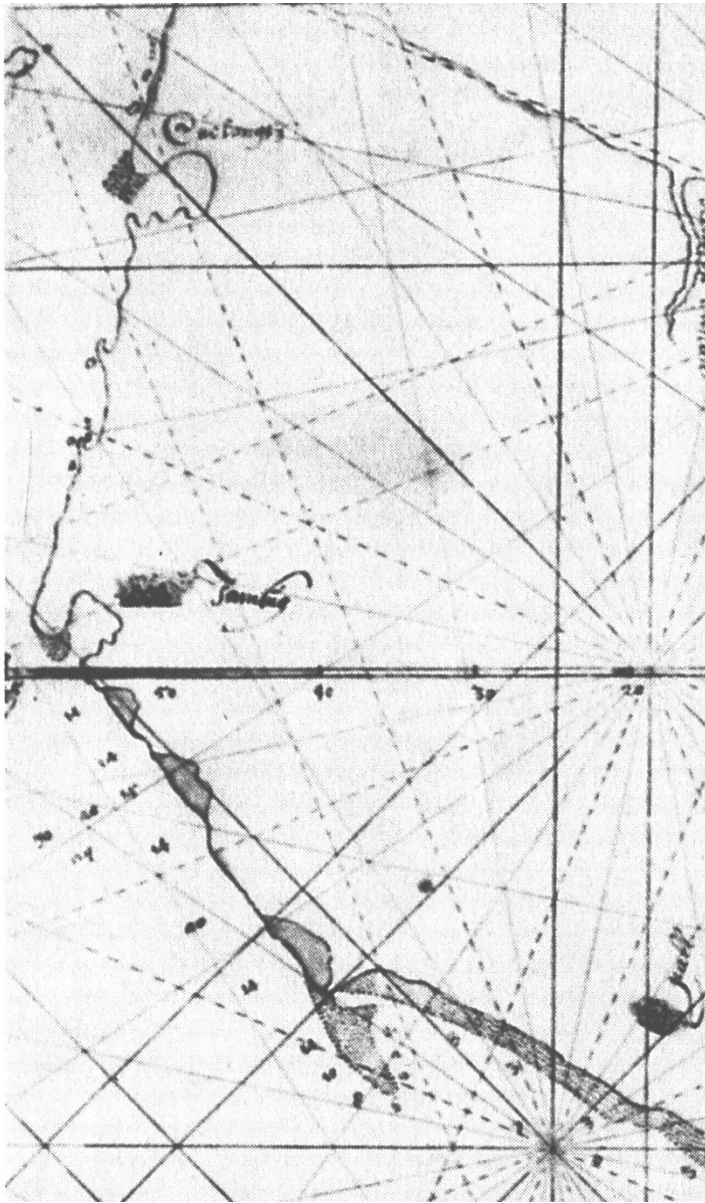


圖 附 2-6 臺灣海圖（約 1638）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。

## 7. 葡萄牙人繪製福爾摩沙島圖

本圖為葡萄牙人所繪製的一系列遠東地圖中之一。本島只繪出雞籠跟大灣，而緊鄰雞籠的下面，可能為淡水地區。



圖 附 2-7 葡萄牙人繪製福爾摩沙島圖（約 1644）

資料來源：e-corpus <http://www.e-corpus.org/notices/73154/gallery/401147> date:2015/11/20



## 8. 手繪臺灣島圖

本圖為德國士兵史馬卡耳登（Caspar Schmalkalden）所繪全島圖，當中已標註淡水（Tamsuij）之外，紅毛城清晰可見之外，淡水河流域也清楚繪出，因此可知紅毛城上方，河流北方則是今日陽明山國家公園範疇。



圖 附 2-8 手繪臺灣島圖（1648）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。

### 9. 中國沿海以及福爾摩沙海島圖

本圖為 Keulen 父子所繪的全島圖，標記為淡水（Tamsu）。紅毛城上方可見群山，又有標示 de hooge Berg van Tamsu，為淡水的高山，應為今日大屯山、竹子山一帶。沿著淡水河進入台北盆地，標記交易之地（Handel plaats）大概為艋舺地區。

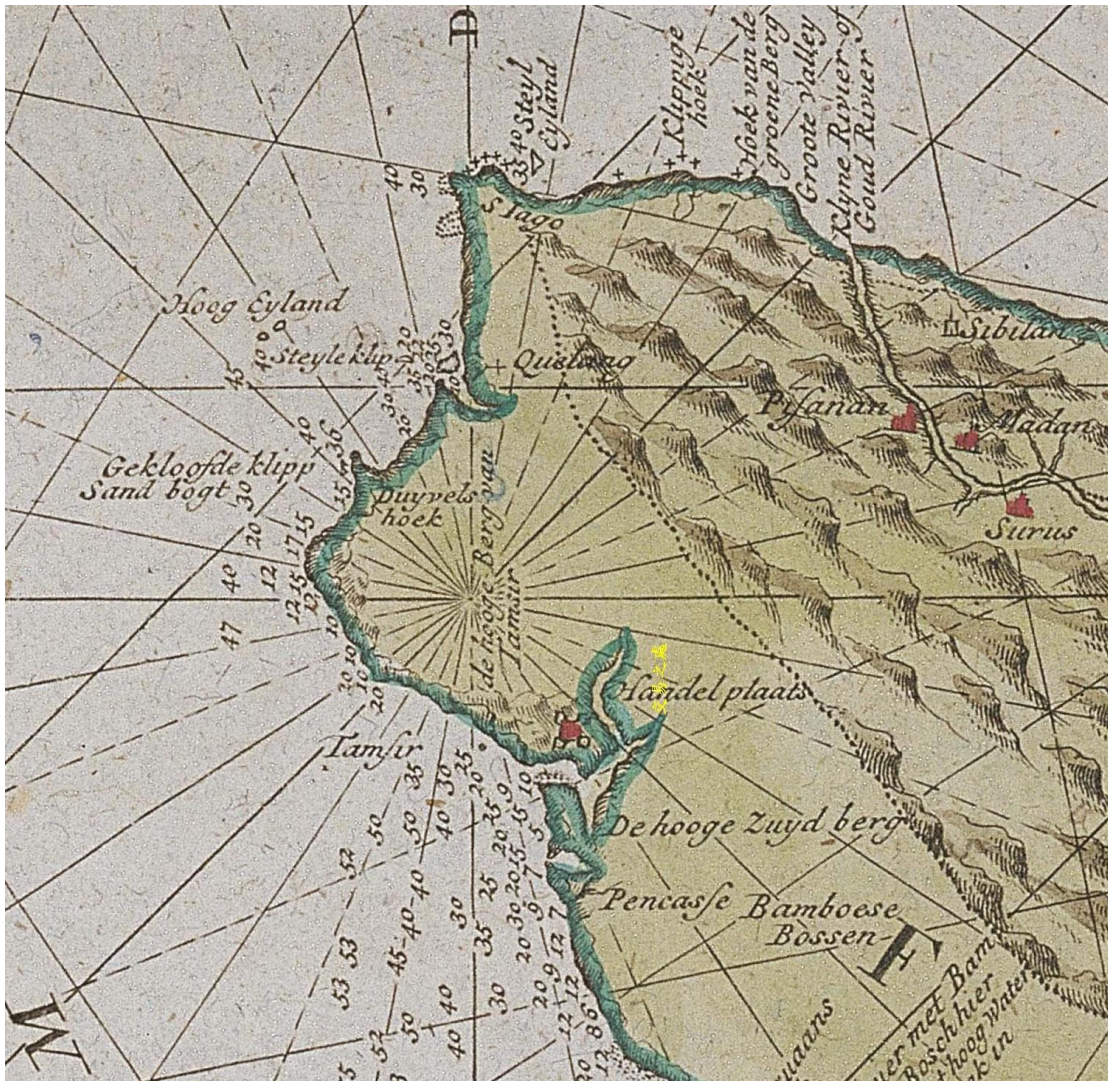


圖 附 2-9 中國沿海以及福爾摩沙海島圖（1660 年前後）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。



### 10. 北港福爾摩沙島海圖

本圖為 Balthasar Bort 在荷蘭被鄭成功打敗後，被派遣前來聯清滅鄭，雖然未成，但其地理知識成就本圖。本圖中的淡水河流域，反應著當時荷蘭人對該地區的了解，本圖中的雞籠河更是明顯

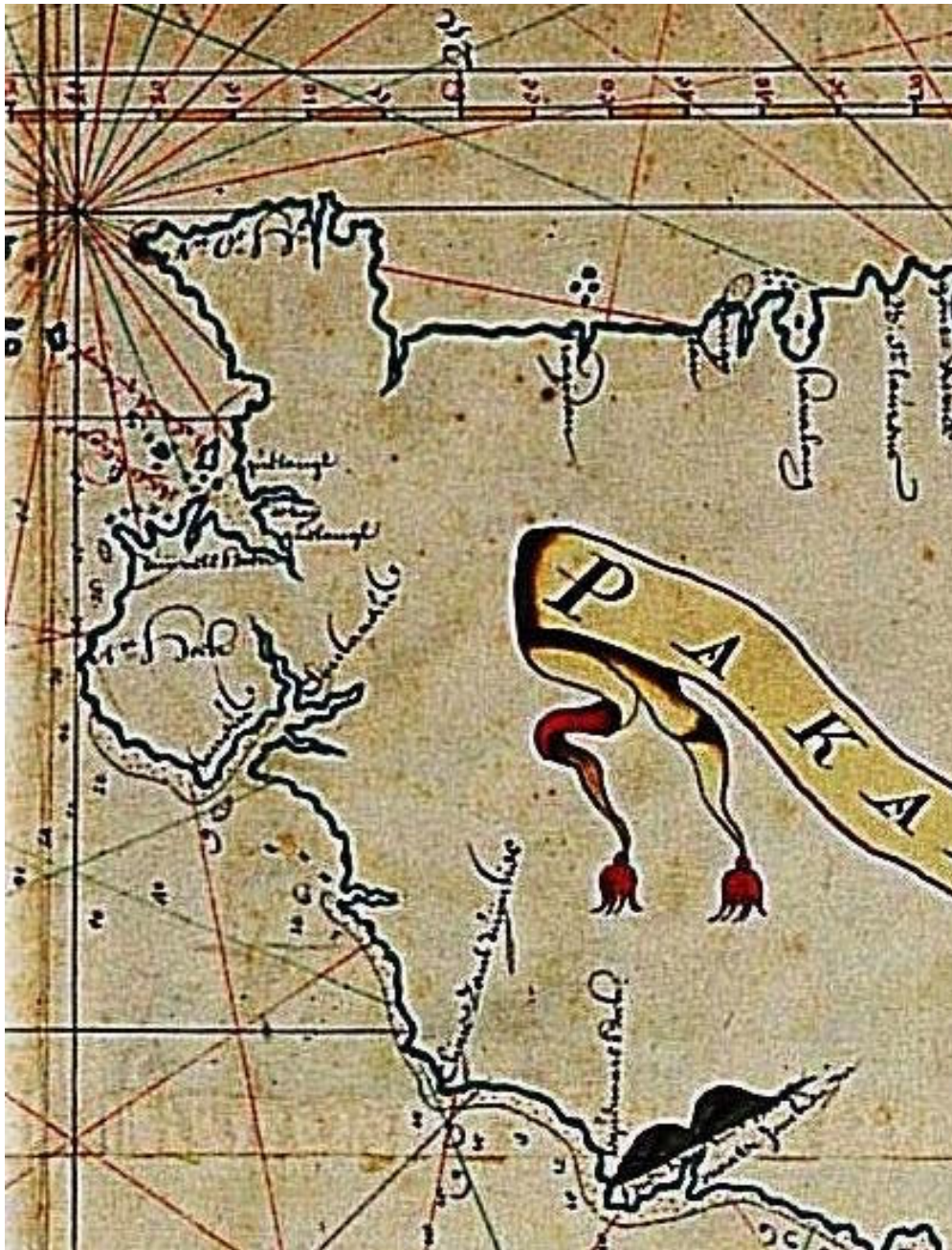


圖 附 2-10 北港福爾摩沙島海圖（1662 年代）

資料來源：高賢治，黃光瀛總編輯，《縱覽台江：大員四百年地輿圖》，台南市：台江國家公園，2012.10。



## 11. 中華東部圖

本圖上有記載鄭成功來台之情事，可將其視為 17 世紀末期的對地理的了解。而在本圖淡水河流域相當明顯。



圖 附 2-11 中華東部圖（1696）

資料來源：國立臺灣歷史博物館





陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



## 附錄三 史料彙整

### 1582 年

7 月 16 日一艘澳門猶太裔 B. Landeiro 的葡萄牙人篷船（船長 André Feio），從澳門運人貨往日本，因風遭難於臺灣，地點確定在淡水河口，船上貨物與砲也被原住民取走，驚動當時國際社會。

Fernando Mateos, 'First Jesuit Arriving in Taiwan from the 16th to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century',

Jonathan Spencer, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, Chapter 3 ;

何高濟等譯，《利瑪竇中國笈記》（北京：中華書局，1983），頁 158-159；

岡本良知，《十六世紀日歐交通史の研究》；

C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*. (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963), p. 44.

### 1589 年

福建巡撫周竊議，規定往兩洋的船隻為八十八隻。

「東、西二洋共八十八隻。又有小番（小（sic.? = 東），名雞籠、淡水，地鄰北港捕魚之處，產無奇貨，水程最近，與廣東、福寧州、浙江、北港，船引，一例原無限數，歲有四、五隻或七、八隻不等」

福建〈洋稅考〉：「於時凡販東西二洋、雞籠、淡水諸番，及廣東高、雷州、北港等處，商漁船引俱海防官為管給，每引納稅銀，多寡有差，名曰「引稅」。

《明神宗實錄》，卷二一〇，呂宋；

顧炎武纂輯，《天下郡國利病書》，原編第 26 冊，頁 1296；

許孚遠，〈海禁條約行分守漳南道〉，《敬和堂集》卷七，中央圖書館影印日本內閣文庫藏，明萬曆三十九年刊本，頁 10

### 1592 年

明萬曆二十年，倭侵淡水、雞籠。

《淡水廳志》卷十四。

## 1593 年

「二十一年倭寇朝鮮，閩以震鄰，禁止通販，海上人輒違禁私下海，或假借縣給買穀捕魚之引，竟走遠夷」；

「漳泉沿海的「同安、海澄、龍溪、漳浦、詔安等處奸徒，每年四、五月間告給文引，駕駛烏船，稱往福寧載鐵、北港捕魚，及販雞籠、淡水者，往往私裝鉛硝等貨，潛赴倭，無販糴之名，有通倭之實」

張燮，《東西洋考》，卷七；

許孚遠，〈疏通海禁疏〉，《敬和堂集》卷四，頁 27

## 1594 年

本年，又有西班牙船在臺遭難：6 月，菲律賓總督 Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas 遣道明會士 Juan Cobo（噶嘔嘍，或作：羨·高茂）神父偕同漢人通事 Antonio Lopez 出使日本，11 月，Cobo 搭船返馬尼拉，於途中遭風暴，停泊於臺灣（Isla Hermosa），與另一漢人 Juan Sami、船長被原住民所殺。原住民，推測是淡水一帶的原住民。淡水一帶原住民，在西班牙文獻中，常被描述成殺害外人的族群，此亦為西班牙有意征台之一因。

《異國往復書翰集增訂異國日誌抄》，頁 37；

J. E. Borao, "The Catholic Dominican Missionaries in Taiwan," 1626-1642;

*Spaniards in Taiwan*, vol. I, 2；1649 年聖玫瑰省神父 Juan de los Angeles 致菲律賓總督 Diego Fajardo 信（Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, II, 573）；《異國往復書翰集增訂異國日誌抄》，頁 58-59。

## 1610 年

在日本的耶穌會神父 Giovanni Rodrigues Giran 於翌（1611）年寄給耶穌會本部報告中，提及淡水、雞籠一帶原住民野蠻，敵視外人，惟獨對漢人不然，因漢人有交「稅」給雞籠人，故可停留。

Lettera annua del Ciappone de; 1609 e 1610. Scritta al M.R.P. Claudio 1615. p. 6. 轉引自岩生成一，〈有馬晴信の臺灣島視察船派遣〉，pp. 290-292；

松田毅一監譯，《十六・七世紀イエズス会に本報告集》第 II 期第 I 卷（京都：同朋社，1990），頁 87-88。

## 1616 年

倭王造船二十餘，挑選倭眾奪佔東番山，意在互市。

據雞籠、淡水求與我市……。

《明經世文編》，卷四百六十一；『蒼霞正續集』，葉向高「答韓辟哉」

## 1631 年

### 1631 年 6 月 30 日

**淡水紅毛城與附近資料：**有六名馬尼拉附近的黑人從淡水搭一艘舢舨逃到臺南……他們於本月 10 日離開淡水，途中因遇到暴風。他們之所以逃亡，是因為兩年來西班牙人不但沒付報酬，還經常無理打他們。他們回答關於雞籠和淡水情形如下：

……在淡水建有一土造堡壘，<sup>89</sup>裡面有五、六間房子；該堡壘周圍有木柵，木柵是用籐條綁住薄木板（dun hout），並架有五門大砲。…該處有一隊長率領五十個士兵守衛。上述堡壘，是快艇 Diemen 號、Slooten 號與 Domburch 號去偵探以後所建。因荷蘭人不想佔據該地，而企圖佔領再過去的雞籠。因為兩地之間，距離不過三十哩，且有兩條適於步行的平坦通路。<sup>90</sup>距離堡壘約一步槍射程<sup>91</sup>處有一個高地，從那裡可輕易射擊該堡。海灣周圍都是沙灘，可從堡壘兩側登陸而不會被發現。海灣在低潮時很淺，因此只有篷船才進得去。淡水有很多當地居民拿鹿、山羌（rhee）<sup>92</sup>等野生動物，以及水果土產來交易。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 49 頁）

VOC 1102, fol. 552-554.

有淡水、雞籠交通、動植物、樹木<sup>93</sup>記載。

英譯摘錄：

<sup>89</sup> 「土造堡壘」原文作：aerden rondeel，直譯是「土造圓堡」。但，不少近方形的「角面堡（reduit）」，在荷蘭文獻中，亦寫成 rondeel，因此，這裡翻成「堡壘」，以免直接望文生義。

<sup>90</sup> 指 1630 年前後，淡水與基隆（雞籠）之間，有兩條陸路可通。

<sup>91</sup> 「一步槍射程 een musquetschoot」，通常為 80～100 公尺。

<sup>92</sup> rhee 在當時本國通常指「山羊」，但在亞洲脈絡中，則指「獐」、「麋 Chiunn」，台語通常叫「羌 kiunn」。清代文獻說：「淡水番社有獻獐皮者」，即指淡水原住民用山羌皮貢納。

<sup>93</sup> 英譯文的「orange, lime」荷蘭原文為「orangappelen, limoenen」，orangappelen（oranjeappel）指柑、橘之類，Limoen，則指桔、棗之類。

(...) the two different roads between Quelang and Tamsuy (one of these can always be seen from the sea and the other one goes inland are flat, smooth and suitable for marching.

In Tampsuy there are many fruit trees as well as tubers, namely oranges, limes, pisang, potatoes and more other sorts, and also a wealth of game, like deer, roes, etc. They hope to catch those animals and also to receive some through barter with the natives. Sulphur is available in abundance but is not traded by the Spaniards. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 1, p. 194.)

## 1631 年 10 月 4 日

**荷蘭東印度公司考慮是否要截斷中國與淡水雞籠間的貿易：**長官普特曼斯與評議會<sup>94</sup>研議探查中國北岸的那些篷船，<sup>95</sup>如果在航行中遇見漢人商船要去雞籠或淡水，或要從雞籠或淡水回去中國，是否應該攻擊他們並奪取他們，或是還不要採取任何敵對行動。評議會鑑於目前公司在此地<sup>96</sup>還有豐富資金可用，也不知道公司在日本演變的確實情形，乃決議，對上述船隻的敵對行動，將延至對日本及中國有進一步消息之後再作決定。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 58 頁)

VOC 1102, 543v-344。

## 1633 年

### 1633 年 3 月 23 日

**硫磺：**昨日船長 Claes Janssen 帶進來之篷船，經詳細盤問後，他們聲稱是於去年，在無通行證情況下航離福州前往雞籠，從雞籠前往馬尼拉，又從馬尼拉乘季風再往雞籠，在那裡裝載訂購的貨物.....在上述篷船裡看到的有：120 個精美瓷器、有半圓形的和三角形的餐盤、1000 個粗糙的奶油碟、440 個有彩繪的及白色的粗糙的小駱駝頭

<sup>94</sup> 評議會，原文為 Raad，或可譯為「議會」，但怕與今天經民主程序選出的議會混淆，與當時的高層選擇任命之討議制度不合，故本文一律譯成「評議會」。

<sup>95</sup> 「篷船」即「junk, jonk」，有些人譯為「戎克」船，但「戎克」非中文，是來自十九世紀末日文的假名音譯，傳統中文文獻亦未有這種名詞。早期日本學者或國內學者採用「支那帆船」、「中式帆船」，本文不採用之因，是因，一、行文有累贅感覺，二、中國帆船之「帆」，絕大部分非以布料，而是竹篾、草席之類，中文文獻亦有用「篷船」，故從之。

<sup>96</sup> 荷蘭日誌文獻中的「此地」，一般是指臺南安平，若無特別情況，本文不另特別註記。

形狀之小杯子、40 塊肉、16 擔麵粉、66 擔小麥、30 擔未提煉的硫磺、24 個小鐵鍋、60 個空的石頭水罐、還有其他一些小東西，如清單所載的。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 85 頁）

VOC 1113，536-536v。

## 1636 年

### 1636 年 3 月 14 日

從西班牙人獲悉雞籠、馬尼拉與其他屬地狀況：去年 8 月有兩艘大帆船（gaelljoens）<sup>97</sup>從新西班牙墨西哥（Nova Spange）運七隊白人士兵來到馬尼拉，其中有一批士兵被分派到各地去。通常從馬尼拉一年派四艘小船，快船（fregats）<sup>98</sup>或大帆船，去雞籠，其中兩艘於 5 月抵達，另外兩艘於 8 月抵達；於這些船隻抵達時，在那裡跟漢人交易，大部分交易少量絲，絲質布料，大批棉花布（cangan）、麻布（kennepe lijwaeten）、南京絲綿布（lankins）與其他貨物……那些大帆船通常停留約三個星期或一個月，然後就回去馬尼拉，都不留在那裡。<sup>99</sup>

……兩年前西班牙人在淡水海灣用磚塊建造一座有四個稜堡之城堡（fort），他們從淡水運大批的米、黍（mijlie）<sup>100</sup>和其他食物去雞籠。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 225 頁）

### 1636 年 5 月 21 日

從篷船獲悉，雞籠西班牙人因向規定地居民每一對結婚者每年徵收 3 gantingh 米<sup>101</sup>和 2 隻雞，不但引起當地到處的居民發動戰爭，連淡水的居民也把駐守淡水的六十個西班牙人

<sup>97</sup> gaelljoen，即 galleon，十五至十七世紀西班牙或地中海的大帆船，長度通常在三十公尺左右，載重量

300~800 tons。

<sup>98</sup> fregat，西班牙語 *fragata*，在 Galley 型之船上，另加設計以增加速度的軍船，出現於十七世紀初期，大致上至十九世紀中仍使用。

<sup>99</sup> 錄此條，旨在說明通常西班牙的大帆船（gaelljoen）是不會來淡水與雞籠港。

<sup>100</sup> mijlie，通常被譯成「玉米」，誤，因此時的玉米（corn, mais）尚未傳入臺灣，應是指臺灣原產的，黍，一名番黍。

<sup>101</sup> gantingh，即馬來語的 gantang，相當於中文的「斗」，或「升」，大約為 12 斤，見：《臺灣城日誌（熱蘭遮城日誌）》1644 年 6 月 27 日條。

（其中有三十個被殺死，其餘的逃走了）從他們的城堡趕走。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 240 頁）

## 1637 年

### 1637 年 11 月 19 日

有幾艘漁船從中國抵達，獲悉有一位新西班牙長官率領一艘葡萄牙快艇和兩艘漢人篷船去到雞籠。該長官在雞籠港口被北風所吹，立刻又率領快艇和篷船回去了。西班牙人商館很缺乏現款、米和其他食物，用以保護他們全部人員的軍隊不過 260 個人。又聞西班牙人不但已跟淡水人同意締和，以前因淡水人突襲並殺死 40 個西班牙人而關係變壞，而且那些居民也從淡水移開，帶領他們的婦女和小孩，顯然他們害怕。西班牙人為了上述的損失，將用軍隊發動報復；因此，西班牙人已曾經在淡水建造的城堡全部拆毀，將全軍撤回雞籠。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 357 頁）

## 1638 年

### 1638 年 2 月 19 日

一艘篷船持有有通行證，運載鹽和米，前往淡水附近捕魚與收集鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 382 頁）

### 1638 年 3 月 6 日

有一艘篷船搭 15 人，出航前往淡水捕魚並收購鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 384 頁）

### 1638 年 3 月 31 日

有一艘篷船搭 15 個人出航去淡水捕魚，及向那一帶的居民收購鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 386 頁）

1638 年 4 月 1 日

一艘篷船搭 10 個人出航前往淡水，捕魚並收購鹿皮。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 386 頁)

1639 年

1639 年 9 月 7 日

派船長 Marten Gerritsede Vries 搭一艘篷船並帶一隻 wancan<sup>102</sup> 船出航，前往西班牙人已經離開的淡水，並要前往他們還居住著的雞籠，去那裡盡他可能的辦法，探查西班牙人在那裡的狀況，以便回來此地時得以提出詳細報告。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 451 頁)

1639 年 12 月 2 日

.....由 Banda 號與 Vliegende Hart 號要運往蘇拉特的貨物，有：351,000 兩日本丁銀、413,657 斤砂糖、1280 籃冰糖、610 斤白色生絲、20,289 斤白蠟、2<sup>103</sup>2,093 斤明礬、3,746 斤日本樟腦、5,200 斤硫磺等...。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 461 頁)

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<sup>102</sup> wancan 船，在荷蘭文獻中，是指比篷船 (jonk) 稍小之傳統中國船，

<sup>103</sup> 白蠟，原文為 spialter，當時漢人稱為亞鉛 (ajen)，見：VOC1120, fol. 60。



## 1640 年

### 1640 年 11 月 6 日

商人 Peco 和 Campe<sup>104</sup> 派三艘篷船去淡水，要去那裡採硫磺，供 10 月中運載 1,000 擔生硫磺回來有希望供應從 Malabar<sup>105</sup> 來的訂購。越南東京和柬埔寨也有硫磺的需求。  
（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 474 頁）

巴達維亞城日記 1641：長官特勞牛斯呈總督 Van Diemen 函，6-11-1640 與 12-12-1640，  
pp.110-120，157-159。

### 1640 年 11 月 6 日

第一班派往巴達維亞的船隻，大船 Ackersloot 號與篷船 Uytrecht 號從此地出航，所載貨物合計總值 153,809.14.11 荷盾，貨物中，有 1,498 斤黃色顏料...200 斤硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 474 頁）

### 1640 年 12 月 27 日

快艇 De Pau 號運貨物前往印度 Suratte<sup>106</sup> 和波斯，貨物中有：32,475 斤精煉硫磺。  
（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 477 頁）

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<sup>104</sup> Campe，也許是指 1630 年代以來，就活躍於臺灣的廈門商人 Gampea（顏伯爺？）。

<sup>105</sup> Malabar，印度西南部的海岸地帶。

<sup>106</sup> Suratte，印度西北部之 Surat。

## 1641 年

1641 年 1 月 10 日

臺南開始精煉硫磺的漢人八哥（Peco）和他的人員已精煉出 17,000 斤硫磺。不過這些人對每擔  $3\frac{1}{3}$  里爾的價格有怨言，他為要精煉硫磺，需用很多油脂（roet），<sup>107</sup> 這種油脂每擔須費 8 兩（銀）。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 478 頁）

VOC1134，fol.103-11；長官特勞牛斯呈總督 VanDiemen 函，10-1-1641。摘錄亦見於巴達維亞城日記 1641，pp.175-177。

1641 年 1 月 25 日

平底船 De Meerman 號運貨由越南東京前往巴達維亞，其中有：3,105 斤蘇拉特的精煉硫磺<sup>108</sup>.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 1 冊第 479 頁）

## 1642 年 1 月

1642 年 1 月 7 日

臺南安平中國商人因缺乏椰子油守著 2,000 到 2,500 擔未提煉的硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 12 頁）

《巴達維亞城日誌》1641-1642，109-111，長官 P. Traudenius 於 1642 年 1 月 7 日寫給總督 A. van Diemen 的書信。

<sup>107</sup> roet，以前翻成「煙煤」，誤。此詞是指牛油、牛脂類。

<sup>108</sup> 按，此非硫磺，原文是「geraffineerde salpeter」是「硝」。

## 1642 年 9 月

### 1642 年 9 月 19 日，於雞籠

傍晚有四個漢人偕同淡水人前來此地，帶來一封隊長 **Boon** 的書信。他們是於 9 月 2 日從臺灣航來淡水，要來裝載硫磺的，他們的篷船還停泊在那裡。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 21 頁）

### 1642 年 9 月 23 日，於雞籠

**Kijpatou**（北投）社的人來呈獻他們的土地給我們。該社位於淡水河口，距離臺南城堡兩天的路程，頭目名叫 **Palijonnabos**，有 80 個壯丁、80 個婦女與小孩。同樣，位於那地方的 **Pinorouan**（武勝灣）社的人也來呈獻土地，他們的頭目名叫 **Siasou**，有 70 個壯丁。我們把跟其他村社約束的相同的條款，宣讀給他們聽，他們都承諾願意遵守，因此，每社也給他們一面旗子，他們帶著旗子離開了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 23 頁）

VOC 1140，498-499。

### 1642 年 9 月 27 日，於雞籠

**走通淡水、基隆之間**：早晨軍隊再度出發前進，又越過兩座陡峭的小山，其中一座比另一座小很多，再度來到海邊，那裡的道路就比前面的好走多了，不過有時還必須攀登幾個又陡峭又尖銳的礁石。...就前往一個稱為 **Batang** 的地方，在那裡有幾個居民從三貂社拿著親王旗來歡迎戰地指揮官閣下，並帶一些飯.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 26 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月

### 1642 年 10 月 4 日，於雞籠

一艘篷船從福州抵達雞籠，船上搭有 11 個漢人，所載貨物只有：1 籃白砂糖.....。上述漢人說他們以前常常跟西班牙人以及淡水的人交易，最近曾經載著約 600 里爾的貨物，有布料、絲襪、中國米酒、<sup>109</sup>鐵鍋、鐵等物，來過此地，其中，有一批賣給西班牙人，剩下的被一個中國官吏（他是福州最高指揮官的師爺，他也搭一艘篷船來此地停泊，跟當地居民交易硫磺）拿走，要再拿回福州去賺錢，還強迫他們用他們的篷船航往三貂社，去那裡裝很多硫磺運回來，因為上述那個強迫者派人去那裡收購硫磺，而且可能還會在那裡交易。但是，因為他們聽到，我們的軍隊已經來這裡攻取城堡，所以就不敢繼續留在那裡，而航回福州去了，留下約 100 擔硫磺在那裡，那些硫磺已經付清貨款給三貂社的居民了。他們回到福州以後，又被那最高指揮官強迫，並威脅，必須再次航來此地運回那些剩下的硫磺，不然，或有短缺，他就會沒收他們的貨物。他們為了這個理由，無論好歹都要再來此地。他們知道，此地已經被我們奪取，因為有個中國舵公...把這消息帶回福州以及那一帶的沿岸了。他又說，在福州還有 7、8 艘大篷船已經裝好各種貨物，一旦聽到可以自由來跟我們交易，立刻就會前來此地。他們都在等候這些人的消息與報告。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 31 頁）

### 1642 年 10 月 14 日，於淡水

早上天亮以前，他閣下再去進一步視察那地方的形勢，判斷說，那座已經拆毀的西班牙人的城堡（Specx fort）是位於最好又最適當的地點，那地點是鄰近海岸的一個高地或小山，南邊是大部分與該山等高的平台，在東邊與東北邊有個深谷，一直很陡峭地下到海邊，是個非常堅固的地方。士兵把那些灌木草叢與其他障礙物砍掉拿走以後，他閣下大部分按照原有的基礎規劃，不過把它設計得更好也更適當。

<sup>109</sup> 「中國米酒」原文為「Chinese bier」，通常被翻譯成「中國米酒」或「三燒」，誤。當時的「bier」，在日本指「清酒（sake）」，在中國則為米酒類，紹興酒屬之。荷蘭文中，又有「Samsoe」，語音為「三酒 sam-chíu」，或作 Sampe（三白），均屬米穀釀造之酒。「絲襪」，指以前絲織之「鞋」類，若加上「鞋底皮」，則為可穿外出隻鞋，誤與今日女性用之絲襪混同。

那時有 1 艘小的漢人的篷船從那條溪流下來，報告說，還有 6 艘漢人的篷船載著硫磺，停泊在該溪流的上游，其中 1 艘沒有通行證，因此不是自由的船隻，他閣下乃下令，要找機會去檢查。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 36 頁）

*H. Harrouse* 寫給 *J. Lamotius* 的書信；雞籠，1642 年 10 月 19 日，*VOC 1140*，*fol. 320-321*.

*Kimaurij* 和 *Taporij* 的原住民極度缺乏糧食，為了取得食物，他們不只去三貂社、淡水，以及其他地方交易食物，還向雞籠的荷蘭人交換米和魚。荷蘭人認為這是他們不服從的懲罰  
英譯摘錄：

[...]It must be quite agreeable for you to hear that we received Your Honour's letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of this month, yesterday at about noon, delivered by three men from Tamsuy. From which we learn (God be praised) that Your Honour safely anchored on the Tamsuy roads, except for the delay of the yacht *Waterhondt*, which caused troubles with the construction work of the fortress. Still I hope that Your Honour will be pleased to know that the punishment that was ordered by Your Honour by means of a sanction resulted in the inhabitants' subjection and hopefully this achievement will continue to be beneficial to Your Honour. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, p. 311.)

## 1642 年 10 月 15 日，於淡水

淡水附近番社居民，帶小禮物來見指揮官閣下。重新承諾遵守結盟的諾言之後，他閣下就告訴他們，要砍數百根竹子，帶來此地，用來建造城堡，房屋與小屋子，也要割長草來蓋屋頂。但是顯然他們無此意願，因此他閣下乃大聲嚴厲威脅他們，再次命令他們，並告訴他們處罰不服從的三貂社與金包里社的人的情形，如果他們不服從，也將遭遇同樣的處罰。因此，那些居民害怕了，終於答應要遵照命令，把那些東西都帶來此地。

專員 **Marten Gerrits Vries**<sup>110</sup>今天奉戰地指揮官的命令，帶領那艘大領港船以及我們的其他小船，航往這條溪流的上游，去檢查上述篷船，把它帶下來，發現跟昨天那艘小篷船的漢人所說的一致。那艘沒有自由的篷船已經老舊，幾乎不能用了，船上搭有 28 個人，（據那些漢人說）載有 300 擔，即 12 1/2 last<sup>111</sup>未提煉的硫磺，沒有載任何其他重要東西。戰地指揮官閣下把那些東西都沒收為公司的收益，那些人都用來建造這個城堡。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 36 頁）

<sup>110</sup> 此人於翌年，即 1643 年 4 月奉命率船往北調查沿海港口，但於 *Hachi-jo jima*（八丈島）遭船難，所留下之日本記述，為研究者所珍重。

<sup>111</sup> last，容量與重量單位。1 last，各地雖稍有差異，通常為兩船噸。

## 1642 年 10 月 16 日，於淡水

居民開始帶竹子和草來，乃立刻用來為戰地指揮官閣下與軍官以及士兵和全軍建造房屋與小屋子。

這附近幾個村社的頭目也來向他閣下請求跟我們結盟，他們願意順服我們。乃以跟其他村社同樣的條件，讓他們結盟，也命令他們，跟命令其他村社一樣，要去砍竹子並帶長草來，對此他們（雖然不樂意）也答應了。……戰地指揮官閣下詳細考慮，雖很缺乏士兵和工人，也不能從船上調水手來用—因為經常有強風大浪，以致那些停泊在此地的快艇都很危險，而水手已經因生病或其他原因大為缺乏了，船上的軍官已經在抱怨，擔心，如果遭遇風暴的天氣，使那些快艇喪失他們的錨，則他們將因缺少健康的人員，而難以調度了—而這已經開始的建造城堡的工程，進行得很緩慢，還須要一段長時間才能造起來，因此，戰地指揮官閣下鑑於情況的必要性，以及如此則可將最好的和最大部分的硫磺山收入我們的管轄，歸公司所有，於是為要使這城堡的建造工程更迅速進行，要從那些自由的漢人的篷船，每艘找 5、6 個人，以每天 30 仙

（cent）的工資（與臺灣的工資相同），強迫他們參與這建造城堡的一般工作。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 37 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 17 日，於淡水

在戰地指揮官閣下的傳喚下，那些順服我們的村社的頭目與重要人員都來了。我們以應有的尊榮接待他們，並再度重述契約內容，特別強調他們已經承諾要把他們的土地呈贈給我們的事情。說完這些話以後，指揮官閣下命令他們要帶竹子來給我們建造城堡，也要帶糧食與新鮮食物來給我們。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 37 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 20 日，於淡水

傍晚，荷蘭人通事 Cornelis de Smith 偕同本地通事 Theodore 從雞籠經陸路抵達此地，Theodore 於最近被任命為金包里社與淡水沙巴裡（Tapourji）的頭目，...答應 100 擔硫磺，即本月 4 日有一艘漢人的篷船在雞籠告訴我們，以前福州官在三貂社蒐購並已付款的那些硫磺，將於近日運來雞籠交給公司。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 38 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 21 日，於淡水

指揮官閣下派中尉 **Pedel** 前往溪上游，帶 30 罐燒酒（**arack**）、<sup>112</sup>12 擔糖、3 匹棉花布（**cangan**）布和 3 包中國煙草，去交易米和其他食物。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 39 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 25 日，於淡水

建造城堡工作，因風大，天冷而無法進行。又因居民對搬運竹子來的事情，進行得非常緩慢，因此戰地指揮官閣下乃派舵手 **Sijmen Cornelissen** 與通事搭那艘大領港船溯溪去砍竹子，以便那工程更能順利進行，同時要去交易一些新鮮食物和糧食，為此交給他一些現款。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 39 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 26 日，於淡水

戰地指揮官允許自由漢人的篷船當中的一艘，那艘已經滿載硫磺，前往臺灣，令那艘船載 16 個生病的士兵一起去臺灣，並送長官閣下的書信，以及自從上次寫給在臺灣的長官閣下以後所寫的各種書信文件去臺灣，用以向上述長官閣下詳細報告一切事情。

今天也得悉，那艘沒有自由，<sup>113</sup>被沒收的篷船上的那 23 個漢人逃入內陸了，他們要逃避那勞役和交給他們的工作。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 40 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 29 日，於淡水

戰地指揮官閣下派金包里社人帶一封回信去給上尉 **Harrousee** 閣下。

又有一個金包里社的居民帶一封上尉 **Harrouzee** 的書信來給戰地指揮官閣下，寫說，於上個月的 25 日，有一艘漢人篷船從福州抵達雞籠，聲稱在福州從兩個住在臺灣的

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<sup>112</sup> **arack**，學者註解為「*rijstbrandewijn* 米穀蒸餾之酒」，見：V. D. Roeper, ed., *Willem Ysbrantsz Bontekoe, Iovrnael ofte gedenckwaardige beschrijvinghe: De wonderlijke avonturen van een schipper in de Oost*. (Amsterdam: Terra Incognita, 1996), p. 74。此為臺灣傳統的米酒，有異於釀造的中國米酒。

<sup>113</sup> 「沒有自由」，原文為 *onvrij*，意指無航行交易執照、走私者。

華商得悉，可以在雞籠自由貿易，所以前來雞籠，另有一艘篷船將於二、三天內前來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 40 頁）

## 1642 年 10 月 30 日，於淡水

戰地指揮官閣下派舵手 **Sijmen Cornelissen** 率領 4 個士兵和 2 個船員，偕同那個荷蘭人通事，從陸路去雞籠交一封信給上尉 **Harrousee**，命令該上尉說，要從上述福州來的篷船卸下雞籠駐軍可能需要的所有東西，把那些東西的清單收據交給那些漢人的頭領，令他帶去臺灣收款。

今天開始從那艘沒有自由的漢人的篷船（於我們抵達此地時發現而沒收）卸貨，把該船所載的硫磺搬進我們的船隻，因為這艘篷船已經很老舊腐爛，在海上航行，必定危險萬分，把該篷船的那些木料拿來此地製造砲架，以及在城堡裡用來建造火藥室和其他用途。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 40 頁）

## 1642 年 11 月

### 1642 年 11 月 2 日，於淡水

上述那艘篷船完全拆開，也把貨物全部卸下來了，搬出約 30 last 未提煉的硫磺，把這些硫磺裝上 2 艘篷船，那 2 艘篷船是以前在雞籠奪取的，另外還裝上一艘自由的漢人的篷船，用約 30 個人來裝運，每一個人裝了 3 擔。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 41 頁）

### 1642 年 11 月 3 日，於淡水

允許那些持有長官特勞牛斯閣下正當通行證的那些自由漢人的篷船去進行他們的硫磺交易，因城堡的工程已經不再需要漢人來工作了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 41 頁）

### 1642 年 11 月 6 日，於淡水

早晨上述中尉被派，去淡水河上游警告居民，還要帶竹子下來，否則將會引起我們的憤怒。他們說，他們之所以沒有遵守諾言運竹子下來，是因為非常害怕來這裡。好天氣。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 90 頁）



## 1642 年 11 月 8 日，於淡水

一艘漢人的篷船從雞籠載中國米酒、煙草、布料等物品前來，也帶來一封 mayoor Harrousee 寫給戰地指揮官閣下的書信。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 90 頁）

*H. Harrousee 寫給 J. Lamotius 的書信；雞籠，1642 年 10 月 19 日，VOC 1140，fol. 320-321，英譯摘錄：*

[...] Those of Kimaurij and Taporij now experience that their escape did them a lot of harm because they are now already in serious need of rice, for the purchase of which they not only go to St. Jago, Tamsuy and other places but they even come here every day to barter fish for rice. Their need for food is a more severe punishment for them than by any sword. Undoubtedly it not only will neutralise the bias, anger and obstinacy of that savage crowd, but their fear, will inspire awe in them and link them closer to our authority. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 310-311.)

## 1642 年 11 月 10 日，於淡水

給留駐淡水的 Anthonio 城堡的最高指揮官中尉 Thomas Pedel 及其評議會的指令，1642 年 10 月 10 日（中譯者註：10 月 10 日，諒係 11 月 10 日之誤。）.....。

閣下亦須盡可能查明從此地到雞籠的道路、小徑、溪流、各地狀況、以及居民情況，以便閣下能隨時派一個士兵或荷蘭人攜帶隨身武器與短矛，偕同一兩個最可靠的居民，傳送信件或其他東西，並要記下各處的特色，用以寫成優良的旅程報導，畫出完整的地理素描。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 44 頁）

*VOC 1146，fol.679-680。*

## 1642 年 11 月 13 日，於淡水

Waddij<sup>114</sup>的通事偕同...（空白）...社的幾個居民回來，帶來一些雞、魚和要為中尉造櫃子的雜木。

此外，我們向上述居民宣讀戰地指揮官 Lamosius 閣下留在此地的指令裡的所有條款，並經由中尉向他們的頭領說明，即首先要把他們的土地呈贈給我們，對此，他們答應照辦，並答應明天要帶親王旗來。於是中尉贈送他們 1 匹藍色的棉花布

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<sup>114</sup> Waddij，又作：Waddingh，指今新店溪與大漢溪一帶的原住民聚落。

(cangangh) 和 3 包煙草，他們就帶著那些東西回去了。中尉曾命令他們，要把他們的雜木帶來市集賣，最多 2、3 天，對此他們都說好，也答應，會把我們在森林裡迷路的士兵帶回此地。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 91 頁)

**向福爾摩沙居民宣讀的條款。VOC 1146, fol. 713.**

中尉 Pedel 向原住民宣讀戰地指揮官留下的條款，命令來歸順的原住民把他們的水果、根莖、雞蛋、家畜、魚帶到市集來賣，荷蘭人會以合理價格，用現金或布料收購。鄰近的村落每周要來一次市集，最遠的村落則 14 天來一次。

英譯摘錄：

First, that they will voluntarily offer their land to the Dutch, and that they will actively demonstrate their fidelity and allegiance in all eternity. That they will not raise up arms against the Company or any of our allied friends, nor for any reason whatsoever, against those with whom we, as well as they themselves, are presently at peace with, but that on the contrary they will offer them all help, support and assistance, especially if some of our people or allies run aground or are wrecked with their yachts, junks or other craft on their beaches, when they will have to loyally assist in rescuing the people from drowning as well as salvaging the goods and the vessels and see to it that everything is brought to one of our nearest fortresses or garrisons. Whenever a Prince's flag together with a seal or identifying mark, similar to the one which has been given to them, is shown to them in their villages, their elders and headmen should immediately show up at the fortress on the island of Quelang, in order to be informed of any order or commission that the authorities wish to give them, and any obligations they must fulfill. That also if any of our huntsmen or one of our allies, should get lost in or near their places, they will have to see to it that he is brought back safely; but on the contrary that they will immediately bring in all runaway 'blacks' and other fugitives, whether freemen or slaves, whom they might run across, either with or without the use of force. And if such people show strong opposition they are allowed to bring the runaway's head to Quelang or elsewhere, for which the Company will give them a reasonable recompense.

That also they must assist us with their entire force, whenever we enter into war with some rebellious inhabitants. Likewise we, in our turn, will assist and protect them against their enemies, if the war is based on reasonable arguments and is undertaken after serious consideration. That the people of all neighbouring villages once a week, and those of the most remote places once in fourteen days, will appear at the market over here to sell earth- and tree fruits, hens eggs, fish, as well as large and small livestock. For their merchandise they will receive a proper price either in cash or in textiles or other goods.

Finally and at last, that these articles will be drawn up and concluded with the approbation of our High Government [at Batavia]. Therefore the inhabitants or their headmen will have to undertake and accept all adjustments, reductions or increases, provided that every change is implemented for good reasons in the same way as the here mentioned articles have been formulated. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 326-327.)

## 1642 年 11 月 15 日，於淡水

有 2 個漢人用 1 隻竹筏運 300 根竹子下來，他們立刻又回去上面，要去運更多竹子來。中午，有 Maron 社<sup>115</sup>的 3 個居民跟通事 Waddiow 來我們這裡，說，因為他們得悉中尉 Thomas Pedel 留在此地，所以自願來了，並說，將於 2、3 天內來呈贈他們的土地，並帶食物來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 92 頁）

## 1642 年 11 月 16 日，於淡水

有 6 個武勝灣社（Ponorouan）的居民持一面白旗跟通事 Ballauw 來此地，帶幾株果樹苗要來種在此地，作為結盟的表徵，我們按照在雞籠締訂的條款，可在今天或明天指示他們該做的事，並將他們納入我們的屬下。該條款的抄本戰地指揮官閣下留在此地，他們已經明白該條款的內容，也答應要遵守該條款。上述果樹苗有（2）株橘子樹苗、2 株桔樹苗、2 株香蕉樹苗，他們並將這些樹苗種在此地。<sup>116</sup>

居民要從林仔（Cenar）社與北投社（Kijpatauw）買米，因種米不是他們習慣，只有他們馬賽（Bissayer）人沒有在種米，而淡水的人則到處都在種米，因此，武勝灣社的人，即馬賽人，都要來向他們買米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 92 頁）

## 1642 年 11 月 17 日，於淡水

通事 Waddauw 帶領 3 個 Morauw 社<sup>117</sup>的頭目來此地，他們帶 1 株香蕉樹苗和 1 株桔樹苗要來種在此地，作為呈贈他們的土地給我們，他們的人歸順我們的表徵，也要遵守跟其他居民締訂的同樣的條款，這些條款經由通事告訴他們，因為在雞籠他們沒有呈贈土地，這是第一次呈贈的。他們之所以等那麼久才來，是因為很忙，其他居民大部分都還在忙著收割他們的米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 92 頁）

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<sup>115</sup> 同 Morauw，毛少翁社。

<sup>116</sup> 此段資料已指出：陽明山附近的柑、橘、香蕉，以及下述的荔枝、桑樹、柚子之類，應是外來種，來自中國閩粵成分大。

<sup>117</sup> Morauw，即 Mosauw，Kimassauw，毛少翁社，今台北市士林一帶。

## 1642 年 11 月 18 日，於淡水

早晨又有 3 個 Waron<sup>118</sup>的居民跟通事 Wadu 一起來我們這裡，帶來一株桔樹苗、一株荔枝樹苗（ritsiesboom），和一株桑樹苗（besieboomtjen）<sup>119</sup>要來跟此地的其他果樹種在一起。

今天在城堡前用竹子造了一個城門。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 93 頁）

## 1642 年 11 月 20 日，於淡水

我們送一封信去雞籠給 Harousee，由 2 個林仔社的居民，其中一個名叫三哥（Samco），以及士兵 Joost de Hont 一起送去，該士兵帶著他的步槍和一根短矛，因為他會西班牙語，乃命令他要沿途詢問居民的習性、道路、小徑、溪川和各地情況，盡可能地觀察，於回來以後提出報告。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 93 頁）

## 1642 年 11 月 21 日，於淡水

植物：通事 Waddau 帶 2 個林子（Cenaer）社的居民來，其中一名叫 Kaekielach 的，是頭目之一，他呈贈土地，並帶來 1 株柚子樹苗（pompelmoesboom），<sup>120</sup>1 株桔樹苗，2 株香蕉樹苗，把這些樹苗種在此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 93 頁）

## 1642 年 11 月 26 日，於淡水

2 艘篷船的漢人來我們這裡，.....又說，跟居民也沒有交易到黃金，所載的只有硫磺，別無他物。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 94 頁）

<sup>118</sup> Waron，應即 Marou 的筆誤，即上面 11 月 17 日條 Morauw 的另一寫法，即毛少翁社。

<sup>119</sup> besieboomtjen，即 Besieboom，是 moerbij，桑樹。

<sup>120</sup> 柚子 pompelmoesboom，學名為 *Citrus maxima*。

## 1642 年 11 月 28 日，於淡水

下午，火藥地窖積水達 1 呎高，在積水以前不久還去看過，雖然繼續下著大雨，也毫不遲疑地【把火藥】都搬到上面來了。晚上巡邏時，看到架在馬利亞稜堡上的那 2 門大砲已經下陷，連砲口都浸到水裡，快要溜出它們的砲架，掉下城門了，因為繼續的下雨，雨水把木板和竹子的地板下面的土大量流失，以致地板下陷。因此我們把那些大砲拖進裡面來，以防意外。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 95 頁）。

## 1642 年 12 月

### 1642 年 12 月 8 日，於淡水

早晨天亮以前，中尉搭那艘舢舨，率領 14 個人，有軍官、士兵、水手，航往上游，要去巡視各社，並要去找機會探查金礦的消息，並去打聽逃走的 Cackejen 人，<sup>121</sup>也要去命令那些還未歸順的村社，要來呈贈土地並運竹子來。為這些目的，攜帶了一些商品和現款。早晨有晴朗的陽光，但又開始刮起強風，從北方吹來。今天還用草鋪蓋米倉的屋頂。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 97 頁）

### 1642 年 12 月 13 日，於淡水

鄰近的 Kienasodouaen 社<sup>122</sup>有幾個居民，來我們這裡，就帶領我們步行前往他們的村社。因這溪道的淺灘，我們的舢舨無法向上游航行。今天留下一張紙條給這村社的居民，據以命令他們，要於 8 天內運 400 根竹子下來，運來了，就可獲得贈物，若違令，罰 3 隻豬。

我們從這村社的居民買 2 隻豬，付出  $4\frac{1}{2}$  里爾。這個村社位於內陸，居民約 50 到 60 個人。我們在這裡沒逗留多久就又離開了，偕同幾個這村社的居民步行前往 Cibocan

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<sup>121</sup> Cackejen 人，指菲律賓北部卡加煙省（Cagayan）人。

<sup>122</sup> Kienasodouaen，在 Cibocan 附近，可能是 Kimasodouaen，即 Kimassouw，毛少翁社，今台北市士林一帶。

社。<sup>123</sup>約於上午 9 點鐘來到該社，受到 2 個頭目，即 Perremoch 和 Tamsuy，非常親切的歡迎和款待。.....這 2 個 Sebacon 社的頭目很誠懇地向中尉請求，允許漢人到他們這裡來，因此顯然看出，也從他們的表情看出，他們特別喜歡漢人。

又因我們在此地取得一些新鮮食物，所以給出一些煙草。約於中午離開這個 Sibacon

社。這 Sebacon 社位於溪旁，但因淺灘或沙洲，船隻不能靠近，必須在距離該社約  $\frac{1}{2}$

處的下流下船，從那裡步行入社。社內充滿房子，居民人數不詳。

約下午 3 點，來到 Sebacon 溪盡頭。進入淡水河口以後，中尉決定，派那隻跟我們一起隨行的獨木舟載著一些新鮮食物和一封短箋，向下游去給下席商務官 Peter Heyn。

我們乃溯淡水河上去，約於晚間 8 點鐘來到一個稱為武勝灣的村社，發現居民都逃出該社了，只有在那社里找到一個居民，他不能給我們指示甚麼，只說，他住在對面那條 Waddingh 溪旁，因此只好由他帶領我們前往對面的 Tokojan 社。<sup>124</sup>（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 103 頁）

## 1642 年 12 月 14 日，於淡水

中尉也命令這個頭目，於 8 天內派人運 600 根竹子下來，為此將會給他們公平的贈品，但如果違令，則將罰 3 隻豬。頭目 Esau 請求說，請我們不要阻止漢人去他們那裡，看起來他們很喜歡漢人。.....中尉也命令這個頭目，要遵照給他的紙條，在 8 天內，派人運 200 根竹子下來，他們將因而獲得贈物，但相反地，如果違令，就要被罰

3 隻豬。並為公司的工作，向這個頭目買了 1 艘獨木舟，付出  $4\frac{1}{2}$  里爾，為日常糧食

買魚，付出  $\frac{3}{4}$  里爾。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 104 頁）

## 1642 年 12 月 21 日，於淡水

晚間，Sabocan 社的頭目，名叫 Peromoch，用 15 隻獨木舟載 50 個居民來到這城堡前面，把他的土地完全友善地呈贈給中尉，並為要表示將完全順服歸屬，還帶來大的和小的桔樹、一盒米、一些薑、和一株香蕉樹，此外還運來 600 根竹子，為此，中尉贈

<sup>123</sup> Cibocan，又拼成：Cebacan / Cubocan / Sibacon / Sabocan，研判應是麻少翁主社的沙麻廚 / 紗帽廚社，或「三角埔社」，Cibocan 音近該地方的礮山「紗帽坑」。

<sup>124</sup> Tokojan，Tockojan，待考，可能在台北板橋與新莊一帶。

送他們 1 塊 *kattekyntje* 布、<sup>125</sup>2 包煙草和 1 罐燒酒（*arack*）。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 106 頁）

## 1642 年 12 月 23 日，於淡水

上面提及的 *Cibocan* 社的居民，運來剩下的 200 根竹子，他們帶著那面以前在雞籠領取的親王旗，不久他們就又向上游回航了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 107 頁）

## 1642 年 12 月 27 日，於淡水

*Tackoan* 社的人運 100 根竹子來到此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 107 頁）

## 1642 年 12 月 28 日，於淡水

*Cattia* 社的頭目偕同幾個居民前來此地，他們來呈贈他們的土地給我們，帶來 3 株香蕉樹和 1 株桔樹，為此贈送他們 5 匹棉花布（*cangangh*）布和一些煙草。今天吹西風，那隻從雞籠來的獨木舟抵達了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 107 頁）

## 1642 年 12 月 12 日，

雞籠的城堡，乃暫時由 *Harrouse* 留在那裡指揮。1642 年 9 月中，那時天氣已經好轉，*Lamotius* 遂率領他的軍隊前往雞籠與淡水，去把已經損壞一段時間的以前的西班牙城堡重新修建起來，以便交易硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 106 頁）

《總督與評議會一般報告》*R.GP.112*，*pp.171-175*；*VOC 1146*，658-678。

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<sup>125</sup> *kattekyntje* 布，語源來自法語的 *casaquin*，指緊身女短上衣。



## 1642 年 12 月 12、23 日

巴達維亞送一張雞籠的地圖回去祖國給公司的董事，地圖上畫有從西班牙人奪得的城堡，以及要在淡水興建的城堡設計圖。地圖上也指出可能找到黃金的地方。同時也送一張船長兼土地測量師 Maarten Gerritsz de Vries 繪製的福爾摩沙島全島一覽圖。

征服雞籠的西班牙人的城堡時，從敵人獲得價值 40,000 荷盾的戰利品。不過總督與東印度評議會很遺憾地指出，公司在亞洲的商館，整個地看，是賠錢了，紅字達 61,315.18.5 荷盾，臺灣也是賠錢的地方。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 16 頁）

《總督與評議會一般報告》R.G.P.112，pp.175-176、R.G.P.112，pp.186-187

## 1643 年 1 月

### 1643 年 1 月 3 日於淡水

有林仔（Cenaer）社野人的 1 隻船來到城堡外面，其中的主要野人帶幾個桔子來送給中尉，說，他們載一些米和其他食物要帶回去他們的村社。中尉命令他要把剩下的竹子從上游運下來。他答應照辦。於是送給他們一些煙草之後，他們就向上游航去。

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 108 頁），

### 1643 年 1 月 13 日，於淡水

里族社幾個居民來此地，用 2 隻獨木舟送一些桔、蕃薯和其他新鮮食物來給我們，表示他們的好意。我們感謝地把這些東西收了下來，並贈送他們一些煙草，然後他們就離開了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 109 頁）

### 1643 年 1 月 18 日，於淡水

通事 Francisco 偕同 2 個野人搭其獨木舟出發前往雞籠，他不喜歡繼續留在此地，因為他的朋友在召喚他。因此我們交給他一封短箋，讓他帶去給 mayoor Harousee，告訴他，這個人在此地 6 個星期的情形，並贈送他 1 匹棉花布（cangangh）和 2 包煙

草，1 個小鏡子，3 個木梳子和一些鉛戒指，也給這 2 個雞籠野人 5 碼尺 (el)<sup>126</sup> 棉花布和 2 包煙草。

下午，毛少翁社 (Masou) 的頭目，名叫 Kilach，搭 1 隻獨木舟來到此地，帶來一些荖葉、米。<sup>127</sup>為此贈送他 1 包煙草。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 110 頁)

## 1643 年 1 月 20 日，於淡水

下午 Cornelis de Smith 從雞籠來到此地，他報告說，.....因此中尉打算要再次寫信去雞籠給 mayoor Harousee 和那裡的評議會，以便親自去那裡，使那些居民滿意高興。看起來，且已公開表明，那些居民只有對中尉滿意。這樣在他們與我們之間的友誼可以增長，增長到超過他們與來此地交易硫磺與黃金的漢人的友誼。更重要的，還可藉以查出通往真正的金礦的道路，為公司效勞.....。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 110 頁)

## 1643 年 1 月 26 日，於淡水

中午，中尉 Thomas Pedel 和下席商務官 Pieter Heyn 先生偕同總數 20 個人，包括士兵和砲手，搭乘 2 隻獨木舟，從這淡水 Antonio 城堡出發，溯溪航往上游，... 城門關閉後約半個小時，有 2 個跟隨中尉出發的士兵回來此地，報告說，中尉與商務官 Heyn 先生以及隨從的人都已經到 Joost de Jaeger 那裡了，帶回來幾條捕到的鰻魚。<sup>128</sup> (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 112 頁)

## 1643 年 1 月 29 日，於淡水

有 7 隻獨木舟從里族社來到城堡前，載有男人、女人和小孩，包括頭目冰冷 (Penap) 妻子，帶一些番酒 (massecau) 來送給中尉，為此送給她一些煙草。此外，他們也用一些新鮮食物，像蕃薯、薑、甘蔗 (suyckeriet)<sup>129</sup>和其他東西來換取

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<sup>126</sup> 1 碼尺 el，約 69 公分，見：Darja de Wever ed., *Rijklof van Goens, Javaense Reyse: De bezoeken van een VOC-gezant aan het hof van Mataram, 1648-1654*. Amsterdam: Terra Incognita, 1995, p. 55.

<sup>127</sup> 原文為：sierij met wat rijs，sierij 是馬來語的 sirih，為荖葉。

<sup>128</sup> 「鰻魚」原文作 parrings，若照字面，為「柴刀」，但這裡語意不明。

<sup>129</sup> 甘蔗 (suyckeriet) 此時已出現在北部里族社 (今松山)，值得注意。

現款、煙草等。隨後這些野人就往下游航去，要去撈尋貝類（mosselen），<sup>130</sup>命令他們回來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第112頁）

## 1643 年 1 月 30 日，於淡水

士兵 Hans Gal、2 個砲手和 2 個黑人從雞籠來城堡外。這兩個黑人差一點淹死，因為昨夜 10 點鐘，他們的獨木舟被很大的海浪推去撞到礁石而破碎，因此生命遭遇極大的危險，但因他們的神的保佑，終得脫險，所以在這附近生火來烘乾取暖，因為他們全身濕透，而且很冷。他們表明是我們很好的朋友。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第112頁）

## 1643 年 1 月 31 日，於淡水

今天還有幾個居民來，帶番酒（massecaw），<sup>131</sup>薑和其他新鮮食物來，表現非常友善，是從很上游下來的，因此一點也看不出對我們有任何惡意。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第112頁）

## 1643 年 2 月

## 1643 年 2 月 12 日，於淡水

頭目冰冷（Penap）的兒子和幾個居民從里族社搭 2 隻獨木舟持親王旗來到此地，要去海灘的礁石那裡採海菜之類（groente）<sup>132</sup>。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第115頁）

<sup>130</sup> 貝類（mosselen），指蛤（kap，蟯 giô）、蚶（ham）等。

<sup>131</sup> massecaw，語源自東南亞安汶的「matacao, matakau. matacao, mattacau, mattekaw」指土產的椰子酒之類。用在臺灣，應指傳統原住民的小米酒等。

<sup>132</sup> 海菜之類（groente），從本文數處的描述，Groente 應包括貝類 mosselen 等。

## 1643 年 2 月 13 日，於淡水

有 2 個居民從里族社搭 1 隻獨木舟來到這城堡前面，...帶些番酒（massecaww）來送給我們，因此贈送他們一些煙草，這使他們非常高興，他們跟士兵交易蕃薯之後就離開前往上游。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 116 頁）

## 1643 年 3 月

### 1643 年 3 月 2 日，於淡水

頭目冰冷（Penap）偕同他 2 個兒子和幾個居民搭幾隻獨木舟，運 20 根竹子來到此地，他帶著一面親王旗。中尉問他，為何沒運更多竹子來。答說，他們忙著在稻田播種豆子。中尉乃回答說，他們既能來撈尋蠔貝等，就能運竹子來，可見他們並沒有遵行我們的命令，因此命令他們去運竹子下來，不然就不許去撈尋蠔貝等。答應他們，運竹子來，就會給他們禮物。中尉問他們，有沒有帶蕃薯和其他新鮮食物去過雞籠給士兵了。回答說，有。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 118 頁）

### 1643 年 3 月 9 日，於淡水

冰冷（Penap）的兒子和其他居民來我們這裡說，他們在海邊已撈好蠔貝等，中尉乃對他們說，那很好，但必須運來更多的竹子，他答應遵行，於是給他們一些煙草，他們就離開了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 119 頁）

### 1643 年 3 月 10 日

5 艘篷船出航，前往金門，料羅和安海，載有硫磺、鹿肉和鹹魚，搭 302 個人。.....那 2 艘舢舨還有 3 隻竹筏運回來約 800 根竹子，是他們在森林裡砍伐來的，很漂亮，是要為公司建造一石灰房以及要在這城堡下方為商務官建造一屋。都沒有聽到一句不高興的話，那些來他們那裡的居民，都跟往常一樣，非常親切。也去看過那座硫磺山（Swavelbergh），那是值得去看的，因為在 30 個不同的地方沸滾，有大大小小的坑坑洞洞，溫度高到那附近的土地都是熱熱的，我們把石頭丟進那裡面，就噴出風

和火燄，大部份的時間都在冒煙，流經那裡的那條溪流，因那繼續的燃燒和冒煙，溪水非常熱，熱到我們的腳不能踏入水裡，要渡過那條溪流，就必須踏石頭過去等。<sup>133</sup>  
 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 54 頁)

## 1643 年 3 月 18 日，於淡水

4 個冰冷 (Penap) 轄下的重要居民搭 1 隻獨木舟來此地，運來 40 根竹子，以及冰冷 (Penap) 送來要贈送中尉的 1 罈薑、1 籃蕃薯和 1 壺番酒 (massecaw)。回送他一封信和煙草，把它封起來，並想要派那個帶信要去雞籠交給 Hendrick Harousee 閣下與該地評議會。士兵 Jan Lamuere 搭這些居民的獨木舟一起出發。我們贈送那些居民 4 碼尺 (el) 棉花布 (cangangh) 布、一些煙草並請他們喝些燒酒 (arack) 酒之後，他們雖然對此很滿意，卻說，在這段時間，不能讓我們的人同搭他們的船隻，這是違反他們的法律的，因為現在是播種稻子的時候。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 120 頁)

## 1643 年 3 月 19 日

下午 Balauw 來我們這裡為我們工作。於是中尉派他去把小豬養大，使繁殖眾多，將會為此支付代價給他。他答應要遵行之後，就回去林仔 (Cenaer) 社了。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 121 頁)

## 1643 年 3 月 29 日，於淡水

早上 Simon Cornelisz。搭著那艘大領港船，中尉 Jeuriaen Smith 搭著那艘 Goede Hoope 號離此航往雞籠。現在看見那艘 Quelpaert 船出現在海上了，她的航行方向指向北方，但約於中午來港外停泊，因低潮又有風浪。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 123 頁)

## 1643 年 3 月 30 日，於淡水

昨夜那艘領港船和那艘篷船入港來修理桅杆...。今天...隊長 Boon 搭一艘船從 Quelpaert 船航來這城堡登陸，向此地的評議會展示並宣讀他奉命要來解除對長官保羅、特勞牛斯的誓約，暫由議長 Maximiliaen Lemaire 替代他的地位的委任書之後，即先令官員解除對上述特勞牛斯的誓約，然後宣誓承認上述 Lamaire 閣下從今以後為淡

<sup>133</sup> 照此段敘述，應是士林一帶的硫磺。

水所在的福爾摩沙島、中國沿海、雞籠及其附近地區的議長，願意忠實地完全服從他等。接著也承認臨時隊長 **Pieter Boon** 為奉在臺灣的長官閣下之令，率領 2 隊士兵要前往金礦的最高指揮官。這認可儀式，我們都很鄭重地舉行，於大家都宣誓之後，所有這城堡裡的大砲都發射鳴炮，士兵鳴槍三響。夜間有北風。很多居民跑來觀看，因為他們聽到發射的聲音。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 123 頁。）

給 *P. Boon* 的指令，臺灣，1643 年 3 月 20 日。*M. Lemaire*，1643 年 2 月 25 日，VOC 1146，560-572，793-797。

## 1643 年 4 月

### 1643 年 4 月 1 日，於淡水

今天召喚通事 **Waddij** 和 **Balou** 來，要派他們當中的一個或那堂兄弟一起去金礦那裡，以便去解讀地圖上所寫的日文或西班牙文，甚或跟著他們一道去，在問路或交談上使我們更容易明白。但他們極力推辭說對那情形不清楚，請求讓他們跟我們留在此地，願意做一切我們命令他們做的事情，但是對上述行程完全沒有意願，也不能有所作為等。但是我們用武力威脅他們一起去，甚至隊長 **Boon** 親自在我們面前威脅他們一起去，認為與其用好話勸行，不如使他們因害怕而就範。但是他們回答說，他們不能去，即使我們立刻要砍他們的頭，也不能去。於是大聲哭叫，我們完全看出他們非常不肯前往金礦的情形，他們表明要在此地完全順服我們的善意。因此我們取消了要帶幾個居民同行的想法（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 123 頁）

### 1643 年 4 月 2 日，於淡水

毛少翁社頭目來此地，中尉很嚴肅地命令他，要於 4 天內來呈贈他們的土地給我們，並要運竹子來。他們回答說，他們正在播種稻米，所以不敢來呈贈土地，因為害怕這樣做，他們的偶像會來摧毀稻米，使稻子不能成長；所以呈贈他們土地之事，要等 3 個月之後。我們告訴他們，如果 4 天內不來呈贈他們的土地，我們就要把他們的村社以及社裡的一切東西，通通放火燒毀。於是那個頭目乃命令他的屬民要遵命照辦。晚間船 **Quelpaert** 號停泊在這溪流的出口處。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 124 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 3 日，於淡水

**禁止原住民出海口：**頭目冰冷（Penap）帶 7 隻獨木舟來此地，但只運來 50 根竹子。因此中尉對他頗為反感，命令他說，還要回去運竹子來，用 10 隻獨木舟，每隻運 50 根，合計運 500 根竹子來，在他們履行要遵行我們的命令的承諾以前，不允許他們去海邊撈尋蠔貝類...。因此冰冷（Penap）開始乞求並斥責那些居民，雖然說了幾次要這樣運來，就是不聽他的話，才弄成這樣的結果。於是特別命令他要令那些野人遵行我們的命令，不然就要攻擊他。因此他派 2 隻獨木舟回去上游，並向中尉乞求，允許他帶另外 5 隻獨木舟去撈尋貝類，他將很快運竹子下來。乃允許他們這樣做了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 124 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 3 日

1 艘篷船航往柬埔寨，是漢商八哥（Peco）的篷船，載有一批對公司沒有用處的貨物，總值 1,769 5/8 里爾，有 117,250 個各種粗製瓷器... ..53 擔提煉過的硫磺.....並有一封寫給上席商務官 Harman Broeckmans 的書信，告訴他這艘篷船的出航情形，所載的貨物（都已繳納什一稅），並請他注意該船要裝運的貨物，免該船裝運超過交給他的備忘錄所寫的，並要告訴我們，該船回程裝運些甚麼，因為他們回到此地時還要再次繳稅。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 67 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 4 日

今天有 10 艘篷船離此航往中國沿海，載有一批鹹魚、薪柴和硫磺，合計搭 380 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 69 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 10 日，於淡水

夜間在這城堡裡發生火災，掌旗官的房子和那營房、以及廣南人的房子、砲手的房子和那主砲手的房子都被燒毀了，所幸蒙神保佑，火勢沒有延燒下去，因為屋頂所有的茅草都很快拉下來，用水和沙子把火燄撲滅，而且幸虧風從東南吹來，風力又不強，不然，整個城堡就有全被燒毀的危險。願神保佑公司和我們免遭火災，火災還是我們在這城堡最大的敵人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 126 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 10 日

4 艘航往中國沿海，載有一批薪柴、籐、鹹魚和 30 擔提煉過硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 70 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 11 日，於淡水

昨夜忙著滅火，只要認為還有火種的地方就去撲滅。這夜因為害怕火災而完全沒睡覺或睡得很少。早晨有晴朗的陽光，看到圍牆的頭在很多地方破落了，找到了 7 把士兵的步槍，其中有幾把聽到在火中發射過，也找到 4 把劍，士兵大部份的物品都保存下來了，不過還在到處尋找。把城堡清理以後，就把那已大部份燒毀了的圍牆，用其他的竹子去重新建造。……今晚已經用新的竹子把圍牆大部份造好了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 126 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 12 日，於淡水

數位毛少翁社居民搭 7、8 隻獨木舟來此，該社頭目名叫 **Peremoch**，我們寫一封信給他，叫他為這城堡運 600 根竹子來，以便重新建造被燒毀的房屋和圍牆，來為公司效勞。今天也有頭目 **Tacquoy** 和其他居民，以及冰冷（**Penap**）的兒子來此地看我們，帶一些新鮮食物來。

下午 1 有個野人從雞籠搭一隻獨木舟順溪流下來，來到這城堡，帶來一封 **mayoor Harousee** 和那邊的評議會的書信，要我們設法去找那個老日本人<sup>134</sup>的妻子，她跟另外一個男人在里族社結婚，找到了就要讓我們的士兵 **Jan Lamuer** 和上述野人把她帶去雞籠，以便叫她跟她的那日本人丈夫一起去金礦那裡。因此我們就把這事情告訴冰冷（**Penap**）的兒子，令他告訴他的父親，不但要幫忙上述士兵和那野人去帶那個婦女來，也要一起阻止所有想要反抗她被帶走的人。他答應照辦，而且他也會認真地一起去辦理。為此我們贈送他一些擦光印花布和一些煙草。他遂離此航往上游去了。

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 127 頁）

VOC 1145，270-271。

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<sup>134</sup> 指在淡水雞籠居住約 28 到 30 年的日本人喜左衛門（**Quesaymon**）。



## 1643 年 4 月 21 日，於淡水

有 4 隻獨木舟從武勝灣社持親王旗來，該社的頭目派通事 **Balouw** 來向我們請求，照他們說的，因為他們有一段時間沒有來見 **Thomas** 了，請不要因而生氣，他們帶 1 隻雞、蔬菜、調製好的檳榔荖葉 (**sierij**)、薑和很多魚來送給我們，為此贈送 2 塊 **cattekyntjens** 布和一些煙草給他們。下午，這條溪流對岸的頭目偕同另外一個頭目來到此地，帶來很多水鹿肉 (**elantsvlees**) 和其他新鮮食物，有一部份送給中尉，其他的跟士兵交易，為此贈送他們一些煙草，並請他們喝點燒酒，使他們滿意，並用我們的獨木舟送他們過溪。他們帶著一面親王旗。傍晚有 3 隻獨木舟從 **Peremoch** 那裡運 160 根竹子來，為此贈送那些居民 6 碼尺印花布和一些煙草，他們就回去了。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 128 頁)

## 1643 年 4 月 24 日，於淡水

幾個 **Peremoch** 的人搭 3 隻獨木舟來到此地，運來 40 根竹子和一些海鮮，這些用以跟士兵交易。

1 艘篷船從雞籠來，是 1 艘從中國沿海的福州 (**Hocksieuw**) 來的小篷船，載有 1,500 到 1,600 罐中國米酒和小量的珊瑚，要來這裡交易，並要從居民購買籐，裝上該小篷船，也要裝水和米，這些他們已經缺乏，其他不缺。他們展示他們的通行證，那是已卸任的長官特勞牛斯於去年 1642 年 8 月 22 日簽署，得以自由來通商的通行證。但是那些漢人，總數搭有 23 個人，告訴我們說，他們沒有去雞籠，從中國直接渡海來此地的。檢查那艘小篷船之後，派一個中士和幾個士兵上船監視，在我們寫信去雞籠，並接獲回信以前，不准任何居民或我們自己的人去交易麥酒。那時有 7 隻獨木舟從 **Peremoch** 那裡運 300 根竹子來，為此贈送那些野人一些煙草和其他東西。

晚間 **Jan Lamuere** 搭 1 隻野人的獨木舟從雞籠回來了，帶回 **Harrousee** 閣下的一封來信，並帶來 6 把步槍、6 把劍和 12 把砍刀，是以前寫信去請補送來替代那些被火燒毀的武器。這個 **Jan Lamuer** 告訴我們說，冰冷 (**Ponap**) 曾警告他說，秀朗

(**Songeron**) 社，有一個居民，名叫 **Goumiou** 的，在煽動居民跟他一起來反抗敵對我們。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 129 頁)

## 1643 年 4 月 25 日，於淡水

派士兵 **Joost de Hont** 偕同居民三哥 (**Samco**) 從陸路前往雞籠，帶一封信去給 **Harrousee** 閣下，報告關於這艘篷船的事情，以及野人陰謀背叛的事情；命令兩人要儘快回來，他們約於中午出發。今天很多居民偕同他們的婦女來此地，要來看那艘篷

船，並請求讓他們航往那艘篷船，但是因為上述理由不給許可。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 129 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 28 日，於淡水

有 3 隻獨木舟運 170 根竹子來此地，這些是名叫 **Peremoch** 頭目和他兩個兄弟，以及其他幾個居民送來的，為此贈送他們以及他們一起帶來的通事 6 碼尺印花布、3 個小梳子、3 塊金箔、一堆散開的珊瑚、一些鈴和一些煙草，也請他們喝點燒酒，使他們非常高興。我們告訴他們，他們對於遵行我們的命令，做得很好，以後必須如此繼續，不可像他們其他兄弟，秀朗社的 **Goumou** 那樣，他試圖煽動居民起來反抗我們，要來背叛這地方，因為頭目冰冷（**Ponap**）這樣警告我們，叫我們小心。因此我們希望他們去找他們那兄弟 **Goumou**，看看是否有這事情，並說我們對壞人會嚴厲制裁，相反地，我們喜歡跟好人在一起，跟他們做朋友，就像是已經向他們所表現那樣，如果他們的兄弟 **Goumou** 並沒有上述企圖，就要勸他來我們這裡辯解這事。對此他們回答說，完全不知道他們兄弟有此不好的計畫，也不相信他會有這種計畫，但是為要使這事情公正地明白，他們將於 5 天內偕同 **Goumou** 和冰冷（**Ponap**）再來我們這裡見中尉，如果該冰冷（**Ponap**）拒絕來，那他就是個壞人，因為他於 **Jan Lamuer** 要前往雞籠的途中向他說了這樣的話。他們乃於下午離開。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 130 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 29 日，於淡水

**Joost de Hont** 從雞籠回來，帶回 **Harousee** 的一封信說，要把這艘漢人的篷船所有的麥酒和珊瑚全部卸下來，把這些漢人送去臺灣。因為他們所持長官特勞牛斯的通行證過期太久，又騙我們說沒有先去雞籠等。如果對此有反對的意見，就要告訴他們。因此再派 **Jan Lamuer** 帶一封信去雞籠給上述 **Harousee**，表達我們對此的感想，並附寄該篷船的通行證去給他看。**Jan Lamuer** 於傍晚離開此地經過林仔（**Cenaer**）社從陸路去雞籠。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 130 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 29 日

因為有 3 艘篷船已準備妥當欲往雞籠、淡水交易硫磺等貨，所以寫信去給隊長 **Harousee** 和中尉 **Pedel**，希望早一點接到我們派去找金礦的軍隊已經到達那裡並順利成功的消息。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 82 頁）

## 1643 年 4 月 30 日，於淡水

我去林仔（Cenaer）社，要去為那些漢人交易米或穀，因為他們已經完全沒有糧食了，但是通事 Waddij 不在那裡，今天不會回來，因為他去很遠的地方。所以傍晚我就回來城堡。今天有幾隻獨木舟從冰冷（Ponap）的人那裡來到此地，運來微量的竹子和大批新鮮食物和番酒（massecaw）來跟士兵交易。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 130 頁）

## 1643 年 5 月

### 1643 年 5 月 4 日，於淡水

今晨 Jan Lamuere 從雞籠回來，帶一封 Harousee 閣下與那邊的評議會的來信，寫說，所有那些中國米酒和其他東西都要從該篷船卸下沒收，把那些漢人全部用那艘空的篷船送去臺灣，並要寫一封信去給在臺灣的長官【指議長】，因為他們的通行證不符合，太老了，欺騙公司，又違反 Harousee 閣下特別的禁令前來此地，...把那些中國米酒和珊瑚搬來放在倉庫裡。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 131 頁）

## 1643 年 6 月

### 1643 年 6 月 6 日

今天寫一封信，交給 1 艘已準備好要前往淡水交易硫磺的漢人的篷船帶去給隊長 Harousee，告訴他已經跟葡萄牙人締和 10 年的事情，要他按照告示，通知他指揮下的荷蘭人遵守，詳情請看該函的抄本。<sup>135</sup>

同船也載 2 名荷蘭人，以及日本人通事喜左衛門殿（Quesaymondonne）和金包里的人 Bartholomeus，他們最近曾參與 Boon 先生的出征。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 149 頁）

*M.Lemaire* 寫給 *H.Harousse* 的書信，臺灣，1643 年 6 月 6 日，VOC 1146，fol. 481，英譯摘錄：

<sup>135</sup> 即本段後之英文摘譯。

[...] This serves as a safe-conduct for the two Dutchmen, the Japanese Jasinto and someone from Kimaaurij. On his urgent request we have taken this Japanese into the employ of the Company, to be used as an interpreter or in another capacity at your post, because he has wife and children there, speaks the local language fluently, is devoted to the Dutch, is old and leads a good life. The Kimaaurij man Bartholomeus, who accompanied Pieter Boon to Tarraboan as an interpreter and came to us via Pimaba, has been well treated here. He was presented with two pieces of cloth and instructed to lend the Company a helping hand in questions pertaining to the local people and to obey Your Excellency's orders, which he promised to do. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, p. 382. )

## 1643 年 6 月 7 日

中午，那艘拖延很久的大領港船從雞籠與淡水回到此地，按照我們的通知載回大批煤炭。從 Harousee 署期今年 5 月 23 日和 27 日的來信得悉下列事情，即在 5 月 23 日那封信裡說，

也得悉，他們從這艘大領港船收到了上述我們的書信以及寄去的清單所列的 800 里爾。以前從此地出航，運食物要去淡水交易的那些篷船，迄今尚未看到。2 天前有 1 艘篷船載著一批鹽和幾罐鹹肉抵達淡水，但沒有通行證，所以被上尉 Pedel 拘留下來，該 Pedel 按照告示所寫的處理這艘篷船；同樣，他也從 1 艘漢人的硫磺貿易船帶下 10 個漢人以及可靠的舵公，令他們去駕駛那艘奪來的小篷船，用以裝運煤炭來臺灣，但為了不要輕蔑那些商人，乃派那些捉來的漢人來幫他們操作，同時把這些捉來的漢人送來此地。...中尉 Pedel 來信，得悉，他最近的書信，以及那邊的駐軍與奴隸清冊，曾交給那艘運小麥的篷船送來此地，他認為已經送抵此地了，現在又送來那些文件的抄本。又說，大領港船於他們很需要的時機抵達，從該船收到糧食與 800 里爾現款了。他們已有一個月沒發糧食給士兵，因此只好從 1 艘以前從中國前來的無照篷船取下 147 斤鹹肉，該船載有 15 大罐中國米酒、100 擔鹽、30 到 40 斤中國櫻桃 (keesjens)<sup>136</sup>以及 (違反告令) 載來約 6 擔的生鐵。船主名叫茂哥 (Moyco)，別號 Hansgien，住在臺灣，他說，他的通行證跟另外 1 艘篷船被海盜奪去了，他確實有通行證，隊長 Harousee 對此也有交代。以前帶我們的信件要去那裡交易硫磺，並出售食物的那艘篷船，迄今還未抵達那裡。也說，盼於近期內送幾樣現在還未送去的需用品去，例如駐軍的衣服，以及還需要 1 last 的米，因為到今年 9 月底就沒有米了.....。又說，他們認為，讓幾個懂得原住民語言和西班牙話的漢人，包括幾個手工的人，在該城堡的保護下，住在該城堡下面，用以方便駐軍，對公司不會造成損失。最近送去

<sup>136</sup> 「中國櫻桃」，應誤，原文為 keesjens，意指「嚼煙」，但這裡似乎是指一般煙草。

給他的那 3 道告示，他已經按照他閣下的命令公告了。在此附帶寄來 2 里爾少  $\frac{1}{8}$  重的

黃金，這些黃金是從里族社與 Ratsican 社費很大的功夫，以  $11\frac{3}{4}$  里爾交易來的，這些在此地提煉時損失了三分之一，而且發現只是鍍金的銀。他們還為此道歉說，沒有早點把這些黃金寄來...。又說，他的部屬去上述那些村社，都不懶散，而很勤勞地為公司努力工作，將來對長官閣下的命令會完全順服遵行，詳情載於今天的臺灣書信簿的抄本。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 149 頁）

*Missive Lieutenant Thomas Pedel to President Maximiliaen Lemaire. Tamsuy, 28 May 1643. VOC 1146, fol. 503-506, 英譯摘錄：*

[...] Herewith we send Your Excellency with the pilot boat the two reals, minus a sixth (because we could not get more), weight of gold, costing  $11\frac{3}{4}$  heavy reals, which I bartered with the inhabitants of the villages of Kitsjock and Vassican. I inquired if they had more and they answered yes, but they would not sell for less than ten [silver] reals at 56 five-cent pieces per real weight. I also made extensive inquiries as to where they got the gold, or from whom they bought it. They told me that what they had, they had exchanged with the people of Tarraboan, making all sorts of excuses lest they had to part with even this small amount of gold, it was really ridiculous and it took a lot of trouble to get it. [...]

Also [I send you the report] on the expedition to explore the villages, roads, paths and rivers and to find out as much as possible about the character of the inhabitants and their circumstances and to make serious inquiries in order to find out the facts out about the gold mine and if the inhabitants had a lot of gold in their possession. All that I have carried out, serving the best interests of the Company, because the savages did not want to yield their land to us before I had visited them, and only after that would obey our wishes. [...] This they have indeed done since then and they have been more obedient than the other villages that I had not visited. I have however scrupulously obeyed Your Excellency's order to always stay in or near the fort and not to allow the inhabitants to enter it. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 381-382.)

## 1643 年 6 月 11 日

1 艘漢人之篷船出航，要去淡水載硫磺等物，...。

Harousee 來信謂因 Pedel 從淡水寫信告訴他說，由於暴風雨，在馬利亞稜堡與硫磺角稜堡之間的護牆，被雨水冲刷流失，所以派淡水下席商務官 Jan van Keyssel 去那裡。他回去雞籠以後報告說，災情與 Pedels 所寫的一致，而且對那稜堡沒有跟著整個垮下來深感訝異（因為竹子已腐爛）；而且該火藥地窖，下雨時，是無法避免進水了，要用磚頭與石灰來重新建造，在雞籠與淡水也缺少石灰。.....

也有一為住在淡水的漢人，從那條溪流回去，說，那裡儲藏有大量的鹿皮，他說，因為他的通行證跟他的篷船放在一起，請求再給他一張通行證。對此該 Pedel 告訴他，要等到下次機會再說。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 152 頁）

*M. Lemaire* 寫給 *Th. Pedel* 與 *H. Harrousse* 的書信，臺灣，1643 年 6 月 10 日，VOC 1146，473，fol. 482-483，英譯摘錄：

[...] The wife of Domingo Aguilar - who we were told has rendered excellent service over there and during the expedition - you will send back with the first Dutch ship, so that she can be reunited here with her husband who is eagerly longing for her. [...]. (The Formosan Encounter, vol. 2, p. 383.)

*H. Harrousse* 寫給 *M. Lemaire* 的書信，雞籠，1643 年 6 月 7 日，VOC 1146，494-496；*Th.*

*Pedel* 寫給 *M. Lemaire* 的書信，淡水，1643 年 6 月 8 日，VOC 1146，511-512。

## 1643 年 8 月 21 日

在淡水另外建造一個碉堡，裡面 36 呎四方，牆厚 6 呎<sup>137</sup>（就像烏特勒支 *Uyttrecht* 碉堡那樣），為要盡量節省經費，而且因為缺乏木料，屋頂要用拱頂遮蓋起來，並建造一個火藥地窖以及其他有關的工程，在這碉堡也派駐 30 到 40 個人。也決議，要用告示通告所有的人，以後在雞籠與淡水，提煉過的硫磺，即此地最純的硫磺，必須繳納什一稅，而且，所有進口的穀物，無論是米、小麥、麵粉、豆子等都要繳納什一稅。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 188 頁）

參閱：VOC 867，470-471。

## 1643 年 9 月 1 日

...2 艘出航前往北方的淡水，搭 70 個人；8 艘前往中國沿海，載有胡椒，檀香木、蘇木、鹿肉、籐、硫磺和薪柴，合計搭有 358 個漢人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 191 頁）

## 1643 年 9 月 6 日

2 艘出航前往北方要去交易硫磺，搭 22 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 193 頁）

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<sup>137</sup> 呎 (voet)，約為 30 公分。

## 1643 年 9 月 8 日

3 艘篷船出航前往中國海岸，載有胡椒、硫磺與一批籐，合計搭 100 個人。

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 194 頁）

## 1643 年 9 月 28 日

2 艘小篷船抵達，其中一艘來自福州，載有 7,000 罐中國米酒與一些木製品；另外一艘來自金門，載有 170 捆粗瓷器 30 擔土茯苓和 30 擔紅色顏料（galiga）。<sup>138</sup>據漢人說，有個重要人物搭那艘來自福州的篷船同來此地，他將於明天來上岸，他是要來提議交易硫磺的。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 198 頁）

## 1643 年 10 月 1 日

今晨有個漢人來我們面前控訴說，去年有兩艘篷船來雞籠與淡水交易硫磺，因為戰爭，那時沒有通行證，那 2 艘篷船都被我們扣留了，他曾為那 2 艘篷船及其人員向 Lamcam<sup>139</sup>的軍門擔保，現在還在擔保，因為那 2 艘篷船還未回去，因此很感困難，在他的請求下，獲准前來此地，來請求歸還那 2 艘篷船，並請發給一張通行證，以便能在淡水不受干擾地裝運硫磺。對此，我們告訴他，將會答覆他。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 198 頁）

## 1643 年 10 月 8 日

今天議長召集評議會開會，商談並決定了下列各項，即：對所有漢人來此地申請通行證要去雞籠與淡水交易硫磺之事，決定，將予以批准，直到接獲總督閣下有關命令，並決定，每一百擔生硫磺，在淡水要支付 20 里爾，在雞籠要支付 30 里爾。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 201 頁）

VOC 1145，466-467。

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<sup>138</sup> 紅色顏料（galiga），又可寫作 Cassomba，*Carthamus Tinctorius* 之花，即「紅花」，作漆、顏料，或藥用。

<sup>139</sup> Lamcam，疑為福州南臺（Lamtaij）之誤。

## 1643 年 11 月 28 日

今天決議，要派遣快艇 **Breskens** 號與 **Vos** 號載運硫磺，以及在雞籠取得的大砲與其他要運回來的商品出航，而 **Leeuwarck** 號與 **Meerman** 號還要留在此地一段時間。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 217 頁）

## 1643 年 12 月 5 日

把此地商館儲存的全部硫磺裝入快艇 **Vos** 號。今天有 4 艘篷船出航前往南方捕魚，搭 94 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 219 頁）

## 1644 年 1-3 月

## 1644 年 1 月 1 日

2 艘篷船抵達……另 1 艘來自北邊的淡水，載硫磺來，搭 12 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 225 頁）

## 1644 年 1 月 2 日

今天，**Samsoe**<sup>140</sup>的篷船從淡水滿載著硫磺、籐和【鹿】皮抵達，搭 40 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 225 頁）

## 1644 年 1 月 11 日

4 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，載有一批鹹魚、鹿肉和硫磺，合計搭 82 個人。

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<sup>140</sup> **Samsoe**，亦寫作 **Sansoeu**，又名 **Jan Soettecauw**，為住在臺灣（臺南）附近的八位漢人長老之一，商業活動頗為活躍。



(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 227 頁)

## 1644 年 2 月 9 日

.....決議，將允許從福州來的一個官員帶領 1 艘約 1,000 擔左右的篷船，或 2 艘小篷船，<sup>141</sup>按照他來此地的請求，在我們的授權下，得以前往雞籠與淡水交易硫磺。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 235 頁)

## 1644 年 2 月 10 日

准許該中國小官的請求，並告訴他，可以帶領 1 艘大篷船或 2 艘【合計】1,000 擔的小篷船去交易硫磺。但對於他請求歸還從福州來雞籠被拘捕的，他說是屬於他的那 2 艘篷船，則舉理由予以拒絕。不過，經考慮，乃給他免除福州的人從淡水或雞籠輸出硫磺的出口稅，這項出口稅反正有限，並發通行證給他【去雞籠交易硫磺】，對此他表現愉快，並表示感謝。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 235 頁)

## 1644 年 3 月 4 日

Samsoe，別號 Jan Soetekauw 的篷船出航前往柬埔寨，所載貨物總值  $30,917\frac{1}{2}$  里爾，這些貨物全部繳納了什一稅，這些貨物為 125,305 個瓷器，包裝成 10,627 捆和 3 桶，即：.....6 擔硫磺，每一百...4 里爾、.....。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 242 頁)

## 1644 年 3 月 7 日

有 1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，載有一些硫磺，搭 17 個人。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 243 頁)

<sup>141</sup> 從《日誌》資料中，大約可歸納 400 擔以下為小篷船。

## 1644 年 3 月 16 日

今天有 6 艘篷船從南方抵達，有些船載薪柴，有些載硫磺和魚，搭 32 個人。<sup>142</sup>  
（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 246 頁）

Op dato arriveeren 6 joncquen van de suyt, sommige met branthouwt, sommige met swavell ende vis, gemant met 32 coppen. (DZII, p. 236)

## 1644 年 3 月 29 日

決議，我們將派快艇 **Breskens** 號於未來的 4 月 10 日載石灰去淡水，用以建造那座新的碉堡。該快艇抵達那裡並卸完所載的石灰之後，就要航往雞籠，去把那座拆下來的城堡的木料和磚頭，及一些煤炭，能裝多少就載多少，運回淡水和此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 253 頁）

*VOC 1147, fol. 467-476.*

為了荷蘭駐軍與當地原住民的利益，允許漢人住在淡水與雞籠的城堡下。他們可以在那裡種田、補魚、提煉硫磺，以及其他可以在臺灣做的事，但要繳納各種在臺灣應繳的稅賦。漢人不得外出去各社與原住民交易，但原住民可以來漢人聚落城堡底下，在荷蘭人的監視下與漢人交易。除非有通行證，否則不能從淡水雞籠直航中國。此後將對進出口貨物徵收關稅，即使手上已經有交易硫磺通行證的漢人，此後也必須繳納進出口稅。

英譯摘錄：

[...] It has also been decided for the convenience of our garrisons and all inhabitants there that the Chinese and all others who are willing to do so, will be licensed and permitted to make a living in the aforesaid places of Tamsuy and Quelang through farming, fishing, the refining of sulphur and all other occupations that are practised here in Tayouan, and that they are allowed to travel to and from there, provided that they pay all excise-duties, poll-taxes etc. that are customary in Tayouan, without exception, and that they will not go out to trade with the local people in their villages, but that the villagers will be allowed to come to trade with them under the supervision of our castles. Furthermore, no person will be allowed to sail from there to China, or from China to there, with or without merchandise, except on our express orders and with our permission, in which case they will pay tithe on everything that is imported or exported. This also applies to the goods imported by all those who have already been issued passes to exercise their sulphur-trade with China there; all this [will be enforced by the] penalties that are included in the proclamations

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<sup>142</sup> 由本條顯示，似乎南部有硫磺。但南部硫磺可否製成成品，待論。

promulgated earlier and those that are yet to be determined etc. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, p. 427. )

參閱：《巴達維亞城日誌》1643-1645 年條，128。【日文本，第二冊，頁 280-281；中文本，第二冊，頁 414-415。】

## 1644 年 4-6 月

### 1644 年 4 月 19 日，於淡水

隊長召喚該快艇 **Breskens** 號的軍官上岸，偕同其他人，找到適合建造碉堡的地點，是在現有的城堡區域內，**Diemen** 稜堡所處的那角彎，<sup>143</sup>沿著那座山的西邊和南邊。於是立刻派人放火燃燒該處，以便儘快開工。也令士兵去砍伐竹子，答應他們每一百根酬報 1 里爾，要用那些竹子建造臨時的籬笆，把那即將拆下的城牆和城堡外的工程圍繞起來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 268 頁）

### 1644 年 5 月 2 日，於淡水

9 點鐘離開雞籠，搭一隻金包里社的大獨木舟（**prauw**），駛入（雞籠對面的）那角彎，繼續溯一條小溪前進，直到一座山的旁邊。經過那裡以後，約於 11 點鐘來到淡水河的上游。在那裡偕同他的隨從搭上 2 隻小獨木舟，然後順溪下來，命令沿溪的村社的頭目須於兩、三天內來這城堡跟他交談，並聽取命令。約於太陽下去的一個小時前，來到里族社的頭目冰冷（**Ponap**）的房子，被該頭目帶到他家吃了些東西，同時他準備好 1 隻大獨木舟，用以一起順流下來，因為上述冰冷要一起下去。這個人準備很久，直到夜裡 2 到 3 點鐘才得從那裡搭船下去。不過乘著快速的水流，在天亮以前 2 個小時，也就抵達淡水的 **Antonio** 城堡，上面屢述的冰冷並未一起來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 269 頁）

<sup>143</sup> 指今淡水紅毛城前的停泊船隻之灣。

## 1644 年 5 月 9 日

1 艘小篷船出航前往雞籠、淡水，要去交易硫磺，搭 17 個人，我們寫一封信交該船帶去給隊長 Boon 和 Antonio 城堡的評議會，令他們推動交付他們建造那碉堡的任務等。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 269 頁）

參閱：Boon 日記摘錄，VOC 1148，300-309。

## 1644 年 5 月 10 日，於淡水

向金包里社原住民，名叫 Theodore，所提的問題與他的回答如下：

13。上述這些村社都沒有用現金，米，稻子，鹿皮或其他物品納稅給西班牙人嗎？

答：向西班牙人沒有納過稅，因為他們沒有要求過這種事情，只有付過在教會使用的蠟燭費用，這種費用，他自己曾經被請去經手收支，有的付錢，有的拿稻子來折算現金。

23。這些土地是否肥沃，據他的了解，主要的土產是什麼，或是可生產的是什麼？

答：淡水出產米和硫磺，也有不少木材，在噶瑪蘭就有非常多的米，也有鹿皮。

.....。

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 270 頁）

*Missive President Maximiliaen Lemaire to Lieutenant Thomas Pedal. Tayouan, 7 June 1644. VOC 1147, fol. 499-504，英譯摘錄：*

[...] With Theodore from Kimaurij we concluded a contract that he with his people every year, upon our order, will deliver a quantity of excellent coals on the beach at Quelang near to our fortress. However we still disagree with him about the price. For ten barrels (the ones that are sent along) he asked two heavy reals of 8<sup>th</sup>, which we are willing to pay him but, as we understood, they were not quite sure if they would be able to meet with that amount, we have left it to him to decide whether he can come up with four hundred tubs, be it a little more or a little less, for which we will pay him a price such as we are able to offer him, because for the time being it can do no harm. If we want a larger quantity of coals, we will order them in time. Because the coals we did receive, turned out to be of a rather poor quality, and mostly slack, we instructed him to see whether he could search in the gorges where the coals are to be found in pits and mines. In our opinion, the coals can be mined quite easily by breaking off some larger stones. He responded that he was willing to do this, therefore we expect to receive a considerable amount coals of a better quality, in that way. [...].

We still intend, if no other more significant affair prevents us from doing so, to send at the end of the season of the southern monsoon, one or two companies of soldiers thither in order to subject

the Formosans in that region to better order and obedience than they at present can be brought to. We do not expect they will comply with any request from us without exemplary punishment, the more so because they have already twice given us their promise to submit themselves to our authority. [...]

[...] Upon the request of the mentioned Theodoor, we have agreed that the poorest quality red Chinese beads, which happen to be in the hands of ensign Jacob Baers at the moment in Quelang, will be returned to him as well as to the fiscal on the first possible occasion, whereas the other beads, that happen to be the kind of beads most valued by the inhabitants, will be kept by you until you receive further instructions from us. The same counts for the boy, who you will have to keep in your charge until further notice.<sup>^</sup> In the meantime you will have to give them hope that at the end of this monsoon season you will expect orders to also hand over the other beads to them.

We have treated the earlier mentioned Theodoor well during his presence over here and we have instructed him to the best of our ability about the Company's policy and intentions. We confirmed his position as a commander by presenting him with a cane as a symbol of his authority and a cloth of red damask, which he accepted with considerable gratitude, promising us that he will be obedient to the Company in everything. We sent you the same gifts intended for Don Lucas that you, on our behalf, can hand over to him, on condition that he will promise to be obedient. Subsequently you can confirm him in his office. When it suits him we will expect him to pay a visit to us in Tayouan in due time. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 438-439. )

*Missive Governor Francois Caron to Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen. Tayouan, 25 October 1644. VOC 1148, fol. 256-280* , 英譯摘錄 :

[...]The elders of twenty four villages over there had in the presence of Boon, and later on in Tamsuy at the fortress, promised to show fitting humility and bring tribute, which almost daily they paid in deerskins, and which we expect to receive at the earliest opportunity [at Tayouan]. In Quelang [...] the preserved fortified point was baptized North Holland and the Martello tower Victoria. At a fair price a sizeable quantity of pit coal was commissioned with the people of Kimaurij for delivery at the beach the aforementioned point. They trust that they can dig up the coal from inside the mountain with the assistance of our soldiers, who have been ordered to help, so that it is to be hoped that we shall receive a sufficient quantity and a better quality of coal than we have obtained so far. [...]

One of the headmen of Kimaurij, named Theodore who is fluent in the Castilian language, had been together with the above mentioned captain Boon before our arrival at the castle to throw some light on Tarraboan, which he had visited fifteen times; from him we received reasonable insights in those affairs and more informaton than we have ever received from anybody else. [...]  
( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, p. 489. )

## 1644 年 5 月 18 日

1 艘小篷船出航，要去淡水交易硫磺，搭 19 人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 277 頁）

## 1644 年 7-9 月

## 1644 年 7 月 23 日

今晚從一艘運硫磺的篷船收到兩封從淡水寄來的書信，署期本月 4 日和 16 日，得悉，於今年 5 月 19 日載著 1,400 桶（maten）<sup>144</sup>石灰從此地航往淡水的那艘 Jocksam 的篷船，於隨後的 21 日，在南崁（Lamcam）溪附近遭難了。磚頭的燒製，因轉換地點而比以前更成功了，但是因為磚頭仍然缺乏，特別是因為缺乏石灰，那【建造城堡的】工程無法按照應有的進度進行。為了該工程的建造，也要求派幾個木匠，以及（因為那 50 個磚頭燒製工人，大部分都因飢餓而生病了）幾個同一行業的漢人，和幾個公司仔去那裡。又寫說，自從隊長 Boon 離開以後，那一帶的屬民都顯得非常謙虛又順服，其中有一個人 Don Lucas，他是在 Gommon 溪最重要的首領，把價值 1,494 里爾的珊瑚交給我方的人，作為承諾忠誠和順服的保證，而且，為要進一步的確認，他自己還留在我們的城堡附近三天，最後，在我方的人的認可下，允許跟他友好相處，詳情載於上述該函。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 312 頁）

Th. Pedel 寫給 M. Lemaire 的書信，淡水，1644 年 7 月 16 日，VOC 1147，fol. 513-520，520-521，英譯摘錄：

[...] Since the departure of the captain Boon the inhabitants of the Tamsuy region are living in great fear. Don Lucas managed to get the principal headmen of that area, named Common, who has already concluded an alliance with the Company on two occasions but who, for a period of ten months, did not seem to care much about it, although recently, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, for three

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<sup>144</sup> 桶（maat），Maat 本來是「度量衡單位」之意，似乎在容積單位上，可轉為意指「一升」，見：加藤榮一，〈連合オランダ東インド會社の戰略據點としての平戸商館〉收於田中健夫編，《日本前近代の國家の對外關係》（東京：吉川弘文館，1987）頁 487-488、489。20 斤 = 1 maat，見《日本海外關係史料オランダ商館長日誌譯文編之一（上）：寬永十年八月至寬永十一年四月》（東京：東京大學史料編纂所刊行，1976），頁 265。



days in a row he requested conclusion of a new agreement with the Company. Moreover he wanted to entrust to us his beads valued at 1494 reals of 8<sup>th</sup> as a sign of his loyalty (if only his former broken promises could be pardoned). For three days we rejected his offer, because he had not appeared when he was summoned up by captain Boon. However, finally we accepted his proposal because all inhabitants throughout the Tamsuy area listen to him and because there is no other opportunity to introduce the taxes and get the people to pay them. Thus we agreed to provisionally conclude a treaty of friendship with him until we receive Your Honour's approbation for it. He left us the mentioned beads that were estimated by them as you can see from the memorandum included in this letter, on the condition that from now on he would behave himself in accordance with the agreement. We warned him that if he should fail to do so he surely would be risking his life. As a result within the present month of July all the Tamsuy villages have promised to pay the taxes to the Company by means of deerskins as is the custom in Tayouan. The included memorandum was drawn up especially to register those villages that do recognise the Company to be their protector, as well as how many houses they contain, what languages the people speak, how many souls are living in them and where they are situated. Although not everything may be accomplished this year, the agreement will enable us to find out if the promises that have been made will be carried out properly.

Ensign Jacob Baers writes that Theodore, who thanks him very much for his trip to Tayouan will, as soon as he has arrived in Quelang, see to it that the fiscal will receive the beads. Subsequently he will start with the coal mining, so that Your Honour can expect a sample to be sent to you on the first possible occasion (as we have recommended him as well as the smith again to be a little quicker). You can therefore expect that a sample will be sent to you, delivered by Don Lucas, who also expresses his gratitude to Your Honour. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 449-450. )

## 1644 年 7 月 24 日

下午，有 4 艘篷船從安海、澎湖、淡水和新港仔（Sinckangia）<sup>145</sup>抵達此地，載來：40 包布料（stucq goederen）、.....150 擔生硫磺（rouwen swavel），合計搭 150 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 312 頁）

## 1644 年 7 月 25 日

2 艘篷船抵達，1 艘是從淡水載硫磺來.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 313 頁）

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<sup>145</sup> 苗栗後龍的新港。

## 1644 年 8 月 2 日

4 艘篷船出航前往淡水交易硫磺，順便由公司付款讓這些船隻裝運合計 1,000 桶精篩的石灰往當地，用以建造該地碉堡。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 315 頁）

## 1644 年 8 月 30 日

篷船是從廣東（Canton）來的，載有：17 擔糖漬蘿蔔、7 擔新鮮的蘿蔔、23 袋茴香（anijis）和 3 擔鹽，搭 31 個人。船主林泰（Limtay）報告說，途中經歷五個星期，來此地是要來申請通行證，以便前往淡水交易硫磺的。<sup>146</sup>（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 330 頁）

## 1644 年 9 月 3 日

1 艘屬於中國商人茂哥（Boicko）的小篷船從淡水抵達此地，滿載著未提煉的硫磺，搭 18 個人，並帶來中尉 Pedel 與評評議會所寫之信，說，那些運石灰篷船的抵達，使那邊的工作很有進展，那碉堡的圍牆，已從牆腳四面砌高了，因此該碉堡的形狀已經開始建立起來，為此需要一些木板，希望按照他們的需求送去給他們等。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 333 頁）

## 1644 年 9 月 6 日

1 艘小篷船出航前往淡水載硫磺，搭 31 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 334 頁）

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<sup>146</sup> 此條透露廣東方面船隻也試圖前來淡水貿易；又，所謂廣東，從荷文資料來看，多為潮州沿海一帶的船隻與商人，很少有珠江口的廣州與澳門方面之船。

## 1644 年 9 月 8 日

通事 Kimptingh 的那艘奪得的 patache 船<sup>147</sup>航往淡水去載硫磺，搭 20 個人；...。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 336 頁)

## 1644 年 9 月 9 日

1 艘篷船來自閩安 (Minoa)，<sup>148</sup>載有 100 袋米，搭 19 人.....1 艘篷船航往淡水和雞籠，要去交易硫磺和鹿皮，搭 15 個漢人。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 336 頁)

## 1644 年 9 月 13 日

1 艘航往淡水，要去交易硫磺；.....1 艘是通事金定 (Kimptingh)<sup>149</sup>的貨船 (petache)，是以前從此地出航要去淡水的，因逆風無法前進，所以又回來港內。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 339 頁)

## 1644 年 9 月 14 日

昨天出航要去淡水的那艘篷船，因為在海上遇到強烈北風所以又回來入港。...  
1 艘篷船出航前往廈門，載有鹿肉、硫磺和籐，搭 41 個人。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 339 頁)

## 1644 年 9 月 18 日

1 艘篷船從淡水載硫磺抵達此地...。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 340 頁)  
*J. van Keyssel* 寫給 *F. Caron* 的信，1644 年 9 月 16 日，於淡水，VOC 1147，443。

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<sup>147</sup> patache 船，亦寫作 petache，即葡萄牙語之 Patacho，兩桅輕型貨船。

<sup>148</sup> 閩安 (Minoa)，位於中國福建福州市。

<sup>149</sup> 通事金定 (Kimptingh)，即著名通事何斌之父。根據西班牙文獻，荷蘭人攻打淡水、雞籠時，他曾幫助荷蘭人，見：J. Borao ed., *Spaniards in Taiwan*, II, 598。金定在荷蘭人佔領臺灣北部後，貿易權利多由其掌握。

## 1644 年 9 月 19 日

1 艘前往淡水，要去載硫磺，是通事金定（Kimplingh）的快速帆船（fregat）<sup>150</sup>船、4 艘篷船前往中國沿海，載有鹿肉、鹹魚、籐、硫磺、蠟、紅花（cassomba）<sup>151</sup>和水牛角，搭 116 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 341 頁）

## 1644 年 9 月 20 日

1 艘篷船從淡水抵達此地，載有 300 擔硫磺，搭 13 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 341 頁）

## 1644 年 10-11 月

## 1644 年 10 月 5 日

早上，指揮官給那些快艇的主管和駐軍下達所需要的一切命令之後，指揮官閣下就抄近路，<sup>152</sup>從溪流下來，前往淡水，於今晚入夜以前抵達淡水。整天下雨，天氣惡劣。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 364 頁）

## 1644 年 11 月 14 日

1 艘航往安海，載有一批鹿肉、硫磺和籐，搭 76 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 376 頁）

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<sup>150</sup> fregat 源自法語 *frégate*，指快速帆船。由此資料可知，何斌之父所擁有或管理的船隻，除中國篷船外，還包括歐洲船，商業運輸勢力，由此可見一斑。

<sup>151</sup> cassomba，與前註的紅色顏料 galiga 同。

<sup>152</sup> 淡水與雞籠之間的道路，顯然還有「近路」。

## 1644 年 10 月 17 日

2 艘篷船從淡水來，載有 700 擔硫磺和 150 擔...、500 枚水鹿皮和鹿皮，搭 47 個人；  
（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 350 頁）

## 1644 年 10 月 22 日

5 艘篷船來自淡水，載來 2,870 擔生硫磺，.....。

從上述載硫磺來的那艘篷船收到下席商務官 Jan van Keyssel 的一封信，主要內容只寫關於上述篷船載運的事情，並說，現在那邊已經沒有船隻，並請求說，請支付商人三哥（Saco）和八哥（Peco）用他們的人送去那邊建造那碉堡的 93,000 塊磚頭的費用等。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 352 頁）

## 1644 年 10 月 26 日

今天有 1 艘小篷船從淡水載硫磺來到此地，搭 9 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 355 頁）

## 1645 年 1-6 月

## 1645 年 1 月 16 日

在福爾摩沙剩下的公司資金，包括現款和貨物，金額為一百四十萬荷盾。現在中國內戰激烈，因此不能期待從中國會有大量的貨物運來交易，而且中國商人需求的貨物也很少，在公司的貨物項目中，只有硫磺和鉛是例外。<sup>153</sup>不過 Caron 也希望，熱蘭遮城還是要擁有足夠的現款，以便可用來購買一些中國貨物。從中國運來福爾摩沙的絲，特別受到內戰的影響，幾乎停止運來了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 378 頁）

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<sup>153</sup> 明清之際因戰爭而商業不順，但硫磺交易還是一支獨秀。

## 1645 年 3 月 11 日

Lampcan<sup>154</sup>的官吏向熱蘭遮城當局請求准予去淡水和雞籠交易硫磺的事情，予以批准了，條件是要繳納中國商人的稅。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 379 頁）

## 1645 年 4 月 27 日

有 11 艘篷船出航前往中國，合計搭 204 個人，載去一批鹿肉、硫磺、鹹魚和糖水。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 402 頁）

## 1645 年 5 月 3 日

有 2 艘篷船出航前往北邊的淡水，要去交易硫磺，搭 35 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 405 頁）

## 1645 年 5 月 5 日

1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 53 個人，載 149 籃鹿肉、5 擔硫磺、60【缺單位】象牙和 100 袋米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 406 頁）

## 1645 年 5 月 10 日

下席商務官 Jan van Keyssel 來信，署期今年 4 月 26 日，提到那邊已經儲藏約三十萬塊磚頭，也即將生產瓦等，<sup>155</sup>，因此，如果及時從此地運石灰和木料去那裡，就甚麼都不缺了，並可望於今年 10 月底以前造好該碉堡。此外還要求一些不太重要的必需品。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 408 頁）

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<sup>154</sup> Lampcan 指的應該是中國沿海的一個城市，可能指「南京」，或廣東的「浪白滯」。

<sup>155</sup> 約 1650 年代，陽明山下的淡水地區，已有生產瓦、灰之工廠，參見：《大臺北古地圖考釋》。



## 1645 年 5 月 20 日

寄下席商務官 Van Keyssel 和淡水的評議會所撰寫一封信，.....上述篷船也載有一批石灰、木料等，就像已有幾艘篷船從此地和魷港陸續載去那樣，也還會繼續供應他們的需要，這樣，我們相信他們在 10 月底以前就可完成該碉堡的建造工程。上述 Diemen 號（如果需要）這個南風季節可以留在那裡，用以去雞籠搬運硬磚頭【來淡水】，不過如果可以用從事硫磺交易的漢人的船來搬運（最好能這樣做），並令他們在交易硫磺以前先去搬運一兩趟磚頭，那麼一旦風與天氣允許，我們就要立克派該篷船 Diemen 號航往龜山島（Malabariga），<sup>156</sup>去確實偵查該島等。.....又因為我們計畫今年 9 月或 10 月要在淡水那一帶村社舉行地方會議，所以命令他們在這期間要全力去調查（淡水轄區範圍內的）各社的戶口，在那時間以前製成完整的統計表，並要及時把我們的意思通知遠近的村社。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 412 頁）

*F. Caron 寫給 J. van Keyssel 的信，1645 年 5 月 20 日，於臺灣，VOC 1149，791-793。*

*VOC 1149，fol. 764-766，英譯摘錄：*

[...] After captain Boon had departed from Tamsuy overland to Tayouan last year, we received no message whether he had succeeded in passing the villages. On 13 January of this year we therefore resolved to send seven inhabitants of Tamsuy from here to explore the passage (they had to try and see if they could come as far as Dorenap, or near to that place). However after only six days they returned and reported to us that they had crossed the Lamcan river, but that the natives of that area did not allow them to move any further because along the way Dutchmen were mostly beaten to death, as a result of which they considered themselves to be enemies of the Dutch and their allies. We took this to be a gross lie but the natives nonetheless took it for the truth. The end of the story was that 冰冷 (Ponap), one of the elders from one of the villages near Tamsuy, refused to deliver bamboo to us any longer. On March first he was apprehended, but because other elders came to see us daily to request his release, we set him free with the personal guarantee of the others, on collateral security of leaving a large supply of beads valued at 600 reals of eight with us, as assurance of his sincere obedience, which was effected. The reason for our demanding security is because he has played such games on several occasions. [...] With regard to the villages situated between the territory of the Quataongh and Tamsuy (of which there are 16 as we learned) these had promised to fulfil their (tax) charge in deerskins. Therefore, according to Your Honours' order (if they are collected at Tamsuy) we sent out the deputy political administrator Joost van Bergen again to those villages in order to suggest to the elders that they should deliver the tax at Tamsuy. Furthermore he had to invite those headmen to come over altogether so that we would be able to be well informed of the number of their houses and the

<sup>156</sup> Malabariga，又名 Tatachel，即宜蘭縣龜山島。

size of their villages, and get a better knowledge of the roads in that area so that, at times, we will be able to send our missive straight to Dorenap. We agreed to send one soldier and four of the inhabitants of the Tamsuy area together with the mentioned Van Bergen to Dorenap, in order to escort them to Tamsuy all the elders of the mentioned villages, which we hope will work out in this way. Two men from the principal villages over there, who had already been escorted to Tamsuy by Van Bergen on another occasion, now returned with him again to their village (after they had been entertained well). They told us that within 15 or 16 days two trade-junks from China are about to appear at their villages situated at about 15 or 16 miles from here, near a river that is named Mattau by them. We agreed to communicate this to Your Honour because every year Chinese junks, without proper Company licences, call at that place, so that Your Honour, when the occasion arises, could order that place to be examined by a vessel (under way to Tamsuy). [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 534-535.)

## 1645 年 5 月 30 日

一艘自由民的篷船載著 16 個人從雞籠來到此地，載有一批【鹿】皮和硫磺，並帶下席商務官 Van Keyssel 從淡水寫來的一封信，署期本月 23 日，該函主要得悉，該碉堡的建造，已有一段時間頗有進展等。((《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 417 頁)

## 1645 年 6 月 2 日

有 1 艘從澎湖抵達，搭 25 個人，運來 100 擔硫磺、15 擔鹹魚和 2 頭牛。該船的舵公報告說，有一艘篷船從淡水去澎湖，留在那裡，把這些硫磺交他運來此地。<sup>157</sup>也帶來一封下席商務官 Van Keyssel 的書信，署期上月 15 日。首先敘述，已經接到我們派去運必需用品的 9 艘篷船以及 6 艘從魷港運石灰去的篷船，因此希望該碉堡的建造將可順利進行，並將遵照我們的命令建造等。自從他上次來信以後，又有 6 艘篷船從此地和中國，持著我們的通行證，去那邊交易鹿皮和硫磺，其中有數艘已經載貨離開。((《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 418 頁)

*J. van Keyssel* 寫給 *F. Caron* 的信，1645 年 5 月 15 日，於淡水，VOC 1149，767-769。  
VOC 1149，790。

<sup>157</sup> 此段資料也透露，淡水硫磺有時亦無法直接從北部順風開駛到臺南，得先到澎湖然後轉到臺南。

## 1645 年 6 月 9 日

10 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 319 個人，運出去的貨物如下：13 籃鹿肉、...10 broodens 的硫磺。<sup>158</sup>亦有 2 艘航往北淡水，...其中一艘是要去裝載那艘損壞的漢人篷船裡剩下的硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 421 頁）

## 1645 年 6 月 15 日

下席商務官 Van Keyssel 本月 6 日的來信，是由一艘運硫磺的篷船從淡水帶來的，從而得悉：

那碉堡無可懷疑地將於今年內建造完成，工程已經很有進展，也為此派那些運硫磺的篷船去雞籠搬運堅硬磚頭，他們也要求這邊儘快運石灰和其他需用的物品去。

三貂（St.Jago）和金包里社的貢納將於兩、三天內收取，如同淡水村社，於強烈威脅並燒毀他們三十個房屋之後所收取那樣。...

自從他上次來信以後，有 2 艘商船從中國，3 艘商船從此地去那裡，現在在那邊的船，連同以前去的，共有 23 艘船。這些船當中有樂意去雞籠搬運磚頭的，因此那邊暫時用不到篷船 Diemen 號。Van Keyssel 先生因而提議要用該船送那些從貢納取得的鹿皮和一些硫磺來此地等。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 423 頁）

*J. van Keyssel 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1645 年 6 月 6 日，於淡水，VOC 1149，770-771。*

*VOC 1149，791-793。*

## 1645 年 6 月 20 日

今天有篷船從各地抵達此地，也有篷船出航前往各地，其情形如下：有 1 艘搭 16 個人，出航前往雞籠，要去交易硫磺； .....1 艘從淡水抵達，運來 800 擔硫磺，搭有 27 個漢人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 425 頁）

<sup>158</sup> brooden，重量單位，1 brood 約為 25 公斤。

## 1645 年 6 月 25 日

本月 18 日航往澎湖，要去載回那艘損壞了的篷船上的硫磺的那艘篷船，今天回此地入港。他們到那裡以後，看見幾艘篷船奉金門官吏的命令，不但運走那些硫磺，也把那船主帶去中國了，上述臺灣的篷船只好空手回來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 427 頁）

## 1645 年 7 月

### 1645 年 7 月 10 日

篷船航往幾個地方，即：...1 艘航往北邊的淡水，...傍晚有 1 艘篷船從雞籠載硫磺抵達此地，搭有 30 個人.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 433 頁）

### 1645 年 7 月 15 日

陸續發現住在臺南安平的漢人，現已從淡水和雞籠運來大量未提煉硫磺（這些硫磺他們應於赤崁提煉的），除了在這市鎮的幾處公共場所繼續提煉之外，也在他們最方便的住家後面和前面提煉，以致不但街道大為髒亂也造成嚴重的對健康有害的空氣，引起各種病症，例如哮喘（aenborsticheyt）和肺炎（longersucht）等。因此，評議會乃決議，將於近日發布公告，令所有此地居民，必須立刻拆除他們為了提煉硫磺而安置的爐灶以及所有其他相關用具，只許在越過公司的馬廄的地方，或在赤崁裝置這些設備，從今以後，他們必須在那裡提煉他們的硫磺等。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 434 頁）

VOC 1149，884。

### 1645 年 7 月 19 日

...1 艘篷船從北邊淡水，搭載 20 個人，並運有 270 擔硫磺和 50 擔籐來到此地，帶來下席商務官 Van Keyssel 之信，署期本月 14 日，主要內容說，除了上述本艘船外，另有 5 艘商船結伴航來此地，載有未提煉的硫磺、籐、水鹿皮和獐皮。碉堡的建造進行順利，為此所須要的磚頭，已大部分收集了，為完成該工程所需的硬磚頭，也如數由那些商船從雞籠運到那裡.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 435 頁）

*J. van Keyssel 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1645 年 7 月 14 日，於淡水，VOC 1149，777-778*

## 1645 年 7 月 20 日

今天有 2 艘篷船，搭 36 個人，從淡水抵達此地，合計載來 600 擔硫磺和 20 擔籐。  
（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 435 頁）

## 1645 年 7 月 21 日

1 艘篷船從淡水抵達，搭 13 個人，載來 150 擔硫磺和一批鹿皮。 《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 435 頁）

## 1645 年 7 月 22 日

高級舵手 Roelof Sievertsen 從北邊淡水來到此地。他於本月 6 日搭一艘租用的舢舨船（coya）<sup>159</sup>航離此地前往淡水。報告他如何去檢查從魷港向北直到淡水的溪流、小溪和港灣等，但都沒有看見走私的中國船，到處看到的篷船和其他船隻，都持有恰當的通行證。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 435 頁）

*J. van Keyssel 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1645 年 7 月 14 日，於淡水，VOC 1149，777-778。*

## 1645 年 7 月 26 日

.....2 艘要從那裡載公司的石灰前往淡水...。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 437 頁）

## 1645 年 7 月 28 日

因陸續發現漢人不但在交易時常有欺詐行為，而且更嚴重的是他們總是跟我們唱反調，令福爾摩沙居民疏離公司，甚至鼓動他們反抗公司，就如最近通霄（Kalika Rousut）的那四個番社以及代理地方官 Van Bergen 於 15 到 20 天前所經過的介於鹿港（Dorenap）與淡水之間的幾個其他地方的人所表現那樣，完全都是因為被漢人的陰謀誤導所致的，那些漢人迄今（無論是否持有我們的通行證）都搭船航往北邊的村莊

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<sup>159</sup> 舢舨船（coya），單桅篷小船。

與溪川去跟原住民交易。因此決議，以後將不再發行航往該處的通行證了，相反地，將發布公告，令漢商務必須於 8 月底前召回航往該處交易的商船，而且將警告此地所有居民，以後任何人都休想航往該處，違者重罰。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 438 頁）

VOC 1149, fol. 886, 英譯摘錄：

[...] The Chinese [...] continue to encourage the Formosans to hate the Company, and they even incite them to open disobedience, (as was discovered about 15 or 20 days ago by the substitute political administrator Van Bergen, when he passed along the entire seashore between Dorenep and Tamsuy. This was even more the case in the four villages of Kalika Rusudt situated along that road. According to the writing of Junior Merchant Jan van Keyssel, these used to be ready to deliver the required taxes, but at present they showed themselves unwilling to do so. This change of mind as well as the resentment smouldering at several places in this area, results only from the spiteful and evil intrigues of the Chinese who continue to frequent the northern villages, rivers and inlets (with or without Company licences) with their junks. After profound discussions on this subject, it was therefore judged necessary and consequently determined that from now on trade licences would no longer be given to Chinese for the mentioned northern places such as:

Gommach, Pangsoa, Sinckangia, Mattauw and all the other places situated on the northern side of Dorenep as far as to Tamsuy. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, p. 550. )

## 1645 年 7 月 30 日

**籐亦為重要物產：**今天有下列篷船航往或來自幾個地方，即：有 3 艘篷船航往雞籠，2 艘航往淡水，載有 27，<sup>160</sup>...有 1 艘篷船來自淡水，載來 240 擔硫磺和 15 擔籐，...。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 439 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月

## 1645 年 8 月 2 日

今天也有 2 艘篷船從雞籠抵達此地，合計搭有 50 個漢人，載來 800 擔未提煉的硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 440 頁）

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<sup>160</sup> 此處可能為原檔遺漏。



## 1645 年 8 月 5 日

1 艘篷船航往安海，載有一批硫磺和籐；有 1 艘篷船要經由魷港（在那裡裝上公司的石灰）航往淡水交易硫磺；也有 1 艘篷船要去虎尾壠轉載一艘（從雞籠來）那裡破裂的篷船上的硫磺，合計搭有 85 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 442 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 7 日

今天有 3 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 148 個漢人，載去：  
...40 擔硫磺和 200 擔籐。也有 1 艘篷船從 Tapalangh<sup>161</sup>來到此地，搭 18 個人，載來 200 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 442 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 8 日

1 艘篷船從虎尾壠入港，搭 11 個人，載有 150 擔硫磺和 80 擔籐。<sup>162</sup>（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 443 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 9 日

1 艘篷船從淡水來到此地，搭有 14 個人，運來 300 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 443 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 10 日

1 艘篷船從淡水載一批硫磺來，共搭 27 人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 443 頁）

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<sup>161</sup> Tapalangh 疑係 Taparij 的誤寫。

<sup>162</sup> 表示漢人船隻一直在雲林與淡水一帶活動。

## 1645 年 8 月 11 日

2 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計運去： $\dots 155\frac{1}{2}$  擔硫磺、 $\dots 37\frac{1}{2}$  擔籐和.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 444 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 16 日

1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 95 個人，載有  $56\frac{1}{2}$  擔鹿肉、 $30\frac{1}{2}$  擔蠔和 168 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 447 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 18 日

1 艘篷船從淡水抵達此地，搭 29 個漢人，載來 700 擔硫磺和 200 擔籐。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 447 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 22 日

今天有下列漢人的篷船航往或來自幾個地方，即：有 1 艘篷船搭著 115 個人航往中國，載有：80 擔籐、 $\dots 7$  擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 449 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 24 日

1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，載有 25 擔硫磺、 $26\frac{1}{2}$  擔鹿肉和 14 擔蠔。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 450 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 28 日

淡水評議會在淡水舉行.....2 艘篷船來自淡水，也搭 16 個人，載來 400 擔硫磺。.....下席商務官 Van Keyssel 去世以後，...將於四、五天內派稽查官 Adriaen van der Burch 為代表去淡水整理那邊的帳簿文書，並任命下席商務官 Jacob Nolpe（被認為對此有資格的人）去那邊擔任公司的城堡與人員的主管，以我們的名義，將一切（詳列清冊）移交給他。他也要主持淡水的地方會議，為此，隊長 Pieter Boon 也要帶領 50 個新兵一起去那裡...搭商人 Sansoe 的一艘篷船從水路上去，因為現在溪水高漲，以及其他阻礙，不能從陸路上去。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 452 頁）

*M. Gitner 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1645 年 8 月 19 日，於淡水，VOC 1149，783。*

*VOC 1149，781-782。*

*VOC 1149，891-892。*

*給 J. Nolpe 的指令，1645 年 9 月 1 日，於臺灣，VOC 1149，fol. 738-741，英譯摘錄：*

[...] Now that you are leaving for Tamsuy you should also (with the advice of the other councillors) see to it that the assembly is organized during your stay over there. Therefore, immediately after your arrival, you will have to summon up the elders or headmen from all villages under Tamsuy, even those situated at the greatest distance, so that they will appear at the fortress on the fixed date. Meanwhile you should make certain that the Tamsuy Land day is organized properly, in an orderly way, and with the required prestige. Therefore we hand over to you (as we sent to the deceased Van Keyssel earlier) the description of the assembly organized last March at Saccam. Your Honour will be expected (by keeping the local situation in Tamsuy somewhat in proportion) to act accordingly. To this purpose also 200 canes tipped with silver fittings (made in the usual way) were handed over to Your Honour for distribution, as is customary, among the village elders. [...]. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, p. 557.)

## 1645 年 8 月 29 日

有下列篷船來此入港，即：有 3 艘來自淡水，合計搭有 47 個漢人，載來 950 擔硫磺和 8 擔籐。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 452 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 30 日

1 艘通事金定（Kimtingh）的篷船從上述淡水抵達此地，搭有 30 個人，載來 700 擔未提煉的硫磺和 200 擔提煉過的硫磺。（熱蘭遮城日誌第 2 冊第 453 頁）

## 1645 年 8 月 31 日

下列篷船出航前往幾個地方，即：有 3 艘航往中國沿海，搭 68 個人，載有：.....18 擔藤、33 擔硫磺和.....從雞籠也有 1 艘篷船來此入港，搭有 42 個人，載來 800 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 453 頁）

## 1645 年 9 月

### 1645 年 9 月 8 日

有 5 艘篷船出航前往魷港，搭 91 個人，要去那裡裝運總計 1,000 桶<sup>163</sup>石灰航往淡水；...1 艘篷船航往中國沿海，搭 80 個人，載去 13 擔鹿肉、10 擔蠔和 45 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 458 頁）

### 1645 年 9 月 14 日

1 艘篷船航往淡水，搭 17 個人；...有 1 艘篷船航往中國沿海，搭 65 個人，載去  $22\frac{1}{2}$  擔鹿肉和 92 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 461 頁）

### 1645 年 9 月 15 日

有 2 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 62 個人，載去 800 擔未提煉的硫磺...。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 461 頁）

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<sup>163</sup> 桶（balijs），源自法文 baille，木桶；容量大約為 200 公升裝之桶。

## 1645 年 9 月 16 日

1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 64 個人，載去 8 擔鹿肉、5 擔蠔和 5 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 462 頁）

## 1645 年 9 月 19 日

6 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 213 個人，載有：128 擔硫磺、.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 464 頁）

## 1645 年 9 月 28 日

1 艘載著米的篷船，1 艘載著硫磺，還有七、八艘載著雜細貨（minder emporte）.....都大部分破裂或擱淺了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 467 頁）

## 1645 年 10 月

### 1645 年 10 月 7 日

1 艘航往廈門，載有 100 擔硫磺、14 擔鹿肉和 810 擔籐，合計搭有 138 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 471 頁）

### 1645 年 10 月 11 日

2 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 48 個人，其中一艘載壓艙物，但另外一艘載有 9 籃鹿肉、 $17\frac{1}{2}$  擔籐和 13 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 473 頁）

## 1645 年 10 月 17 日

2 艘來自淡水和雞籠，合計搭有 38 個人，載來 460 擔未提煉的硫磺和 330 擔籐。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 476 頁）

## 1645 年 10 月 20 日

1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 26 個漢人，載去 600 brooden 硫磺、<sup>164</sup>30 擔籐和 28 籃鹿肉。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 477 頁）

## 1645 年 10 月 22 日

自由市民 Barent Barentsen 的 2 艘篷船，也從淡水載著硫磺抵達此地……。

**淡水紅毛城舉行地方會議：**從該函得悉...他們最近本月 13 日來信以後不久，仿效赤崁的舉行方式，勉強舉行地方會議。<sup>165</sup>分發 41 根籐杖<sup>166</sup>給那些長老，其中有 5 個噶瑪蘭的長老（出乎意外的）也來了，他們都承諾會順服公司，並且將來也願意繳納貢納。上席商務官 Steen 病得非常軟弱，那些士兵生病的有增無減，從雞籠來的那個醫生（就像淡水那個醫生那樣）去世了，因此非常懇切地請求另派兩個醫生去。...（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 478 頁）

*J. Nolpe 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1645 年 10 月 16 日，於淡水，VOC 1149，786。*

## 1645 年 10 月 24 日

2 艘篷船航往中國沿海，載去一批硫磺與若干鹿肉。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 480 頁）

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<sup>164</sup> brooden，重量單位，1 brood 約為 25 公斤。

<sup>165</sup> 荷蘭時代，臺灣地方會議通常分成四區舉行。（一）南、（二）北路會議，在臺南永康一帶的公司花園，先北路，後南路會議；（三）淡水會議，在淡水紅毛城舉行，（四）臺東卑南會議。

<sup>166</sup> 籐杖，可參考瑞士人傭兵 Schmalkalden 現場所繪之圖。

## 1645 年 10 月 25 日

有 1 艘篷船從雞籠抵達此地，搭 20 個漢人，載硫磺來，途中因強風以致必須拋出 50 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 480 頁）

## 1645 年 10 月 31 日

1 艘篷船出航前往廈門，搭 37 個人，載去如下： $11\frac{1}{2}$  擔鹿肉、 $20\frac{1}{2}$  擔提煉過的硫磺和 23 捆籐.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 483 頁）

## 1645 年 11 月

### 1645 年 11 月 6 日

有 2 艘篷船從淡水抵達此地，搭 33 個漢人，載有 500 擔硫磺，...並得悉，上席商務官 Henrick Steen 數日前已經去世，我方人員病情仍然如以前惡劣。上述士兵有半數必須送入公司的病院住院。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 486 頁）

### 1645 年 11 月 7 日

3 艘篷船從淡水抵達，合計搭有 22 個漢人，載來：240 擔硫磺、170 擔籐、100 擔木頭和 20 袋米，碉堡護牆已造好，近日中將整理那些木料用以搭建頂蓋，因為經常會從北方刮風下雨，所以要先從北邊建造，而另外一邊要暫時用茅草蓋頂，使士兵們的住處得免有害健康；駐軍的帳簿已經結帳，但是貿易的帳簿還沒結帳，該帳（因為 Nolpe 先生的生病）還無法清算完結，不過他將儘快努力去辦理；雞籠的駐軍將有 50 個人，淡水的將有 70 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 486 頁）



## 1645 年 11 月 11 日

1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭有 74 個人，載去：26 擔鹿肉、39 擔硫磺、 $10\frac{1}{2}$  擔籐和 15 擔水鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 489 頁）

## 1646 年 2-6 月

## 1646 年 2 月 28 日

有 2 艘篷船航往中國沿海，搭有 157 個人，合計載去：86 籃鹿肉、109 捆籐、34 brooden 提煉過的硫磺和 35 擔未提煉的硫磺、7 籃乾蠔、15 隻土魷魚<sup>167</sup>、100 擔小魚、10 籃紅色顏料（galiga）、200 罐中國米酒.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 500 頁）

可能是 J. Nolpe 的信，1646 年 2 月 9 日，於淡水，VOC 1160，fol. 245-250.

【糧食】淡水有足夠的糧食，因為他們訂購了 2 last 又 264 磅（約 3200 公斤）的稻米，要從雞籠以一小船送到淡水。另外 Lucas Kilas 也設法用 40.5 里爾從淡水河沿岸村社買到 4020 磅（約 2010 公斤）的稻米。淡水的荷蘭人暫時不會用到這些米，並用陶甕保存，以防鼠患。這樣就可以撐到下一次補給。

英譯摘錄：

On February 1 we received your missive over land, from which we learned of Your Honour's wise opinion. The next day we sent a soldier to Quelang with a letter and the hundred real of eight to buy up all the parties of coal we demanded. This soldier did not return until February 7, in the company of the chief of Kimaurij, Theodore, who informed us that it could not be mined in the period of two months. During this season, Quelang is subjected to rather turbulent weather, where by heavy waves break against the cliffs so that the workmen are in danger, and the pit coal mined is washed away most of the time. Nonetheless, the said Theodore has raised our hopes, as he has promised to do his utmost to help the Company out and obtain the coal within the said months or just a little later. To that purpose he requested three or four heavy sledgehammers, wedges and pickaxes from us, which we promised to deliver to him. However, these tools have to

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<sup>167</sup> 原文為 Coningvis，一般譯為「皇帝魚」或「帝王魚」，但本人已經研究出這是著名的土魷魚。見：翁佳音，〈國王魚 kingfish 的故事〉，《歷史月刊》248（2008.09），頁 23-27。

be made by the Company slaves, because the blacksmith has died. Those of Quelang write us they did receive a 364- pound bucket, that President Lemaire had handed over to Theodore in 1644, filled with coal according to the contract (with which Your Honour will be acquainted) to supply the Company with five buckets at one real a piece each. However, when the five were weighed again separately, it turned out that the loads differed from each other by up to twenty or thirty pounds, because Theodore's men claimed they were unable to discern an underweight of 47 last. [...]

God be praised we have sufficient rice and other provisions so that we will not run short, because we have ordered two last of 264 pounds that were delivered to us by a small vessel from Quelang, and moreover, Lucas Kilas managed to purchase 4020 pounds for 40  $\frac{1}{2}$  real, that is thirty real a last, in the villages along the Tamsuy River. We have left these provisions untouched so far, and stored them in pottery containers (so that the rats will not be crawling round in it by the hundreds). In this way we will manage, until Your Honour will send us fresh provisions. The more so because the garrison has received this month's ration already, and if the worst comes to the worst we can be helped out in Quelang. As for the gold we have sent over to Your Honour, which only weighed six real as you wrote to us, we are glad to hear that the mistake in Quelang came to light. For on January 3, Ensign Baers already returned seven real in cash to us, adding a note that the gold had been purchased at six real for a real of weight, which we entered on the debit side of the Tayouan factory last month. However, Theodore has made it clear to us that the gold, as before, only weighed six real but had cost seven real for a weight of one real, thus making 127: 8,- guilders or 49 real. We will see to it that the right sum of 42 real (six real of gold valued at seven real for one weight of a real) or 109: 4,-, guilders will be entered on your debit side. [...]

(*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 50-52.)

## 1646 年 3 月 24 日

下席商務官 **Nolpe** 從淡水經由陸路，寄來此地的一封信。該函內容主要寫說，助理 **Jacob Aldertsz.** 抵達淡水了。那邊的原住民一直都很友善，只有在竹塹（**Pocael**）社，代理官 **Van Bergen** 以前還兩次被那裡的原住民敵意地追趕。雞籠忙著收集所需求的煤炭，為此所需要的用具已從淡水取得。熱病在那裡更加蔓延，上個月那裡有兩個人死亡。沿著淡水河的那些村莊登記了有很多死亡的人，雖然如此，那一帶的戶口，以及南邊的，即那些南崁的村莊（**Lamcamedorpen**）的人數和戶數的調查登記，還是繼續在進行，將於近日中把那些戶口的清單送來給我們。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 507 頁）

*J. Nolpe 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1646 年 3 月 9 日，於淡水，VOC 1150，250-251。*

## 1646 年 3 月 27 日

鑑於糧食與其他需用品，在淡水，特別是在雞籠，相當缺乏，因此也決議，將於近日通知所有漢人，以後任何人有意遷居淡水或雞籠的，無論是要在那裡從事農業、漁業或其他行業的，其住在淡水的人（除了人頭稅以外）每人各按行業將有數年免繳全部的稅，而住在雞籠的人，除了上述的免稅以外，還可三年免繳人頭稅。而且...也要自由開放從中國所有地區航往淡水與雞籠的航運，任何人都可以自由來往，就像在臺灣那樣，可以把各種中國商品和雜貨運來，也可以把那裡的貨物運出去，但要向公司繳納稅，就像在此地一直（循例）繳納那樣。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 509 頁）

## 1646 年 3 月 29 日

1 艘航往中國沿海，載去：13 brooden<sup>168</sup>硫磺、3 擔鹿肉、6 擔籐和 3 擔小魚脯。  
合計搭有 24 個漢人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 513 頁）

## 1646 年 4 月 1 日

有 1 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 23 個人，載去：164 brooden 硫磺、30 擔胡椒與 11 擔籐。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 514 頁）

## 1646 年 4 月 6 日

根據今年 3 月 27 日的決議，公告關於漢人可自由航往淡水與雞籠，.....也將命令淡水當局，從雞籠派一個精明能幹的人去哆囉滿，為同此目的去住在那裡。此外，因為北部的淡水還剩下很多去年徵收貢納的鹿皮，而且所需求的那 150 lasten<sup>169</sup>的煤炭（相信）已經採集放在雞籠了，因此決定，平底船 Gulde Gans 號一旦從澎湖回來，就要立刻載著淡水所需求的物品，儘快航往那裡，並要命令將該船儘快再派回臺灣。而且，我們從去年就感到非常需要對幾件事情下達命令了，這些事情（因為種種原因）迄未實行，因此決定，要派商務官兼祕書的 Gabriel Happart（他對淡水的事務有認識

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<sup>168</sup> 1 brood 約 25 kg.

<sup>169</sup> 1 last 約兩船噸。

也有經驗)為代表,搭上述平底船去淡水,以我們的名義去檢查那城堡,處理那邊需要的事情,並將一切向我們確實報告。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第516頁)

VOC 1160, 403-407。

VOC 1160, fol.411-412

## 1646年4月23日

上述平底船載有那兩個地方需求的貨物與現款,全部合計總值 11,232.11.12 荷盾。我們趁此機會寫一封信去給下席商務官 **Nolpe**,把我們所有的想法和命令詳細告訴他,並且命令他,以後要送貨來此地,例如煤炭、鹿皮、硫磺等物,務必在送貨單上寫明價格多少,同樣,淡水收到的什一稅,貢納,以及其他收入,都務必清楚寫明其支付情形,以便使我們了解,淡水自己承擔的開支有多少,享用的收入有多少(以避免發生更多的混亂)等。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第524頁)

參閱給 *G. Happart* 的指令,1646年4月22日,於臺灣,VOC 1160, fol. 196-204, 英譯摘錄:

[...] We have leased out the trade in the area between the rivers of Dorenap and Tamsuy to our Chinese civilians for a year. Therefore we shall send out a sergeant and six soldiers one of these days to reside in the most convenient place available, in order to keep an eye on the leaseholders and see to it that the inhabitants of the area are kept loyal and obedient. [...] Should Your Honour decide to leave Tamsuy and return to Tayouan over land, in passing on the way home you might well inspect the five rivers that have been leased out. In that case you could inform the inhabitants that from us the Chinese are permitted to trade in the villages, to supply them with all their necessities. Also, because the Company is concerned about their welfare, we expect them to express their obedience to us in return. However, should your guides suggest an easier route to you, like for instance along the beach, the choice is up to Your Honour, because we do not attach too much importance to inspecting the river inlets, as certain Residents will soon sail on an inspection trip to Dorenap, and Tamsuy too to perform this job regularly. The Cavalangh region also will have to be visited more often, for which not only the Kimaurij [men] Theodore and Lucas Kilas can be employed, but also some of your most capable soldiers. We have to get the inhabitants in those parts used to us so that eventually they can be won over to friendship and obedience to the Company. We saw that last December, apart from the five [headmen] who have attended the Tamsuy Landdag before, another two Cavalangh [chiefs] received Company canes. It is our wish that all villages in the region will become familiar with the Company presently, and we shall have to do our utmost to make this happen. You will have to give every inhabitant who occasionally comes by, a hearty welcome and honour him with small presents, as it is being done out here. Fifty Company canes will be sent to you, should you need them [for some headmen]. Do not forget to recommend to Mr. Nolpe that he, after having organized the next Northern Landdag

(for which he will not receive any further instructions nor any delegates from us, but which will have to take place at the right time), will have to send us a new memorandum of all villages falling under Tamsuy, with their number of houses and souls. Such a list has to be drawn up every year because of the successive changes. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 59-60. )

F. Caron 寫給 J. Nolpe 的信，1646 年 4 月 22 日，於臺灣，VOC 1160，fol. 219-223，英譯摘錄：

After receiving the [sample of] Taraboan gold of six real, we passed 42 real of eight to the credit of the Tamsuy account, while at the same time (as you can see in the extract included from the account books) we charged the account for the 749 real of cash money [the late] Van Keijssel left behind, together with the amount of 42  $\frac{7}{8}$  real for 11,200 bricks. From this account it also becomes perfectly clear that you will have to settle the *tael* 153:4:8 *condrijn* fine silver, which was brought to Lucas Kilas by mistake. [...]

We were glad to learn that you still have sufficient supplies of rice and other provisions and will probably not run out of them. Because you can fall back on Quelang should the worst come to the worst and also, Kilas has managed to purchase 4020 pounds of rice for thirty real a last from the villages. We do hope that you can manage in this way through the years, which would be very beneficial to the Company. [...]

[...] We have leased out the trade in the river district between Dorenap and Tamsuy to some Chinese, for a year. With the first ship a sergeant and six soldiers will be sent out to reside in the most convenient place in order to keep an eye on the Chinese leaseholders and keep the inhabitants obedient to the Company rules. Nonetheless, you will also have to inspect the villages north of Goemach every now and then, as well as all other villages in that district. Should you discover any mischief, please turn to the said sergeant. [...] When the time has come to collect the tribute of the southern villages (they come under Tamsuy, like last year) and to summon the headmen to the *landdag* (you will have to continue these two duties every year), you also can deploy the said Residents, who in the meantime will increase their knowledge of all the local circumstances. You will have to start your preparations in good time so that the *landdag* can be held in the right season. You should also consult them properly when the tribute of the Cavalangh region can best be collected (this went completely wrong last year). As a matter of fact we think it will be fair to ask those villages that did not pay last year, to contribute double the amount this year. If you agree to this and you think it is feasible, you can order them to do so in due course. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p.62. )

## 1646 年 4 月 24 日

1 艘篷船航往中國沿海，載去：54 籃鹿肉、54 籃硫磺、...

也有 1 艘篷船持我們的通行證從此地航往占巴（Tsiampa）王國，<sup>170</sup>載有 50 擔提煉過的硫磺，一批粗瓷器和鐵鍋，以及一些其他的中國雜貨，搭有 39 個人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 524 頁）

## 1646 年 4 月 27 日

有 2 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭 138 個人，載有如下貨物：...一堆要從中取出硫磺的土；.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 526 頁）

## 1646 年 5 月 2 日

...有 1 艘來自淡水，載一批蔥（ayuyn）；.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 529 頁）

## 1646 年 5 月 3 日

淡水來信，署期上個月的 9 日，內容主要如下：首先，米在淡水的帳簿裡大概會平衡（超過他們以前的推測和擔心而多次寫信告訴我們的），理由是（據他們推想）在雞籠收到的米比從貢納取得的米還要少。其次，派去的那個士兵已於上個月的 20 日抵達淡水了，他曾沿途詳細視察北區那些村莊，並命令那些居民要盡責任，準時繳納貢納。對此，那些人（看起來）願意而且準備如此做。也將於近日中寄給我們一份那地區所有村莊的戶口完整的報告。

在雞籠，可望於 10 至 12 天內準備好 1,000 桶（balijs）<sup>171</sup>煤炭，淡水當局也已準備要送現款去雞籠再收購 500 桶煤炭，此外，還有 180 桶已經放在那裡的倉庫裡，對我們的需求將可充足地供應。關於那邊的疾病，情況已經好轉，雖然那裡還有人生病發熱，但已經沒有以前那麼厲害了，那裡的駐軍全部 63 個荷蘭人以及 19 個奴隸。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 529 頁）

*J. Nolpe 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1646 年 4 月 8 日，於淡水，VOC 1160，fol. 251-253.*

噶瑪蘭村社繳納的貢稅有 28965 磅（約 14.4 公噸）稻米，比荷蘭人所需要的還要多。

英譯摘錄：

[...]In the company of the said Tamsuy people the soldiers returned home, who had been sent out on a military expedition to the regions south of Tamsuy, in order to visit all allied villages and remind the villagers of their duty to pay their annual tribute to the Company on time. They all

<sup>170</sup> 占巴（Tsiampa）王國，或作「占城」、「占婆」，指越南中部。

<sup>171</sup> 1 balij 容量大約為 200 公升裝之桶

seemed to be willing to do so. Included in this letter Your Honour will find the specification of which of the villages in the Bight of Cavalangh actually did come to Quelang and paid last year's tribute. Wedo not know if Your Honour has received this list already. In that case this one will be superfluous. We, however, realized that the 28,965 pounds of rice noted down on this list, has not yet been recorded into the accountbook. So as not to make any mistakes in the bookkeeping, we will await Your Honour's order on what price it will be put to the credit of the Tayouan account (provided that all rice is consumed here). Your Honour can also await the new list drawn up by Soldier Willem Albertus of all villages, houses and souls along the Tamsuy River and in the southern region, from which we hope to receive their required tribute soon.

[...]. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp.57-58.)

## 1646 年 5 月 23 日

公告可在淡水耕作：平底船 *Gulden Gans* 載來：116 lasten 的煤炭、1,794 斤硫磺以及從福爾摩沙北部收集到的貢納，有 3,010 枚水鹿皮和 4,260 枚鹿皮。

也從該船收到下席商務官 *Nolpe* 從淡水來信，那兩座城堡的主管在信裡向我們說明關於那些米和煤炭的數量發生差異的理由，並寫說，付清上述的米以後，加上到處找到的剩下的米，淡水和雞籠合計還短缺 9,980 磅的米。也寫說，下席商務官 *Nolpe* 無法適應那邊的水土，還在生病，因此他懇請派別人去接替他的職務。……那一道有關可自由從中國航往那兩個地方，且可在那裡耕作的告示，已公告，但今年還沒有篷船從中國到那裡。目前有 15 個漢人來住在淡水，14 個漢人來住在雞籠。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 538 頁）

*Missive Junior Merchant Jacob Nolpe to Governor Francois Caron. Quelang, 8 May 1646. VOC 1160, fol. 258-261. 英譯摘錄：*

[...] so that it can be put on board the *Gans* in time, together with the deerskins from Tamsuy. [...]  
(*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p.71.)

*J. Nolpe* 寫給 *F. Caron* 的信，1646 年 5 月 18 日，於雞籠，*VOC 1160*，fol. 261-264.

解釋為何會有多餘的稻米：第一，倉庫裡還有 4000 磅（約 2 公噸）米。第二，原住民如實繳納貢稅，但稻米的數量遠超過荷蘭人所需要的量。第三，噶瑪蘭繳納的稻米貢稅，原本有一半要運去淡水，一半放在雞籠餵養公司的家畜，後來他們發現這些米的品質還不差，所以就變成奴隸的口糧，但雞籠的官員忘記把這些米記在帳簿上了。

英譯摘錄：

[...] Both Ensign Baers and Assistant Dirck Wijnantsz agree that the abundance of rice has three causes: first because Wijnantsz found out that 4000 lb. of rice were still being stored in the warehouses, when they were transferred to him by his predecessor, Assistant Jacob Aldertsz. When I asked this Aldertsz about it, he confirmed this. Secondly that the inhabitants have fulfilled

their tribute charge with an enormous quantity of rice this time for which, in our opinion, there was no need; and last, that half of the delivery of wet rice delivered at Quelang by the people from Cavalangh was ordered to be transported to Tamsuy by the late Van Keijssel, while the other half has been kept in Quelang for feeding the Company cattle. Later on they discovered that this rice was not so bad at all and still could be used for consumption. So it has been issued as a ration for the Company slaves, but we forgot to charge the rice account for it. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3 p.89 )

VOC 1160 , 403-407 。

上席商務官 Caesar 與 De Hooghe 於 1645 年 11 月 29 日率領一支遠征軍前往福爾摩沙的東北部。參閱 F. Caron 寫給 C. van der Lijn 的信，1646 年 1 月 31 日，於臺灣，VOC 1160 , fol. 147-170 , 英譯摘錄：

To station two or three able men at the river or into the village of Tarraboan or Tackilis in order to learn the language. In due course (being taught by experience) they might amass knowledge about what kind of people the so-called people with monkey-heads are, and whether we can get closer to them and somewhat communicate with them, and find out if any gold can be found up in the mountains and on the upland plains where they seem to be dwelling. In the meantime these residents could be visited each year by about twenty soldiers. We trust that from now on our men can travel safely through the entire eastern side of Formosa, because since our latest expedition, all the eastern people fear us very much thanks to the punishment inflicted on the evil-doers: Sakiraya, Talleroma and Vadan had received this punishment for the murders and offences they had continued to commit, notwithstanding that they already had received warnings for more than three years. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 2, pp. 578-579. )

## 1646 年 5 月 29 日

4 艘篷船航往中國沿海，所載貨物如下：188 捆籐、23 籃鹿肉、30 擔未提煉的硫磺、39 籃魚乾、1,160 條土魷魚、56 捆鯊魚<sup>172</sup>和 14 籃蠔。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 542 頁)

## 1646 年 6 月 2 日

有 1 艘篷船從打狗抵達此地，載來 80 擔薪柴，也有 2 艘篷船從瑯嶠抵達此地，載磚頭來，合計搭 17 個漢人。相反地，有 3 艘篷船從此地航往中國沿海，搭 123 個人，載有：170 條土魷魚、30 籃魚乾和 121 brooden 硫磺。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 543 頁)

<sup>172</sup> 「56 捆鯊魚」，原文為：56 bos haeyen；可見是指「鯊魚翅」。



## 1646 年 6 月 6 日

有 3 艘篷船航往中國沿海，載去：90 籃鹿肉、11 brooden 硫磺和 8 捆籐。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 544 頁）

## 1646 年 7-10 月

## 1646 年 7 月 3 日

3 艘航往中國沿海，合計搭有 107 個人，載去：.....71 brooden 硫磺、11 籃鹹魚和魚乾、19 捆鯊魚翅和 3 籃鹿肉。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 552 頁）

## 1646 年 7 月 5 日

今天有 2 艘篷船航往中國沿海，搭有 95 個人，載去：14 籃鹿肉、14 籃蠔、11 籃魚乾、103 捆鯊魚翅和 100 brooden 硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 553 頁）

## 1646 年 7 月 12、13 日

1 艘篷船從北部的淡水抵達此地，搭 14 個漢人，載有：80 袋黍、93 枚鹿皮、77 枚水鹿皮、153 枚獐皮、79 斤鹿腿和 70 斤魚乾。

淡水來信，署期本月 5 日，內容主要如下，不但噶瑪蘭的人以及淡水以南人迄今都沒有繳納貢納...，甚至竹塹社人也不肯再轉送我們的信件，除非先行支付代價給他們等。本月 13 日，有 1 艘篷船從中國載著一些雜貨來雞籠，但是還沒有船隻從中國來淡水。最近被商務官 Happart 先生從雞籠派去哆囉滿，要去那裡居住並去尋找黃金原產地的那兩個士兵，於上個月的最後一天回來淡水，報告說，他們抵達哆囉滿之後，立刻去該村莊的長老那裡，盡可能地向他們說明前來的緣由...他們卻回答說，他們不願允許任何荷蘭人來跟他們一起居住，因為荷蘭人來那裡只為了黃金而已，一旦找到黃金，就要危害他們了。他們也不打算繳納貢納，反而一再表現敢於跟荷蘭人一樣像個男人拼到底的勇氣。因這些理由，上述兩個士兵就離開，經過噶瑪蘭地區回來了，

他們到處命令那些村莊要繳納貢納，那些村莊有些願意，其他的不肯繳納。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第2冊第556頁）

*J. Nolpe* 寫給 *F. Caron* 的信，1646年7月5日，於淡水，VOC 1160，fol. 276-279，英譯摘錄：

[...] None of the inhabitants of Cavalangh or the southern villages has paid their tribute to us yet. Some people from Cavalangh pretended to be willing to come up with it, but that seemed to end the matter. Those from the south are failing to pay as well, but this apparently is caused by the fearful unsafety of the roads. Sergeant Carsman informed us that the people from Pocael are refusing to deliver one single letter without having been paid with two fathoms of *cangans* beforehand. We ordered Soldier Willem Neur (who travelled on horseback to Pocael on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of last month) to deliver six pieces of rugged *cangans* and six wallets of tobacco to him, as he did not have any. We would have been willing to send Soldier Willem Alberti for whom Carsman had asked because he could help him out as an interpreter, but as the man has been ill for a while, he is too weak to travel yet. As he is now recovering, Carsman can expect him in due course. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of June Soldiers Jan Hendricksz Ootman and Daniel Sipter both returned. They had been sent out to Taraboan in the company of Theodore, Headman of Kimaurij, and Lucas Kilas on Your Honour's and Mr. Happart's orders. They reported to us that, upon arrival in the said village, they immediately presented themselves to the principals, informing them they had been sent by Your Honour to come and live in Taraboan for a while, to maintain friendly relations with the people, and to find out what commodities and merchandise the villagers would prefer to obtain. Those goods would be delivered in due course to be sold to or bartered with the villagers. The principal headmen of the village assembled for three whole days, considering this offer. Finally, after they had made a decision, a certain elder called Patsien (who seemed to rule all others) did the talking and told us plainly that he and his fellow-headmen did not tolerate any Dutchmen living in their village for a longer time, because they understood perfectly well what we were after. That finding the gold-sites was the only thing that mattered to us and that once these had been discovered, we would come to attack them, chase them away and ruin them. They did not have the least intention of paying any tribute to the Company and if we were to force them to pay by using violence, they were prepared to return this to us in equal measure, and hold their ground, just as we do. They admitted that, at the time the Company army had paid them a visit, they did present Mr. Caesar with some gold, but this was meant in exchange for the *cangans* and other gifts with which the said Caesar had honoured them. Terribo, who also had been presented with a Company cane then, had told Ootman and Sipter that the Company official had urged him to accept the cane only because they expected him to pay them ten real of gold each year. So he thought it better to return the cane to Ootman, who could bring it back to whence. [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp.103-104. )

## 1646 年 7 月 17 日

有下列船隻從幾個地方來此入港，合計搭有 237 個人，即：有 1 艘篷船來自北邊的淡水，載有：26 袋米、20 袋黍、16 枚水鹿皮、83 枚鹿皮、56 枚獐皮、40 擔鹹魚；.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 558 頁）

## 1646 年 7 月 18 日

有 1 艘篷船從北部的淡水來此入港，搭 19 個人，載有 150 袋黍、20 袋米、20 枚水鹿皮、30 枚獐皮、20 擔籐和 5 袋作燒酒（arrack）之米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 560 頁）

## 1646 年 8 月 6 日

淡水的情況已有好轉，比去年好多了。駐軍中有 9 個病情最嚴重的，將於近日中（遵照我們的命令）送去雞籠養病，有 3 個人最近死亡了，剩下的人都健康。他們也忙著在那碇堡南邊建造一個竹造的房屋，要用來儲藏貢納，並用來接待外國人，以後也要在那裡舉行地方會議。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 566 頁）

*J. Nolpe 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1646 年 8 月 2 日，於淡水，VOC 1160，285-286.*

荷蘭人將在雞籠舊醫院的原址建一座竹屋，用作召開 *landdag*、儲放鹿皮貢稅，以及接待客人。其實去年雞籠也在舊堡壘後方的山頂平地蓋過一棟類似的竹屋，但因為無法抵擋北風的吹襲，所以只撐了三四個月就垮了。如果這次又蓋在山上，難保又要重蹈覆轍。英譯摘錄：

[...]The Quelang authorities wrote to us on the 28<sup>th</sup> of last month that, because they had not received any message from the people of Cavalangh, they feared hardly any village will pay the required tribute this year. At present a bamboo house is being constructed in Quelang which will not only serve as an assembly room for the *landdag*, but also to collect the deer skins for the tribute and to welcome visitors. Last year (with Your Honour's permission) a similar bamboo construction was erected in a field on top of the mountain, behind the old fortress, but assailed by the strong northerly winds it hardly lasted three or four months. However, since the old hospital has been pulled down, a suitable square was formed on which we built a solid house, for which we gathered the stoutest bamboo canes that could be found. It has been constructed so strongly it can last well for over three years. Were it to be erected again up on the mountain, the Company would have this expense every year. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p.114. )

*Missive Junior Merchant Jacob Nolpe to Governor Francois Caron. Tamsuy, 17 July 1646. VOC*  
1160, fol. 281-282.

## 1646 年 8 月 8 日

有 4 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 218 個人，載去如下貨物：300 袋福爾摩沙的豆子、85 籃鹿肉、30 籃魚乾、30 籃蠔、29 籃蝦子、1,000 捆籐、385 擔鉛、2 籃沈香（*agelhoudt*）、111 *brooden* 硫磺、6 擔蠟、33 擔水牛角和 6 擔檀香木。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 567 頁）

## 1646 年 8 月 9 日

今天有 5 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 140 個人，載去如下貨物：15 擔鹽、1 擔麵粉、39 籃魚、40 籃蠔、8 籃蝦子、15 擔籐、12 擔提煉過的硫磺、110 擔未提煉的硫磺、162 擔鉛、1,327 斤水牛角、85 枚牛皮和 8 袋木香（*poetsiuck*）。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 567 頁）

## 1646 年 9 月 3 日

也有 6 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭 230 個漢人，載去 4 籃乾蠔、4 籃鹹魚、14 袋胡椒、298 *brooden* 硫磺和 200 袋暹羅米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 578 頁）

## 1646 年 9 月 6 日

有 1 艘篷船來自雞籠，載來：200 擔穀、150 袋米和 540 枚水鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 580 頁）

## 1646 年 9 月 15 日

我們也收到下席商務官 *Nolpe* 署期本月 3 日的一封信，是從淡水經由陸路送來的，從而得知，該地區的狀況沒有改變多少，不過那邊的疾病（現在是最嚴重的時期）已經緩和下來，比去年的情況好很多了，現在病院裡只有兩個病人。

此外，那邊的朋友計畫在本月底舉行地方會議，為此目的，也已通告那一帶的長老們，也邀請他們來出席了。為了要蒐購米，上述 **Nolpe** 已經送 100 里爾硬幣去雞籠，也在淡水全力大量收購穀物以因應城堡所需的糧食，是否可以收到全部所需的數量，有一部分的人頗表懷疑。此外也得知，在上述的日期，有 1 艘篷船從中國沿海來到淡水，載有 200 擔鹽和一些雜貨。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 582 頁）

*J. Nolpe 寫給 F. Caron 的信，1646 年 9 月 3 日，於淡水，VOC 1160，fol. 286-288.*

因為無法期待有足夠的稻米送到臺灣北部，所以淡水當局決定以現金收購稻米。目前已經從造訪金包里的噶瑪蘭人那裡用 25 大里爾買到 2750 磅（約 1375 公斤）的米，也就是相當於 27.25 里爾 1 last 的價格買入。淡水當局將派一名士兵去噶瑪蘭，以同樣的價格購買更多的稻米，並通知當地頭人參加翌年的 *landdag*。噶瑪蘭的稻米品質不如淡水，但和上次從臺灣轉運來的泰國米品質差不多。Lucas Kilas 也要帶現金和布匹去淡水收購稻米，最後購得 12 last 的稻米（DZ 1646-09-25）。Lucas Kilas 還沒有得到公司所賜的籐杖，但他本人希望到翌年的 *landdag* 再給他，這樣對他來說更加榮耀。

英譯摘錄：

[...] In our last letter (of which we send you a duplicate herewith), that we believe Your Honour must have received before this one, we wrote that we had received Your Honour's last one by land in good order. We do hope Your Honour will receive this one as well, the more so because it will be delivered as far as Pocaël by a Tamsuy soldier and an able interpreter. We sent this soldier and the interpreter to the southern villages with special orders to invite all headmen courteously on Your Honour's behalf, to appear at the *landdag* in mid-September, and if possible to return in their company, and also to Quelang. What will become of this invitation and whether the headmen will accept it, time will tell. We decided to organize the Tamsuy *Landdag* on September 30, and are determined to summon all principal headmen of the Tamsuy villages, who undoubtedly will attend. We did not receive any tribute from the south nor from Cavalangh. Only eight houses in Kimablauw (a village in the Bight of Cavalangh consisting of 46houses) contributed their tribute in elk skins, promising to satisfy the remaining tribute next year. But we seriously doubt this. As it seems likely that we can hardly expect to receive any rice from that area, and at present it is the best season to build up stocks of it, we have sent over an amount of various coins valued at a hundred real to Quelang to buy rice at the best possible price. This has already resulted in the purchase of 2750 pounds of rice for 25 heavy real from some Cavalangh people who came to Kimaurij in their vessel. That is  $27 \frac{1}{4}$  real for a last of rice. We do hope the Company will be content with our initiative in sending a certain soldier, accompanied by a few men from Kimaurij, to Cavalangh to buy an amount of rice for that same price, as well as to summon the headmen to attend the next *landdag*. We do agree this rice is of a lesser quality than the Tamsuy rice, but just as good as the rice from Siam that has recently been delivered to us aboard the *Gans*. Tomorrow, Lucas Kilas, and a Dutchman will sail out on the Tamsuy River with enough cash money and cloth to exchange for as much rice as they can obtain in the villages situated along the river. We trust

that, because of his unremitting diligence, Lucas will be able to obtain the required amount. He has not yet been honoured with a Company cane because he himself requested us to postpone this until the next *landdag*. He explained that he would win more respect and honour, and inspire more confidence, if it were to be presented to him in the presence of all other *cabessas*. [...].

(*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 118.)

## 1646 年 9 月 18 日

2 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭 66 個人，載去：30 籃蠔、50 籃鹿肉、25 籃魚、2 籃蝦子、2 捆鯊魚翅、107 袋胡椒、100 擔未提煉的硫磺、1 包棉花布 (*cangan*)、8 枚水鹿皮、4 罈藍靛 (*indigo*) 和  $6\frac{1}{2}$  擔鹿腿。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 584 頁)

## 1646 年 9 月 25 日

下席商務官 *Nolpe* 從淡水來信，署期本月 19 日，內容主要說，那一帶大部分村莊的長老都以各種無謂的藉口，推諉出席即將舉行的地方會議，因此，除了南崁 (*Panikoutsie*)、三貂 (*St. Jago*) 和金包里三個村莊以外，將別無村莊參加上述地方會議。此外也寫說，在那邊的朋友們為了該城堡糧食的需要，繼續在淡水河沿岸收購稻米，已經購得 12 *lasten* 的稻子，總價 498.4 荷盾，一部分用現款支付，一部分用貨物交換，其中有一半已經順利運到淡水。今年那地區稻米種植得相當好。<sup>173</sup> (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 586 頁)

*J. Nolpe* 寫給 *F. Caron* 的信，1646 年 9 月 19 日，於淡水，*VOC 1160*，*fol. 288-290*，英譯摘錄：

[...]Lucas Kilas, as mentioned, had been sent to the villages situated along the Tamsuy River with a Dutch soldier to buy rice from them. As I gave notice to Your Honour in our last letter, he has gone about his business in such a way that he bartered over twelve [*last*] quality rice for cash and commodities, amounting to a cost price of altogether 498:4:- guilders. More than half of this amount has already been delivered into the Company warehouses and we believe that the total amount will be received in about four or five days, namely: 87 real of eight in sort, that is: 81 real for 25 *gantang* a real, amounting to 2025 *gantang*: 210:12 guilders. Six ditto *gantang* (that have been given, as the Council suggested, to Lucas Kilas as a reward, and to incite him to continue): 15:12 guilders; 87 real in sort of 52 *stuyvers* each: 236:4:- guilders; 120 *pees* of blue *cangans*, namely 115 *pees* ditto of 45 *condriijn* each and forty *gantangapee*, counts: 4600 [*gantang*]: 184

<sup>173</sup> 這裡的稻米，似非傳統的旱稻，是水稻。

guilders; five *pees* ditto that have been presented to the people who have sailed their vessels up river twice: 8 guilders; 16 *peeschits* of 3: 3:- guilders, one *pee* and eighty *gantang* each: 1280 *gantang*: 50: 8 guilders; three *pees* *Guinees linnen* of 200 *gantang* a *pee*: 600 *gantang*: 20:- guilders. This makes a total of 8580 *gantang* or 498:12:- guilders. The rice, at a rough estimate, will cost the Company hardly 16 real of eight a *last*, all expenses included, which is rather less than last year. [...]. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 123.)

## 1646 年 10 月 1 日

有 4 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 139 個人，運去下列貨物：.....18 brooden 硫磺.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 587 頁）

## 1646 年 10 月 2 日

有 3 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 120 個人，運去如下貨物：6 brooden 硫磺.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 588 頁）

## 1646 年 10 月 5 日

1 艘舢仔船（*coya*）航往瑯嶠，另有 1 艘航往澎湖，都只載壓艙物；也有 3 艘篷船航往中國沿海，運去：34 捆水鹿皮.....36 brooden 硫磺、.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 591 頁）

## 1647 年

## 1647 年 4 月 12 日

有 3 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 92 個人，運去 40 捆鯊魚翅、305 籃魚乾、72 籃鹿肉、45 擔鹿腿和 8 擔未提煉的硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 623 頁）

## 1647 年 5 月 15 日

領港船從淡水和雞籠回到此地，載來那邊倉庫裡的皮革，即：854 枚水鹿皮、686 枚獐皮和 82 枚鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 637 頁）

*J. Nolpe* 寫給 *P. A. Overtwater* 的信，1647 年 5 月 11 日，於淡水，VOC 1164，fol. 441-445，英譯摘錄：（此為編譯者的摘錄，且數量不符）

*(On May 7 the pilot boat returned to Tamsuy, bringing along the deerskins handed over by the people of St. Jago as a tribute to the Company. Back in Tamsuy the assembled tribute skins, comprising of 854 pieces elk skin, 686 pieces of male goat skin and 80 pieces of hind skin: 1620 pieces in total, were taken aboard.) [...]*

[...] Theodore, Chief of the village Kimaurij, and many other principal headmen came to the Fortress North Holland to have a word with the said junior merchants and with Ensign Baers. On behalf of all inhabitants of that village, they requested them to write letters to Your Honour why they no longer were able to deliver five buckets or 326 pounds of pit coal for the agreed price of one real a bucket, because the coal had been depleted since, and so digging up coal was becoming rather more difficult. This problem had already been explained to us by our friends at Quelang, who told us that digging up coal is becoming harder every day. [...] [...] During the times of Mr. Lemaire it was provisionally agreed that the Kimaurij people would deliver five buckets for one red, on the condition that (as we understand), should they afterwards earn too little and consequently be unwilling to dig up coal for that price, the Company was then to meet with their demands with moderation. We request Your Honour to act as you think proper. At present, the said Kimaurij people do have ready a stock of about 450 or 500 buckets filled with pit coal they have dug up already. We will expect Your Honour's orders if we have to take these, too, on behalf of the Company, and if so, 276 *last* of three hundred pounds (including the 95 extra buckets that were gathered last year) can be found by the time the ships arrive at Quelang. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 181-182.)

VOC 1164，555。

## 1647 年 6 月 4 日

也有 1 艘篷船航往北部的淡水，搭 56 個漢人，載有：40 匹棉花（cangan）布、10 甕<sup>174</sup>燒酒（arrack）、70 包煙草和一些雜貨。

<sup>174</sup> 原文為 pot，指甕，見下註。



我們利用這機會把淡水與雞籠所需的命令詳細寫去給他們，如同在我們的書信發送簿所載那樣。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 645 頁）

*P. A. Overtwater* 寫給 *J. Nolpe* 的信，1647 年 6 月 4 日，於臺灣，VOC 1164，fol. 427-430，英譯摘錄：

[...] We are aware that the treaty of five buckets of pit coal for one real, which you mention in your letter, was only drawn up for a short period of time. But some of us remember that at that time the said Theodore did not treat the labourers fairly. He wanted to pay his people so little for their work, and not even in cash, but in rags and bits and pieces, so that he himself could pocket most of the money. This has been another reason why his people were sometimes unwilling to dig up [the coal]; yet after we had promised them their money, and it was actually given them, they were willing enough. I seriously doubt if there is not some snag in it this time, the more so because on several occasions the said Theodore has proved himself to be dishonest and intent on money. During the time Captain Boon visited Cavalangh, this same fellow also managed to extort plenty of money from the inhabitants, reaching a sum of... real, shearing the sheep himself, and leaving the pigs to shear to the Company, as the saying goes. Therefore, we tend to believe that Theodore is not held in high esteem in those districts. In our opinion it will be wise, whenever the Company has to collect anything, to do so in the presence of a reliable man of own our nation, so that nothing will be embezzled and in due course we will be able to get to know these people and conclude friendship with them. [...]. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p.192.)

## 1647 年 7 月 13、14 日

有 1 艘篷船從北部的淡水來此入港，搭 28 個人，載有：1 擔鹿腿、40 包黍、174 包米、60 擔又 11 捆籐、500 枚水鹿皮、550 枚鹿皮和 350 枚獐皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 657 頁）

## 1647 年 7 月 16、17 日

有 1 艘篷船從北部的淡水來此入港，搭 13 個人，載來：150 袋米、50 袋黍、250 枚鹿皮、20 擔籐和 300 枚獐皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 658 頁）

## 1647 年 7 月 20、21、22 日

有 12 艘篷船航往中國沿海，合計搭有 441 個人，運去下列貨物：...2 擔硫磺。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 658）

## 1647 年 7 月 25、26 日

淡水來信，署期 6 月 7 日和本月 11 日，那邊的主管把該地區的狀況詳細寫來告訴我們，詳情載於我們的收到信件簿裡。主要是說，在噶瑪蘭灣的原住民互相之間的戰鬥還沒減緩，那邊的情況反而更加困難起來，因為他們之間的分歧太多，又像以前那樣，不肯聽從荷蘭人的辦法，都偏要按照古老的辦法繼續紛爭下去。雞籠收到的貢納，到現在只收到 605 磅的米。他們也按照我們以前送去的命令忙著在認真修理支撐那 Victoria 圓堡。又說，去年秋天該地主管在淡水收購的那些米，已經因為生蟲開始腐爛了，因此那些朋友跟別人商議決定，為要避免損失，將予趁機出售，因為這個夏天還有那些暹羅米可用。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 660 頁）

*J. Nolpe* 寫給 *P. A. Overtwater* 的信，1647 年 6 月 7 日，於淡水，VOC 1164，fol. 446-450，英譯摘錄：

[...]The Japanese Interpreter Jacinto, besides a certain Barnabe as well as some other Kimaurij men, examined the payment of pit coal, and testified it was true that at present this is done in cash, promptly and correctly, but that Theodore has exceeded his authority, quite some time ago now. They are fully aware of this and they remember that at the time of Captain Boon's presence, Theodore had been reprimanded by him. We cannot tell you with any certainty yet if the man is respected by his people. During our presence here, we have never received any complaints about him, apart from the fact that we keep an eye on his conduct; something which does no harm. We informed all principal Basayos from the village of Tapparij about Your Honour's intention to employ them to cut trees up into heavy beams, long boards and planks, for a good remuneration. This proposal gave them the jitters, and they pretended this was far too strenuous for them and for all their fellow countrymen, because they would have to chop wood from forests that did not grow next to flat beaches or on the plain, but they would have to traverse several high mountains and deep valleys to accomplish the work with many men, as became clear to us. Therefore they would like to request Your Honour not to impose this heavy burden upon them. Any other job would be fine, and they were willing to perform it as best they could. It is true that fine boards of camphor, which can be used for the construction of small objects like chests, gun-carriages etcetera, can be found here. These people are prepared to chop those boards, when it is not the right season to sail to Cavalangh, but it is beyond the limits of human labour to demand such

large wooden beams as Your Honour have ordered from them. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 197.)

## 1647 年 8 月 1 日

1 艘篷船來自北部的淡水，載有：180 袋米、25 袋穀、2 枚水鹿皮和 30 枚獐皮。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 661 頁)

## 1647 年 8 月 4、6 日

有 1 艘篷船來自北部的淡水，載來：100 枚水鹿皮、200 枚鹿皮、300 枚獐皮和 50 擔籐。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 663 頁)

## 1647 年 8 月 7 日

有 1 艘篷船航往北部淡水，搭 16 個人，載有：50 擔黑糖、16 擔鹽、40 擔小麥、300 包煙草、25 甕燒酒 (arraq)、100 把刀子、17 甕三酒 (samsoe)、<sup>175</sup>5 籃麵粉、100 個鐵犁片和 1 擔茴香。

有 1 艘篷船從上述淡水來此入港，搭 18 個人，載有：100 擔籐、10 袋米、170 枚鹿皮和 4 擔魚乾。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 663 頁)

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<sup>175</sup> 17 罐三酒 (samsoe)，三酒，據荷蘭文獻，又作 Sampe，即「三白」，屬米酒系統。另，文中的計量單位「罐」，原文為「pot」，事實上多指「甕」或「罈」。根據日本時代的調查，一罈紹興酒，為 20 斤，見：《臨時臺灣舊慣調查會第二部 調查經濟資料報告》，下卷，頁 380。

## 1647 年 8 月 20 日

評議會決議派平底船 Witte Valck 號裝上那邊所需求的需用品，也要裝上要送去雞籠讓我方的人在那荒角<sup>176</sup>飼養的 40 頭牛，並去把那邊收集到的煤炭運回此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 667 頁）

VOC 1164，534-535。

參閱：給 Boon 的指令，1647 年 8 月 25 日，於臺灣，VOC 1164，462-464。

Missive President Pieter Anthonisz Overtwater to Junior Merchant Jacob Nople. Tayouan, 25

August 1647. VOC 1164, fol. 430-433.

臺灣商館議長 Overtwater 寫信給淡水下席商務官 Nolpe：全福爾摩沙島的貢稅都已經免除，不再徵收，直到巴達維亞方面有進一步指示。臺灣商館方面澄清他們並不是要強迫原住民伐木，他們只是想知道狀況如何，是否很難取得，從本地取得木材是否合算等。但臺灣商館也要求送一些最高品質的木材樣本過去，種類只要是原住民平常會砍的那些樹就好。

英譯摘錄：

[...]It has never been our intention to force the inhabitants of the Tamsuy villages to deliver the timber against their will, we only wanted to know how things were, and should the timber have been easy to obtain, we would have consulted each other about whether it would not have been wiser to find timber in our own country, if available, than having it imported with great trouble, and, at great cost, too, from other distant overseas kingdoms. Now that we understand things are different, this is what we will do. Nonetheless, we would like to receive a few samples of timber from the trees the inhabitants usually fell, that you assume to be of the best quality. [...]

[...] We supplied the Cavalangh men who paid us a visit with fifty real in heavy cash: one of them, called ..., received twenty real; the others received ten real each, to settle this matter at Fortress North Holland; this sum can be entered into the invoice book of Quelang in addition to the 550 real (making 600 real all together) that had been entered already, but that still had to be supplied upon your request. We think you can get by on this (in Quelang) longer than you had counted on before, as there is no need for coal in Tayouan now, though we understand this is ready for transport in abundance. The said Cavalanghians seem to be wild fellows, as far as we can see from here. Therefore it is not only unnecessary but even harmful and against our good intentions that this savage nation should be encouraged to wage war because they are stirred up by our common soldiers, who are no saints either. It seems degenerate human nature too often drives

<sup>176</sup> 荒角，原文為 dorren hoeck，意指「貧瘠不毛的岬角」，經考證，地點近於臺北古地圖中的第一岬角，那裡也被形容為貧瘠不毛，為現在的麟山鼻。此段資料提供當地在荷蘭時代已開始養牛。進而，輸入臺灣的牛隻，從《日誌》可完全確定，絕大部分是由澎湖運來。

people towards their own destruction, and it costs enormous trouble to make them see reason and lead them, by the hand as it were, towards their own prosperity and salvation. Everywhere our men shall have to be made understood that the Company's aim is peace, and that we do not wish to ruin anyone, or cause them any harm. [...] Each of the Cavalanghians who came to Zeelandia Castle was presented with a set of clothes, and the principal headman with a red damask suit. And we kept urging them to conclude peace with their neighbours, so we exhort all of you who are serving in the north to back this enthusiastically. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 203-204. )

## 1647 年 10 月 20、21 日

平底船 Valck 號和隊長 Pieter Boon 從淡水和雞籠回到此地，並帶來一封下席商務官 Antonij Ploekhoy 的信，署期本月 15 日。得知，那邊的情形大致良好；Victoria 圓堡的修復與其他建築，以及其他工作都按照指令和現況順利進行；...對該區貢納的寬免，使當地居民大感欣慰；對總督 Cornelis van der Lijn 閣下的宣誓效忠，在那兩個地方的公司人員都遵行宣誓了；關於米，淡水的主管相信今年將自給有餘，而且還可供應北荷蘭（Noort-Hollandt）堡的需要。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 683 頁）

## 1647 年 10 月 23 日

有 1 艘篷船從北部的淡水來此入港，搭 27 個人，載來：225 枚水鹿皮、256 擔籐、300 擔硫磺和 200 袋米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 2 冊第 683 頁）

## 1648 年

## 1648 年 3 月 2、3 日

也有中國商人兼公司通事金定（Khimtingh）的 1 艘篷船持我們的通行證出航前往廣南（越南），搭 50 個人，運去：100 擔硫磺.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 4 頁）

## 1648 年 3 月 18、19 日

Jan Soetekauw 的篷船出航前往廣南，搭 54 個人，運去：

.....200 擔硫磺、50 擔明礬和 25 擔茶葉.....。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 22 頁)

## 1648 年 3 月 18、19 日

2 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，搭 104 個人，載有：170 袋麥、415 條鰲 (corretvissen).....23 擔硫磺.....。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 22 頁)

## 1648 年 4 月 15、16 日

5 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計搭有 117 個人，載有下列貨物：.....19 擔硫磺.....。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 33 頁)

## 1648 年 4 月 17 日

3 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計搭 114 個人，運去下列貨物：.....45 擔硫磺.....。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 34) 頁

## 1648 年 4 月 20-23 日

8 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計搭 173 個人，運去的貨物如下：.....44 擔硫磺.....。從淡水接到一封信，是寫於上個月，經由陸路送來的，從而北邊地區的狀況都還很安寧，上個月 27 日也有 1 艘篷船從中國載一些雜貨 (eenige kleinigheden)<sup>177</sup> 去那裡。 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 36 頁)

A. Ploekhoy 寫給 P. Overtwater 的信，淡水，1648 年 3 月 31 日，VOC1170，fol. 493，

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<sup>177</sup> 雜貨 (eenige kleinigheden)，指日常生活用品。

## 1648 年 5 月 13、14 日

下席商務官 Van Dam 從魴港寄來信說，在那裡有 1 艘屬於漢人四舍（Sisia）的篷船，持我們的通行證要航往淡水的，停泊在那港內，兩三天接續出航，在沒有風或天氣的危險情況下又回來入港。因此確信，他們是私藏米去海上交給其他船隻的，而且所載的貨物也跟通行證不完全符合。因此我們立刻傳令去那裡，令將該船暫時扣押，將該船的船長送來此地質詢，然後再照事態情況來處理。

也寫一封信從陸路送去淡水給下席商務官 Antony Plockhoy，命令他要和那邊的評議會細心設法，嚴禁任何穀物被運往中國，也把此地禁運的告示一起寄去給他，令他要清楚地通告該禁令。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第43頁）

*P. Overtwater* 寫給 *A. Plockhoy* 的信，臺灣，1648 年 5 月 14 日。VOC 1170，504。

## 1648 年 6 月 2 日

收到從淡水經由陸路送來兩封信，署期為 4 月 29 日與 5 月 14 日，那裡的主管在信裡告訴我們那地區的狀況，.....在淡水一共有 78 個漢人；其中有幾個人已跟當地女人結婚，他們也已開始耕種土地，因為不這樣武勝灣（Pimerowan）溪與淡水河沿岸的作物就不夠使大家生活充裕。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第51頁）

*A. Plockhoy* 寫給 *P. Overtwater* 的信，淡水，1648 年 4 月 29 日。VOC 1170，fol. 493-495，英譯摘錄：

[...]The Chinese inhabitants over here are forced to put themselves to agriculture, because the people of both the Tamsuy and Pinerouan Rivers are not cultivating enough grain to feed so many people. The number of Chinese settlers was counted at 78 heads at present. Some days ago three of them married pagan indigenous women, and their number, so we trust, will increase daily. We have not received any orders yet as to if these married men are exempt from taxation or poll tax; we do not know well how to deal with this matter. Therefore we expect to receive Your Honour's instruction at the first possible opportunity. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 230. )

*A. Plockhoy* 寫給 *P. Overtwater* 的信，淡水，1648 年 5 月 14 日。VOC 1170，495。

## 1648 年 6 月 19 日

6 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計搭 131 個漢人，運去下列貨物：.....20 擔硫磺.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 57 頁）

## 1648 年 7 月 25-27 日

淡水來信，署期本月8日，自該處主管得悉，本月5日晚間，那地區刮起非常強烈的東北東風，以致公司在淡水大部分的房屋，以及在雞籠島的長官房屋都被吹翻了，甚至那碉堡的屋頂也將有從上面垮下來的危險，金包里也全社被風刮走了，而且淡水河和武勝灣（Pimeroan）溪的溪水高漲氾濫，造成稻作很大的損害，因此那地區現在處於非常窘困的狀況。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第66頁）

A. Plockhoy寫給P. Overtwater的信，淡水，1648年7月8日。VOC 1170，fol. 498-499.

7月5日凌晨兩點開始颶颶風，下豪雨，金包里社被整個沖走，他們儲藏的稻米不是被浸溼就是被沖走。淡水地區的狀況也很淒慘，河水氾濫，給稻作造成相當大的損害。當地前景黯淡，糧價預期上漲，而糧食儲備可能也不夠吃。

英譯摘錄：

This missive is sent to Your Honour to let you know that on the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month, at about two hours past midnight, an incredibly strongwind rose from the east-north-eastern quarter, such as no one in this country had ever experienced; it came with an extraordinarily heavy shower, which was quite serious, because these regions turned into a sorry mess. [...] Kimaurij was swept away altogether, and the people's entire rice supply became wet and was lost. Presumably this will cause a rise in food prices overhere, especially because the area of both the rivers (namely the Tamsuy and Pinerouan Rivers) also suffered greatly from the floods; so that, to put it briefly, the prospects over here look very miserable and it has to be feared that we are heading for a shortage this year, far worse than last year's living conditions. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 244-245. )

## 1648 年 8 月 4、5 日

5 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計搭 192 個人，運去：.....14 擔硫磺.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 69 頁）

## 1648 年 8 月 18 日

.....又因為上述平底船 Os 號未能載帶著按照以前為此決定而寫的指令，搭上述平底船航往淡水和雞籠，要去那裡著以前裝在船上的物品去淡水和雞籠交易米，因此決定，要立刻派隊長 Thomas Pedel 儘量收購米，並且要去處理一些北邊地區的其他事情。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 75 頁）



給T. Pedel的指令，臺灣，1648年8月19日。VOC1170，fol. 463-465.

本次派遣Pedel去雞籠和淡水，目的是要去收購稻米，因為當地已經面臨糧食短缺的問題。最主要的原因是本年度有超過預期的漢人移住到該地，人口的增加使當地的糧食短缺。臺灣商館給Pedel四千里爾與1200單位的cangan布去交易糧食。價格方面，如果40里爾不夠，Pedel可以將收購價抬高到50里爾。如果在雞籠找不到米，則應該派人去噶瑪蘭地區收購。此事必須在10月前完成，否則公司將無法從中獲利。10月4日，Pedel帶了30 last的米和稻子從北部回到臺灣。

英譯摘錄：

[...] The principal and most important part of your dispatch is that at the moment there is already a shortage of rice, if it is not be supplied from somewhere else. Because of the extraordinary influx of Chinese who arrived here quite unexpectedly this year, you will have to supply us with as much rice, millet, paddy, barley, wheat as Your Honour will be able to obtain in the north, either for money or for *cangans*. To this end we have shipped four thousand Spanish real and 1200 *cangans* to your place on the flute *Ox*, to use and barter them to the afore-mentioned purpose. In our last letters we wrote to the chief about the price for which he was to purchase rice. Moreover, that he had to pay for other grains in proportion; namely up to forty heavy real in cash or less, which we confirm here with and supplement. Should this price not be high enough, you may increase it up to fifty real, as mentioned above; besides Your Honour should not feel yourself to be bound by strict rules, so that you can act according to circumstances. If this rice is not available in Quelang, you will at once give orders to send out as many capable men as will be required to the Bight of Cavalangh, so as to find everything ready upon your arrival in St. Laurens Bayon the flute *Ox*, and you will be able to carry out your duty swiftly and load as much rice into the flute as possible. This shall have to be carried out before the beginning of October or earlier, because should it take any longer, we will no longer benefit from it but be disadvantaged instead, as we expect to receive an abundance of rice from the next harvest over here. You have to bear this in mind; therefore, you will [...] have to set out on the return voyage directly after the first of October. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp.250-251. )

## 1648 年 8 月 25 日

4 艘篷船出航前往中國沿海，合計搭 140 個人，運去下列貨物：.....35 擔硫磺.....。  
(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 75 頁)

## 1648 年 9 月 2-3 日

也有 1 艘篷船從北邊的淡水來此入港，搭 12 個漢人，載有 530 枚水鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 83 頁）

## 1648 年 9 月 26-27 日

1 艘篷船從淡水來到此地，搭 23 個漢人，載有：90 枚水鹿皮、1100 枚鹿皮、50 擔鹹魚、35 擔籐和、12 擔鹽……。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 90 頁）

## 1648 年 10 月 4-5 日

平底船 Os 號從淡水和雞籠的。載回來 30 lasten 的米和稻子；是在北區用棉花（cangan）布和西班牙里爾收購來的。<sup>178</sup>（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 93 頁）

## 1648 年 10 月 13 日

1 艘篷船從北部的淡水來此入港，搭 26 個漢人，載有：100 擔籐、100 枚水鹿皮和 400 枚鹿皮……。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 96、97 頁）

## 1650 年

## 1650 年 6 月 21 日

1 艘篷船來自雞籠，載有：5 擔鹿肉、500 枚鹿皮、45 枚水鹿皮和 300 枚獐皮……。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 143 頁）

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<sup>178</sup> 由此條資料，可見淡水一帶已生產稻米。

## 1651 年

### 1651 年 4 月 7 日

*N. Verburch* 寫給 *S. Keerdecoe* 的信，臺灣，1651 年 4 月 7 日，VOC 1183，fol.583-589.

建議在八里坌與大龜崙（桃園中央山脈一帶）出贖。

英譯摘錄：

[...]

In the coming leasing-out of Formosan villages, which will take place on the 17<sup>th</sup> of this month, we will bring the villages of Tarrissan and Sasaulij under the lease of Lamcan and see what these together will yield. Time will tell if the Chinese who are prepared to lease Baritsoen together with the Coulon Mountains will show up. Should they request this, it would not be unusual, even though you do not concur, if we allowed this as a test, because we think that through regular visits by the leaseholders the road to friendship with these inhabitants can be smoothed somewhat. We will let you know what we have decided at the proper time. As the Interpreter Lucas Kilas is no longer prepared to serve the Honourable Company for his old pay and board wages, you are permitted to employ the elder Gravello, in his place, enjoying the same salary as was awarded Kilas. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 365-366.)

### 1651 年 5 月 30-31 日

從一艘漢人篷船收到下席商務官 *Simon Keerdecoe* 從淡水寄來一信，主要內容說，那邊又開始嚴重流行風土病（*ordinarie landt sieckte*），像痢疾（*parsingh*）、腹瀉（*buyckloop*）、發高燒（*heete coortsen*）等，以致士兵當中已有很多人生了這樣的病，現在必須在病院治療。從淡水帶這令人傷心的消息來的這艘篷船搭有 18 個漢人，載有下列物品：280 擔未提煉的硫磺、300 枚鹿皮、100 枚獐皮、4 袋黍和 1 擔鹿腳.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 217 頁）

### 1651 年 7 月 18-19 日

3 艘來自淡水和雞籠，運 1100 擔硫磺、964 枚鹿皮、33 片木板和、12 捆籐.....。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 231 頁）

## 1651 年 7 月 31 日

*S. Keerdecoe* 寫給 *N. Verburch* 的信，淡水，1651 年 7 月 19 日。VOC 1183，fol. 787-808.

漢人的篷船在淡水河沿岸用鹽、布等更有吸引力的商品收購鹿皮，特別是鹽對原住民有絕大的吸引力，以致荷蘭人無法買到鹿皮，之前與原住民約定好的鹿皮供應也違約了。另外淡水有許多竹造的房屋（近十年前所建）正在不斷腐爛，已經不能夠修補或是移作其他用途。

英譯摘錄：

[...]Because when a certain Kimaurij man in our own Basayos settlement there [in Sinagangh] became drunk and fell into an argument and fight with two Cavalangh men, there instantly arose such a disturbance and so many people gathered, loudly yelling and clamouring, that it was incredible. Upon hearing this row, Jan Pleumen, interpreter in Kimaurij, and a soldier, carrying their muskets, together with the elders of this village ([the first two] having been sent to Cavalangh in accordance with the annual custom to record all elders, houses, and inhabitants) walked over, intending to hush the matter, but they were treated very badly, whereupon he, the interpreter, went to the boats and Soldier Roel of Claerschieve with the afore-mentioned elders to their [temporary] place of residence. However, after they had only just got home, at least 380 men appeared in front of the house, loudly ranting and raving with drawn choppers, arrows and their bows already bent, and joining in the yelling of one of them to pounce on the Dutchmen and Theodore (*cabessa* of Kimaurij) and to kill them. In the meantime, during this meeting (which was inevitably accompanied by an uproar), the interpreter was coming back in the direction of this raving and shouting with his musket in his hand, but seeing that it took place in front of the house of the Kimaurij Captain Theodore, he strutted on in a good defensive stance, because he realized what was going on. Immediately after the Cavalangh men saw him, several of them came walking toward him with arms drawn, upon which he got ready aiming his musket at them, and he hit one of them right through his body so that he dropped down dead, while another was seriously injured in his arm. Then there came an inhabitant, who raised his chopper and cut the interpreter to pieces, first the lower part of his body, then his arms close to his shoulders and after that chopping off the head of the dead body, that was quartered and divided under their ringleaders. This having been done, these fellows retreated hastily to the house of the afore-mentioned Theodore, claiming Roel of Claerschieve as well, because they wanted him to suffer the same fate as they had meted out to Jan Pleumen, and should they not immediately produce him, the leaders of Kimaurij would also be attacked, but because this Claerschieve had been hidden thanks to the care of the Captain Theodore and Fiscal Barnabe, their demand was turned down. There upon these scoundrels decided to rob all the Kimaurij people, no one excepted, of their money and goods, yea, until they were completely naked, which indeed was carried out, because not only the insignificant people, but even Theodore himself was robbed of his hat (received as a present from Your Honour last year) as well as his clothes. And so they appeared desolate, crying

and whining loudly in Quelang at Noort Hollant, by which the Honourable Company also [lost] 550 heavy real and 65 *cangans* put out on trust as customary for the supply of elk skins, under the responsibility of *Cabessa* Theodore, which was distributed by him among the Cavalangh people for the said purpose. If no restitution is made within a short time we will leave it at that. These are the remunerations that the Kimaurij nation have obtained for their efforts this year, for themselves as well as for the Company, from Cavalangh! What profits the Honourable Company will make this season (in case no change occurs) and the following seasons, should there be more delay, just making the annual threats, but not following up words with essential action demonstrating the Company's might to these rebels, can at this time be better judged by Your Honour than by us. The afore-mentioned Kimaurij people have pointed out to us (in order to bring peace to the Cavalangh regions once and for all) what means the Honourable Company should employ to that end, namely that we should show up therewith junks carrying no less than two hundred well-trained military personnel, land and with all speed pursue the people of Sinagangh fire and sword, and ruin them. After accomplishing this target the appointed leader or commander should before his departure build a stronghold on the small Basayos island (situated in a fresh water river), where for a whole year men should be stationed to go on patrol (of course having beforehand been provided with bacon, meat and rice). This all the more because Theodore and Barnabe (being real supporters of the Honourable Company) plainly declare that the people of Tarrabouan (situated near the gold-mine) and many other villages in that case, if we were prepared to pursue the Tarriber and his ally with about two hundred men, would be found very helpful in turning them back and keeping them away from the difficult mountains, However, because Your Honour is better acquainted than we are with the difficulties Your Honour's predecessors have experienced in undertaking such an expedition, we cannot state this as the truth. Although these places because of the swamps would be extremely difficult to march through, the climate is very unhealthy as well, and we are still not immune from its infections, but daily see enough examples there of, yet not with standing the plagues of this land, it is high time, my Lordships, (of course deferring to Your Honour's far-sighted judgement) that You in order to bring peace once and for all among the inhabitants of that region undertake some action or other. Because My Lordships can be certain that if this unruliness of the Tarriber (who is identified in the Landdag records to be a pacified *cabessa* of Sinagangh and in the meantime has given free rein to his nasty tricks for at least three years) is not stopped, then an internal war will break out and they will pay each other daily visits accompanied by looting, burning and hunting heads with the consequence that they, if assistance is not forth coming, they will be forced to turn away from the Honourable Company. Also the said *cabessas* of Kimaurij of their own accord and in name of other disgruntled inhabitants of their village have urgently requested us for permission to resume trade with Cavalangh, in the hope that, the anger the latter are harbouring against the Kimaurij people and the Company will having evaporated somewhat or completely, they might all the

more easily get [delivery] not only of what they themselves want, but also for what the Honourable Company has put out for the supply of skins. We have granted them this request, as can be seen in the resolution of the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month. How and in what way Theodore and his men will arrive and be welcomed there and if the money and *cangans* belonging to the Honourable Company will be handed back, or at least the same value in skins, we will let Your Honour know by land, as soon as possible, after we receive word from the Cavalangh Bay. In the meantime we will keep the Kimaurij man who in his drunkenness has caused much trouble by punching and hitting the Cavalangh men (as mentioned before), and who actually was the main cause of the death of the innocent Jan Pleumen, in strict custody until further notice from Your Honour.

Since the arrival of the pilot boat, on the last day of April, not a single skin has been offered here for sale to the Honourable Company. And the longer the junks are lying here, we can have little hope there of, because the Chinese who have arrived here have put so much salt, cloth and other merchandise, on the market that the inhabitants living along the rivers and a bit more inland have recently received all sorts of commodities to their satisfaction, in particular salt, of which they were very much in need, in exchange for skins. The people living along the Pinerouan River have entered into an agreement with the Honourable Company, stating that they would supply for a *pees* of the fine *cangans* available here twelve elk skins, 24 male goat skins, 48 hind skins and serow skins, but up to now nothing has happened, making it very obvious that they were more in need of salt than *lijwaeten*. Well, what will happen after this and after the departure of the remaining junks, time will tell. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 389-392. )

## 1654 年 3-6 月

### 1654 年 3 月 6 日

寄信去淡水給商務官 Thomas van Yperen，主要內容為，...關於那邊的地方會議，雖因原住民生病而未能如期舉行，但也必須耐心地勸勉他們務須竭盡地方會議所訂定的義務和奉獻。沒有必要把臨時的探訪傳道 Sicke Sickesz 升級為正式探訪傳道，因為可能將來會派一位牧師去那裡，那時他就可令 Sicke 接受考試。如有何需要，我們將盡力把他們的各種需用品用小船運去給他們。

據我們接到的消息，在淡水附近有一座山，**Marenasberg**<sup>179</sup>那裡的居民深信那山裡有豐富的橡樹（**eyken**）和樟樹（**camperboomen**），只要給那裡的居民微薄的費用即可獲得大批的橡樹和樟樹。這事調查清楚以後必須將確實的情形儘快經陸路報告回來。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第290頁）

C. Caesar寫給T. van Yperen的信，臺灣，1654年3月5日。VOC1207，fol. 558-559.

臺灣方面接到情報，得知淡水附近有座叫作**Marinos**的山（**Marinos-bergh**，DZ作**Marenasberg**，即台北圓山），當地居民相信那山裡有許多橡樹與其他樹木，可以輕易取得大批可作為棟樑的木材。臺灣長官指示淡水地方官員調查如何雇用漢人、荷蘭人、或是原住民來砍伐木材。但最大的阻礙是，原住民將那座山視為聖地，這可能會阻礙外人從該處取得木材。應該詳細詢問原住民是否願意效勞，或是讓漢人或荷蘭人來砍樹。

英譯摘錄：

[...] As we were informed, many fine oaks and other kinds of trees are growing near Tamsuy, on Mount Marinats. A good quantity of beams could easily be obtained from there. We order you to investigate if this is true or not, and how this timber can best be laid hands on, be it by Chinese, Dutchmen or inhabitants, provided you will give them a proper reward. But our foremost objection is that to the inhabitants it is a place of superstition, so we fear they will not be too happy about us fetching a few beams from there. You will try to make inquiries among the inhabitants, to find out if they themselves want to deliver the timber to the fortress (as said before), or that we can have it be chopped, either by Dutchmen or by Chinese. We order you, as before, to inform us about this matter as soon as possible, by a letter sent over land from village to village, so that we can act accordingly. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 479-480.)

## 1654年3月22日

商務官**Thomas van Iperen**淡水來信，署期為2月28日、3月7日和17日，主要內容如下：淡水地區及其附近的疾病和死亡，自從他上次來信（即去年12月29日的來信）以後劇烈增加，在沙八里（**Tapare**）地區裡（很靠近淡水）就已有六十個人很可憐地死去了.....。.....跟這封信一起寄來淡水和雞籠一般性的需求清單，懇切地請求儘快送去給他們，因為他們已經非常缺乏。也告訴我們那邊的評議會關於要採用一個名叫**陳哥**（**Tancke**）住淡水的漢人頭家【當通事】的決議，他很熟習西班牙的和當地的語言，<sup>180</sup>對公司非常熱心，以前也擔任過這職位，但被商務官**Ceerdekoe**免職，因而變得很

<sup>179</sup> **Marenasberg**，即：**Marena**的山。**Marena**應係當地人的語言，可能有神聖之意。翁佳音《大台北古地圖考釋》p.43，考訂此山即今台北圓山一帶的山脈。

<sup>180</sup> 由此條可見淡水地區西班牙語，亦為重要的交際語。

窮，懇請對這決議予以批准，並准許給他一點薪水報酬。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第295頁）

*T. van Yperen*寫給*C. Caesar*的信，淡水，1654年2月28日，VOC 1207，fol. 590-591，1654年3月17日，VOC 1207，593。

## 1654 年 4 月 7 日

自由市民<sup>181</sup>*Nicolaas Vermeer* 用書面請求說，他願意用他自己的船跟漢人同樣的方式在淡水和雞籠交易，因為他不得運米去那裡交易。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第312頁）

*Resolution. Tayouan, 7 April 1654. VOC 1207, fol. 663-664.*

關於淡水雞籠方面請求送現金過去的事，臺灣商館決議送 30 last 的稻米過去，因為他們知道雞籠淡水方面相當缺米，一袋的米可以賣到四或五里爾的價錢，故可以賣米來換現金。臺灣長官 *Caesar* 於 4 月 18 日寫給淡水下席商務官 *van Iperen* 的信指出，核准賣出 10 到 12 last 的稻米，但預期一擔（picol）的米可賣到四到五里爾的價錢。（按：若以每擔 5 里爾賣出 12 last 的稻米，可得現金 1500 里爾。）

英譯摘錄：

[...] And because Tamsuy and Quelang, apart from other commodities, requested the sum of six thousand real in cash, which request we can by no means accede to as we are ill provided with cash ourselves in this place, we shall, nonetheless and as far as we possibly can, remedy this shortage in another way, and ship thirty heavy last of rice thither. Being this kind of grain equal to the request submitted by them, since rice in that region (so we have understood) can be sold for about four or five real a bag and in this way provide some of the required cash. Likewise we will send them a thousand wallets of Chinese tobacco, instead of the requested eight hundred. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 506.)

VOC 1207，664-665。

## 1654 年 4 月 19 日

*C. Caesar* 寫給 *T. van Yperen* 的信，臺灣，1654 年 4 月 18 日。VOC 1207，fol. 560-566.

有關米的買賣以及物資供應。

英譯摘錄：

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<sup>181</sup> 指與公司解約，從事私人貿易的住在臺南之荷蘭人市民，他在此年前後獲得臺灣評議會的許可，在北臺淡水、雞籠與三貂、宜蘭蘇澳一帶從事貿易。



[...] The greater part of the thirty *last* of rice you requested will be sent to you. As we have been informed, the inhabitants of Quelang are badly in need of rice, for which they are willing to pay cash at four or five real a picul. If this is true, you may sell ten or twelve *last* of that grain, provided you inform us about this as soon as possible, so that we do not fail to send you more. We have supplied you with plenty of *cangans*, tobacco, iron, iron pans and crude pottery, hoping you will be able to sell a part of the said goods for cash, and we can trust that, although we could not send you any cash this time, you can manage until further orders. We would like to hear about this in your next letter. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 510.)

## 1654 年 4 月 23 日

1 艘屬於自由市民 Nicolaas Vermeer 的篷船從此地航往雞籠，他奉長官閣下和評議會的許可，帶領他的妻子和家屬要去那裡交易，船上搭有 18 個人，載有：

150 擔鹽、50 擔黑糖 (bruyne suycker)、10 擔糖水 (suyckerwater)、<sup>182</sup>2 擔日本煙草、50 袋麥 (tarwe)、400 包中國煙草、20 甕燒酒、150 甕三酒 (《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 319 頁)

VOC 1207, 664-665。

## 1654 年 4 月 30 日

評議會決議，.....，准許中國商人 Pau 用一艘篷船在淡水和雞籠按照通常的方式交易。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 322 頁)

## 1654 年 5 月 2 日

商務官 Thomas van Yperen 從淡水來信，署期 4 月 13 日和 19 日，是由兩個原住民從陸路送來此地的，途中經過 12 天。.....在 Marenasberch 砍了幾株樹，但發現那些木頭很不適用，也完全不像從那裡寄來此地的樣品那樣堅韌耐用。他們也請求，那邊的

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<sup>182</sup> 糖水 (suyckerwater)，又作：Siroop / Sijrop，糖水除可釀、蒸造酒外，文獻說「麻少翁、內北投在礪山左右，毒氣蒸鬱，觸鼻昏悶，諸番常以糖水洗眼」、「工人辟硫毒，頻飲糖水；並以浴體」，可知糖水又與採硫手工業有關。

糧食配給也能用臺灣的計算方式，以一里爾為 51stuyvers 計算，取代 48 stuyvers 計算。<sup>183</sup>（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 326 頁）

*T. van Yperen* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，淡水，1654 年 4 月 13 日。VOC 1207，fol. 594-595.

淡水地方官員成功說服原住民讓他們去探勘 Marinats 的山（即台北圓山），並派了幾位漢人與幾位 Basay 人，在荷蘭士兵的監督下去砍樹。但他們花了五六天在那裡，卻連一棵橡樹或樟樹都沒有看到。

英譯摘錄：

Immediately upon receiving Your Honour's order concerning Mount Marinats, about fetching some oak and other trees, we investigated the matter and through straightforward reasoning succeeded in convincing the indigenous people to allow us to send some Basayos or Chinese there [to chop wood for us]. So that at present we have sent some Basayos there, under the supervision of a sergeant and two or three soldiers. Time will tell what will result from this, and on the first possible occasion we shall inform Your Honour. [...] After closing this letter, we spent five or six days on Mount Marinats so that we could inform Your Honour properly about that site. [...] We did not discover a single oak or camphor tree, so that we cannot bring Your Honour any good news. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 506-507.)

## 1654 年 5 月 30 日

.....從此地送去那裡的商品和糧食都狀況良好地收到了，例外的有那些椰子油（cokos olije），發現有的一桶只有 5 duym，<sup>184</sup>有的一桶只剩下全部的三分之二，理由是上述 galjoot 船在途中搖晃所致；因那惡劣的天氣，油也漏出來了，不過那木塞沒有鬆開。他們認為，米在那裡要以每擔四、五里爾的價格出售是不會有買手的，不過他們希望 cangan 布、鐵和煙草可以賣錢或交易鹿皮而獲得豐厚的利益。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 335 頁）

*T. van Yperen* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，淡水，1654 年 5 月 28 日。VOC 1207，fol. 596-599.

淡水地方官員來信抱怨，稻米不可能以每擔四或五里爾的價錢來換現金，原住民也不知道怎麼用日本丁銀（schuytgelt），也不會秤量它的價值，所以要用米來換現金非常困難，故還是希望臺灣商館能送現金過去。但臺灣商館在 6 月 19 日仍決議要淡水雞籠方面變賣稻米籌措現金，因為他們此時也無法送現金過去，只能希望巴達維亞方面的船能帶來他們需要的東西。

英譯摘錄：

<sup>183</sup> 正式換算，一里耳為 48 stuyvers；但東南亞或東亞通常幣值稍低，故才有淡水區的商務官建議調整兌換之率。

<sup>184</sup> duym，即 duim，原意為拇指，指一拇指之長，也就是一般所說的「一吋」，是古計算單位，需視文脈而定，一般約二・五公分。

[...] [We] are still badly in need of cash, since we are at our wit's end about how to pay the subsistence money to the soldiers and the other inevitable expenses. Therefore, we humbly request Your Honour to provide us, either by land or sea, with cash. We have great difficulty managing with the *schuytgelt*, the more so because the inhabitants do not understand how to weigh its value and do not know how to spend it, once they have received it; that is why we cannot buy anything from them for money. But, we will have to make a virtue of necessity, knowing it has nothing to do with Your Honour's good intentions, but with the lack of means. [...] We had the pottery and iron pans unloaded from the junk right away, through the efforts of the inhabitants, and (God be praised) everything came out whole. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 520-521.)

C. Caesar 寫給 T. van Yperen 的信，臺灣，1654 年 5 月 3 日。VOC 1207，567-568。

## 1654 年 6 月 19 日

評議會寫給淡水、雞籠，令他們儘量設法變賣他們的米來應付需要。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第343頁）

VOC 1207，676-677。

## 1654 年 6 月 20 日

公司租用的那艘篷船從淡水和雞籠載著煤炭平安抵達此地.....要作為木材用的木頭，他們迄今只發現像最近送來的樣品那種木頭。因這種木頭不適合做木材，所以他們早已停止【採伐的】工作，用以節省費用。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第343頁）

T. van Yperen 寫給 C. Caesar 的信，淡水，1654 年 6 月 11 日。VOC 1207，fol. 600-602.

6月6日淡水地方發生蝗災，蝗蟲乘著東風從南邊跨過淡水河飛來，受害的是淡水堡壘後方 Cackerlack 社的稻田。當地長老告訴荷蘭人，已經十年沒看過這些蟲子了。淡水當局已經以一擔8里爾的價錢賣出13擔日本鐵，另外又以期約售出33擔日本鐵給原住民，原住民會在三到四個月內以現金或鹿皮支付。6月7日，很多沙八里社的 Basay 人應哆囉滿酋長 Terribo 之邀，乘三艘船航向哆囉滿，可望帶回黃金。

英譯摘錄：

[...] The 6<sup>th</sup> of this month was the first time we saw the Egyptian plague, being the locusts that came here, carried by an easterly wind, flying across the river from the south [...], and spreading

all over the country. Behind the redoubt in the rice-fields of the village Cackerlack, <sup>185</sup> they were even found in such quantities that people who were on their way to us from there, could not use the road, but had to remain seated for quite a while, covering their eyes and mouths with their hands, and let the swarm pass by. The elderly people told us that it has been ten years since these animals [...] were last seen. [...] We have already sold thirteen picul of Japanese iron in cash to the inhabitants, for eight real a picul. Whereas, by Your Honour's leave, we also granted them 33 picul of this iron as a mortgage, on condition they will pay the Company within three or four months, either in deerskins or in cash. Whereupon, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month, many Basayos from the village Tapparij sailed from here to Taraboan on three vessels, at the invitation of Terribo, headman of that place who, last year, in our presence, promised them true friendship and good trade from then on. Time will tell what these good folks will accomplish. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, pp. 521-522.)

## 1654 年 6 月 26 日

決議，在公司租來運貨去淡水，又從那裡回來此地的那艘篷船上的漢人，為了要從那裡前來此地的航途上自己要食用而在淡水與雞籠裝船的那1,447斤的米，決定由公司贈送給他們。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第345頁)

## 1654 年 7-11 月

## 1654 年 7 月 1 日

因舊病院已倒塌，須重蓋一所新病院，也必須到處修建因地震損壞的地方。但是本季無法期待有任何木材會送來此地。因此現在木材必須仰賴隊長Thomas Pedel從淡水附近的Marenasbergh山砍伐供應。《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第349頁

給C. Caesar的委任狀，巴達維亞，1643年6月18日。VOC 877，148-149。

<sup>185</sup> 「the rice-fields of the village Cackerlack」，指淡水三芝一帶已有稻田。

## 1654 年 7 月 18 日

長官閣下交一封簡短的信給一艘要航往淡水的漢人的篷船，用以引介該船，並作為寄去那裡的書信，信裡通知在那裡的商務官 Van Yperen 說，這艘篷船獲准在那裡裝 300 擔提煉過的硫磺，不得超過這數量，直接從那裡航往中國沿海，為此，該船必須按照議定的價格，用現款支付 120 里爾公司的稅給他 Van Yperen。

也從 1 艘篷船收到 Van Yperen 從那裡寄來的一封信，寫說，上次公司派去那裡送貨的那第二艘篷船，經過長久的困難之後，已經平安抵達那裡……該船在中國沿海重新裝了其他的瓦，替代那些拋入海裡的瓦送去那裡。該船運去的貨物有短缺，只有 3 桶<sup>186</sup>米和 11 擔鹽。這艘篷船將於兩三天內從那裡出航前來此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 361 頁）

C. Caesar 寫給 T. van Yperen 的信，臺灣，1654 年月日。VOC 1207，573-574。

T. van Yperen 寫給 C. Caesar 的信，淡水，1654 年 7 月 14 日。VOC 1207，607。

## 1654 年 9 月 28 日

有 1 艘漢人的篷船已經停好，一有機會就要出航前往淡水，持我們的許可證，要去那裡裝運硫磺，直接從那裡航往福州，<sup>187</sup>他們已事先為此納稅。今天我們寫一封信，交這艘篷船帶去【淡水】給商務官 Thomas van Yperen，命令他要儘快派 galjoot 船 Swarte Vos 號以及篷船 Zeelandia 號載硫磺<sup>188</sup>回來此地，……。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 411 頁）

C. Caesar 寫給 T. van Yperen 的信，臺灣，1654 年 9 月 28 日。VOC 1207，583。

## 1654 年 9 月 30 日

篷船 Zeelandia 號從淡水載煤炭平安回到此地。從這艘篷船收到商務官 Thomas van Yperen 寫來兩封信，署期為本月 21 和 27 日。……在淡水，我們的人當中又有很多人嚴重感染熱病，但在雞籠大家都健康無事。他們預定於 10 月中以前，令那艘 galjoot 船 Swarte Vos 號載煤炭出航回來此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 411 頁）

<sup>186</sup> 3 桶米，原文是 balen (baal) 的複數，袋，通常在 60～80 斤之間。

<sup>187</sup> 此條資料，可證明福州與淡水之間的直接硫磺貿易。

<sup>188</sup> 「硫磺」為煤炭之筆誤。

*T. van Yperen* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，雞籠，1654年9月21日。VOC 1207，fol. 614-615.

淡水食物供應之事

英譯摘錄：

[...] Both the chief of Tamsuy and the lieutenant at Quelang enjoy free provisions from the Company's warehouse once a month, as it has always been the custom here, as we discovered [upon our arrival]. Since neither over here, nor in Tamsuy, anyone can be found who has the opportunity to supply food and drink to the hospitals, or to the officers and envoys in Company service, who often travel up and down the river, this is consequently carried out by both commanders, since it is quite impossible for a person to supply himself with food on such a hard journey. Besides, it is an old custom to treat the headmen and other villagers, who are many and come to our settlements one after the other, every month, to pay tribute to the Company, with a little food, arrack and tobacco. As you know, the Company servants cannot afford this on their incomes and with their meagre purses. So that it is necessary to have this done at the expense of the Company, unless Your Honour would like to abolish this custom. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 545.)

## 1654 年 10 月 10 日

長官閣下也給商務官 *Fredrick Schedel* 先生寫一封簡函，交給這艘 *galjoot* 船<sup>189</sup> 的主管帶去那裡，沒有特別的內容，只把昨天所提那些材料更詳細地一一列述，因此不必在此重複敘述。不過也向這個 *Schedel* 先生指出，他向淡水的商務官 *van Yperen* 下達關於 *galjoot* 船 *Swarte Vos* 號的錯誤命令，即他下令該 *galjoot* 船【*Swarte Vos* 號】於航離淡水以前，必須在那裡修復，以致該船必須留在那裡這麼久而使我們缺乏這艘船可用，應該命令他們在淡水砍伐彎木（*knies*）<sup>190</sup> 之後，就令該 *galjoot* 船將那些彎木載回此地，因為我們此地有的是木匠，可以很快修好該船。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第416頁）

## 1654 年 11 月 15 日

【從下席商務官】*Wixdorp* 收到淡水的記事簿和帳簿，也收到一封商務官 *Thomas van Yperen* 上個月10月23日寫於淡水的來信得悉，包括荷蘭人和荷蘭人的屬民，都感染重病和高燒，並隨即死亡。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第435頁）

參閱: VOC 1206，519-520。

<sup>189</sup> *galjoot* 船，平底兩或三桅，載重量 3~400 噸的葡萄牙型船，為當時常航行到日本的船種。

<sup>190</sup> 在淡水砍伐「彎木（*knies*）」，應誤。*knies*，是 *kniefboom* 的簡寫，即製作「損桿」之類的樹材，並見下註。

*T. van Yperen*寫給*C. Caesar*的信，淡水，1654年10月23日。VOC 1207，618-619。

## 1654 年 11 月 16 日

一艘自南崁來此地的漢人賈商之篷船收到商務官Yperen從淡水寄來信，署期本月12日，內容說，那一帶的疾病和熱病越來越猖獗，而且，那些第二次播種的原住民，將於下個月從他們的稻田收割他們的米。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第436頁）

*T. van Yperen*寫給*C. Caesar*的信，淡水，1654年11月12日。VOC 1207，fol. 620-621.

淡水當地官員決定在12月的滿月之日舉行landdag，比前一年晚一個月，理由是要避開稻米收穫的時間，這樣所有人才有空參加。荷蘭人認為本季的稻米長得很好，原住民將可在十二月收穫。

英譯摘錄：

[...] As for the *landdag*, we intend to decide upon next month, and we intend to hold it at the full moon. The reason why we want to organize it this time one month later than last year, is because almost all inhabitants who could do so have sown rice again in the autumn. It has pleased God Almighty to grant them His blessing, in such a way that the crops on the fields are looking well, as we have seen for ourselves, and the inhabitants think they can harvest in December. [...] When they visit us nowadays, the inhabitants hardly seem to care about the trade in cloth, but are only concerned about satisfying their hunger. This is why it [...] is a sad time indeed; therefore we would please request Your Honour to [...] send us some cash, be it Dutch or Japanese. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 3, p. 549.)

## 1655 年

### 1655 年 3 月 26 日

*T. van Yperen*寄給*C. Caesar*的信，淡水，1655年2月9日，1655年3月15日。VOC 1212，fol.381-387.

1654年底以來已經吹了三四個月乾燥的北風，在村社老人的記憶中從未有此現象，但因為乾燥而難以耕作，夏季第一期稻作的收穫前景堪慮淡水。1655年1月25日，雞籠的漢人甲必丹（Cabessa）Sinco所有的兩艘篷船從臺灣北部前往中國，載有150擔提煉過的硫磺、200擔未提煉的硫磺，以及少數的籐，共繳了89里爾的稅。

英譯摘錄：

[...] On the 25<sup>th</sup> of January, two junks, owned by Sinco the Chinese *Cabessa* of Quelang sailed from here to China furnished with Your Honour's pass, both carrying 150 *picol* of refined, and 200 *picol* of unrefined sulphur and a small quantity of local rattan, on which he paid 89 reals in duties. Therefore, this year the earnings of this redoubt have been small, while on the other hand the fortification work has been extensive, which with God's help will improve. [...] On behalf of the two inhabitants who are serving a long prison sentence here, we ask for indulgence. Please read in the copy of the book of sentences and convictions what action we took under civil law against some wrong doers and we hope this will not displease Your Honour.

For some considerable time we have been eagerly awaiting a minister to examine the schools and also so that the children of Christians (who are numerous here) may receive holy baptism.

However, seeing that this is not caused by lack of good will on Your Honourable part but only by God's Providence, we will be happy to exercise patience. In the meantime, we humbly request that one may come here in the near future (if possible). What we (by Your Honour's leave) have advised the Reverend Kruyff in this respect. Your Honour maybe pleased to learn from the enclosed copy. Two persons, called Thijmon Bredaand Zijmonde Meulenaar, who have been here for three years, have been employed for the past fifteen months or so, one as provisional interpreter and the other as schoolteacher, to our complete satisfaction, however so far without having received a rise in wages, and we humbly request that it may please Your Honour to grant the interpreter an increase to 25 guilders a month plus 5 reals board and the schoolteacher such a raise as Your Honour deems appropriate. They both are good men who in our opinion merit these positions. Their term expires next May or June. [...] Your Honour shall receive this [letter] through [the good offices of] Theodoor Hermano, Interpreter, and Toebas Parragou, Headman of the village of Tapparij, located adjacent to the redoubt here, who are accompanied by four Kimaaurij people who are travelling at their own request in order to speak to Your Honour personally. This they were most keen and eager to do and therefore we have gladly granted them their wish. They both are nice fellows who acquit themselves well of the services the Company has imposed on them, and therefore we recommend that Your Honour take care of the costs of this journey.

Appendix: [...]

( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 4-8. )

## 1655 年 3 月 30 日

隊長Thomas Pedel，將遵照巴達維亞總督及其評議會閣下的命令，以特使身分，被派去上述淡水，要去視察，那邊有何木料可供應給公司。也為了商務官Pieter Elsevier（他要去接替商務官Thomas van Yperen擔任那邊那些城堡的主管職務）要去那裡就任



的事情，評議會今天關於此事的決定，也已有較為具體而且詳細的方向了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第464頁）

參閱：C. Caesar給T. Pedel的委任狀，臺灣，1655年4月15日。VOC 1213，440。

C. Caesar給P. Elsevier的指令，臺灣，1655年4月15日。VOC 1213，435-439。

## 1655 年 4 月 19 日

給Van Yperen的書信，和交給他的繼任者Elsevier的指令，主要如下：

首先，以後要從那裡經陸路送信來此，不可派用那麼多人，像最近所派那樣，只需派用兩個原住民即可，而且要有重要的事情才寫信送來。不然，送信者就必須承擔送信的費用。又在那邊必須繼續舉行一年一度的地方會議，但在地方會議中不得再贈送原住民那麼多贈品，...要盡量減輕公司的負擔，多令他們為公司效勞.....再來的8月，應他們的懇求，將派一位牧師去那裡為小孩洗禮，並巡視那裡的教堂和學校。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第470頁）

VOC 121，440。

*Missive Governor Cornelis Caesar to Merchant Thomas van Iperen. Tayouan, 19 April 1655. VOC 1213, fol.354-362.*

金包里社的頭人和翻譯員Theodore與Granvello也提供關於木材的情報，他們說雞籠和淡水有很多森林，但是許多並不耐用，也不適合拿來當建材。但那裡有樟樹，只要荷蘭人能出和西班牙人一樣的價錢，亦即長度5呎（約9公尺）的木材10里爾，4呎的8里爾，3呎的6里爾，以此類推。他們也說用來造輪子和砲架的木板亦可大量供應。關於伐木之事，將委任隊長Pedel去淡水雞籠一帶探查，並將結果帶回臺灣商館。關於鹿皮，臺灣商館方面將鹿皮、山羊皮、水鹿皮等商品的貿易收為公司壟斷，禁止所有走私貿易，並責令淡水雞籠方面官員要仔細調查何種商品可以在臺灣北部獲利。

英譯摘錄：

Your letters of February 9<sup>th</sup> ultimo have reached us in good order via the Interpreter Theodoor and the Elder Granvello as well as the Basay people. Likewise your [appendix] of the 15<sup>th</sup> of last month. [...] Firstly it seems very odd to us that you had so many people come here [seven in total in order to] deliver a letter, as was the case this time with Theodoor and Granvello on their journey, while the letter contained [nothing of] importance. [It is] too expensive to provide for these people for such [a long time]. We [are] pleased [...] that Junior Merchant Pieter van Mildert has arrived safely up there. Also that in that region the weather was so clement during last year's northern monsoon which has not happened in many years. We join you in hoping that during the coming southern monsoon, that is the sowing season, there will be a better crop of grain than last year, so that the inhabitants will bring in a good harvest and will not be afflicted by famine, which

the Good Lord may grant us, and that the locusts may be completely absent. Down here very few are seen. [...]

[...] Theodoor and Granvello, when asked why the pit coal which is mined has turned out in such small pieces, gave as explanation, near the coast nothing bigger could be mined. However, if the Company wanted bigger pieces they knew how to order them and would have those mined higher up in the mountains, on condition that they would be paid the same amount for 8 buckets of coal as was now paid for 9. This we promised them would be effectuated. You will have to carry this out, but you will have to ensure that when the coal is put in the buckets it is stowed very tightly, because otherwise it could result in great fluctuations in volume and quantity. The aforementioned two persons furthermore state that a fair number of straight trees are growing near Tamsuy, but that the wood is not durable and not suitable to building houses. However, if the Company desired camphor wood 4 or 5 fathom long, and of proportionate thickness, square, they knew how to order these, if we were prepared to pay the people the same as the Castilians had done: for a piece of timber 5 fathom 10 reals of eight; for one of 4 fathom 8 reals of eight; for one of 3 fathom 6 reals of eight and so on in proportion to its [diameter] and length. Likewise [...] there was a sufficiency of planks for gun carriages and mounts and wheels available there. This is a good thing because we are greatly in need of these. So it will be necessary to take a sample and therefore the Council of Formosa has decided to send Captain Thomas Pedel accompanied by two Dutch carpenters from here to investigate whether such camphor trees and planks are available there or not and also what quantity could be obtained yearly from there.

[...] Next August we hope to dispatch a [boat and junk] for coal, with which you can expect what was ordered by you. See to it that about 120 lasten of coal have been mined and are stockpiled, so that not only we but also Batavia and Coromandel can be supplied with that mineral. For the mining of this, a consignment of sledgehammers, wedges, pickaxes and shovels are sent to you in compliance to your request, so that we can rely on it with certainty. [...] With the boat and the junks with which we are now sending you these requisites as mentioned earlier, you will allow to return with all possible expediency the Merchant Thomas van Iperen and his family and all the hides and skins which you have in stock; as well as much of the pit coal as can be shipped in those vessels, however the hides take precedence over the coal so we can send them to Japan. [...]

( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol.4 p.29-33 )

*Instruction from Governor Cornelis Caesar for Merchant Pieter Elsevier, departing as man-in-charge of the northern forts in Tamsuy and Quelang, to replace Merchant Thomas van Iperen. Tayouan, 15 April 1655. VOC 1213, fol.435-439* · 英譯摘錄：

[...] Your Honour should pay close attention to whatever can be sold to the inhabitants over there to the benefit of the Company, what fabrics and commodities will yield most profit, and in particular you will see to it that no one, whoever he may be, will privately buy deer, goat or elk skin and ship these out because the Honourable Company reserves an exclusive right to that trade and Their Honours in Batavia want offenders to be punished as severely as those who have

committed offences in the spice trade. No effort will be spared by Your Honour to win over the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages and capture their hearts so that they may keep on ... not forced but voluntary obedience. The convening of annual *Landdagen* at the usual and [fixed] dates is one of the appropriate means to serve this purpose as is the hospitable welcoming and treatment of the captains who may appear by Your Honour. So to this you will have to pay strict attention. [...]

We have been informed by the inhabitants Theodoor and Granvello that a good number of straight trees are growing around Tamsuy, although their wood is not durable and is unsuitable for building; also that camphorwood is to be found there, 4 or 5 fathom in length, and of proportionate thickness. They knew how to go about ordering it, provided that we would pay the same for it as the Castilians did previously, namely for timber of 5 fathom: 10 reals; for timber of 4 fathom: 8 reals; for timber of 3 fathom: 6 reals and so on in proportion to its thickness and length. Also that planks for mountings and wheels, which are in demand by the Honourable Company could be obtained there in good quantity, and therefore a sample should be taken. For that purpose, in order to investigate this thoroughly and to find out what quantity could be obtained annually. Captain Pedel should go there to have a good look and then report to us. The coal which we have received here so far has been extremely small and gritty. Having inquired about the reason for this, it transpires that bigger lumps cannot be extracted on the seashore. However, the two persons aforementioned, Theodoor and Granvello, have informed us that they knew how to have a bigger kind brought from somewhere farther up the mountains and have it supplied to the Company, provided that the same amount would be paid for 8 buckets as so far has been paid for 9 buckets. To this we have agreed, because we have no use for the small ones. Consequently Your Honour is recommended to have this carried out and to have a good quantity in stock at the time of the next shipment to send over here this August. Such a quantity of coal and skins must be shipped off to us on the homeward voyage of these two ships as will just meet their cargo capacity. Whatever happens, the skins (because they have to be shipped to Japan) will take priority over the coal, [...]. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 20-21. )

## 1655 年 5 月 22 日

**淡水河森林調查：**Pedel就由兩個木匠和幾個原住民陪同去調查森林。他們首先去位於上述淡水正後方的原野。發現那裡生長著很多數不盡的漂亮的樹木，像樟樹（*camphur*）、某種松樹（*greyne*）、<sup>191</sup>橡樹（*eycke*）和其他樹木，很適合做建築用的木材、木樑，甚

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<sup>191</sup> Greyne = grenenhout，特別是指 *pinus sylvestris*=松之類，正確名稱，待專家指出。

至可做桅杆 (masten)、艀斜桅 (boechsprieten) 和損桿木 (knies)。有很多樹，樹幹圓周長達1、2、3和4噶 (vademen)。<sup>192</sup>數日後，他們繼續沿著武勝灣 (Pinnoroang) 溪，一直到那山區，去調查森林。在那裡也發現很漂亮的森林，可使東印度很多著名的森林為之遜色。特別是稱為屈尺 (Catchiew) 的那座大森林，距離一條大溪約一個步槍的射程，砍伐的樹木可經由該溪水，容易地漂入淡水河，再繼續漂流到那碉堡前面。在那座森林裡，估計有6,000株適用的樹。在Tabutaboy溪的沿岸也有一座森林，生長著橡樹和其他漂亮的樹，樹幹長達50、55到60呎，粗達7、8到10呎 (voeten)。

在Marenatsberch山附近也有一座森林，有各種的樹。因此那整個地區都生長著漂亮的樹。我們在此地〔臺灣〕需要多少木材，都隨時可以從那裡取得。但因原住民沒有可以砍伐這種樹的適當工具，因此Pedel打算由荷蘭人來砍伐這些樹，以每人每天8 stuyvers的微薄費用支付給原住民即可砍得這些樹木。甚至在此一根花費 $7\frac{1}{2}$  到8里爾的

木樑，也可在那裡最貴以 $2\frac{1}{2}$  到里爾取得。Pedel已經向金包里 (Quimaury) 的人和三貂 (St. Jago) 的人約定好，先砍伐供應足可製造五十具砲架的長、寬和厚度都正確的木材。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第486頁)

*T. Pedel與P. Elsevier寫給C. Caesar的信，雞籠，1655年5月17日。VOC 1212，fol.388-394.*

1654年發生的蝗災造成淡水地區的饑荒，淡水的議會請求公司高層拯救這些飢民，因為除了公司以外無人可對他們伸出援手。當地議會認為，因為原住民過去曾經提供不少糧食，所以要從淡水的倉庫中盡可能撥出一些糧食讓原住民購買。扣除這些，當地的糧食還夠荷蘭人吃到八月底。在此之前，淡水當局希望臺灣商館能夠撥出30 last的稻米來幫助淡水的飢民。淡水附近的森林沒有太大價值（按：兩份史料有矛盾之處。Pedel的觀察一向樂觀，Elsevier則比較保守）

英譯摘錄：

[...] The Honourable Commissioner immediately departed for the woods and wilderness lying around Tamsuy to investigate what trees, such as oak, camphor and others suitable as timber, could be found there and at what distance they were located from the water or river. [...] As far as the actual possessions of the Honourable Company both in Tamsuy and Quelang are concerned, they are of no great value. As Your Honour can see from the accompanying copies, everything has been inspected by the representatives appointed by the Honourable Commissioner. The papers in possession of the factory, such as letters, resolutions, dagregisters, verdicts and related items, have been handed to me by Mr Van Iperen, except the books which could not be handed to me with a satisfactory balance sheet, claiming that he had no time to balance them, but he will be taking them to Tayouan to balance them there and will leave an unbalanced set at the factory so that I shall be obliged to compile new ones from what has been left.[...]

<sup>192</sup> 噶 (vadem)，即英文之 Fathom，六呎，約 1.80 公尺。

[...] [As regards] the great famine being suffered by the inhabitants, caused by the locusts last year which have eaten everything so that the poor bereft people are nearly starving to death because they have no rice to fill their stomachs, we have requested and humbly begged the Council that the Honourable Company in this event of famine lend them a helping hand because they cannot expect any help other than from the Honourable Company, [and] that they may receive rice for their money, because otherwise they will starve to death, as can be seen in more detail by Your Honour in the enclosed request which was presented in Council by the people of Kimaurij and St Jago. Consequently it was unanimously agreed, because on several occasions in the past they have assisted us with rice, once again to provide these villages with this [rice] as much as we can spare, now they are completely destitute of this grain, so that at the moment we have no more in [stock] than the garrisons need until the end of August. Therefore, if another 60 tons could be spared from the Tayouan garrison, we request Your Honour to send it to us as soon as possible to help these poor subjects, which they are awaiting eagerly. [...]

The living quarters of the *opperhoofd* in Tamsuy are so dilapidated that they are hardly fit to live in, likewise those of the assistants, minister, barber are in such a state that they can hardly find shelter in them and [the houses] are likely to be knocked down in the first strong wind, so that the Company can only expect plenty of expenses every year from these dwellings. Therefore, in my opinion (however subject to your better judgement), if only a solid house were to be built here for the *opperhoofd* and the attendants, should Your Honours be willing to take it upon themselves to bear the costs, it would need no more looking after. Regarding the bricks needed, if a *fluyt* could be spared from Tayouan, as much stone could be brought in two trips from Quelang from the demolished fortress, church and monasteries as would be required for this purpose. All this I have proposed to Commissioner Pedel, who has promised to explain this to Their Honours more extensively than has been done here, because this is necessary to the benefit of the Company. [...]

Furthermore, because we are living here in great decrepitude, indeed almost as if on the soil, we request Your Honour that we may be allowed 1,000 or 1,500 floor tiles for our houses, together with two Chinese bricklayers to be employed in laying the floor and plastering the house, because here there are neither Chinese nor bricklaying implements which might be suitable for this. [...]

Together with this, Your Honour is being sent with the boat and the two junks the following goods; a shipment of coal, as much as they could load, 109 bundles of sorted skins, amounting to the sum of f 347:8:12, as is made clear to Your Honour in more detail in the invoice. Regarding the coal, consisting of 778 buckets, as can be checked per the transfer, these amount to the sum of 183 reals, f 466:13: -. The rest will be sent to Your Honour with the first vessel to arrive here. [...]

( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 56-59. )

VOC 1212 · 388-394 °

## 1655 年 5 月 26 日

有 1 艘屬於中國商人恭官 (Conqua) 的篷船，奉准要從此地去淡水載硫磺航往中國。這艘篷船今天為公司裝了 200 包米要送去給派駐雞籠的人，我們跟恭官訂約，他們絕對保證將這些米運去那裡。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 488 頁)

## 1655 年 5 月 30 日

長官閣下把寫給淡水主管及其評議會的書信封起來交漢人恭官 (Conqua)，以便他的篷船明天 (若合神旨意) 航離此地前往那裡。這封信的內容，請參閱發信簿。其中主要內容，是命令他們要鼓勵原住民提供木材，並去了解他們願以甚麼價格提供木樑和木板等。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 490 頁)

*C. Caesar 寄給 P. Elsevier 的信，臺灣，1655 年 5 月 30 日。VOC 1212，fol. 363-366.*

根據 Pedel 探勘淡水附近森林後的報告，該處的森林有適合做為桅杆和建材的木材，但不容易搬出來。原住民說，山裡的木材可以由荷蘭人或漢人砍伐，然後他們可以幫忙把木材搬出來，條件是每人日薪 8 stuyver。原住民知道如何建築水壩阻擋河流，當水淹滿，浮起砍下的木材，就可以輕易地將木材運出，用兩艘艚舨拖到淡水堡壘。Pedel 沒有詢問伐木之事若是由原住民備辦需要多少錢，這可能是因為他認為原住民的工具不適合伐木，荷蘭人也不肯定他們的工作態度。此外也責令 Elsevier 調查適合伐木的季節。通知淡水方面漢商 Conqua 將運 200 袋的未脫穀稻穗 (按：沒有脫穀就運走，可能是要趕船班，或是防止發芽) 給當地守軍並賣給原住民。總重 16221 斤 (catty，16221 斤約 9700 公斤)，扣掉每袋重 7 斤 (約 4 公斤)，總淨重 14821 斤 (約 8900 公斤)。信中提醒當地主管要妥善運用以待下一次補給，也不要賣太多給原住民而導致自己不夠吃。此外這次運米的酬勞是 50 里爾，並核准漢商 Conqua 從淡水載運硫磺去中國時，不需要再付其他的規費。

英譯摘錄：

[...] We are [certainly] not displeased with the achievement of Captain Thomas Pedel in finding camphor, oak, pinewood and other trees now that we have been told by the carpenters as well as by His Honour that a good quantity of that wood could be acquired if some effort was made, namely camphor trees of 25 to 30 feet high, 1  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 feet in circumference, pine trees 70 to 80 feet high and of proportionate circumference, suitable for masts (however, they told us they did not [actually] see those, but instead planks of this length and 3 to 4 feet wide in the villages, oak trees of 25 to 30 feet high, 2 feet in circumference. It would be easy to fell these trees (to be used for kneepieces in the construction of houses or ships) in the mountains, however not without great difficulty, and according to what the afore-mentioned captain says, the inhabitants would be willing to help carry them away once they have been felled by us or the Chinese, on condition

that every man was paid eight *stuyvers* per day. It seems that the folk of Tamsuy have an excellent method of getting the trees out of the wood, in which the rivers and streams are of no small use to them, because they know how to dam them up with little difficulty so that, within a short period of time, the water will flow into the wood where the trees are growing, from where they are able to take the trees to the main river with ease, [and] from there with two proas (the timber having been split in half) to Tamsuy. We are surprised that the captain did not inquire for what price the inhabitants would be willing to deliver all the timber or planks to the Company at the fort. He seems to have overlooked this, so that you will have to find that out and let us know the price. Pedel is of the opinion that it will not be feasible to have the inhabitants chop the timber down themselves, because the tools they are using are not suitable to cutting down such heavy trees quickly, nor to fell them in large quantities, but [he thinks] that it, after having been cut down in the woods by the Dutch, they could be delivered for a reasonable price. Yea, furthermore he would even personally vouch for the fact that a timber of ... feet long, for which  $7\frac{1}{2}$  or 8 reals is paid in Tayouan, would cost no more than a maximum of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3[reals] and the rest of the wood proportionately, so that it is essential that further proof ... is collected by you and where ... acquire some of it... Also to find out at what time of the year it is best to cut them down, leaving aside the fact that we are used to cutting trees down when they are sere and the leaves are falling, but... say this in order to find out when the inhabitants have the best opportunity to deliver the wood without being hampered in their sowing season and are the most eager to earn some money. [...]

[...] The coal which has been sent this year has been found to comply with our wishes as regards the size. We recommend that you pay attention to the size and quality when sending this mineral, because last year's shipment was unsuitable and could serve only as poor quality grit for making paths, but the smith was not able to use it. As has been reported by Pedel and Van Iperen, next August ... shiploads will be available in Quelang, which in the current situation will [not] displease Their Honours in Batavia, and not only Batavia will be provided with it, but also Coromandel, where it is very much needed. We are told that the coal cannot be extracted without great difficulty, because it is located on a ... height on which a crust or cover of slate has accumulated, which has to be hacked away first before our coal can be reached without danger, which the Kimaurij people, so they say, know how to handle if only they are assisted by the Company with the following tools, namely; 200 iron wedges, 150 sledgehammers, and 150 iron pickaxes. We are determined, insofar it is within our power, to have these ready by next August, on which you have to depend, because it is said that in this way the Company will not lack coal for the next ten years, if only cargo space for transport is provided which is a good thing because nowadays not much of that mineral is being supplied to our fatherland from Scotland, so that it is very expensive and the cost is prohibitive, while all too little will be sent to [the] I [ndies] in all probability. Therefore we continue to recommend you encourage the people to dig coal. [...]

[...] We have perused the petition you made for 30 *lasten* of rice by next August as well as the request for rice for the Kimaurij people and those of St Jago, which will have our attention and, for the present, we decided, as Merchant Concqua is intending to send a junk from here to Tamsuy to obtain sulphur, to load it with so much rice as it can reasonably take, in order to assist the people of Kimaurij and St Jago against payment, and hence bind them even more closely to us. Therefore 200 sacks of rice have been shipped in this junk, which have been weighed here by Senior Merchant Rooswinkel in the presence of this Concqua, and, including straw, weighed 16,221 catties gross, from which has been deducted 7 catties for the sacks, so that Your Honour will receive with this [junk] 14,821 catties. We hope that you will be able to manage sufficiently with this until a further shipment. Also make sure that you do not sell too much and have to go short yourselves, which we shall leave to your own good judgement and deliberation. This rice, as already said, has been shipped in the junk of Merchant Concqua at the buyer's own risk, so if the junk is lost at sea, he will not be accountable. However, if it so happens that the perfidious Chinese should happen to sail to China and not bring her to Quelang, he will have to pay for the rice and reimburse us. For shipping the rice to Quelang, we have paid this Concqua 50 reals and in addition we have permitted him to load so much sulphur as his junk can take to China in Tamsuy. When he has carried out his promise you will lend him a helping hand and allow him to depart for China unhindered without extra payment, For the time being we do not know what else to write, except that once more we recommend you to inquire about the timber and to send us the outcome over land by letter from village to village as soon as possible. Take good care in everything you do and be modest in your demeanour. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 63-65.)

## 1655 年 6 月 28 日

今天，長官閣下，在福爾摩沙評議會所有議員都在場的情況下，召集一般的漢人頭家以及重要大商人，要跟他們討論，有何方法可使此地臺灣的貿易活絡起來，也要討論，是否應該派一艘船運貨去雞籠，例如胡椒、鉛、錫、蘇木和其他貨物，運去那裡交易，用這方法，是否會吸引福州的人或沙垵（Swatia）的人來那裡跟公司交易。<sup>193</sup>  
（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第503頁）

<sup>193</sup>沙垵（Swatia），為福建省福鼎市轄，臨接浙江省。此段資料可見在臺南的荷蘭東印度公司，有意維持淡水與福州之間的貿易。



## 1655 年 7 月 17 日

主管Pieter Elsevier派兩個原住民從本島北部的淡水經由陸路來到此地，他們是被先生專程派來送信的，這封信署期6月30日，得知，公司在那邊的狀況大致還好，也繼續維持著和平，也沒聽到那邊的原住民之間有任何糾紛。但有令人非常傷心的事，就是那地區的原住民，部分的人都在嚴重得幾乎無法承受的飢荒下苟延殘喘，情況嚴重到，有一個荷蘭人通事發現，在雞籠溪沿岸的Poenap社裡一個屋子裡有八個人一起餓死在那裡面。用漢人恭官（Conqua）的那艘篷船運去的那200大袋（balen）米，在那裡真是來的恰到時候，但是對這麼多的人，還是幫助不大，因為那些米一運到那裡，就都被用現款買光了。因此請求，儘快從此地運大量的米去援助那些可憐人。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第514頁）

*P. Elsevier寄給C. Caesar的信，淡水，1655年6月30日。VOC 1212，fol. 395-407.*

臺灣長官責令淡水商務官Elsevier伐木供應臺灣所需，但Elsevier稱他在Pedel離開後又自己去看過那些森林，觀察到的狀況比Pedel保守許多，他認為必須把他看到的狀況如實報告給臺灣商館方面知悉。他在淡水堡壘後方的沿海地區三社看到許多樟樹，主幹周長1呎到3呎，但是不高20呎到30呎，可是其枝幹也長20呎到30呎，可以做成粗1呎平方的梁柱。那裡還有其它樹種適合做成粗1呎平方的梁柱，但他沒有看到Pedel報告的某種松樹（greynen）和橡樹（eyken），木匠和翻譯員也無法指出這些樹木之所在。但是要利用此處的森林非常困難，因為即使荷蘭人自己動手伐木，並把枝幹都裁成木材，原住民也無法提供足夠的人手來運送。Cenaer、Cackerlack、Sougan三社只能出不到六十名壯丁，而荷蘭人又無法肯定他們的工作態度。因此要利用這些森林資源，必須借重Basay、荷蘭人、漢人三種族的人力。Elsevier希望臺灣方面可以提供荷蘭本土所用的二輪搬運車和16頭公牛或小牛，將可以運用獸力，將砍下的木材經由平坦的道路運往海岸。關於硫磺山腳下的森林，Elsevier也發現一些樟樹，但數量不及前述Sougan社附近的森林多。這邊的森林很難開發，因為必須爬上山，清掉灌木叢才能把砍下的木材推進河水。這裡最適合伐木的季節是六月，因為大雨會讓河流氾濫，水深比人還高，甚至高出三呎。這樣一來也不需要築堤蓄水，靠氾濫的溪水就可以把木材運出。但是Elsevier提醒附近水池散發出來的磺氣會傷害健康，派去伐木的人將不會有太多活著回來。在磺山的對岸（按：基隆河南岸平原），上溯一條河到達高山上（按：可能在台北六張犁附近），那裡有最好的樟樹，可以用來做砲架、軸樞、彎木、木板等用途，並可以由一條小溪運下來，但必須在當地就把木材裁成符合用途的樣子才有辦法運下來，這又是一件相當費工的事。關於Marnats山（今台北圓山）的森林，Elsevier認為那裡的樹都不合用。另外，Elsevier也說沒看到可作為桅杆的高大樹木，認定那只是傳說。Elsevier在Cackerlack看到很長的木板，但他無法確認這塊木材是不是來自某種松樹（greynen）。原住民說當年取得這塊木材的人已經死了，故沒辦法指出這些木材的來源。Elsevier也問金包裡頭人兼翻譯員Theodore有沒有辦法幫荷蘭人弄到木材，但Theodore說他承諾的只是提供荷蘭人情報，而非包辦這項事業，與他在臺灣向公司承諾的不一樣。漢商Conqua將200袋米運到淡水，但已經受潮，為避免損失，淡水地

方主管指示盡快賣出。這些米抵達的正是時候，因為當地嚴重飢荒，所以這些米抵達沒多久就被用現金買光了（按：正好趕上稻作青黃不接的時期，若是再等下去，等一期稻作收穫，米價將大跌）。另外淡水方面認為臺灣商館方面對前一封信（FE 1655-05-22）有誤解，他們請求撥出的30 last稻米並不是八月才需要，而是現在就需要，因為原住民正受飢荒所苦，荷蘭人翻譯員Thijmon van Breda甚至在Poenap社（按：里族社）發現有八個人餓死在一個屋子裡。希望臺灣方面能盡快委派一艘船運來所需糧食。在六月這個時節，荷蘭人沒有什麼機會從原住民處問到太多情報，因為他們都在田裡忙著農事（按：一期稻作收穫）。淡水當局發現，那些持公司通行證在淡水採硫磺的篷船，似乎藉由採硫的名義在做其它生意，將鹽、鐵、布等商品賣給原住民。淡水當局認為放任他們這樣下去，將對荷蘭東印度公司有負面影響。

英譯摘錄：

[...] Regarding the woods and wildernesses around the district of Tamsuy, we visited them shortly after the departure from here of Honourable Commissioner Pedel and closely examined what sort of wood could be got there and at what distance they were situated from the river or the seashore. For that purpose we have also commissioned Ensign Gillis Bouwens and Sergeant Joost van der Laeck joined by Catechist Hendrick van Zuylen, instead of Mr Mildert (because he was ill at the time), as well as the interpreters and the Basay who had been there with Captain Pedel, and sent them to investigate these wildernesses and woods of camphor trees to see what advantage could be gained for the Honourable Company from these and if it would be possible, after the trees had been felled as timber, to get them out of there at a low cost to be transported to a convenient spot from where they could be shipped out. This point, because it is of great importance to the Honourable Company (and because this enterprise, if it turns out well, would be of great advantage to the Honourable Company, whereas contra wise, if we had written Your Honour about great things and the outcome should turn out to be different from the report we had sent Your Honour, the result would only heap your scorn on our heads), we have impressed upon them, namely the people mentioned earlier, whom we had commissioned, that they would investigate everything thoroughly, as I also had done, which indeed they did. Therefore we shall now briefly inform you about the outcome and what the situation is regarding those wildernesses. Firstly, we will talk about the forest situated more than half an hour to the east of the village of Sougan past Chenaer and Cackerlack, and about one and a half hours from the beach, where I saw a large number of camphor trees from 1 to around 3 fathom around the girth, but those which are thickest generally have the shortest trunks, an average of 20 to 30 feet in length, yet producing such offshoots or branches that beams of 1 square foot and 20 to 30 feet long could be got from them. There can also be found some other trees very suitable as timber and for being made into beams of one foot square. However, I did not see any pine or oak and [these] could not be pointed out to me by the interpreters or the carpenters. With regard to transporting the timber out of this forest, it would have to be hauled and carried by hosts of people, which would be a difficult task (even had these trees already been felled and the branches lopped by us) for the inhabitants whom we intend to use for this, because the three

villages located nearest, Chenaer, Cackerlack and Sougan, could not supply more than sixty able-bodied men, who are by nature not very industrious but lazy and slow anyway, not much different from the rest of the Formosans in this respect, for this labour so that I do not see how this task can be accomplished without Basay, Dutch or Chinese. Although I am hoping that, I may be proved wrong and matters will turn out all right for the Honourable Company, I am still sceptical about this enterprise but (if Your Honour persists in carrying out this venture) time will reveal the truth. However, it is certain that if Your Honour might decide to have four wooden carts made with two wheels and a shaft, very solid and iron-clad as the carpenters in our fatherland are using (to transport their timberwork from one street to the other) and would send those to us, many people could be excused from this labour. However, if eight yoke of oxen or bullocks were provided with them, without a doubt, because it is a fairly level road, this timber could be easily brought to the beach from where it could be loaded in the roadstead there onto boats, barges or rafts, whatever Your Honour may then decide, or be transported to Tamsuy, This is a description of the Sougan forest, I cannot tell you anything more, but in time, when someone who is well acquainted with these things is sent over here, you will find that what I have written about it would be without any error, word for word. Let me continue with the forest situated close to the foot of the Sulphur Mountain, there I found various camphor trees, but not in as large a number as in the Sougan forest and although they are of equal height and thickness as the ones mentioned earlier, I could not find good, suitable timber there. And, even if it were found there, the road would be unsuitable because of climbs, descents and brushwood which would have to be cleared before it would be transported to a small stream, about which you wrote about blocking it off in order to raise the water level and hence transport the timber to the main river. In my opinion this is not necessary because the timber [will be transported] during the northern monsoon when we can expect most of the rain here and the river will rise sufficiently of itself as a consequence of the excessive drainage without any need of a dam, as the people we commissioned have reported that, with the continual rain we still had during the month of June (although exceptional), the water in the afore-mentioned small stream had risen more than the height of a man and had even been another 3feet higher, so that we can spare ourselves the trouble. Leaving all this aside, I cannot refrain from adding that should forty men come to lodge in this forest for a month, not even ten of them would return to Tamsuy healthy. Their bodies would be stricken by the cold and the foul and pestilential fumes which rise from the nearby pool of sulphur, which will ensure a richly filled graveyard and a well-attended, expensive hospital over here. Therefore I am of the opinion that this enterprise will cost enormous trouble and effort, and would require abundant money and men, whereas the effort could easily be in vain, but I shall defer to better and sounder judgement on this undertaking and shall await Your Honour's forthcoming opinion. Let us move on to the other side of the river, where I have visited a certain forest, the same as the people we commissioned, and where I found the finest camphor and

other trees suitable as for timber, situated on a high mountain range, about a mile's climb from a certain small stream by which the timber would have to be taken down. It could be taken from there as wood for mounts, gun-carriages, axles, knees and boards, if it is sawn there on the site in the forest, but it will be impossible to remove planks or other heavy timber, whatever the material may be, from there unless (as said before) it has been cut, sawn and carefully dressed for its [future] use and then taken down, which involves enormous effort, but could yield good results. Concerning the *Marnats* Mountain, nothing is to be got there which could be of use to the Honourable Company so that I do [not] think it necessary to write much about it and therefore shall conclude the discourse about the forests and await Your Honour's judgement about all the foregoing per the next opportunity, in accordance with which we will act. [...]

Regarding the pine trees 70 to 80 feet tall and of proportionate thickness, suitable for masts, this in fact turned out to be unfounded talk because these will never be found in the Tamsuy district, as no one here has any knowledge of this kind of wood. It is true that in the village of Cackerlack, under the house of its *cabessa*, two planks of exceptional length have been found (which I have seen with my own eyes and have offered money for because they are of excellent wood), but I cannot label them as pine. Obviously I have taken great pains to find out where these could be obtained, but they answered me that the man from whom they obtained them had died and were not able to tell me more. Therefore I wish, if Your Honour intends to go through with this undertaking, that the carpenters who claimed to have seen these trees here, be sent over so that they could point out where we might find them, through which the Honourable Company may be served and the person may gain credit. That in the mountains, as Your Honour is writing, wood for building houses and ships can be found (and can easily be chopped over there) is true, but we all are of the opinion that the transport of the timber to the river or the seashore by hauling and dragging will not be done by the inhabitants without Basay, Chinese or Dutch. These inhabitants will certainly not be unwilling if it is a question of one or two pieces of timber, which would be a small matter for them, but to employ them continuously with this kind of labour will, as I have said, be impossible to realize. However, as the saying inhabitants for the beams and planks, which Captain Pedel allegedly forgot to investigate, I have... this with the Basay ... to confer among themselves... to agree what they would ... for the ... not listening and gave in ... gladly be employed in the service of the Honourable Company under adequate ... of 8 pieces per day, which would drive up the price for the Honourable Company considerably and would make the cost of obtaining this timber rather unattractive for Your Honour. It would be better to buy these beams in Tayouan for 7  $\frac{1}{2}$  reals, than to believe that those beams could be brought from the wilderness to Tamsuy for D-h or 3 reals at the most. With regard to the inhabitants, we have not yet spoken with them about it because, at the moment, they are constantly busy in the rice-fields and there is no opportunity now to speak about it, but we shall inform Your Honour more extensively at the next opportunity. However, we remain of the opinion that, if Your Honour is seriously considering undertaking this enterprise of setting up a timber industry with proper

equipment including all the necessary tools, and the timber up in the woods is prepared in such a way that it is ready for use and the sawing of the boards will take place here in the wilderness (because, as said earlier, no beams or other heavy timber could possibly be brought down, while it also should be noted that the trees which are felled in one year have to remain lying in the forests to season until the next year because they are impossible to saw when green). Your Honour will find, when the roads are built and the forests cleared of undergrowth, that although the expenses may seem high, yet the abundance of the timber that is then easy to handle and the multitude of fine boards of camphor wood of 3, 4 or 5 feet wide which would be available to Your Honour in large numbers, would reduce the cost enormously and the Honourable Company would obtain fine timber at a low cost. This work, if at all possible and if it were entrusted to me by Your Honour, I shall surely accomplish in such an excellent way that Your Honour will be delighted. Regarding the time of the year at which this timber should be chopped, it should start at the end of November or the beginning of December and continue until the beginning of the following February, when the trees are leafless which would be the best time to chop the wood. [...].

We also note from Your Honour's missive that our letter and the resolution on the 30 *lasten* of rice requested which was passed here have not been understood correctly, because Your Honour writes he has seen our petition for 30 *lasten* of rice by next August, whereas we were not request this by August, but as soon as possible. Indeed this was known to Captain Pedel, who assured us that as soon as he arrived in Tayouan he would notify Your Honour and to the best of his ability [...] put pressure on Your Honour so that we would receive these tons of rice by a specially chartered vessel. If this had happened it would have created great joy among the poor inhabitants (as we were told by the Interpreter Thijmon van Breda that [the people] here in the Tamsuy district (God Forbid!) are dying from hunger, yea even to have seen in the village of Poenap, situated along the Quelang River, that in [one] house [eight persons] had perished), and would have brought the Honourable Company ... profit and honour. [...]

[...] Being reminded of the promise Theodoor made Your Honour about some camphor trees of 4 to 5 fathoms tall and of proportionate thickness (to be supplied to the Company), I must inform Your Honour that we have summoned the afore-mentioned Theodoor several times in connection with this matter, asking him whether he was now able to supply the Honourable Company at such a price, namely 10, 8 and 6 reals, camphor trees of 3 or ... fathoms tall and of proportionate thickness as he had told Your Honour in Tayouan. On this question he pretended ignorance, saying that he never promised or told Your Honour such thing. Therefore we asked him a second time if he did not know a way to obtain such wood and how much he would be able to supply come August, Again he answered that he did not know how, because the Honourable Company did not have any rice here with which to provide the workers, and it would be impossible to undertake such an enterprise without food, on which we agreed with him, but we have taken his

words to heart and kept them in mind until the arrival of the junk with which we received 200 bags of rice. Then we summoned him to appear before us for a third time, telling him that if he now knew how to obtain this timber we would provide him with rice. However, seeing that he had been bested and not being able to make any more excuses, this Theodoor openly admitted to us (as well as to Lieutenant Baers in Quelang) that he did not know how and also never had promised such a thing, even though Your Honours wrote this, but had only said that he would point out to the Honourable Commissioner the forests where this timber was standing, which he had done, so that he trusted he had fulfilled his promises and did not want to have anything more to do with it. However Your Honour knows best how matters stand.

For now I do not know anything more to write to Your Honour except to submit to Your Honour this essential petition, because we are in great need of these things as we have discovered that Mr Van Iperen has stripped us of everything and has left us with empty stores. Therefore we respectfully entreat Your Honour please to provide us soon with the following commodities listed below, in addition to our previous [request], namely: [...] a vessel loaded with rice, the sooner the better, as this is an urgent matter in this time of famine. [...] [...] Rattan canes mounted with silver, being insignia of authority to be handed to the *cabessas* when they are appointed. We do not even have one single one available. [...] Furthermore, out of Christian compassion and as another duty to God, we cannot refrain from respectfully requesting Your Honour, if possible, please to station a minister here, because it is sad thing to see so many people (who already have received a small spark of the fire of the Holy Spirit) wander in the wilderness. Indeed we trust, if our request be granted and a minister could be stationed among these half-converted heathens, that before long it would bear rich fruit because as we can see they show great zeal in Christianity (insofar as their limited comprehension allows). Still, we are aware that this cannot be attributed to negligence on the part of Your Honour, but to the dearth of the teachers mentioned above. However we hope that Your Honour will take our request as much as possible to heart and should no one be spared over there to be stationed here, that at least in August one could be sent to us to baptize the children, whom we will await with eagerness. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 73-81. )

## 1655 年 7 月 24 日

這些米運來得恰到時候，因為我們可用以援助正在飢荒中的淡水和雞籠的原住民。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第518頁)

*Missive Governor Cornelis Caesar to Merchant Pieter Elsevier. Tayouan , 6 August 1655. VOC 1212, fol. 367-368.*

Elsevier 的信經由陸路於 7 月 17 日抵達臺灣。由於同月 24 日從漢人的篷船處收購了 1000 袋米，現在要撥出 700 袋（按：最後臺灣當局又決定減送 100 袋）委由船長 Tangsisia（並由商人 Pauw 與翻譯員 Phynguiah 作保）運往雞籠。這 700 袋中國米，每袋 63 斤（catty），價格為每 51 斤 2.125 里爾，其中 12 袋要給日前幫忙送信的兩位原住民（按：但這 12 袋忘了裝船，到 8 月底才由 Pelikaan 送去），故留下 688 袋以微薄的利潤賣給金包里社和三貂社的原住民。這可以拯救他們於飢荒，使其心向公司，在未來更加順從。船長 Tangsisia 將 700 袋米送去雞籠後，將會在淡水裝運硫磺與籐，並從淡水直接航向中國。臺灣商館已核准船長 Tangsisia 本次出口不需要再繳任何規費。

英譯摘錄：

Your latest letter, dated the last of June, has duly reached us over land on the 17<sup>th</sup> of last month. It is not our intention to answer it now because we are planning a consignment at the end of the month, when you will also receive provisions and the other things you ordered, as far as it is possible. Therefore this only serves as an accompanying letter for the junk of *Anachoda* Tangsisia, in which - at your urgent request and Merchant Pauw and Interpreter Phynguiah standing surety - we have loaded 700 bags of Chinese rice (each bag containing 63 catties and costing  $2\frac{1}{8}$  reals if fifty-one are bought. The two inhabitants who have delivered your letter here have paid for 12 of the 700 bags, which leaves the Company 688 to be sold to the inhabitants of St Jago and Kimaurij at a small profit so that their hungry stomachs will be fed and they will not die of famine as many have already been felled (by that sword) according to your letter. We trust that as a consequence of this shipment, the people will pledge their hearts all the more to the Company and that some time soon they will acknowledge this once more and hence be brought to greater obedience. As a reward for transporting this rice we have, with the approval of our Council, permitted the *Anachoda* Tangsisia to load his junk with sulphur and rattan in Tamsuy and then sail for China without being obliged to pay the customary tithe for the export, for which he has to deliver the rice in Quelang. Therefore, we are herewith instructing you to carry out this order. No Dutchmen are travelling with this junk, only two Basay, the ones who have delivered the letter, because at the moment we cannot spare any people. [...] We are assuming that the fluyt the *Pelikaan* will be sent to Quelang at the end of this or the beginning of next month to load coal and to bring the provisions for both forts. However we would be pleased if it could be done earlier. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 88-89. )

## 1655 年 8 月 15 日

淡水主管 Pieter Elsevier 署期 7 月 30 日信，是一個馬賽（Basy）的原住民從淡水經由陸路送來的。從這封信，我們很難過地得知，在那邊所有的荷蘭人幾乎都感染熱病了，情況嚴重到，幾天前，他們幾乎連一個健康的人都找不到，不過現在已經開始逐漸恢復健

康了。有一個士兵和那個炮手長（constapel）因這病而死亡了，請求另派一個適當的人去擔任這炮手長的位置。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第531頁）

*P. Elsevier* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，淡水，1655年7月30日。VOC 1213，fol. 408-410。

## 1655 年 8 月 27 日

平底船 *Pellikaan* 號今天已經準備好出航事宜，只剩明天還要裝上幾頭牛，要運去淡水飼養繁殖，供應那邊的需用。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第541頁）

## 1655 年 8 月 31 日

平底船 *Pellikaan* 號用幾艘漢人的舢舨協助拖出港外，從港外於下午啟程航往淡水和雞籠。...為該地駐軍運去的貨物，有200草袋（balen）和688麻布袋（zacken）之米，<sup>194</sup>加上以前用2艘篷船運去那裡的貨物，合計總值2786.14.14荷盾。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第542頁）

*C. Caesar* 寫給 *P. Elsevier* 的信，臺灣，1655年8月28日。VOC1212，fol. 370-379.

先前兩艘篷船送去的米（1655年5月及8月）已超過25 last，應該足夠金包里社與三貂社的原住民撐過青黃不接的時期，渡過飢荒，等到田裡的稻穀收成。臺灣商館目前已經無力再撥出更多稻米，必須等到從日本來的船抵達才有餘力。如果雞籠淡水方面還有需要，應再向臺灣商館報告。臺灣商館從 *Elsevier* 的書信已經知道在淡水地區伐木的成本很高，並且詢問臺灣的漢人是否願意，他們也懼怕當地的疾病，認為賺的會比失去的更多。再者，即使將木材砍下，目前也沒有辦法將木材運到臺灣，所以在淡水地區伐木的事業暫時擱置。臺灣商館方面只期待淡水方面能夠發包製作50具砲架，因為臺灣這邊已經沒有木材可以用了。此外，也希望請原住民砍18至20呎長的樟木作為樣本，並估計所需的費用。臺灣商館也將送兩輛車和六頭小牛去淡水。這些牛還未經訓練，但漢人知道怎麼訓練他們拖車，故可以委由漢人來做。臺灣方面目前已無法撥出更多牛隻北運，原因是臺灣附近的農田不斷擴張，從中國來臺灣避難的漢人也需要牛隻來耕作。

英譯摘錄：

<sup>194</sup> 「200 草袋（balen）和 688 袋（zacken）之米」，前者 balen 單數為：baal，可譯作草席或麻布製作之「袋」，但亦可譯為木製桶的「樽」；這裡的草袋，所裝重量一實難明，但一般有 40～180 斤的分別，從《日誌》其他相關資料研判，可能比後者的袋（通常 100 斤）為少，也許在 60～80 斤之間。並參見：《日本海外關係史料オランダ商館長日誌譯文編之一（上）：寬永十年八月至寬永十一年四月》（東京：東京大學史料編纂所刊行，1976），頁 265；*Uytreckening van de goude en silvere munts waardye, inhout der maten en swaarte der gewigten, in de respective gewesten van Indiën*, (Middelburg: Johannes Meertens, 1691), p. 11。



We hope that our latest letters of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of this month of August per the junk of *Anachoda* Tangsisia - with which we have sent 688 bags of rice, to be sold among the inhabitants of St Jago and Kimaurij - have reached you safely with the three Basay who also sailed in it. The day after this junk had sailed from here, two Basay arrived over land from Quelang with a letter from Lieutenant Jacob Baers in which he informed us of the great misery of the inhabitants of St Jago and Kimaurij because they did not have any rice and he was doubtful whether you had already informed us because you had not, in accordance with former practice, informed him of your latest letters or sent them to him, which we expressly order you to do in future so that we will [not] be receiving letters from one place as well as from the other and no double expenses will have to be paid. [...] With the junk of Merchant Concqua and *Anachoda* Tangsisia we have sent you more than 25 lasten rice in total for the inhabitants mentioned before, with which we trust those people will be adequately helped and be able to await the crops in the field as our warehouses also do not permit us to send more before the ships from Japan have arrived. Should you need more help in future, let us know so that we may be able to comply in time.

From your closer investigation and from what has been advised to us by Mr Elsevier about the forests and timber around Tamsuy, we gather that [everything] has been carried out in accordance with the orders we issued as has also been made clear in the letters we received from you. As you, we tend to believe that it will be difficult to obtain a reasonable amount of timber there, unless as high a price is paid over there as we would be able to buy it for over here, seeing that it would have to be taken from the nearest wood with carts and beasts after the trees have been felled by us or the Chinese. Moreover, if it were to be put into effect, we are certain that the lumberjacks would be assailed by many diseases and death as a consequence of the illness which is prevalent in those lands. The Chinese to whom we proposed that they go and chop wood over there also could not be persuaded, even though we agreed to pay double their daily wages, because they were all scared of disease and death. Indeed, they say bluntly that if we went there to earn a stuyver or two, we would soon lie sick in our bunks and spend more than we would gain, so it seems they will not be persuaded. However, if we needed their services to have something constructed at the forts in Tamsuy or Quelang, they could be hired for the customary wages, so that we have decided to postpone this undertaking for the time being, not least because at the moment we are not able to transport the timber here from your place and all the more because for the present we can obtain as much as we need which is satisfactory here at a reasonable price. Therefore it will not be necessary to trouble yourself about it this year, we are only expecting the 50 mounts or gun-carriages which were put out to contract and which are really useful here because we have no timber suitable to be made into mounts. However, it would not be unwelcome if you had the inhabitants chop a few beams of camphor wood 18 to 20 foot as a sample and in order to know the fixed price of what it is going to cost so that later we can base ourselves thereon. Therefore we have decided to send you in accordance with your request two

carts and six bullocks to try and find out if these can be of use. The bullocks have not yet been trained to be used with carts, but the Chinese living at your place will know how to make them suitable [to the task]. We would have sent others if we had them but we are in need of them ourselves and it is impossible to make the Chinese part with even one working bullock which is suitable to the work, because nowadays farming is expanding continuously every day, partly because of the fine crops which can now be farmed in the fields but also because many refugees are arriving from China who take up farming to earn a living.

We are greatly surprised that Theodoor has dared to lie so insolently and say that no beams of 20 to 30 feet long have been contracted out to him by us, even adding that he had not promised to supply these, but with Granvello had undertaken only to point out the forests where such tall camphor and oak trees were growing. I declare that several times in the presence of some members of the Council and others, they have made promises and undertaken to supply these for 6, 8, 9 and 10 reals a piece, just as the Castilians had paid before when they were living there and with which they had been content. Now we see that one cannot rely on Theodoor's word, because he makes a host of promises, but keeps only a few and therefore in future, we will not involve him as much as we had intended before all this [had happened]. We also regret the rise in pay which he was granted to encourage his diligence and hence obtain the timber. [...]

[...] For the digging and carrying of pit coal, we are sending you (though less than you requested): 100 iron wedges, 25 sledgehammers, 18 pickaxes, 12 pikes, 10 crowbars, 4 spades, 4 shovels, 200 rattan buckets. This is as much as we were able to have made, because in making the wedges all the heaviest square iron bars would have to be re-forged to account for their size and weight if we were to make them as long and with the proportionate thickness as your order indicates, therefore for this year you will have to make do with these until we are supplied with heavier iron in future. Furthermore, because Captain Pedel has informed us that this ironwork has been ordered only to hack away the slate crust covering the mountains from under which the coal has to be dug, also that in the mountains where the coal-mines are situated several caves have been hacked out which are two rods square and that have only a narrow entrance, we would not find it extraordinary if these slate covers were to be blown away with gunpowder after the entrances to the coal-mines had been shored up beforehand. If you also think that a great advantage can be gained by this means, you will have to test it even if you have to use a hundred pound weight of gunpowder, which ... you can take from the *Pelikaan* which will be replenished when she arrives back here. So you will have to consult each other carefully about this first before it is carried out, to see whether it will be effective or not, to which we will conform, leaving it up to you.

We notice that 778 buckets of pit coal have been transferred to Mr Elsevier by Merchant Van Iperen for which our factory has already been charged and of which a large part is still in Quelang and that it is your intention to ship these to us with this vessel without setting a value on them. We are instructing you otherwise, because we are now planning to send the coal which will be collected in its entirety to Batavia and Coromandel. It is essential therefore that all the coal which

you ship out with the *Pelikaan* will come with an estimated value, and whatever is still due to us by next May, you will send us without setting a value so that every region may bear its own costs. It will also be necessary that you send along with the *Pelikaan* a bucket in which the coal is placed so that for forward delivery we know exactly how much each ship shall take in and how much is shipped to every region and [thus] how much everyone is to be charged for his share. Please see to this. [...]

[...] We were pleased to read in your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of last July that, at the entrance of the Tamsuy River, 15 feet of water was measured by the pilot at normal tide, having deducted 4 feet on account of the sea swells so that a ship or *fluyt* with a draught of 14 to 15 feet should have no qualms about putting in. Therefore, we have decided to order the *fluyt* the *Pelikaan* to put in at the mouth of the Tamsuy [River] to unload the essential foodstuffs and other supplies there, as well as the cattle which we have shipped in it for Tamsuy. You will therefore have to unload these in a hurry and have the *fluyt* continue its voyage to Quelang as soon as possible without delaying it for whatever reason, but, as said before, send it on its way to Quelang as soon as possible to take the rest of the supplies and other necessities there. Moreover, when it arrives in Quelang, you will work assiduously to have the supplies and the two 8-pounder cannon brought ashore and this *fluyt* loaded with coal. Likewise, you will also ship in it the mounts which were contracted out if they are ready. [...] It would be desirable if you were to be able to have the *Pelikaan* ready in ten to twelve days to sail from Quelang to the Pescadores to take the coal to the ship *Enckhuysen*, and from there return here with timber, which will be possible to do if God our Lord does not place any major obstacles in her way, because next month is the month of the change of seasons when the monsoon begins to turn. Therefore we are instructing all of you to use every possible means to send the afore-mentioned *Pelikaan* quickly on her way. [...]

[...] Tiles or paving stones are sent to you together with two Chinese bricklayers to pave the house of Merchant Elsevier. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 97-103. )

## 1655 年 9 月 8 日

1 艘漢人篷船，將持許可證從此地出航往淡水，並將從那裡，免稅裝所能裝運的大量未提煉的硫磺，運回此地提煉交給公司。該篷船現已準備好出航，停在那裡準備要啟程...因此，長官閣下給淡水的主管 Pieter Elsevier 先生寫封信，告訴他要協助這艘船的船主，使這艘篷船能夠儘快回來此地，以便預定要運往科羅曼德爾海岸（Choromandel）<sup>195</sup>的硫磺，能夠運去。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第3冊第551頁）

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<sup>195</sup> 位於印度半島東南部海岸。

C. Caesar 寄給 P. Elsevier 的信，臺灣，1655 年 9 月 8 日。VOC 1212，fol. 380.

漢人船主二官獲得往淡水採生硫執照

英譯摘錄：

This only serves as an accompanying [letter] for this junk, of which the Chinese Ziqua is the *anachoda*, whom we have licensed to obtain as much unrefined sulphur there as he can take in and transport it back untaxed to have it refined here and then supply it to the Honourable Company. We therefore recommend you to lend him a helping hand so that he may return here as soon as possible because the sulphur has been destined by us for Coromandel. So please see to that. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 104.)

## 1655 年 10 月 30 日

平底船 *Pellikaan* 號於 9 月 8 日抵達淡水的港口前方，因該港口太淺，無法入港，只好航往雞籠。途中遭遇不小的逆流和困難；那些牛，因該平底船的迅速離開，沒有在淡水卸下，而在雞籠上岸，其中已有幾頭，因不適應而死去了；

從此地運米派去那裡的那兩艘篷船，很快就到達那裡，那些米對那些原住民幫助不小，因為他們自己的收穫還不很順利；

*Percoetsi*、*Mattatas* 和 *Pergon* 的人，以前曾經是公司最好、最忠實的屬民，位於靠近淡水的地方，現在完全改變了，變成叛逆者。他們看到平底船 *Pellikaan* 號一離開（從淡水航往雞籠），以為該船遭暴風破壞，立刻叫住在該溪沿岸所有的居民，要把前來內陸的荷蘭人趕走。為此，他們還先做謀殺的示範者，於 9 月 12 和 17 日，在該溪流的對岸，殺死一個通事和三個士兵，沒有其他理由，只為了去年，因他們的過錯失誤，被那裡的主管 *Van Yperen* 和評議會處罰得太重，其實該處罰只是罰他們一點點米而已。又說，他們對公司命令他們必須每週帶兩隻野獸去那城堡出售，感到壓力太大；那裡評議會不相信，這麼細微的理由就會導致如此謀殺的行為，更可能的理由是，被控訴對他們過分威脅，過分徵取的那些通事暴力又骯髒的行為；另據淡水河和武勝灣（*Pinoraang*）溪沿岸原住民的那些控訴，這些控訴現在也一起寄來我們這裡了，有兩個通事是這種行為的主要挑撥者，他們也是煽動那些原住民造成上述謀殺的原因；該溪流的原住民，對這些通事的被調走表現極大的愉快，因此，情況應該會好轉，他們的情緒也會因而略為平靜下來。.....

用漢人的篷船從此地運去那裡的米，發現重量有些不足，也發現用 *Pellikaan* 號運去的葡萄酒漏失很多；

要試辦從那森林取來的木料可以獲得多少價格之事，現在因上述困境，尚無機會進行；而且按照他們的看法，那樣做也不會有好處，因為若原住民聽到此事，必會驚訝不已；淡水的疾病仍很猖獗流行，因此病院裡擠滿病人，而且他們在那邊的醫藥既缺乏又不好，請求從此地供應；

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 3 冊第 581 頁）

*Missive Junior Merchant Pieter van Mildert to Governor Cornelis Caesar. Tamsuy, 7 September 1655. VOC 1212, fol. 411-412, 英譯摘錄：*

After he had been visited on the 14<sup>th</sup> of the past month of August for the second time by the fever of this land it has pleased Almighty God to snatch away the *Opperhoofd* Mr Pieter Elsevier from earthly life on the 28<sup>th</sup> of that month, of which we in accordance with our duty would have liked to notify you immediately, but that could not be effectuated before now because the Lieutenant Jacobus Baers, in Quelang was also stricken by this fever and has therefore not been able to come here, consequently we have been prevented for some time from dispatching him to take letters back and forth. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 104. )

*Missive Junior Merchant Pieter van Mildert to Governor Cornelis Caesar. Quelang, 17 October 1655. VOC 1212, fol. 413-426.*

本年5月和8月雇用漢商篷船送去雞籠淡水的稻米，加上平底船Pelikaan送去的稻米，總共有104798斤（約63公噸），足夠用到翌年五月或六月。Tangsisia的篷船於8月27日抵達，當時原住民已經收割完畢，有自己種的米可吃，故當時的情勢已經不似5月Conqua的篷船抵達時嚴峻。但因為有很多稻米已經賣出，無法預期到五月時還需要多少米。如果臺灣商館有充足的稻米，淡水方面期待能送1000袋過去。但是之前由漢商Tangsisia運去的稻米，重量短少2004斤，由Pelikaan運去的則少了18袋共2309磅。此外雞籠淡水的倉庫裡還有34 last（約51公噸）的稻米。八里坌社的原住民抱怨每周打兩隻野獸去淡水堡壘賣的要求，對他們來說太過嚴苛。淡水方面認為這是八里坌社酋長的問題，當他要社人送野獸去淡水堡壘時，社人說「先給我們自己，再來才是公司！」最後他們還動手打酋長。經荷蘭官員調查，帶頭煽動的是八里坌社的主帳（fisicaal）、酋長的兄弟，以及兩位該社原住民。主帳他的兩位追隨者被處以鞭刑，並用鐵鍊銬起來。酋長的兄弟罰米，讓他變得更窮。對於那些高喊「先給自己，再給公司」的人，罰他們在八到十周內帶16頭野獸到淡水堡壘來。（按：1654年起南崁的賈商在淡水堡壘的主管需要的情況下，有責任每月供應5至6擔的鹿肉，公司將以每擔8里爾的價格收購。）但是荷蘭官員不認為每周兩頭野獸的要求太過分，畢竟野獸到處都是，也自認不會在收穫期間要求原住民花時間去打獵，所以他們推論供應獸肉的負擔過重並非真正的理由，而是八里坌的原住民不想再和公司做朋友了。此外，Lucas Kilas被委託用鹽去買鹿皮，雖然前任商務官Elsevier交代他必須一手交鹽一手交皮，但被發現他把鹽以兩倍的代價給了沒有鹿皮可給的人。荷蘭官員認為，這會讓原住民以為荷蘭人願意以任何代價取得鹿皮，並且強迫沒有鹿皮的人硬去弄來鹿皮，這可能導致八里坌社的不滿。由於八里坌社造反，所以荷蘭人現在沒辦法要原住民去砍樹了，但之前發包的砲架，可望在翌年五月左右交付。此外由於本年探勘森林資源的結果與Theodore所說的相差太多，而Theodore堅稱他只負責指出何處有森林，但這樣的情報每個Basay人都知道，因此淡水的荷蘭官員要吹牛的Theodore歸還預付的200里爾。他還了100里爾，還欠一半沒還。

英譯摘錄：

[...] The two junks which were sent with rice have arrived here safely, God be praised. This rice plus what was sent with the *Pelikaan*, which amounts in total to 104,798 *catties*, will be sufficient to last until next May or June. Since the rice which was sent with Tangsisia's junk was only received on August 27<sup>th</sup>, the majority of the inhabitants had already been provisioned to some degree with the new crops which were harvested in the river regions so that they will not trouble the Honourable Company as much as they did earlier when Concqva's junk arrived here. Nevertheless, a considerable quantity is being sold now and then, and the sales are increasing daily so that it is impossible to state with certainty how much we will need in May. If there is abundance in Tayouan, we will expect 1,000 bags, which we think will indeed need to be sent so that, should there be an accident such as a ship going adrift (which, as we have now seen, could easily happen here), we do not find ourselves in such dire straits as happened in the days of Keerdecoe, when the barque *Amsterdam* went adrift in the year 1649 or 1650, and his garrison had to support itself with rice from the inhabitants. Indeed, this time (God be praised) we would not have had the same luck if the ship had gone adrift, as has become tragically clear because, apart from the fact that they do not have this abundance of rice, we are also, without having realized it, surrounded by our enemies and rebels against the Honourable Company, of which we have never had any indication. AS soon as they thought that the ship had been lost or gone adrift our old and faithful friends 1 mile on the other side of the river as well as 6 miles inland, namely the peoples of Parricoutsie, Mattatas and Perragon, tried to stir up the river peoples against us, so as to murder all the Dutch they could capture on the rivers or on land, presenting themselves as the leaders to take this job in hand, which they in fact have confirmed between September 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> by killing the interpreter and three soldiers on the other side [of the Tamsuy River]. The reasons these inhabitants are opposing the Honourable Company so insolently is according to them and the assertions of the Basay - whom we had sent over to summon the Dutch to the fort - that about a year ago now those from Mattatas were penalized too severely by the *Opperhoofd* Mr Thomas van Iperen and the Council for their predatory incursions against the Parricoutsie people and the war they provoked against them, which was settled with great difficulty by sending our ensign and twelve soldiers, even though they were only punished with a small penalty in rice for starting this war against a village who had been their best friends and closest neighbours.

The people of Perragon are also claiming that this has happened to them recently and also that they are no longer able to comply with the instruction of the Company to bring two animals to the redoubt every week against payment. The first issue of the Perragon, for which they have been sentenced by the entire Council, concerned the fact that the captain of the Perragon had lodged serious complaints that his people did not want to obey him and when he ordered them to bring animals to the fort they dared to say boldly: "First for us, then for the Company", even though they have never had to suffer any want of meat, moreover that in Company's service they often refused to undertake some task or other, and when the captain ordered them more

forcefully, they beat him up on several occasions. The main instigators have been the *fiscal* and two other villagers as well as the captain's brother, who had all been indicted by the captain who had confessed it to be true that this is what happened. Therefore it was decided, in order to safeguard the captain against future violence from these scoundrels, to have the *fiscal* and his mate, who were the ones who had confessed to beating him, flogged and put in chains and to sentence the captain's brother to a penalty in rice (to be given to the poor) and also to impose on the rogues who had haughtily claimed to provide first themselves and then the Company with meat, [the penalty] of bringing 16 animals to the fort within eight to ten weeks.

These we believe are all mild sentences, imposed only to keep the inhabitants under control, because we are well aware of the fact that we are not allowed to take them to task too rigorously. Honourable Gentlemen, these are the words of the Basay whom we had sent over to tell the four deceased to come to the fort, who came bringing us this sad news with great dismay, because some bows already were bent to treat him to an arrow, but this was prevented by the captain who spared his life to tell the Dutch his story, which would have been of no avail if he had not exploited his fleetness of foot, because in the turmoil scant attention was paid to the words of the captain. Concerning their claim that the instruction of the Company was too harsh for them, we consider this unfounded and completely untenable, because we have never bothered them with hunting during sowing or harvest seasons and moreover hunting is not a burden for them seeing that they have fed the Spaniards in times of emergency for a whole year (although presumably under duress), which they were easily able to do from their abundant and excellent hunting-grounds. So what sort of burden can it be to bring us two animals per week (for which they are paid in cash)? However, in our opinion that was not their real reason, this was instead that they no longer wanted to put up with the poaching, extortions, violence, or the threats that they will be taken into custody in the fort because of some trifling misdemeanours and then have to face serious charges - which [crimes] were patently obviously perpetrated by the interpreters - plus the fact that time and again fines were extorted from them, as [can be seen] in the general points of complaint lodged by the River peoples who are also plainly say that these their points of complaint are the reason that they do not want to maintain the peace with the Honourable Company and that we can gather from these why the Dutch have been slain (as can be seen by Your Honour in the annex under the letter A) [...]

[...] The afore-mentioned Lucas Quilas, who had been sent all over the region by the Merchant Mr Elsevier to barter hides for salt, has furthermore sold this [salt] for double the price to some inhabitants who did not have skins, which he himself has admitted. We do not doubt that he caused the poor people to believe that the *Opperhoofd* wanted skins from them at any cost, they should obtain them wherever they could, although he himself had confessed that Mr Elsevier had told him that he should only hand over the salt on delivery of skins and that they might wait with payment for four or five months, which has also stirred up great anger. [...]

[...] We found a deficit of 2,760 *catties* in the rice which was sent by the junk of Tangsitin. They have delivered, as I have written on September 7<sup>th</sup> no more than 41,340 *catties*. According to what appears from the accompanying note, 756dittos should be deducted from these 2,760 [*catties*] for the 12 bags which were forgotten to be loaded and were sent on afterwards with the *fluyt* the *Pelikaan* so that 2,004 *catties* are still missing. In the rice sent with the *Pelikaan*, there is a deficit in numbers of 18 bags and in weight of 2,309 pound. The master says he delivered what he had received. Your Honour will be in the best position to investigate what has gone wrong. We found that there still are 34 *lasten* of that grain in our warehouses.

[...] At the moment we have nothing and in Tamsuy it is impossible to catch even one animal because of the troubles caused by the inhabitants, so that this northern monsoon we will have to manage with eating salted meat and bacon. In Tamsuy and Quelang there is also not one grain of wheat, of which we are also in great need and we request [...] may be sent in May. [...]

[...] It had pleased Your Honour to write us that in order to find out at what price we could obtain camphor wood timber 18 to 20 feet long, we should try to have a few of those cut by the inhabitants, for which purpose you have also sent us two carts and six bullocks (of which there are three still alive). This we will have to be suspended this northern monsoon on account of the afore-mentioned rebellion by the inhabitants. With due respect, in our humble opinion in future there is no point in committing another letter to paper on this matter, because we chase these people away whenever we start talking about it. However, they are still prepared to supply us with the mounts which were contracted out [to them] and which they have promised to make ready at the first opportunity and to deliver around about next May. Once again, we have confronted Theodoor with Your Honour's displeasure with how brazenly, he dares to lie and say that he had not contracted to supply timber for the price which was fixed at the time of the Spaniards, but had only said that he would point out the woods where it was, in which he still persists. This is truly a poor excuse because there is no Basay but does not know those woods so that we can be sure Your Honour did not offer him such an advantageous deal for this. As a partial repayment of the 200 Spanish reals which it pleased Your Honour to lend him in Tayouan, this Theodoor has paid us half so that he still owes us 100 Spanish reals, which we have also ordered him to settle first thing. [...]

[...] The ironwork, shovels, spades and 200 rattan buckets that were made for the digging and carrying the forge coal, we have duly received. I will store these safely here, because we will have no more coal dug before we receive further orders from Your Honour, since we still have so much in stock as two such *Pelikaans* can carry away. Regarding your suggestion [to see] if it was possible to blast away the slate crusts on the coal-mines with gunpowder, I have put this to the Council here as well as our friends on the ship and asked them for their opinion. They unanimously considered this inadvisable, so that we did not go ahead with it.

With the *fluyt* the *Pelikaan* Your Honour will receive 500 buckets of coal, 17 buckets for 5 reals, which amounts to 147 reals or *f* 374:17. Over and above the quantity which Mr Van Iperen has



transferred [to us] and must be shipped out without setting a value, we are still keeping 786 buckets in stock here. We have loaded the buckets with which we have measured the [amount of] coal, on board the *fluyt*. [...]

[...] The two Chinese bricklayers who were sent over are returning with the ship because, during the northern monsoon, they cannot accomplish anything because of the rain. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 125-134. )

*Missive Governor Cornelis Caesar to Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker. Tayouan, 14 November 1655. VOC 1212, fol. 284-349.*

報告總督六月時詢問漢商將貿易據點移至雞籠的可能性，但漢商頭人都說不可，他們比較喜歡用小型篷船到臺灣貿易，中間有澎湖可以休息避風，雞籠就沒有這樣的優點。漢商只有在每年兩次季風轉換時才會停靠雞籠，但也不容易停泊。本年度金包里社和三貂社因為無法從噶瑪蘭取得稻米，所以陷入飢荒。臺灣商館撥出25 last的稻米賣給這些原住民，但為了回報之前荷蘭人需要稻米時原住民的接濟，所以賣價不高。

英譯摘錄：

From Your Honour's letter of [...] May14<sup>th</sup> we learned that bearing in mind the shallowness of the channel of Tayouan and in order to avoid the dangers of the severe gales to which the ships are subjected when they anchor in the outer roads of Tayouan during the southern monsoon. Your Honour tentatively suggested to our Lords and Masters would it not be better to move the trade to Quelang because, when entering port there is more depth, while that place is also not more distant from China than Tayouan. Therefore Your Honour is ordering us to test this [theory]. [...] Our answer to Your Honour is that it has been investigated very thoroughly by us and the Council, [...]while we have also deliberated with all [Chinese] *cabessas* and the major merchants of Tayouan and listened to their opinion, who, like us, suspected that it would be very difficult to move the trade there. [...] In the first place because in China [...] trade has come to a standstill and Coxinga keeps his junks cruising from the river of Amoy right up to Nanking, watching out for all vessels which sail without his consent or pass.[...] On the other hand, they claim that even if there were peace between the Ch'ing Emperor and Coxinga and the Chinese were at liberty to trade at both places, they would always prefer Tayouan to Quelang as long as it was at all possible to sail to Tayouan with small junks, partly because Tayouan can be reached more safely than Quelang since the Pescadores lie between Tayouan and China, where they can always anchor on the voyage out and when returning should they encounter bad weather. [...] Furthermore, we should add that in Tayouan the Chinese always find something to buy which is to their liking, deerskins, rattan and such like merchandise from the Formosan inhabitants and in return a large amount of small Chinese merchandise on which a pretty penny could be earned, is being brought over. On the other hand, in Quelang there is neither meat nor rattan to be had. From long experience we know that trading junks arrive seldom or never from China, or return there, without having brought some trifling goods and in return having spent some money on

indigenous rattan or venison. We also inform you that Quelang is not as easy to navigate as Your Honour supposes, either from Sansiew or Hocksiew, because only sporadically have they called at this place, just twice a year and then always at the turn of the monsoon, either because the Castilians were there or that they went there to get sulphur, and this because there is very little anchor ground to be found for them near Quelang, since they have to be close to shore before they can drop anchor because generally their cables are 36 to 40 fathoms long, [...] and it is often easy to run into trouble there by variable and baffling winds and when these shift to the north a lee shore is created. [...]

[...](On 22 May, Captain Thomas Pedel, who had spent about a month in the north a commissioner, returned to Tayouan in the pilot boat, in the company of the former Opperhoofd of Tamsuy, Merchant Thomas van Iperen. Among other things, they reported that:) [...] The peoples of St Jago and Kimaurij were greatly in need of rice because this year they could not get any from the Cavalang villages from where they are used to obtain their rice, so that many people have perished from hunger and we were forced to send about 25 *lasten* of rice there to sell to the inhabitants for cash at their request, on which a reasonable profit will be made. However we have stipulated that it should not be sold at too high a price because at the time of Mr Overtwater when we were in need of rice, these inhabitants had assisted us well with rice at a civil price, so that we trust that through this means these inhabitants will be encouraged to show obedience to the Company with all the more affection and love. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 141-146.)

## 1656 年

### 1656 年 3 月 6 日

下席商務官 Van Mildert 淡水，署期 2 月 17 日來信，...得知，那邊的叛徒還相當頑強，把道路封鎖得十分緊密，使那些要送鹿肉來給軍隊的漢人，都無法不被搶奪而通行，而且八里坌（parragon）、南崁（Percoutsy）、和 Mattatas 社<sup>196</sup>的人還日常去搶奪在海邊捕魚和撿蠔的漁夫，並把他們趕走，還有更囂張的是 Pillien、Rappan 和林仔社（Chinaer）的人，他們射死五頭牛、兩匹馬和一頭驢子，還殺死三個漢人，重傷幾個漢人，把最近還留在漢人住區（het quartier）<sup>197</sup>裡的那些房屋放火燒毀。現在又來

<sup>196</sup> Mattatas 社，研判應是新竹 Mattau 溪（頭前溪）一帶的番社。

<sup>197</sup> 漢人住區（het quartier），即淡水紅毛城下的漢人社區。位於今淡水紅毛城北邊，今舊地名沙崙一帶。

個新花招，放話威脅說，他們種田以後，將偕同所有人來城堡向我們提議和解，若拒絕，將把那裡還留下來的作物全部毀壞，還說了其他狂傲的吹牛大話。對此，我方在那裡的人很希望，我們儘快從此地派一支優良的軍隊經由陸路去那裡，因為那些馬賽人（Basayer）也被那些叛徒威脅得不敢供應任何東西給我們了，如果事情這樣繼續下去，不久我方的人就會缺乏水和柴薪。而且，為要及時撲滅這已經燃燒起來的火，他們認為最好的辦法是，我們一接到這封信以後，就要從此地派一支約四十個荷蘭人（如果派不出更多的荷蘭人）的軍隊，加上兩、三百個最可信賴的原住民，配備弓箭，一起由陸路去他們那裡，屆時，他們也派出那裡的兩個軍營兵力聯合作戰，他們認為，這樣就有足夠的兵力發動攻擊，追擊那些叛徒，如果不這樣趕快去，等到 11 月，恐怕會太遲。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 7 頁）

*P. van Mildert* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，淡水，1656 年 2 月 17 日。VOC 1218，fol. 477-481.

自 1651 年 9 月以來不斷有風聲表示國姓爺可能會攻取臺灣，現在他們特別憂慮，因為若是國姓爺從大陸被驅離，他可能會進攻軍力較弱的淡水以在臺灣島上取得根據地。八里坌和南崁地區的原住民對抗荷蘭人的行動越來越激烈，他們不只搶劫到海邊捕魚撿蠔的漁夫，還阻止漢人將鹿肉送到淡水堡壘。*Pillien*、*Rappan*、*Chenaer* 三社的原住民對抗荷蘭人的行動更加激烈，他們殺死五頭牛、兩匹馬和一頭驢子，並把這些動物的曝屍給禿鷹吃，因為他們的法律與神靈禁止他們食用這些肉類。但原住民認為只要殺掉荷蘭人的牲畜，並且禁止任何補給送給荷蘭人，荷蘭人就等著餓死吧。原住民還殺了三個漢人，並且縱火燒毀漢人街的房子。在漢人爬上屋頂滅火時，被躲在灌木叢和山丘上的原住民射傷，傷勢嚴重。原住民在收割稻穀之後，還跑去淡水堡壘說要重新與荷蘭人友好相處，但如果荷蘭人不同意，他們就要毀掉所有的東西，並且更激烈地攻擊荷蘭人。*Chenaer* 社原住民反叛的原因，與 1644 年該社酋長 *Maron* 因對水源下毒而被荷蘭人抓起來送往臺灣有關。*Maron* 的兒子在 1646 或 1647 年間被任命為酋長，但仍時時想著為父復仇。反抗荷蘭人的原住民威脅與荷蘭人友好的 *Basay* 人，說如果 *Basay* 人替荷蘭人帶東西，他們就會燒掉 *Basay* 人的村社，然後把他們全部帶回自己的社裡為他們做箭簇和鐵器。因此這些可憐的 *Basay* 人就不得不變成荷蘭人的敵人。若是荷蘭人要以武力回復原先的統治，這些無辜的 *Basay* 人肯定也要受到傷害。此外，*Basay* 人和該地區其它村社都透過通婚而有姻親和血緣關係，所以放任原住民的反抗下去，*Basay* 人遲早也會開始反抗荷蘭人。淡水方面官員認為要趕在 11 月的收穫季之前鎮壓原住民。如果讓原住民收割他們的稻作，他們就可以在荷蘭軍隊到達時躲到山上或森林裡，靠糧食做持久戰。他們認為收穫季之前是鎮壓的最好機會，希望臺灣商館能派 40 名荷蘭士兵，加上兩三百名對公司忠誠的原住民北上鎮壓。關於這些軍隊的補給，淡水方面認為在 *Plockhoy* 的任內（1650 年左右），獵場已經布滿了陷阱，而且此時獵場也還在荷蘭人控制下，靠這些獸肉就可以餵飽軍隊。

英譯摘錄：

The day before yesterday Your Honour's missive of January 8 was handed over to us by the Chinese adventurer (sent by us to Your Honour over land on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December). Therein we read to our great despair that Your Honour has not yet been able to decide to send an armed

force in this direction, since Your Honour always has to be prepared (as rumour had it a few years ago) for Coxinga, whenever he should be chased from his territory and try to undertake some unpleasant act as taking up residence in Formosa. We are fully aware of this, since we too have been hearing these rumours quite often from time to time since September 1651. However, this causes us a lot of worries, because this warlord is perfectly aware that Tayouan would be to bite off more than he can chew but, on the other hand, if he is chased out of the Chinese land, he will have to penetrate somewhere with his forces. He might just as well come to visit Tamsuy instead of Tayouan simply to get a foothold in Formosa for a while. In which case (God forbid), you would see a sad tragedy being played out with us, which in all probability could not be told by any of us (after we had fought with all our men to the last drop of blood).

And what is more (and is most valued by us in honour of the Honourable Company, for there is rather more at stake in this what we already have than of that about which it is not yet clear if it will happen or not), day by day our enemies act more as if they were the rulers - those on the other side [of the Tamsuy River] such as Perragon, Parricoutsie and Mattatas. Not only do they to our regret harass and rob our mussel and oyster pickers from the beach every day; they also bar the paths so closely that not one Chinese can come from there to bring a little venison for our garrison, and these inhabitants strip everything from all the Chinese they can lay their hands on, so much so that they have nothing left with which to cover their intimate parts, as the one who brings you this letter can explain to Your Honour in more detail, since it has happened to him personally on several occasions. This Chinese has been in great danger of being massacred by them, since they have accused him of having come from Tayouan. The which the Chinese denied with many well-contrived and misleading stories, saying that he had only been to Dockodockol to serve his master, and claimed that if he came from Tayouan, he would be carrying letters from the Honourable Lord Governor (which he had hidden in the false bottom of the water canteen in which he was carrying drinking water). This was accepted by them, so that they let the Chinese go, who is now rather scared about arriving safely with this letter. However, he thinks he run the risk of undertaking the venture yet another time.

The people of Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer are acting even more brutally and daringly, for they have not hesitated (as they trust their fast feet, of which they show the Dutch soldier, approaching them, their heels) to shoot down five cows, two horses and a donkey and leave them stinking in the field as a prey for the raven, because it is against their law and marenats for them to eat them, saying that if we shoot dead the cattle of the Dutch and prohibit anything being delivered from their villages, they will starve to death. On top of that, they have massacred three of our Chinese since our last letter and tried to destroy the remains of the quarter (that had not caught alight the first time) by setting fire to it, at which time they wounded many Chinese (who jumped out of their cover to extinguish the fire) badly from behind the bushes and the hills. They also dare threaten us that as soon as they have sown their fields, they will come to our redoubt with their entire band, to offer the Dutch [the pledge] that they are once again willing to live in

peace with them, and if this is not accepted, they will destroy all that remains by fire and will attack us even more grievously and more severely than they did on December 8. This would be a rather desperate, and nevertheless most distasteful decision for us, for we cannot resist them honourably because they will rally up at the foot of the hill and march up right under our canon. And, once their eyes are opened, they could camp at the foot of the hill, when our firewood and water (of which you understand they cannot rob us) will be sufficiently cut off, but thank God, Who is keeping their minds ignorant of this [tactic] so far, and we shall pray that this situation will continue, God have mercy.

Your Honour's letter in which you write that as long as we are affable to the Basay, this necessity cannot be taken from us, alas, matters will have come to a pretty pass if we have to rely on this small bunch of fearsome people. For these rebels can threaten them that, if they deliver anything to the Dutch, they will burn down their village and take them all to their own villages to make arrows and other iron utensils. In that case these poor people would be forced to become the enemies of our state and many of them would be innocently killed should Your Honour ever wish to restore this place to its former shape. That Your Honour esteems these rebels harmless we can understand as it derives from their presumed weakness, but with all due respect, you are wrong, for the old captain of Chenaer was banned from Formosa ten or twelve years ago because of his treacherous nature and because he wanted to poison our drinking water. His son, who was appointed in the captain's place at the time of Mr Nolpe, still seems to be looking for a means to avenge this. Also, the people of Pillien and Rappan strongly supported the Pinnerouan during the Pinnerouan war. They have even often spied on our situation, but they knew how to dissimulate, so that they could never openly be declared enemies. Your Honour will have to reckon that the same support is being given to them now again, for most Formosans in this region, the Basay included, are blood relatives through bonds of marriage, so that all these people might conspire together some day, and then will come to raid us with an excellent force, unless these rebels are destroyed immediately. Your Honour will probably say or think that Van Mildert has little experience of war, and come to the conclusion that he fears for his life, but no, you have the wrong end of the stick, for I think my respect to the Company and my private honour are more important to me (than my life). Actually my intention was not to send Your Honour our letters full of complaints, as if we seemed to want to disturb your very important affairs with difficult letters, for that would not satisfy Your Honour, but rather to lighten the worries which Your Honour might have about this northern district, we have (with all due respect for Your Honour's wiser opinion) been thinking of measures to extinguish this blazing fire for the time being (without Your Honour having to send over a big military force). But we cannot think of better or more sufficient measures (because you have to keep the soldiers at hand in Tayouan), than that Your Honour would send us, upon receipt this letter, under the command of such as sage a man as you think is necessary, a small troop of about forty Dutch men, together with 200 or 300 of the most loyal

inhabitants, with bows and arrows. For a short sally we will be able to add as many people from both these garrisons, so that there will be enough Dutchmen to open a passage along for the swift Southern inhabitants, who can pursue these scoundrels into the woods and the mountains. For we are very fearful and can hardly doubt that we would be tarrying too long if Your Honour should decide to wait until November, since those people will have harvested their rice by then, that we could now destroy completely, and afterwards remain in the mountains as long as the armed force should be here. The harvest time is also a very convenient time to ruin their fields, but [this has to be undertaken] with boats, and we can understand that Your Honour cannot decide to send so many inhabitants hither, yet, if you want to achieve this task with Dutchmen, you can be sure that you will have to feed most of them in hospital, and many of them can forget about ever returning [from here], because of the venomous stings and the stench of the unhealthy air and the stinking quagmires. For which reason, as said before, in our opinion, but we shall always bow for Your Honour's wiser opinion [but] we think it advisable that this task be undertaken as quickly as possible, to which end the last month of March (which was very dry) has offered the right opportunity so that the road will be agreeably passable, and [caught] between hope and fear we are longing for it and praying to God. Your Honour is right when you write that we do not have the provisions to feed such an armed force, that is true if this required to be done with meat and bacon, but we have already found another remedy for this, so that we would have given those people no reason to complain about their victuals. For during the time of Plockhoy, pits have been dug and traps have been laid everywhere, to make a good living. How much more convenient it would be to do so in times of emergency, to feed our soldiers, and in doing so, we too (because the hunting fields would then be opened to us instead of to the enemies) would have a fresh morsel every now and then, and our ears could be spared the wailing and complaining of the soldiers about the scurvy, diarrhoea, and the treacherous Tamsuy fevers, which, God have mercy, grieves us all to the core of our hearts, and the hunting fields out here would not be rapidly exhausted by this. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 152-155. )

## 1656 年 3 月 12 日

下席商務官Pieter van Mildert先生從淡水來信，署期本月1日。...根據該信內容，他們還在等候一支軍隊經由陸路去他們那裡，去報復那些叛徒在那裡給他們造成的嚴重麻煩和藐視，那些叛徒在2月底竟敢大膽放話，他們將於近日帶領比以前更大的武力來攻打淡水堡，並要殺死牲畜以及在那一帶看到的一切，然後他們會逃去荷蘭人去不到的山裡種植他們的稻田。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第31頁)

*P.van Mildert* 寫給*C.Caesar*的信，淡水，1656年3月1日。VOC1218，fol. 482-483.

2月24日，林仔社（Chenaer）的酋長哭著來找淡水的主管，說他們是被同社的社民逼著反抗荷蘭人，他和他的家人是無辜的。那些反抗荷蘭人的原住民威脅說要毀掉cantadoor（指淡水

—西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案

的主管)的房子，殺掉他的牲畜，偷走堡壘的樓梯(按：可能要藉此困住荷蘭人)，然後躲到荷蘭人不敢去的山裡種他們自己的田。這位Basay酋長訓斥了這些人，因此林仔社就此放下武器了。原住民說他們知道現任主管van Mildert是溫和的人，他們厭惡的是前任主管Elsevier。英譯摘錄：

[...] On the 27 February the *Cabessa* of Chenaer and his entire family have, with tears in their eyes, complained (justas they had done several times to the Interpreter Gravel Loemas) to our Interpreter Theodoor. Captain Gravel Loemas and *Fiscal* Thoebas Bouw, that they are not guilty of the war now raging, but that it was initiated by some obstinate subjects of the same village, and that they themselves wished to get rid of this bunch, but do not have the guts to contradict them for fear of being beaten to death, so that they are caught between two fires.

At the same time the rebels of the same village have threatened us more vehemently and more daringly than they have ever done, and among their threats have used many curses which are intolerable to the Honourable Company, such as saying with their bows stretched and while slapping on their arses: "What is the Company and what kind of people are you, who are under its obedience? If we want to, we could shoot you down right away, and tell the *cantadoor* (that is what they call the *opperhoofd*), that we are going to destroy his house and his cattle by the rising of the next moon, and are going to steal away the steps in front of the redoubt, after which we shall leave for the mountains, where the Company cannot chase us away, to plant our rice paddies." For this vain speech they were reprimanded by the said Basay and urged to beg for forgiveness, so that at the moment all village peoples are under obedience to the Company, and are keeping quiet in peace just as we wanted, without a single extortion. Upon this the scoundrels answered that they knew very well that the present *cantadoor* was a mild-mannered man, and that the present war was being waged against him undeservedly, but that the former *cantadoor* *had* embittered them, and now that they were embroiled in it, they had to get on with it. We shall endure this foolhardy decision with manly courage (as far as we can), without running the risk of easily spilling Dutch blood, according to the order wisely given by Your Honour.[...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 156-157.)

## 1656 年 3 月 18 日

評議會商討北邊淡水和雞籠的事情，並決定用快艇 *Zoutelande* 號，和我們那艘小的領港船，來送【士兵】去那裡。而且，評議會議員們認為，由巴達維亞閣下派來此地調查是否可設法吸引漢人來雞籠交易。商務官 *Johannes van den Eynde* 先生為這目的，正要去那裡，所以選他擔任上述兩城堡【雞籠和淡水】的最高掌權者，因此，他閣下將跟這次派遣的士兵一起出發去雞籠，我們也要準備一份派他去那裡的詳細指令給他

帶去。會議有關的各種情形，從今天的決議錄可以詳詳細細地看到。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第34頁）

給 *J. van den Eynden* 的指令與任命狀，臺灣，1656 年 4 月 8 日。VOC 1218，331-347，348。

*Resolution. Tayouan, 18 March 1656. VOC 1218，fol. 81-83.*

為增強淡水堡壘的防禦力，決議增派 80 名士兵，與當地的 30 名士兵一起防禦淡水。淡水堡壘的屋頂上將增加防禦工事，並撥出 1500 磅的火藥與 20 last 的稻米作為補給。從巴達維亞派來調查雞籠是否有可能吸引漢人來貿易的商務官 *Johannes van den Eynde* 也被任命為雞籠淡水的主管。如果能吸引漢人去雞籠貿易，荷蘭人就能擺脫危險的臺灣港道。商務官 *van den Eynde* 於 4 月 8 日出發北上。

英譯摘錄：

From this moment, proceedings have been commenced to consider how to provision the aforementioned districts, to strengthen them to their defences and to equip them with food and martial outfits, and it has initially been concluded to strengthen the garrisons out there with fifty military men, and the remaining twenty men in the Quelang area.

Also, that the Tamsuy redoubt, under which the enemy can loiter and not be harmed at all by those who are inside, as became all too clear during the recent assault on December 8<sup>th</sup> last, should be made easier to defend. So it has been concluded and decided that this redoubt will be provided with two protruding ramparts on top. [...] Also, the said districts will be provided with 1,500 pounds of good gunpowder, plus twenty loads of rice for provisions, to satisfy the whole order required from there as well as is in our power. Among their wishes are included 6,000 pieces of Spanish reals, but there are no more than 1564 remaining in our store houses, to which will be added and sent over 2436 pieces of *statendaalders*, in order to complete the amount of 4,000 pieces in all. These *statendaalders* as well as the Spanish reals will be sent over there as commodities or silver, against 62 *stuyvers* each. [...]

Furthermore, the said Van der Eijnden will be provided with full instructions by us, so that everything in those Northern districts will proceed in good order, mostly in this troublesome state of war and rebellion in Tamsuy, and also on the subject of improving trade in Quelang. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 163-164.)

## 1656 年 4 月 8 日

上席商務官 *Johannes van den Eynde* 先生準備好，要去淡水和雞籠的所有事情，並跟長官閣下辭行之後，今天中午，就搭舢舨出港，去搭快艇 *Zoutelande* 號。*Van den Eynde* 是要以上述那兩個地方的特任最高主管身分去那裡的，特別是要遵照巴達維亞的閣下們的命令，要去那裡試試看能不能吸引漢人來雞籠交易通商，以便到時得以脫



離臺灣港外的危險性。我們交給這個 Van den Eynde 一份很詳細的指令使他閣下知所遵循，這份指令可在書信簿裡看到。<sup>198</sup>（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 48 頁）

*Instruction from Governor Cornelis Caesar for Senior Merchant Joannes van den Eijnden, departing to Tamsuy and Quelang as opperhoofd. Tayouan, 8 April 1656. VOC 1218, fol. 331-347.*

從臺灣撥出的 50 名士兵，30 名派駐淡水堡壘，20 名派駐雞籠堡壘，臺灣商館方面認為這樣就足夠防衛這兩個堡壘。並且要注意如何吸引漢商去雞籠貿易。重述 1655 年 12 月 8 日 Pillien、Rappan、Chenaer 三社的原住民召集一百人包圍淡水堡壘，燒掉堡壘山腳下漢人和公司職員的房子。原住民搭起 28 階的樓梯進攻，而荷蘭守軍沒辦法以火繩槍或大砲還擊，反而被從銃眼射進的箭矢殺死三人。但原住民也受到一些損傷，所以最後還是撤退了。之後反抗的原住民殺掉公司的牛馬。Basay 人沒有跟著造反，但當地主管 van Mildert 對此相當沒有信心。臺灣商館方面知道，每當公司的新主管抵達淡水時，淡水地區的原住民都會去歡迎他，並表示忠誠。作為新任主管，van den Eyden 必須給原住民嚴格的指示，以防他們與反抗荷蘭人的村社聯合起來。臺灣商館方面提醒，雞籠和淡水的原住民的生活方式比南部的原住民文明，故必須以禮待之，不可以隨便稱呼他們為狗、惡棍等惡言。荷蘭人認為，這是因為他們受到西班牙人的影響，一時間先把辱罵吞下去，但日後會再找機會復仇。此處又重述 van Mildert 於 3 月 1 日來信的報告，說 Chenaer 社人宣稱他們是被迫入夥反抗荷蘭人的。此外，van Mildert 所提議，派遣 400 名南部原住民北上鎮壓之事，臺灣商館方面認為不可行，即使在南崁地區挖陷阱捕鹿，用鹿肉來給養軍隊也不可行，因為挖陷阱需要四五十名漢人花一個月才能完成，再說現在南崁的鹿場已經被造反的原住民控制了。總之，要鎮壓原住民的話，最好等巴達維亞方面的增援到來再說。

英譯摘錄：

It is known to Your Honour as well as to us, [...] how bad these matters in Tamsuy are, after not only the Pocael people, but also the inhabitants of Perragon, Parricoutsie and Mattatas have declared themselves to be enemies of the Company, and now that they have been supplemented by those from Pillien and Rappan, as well as those from the village Chenaer. All these villages are situated close to the redoubt of Tamsuy, except that of the people of Pocael, who are living fourteen to fifteen hours' walk farther south. It is necessary that they be punished as an example to others, but since nowadays we lack the power to execute this in the safest possible way, we have written about this to Batavia. So we have no doubt that Their Honours will send us some help with the ships they are about to dispatch, so that we can avenge the injustice done to us, and consequently we have to be patient until that time comes. But we could not refrain from withdrawing fifty sturdy soldiers from our garrison, of whom you will have to place thirty in Tamsuy and twenty in Quelang. We think that in doing so, these places can be sufficiently

<sup>198</sup> 由此段資料，可窺知巴達維亞當局想要把 VOC 在臺灣的政治、經濟、貿易中心，從臺灣遷移去雞籠。

defended for the time being, provided that no sorties are made, you are under strictest orders to refrain from doing so, unless there should be a considerable profit in doing so, but not otherwise. It seems that the redoubt of Tamsuy is the weaker of the two strongholds. On the 8 December last it happened that the people from Pillien, Rappan and the village of Chenaer did not hesitate to assault this fort with a force of about a hundred men, after they had first set fire to the Chinese quarter and the houses of the Company's servants which were situated below the fort, and then came running up the slope of the redoubt in a fury and so recklessly, that they seemed out of their minds and tired of life. But their assault was not unlucky, because, when they had mounted some twenty-eight steps to the redoubt, they could not be shot at with muskets or canon by our men, and fired so many arrows through the canon ports that three of our men were killed. But some of the rebels were killed and wounded (as we were told), so that in the end they retreated. But afterwards they dared to kill some of the Company horses and cows, just at the foot of the fort, so that our men had to stay patiently inside the fort, as if they had been locked in. They even feared that the wretches would cut them off from their water and firewood. This we think is not possible, as long as the Basayos remain true to us, even though Junior Merchant Van Mildert is very pessimistic about it. The said rebels are even threatening our men boasting that they will repeat their assault soon, so we have thought it wise to have made two protruding wooden ramparts on this redoubt. [...] In this way it can be prevented that even any cat or mouse, as it were, will be able to get under [the shelter of] the redoubt without being shot at from all sides, and can be kept away from there with hand grenades, to which end we have given orders to ship the materials and other necessities

[...]Undoubtedly, whenever the peoples of the villages which are situated along the Tamsuy River (who at the moment are keeping quiet, and are considered to be so-called friends) receive the news that Your Honour has personally come ashore to take up the high command, they will come over to bid Your Honour welcome. You should receive them all well, and remind them of their obligations. You should also give them strict orders that they will maintain no alliance with any of the rebels who turn against the Company, or even less assist them, on penalty that next time they will be punished with the rebels. Please be aware that the said inhabitants who live around Tamsuy and Quelang are much more civilized in their way of life and behaviour than any inhabitants on this side, and for that reason you must treat them very courteously and not call them dogs, scoundrels and the like. For they have to some extent absorbed the Spanish nature of containing themselves whenever they are being scolded, but will not hesitate to take their revenge if an opportunity arises later on, even if it cost them their lives. [...]

[...]It could also happen that some rebels, according to what was heard from those of the hamlet Chenaer, are inclined to make peace with the Company, since there are some headmen in that village who have been forced to join the rebels, for fear of being beaten to death by them. This is similar to what Junior Merchant Van Mildert tells us in his letter of the first of last month, in which he says that on February 24<sup>th</sup> last, the *Cabessa* of Chenaer and his entire family complained

with tears in their eyes on our Interpreter Theodoor, Captain Granvello Loemas and *Fiscal* Thobas Bauw, as has happened several times to the interpreter Granvello Loemas, that they were not guilty of waging war, and that they wanted to live in peace with the Company as before, and be free of the rebels, or would try to reduce them to obedience. They [the rebels] had been exhorted several times by them to do so, but it has been to no avail, and they said that the said rebels did not want to listen. But they confessed they had done wrong to wage war against Van Mildert, who was innocent, but that Mr Elsevier had caused this and so, now that matters have come so far, they had to manage, and trust upon their stretched bows and their fast feet. Furthermore they spoke very audaciously: "What is the Company, and who are you who bow before it, if we want to, we can shoot you all down," while they were slapping their backsides. They also threatened us that they wanted to fight us again soon, by the next full moon, and after they had accomplished this they would go into the mountains, where they think our people would not be able to come, to set out their rice paddies. Therefore, it has been concluded by us in the Council of Formosa, should some people from the rebellious villages appear before you with the request again to be granted your mercy, to deliver you a mandate that you should not accept this, unless the suppliants should hand over to you from every village which makes the request, five or six of the main villains and perpetrators of their murders and villainies, so that we can punish them as we think best. If all goes in this wise, you may accept them again, but not otherwise. Because the deeds they have committed are too wicked and if we get more help, we still intend to punish them as an example in such a way, that afterwards nobody will dream of taking up any arms against the Company, and even less commit such crimes. [...]

...To want to take another fifty Dutchmen away from the garrisons of Quelang and Tamsuy and then join them to the said force in order to deal with the rebels, what other upshot could there be than that both the forts would be put at risk, and the rebels given a wonderful opportunity to take them, for he complains that they had no end of trouble when a hundred men launched an assault on the redoubt of Tamsuy on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December. What would have happened if the majority of the men had been sent out to be used for an expedition? Do not hesitate to think that the rebels would know how to take advantage of the situation, therefore it is best, in our opinion, that we wait patiently for the help demanded and ensure our forts are well manned until the time has come for a strong armed force to be sent there to avenge everything with such power as the circumstances require, instead of organising such a heedless excursion. Therefore, Your Honour should order him not to endanger his men, but to persevere with the defence of himself and his people, in case the rebels should come to harass him again. Moreover, Your Honour is advised to ensure this is what happens. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 169-172. )

## 1656 年 5 月 3 日

領港船從雞籠送來144樽桶煤炭，也從淡水送來85枚水鹿皮、70枚鹿皮和50枚獐皮。快艇Zoutelande號不久也會裝煤炭隨著回來此地。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第57頁）

*J. vandenEynden*寫給*C. Caesar*的信，雞籠，1656年4月24日。VOC1218，fol.484-485，英譯摘錄：

[...]

The rebellious villages situated around Tamsuy seem to be very sorry for their mistakes, so that they have been asking by way of several commanders among our friends in other villages to be accepted under our indulgence again. To which I have answered that they should first hand over the most important scoundrels to us, and we would then write to the Honourable Lord Governor in Tayouan. That they have promised to do. Time will tell what will come of it, I am absolutely confident that for the time being we need not fear that anything will be attempted by the inhabitants on the redoubt or against the Company servants. However, I have advised the [Company] authorities in Tamsuy very urgently that they should always be on the alert. How the Pergon have been treated by those from Pocael or Dockodockol, Your Honours will please see for yourselves in the extract from the *dagregister* of Tamsuy. The wood which has been put out to tender for the gun carriages is showing up very slowly, both here and in Tamsuy, no more than two planks have arrived here and ten in Tamsuy. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 183.)

*P. vanMildert*寫給*C. Caesar*的信，淡水，1656年4月28日。VOC1218，486- 487。

## 1656 年 5 月 16 日

福爾摩沙評議會今年 4 月 20 日決議的一個告示，...嚴禁在淡水和雞籠以外的福爾摩沙島的北部地區交易，違令者，船隻和貨物將被沒收之外，人還將受到該告示寫明的處罰。也公佈關於這共和國在臺灣以及在普羅岷西亞的檢查官、秘書和公證人將享合法薪資的確定規則。最後也公佈一個令商店的人遵行的小度量衡的規定。這些公告的詳細內容可參閱該告示以及決議錄上述日期的相關決議事項。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 65 頁）

*Resolution. Tayouan, 20 April 1656. VOC 1218, fol. 88-101.*

禁止在雞籠和淡水以外的臺灣北部進行貿易。北部的範圍從牛罵社對岸以北起算（即今大甲溪以北），包含南崁、竹塹、Cinkanja（今苗栗後龍新港仔）、Pangswa（崩山），臺灣島北部的西岸和東岸。只有持特別核准通行證的商人可以例外。

英譯摘錄：

[...]Furthermore, [...] for important reasons it has been agreed and decided in this meeting that all and everyone is strictly forbidden by placard from now on, to trade in merchandise or to barter,

on a big or small scale, on land or on water, directly or indirectly, in whatever way, in the northern part of Formosa, counting from the other side or north of the village Goemach to the north. That means in the districts of Lamcan, Tixam, Cinkanja, Pangswa and that area, or wherever it may be in the northern district of Formosa, and also on the western side or the eastern side of this island, or inland, but only with the Honourable Company in Quelang or Tamsuy, where and with whom it will be allowed. But with nobody else but the Honourable Company, unless a written passport that has been issued in someone's name for some reason or other and permission for this should be given and handed over at any given moment in the future. But the trade in the above-mentioned manner will be strictly forbidden in the afore-mentioned northern district, on the penalty of confiscation of all boats and goods with which it should be found out to have been transacted against this in the same northern district, just as goods which might be found over there without our express consent in writing, unless it should prove to be made clear that such a vessel as was found in that district had come to that district because of a storm, lightning or severe damage. In that case, however, trade will remain absolutely forbidden, on the penalty of confiscation as above. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 181. )

## 1656 年 5 月 19 日

上席商務官Johannes van den Eynde信提到，下席商務官Van Mildert從淡水寫信告訴他說，反抗的林仔社的叛徒，看到我們並沒有派出足夠對付他們的軍力去那裡，就又開始暴動起來，他們一大群人很大膽地來到距離那【淡水的】礮堡約十五分鐘路程的地方，說，他們要來威脅那礮堡，就像竹塹社人好久以前威脅過那樣。這礮堡的斜牆已經造好完成，現在該礮堡已經很有防衛的能力了。以後還需要全部翻新礮堡的屋頂，因為那屋頂有裂開的危險。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第67頁）

J. van den Eynden與P. van Milder寫給C. Caesar的信，雞籠，1656年5月9日，VOC 1218，fol. 488-490.

林仔（Chenaer）社看到荷蘭人增援的軍隊沒有攻擊他們，又開始造反。他們大批聚集於離淡水公司堡壘0.25荷哩，約15分鐘路程的沙崙，但又聲稱他們是受到威脅才這麼做的。為防禦淡水堡壘，增築的防禦工事已於5月6日完工。

英譯摘錄：

[...] Junior Merchant Pieter van Mildert, whom I have summoned here from Tamsuy, has (God be praised) arrived in good order, and has told us that the desperate inhabitants of Chenaer are beginning to stick their horns up again, since they were not assaulted or destroyed upon our arrival (of which they seemed to be scared). They even have the guts to venture into the sand dunes (lying about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the redoubt) in big bands, just as before, and as it is said, they explain orally that they are being threatened only [by the Company], just as the Pocael people

were threatened for many years. While we know that this will put them on quite a different footing, and that this will come upon them as they were seized by fever. Therefore we request that what was concluded in the Council of Formosa, namely to send a sufficient armed force from Tayouan to us in September, may be realized, since I notice that if not the rebels will turn against our state more violently than ever before. [...]As soon as possible we have begun to build the ramparts on the redoubt Anthonio as ordered by Your Honour, and they were completed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 184. )

## 1656 年 6 月 24 日

參閱：給快艇 *Arnemuyden* 號、平底船 *ConinckDavid* 號與大帆船 *RodeVos* 號的主管們的指令，巴達維亞，1656 年 5 月 19 日。VOC 880，188-189。

*J. Maetsuycker* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，巴達維亞，1656 年 5 月 19 日。VOC 880，fol. 189-219. 如果淡水堡壘的荷蘭軍隊無法恢復當地的統治秩序，又只能靠臺灣方面補給，將會降低公司的威信，對統治不利。因此巴達維亞方面同意臺灣商館方面動用臺灣的駐軍採取行動。但也要注意此次的原住民反抗部分也是因為荷蘭人自己統治失當所致，故要懲戒犯錯者，讓臺灣島上的臣民免受失政之苦。

英譯摘錄：

[...] The gold weighing  $8 \frac{3}{4}$  reals bought in Tamsuy in exchange for iron, which was sent to us by Your Honour last year has been sold in Coromandel at an unheard of profit of 59 per cent, so that it would be desirable if more could be got. [...]

[...] (*The situation in Tamsuy had deteriorated considerably, since the villages Perragon, Parricoutsie, Mattatas and others had rebelled and had killed four Dutchmen:*), the more so because the said rebels had conspired with the inhabitants of Pocael, Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer, which are situated very close to the redoubt of Tamsuy, and have become so daring that one evening they attacked the Chinese quarter and reduced it to ashes, and also have ventured to make a furious assault on the redoubt Anthonio. We think this rebellion will have a dangerous sequel, and are very worried that, before Your Honour will have taken measures against this, the rebels will augment in such large numbers and will seduce so many villages which live in friendship with us on their side, that it will be very hard to lead them back into the old way of peace and tranquillity, let alone obedience. However, it is necessary that we do our utmost, or else our people in Tamsuy will be besieged all the time and will have no other provisions than what is sent to them from Tayouan. This would diminish the respect for the Company considerably in that region, and apart from that we would have to endure observing their harassment, as far as the Poncan River, to which they have easy access. In that case, villages north of it will not be out of danger of being ruined, or at best will be forced into a bloody war against these enemies. Therefore we agree with Your Honour that it is indeed urgent to take measures as

soon as possible, and that such a considerable force be put up against this as is in our power, on Tayouan. We shall leave the management and execution of the matter to Your Honour's wisdom, and shall wait to hear what success you will have achieved in future. We praise Your Honour's intention to undertake this expedition with the military over land at the most convenient time of the year, and to appoint Merchant Joannes van den Eijnden as the commander, who will come and assume the authority over Tamsuy and Quelang [...] and can remain there until the turmoil is stopped and everything is restored to good order. [...] As we notice, this revolt has, again, sprung from the violence which our own people have used against the inhabitants. This deserves a much stronger correction than what has been meted out so far, for it is clear how much the Honourable Company is often being hampered by this. So this must be punished vigorously, and the [Formosan] subject must be freed from this. [...]

*(The High Government had understood that considerable quantities of timber were not to be obtained from the woods near Tamsuy.)* You need not provide us with huge amounts of coal, because the cargo holds of the ships could better be used for loading sugar, in part because nowadays we are reasonably provided with coal from Patria. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 191-192.)

## 1656 年 7 月 21 日

反叛的南崁（Percoutsi）社人又砍殺一個漢人的頭顱。除此之外，他們還算平靜無事。不久以前，中港社（Tockudekol）人，用欺詐手段在八里坌（Perragon）社裡（這也是反叛的村社）造成內訌，使該社所有的成人壯士都被打死，只有 5、6 個逃走的倖免於難。

從福州第二次有篷船來淡水，運來一批麥子，沒有其他重要的物品。我們在那裡的人肯定地說，如果公司在淡水或雞籠備有肉豆蔻、丁香、胡椒、籐、錫、蘇木、奇楠木（calimback，或譯作：沉香）等物，一定會有人很快就來交易運走。也有 2 艘篷船從廈門去到那裡，都是去運硫磺的。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 103 頁）

*P.van Mildert* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，雞籠，1656 年 7 月 13 日，VOC1218，fol. 492-498.

幾乎沒有漢商的篷船來雞籠貿易，只有兩艘從廈門來的篷船要來交易竹子和硫磺。漢人總是讓原住民手上塞滿禮物，所以他們關係友好，但是硫磺的交貨很慢，因為控制磺山的原住民不願意配合，雞籠淡水方面的官員認為當荷蘭的軍隊來鎮壓後，會讓這些控制磺山的原住民比較願意與公司合作。因為蝗災與疾病，窮苦的原住民在收穫季節甚至必須放下他們的莊稼，帶著妻子和小孩去為富人的磨坊工作。這只能解短期之苦，明年，甚至是今年，他們又會變成富人的奴隸。因為淡水河流域如此缺糧，Basay 人也沒有足夠的食物了，故請求臺灣商館在八月送來 1500 樽或 200 last 的稻米。此外有來自漢人與 Basay 人的情報，有 56 名後壠社（Tockedukol）壯丁造訪八里坌社，說他們要見淡水的主管，因為之前他們沒有

參加land dag。八里坌社不疑有他，招待後壠社人，肩並肩一起吃飯。突然後壠社人發動突襲，大開殺戒，最後八里坌社只有六名壯丁逃過此劫。（按：此即漢文史料所記「八里坌社，舊在淡水港西南之長豆溪；荷蘭時，後壠最悍，殲之幾無遺種」。）

英譯摘錄：

[...] (*No Chinese traders had appeared, except for two junks from Amoy. Those traders, who intended to buy bamboo and sulphur, were however forced to wait:*) because of the unwillingness of the inhabitants, who are still friends, for the Chinese have always to fill the hands of many of the most important captains, according to their contract, so that the sulphur usually costs them quite a lot of hoping and giving presents, before it eventuates. They would be willing to do so if they were helped out, but they complain especially about the long, sad waiting, which we cannot remedy unless the people who control the Sulphur Mountain, that is Backie Goemau and Backie Teneyl and their followers, are made more co-operative by the power of the Company. I hope this will happen when the armed force, which is due, has arrived, and we do not doubt that it will be sent, if not Tamsuy will be badly off. The day before yesterday I received news from Tamsuy that the people from Parricoutsie had killed a Chinese and some other people, who had sailed there to pick up a few bulls. Had this not happened we were intending in good faith to let the Chinese adventurer who arrived last year, march back over land, in order to be more certain that this message be carried across, but this cannot happen now, for the afore-mentioned reasons. [...]

We have a very small stock of rice up here and we cannot find anyone to work unless we should pay him in rice. This is very hard for us, for the people who work in the coal-mines cannot be refused rice, because they are with ... men, for most of them went to Cavalang, Tarraboan and the gold-mine, for they have promised to deliver them 1,600 buckets, which is about 200 *lasten*, of coal before the ship or ships, arrives. [...]

What is more, these inhabitants have not been able to recover their losses since the time the locusts and death were visited upon this place by God the Lord, but deteriorate with each year which comes. This most affects the poor, who cannot save enough to have something to put in the ground during the sowing season, because of which, in order to keep the rice-mill open, they are forced into the service of the rich with their wives and children, but this is only a short-term solution, so that the next year, or even already this year, they will again be slaves, as they can hardly scratch a living. Because of the scarcity of rice along the rivers, the Basay have also fallen short of rice every year during this same period. For which reason we request Your Honours please to provide us with 1,500 buckets or 200 *lasten* of rice in August.

According to testimonies given by the Chinese and Basay, some time ago of their own accord the people of Dockodockol have made an assault on the village Perragon with fifty-six able-bodied men. Those villagers who were eager to learn what they were intending to do asked them why they had come. Upon this, they were answered that they intended to present themselves to the *cantadoor* and obtain some presents, since they had not attended the *landdag*. After which speech the people from Paragon served them food and beverages, and were sitting together, until



the men from Dockodockol, ... who hardly betrayed that they had come for some purpose other than they had pretended, suddenly sprang up uttering loud screams (which was their signal) and struck out at everyone who was sitting around them to welcome them as guests. So that hardly six able Perragon men remain. And from there the Dockodockol men set out to their own village again. [...]

While he was still alive, the Honourable Van den Eijnden, and then we, have been requested here, that Acting Sergeant Gabrieldu Pon may get married to Coeno Caban, inhabitant of the village Gouma, widow of the former Chinese farmer in Tamsuy. Every day this man does his utmost to instruct this woman and make her ready to enter into Christianity. The same request has come from Michiel Michielsz, from Hayman, to marry Maria Gouw, a Basay Qiristian, widow of Josephus Pandang. We request Your Honour please to send us instructions about this in your next letter. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 196-198. )

*P.van Mildert* 寫給 *C. Caesar* 的信，淡水 1656 年 7 月 15 日。VOC 1218，499-450。

## 1656 年 8 月 31 日

派代表去淡水和雞籠清理帳簿並確實地了解一切。寫給 *Van Mildert* 的書信和交給代表 *Van Borselen* 的指令的內容，可從書信簿裡看到。

(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 122 頁)

給 *P. van Borselen* 的指令和委任狀，臺灣，1656 年 8 月 29 日。VOC 1218，349-361。

*C. Caesar* 寫給 *P. van Mildert* 的信，臺灣，1656 年 8 月 29 日。VOC fol. 1218，316-330.

提及 *van Mildert* 帶著四個荷蘭兵搭船上溯河流抵達雞籠，沿途沒有受到阻礙，可見反抗公司的原住民只有那些住在淡水堡壘附近的，而非住在內陸的。臺灣商館撥出 20 last 的稻米北運，這是臺灣商館所能供應的極限，因為巴達維亞方面正在錫蘭嶼爪哇募兵對抗萬丹的統治者，此一動亂使爪哇島也缺米，需要從臺灣供應。因此指示淡水和雞籠的主管，這些稻米只供應荷蘭士兵，不可以賣給原住民，這樣應該夠吃到翌年五月。再說原住民有需要時，他們自己會去噶瑪蘭買，不需要由荷蘭人供應。淡水和雞籠的堡壘各自有九十名荷蘭士兵防守。臺灣長官指示當地主管堅守堡壘，不要主動出擊，坐看原住民自相殘殺，等到次年有增援之後再考慮鎮壓。

英譯摘錄：

It pleased us to learn from the letter of the late Mr Van den Eijnden, dated 24 April last [...] that the elders of the villages situated along the river have come from all sides to bid His Honour welcome. Also, that His Honour understood from those chiefs that the rebels had regretted their rebellion and requested to be pardoned and to be granted mercy again. To which the said Van den Eijnden had answered that this would be their due as soon as they had delivered us the rascals who had committed it. Which they said they would do, but we cannot presume it has been

done, whereas we learn from your letter of May 9<sup>th</sup> that the people from Chenaer had begun to grow more audacious and to rise up again after Mr Van den Eijnden had departed for Quelang, to the extent that they approached with troops to within a quarter of an hour's walking distance of the environs of the redoubt Anthonio, and they stated that they did not ask for us, since they saw that they were merely threatened and no soldiers were sent over to take up arms against them. However, we cannot see that they have taken any further action against us. We also suppose that the same rebels will be already a trifle apprehensive, since we understand that Mr Van Mildert has had the guts to sail up the river to Quelang from Tamsuy with four Dutchmen. Which is a sign that the people along the river are not up to much mischief, but that only the people who live close by, on the other side of the Tamsuy River, are those who oppose the Company. Also, that the people from Pocael or Dockodockol came to the village of Perragon some time ago, pretending to be friends with them, and that, when they were entertained with food and beverage those from Dockodockol beat all of them to death, with the exception of five or six persons. This will give cause for a good fright among the said rebels, afraid of being visited by them one evening or morning, which will be a good thing, We are very sorry that we are still not in a position to send any armed force to Tamsuy now, to punish or revenge the opprobrium we suffered from the rebels, because we have only received a few soldiers from Batavia this year. [...]

*(The Company had to employ the soldiers elsewhere, in Ceylon and in Java, against the ruler of Bantam. In Java, the irregularities had caused a shortage of rice, therefore Batavia had requested rice from other VOC settlements such as Tayouan:)* this is the reason we can send you only 20 lasten of it, with which you will be lavishly provided until the month of May, which is nine months. That means, for your people in the garrison, but not for the inhabitants, so you will not sell them any rice for cash, or hand it out to the coal-miners.

*(The fact that Cheng Ch'eng-kung had forbidden his subjects to send out junks to Tayouan to trade with the Company was considered a bad omen portending that his landing might be imminent)* So you will always have to remain on your guard, just as we are. We order you to keep no more than 180 Dutchmen to occupy Tamsuy and Quelang, that is ninety men in each fort, in this like, with which we think you will have enough people to defend the said forts should there be an unexpected strike. But above all you will have to refrain from making any assaults yourselves, [...] and leave the rebels kick their heels a while, until next year, when we hope our force will be bigger to avenge ourselves respectably. [...] Should it happen that some of the friendly villages come to ask you for what reason so few military men were sent to you by us, you will have to pretend that this is so because Mr Van den Eijnden and you yourselves had written to us that it was not necessary that an armed force be sent, because the elders of the friendly villages had come to meet His Honour upon his arrival and had spoken on behalf of the rebels, on condition that they had promised to try and deliver the rebels into our hands, and that the fulfilment of their promise was expected soon, and for that reason we are not inclined to spill innocent blood. But, should we be forced to take up arms against them, we shall try to take our revenge in such a

way that the rebels will remember this forever. So you will have to see to it that they fulfil their promise, if they do have some love for their neighbours, and for this you will have to encourage the good ones to deliver us the bad ones. [...]

[...]The 1134 bags of coal and the eighty-five elk skins which were sent to us, plus the seventy pieces of *cabessa* and fifty pieces of mountain-goat skin have arrived in good order in the yacht Zoutelande and the pilot boat. [...] We learn from your letter that every year the coal-miners require many tools. We cannot fathom where the tools sent are going, for it is not possible that they can be worn out in such a short time. We are inclined to think that many of them are stolen by the inhabitants, as the iron is very popular among them. At the moment these tools are not being sent, but [instead] some iron bars, because we suppose that at the moment 200 loads of coal are in stock over there, so that for the time being no more needs to be dug, unless it is ordered, because Batavia is provided with this from patria, and for Coromandel one flute load will be sufficient for this year, so for the time being the digging of coal can be cut back. [...] The gold to the weight of 143 reals, that was bought in Tamsuy and Quelang during the time that Merchant Thomas van Iperen was *opperhoofd* there and that was sent over here by him, was sent to Their Honours in Batavia to be tested, and from there it was sent on to Coromandel to determine the right alloy. On Coromandel it has made a profit of 59 per cent, so if there is much more of that mineral to be had in Tamsuy or Quelang, it would be agreeable to the Company. [...]

[...](Only twenty loads of rice had been sent) so you should sell no more rice to the Basay, and also halt the digging of coal, since the Basay will have ample supplies of rice now that we have peace with the Cavalang people. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 202-206. )

## 1656 年 11 月 10 日

從雞籠來的小平底船Breuckelen號，載有煤炭和一些鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第151頁）

*Missive Governor Cornelis Caesar to Governor-General Joan Maetsuijker. Tayouan, 20 November 1656. VOC 1218, fol. 1-76.*

新派任的下席商務官於9月17日抵達雞籠時，竟然發現當地守軍已經有三天沒米吃了，原因是賣太多給Basay人，或是用太多米去驅使原住民挖煤炭。

英譯摘錄：

(In August, Junior Merchant Pieter van Borselen had been sent to the north, as commissioner in the company of Junior Merchant Egbert Codde, who was to be appointed second man in Tamsuy. On 17 September both of them travelled to Quelang:) and found the affairs of the Company out there in such bad shape that there was hardly enough rice for three days in fort Noord Holland, because too much of it had been given to the Basay for cash or for digging coal by Van den

Eijnden or Van Mildert, when alive, for if the truth be told they had been richly provided with it. We cannot fathom what moved them to hand out as much rice as this, for Van den Eijnden had been expressly instructed not to sell too much rice to the Basay, but to make sure that there was enough rice for the garrison, so that it would not fall short at any moment. They seem to have paid little attention to this, which is a sorry plight. That they pursued such a bad policy and put the Basay first, could have caused the ruin of all of them, which, God be praised, has now taken a turn for the better. For if the Breuckelen had not appeared, who knows how the matter would have ended. It is quite clear that forts which are situated so far away, ought to be provisioned for at least six months, for it can easily happen that this or the other ship might drift off or be wrecked, in which case they [...], would be in extreme misery. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 232. )

## 1657 年

### 1657 年 3 月 27 日

有一漢人從淡水和雞籠經陸路來到此地，帶下席商務官 **Egbert Codde** 和那邊的評議會寫來的署期本月14日的一封信，內容主要寫說，那邊的原住民開始放下武器，對公司不再採取任何敵意的行動了，因此我方在那邊的人又可安然地出去打獵，享用鹿肉。也寫那邊缺乏的需用品，跟上次來信所寫的差不多，詳細品名可從該信的抄本看到。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第166頁）

*E. Codde* 和評議會寫給 *F. Coyett* 的信，雞籠，1657年3月14日。VOC1222，fol. 397-401.

雞籠與淡水的原住民去問當地主管，為什麼年底沒有辦 *landdag*？荷蘭官員回答說這年不會辦了，但這沒有讓這些想來吃喝拿禮物的原住民頭人滿意，所以公司用大量的酒菜和禮物招待這些原住民，直到他們醉醺醺，高興地回去。北部原住民的狀況大致平靜，只要公司能夠用禮物和酒食滿足他們。翻譯員 *Theodore* 死了，可能是被毒死的，里族社（*Poenap*）的酋長 *Teneyl* 要求任命 *Theodore* 的女婿（*schoonsoone*）*Barnabe* 為翻譯員，如果荷蘭人不任命 *Barnabe*，他就要號召淡水地區的原住民造反。荷蘭官員認為他們不可以屈服於原住民，所以認為最終必須靠武力征服。在淡水南邊，2月1日荷蘭官員來報，南崁社和竹塹社假裝邀請後壠社人去作客，結果卻對來客大開殺戒，有四十名後壠社男女被殺。這對公司可能不是好消息，因為後壠社被視為是公司的盟友。2月22日，毛少翁社和 *Pillien* 社人帶了三顆八里坌社人的人頭到淡水堡壘，因為過去有四名荷蘭人渡過淡水河去打獵，但被八里坌人殺掉，故前任主管們曾經承諾懸賞要八里坌社償命。1657年1月初，毛少翁社的酋長 *Goemau* 死了，所以里族社的酋長 *Teneyl* 變成淡水地區原住民之長。

英譯摘錄：

[...] Both in Quelang and Tamsuy (God be praised) we are still living in peace with our so-called friends. After the departure of the Commissioner, Mr Pieter van Borsselen, all the *cabessas* of the Tamsuy River appeared before us, both here and in Quelang, claiming that they had come only to welcome the *Oppeerhoofd*, and to see why the *Landdag* was not being held, as of old. We told them that this was not the case this year, which did not please them at all, because they are of an importunate nature and love to be given presents and make merry at times. So, in order to satisfy those secret traitors completely, we have given them a present each, and treated them copiously to food and drink, until they returned happily and completely drunk.

Also, most of the *cabessas* of Cavalang have appeared before us, except those from the villages Tomegoch, Pattongadiwan and Pinabarath; they came only to welcome the newly arrived *Oppeerhoofd*, just as the former Tamsuy headmen. When we asked them why the captains of the other three villages had not come, they answered that they were unwilling to come hither because they were afraid of suffering some harm, but were truly our friends. This is hard to believe, but they promised to do their utmost to send them to us. So, after they had been regaled with some presents and drinks, they have returned to their dwelling places as a group. So that, as said before, the situation in this northern region is still in a reasonably good order. Sometimes, however, we hear from the Basay who live in the village of Kimaurij that the River people are not greatly to be trusted, but for the time being we have not been informed that they are actually undertaking anything against us. Nevertheless, they are expert in enforcing the conditions of [former] treaties from us, for we cannot get anything done by them, unless we pay them dearly. Everything is fine as long as we are happy to fill their hands with presents and their bellies with drink, but if we did not, we would see that these so-called friends would be alienated from us, and turn out to be declared enemies. Yes, the captain of the village Poenap, called Teneyl alias Bootsman, even had the impudence to state in our presence that because Interpreter Theodoor Hermano (who died on November 15, last, and is supposed to have been poisoned, so we have been told) is now dead, that they requested that the *Cahessa* Bamabe, son-in-law of Theodoor, should take his father's place and be appointed interpreter. And if this were not done, that he would leave [the protection of] the Company, and wreak havoc to Tamsuy. To this we answered that Theodoor had just recently died, and that we would write to Tayouan about it. Tart words indeed, especially since you have to consider how we are subject to this insolent pack which has already started to issue orders to us. This is intolerable for the Dutchmen out here, and it is disrespectful to the Honourable Company to be controlled by such uncivilised people. Matters will not improve, unless we can [go there] with an armed force and smite a bunch of these tyrants with the sword. For this reason, it would be advisable if the Honourable Company were to send us some soldiers, for I am convinced that eventually it will be as the saying goes (the pitcher goes to the well so often that it is broken at last), which means that some time in the future they will do us harm. [...]

[...]We also heard in a message from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of the same month that the inhabitants of Kimassauw and Pillien have come to Tamsuy with three heads which were taken from those of Perragon, for which former *opperhoofden* have promised them a big reward because these are rebellious people who earlier had massacred four Dutch men who had crossed the Tamsuy River to go hunting. We did the same, by giving them a present, so that this pack from Perragon has almost earned its just desserts. [...]

[...]We still have a sufficient stock of coal over here. [...] We have not received any gold so far [...], since the trip to Tarraboan has not yet been made, as this usually takes place in the month of April. [...]

Several times we have offered the *hoorns* from Banda for sale, which were sent by Your Honour on the flute Breuckelen, to the inhabitants of Cavalang and others, but they are not interested in them, since they are too small. If only they were bigger, we could get 1  $\frac{1}{4}$  real per two pairs. [...]

(*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 244-247.)

## 1657 年 5 月 7 日

有一持通行證艘篷船出航前往雞籠和淡水，.....這艘篷船還裝有下列物品：54籠<sup>199</sup>黑糖（*bruyne zuyster*）、5籃煙草、15樽燒酒、2籠冰糖、50袋米、1擔蔥（*auyen*）、1擔大蒜、150罐三酒和1擔糖水、搭20個人，並裝有20袋公司帳內的日本米，要運去給那邊駐軍的。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第176頁）

## 1657 年 7 月 15 日

一艘篷船從北部的淡水來到此地，搭6個人，運來下列物品：10擔籐和、330擔鹿皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第208頁）

## 1657 年 7 月 21 日

.....雞籠與淡水之間的溪流和陸路，現在通行無阻沒有危險，因為沿那些溪流與陸路居住的我們的屬民表現得很順服，但是反抗的八里坌（*Parragon*）、南坎（*Pa1rkoutsi*）、*Mattatas*等社頑強反抗，他們想可以去嚴厲報復他們。數日前，我們的人通知這些反抗村社的頭目，可以安心地來商談關於要交出那些主要的挑撥者之

<sup>199</sup>籠，原文為：*kanassers*，裝糖以籠計。「每籠一百七十八斤」。范咸，《重修臺灣府志》，引自《臺灣府志》（北京：中華書局影印，1984），頁 2267。

一西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案

事。對此，他們回答說，他們也很想要和平，不過必須派一個有充分權力的荷蘭人去他們社裡商談和平之事，不然，他們就要繼續頑強反抗。Pillien人還說，以前的公司主管Keerdecoe和Elsevier太過分為難他們，所以他們不再相信荷蘭人了，他們寧可留在自己的村社裡來保衛自己。

發高燒的病，在雞籠和淡水更加嚴重起來了，上個月，在雞籠有下士Van der Laak死去。在淡水也有一個下士和四個士兵死去，此外還有幾個病人住進病院。

船上舵工（Taikon）告訴我們說，他離開雞籠以後去過淡水，在那裡聽說，下席商務官Egbert Codde去世，但此事我們沒有從淡水的任何人接到報告。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第211頁）

*P. Boons* 寫給*F. Coyett*的信，雞籠，1657年6月27日。VOC1222，410-413。

*P. Boons* 寫給*F. Coyett*的信，雞籠，1657年6月4日。VOC1222，402-409。

## 1657 年 7 月 22 日

一艘小篷船從雞籠入港，搭 19 個人，運來下列物品：14 塊樟木木板、10 擔籐、200 枚獐皮、100 枚鹿皮、1 擔硫磺、8 個飯鍋、3 罈油和 2 罈 *zardain*。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第 213 頁）

## 1657 年 7 月 23 日

一艘小篷船從淡水和雞籠來到此地，搭18個男人，運來下列物品：28塊木板、30袋（*baliën*）米、5擔籐和、105枚獐皮。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第213頁）

## 1657 年 7 月 27 日

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 216 頁），

*P. Boons* 寫給*F. Coyett*的信，雞籠，1657年7月10日（並有1657年7月16日的附錄）。

VOC1222，fol. 414-418，英譯摘錄：

[...] We shall do our utmost to have the 300 *lasten* of coal ready by September next, as Your Honour has ordered. To this end, we have already ordered the Kimaurij Basay to dig coal in the mountains, but they urgently need tools for digging and nothing of this like has been transported to me. However, to comply with your order I have visited the houses of inhabitants and Chinese, and have thus managed to collect only a few tools which were hidden here and there, and I shall ask our blacksmith to make some more of them, so that they can start digging and comply with

your request, and a big quantity of coal can be dug every year from now on. Nevertheless, we are looking forward to receiving the first shipload of coal-digging tools, and we shall take better care of them than we have done in the past. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, p. 306.)

## 1657 年 9 月 3 日

給T.Pedel、F. Schedel和T. van Iperen的指令，臺灣，1657年9月3日。VOC 1222，390-396。

在此指令中，臺灣當局描繪了他們對原住民的印象。他們認為這些島民比鄰近的大陸民野蠻、無道德感、不理性，因為他們從來沒有被單一的權威所統治。這樣的性格，從臺灣原住民分社而居、無君長、說不同的語言，對鄰居一無所知，總是互相砍殺等狀況就可以得證。荷蘭人認為公司的統治會將原住民的文化導向好的方面，但手段可能是用和平的勸戒，或是用武力的懲戒。但目前的成就只有讓住在荷蘭人附近的原住民變得比較「文明」，他們認為原因是這些原住民與荷蘭人住得近，而且有上學。但離荷蘭人比較遠的原住民，仍依據原本那些屬於「惡魔」的律法與夢境來生活。（按：談完原住民的性格之後，這份指令開始歷數過去幾年原住民的反抗行為，皆為重述舊事。）

參閱：VOC1222，99。

*Missive President Frederick Coyett to Merchant Pieter Bons. Tayouan, 3 September 1657. VOC 1222, fol. 371-379.*

目前的翻譯員Barnabe一人已經足夠，不需要任命更多人。如有需要，助理Jacob Balbiaen，還是任何熟悉當地語言的人，甚至是金包里人都可以叫來幫忙。持續禁止漢人去雞籠和淡水的森林伐木，向原住民買木材，或是出口木材。理由是讓漢人接觸原住民可能會造成動亂，禁止貿易木材的約束也可隔離漢人與原住民。

英譯摘錄：

[...] Since we deem it unnecessary to keep more interpreters than Bamabe, whom we agree to be engaged as such, for he can always be summoned up in important affairs over there, while in daily matters Assistant Balbiaen, one of the schoolteachers, or anyone who is familiar with the language there, as well as almost all Kimaaurij, can be called upon. [...] From now on you will not allow any Chinese who come from elsewhere, to enter into the forests any longer to chop wood, nor to buy wood from the inhabitants, or export it. It is disquieting to allow that nation to associate too much with the perfidious inhabitants and they will have to comply with the order that they are not allowed to speak to them, however, it is not very likely that any trespassing of this order can be discovered by us in time, so it is actually [issued out] in vain. [...] *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 315-316.)



## 1657 年 10 月 18 日

這艘大帆船的船長交一封地方官兼戰地指揮官Frederik Scheedel先生及其評議會在力里社所寫，署期本月15日的來信給我們，信裡告訴我們說，他們搭快艇Zeehont號與平底船Wachter號於今年9月10日從此地出航，大帆船Appelboom號隨後出航，分別於同月的13日和11日都順利抵達淡水。在那裡看到商務官Boons，從他聽取那些叛徒的狀況等。他召集該地區的各社長老，包括友善的和不太友善的村社，除了Pillen、Rappan和林仔社的長老缺席之外，其他各社的長老都來出席了。其中有些長老因他們的不很順服而被責備，其他長老則因他們的良好表現而被稱讚，就這樣又使大家都堅定對公司的順服，並與公司緊密結合。此外並沒有發現有多少人像那位已去世的主管所說的那麼嚴重犯錯。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第286頁）

*F.Schedel寫給F.Coyett的信，Dockodokol，1657年10月15日。VOC 1222，fol. 442-449.*

遠征軍抵達淡水後，隨即召集淡水地區的各社頭人，但Pillien、Rappan、Chenaer三社的頭人沒來。來淡水的頭人中，有些被荷蘭人責備沒有效忠公司，有些則因其忠誠而受表揚與贈禮。這些荷蘭官員詢問原住民後，認為已經去世的前任主管Elsevier與van Mildert並沒有將淡水地區的實情報告給臺灣商館知悉，反而迴避真正的原因以掩蓋自己的失政。他們認為，使原住民造反的原因是前任主管們對原住民頭人的責罰過重，往往將他們以鐵鍊拘束或關進監獄，這讓「未開化」的原住民決心反抗以免除此種酷刑。他們認為最大的禍首是八里坌社的頭人，他們是最先與公司敵對的人，然後煽動其他村社加入他們。在召集村社頭人兩次之後，荷蘭軍隊決定征伐兩次都不到，甚至公開宣稱不怕荷蘭人的Pillien、Rappan、Chenaer三社。荷蘭軍隊以全力開向這三社的房屋與稻田，9月18日，原住民全躲到高地的森林裡。高地的入口相當陡峭，荷蘭兵必須一個一個人爬上去。在攀登的途中，原住民發動攻擊，箭如雨下，荷蘭人看不到對方，只能向箭射來的方向開槍。兩小時的交戰造成荷蘭方面有三人陣亡，十人受傷。原住民的死傷不明，但從慘叫聲可知亦死傷不少。當荷蘭軍隊終於走出草叢到達開闊地，原住民不敢接戰，只能眼睜睜地看著荷蘭人燒掉他們的房屋與稻田，失去所有的糧食。這次戰役的地點離淡水堡壘五小時路程（按：以1哩為一小時路程來算，可推算為5哩遠），故總共花了兩天。9月20日，議會同意隊長Pedel率領120名士兵與20名水手（按：可見是乘船過去）去淡水北邊的Chenaer社，燒掉他們的房屋與稻田，並抓了幾個俘虜，其中一位曾在1655年12月攻擊淡水堡壘，18日的交戰中他也在場。荷蘭人審問這個俘虜之後判處死刑，把他的頭砍下來插在堡壘前竿子上示眾。征伐淡水地區的反抗村社之後，荷蘭人要淡水河對岸的八里坌社和南崁社頭人來淡水，此時坑仔社（Mattatas）和奶奶社（Sijnaney）已經搬到南崁社居住。結果八里坌社不來，南崁社則交出之前殺害荷蘭人的兇手。荷蘭軍隊於9月28日、29日渡過淡水河，燒掉八里坌社的村社之後繼續往南崁社進發。之後因為南崁社不願意幫助行軍，所以也把南崁社燒掉了。南崁到竹塹間是漂亮的平原，但三天的路程只看到五六頭鹿，在沿路村社裡只找到一些米、鹿肉、番薯，根本不夠吃，故荷蘭軍隊在挨餓的情況下往南行軍。

英譯摘錄：

So we immediately summoned all the elders of both the rebellious and the friendly villages along the Tamsuy and Pinnerouan Rivers and the adjoining region, to the redoubt, who came all together, except those from Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer. Some of the elders or village people have been reprimanded for their lack of obedience and zeal, others have been praised for their good behaviour, and have been presented with some cangans and tobacco, so that all respective villages north of the Tamsuy and Pinnerouan Rivers to their pleasure were taken into the Company alliance as before, and the old friendship has been renewed. For some petty crimes, for which they excused themselves again and promised to do better when we admonished and threatened them, we have made allowances, the more so because they were not as guilty as reported by the deceased *Oppelhoofden*, the late Messrs Elsevier and Van Mildert. Yes, it would have been a good thing if those men had informed the High Authority from time to time about the real cause and reason for the disorders, but it seems that even when it came to the most important matters they often preferred to refer to other topics to cover up for their own mistakes, instead of telling us the real causes of the war. So far the situation has not been reversed, and we shall explain to You Honourable Gentlemen upon our arrival in Tayouan why. [...] Quite often the said *Oppelhoofden* put several of the elders or other persons in chains or imprisoned them in some other way, and made their punishment felt in their purses or with other matters in such a way, that it is no wonder that these savage, untamed people eventually took the road they did, in order to get rid of such cruel procedures. Although the rebels cannot be excused, as they have shed so much blood among the Dutch and have done more evil, [this was] only because they were incited [to do so] by one or two of the most important leaders of Perragon, who were the first to turn away from us, because of the said ill treatment with which they had been welcomed by our men, and took up arms against the Company.

And to continue this report and show you briefly what our armed force has accomplished under our command, we shall begin with the three hostile villages situated north of the Tamsuy River, which are Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer, which did not only disdain our second summons, but also daringly let us know that they were not afraid of us, but were expecting us with their bows and arrows. Thereupon, according to the last resolution and after reconsidering the matter, we headed for the houses and rice-fields of the inhabitants of Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer, with the complete force except the sailors [...], on the 18<sup>th</sup> September. They had all gone into hiding in a secret place situated in a wood on a high, and precipitous slope of which the entrance or path, which presented a horrible prospect, we had to climb one after the other. While climbing we came under heavy fire from them, so that it seemed to be raining arrows, and as a consequence we had three men killed and ten wounded within about two hours. But after we had reached the open field and were out of the tall green grass, which refused to catch alight, they did not have the courage to approach us, so they had to witness with their own eyes how we set fire to their houses and destroyed all of their rich and beautiful rice crop, which was their only food, so that

they will undoubtedly succumb to the darkest misery of starvation. On the other hand, it is deeply to be regretted that we have had to suffer so many losses in our army because of these villains, although we also trust that many of them will have been killed by our musketeers who constantly fired their weapons against the oncoming arrows (for we could hardly see any people, let alone the bottom of the place), which could be sufficiently heard from the terrible screams and moans of these people. This said place is situated in the mountains about five hours from Tamsuy, so that this expedition took us two days. It is almost impossible for me to explain how difficult this road is, because of the steepness of the mountains and the swampy valleys in between, on which those scoundrels have no doubt relied, and must have thought we could not possibly do it. Also, on the 20<sup>th</sup> following, we agreed to send Captain Thomas Pedel with 120 soldiers and twenty sailors (in order [not] to tire the entire army [too] much) to Chenaer, a small village which is situated in the plain quite near Tamsuy [but] to the north, in order to set it on fire, and also to bum down and destroy their rice crop, which to our joy was completed. The c[aptain] took some prisoners from there, among whom one of the principal villains who had stormed the redoubt before and also fought in the battle of the 18<sup>th</sup> of September last, and after they had interrogated him sharply and condemned him to death in the presence of many elders, they have put his head on a pole in front of the redoubt.

While we were punishing the River peoples in order to make them obedient and reaffirm their previous friendship with us, we also summoned up the elders of Parricoutsie and Perragon, which are situated across the River, since [the villagers from] Mattatas and Sijnaney have moved to live in Parricoutsie. Those from Perragon refused to come, but those from Parricoutsie appeared upon the first call, and have at last handed to us two culprits of the bloodshed. One of them had killed a Dutchman, the other a Chinese, but the third murderer, who lives in the same village, had promptly taken to his heels, those two have been beheaded and their heads have also been put on poles.

*(On 23 September the ships the Zeehond and the Wachter departed for Quelang to deliver provisions and to load coal, while the Appelboom was to sail to Sinkanja to await the army's arrival there.)* So that after we had accomplished everything north of the Tamsuy River, we have led the whole army to the other side on the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>. We reduced the village Perragon to ashes and continued our march to Parricoutsie, whose people invited us in voluntarily, but we found the common people to be very stubborn, notwithstanding the well-meant upbraiding and punishment of their elders, coupled with our threats. They claimed they wanted to remain under the Honourable Company as before and remain friends, to which end they also said they had delivered the culprits to us, but they remained obdurately unwilling to give us the necessary provisions for which we wanted to pay them, or to help us carry our luggage and our sick and wounded, remaining in hiding in their rice paddies and field houses, which were all surrounded with foot, leg and belly traps. For that reason we were forced to set the village on fire (for

otherwise it was impossible to proceed on the road again), in order to let them feel what came of their stubbornness and disobedience, and make them more careful in the future, saving only the houses of the elders. After we had done this the first day, we summoned them up again the next, to give us a clear explanation of what they were intending to do, giving them to understand they still had an opportunity to be forgiven for the recalcitrance committed if they promised to obey the Honourable Company, just as we promised them before, but that otherwise their rice crop would be dealt the same treatment as their houses. Upon this, they immediately changed their minds, begged for mercy, promised to help us in any possible way, which they did indeed afterwards, so that this village is now completely back in its alliance with the Honourable Company. It is a rich, strong and powerful village, which would be hard to conquer using an armed force without the loss of many men because of the steep entrances, woods and swamps. Their arrogance has been directed in the ways of righteousness and without any bloodshed, for we are absolutely certain that if we should have had to conquer it with our arms, we would in all probability not have been able to do so without the loss of at least fifty men, both killed and wounded. For all these villages we have passed by are real lairs of murderers, situated in swampy woods and on steep mountains, cluttered with foot and leg traps, from where they could have done great harm with their bows and arrows before we could even have entered them with some armed soldiers. And, if we had failed in Parricoutsie, this punitive expedition would no doubt have brought us little success on this side of the river, because matters are starting to look very bleak for the army now (God help us), as we are lacking provisions and every day more men are falling ill, some of them even drop down along the road because of extremely high fevers, so that we can hardly find enough inhabitants to carry the people, let alone the provisions, for all the River peoples from Tamsuy, about 200 men together with those from Parricoutsie, have done this heavy work for about nine days now, while we, when we left Tamsuy, only took provisions for the army for a fortnight, having left the remaining [provisions] in the *Appelboom*, as I told you before. The villages where we can obtain any cereals to feed the bearers and the soldiers are few in this area, whereas in between Parricoutsie and Pocaël, which is a three days' march with the army, we have only managed to come up with five or six deer. Moreover, the villages themselves have very few cereals, because most of their crops are still in the field, and they would have to harvest them by the armful were they to feed this body of men. Because of this shortage of rice our soldiers have had to make do with dry millet without anything added to it in order to fill their knapsacks, which are only supplied with bread and bacon for about four more days, for they fear that they will not find the galliot the *Appelboom* anchored in the Sinkanja River (which God forbid) when they get there. Apart from the provisions distributed, only sixteen *cannassers* bread are left, half a barrel of bacon, forty jugs of arrack and fifty jugs of wine. On the other hand, since we left Tamsuy the 29<sup>th</sup> of September, about thirty to forty men have fallen ill, and those who are most afflicted must be carried by at least four men. (*If only they would find the Appelboom as planned at the rendezvous, the men would manage to get by*) The more so, as from now on we are no longer

expecting much danger from enemies, since we are now staying in the village Pocael with the entire expeditionary force, about which we will tell you after this. [...]

We would never have thought to find so little to eat in these villages, be this rice, venison, *pattattesen* or whatever else, because neither in Tamsuy nor during the whole trip through the country, have we been able to get enough fresh food for the men, notwithstanding all our hunting dogs and the inhabitants who have been helpful, yea, it is even worse, for between Tamsuy and up to about a four miles from Pocael, still on this beautiful plain, we have not seen more than twenty or twenty-five deer. (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 337-342.)

## 1657 年 11 月 1 日

一艘篷船從淡水和雞籠來到此地，搭20個人，運來下列貨物:12條大木板、10枚鹿皮、3擔nattij、2桶大麥。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第300頁)

## 1657 年 11 月 3 日

P. Boons寫給F. Coyett的信，雞籠，1657年10月28日。VOC1228，572- 585。

VOC 1222，277-279。

*Missive Merchant Pieter Boons to President Frederick Coyett. Quelang, 28 October 1657. VOC 1222, fol. 419-441.*

(按：這封信補充遠征軍指揮官三人報告的細節，但部分也有出入) 9月18日荷蘭軍隊與原住民交戰的戰場在山上，需要攀爬陡峭的山路上去。位置離淡水堡壘五哩，單程要走九到十小時(按：行軍這麼久不合常理)。與原住民交戰的次日，即19日，荷蘭軍隊毀掉Pillien和Rappan的稻田，而原住民只能眼睜睜地看著，不敢攻擊。9月21日，隊長Pedel去征服Chenaer社。當軍隊到達時，他們看到長得相當漂亮的稻田，已經可以收穫。他們看到有原住民正在收割，但荷蘭軍隊一接近他們就躲起來了。荷蘭人毀掉Chenaer社的稻田，而跟著他們去的Basay人也趁機搶了許多戰利品。他們抓到一個Rappan社人，叫做Moinats，他的稻田也在Chenaer社。經過嚴刑拷打後，Moinats說18日當天的交戰他也在場，武裝原住民有50人，交戰後至少有一人死亡。他們也把兩名陣亡荷兵的頭砍下插在竿子上。他也承認參與1655年攻擊淡水堡壘的事。郡守Schedel與他的議會決定對他的處罰，將他的右手砍下，然後把他的頭放在腳下(按：即斬首)，並在許多原住民面前執刑。Pillien、Rappan、Chenaer三社的原住民已經逃離他們的村社，躲在山裡，荷蘭人認為這些原住民最後會被飢餓所擊敗。荷蘭遠征軍離開淡水後，淡水的漢人傳言說反抗荷蘭人的Pillien、Rappan、Chenaer三社可能很快就會來求饒。但是10月中旬，反抗的原住民截斷淡水堡壘的水源，不過Basay人很快就把問題解決了。因為公司禁止漢人伐木，故公司可以獲得優質的木材，但

是人力不足，請原住民砍樹太貴，原住民也不願意做這個工作，故希望臺灣商館方面送來為公司服務的漢人來砍樹。雞籠方面官員說淡水只有住31名漢人，大部分不是生病就是體弱，只能靠賣小雜貨給荷蘭兵和原住民過活。雞籠有17名漢人。此外9月17日有一艘篷船從福州來到雞籠。

英譯摘錄：

[...] After a walk lasting about nine or ten hours, about five miles from the redoubt, we arrived in the mountains where the rebels remained in hiding. We had to climb up a narrow path with a frightfully steep cliff on one side and on the other side, deep down, primeval forest, with foot and leg traps set all along it. As we were passing, the rebels who were lying in ambush in the grove unseen by us, started bravely to shoot their arrows at us, so that our men began to shoot at random at the grove from where the arrows came, in the meantime trying to evade the hostile arrows which came pouring at us as if it were raining. In this encounter we had ten men injured and three dead. There is no doubt that the enemy has been hit as well, and since our army could not hunt the villains out of the bushes and caves in which they were hiding and we could not aim at the people directly, the next day we destroyed the rice crop of the Pillien and the Rappan, which was standing in plentiful abundance in the fields, while they looked on. Then none of the villains had the courage to come and defend it, but stayed in their murderers' lairs, to which they had withdrawn, forced to see how the food that they needed to feed their evil bellies, was ruined. That is how they tasted the fruit of their rebelliousness. *(On the 21<sup>st</sup> Captain Pedel left with a troop of a hundred soldiers and forty armed sailors to destroy the rice-fields of Chenaer, situated at about three miles north from the redoubt.)* He found the rice crop very fine indeed and ready to be cut, as some of the rebellious Chenaer had been doing before he arrived, but they went into hiding and had to watch from afar how our men destroyed and ruined their living crop, and how a number of Basay, Cackerlack and Sougan [who accompanied the army], made use of the situation to take as much of it as each of them could carry as his booty. Thanks to a smart trick, a man from Rappan named Moinats was caught, who was also part of the rebellious pack and had laid out his rice-field here with the Chenaer. He was taken prisoner and brought to the redoubt, where he was tortured and confessed that he had taken part in the recent fight of our men against the Pillien people in the mountains on the 18<sup>th</sup>, mentioned above, and that they had been fifty men armed with their bows and arrows against us. He also said that they had put the heads of two of our soldiers who had been lying dead over there, on poles, and declared also that in the fight some of them had been injured, and he thought one of them had died of this already. He also confessed that he had participated in the storming of the redoubt, which had been undertaken in December 1655. Thereupon this person was sentenced by the Honourable Field Commander Frederick Schedel and his council to have his right hand chopped off and his head be put before his feet. This was executed in the presence of various villagers, thinking that it would give the spectators a big fright, and would turn them away from evil. The head and the hand of the scoundrel have been put on show in front of the redoubt, for the passers-by [to see]. As for the

said rebellious in Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer, they have left their villages and remain in hiding in barely accessible places in the mountains, from where they will now be chased away because of the hunger which will fill their bellies, since their rice crop has been destroyed. They will have to hover around like birds of prey, which everybody will attempt to catch, and we have already given orders to all our allied villages, under severe penalty, that no one may secretly give the villains any food or render them assistance, but do everything they can to deliver them into our hands alive, or just their heads, for which they will receive a certain reward in cangans, so that the villains should be afraid wherever they are, and we have good hopes that they will one day get their rightful punishment.

*(The headmen of the villages situated along the Quelang and Pinnerouan Rivers all came to meet the field commander, and expressed themselves to be loyal allies of the Company.)* We have reprimanded some people who have been discovered to have committed some minor misdemeanour, and in thus kept them as friends and allies of the Honourable Company, as of old. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of September, the elders of Parricoutsie, Monel and Broer, delivered two men named Marikout and Gagourille, who were both guilty of manslaughter; Marikout killed Interpreter WillemTelyoor, and the other one, Gagourille, killed a Chinese leaseholder of the above-mentioned village, Parricoutsie. They both confessed this without having been put to torture, so that they were sentenced the same day: Marikout to have his hand and head cut off, and the other one, Gagourille, to be beheaded, which was carried out immediately at the usual execution site and in the usual way, in front of a big crowd of inhabitants, and afterwards the same was done with their heads and hand as with the above-mentioned Moinats.

*(On 29 September the entire army crossed the Tamsuy River:)* as there was nothing left to be carried out against the rebels who live at the northern side of the river, because they were holed up in the mountains and caves. They marched up to Perragon. Upon arrival they found this village to be completely empty, because the people had fled, so it was sacrificed to the flames. From there the army left for Parricoutsie, which invited them in, but later, because they were reluctant to deliver this or that and because [many] fled the village, they loosed the red cock through the entire village, and only the houses of the elders, who behaved well, were spared. Finally the villagers who had run off understood that their rice crop was also going to be burned if they did not do as they were told, so they came forward in order to save it, and after they had confessed their crimes and showed repentance, they were acquitted on condition that they promised to behave as obedient subjects and friends in the future. [...]

[...]Rumour was spread by the Chinese in Tamsuy that the rebellious people of Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer are about to come to us soon, or will request through others to be forgiven for their crimes, and give up the fight. [...] A few days ago the flow of water at the redoubt of Tamsuy was blocked again by the rebels, but this is of no importance, because we are lucky that it can easily be redressed by our Basay. We do trust they are just wagging their tails, and they will learn soon

enough from the sharp hunger they suffer, into what kind of situation their heedless rebelliousness and hostility have brought them. In the meantime, we shall not behindhand in persecuting the Pillien villagers and their supporters, plus the other Pocaël and Perragon most severely indeed for being public enemies [risen] against the rule of the Honourable Company, and harm them in every possible way. The Dockodockol have been declared good friends and allies of the Honourable Company by the Lord Field Commander and his council. They, and their closest neighbours, have promised that if they are invited to come to the *Landdag* as usual, they will appear obediently and behave as true allies. [...] *(The governor had ordered that Chinese were not allowed to chop wood, or buy it from the inhabitants, so that the Company could obtain the quality wood.)* There is a chance for the Honourable Company to amass a reasonable amount of wood in Tamsuy, if Your Honour will be pleased to send the Chinese who work for us. There are only thirty-one Chinese living in Tamsuy, of whom most are ill and invalid. They all make a living by selling small necessities to the soldiers and inhabitants. The same is the case with the seventeen Chinese who are staying in Quelang. It would be extremely expensive for the Company to have the inhabitants chop wood in the woods, and they will also do this much against their will, whatever they get paid for it. [...]

As for the coal, consisting of 40 buckets which was sent to Your Honour in the Chinese junk, you inform us that you are eleven buckets short. This we can believe, for as you keep asking in your letters we gather only big lumps of coal, and the inhabitants deliver that to us. Upon being shipped they are measured into the buckets in which they are received. When they are being carried aboard the coal often has grown smaller because it has passed through many hands, which is the reason the buckets seem to be fewer in number. The Basay who delivers it, profits most of this, for big lumps take up a great deal of space. [...]

Last time while coal was being dug, two young Basay lads were terribly crushed when a big chunk broke off the coal mountain, and died, this is sad.

I notice that Your Honour is not too pleased with the fact that we have sent Assistant Balbiaen and a Dutch soldier to Cavalang, accompanied only by some from Kimaurij. We request Your Honour to understand that we found out the Honourable Company has been blindfolded for many years in the Bight of Cavalang, and that the annual visit to that area has been usurped by some mean Kimaurij, such as the late Company Interpreter Thedoor, Cabessa Loupo who is still alive and some of their consorts. These people have acted as they please in that Bight for their own profit, in the name of the Honourable Company, and acted as masters there instead of the Honourable Company itself. Whenever they returned from there with their booty of rice, skins, slaves and whatever, they silently hid it in their own village before one of them went to whoever was stationed here as *opperhoofd*, lying to him by telling him a nicely contrived story to cover up the truth, saying that the Cavalang would come over to congratulate the *Opperhoofd*, who then believed it and even presented the Kimaurij with a gift for the trouble they had taken in service of the Honourable Company. And when the Cavalang people showed up, most of the time they were



carrying loads of rice and skins the Kimaurij had bartered from them for themselves on the pretext that they had to deliver these in Quelang. While they were present over here the Cavalang then, who sometimes came to us with as many as 100 or 120 people, expected to be entertained and be merry for a while, so that the Kimaurij traffickers kept this nice practice of bringing the Cavalang to the *Oppelhoofd*, thus being freed of having to entertain them themselves, while the *Oppelhoofd* was none the wiser, and thought they had indeed come to honour him. Thinking that was the case, he then regaled them abundantly with arrack and tobacco, according to the custom of this country, while the Kimaurij boozers, who also used to act as interpreters for the Cavalang as well as for the *Oppelhoofd* himself, joined in too and told them just as much as they wanted each of them to know. As a consequence, the Honourable Company was barely anything but a name to the Cavalang, while the Company actually incurred plenty of expenses because of them when they came for a visit, and the Kimaurij took the profit, and if the Company wanted to have skins, it had to try and get them out of the hands of the Kimaurij first. I found out about this said deception during my presence here, for almost the entire Bight of Cavalang has come to pay me a visit, mostly in order to deliver the rice and skins *Cabessa Loupo*, who had been in Cavalang a few months before to make himself a profit, had bought from them. Now he came himself too and told me very convincingly that they had come over just to greet me, and if I had not paid sharp attention to their wit, I would have believed it all. But, I regaled them abundantly with arrack and tobacco, in order to win their hearts ever more for the Honourable Company, while saying that if they had any rice or skins for sale, the Honourable Company would like to buy it too. They then replied that a huge quantity of rice and skins had been exchanged in their country with the Kimaurij, in the name of the Company. Then I perceived the sinister scheme of these Kimaurij. So I asked the Cavalang if they would do business if I were to send one or two Dutchmen to them to exchange some rice and skins for the Honourable Company? They answered yes, and why would they do him any harm, as they were indeed friends with the Honourable Company; Thereupon I decided to send Assistant Balbiaen over to Cavalang, in order to exchange some goods for rice and skins on behalf of the Honourable Company, by means of a test. Consequently, he left on the 6<sup>th</sup> July last and was welcomed by the Cavalang, and has exchanged an amount of rice from the remains of their old crop, as well as some skins. The experience of the assistant was that they would rather trade with us than with the Kimaurij, as some of them openly said to the Kimaurij: "We don't want to give our skins for a rag or a piece of trash, when we come to the *cantadoor* in Quelang he gives us a Spanish real for a bundle or five pieces of deer skins." There is a village situated in the Bight of Cavalang called Talabiawan, in which would be extremely useful to station two or three Dutchmen permanently, who could trade rice and skins on a small scale. This village lies in a good position, for every ship which comes from or goes to Cavalang, can be seen from there. This village is, as it were, the marketplace of the entire Bight of Cavalang. The inhabitants are very similar to our Kimaurij, both in their build and in

their manner of dress, they earn their living by making salt and they also trade rice and skins, which they buy in other villages or is brought to them for sale. As the above-mentioned assistant points out, they would not mind if two or three Dutchmen came and lived there, since it would be to their own profit. And, moreover, the place supplies abundant provisions, more than any of the other Cavalang villages. The Cavalang themselves now realized that the Kimaurij had been fooling them by using the name of the Honourable Company. They requested the assistant that whenever anyone from the Honourable Company should come in future, he should carry a sign that he was coming on behalf of the Company. The entire Bight of Cavalang is obedient to the Company, and all elders and *fiscals* have been visiting us, some of them even twice. Three small villages situated in a distant corner in the mountains are not enemies of the Honourable Company, but keep to themselves. We shall have to go to some trouble to become friends with them too, and a Kimaurij Basay has offered us to bring the elders of those villages for this purpose. Of this we will take notice in due course, and will not refrain from doing. [...]

Your Honour mentioned that Their Honours in Batavia would be inclined to build a warehouse on the Bay of St Laurens, so that we can be a little bit more assured of the friendship of the Cavalang, this would be to our profit, as it will make up for the risk and the expenses. We think [...] we have already proof enough of this, and we shall never be surer of their friendship than we are now, for they come to us as our allies and treat us as their friends in their own country. As for the profit we would make, we shall have to learn about that in time. We might obtain a considerable number of skins and amounts of rice over there, which could be exchanged profitably for *lijwaeten*. A wooden trading-post with a clay roof should not be too expensive, and could be defended by twelve to fifteen soldiers, including the assistant as a resident, if any scoundrels tried to undertake anything against it. The Bight of Cavalang lies about one and a half hour's walk from the village Talabiawan I mentioned above. [...]

[...]

*(Assistant Balhiaen returned to Quelang on 17 August, reporting about the willingness of the Cabalang and Tarraboan people to enter into the Company alliance. It had become clear that) the shrewd Kimaurij Basay have steadily denigrated these peoples with a black brush, so that we were suspicious of them, and they have always said that if any Dutchman was sent there, he would be beaten to death. This has turned out to be the contrary, and instead of being murdered, they have been treated well. But this claim of the Kimaurij was based, in our opinion, on the intention to keep our people away from Cavalang and Tarraboan by this ruse, in order to keep the trade for themselves, under the pretext of acting on behalf of the Honourable Company. [...]*

*( The Formosan Encounter, vol. 4, pp. 355-364. )*

## 1657 年 11 月 19 日

VOC 1222 , 17-43 。

*Missive President Frederick Coyett to Governor-General Joan Maetsuijcker. Tayouan, 19 November*

1657. VOC 1222, fol. 17-43 , 英譯摘錄：

But when we weighed it in our council, we found it to be no more than 760 *condrijn*. Balbiaen bartered it for two *picol*, which is a very low price, for on the touchstone we found that the biggest nuggets and the grit, which have not been melted by them nor been forged with silver, is 23 carat. [...]

[...] In Talabiawan, a Cavalang village in a very favourable situation one and a half miles from St Laurens Bay, Mr Boons thinks a small wooden house could be sturdily built at low cost. The trade in skins and rice can best be done over there, as it also is the marketplace of the other surrounding villages. We shall [...] order him to start doing so. [...]

After the punitive expedition of which we told you, all peoples living in the plain, from the north all the way to the southern tip, are living fairly quietly and obediently. A few weeks ago many of them died from smallpox.

In future, we shall [...] hold the annual *Landdag* in the old way, as Your Honour thinks it is the best way. ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 370-371. )

## 1657 年 11 月 24 日

2艘篷船從北部的淡水和雞籠來到此地，搭33個人，運來：7擔nitay、30桶（balien）黑色籽子（swartzaet）、44塊木板。主管Boons先生署期11月10日的一封信來信裡也抱怨說，向那地區原住民教導基督福音的事工，進行得非常差，甚至還幾乎看不出有任何明顯的起步，只有在雞籠附近的金包里（Ouiemauurie）社和淡水附近的Tappare社獲得僅有的成果，但那邊的孩童，包括大的和小的，最多也不過30到32個，而且他們還很少在學校被用荷蘭文教導唸書。

有幾個那些友好村社的長老去他那裡問說，地方會議（通常在12月舉行）可否不必出席參加。對此，他回答他們說，那北征軍隊指揮官已很清楚告訴他們必須出席參加地方會議，他們每一個人從他領到相當的贈品，也對他清楚答應會遵命出席了。雖然如此，他們說，在那一年一度的集會時，他們要去那海灣狂舞猛跳，喝醉酒來自行取樂，他們不會聽話去出席地方會議。因此，Boons如果無法適當地轉移他們的態度，到今年12月的時候，他還得花一點開支請這些人吃飯，用以維持並加強跟他們的友好的關係。

（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第314頁）

P. Boons寫給F. Coyett的信，雞籠，1657年11月10日。VOC 1228 , fol.586-593.

有數位原住民頭人來問為什麼這年不舉行landdag，雞籠方面官員回答因為遠征軍於九月抵達時已經召集過原住民頭人，那就算landdag了，故這年十二月不會再舉辦。翌年則計畫如期舉辦landdag。對於原住民的「教化」只在雞籠的金包里社和淡水的Tapparij社有點成果，兩社都是Basay人。在雞籠有30到32名的小孩上學，學荷語。淡水的學生更少。當小孩長大，他們的父母就會要求他們去採集、捕魚、或是照顧作物，看管糧食。當他們離開學校一段時間，過去所學的就全忘光了。小孩長到十八歲以後，荷蘭人也沒辦法把他們留在學校哩，因為荷蘭人也要靠這些原住民捕魚打獵供給糧食。此外，父母必須為公司挖煤炭，採集食物的工作就落在小孩身上了。有些父母去挖煤炭時會把小孩留在家裡挨餓，或是把小孩一起帶去挖煤炭。總之，雞籠方面官員認為在這樣的狀況下很難傳播基督教的教化。Boons也描述了他對Basay人的民俗觀察，認為西班牙人對他們的影響很大。當Basay人被問及是不是基督徒時，他們會馬上用西班牙語回答「是的，大人，我是甘絲臘天主教的好子民」。

英譯摘錄：

[...] The Basay from Quelang and Tamsuy, who should be used to this unhealthy climate, [...] are sometimes dealt a severe blow by it too.

Several elders from allied villages, both on the Quelang River and elsewhere, have come to ask us this year if they had to attend the annual *Landdag*, which is usually held in December, and that it has already been two years since it had been held. I answered them that it cannot be held this year, since the Honourable Company has actually held an adequate *Landdag* upon the arrival of the army, and that each of them had been presented with many gifts, with which they had to be satisfied. Some of those beggars, among whom our Kimaurij Basay, did not like this too much, because their hearts and greedy eyes only desire presents. [...] Next year [...] the *Landdag* has to be held according to the annual custom, because they hold this holy day in extraordinarily esteem and do not wish to scratch it from their calendar, for then they will not be treated well with food and drinks, a thing they like so much. We are afraid that we will have even more visitors and for that reason we shall invite them to the *Landdag* in a strictly formal way. Whenever it occurs, we shall economize as much as possible, and do our duty in agree that whatever we do in these regions is the most proper and useful to the position of the Company. If the matter is going to work out this way, we shall also invite our friends from Cavalang to this end, who have not been at the *Landdag* for such a long time, and this will improve the friendship between them and the Honourable Company.

In our last missive I did not mention the situation of the church and the schools to Your Honour [...] In the first place I am very sorry to tell you that the propagation of the fertile and sanctifying teaching of Christ does not even stir the tiniest beginnings in them. The only places where we have any pleasing result is in the hamlet Kimaurij at Quelang, and the hamlet Tapparij at Tamsuy, both Basay villages. In the hamlet Kimaurij in Quelang thirty to thirty-two children at the most, both large and small, attend school, though still rather seldom, and are taught to read in the Dutch language. In Tamsuy there are even fewer schoolchildren, and they receive the same lessons. Among these schoolchildren, some are grown so big that their parents (many of them

poor people) need them to search food in the fields or to catch fish on the beach, to look for periwinkles, or to take care of other provisions. For that purpose, the children stay away from school and forget what they have learned. The parents of those children have to deliver the annual amount of coal which is required by the Honourable Company, because the payment [they receive]. So when they are working in the coal-mine, the children stay away from school too, and walk along the beach to scrape a living from fishing and otherwise. It is impossible to get people over eighteen years old, who are living in these two Basay villages, to come to school, for they are the ones who have to feed our Dutchmen who are posted to these two northern forts, selling them their catch of fish and meat. They allow themselves be employed by them [the Dutch] in all kinds of chores, wherever it is needed for the Honourable Company, for which they can work for four double *stuyvers* a day. Poor parents also send their children or sons of fourteen and fifteen years old for this purpose; they reckon that this extra support of four *dubbeltjes* is more welcome to them than sending their children to school. When they go out digging for coal, some people leave their children at home without food, which they forage for themselves, as said before, by staying away from school. Others sometimes take their children with them to dig. It is a pity that the possibility to spread Christianity in these regions with great zeal and to a good effect is not working out better. If this is so difficult in the villages which are our best friends, Your Honour should consider how impossible it would be in other allied villages, which are of a more stubborn and irascible nature, for this to be successful. It seems that before, the Basay were better Christians than [they are] now. We, and everybody else, find that the Basay make pigs of themselves day in day out, and spend their lives, if they do not work, in drunkenness and hinging. Often, when I have made inspection trips to their village of Kimaaurij and the other one in Tamsuy, I found them living as filthy drunkards, lying in front of their doors or in the middle of the road, sleeping off their hangovers. This way of life is not just a matter of today or yesterday, but is an ancient habit among all these Northern heathens. The Spaniards did not inculcate enough civilisation in them to have them turn their backs on this shameful way of life. However, the Basay have adopted the Spanish temperament and many other evils. In many other habits, like trimming money and so on, they equal the Jew. That they inclined towards Christianity more than two or three years ago is because they have been taught as much by the Spaniards, but we think they only did it to make a better impression in court, and to stay with our people as if they were more civilised and more modest than their other northern neighbours, If we ask a Basay nowadays whether he is a Christian, he will immediately answer: "Si Signor igo sta buno Christian del Castaliano", and some of them are just as fluent in reciting the Lord's Prayer as a magpie in chattering, as Your Honour can also see from interpreter Gravel Loemas, who has come to Your Honour with the army. It becomes even more evident that they do not feel the slightest bit akin to Christianity, as the Reverend Minister Marcus Masius has not baptised a single child of the Basay in the two years he has been here. No doubt the reasons this does not happen are known

to His Honour. Nevertheless, we hope with all our heart that Almighty God will one day rest His merciful eyes on these blind heathens. [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 367-369. )

## 1658 年

### 1658 年 2 月 22 日

有一封Pieter Boons先生署期去年1月11日的來信...那些八里坌社的人，把被我方的人燒成灰燼的村子任它荒廢，去那附近山裡地勢險要的峽谷造屋居住。

去年12月17日，在幾個頭目不斷的要求下，在那裡舉行了地方會議，那一帶友好村社的長老們大部分都去出席了，只有幾個因病不能出席的，派他們的妻子和親戚帶籐杖去赴會。噶瑪蘭的長老也大部分去出席了，他們都帶他們的籐杖去出席，在他們承諾會順服尊貴的公司之下，讓他們繼續原有的權勢【繼續擔任長老】。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第368頁)

*P. Boons*寫給*F. Coyett*的信，雞籠，1658年1月11日。VOC1228，fol. 567-571.

在幾位酋長的堅持下，淡水地區的landdag還是在12月17日舉行，因為雞籠地方官員認為不舉辦的話，反而與公司的利益衝突。淡水地區的村社，包含淡水堡壘後方的同盟村社都受到邀請，大部分頭人都出席，幾位因病無法親自出席者也派遣他們的妻子或兄弟來參加。大部分的噶瑪蘭村社頭人也出席了。這封信敘述了1657年landdag舉辦的過程。

英譯摘錄：

[...] Everything continues to be quiet, both here and in Tamsuy (apart from the rebellious enemies). The Pocael keep the land road unsafe, and of late some of them have told the Parricoutsie that if they could lay their hands on a Dutchman, a Basay, or another one of them they would kill him and chop his head off. For this reason the Basay are now nervous and afraid to come to Pocael. The Parricoutsie also told us that the Pocael were again rebuilding their houses, which were destroyed by the fire. They did not mention their number, but as for the people who died. Interpreter Bernabe informs us he has heard from the Parricoutsie themselves that it amounts to twenty-five. We cannot believe this, since the Dockodockol alone have captured and taken with them as many heads as the above-mentioned [sum]. Let alone the multitude who were shot and killed throughout the bush [area] by our people.

The Parragon headman is leaving his destroyed village, which has been burnt to ashes by our people, as it is, and is now living at various spots in the awesome gorges in the mountains. As long as the Pocael headman sticks to his attitude of attack and defence, we do not see it happening that the Parragon headman will be well-inclined towards the Company. But they are not terribly important, as they number only ten or twelve families. The Parricoutsie have these two neighbours on either side and are terrified of them. But in our opinion these fellows understand

each other fairly well, and cunningly act as if they are scared. We shall tell them very circumspectly to take care, and try to keep them as much subjected to Company obedience as possible. The Dockodockol cannot come to the redoubt because of the risk posed by the Pocael keeping the roads unsafe, and they do not dare to confront them [armed just] with their own weapons.

Because several *cabessas* kept insisting on it, we held a *Landdag* on the 17<sup>th</sup> December last. We would have liked to skip it, but considered that this would only have worked counter to the interest of the Honourable Company, therefore we sent our interpreter to invite all elders and *fiscals* from all the friendly villages, situated both along the Quelang and Pinnerouan Rivers, as well as those situated in the hinterland of the redoubt. Most of them did indeed come to the *Landdag*, apart from a few who could not pleading ill health, but who have sent their wives, and some their brothers and sons with their Company canes as a token of their obedience. The majority of the Cavalang people also appeared. First, we welcomed the elders from the rivers and the surrounding villages, and an hour later we welcomed the elders and *fiscals* from Cavalang. We had them stand all together in an orderly fashion at a place we had arranged in front of the house of the *Oppelhoofd*, and had a salute of three cannon shots fired from the castle out of respect for the Honourable Company. After that we were seated and had the audience commence and we had every village elder come forward and had each of them hand over his cane to us. Upon this we asked them about the situation of their village and to swear their obedience to the Honourable Company, to which they all answered, both from the Pinnerouan and the Quelang Rivers, that they lived in obedience to the Honourable Company, and whenever the Company needed their services somewhere, that they were always willing to perform those duties. Then we asked some elders in public why their villagers, who had been ordered to accompany the army as carriers, had run off. Some *cabessas* stated that this had been done because they were hungry and exhausted, but that they had not accepted this excuse and had reprimanded their people for their premature departure homewards and had threatened to send them over to the *Cantadoor*. They begged us to overlook this mistake, and forgive them. They hoped to prevent this from happening again. We advised them that they had to behave as alert and valiant people, and always to be on a lookout for an advantage to destroy the proud Pocael, who are their mortal enemies and have now almost been completely annihilated by the Honourable Company, just like those from Parragon, Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer. They promised us this and hoped that it would turn out to be so. After that we returned the Company canes to the elders, one after the other, thanked them for the good service they had rendered, and bestowed a proper gift on them. We did the same with their *fiscals*. After we were finished with this Tamsuy area, we gave an audience to the Cavalang village elders, who all appeared obediently before us and handed their canes over to us. We asked them about the situation in their village, and whether their obedience was still voluntary, to which they all answered yes, and why they would do wrong, because the

Honourable Company was their benefactor and regaled them whenever they came over. They did say that indeed there were a few who did not like the Honourable Company overly much, but that these were fellows who looked for wealth by pillaging, and lived here, there and everywhere. We advised them to join together to fight these men and bring them down, which they promised to do, if an opportunity should present itself. I ordered them again to welcome any Dutchmen who should come to Cavalang as friends, just as they could see that the Honourable Company received them, in order to remain friends with the Honourable Company, which always wreaks revenge, as everybody could see from the Pocael and the way in which they had been punished. After we had made this crystal clear to them, they promised us from the bottom of their hearts to remain obedient to the Honourable Company, upon which I presented the elders and *fiscals* with a proper gift. Now that this audience had come to an end, we have regaled all elders and fiscals with food and drink and made merry as usual. They were all gay in the manner of their village, which was very peacefully and harmoniously. The people who had had more than enough, were helped into their vessels by their companions. So everybody returned home in good spirits, and so the *Landdag* came to an end.

We asked the *cabessa* from the village Riebats situated along the Pinnerouan River, who had arrived by now too, why he and his villagers had taken the heads of thirteen people from one of the Coulon villages named Sincala some time ago. He answered that they had done so for revenge, since the villagers of Sincala had chopped off the heads of sixteen of their people, earlier. I advised him not to wage any more war now that he was allied to the Honourable Company, but to come to me first, and tell [me] the reason for their discontent. I would then look into the matter and see how important it was, and tell them what to do. He promised to do so, and that he would only wage war with our consent. This village Sincala is situated high up in the mountains, and has entered into the alliance with the Honourable Company in the past, but we do not remember that they have ever appeared at any *Landdag* to pay their respects. In time we shall send our interpreter over, who can look into this and other matters in the region and the villages out there.

As for the Tarraboan, we have not been able to invite them to the *Landdag* because it is impossible to sail there this season, as the weather is turbulent over there, and over land [their village] is inaccessible because of the terribly dangerous cliffs between Cavalang and Tarraboan. May or June next is the right season to sail there, and then we shall pay a visit just [as we did] last time, unless Your Honour gives other orders.

Interpreter Gravel Loemas, who has returned hither over land on the 23<sup>th</sup> November last year with Your Honour's amiable missive, arrived in Tamsuy on the 13<sup>th</sup> December last, and then here in Quelang on the 15<sup>th</sup>, delivering us the said missive. He said that he had visited the Dockodockol, who he thought were inclined to be friends with the Honourable Company, and who also accompanied him on the way for a while, in order to get him safely past Pocael. When



they saw some Pocaël during the day, they hid in the reeds, but during the night he finally passed them by.

*(Boons promised to follow the orders given to him by Governor Coyett as best as he could, so that the Northern allies would remain loyal subjects of the Company:)* and if they cannot be destroyed by force or cunning, to pardon the evil mutineers from Pillien, Rappan and Chenaer, who are still dwelling in their inaccessible caves, and receive them back into our alliance should they ask for it, under solemn oaths and promises. In that case we shall also ask them for the restitution of the heads of the two Dutchmen they captured.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> last month December, *Cabessa* Gallaban from the village Cackerlack came complaining that during the night a party of the abovementioned rebels had been in the rice-fields of Cackerlack, and had stolen an amount of rice from them as well as other goods. Afterwards, on the 26<sup>th</sup> they had warned the Company Interpreter Gravel and *Cabessa* Taboas Parouene of the Little Grove, that no Dutchman should come over now, so they knew that these said scoundrels were watching out for our men at every vantage point. Our good allies from the village Rappan, whose elder had left his fellow villagers who had started earning themselves a living by robbing, and who had been pardoned by the Honourable *Landdrost*, settled down with fourteen families in the said Little Grove to live among the Basay, in order to be safe from the rebels. [...]

*Cabessa* Sinaij from the village Rauwerewats, situated along the Pinnerouan River, has notified the *cabessas* of Kimaurij that he intended to invite the principal headmen of the above-mentioned rebels, especially Tagoriep, Crabbe and Pillien, to the field, to lure them, and to get them drunk and then try to chop off their heads with his men, and then bring the heads to us, in order to receive the promised premium from us. If this plan of theirs is carried out and those three principal scoundrels are killed, we trust that the rest of this evil pack will come and beg for mercy. We shall learn in due course if this will succeed.

Seven inhabitants of the village of Illiene have been out to the Parragon and have exchanged some arrows. They said they had shot a man and woman from Parragon, and would have chopped off the head of the woman right away if one of them had not been shot in his thigh by the Parragon, so that they fled back home without capturing a head, for which they had gone out. Our master surgeon did a good job in bandaging the wounded men from Illiene. [...] (*The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 381-384.)

## 1661 年

## 1661 年 3 月 29 日

平底船de Vinck號,今天駛出臺灣海道,去南邊泊船處拋錨停泊。中午,我們的領港船載著15擔米,也駛出這港外,要將這些米載去交給上述平底船運去雞籠和淡水。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第396頁)

## 1661 年 4 月 1 日

這幾天將從此地出航的Vinq號與Immenhorn號這兩艘船,要在那裡如此派用,來為公司效勞,即那艘Immenlloom號將航往淡水,因為該船裝運的物品是特別為淡水要塞運去的,在那裡卸貨以後,要派該船從淡水航往Ima島,即Harp的島,去把去年平底船Harp號在那裡失事以後留在那裡看守的人接回來,如有可能,去接回那些人以後,再令這艘Immenhoom號裝煤炭運回此地;那艘Vinq號將直接航往雞籠,運去的物品是要給雞籠要塞的人,卸貨之後,也要裝煤炭、鹿皮等物,然後儘快派回此地。

尊貴的公司在那邊他們倉庫裡存留的糧食,可由淡水與雞籠的那些主管決定使用,即可給他們的自己家人消費,但【所謂自己家人】不得包括太多外人或沒有需要的奴隸,派駐那裡的商務官與下席商務官除了供應糧食之外也不得另給膳食費,也不得把在眩眩溪(Gingnerz rivier)扣留下來的那艘違背禁令的篷船上的貨物拿來消費,那些貨物,商務官Loenius必須在那裡公開拍賣,出售給出價最高的人,出售所得要歸公司收入,但是在南坎的賤商的篷船上找到的那把砍刀,因詳情寫在信裡的理由,要毫無短缺地全部歸還物主。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第398頁) VOC 1235, 818。

## 1661 年 5 月 10 日

Ossewayer先生...國姓爺計畫要派三千個武裝士兵從陸上,三十艘篷船從海上,去淡水和雞籠奪取尊貴的公司在那裡的Anthonio要塞和北荷蘭(Noort Holla)要塞。還說,有三個英國人,以前搭他們的船在中國沿海擱淺失事後就去為國姓爺工作,這三個英國人現在也一起被帶來此地,因此,何斌問Ossewayer說,他要不要也來為國姓爺工作,對此,他恰當地回答說,不要。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第446頁)

## 1661 年 5 月 23 日

商務官 Nicolaes Loenius，即公司在雞籠和淡水的要塞副首長（subalterne hooft），在他本月14日所寫的來信裡，告訴我們說，那艘，'s Gravelande號去到那裡，他們從該船聽到我們的狀況的消息以後，就召開評議會，商討如何能使我們可敬的公司得到最大的益處，乃決議，要派上述那三艘船和其他船隻來此地，還命令她們說，若無法來到此地，就必須回去他那裡，回到那裡以後，'s Gravelande號要載著已經裝在船上的那800箱糖，和一些可從Harp號輕易接運的其他貨物，航往日本去。至於那邊下一步該怎麼辦，在這種情況下，他不敢提出任何建議等。那些停泊在這沿海泊船處的船隻的主管們寫來的書信告訴我們說，那艘快艇，'s Gravelande號於本月10日去到雞籠，把我們悲傷險惡的情景狀況告訴了他們，並且在他們抵達雞籠以前奪取了一艘從淡水要去臺灣的篷船，船上搭11個人，載運下列貨物：160擔乾的鹿脯、5擔鹿筋和、3疋麻布。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第464頁）

VOC 1235，824-825。

## 1661 年 5 月 24 日

有一個官員說過，這城堡投降給國姓爺之後，國姓爺會讓我們可敬的公司毫無阻攔地去雞籠和淡水通商貿易。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第473頁）

## 1661 年 8 月 24 日

從巴達維亞派來的最後一艘船，是 Domburgh 號，於 7 月 27 日（中譯者註：這日期，中日文《巴達維亞城日誌》都作 7 月 21 日，見：1661 年 12 月 21 日條。）被閣下他們派遣航離巴達維亞前來此地的，帶來的貨物是要給此地的軍隊的各種需用品，總值 25,902:13:10 荷盾。

舵手說，他從那個船長聽說，他們在澳門群島的這邊，在有霧的天氣中，遇見一艘（從淡水來的）載運硫磺的漢人的篷船，該篷船的主管們向他們喊話說，他們備有航海通行證和文件；於是略微航離之後，他們又發砲兩響令那艘篷船來他們那裡，並令該篷船跟他們一起向北航行；但在那附近遭受西北風的衝擊，等衝過這惡劣的天氣之後，那艘篷船（是一艘相當大而且裝配良好的船）已經飄離他們，之後就再也沒看見該船了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 591 頁）

## 1661年9月3日

迄今都還沒派篷船或士兵去淡水和雞籠，我方在南部的荷蘭人去卑南受當地頭目的保護。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第4冊第602頁）

## 1661 年 11 月 4 日

商務官 Nicolaes Loenius，於上月 18 日，從日本出島（'t eylant Schiema）寫給長官閣下與福爾摩沙評議會，謂：他們從's Gravelande 號軍官聽到海盜國姓爺率領強大軍隊，突擊福爾摩沙，...也聽到那艘快艇 Hector 號爆炸而傷心，同時也聽到那艘 Maria 號航離那裡了。因此，跟其他人商議決定，要派這艘's Gravelande 號，偕同 De Vinck 號與 Emmenhoorn 號，儘快搭乘戰士，裝運軍需，航來此地盡力攻擊敵人，並來此地聽候長官閣下的命令；於是，那些船隻就按照這決定啟程出航了。

那時有流言傳說好像國姓爺已經奪取福爾摩沙，那些馬賽人（basayers）開始敵對公司.....。之後那個月，即 6 月 13 日，'s Gravelande 號與 De Vinck 號第二次從臺灣去到雞籠，那時，進入淡水的通道已被當地居民所阻擋，...今年 5 月中，曾經派一艘船裝運作戰用的彈藥、肥肉、柏油，以及十擔小麥，和一些木料要送去淡水，但在途中敵人就用繩子把那艘船絆住，把貨物劫掠去了。（《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 683 頁）

*N. Loenius 寫給 F. Coyett 的信，出島，1661 年 10 月 18 日。VOC 1235，fol. 827-837.*

五月起就有流言說國姓爺已經奪取福爾摩沙，所以過去最順服公司的 Basay 人也開始造反了。5 月中從雞籠派去淡水補給的船，在途中就被敵人用繩子把船絆住，劫走貨物。6 月 13 日，淡水的原住民阻擋海道不讓船進入淡水。他們也在雞籠看到作戰用的篷船在雞籠測量港灣，他們認為國姓爺的軍隊遲早會攻打雞籠。因此，他們認為與其坐以待斃，不如把公司資產都裝上船，乘風去日本，然後在季風轉換之後加入從日本增援臺灣的軍隊。故最後將雞籠守軍全部撤往日本長崎出島的荷蘭商館。

英譯摘錄：

[...] (*Early in May the troops had left Tamsuy:*) but alas the afore-mentioned military expedition returned on May 15<sup>th</sup> having achieved nothing; its attack turned out very badly as you perhaps can see in the enclosed daily journal, kept by Ensign Lijpach mentioned above. The misfortune of this undertaking, from the human point of view, and subject to Your Honour's more mature judgement, in my opinion was caused by the unfamiliarity with the roads there and in particular by the duplicity of our treacherous interpreters and guides. Unquestionably it can be believed that no Formosan, although they seem to be loyal and helpful, wholeheartedly tried to do his best [to assist] this assault because it was a matter which is contrary to their laws, since almost all of these nations are related to each other and there is mutual respect and awe [between them]. Therefore we acknowledge that these are the grounds and reasons the Honourable Company, when served by such indolent and callous heathens by their underhanded, knavish tricks, time and again accomplishes so little with an armed force in that region, as if the purpose of that

nation is to wear down the Honourable Company and cause it to abandon such assaults, especially since they are fully aware that every time it will cost copious Dutch blood because of the unhealthy climate, while they are fairly indifferent to the losses they suffer. [...]

*(On 5 May the crew of the 's-Gravelande had brought the grim news of Coxinga's landing to Quelang and the tragic events which had occurred in the aftermath. Loenius reported that thereupon:)* all the Basay began to rise in revolt and oppose the Honourable Company with [open] hostility against which we have employed all the means which could be thought of in order to reduce this, but alas all in vain, because they were continually crying out and insisting that they would no longer be slaves of the Honourable Company, meanwhile complaining about the low, stingy payment which was handed over for their services. Also, that they had asked Commissioner Harthouwer for payment for some camphor wood planks, supplied for mountings during the term of the former chief, the late Mr Van Mildert, but all they could get was a gruff response and no money. Furthermore, that for each journey they made to Cavalang to bring back some of the remaining goods of the shipwrecked junk the *Hollandia*, they had received only two Spanish reals and a little Chinese tobacco from the afore-said commissioner, against which they had grumbled, but were told that this was enough and, after several altercations, in which they gave vent to [their] displeasure, they were told that they had no choice but to do it for the Honourable Company, and if they were unwilling they would be made to do it. They displayed suchlike displeasure about their voyage to Tarraboan, especially because lately their vessels were investigated and searched so thoroughly that they could take hardly anything to trade for provisions; whereas earlier this was allowed them in quite generous quantities by the other *opperhoofden*, provided that they did not receive payment. In the third place, they complained sorely that for their services in travelling to Tamsuy with the commissioner and his company, they were only given some Chinese tobacco, which in their opinion was [worth] one-tenth of what they had spent, Many such reasons for their rebellion since last year they pinned on me, including the fact that they could not go to Cavalang or to the Tamsuy River whenever they requested to trade provisions, not realizing that this had never been the practice before the regular ships had left, because only then and not earlier, could their service be missed, and then their request was always granted. In the fourth place that their children were forced to go to school and could not get permission at any time to forage for food. In the fifth place that, when one of their people went elsewhere without permission, they were condemned in accordance with their custom to bring to the fort some baskets of oyster shells or coral. In the sixth place that whenever they wanted to buy some broad *beeuwts* from a private person they had to pay three Spanish reals for it. In the seventh place, that time and again, day or night, they were ordered by Interpreters Jan Harmensz and Barnabe to render service to the Company and had to go to Tamsuy and Cavalang to deliver letters for only a trifling payment, a little tobacco according to them, while they sometimes had to haul their proas over the mountain in order to accomplish what they were

ordered and all that for a little tobacco or arrack. In the eighth place that when they sold some fish and some fire wood they received less payment for each *tael*. Previously, when the fish were weighed, one had to pay a tenth to the person who occupied the position of market superintendent, so that these people would not be cheated with regard to the weight. In the ninth place that, when the forge coal was weighed again on delivery, this was done with a bigger basket than the one used earlier.

.....

However, all these incidents and complaints which were mentioned would not have been powerful enough to use as an excuse to oppose the Honourable Company, if they had [not] previously been reinforced by some of the Tamsuy River peoples and the Basay there, as well as the Cavalang, who are all turning out to be enemies.

.....Therefore I am of the opinion that this was caused by nothing other than the afore-mentioned rumours and in particular the provocations by the selfish Basay. From pure bitterness these Basay, just as I tried to bring about a reconciliation, did not shrink from shooting some arrows when our people were sailing to their village to get some firewood, so that they were forced to turn back, which made us decide to embark the most able-bodied soldiers in the boat, the barge and the small Chinese sampan in order to take our revenge for the hostility they had shown us earlier, which has taken them most part of a day, losing off volleys along the bank as they sailed up and down the river; it was not advisable to land, while we could not but notice that they were continuously present, everywhere behind rocks and undergrowth, reinforced by people from Tamsuy, We were not able to determine what damage we have caused them. The next day, these heathens continually paraded up and down the beach cursing us vehemently and maliciously, shouting that they had also turned the people from the Tamsuy River against the Honourable Company, that they also intended to lord it over the people in Cavalang and Tarraboan in the same way, and that they were planning to sail there the next day with all their vessels. The only conclusion we could draw was that this had actually been carried out, except for some of them who, reinforced with people from Tamsuy, kept the passage to Cavalang and Tamsuy occupied, having set fire to their village beforehand. During the night they also tried their best to destroy the warehouses of the Company and the houses of the Dutch [in Quelang] by fire, but in each case were prevented from doing so by our strong advance guard. However, finally they succeeded in setting fire to half of the Chinese quarter, and would have [destroyed it] completely, if [the blaze] had not been extinguished in time by the Dutch and Chinese.

Ensign Lijpach has written us [from Tamsuy] that such acts of wilfulness and rebellion have also been perpetrated over there by the Basay and the people of Tamsuy, slaughtering almost all of Company cattle and mortally wounding some others, which were retrieved by a sortie by our Dutchmen and taken inside, but had to be killed. They had also burned to the ground the Company lodge and the whole Chinese quarter. On this occasion, the Interpreters Barnabe and Gravello Loemas, whom we trusted most of all, turned out to be the principal and worst

instigators and, instead of being loyal to the Company, they insulted us the most. From time to time it became clear to us that the Basay had been becoming increasingly degenerate because of our leniency to which they had been used for a long time now. They were accustomed to liberal gifts and payments and were not prepared for the fact that there would ever be such a stringent curtailment. It seems that, on this occasion, it has really annoyed them and caused them, plus the aforementioned reasons, to be all the more disappointed and rebel against the Honourable Company. Apart from that, this nation has, under the guise of loyalty, continuously been causing us exceeding harm in Cavalang as well as Tarraboan, always trying to set these against trading with the Company. For this reason, subject to your more mature judgement, it would be better if these Basay were rigorously pursued and punished, allowing them to preserve their lives, unless necessity requires otherwise, and keeping them in such obedience that they would be forced to take up residence where the Honourable Company should wish them to, which, in my opinion, should mean that [...] two small strongholds should be established in and near the Bay of St Laurens, and they be ordered to live near these on the shore in this bay for the convenience of the Dutch. Without a doubt this would please this nation better than being in the vicinity of Quelang, especially because they are closer by to obtain their provisions there - either mixed with the Cavalang or else on their own - on condition that good rules have been established in all political matters which differ as little as possible from their own, leaving school discipline aside for the time being, in a manner which you deem suitable. And the other [stronghold] a bit farther away to the inland, so that by that means not only the Basay but also the Cavalang would be protected from all fighting, in particular with the Poelecheron, and would be kept in check. If this were effectuated, it would be possible to obtain at least 4 to 5,000 bundles of elk, deer and mountain goat skins yearly from these inhabitants with the Poelecheron, who are at times friends of the Cavalang and at times their enemies, which good relations we should bring about. It would also be a better means once in a while to try and reach the passage to Tarraboan and the gold-mine, especially if only mild-mannered and patient fellows, [lacking] a cunning disposition were employed in those parts. It would also not be a bad thing if the Honourable Company did not come to harass them to achieve their goal, which cannot be done quickly. Especially because the Tarraboan themselves have already requested that between Tarraboan and Parenan - which are almost adjacent and are obstructing each other in the search for gold because of their *Marnatsen*, that is to say matters that go against their laws, which we could then prevent amicably - a trench with palisades, an earthen rampart and a considerable moat be erected, manned by forty to fifty people, which without a doubt would inspire exceptional awe in those parts and would allow us to obtain considerably more gold, especially if we try to prevent the Cavalang and Basay from [participating in] the gold trade. So that without a doubt the Honourable Company, when the foregoing had been realized, would obtain substantially more

advantages than in Quelang and Tamsuy and it could be arranged that, [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 461-464. )

並見：Rapport door N. Loenius aan J. Maetsuycker，nopen de motieven voor Quelangs opbraak en de verdere desolate staatvandatgewest【N.Loenius 呈給總督 J. Maetsuycker 關於撤離雞籠的原因以及該地區破壞狀況的報告】，1661 年 11 月 27 日。VOC 1237，fol. 45-52，英譯摘錄：

However, the first indication we had of this was with the Basay- who have been the biggest instigators - when we heard from Tamsuy that they showed up there in broad daylight very insolently around the fort accompanied by more other inhabitants trying to break into it and very fiercely firing arrows at our people (as a result of which one Dutchman was wounded in the head) [who] defended themselves with cannon and volleys of musket-fire. And what is more, they showed no compunction about burning Company houses, all other houses as well as the Chinese quarter to the ground, besides wounding, killing and destroying all the cattle. The Basay from Quelang also have not flinched from such violent rebellion and robbed and held up a vessel (which had been sent to Tamsuy with provisions and some ammunition) even before we had knowledge of their animosity. And later they manifested their bloodthirsty nature even more [luridly] and murdered Corporal Frans van Eycken who had been sent out from Tamsuy with two soldiers after the afore-mentioned vessel, which had been gone too long in the opinion of the ensign, to find out where it might have ended up, - but that was already suspected - and confirmed by these two soldiers on their return who reported they had seen that the corporal had been wounded in his shoulders by two arrows and had then crept into the undergrowth of the forest, while they had been closely pursued as far as the fort. During the night these Basay devised various ruses in order to set fire to Company rice warehouse and more other houses in Quelang, all with thatched roofs, which was clearly advertised by several little pots of coal and straw which they had hidden near those, or [...] ( *The Formosan Encounter*, vol. 4, pp. 468-469. )

## 1661 年 11 月 19 日

1661 年 8 月最後一天，商務官 Daniel Six 清點粗貨倉庫裡的存貨時所看到的存貨，於今天交出來的清單裡，照當時看到的，表列其各項存貨如下：

.....、525 斤硫磺、

.....、646,625 斤鉛、.....。(《熱蘭遮城日誌》第 4 冊第 708 頁)

## 1664 年

鄭經有意割淡水給荷蘭人



.....heducht zynde, dat de vyant middelertyt daerin weder soude comen nestelen, hehhen het selve Goutsoe. mitsgadcrs Colongsoe, weerloos gemaekt. Doch aen een rendezvous en can het de Comp" niet onstaen, als men maer den handel vast en heeft: en sonder den handel en is een rendezvous ook niet noodigh, ten sy men den oorlogh tegen het ryk selve aenvange. Ende meent de commandeur, Bort, dat, soo de vicerey en veldheer den handel voor ons nu niet en verwerven, zy het selve noyt en sullen doen.

Na dat de schepen aen het eyland Kemuy gerepareert waren, is de commandeur, Bort, met de geheele vloot, versterkt met 2 veroverde vyands jonken en 2 Tartarische jonken, op den 29<sup>en</sup> Decemher verleden jaers van daer vertrocken ende eerst in de Piscadores versehenen, hehhende onderwegen genootsaekt geweest, door hard weer, tot tweemaal toe hy tyts weder onder Kemuy te loopen, om niet na Batavia te verdryven. Als hy d'eerste mael onder Kemuy was gekeert, quam aldaer een vaartuygh van Tangsoa, door den vyand expresselyk afgesonden met een hrief van de Nederlanders, in Tajoan gevangen sittende, in date den 6, n Decemher lestleden aen den commandeur geschreven, houdende advertentie, datse wcl getracteert wierden ende dat de vyand, inclinatie toonende om van vrede met ons te handelen, ons presenteerde de possessie van Tamsuy of Kelang of Lammo; maer, alsoo de hriefhrenger geen schriftelyke last zeyde tc hehhen om met d'onse te handelen, is hy weder met een troosthrief in antwoord aen onse voorsz. gevangens afgeveerdigt. Ende na dat de commandeur met de vloot op den 3en January in de Piscadores was gecomen. in de Zuydoosthaey, aen de huytencant van Pehoe, liet hy een gedeelte van het krygsvolk landen om te sien, hoe sich nu de vyand tegens ons zoude houden.

*Dagh-register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia van 't passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India, (《巴達維亞城日誌》) anno 1664, p. 38.*

## 1664 年 11 月 28 日

荷蘭人再佔雞籠，雞籠的漢人逃到淡水，但淡水原住民並不傷害漢人。

Den 27<sup>en</sup> des voornoemde maents quamen d'onse voor Quelang. Het jaeht, Nieuwendam, ende de jonk, Quemuy, die van de vloot afgeraet waren, wierden daer gevonden en wisten de opperhoofden te verhalen, datse op hare aencomste aldaer geen vyanden vernomen hadden, maer wel gesieu, dat enige Chinesen tot omtrent 30 in 4 getal na de overcust waren gevlucht. Op het strant vonden sy enige van derselver huysen en een heplante tuyn met aerd en hoomvruchten ende enige andere hlyken ende tekenen, datse daer met de Formosanen handel hadden gedreven. Terwyl onse schepen daer lagen, quam een kleene wankan voor de haeyseyle, maergewaer wordende, dat de hakens verset waren, sogt sich met de vlucht te salveren, het welk hem door de stilte en contrary stroom helet wierd; hy weerde sich in 't eerste

seer dapper en heschadigde al vele van ons volk met het werpen van eenig hrandent tuyg in onse schuyts, alsse hem wat te na hy quamen; doch siende eyndelyk, datter geen cans van ontcomen was, sette het omtrent Tamsuy tegens strant aen en salveerde syn volk en goederen, het welk de Formosanen, daer op strant zynde, aensagen sonder de Chinesen eenig leet te doen, soo datter in het genoemde vaertuyg niet anders als een weynig sout gevonden is.

*Dagh-register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia van 't passerende daer ter plaetsw als over geheel Nederlands-India,*(《巴達維亞城日誌》) anno 1664, pp. 514-515.

## 1664 年 12 月 16 日

臺灣鄭軍開舢舨來淡水修築淡水紅毛城，淡水原住民自此後很少運貨到雞籠。 volgens het seggen van de inwoonders, soo ,vaeren ses Tayoanse koyans in de Tamsuyse rivier gecomen met omtrent 70 gewapende Chinesen, behalven de zeevaerende , die aldaer de vervallen reduyt Anthonio omgepaggert hadden. Sedert de comste derselver en waren geen Tamsuyse inwoonders in Quelangh verschenen, dat groote schaersheyt in de levensmiddelen veroorsaecte, soo dal nootsackelyck gcmelte vyanden van daer sullen moeten gedreven worden....

*Dagh-register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia van 't passerende daer ter plaetsw als over geheel Nederlands-India,*(《巴達維亞城日誌》) anno 1665, p. 412.

## 1665 年

### 1665 年 10 月 30 日

8 日獲得消息，中國人包圍安東尼堡。

Since the 8th when we sent over our express messenger, Teniel, who told us that [the Chinese] want to occupy the redoubt Anthonio [at Tamsuy], as they have surrounded it with entrenchments, and then placed some guns on top of it. And that he, (around the 8""", since we last received a hasty message) had seen but seventy armed soldiers there, and that he had thought the others were sailors, but now we have received the message that altogether they are a 700 men strong. During this bad weather, six of their coja are moored in the river closer to Redoubt Anthonio, and that the Chinese had erected a bamboo fence around it, and when it was shut off, they [the Chinese] remained on guard on the vessels anchored in front of it. We also understood that two of them had returned to the mouth of the river loaded with rice, to return to Tayouan. We have sent a messenger

to obtain some information, but we do not know what to think, as he has remained away a very long time.

Missive Commander Hermanns de Bitter to Senior Merchant Constantijn Nobel. Quelang, 30 October 1665.VOC1254, fol. 838-841. Extracts. *FE4*, pp. 506-507.

## 1666 年

### 1666 年 5 月 14 日

鄭軍進攻雞籠。

(On 14 May, the enemy attempted three times to storm the redoubt Victoria. It seemed that they did not have any heavy calibre guns, so that they possibly intended to take Quelang with a superior number of troops.) (fol. 1554) [...] The Cabessas Loumas Ticktick and Seghou, from the second village situated along the Tamsuy River, have come to visit me. They say that there are no more Chinese remaining in their villages, also, that the seven coja have taken all the remaining Chinese from Tamsuy, and that they carry eighteen to twenty guns. The Chinese wanted to obtain rice from them too, but they have not given it to them, and because of that the latter had laid waste to some of their fields.

Dagregister Merchant Joan de Meijer, Quelang, 8 March-21 October 1666. VOC1258, fol. 1516-1650. Extracts. *FE4*, p. 602.

## 1667 年

### 1667 年 1 月 19-20 日

淡水鄭軍的活動情況，以及對雞籠荷軍傳話。

[...] Wednesday, Thursday and Friday 19, 20 and 21 [January 1667]: On [January] 11th the two brothers Taboas paid us a visit. They were accompanied by two other men, named Naris and Catadis, from the village Chinaer, situated at a distance of a gunshot from the redoubt at Tamsuy. Taboas Bouw reports that he had been summoned for by the Cauja, Chief Commander of the Cheng troops in Tamsuy, a fortnight ago who had already summoned him about five or six

times previously wanting to speak to him, threatening him that if he did not present himself that he [Cauja] would send 300 Chinese soldiers to capture his head, as well as to seize his rice stores, his people and other possessions, and destroy everything. Taboas was truly shocked, and afraid that this would really happen, so finally, having been urged by his people, he went to the said Cauja, who is residing in the mud-brick house on the site where the Dutch opperhoofden used to live. The soldiers live in thatched huts and they use the fort as a storage for their rice. They have six canons and ninety blunderbusses placed around the fence, but as darkness fell he was not able to see more of the situation. Cauja, surrounded by many of his men, addressed Taboas Bouw as follows: "Go to Quelang and ask the chief of the Company whether they want to make friends with us. We want to know this. If they want to be friends with us, I shall not be obliged to write to Tayouan for more troops, if not, he would call for some 10,000 men." [...] Dagregister Merchant Joan de Meijer. Quelang, 22 October 1666-2 February 1667. VOC1264, fol. 177-183. Extracts. FE4, pp. 647-648

## 1667 年 12 月 11-14 日

淡水鄭軍試圖像先前大批武力攻打雞籠，但未執行。

Op Quelangh, nae luyt van de brieven, stonden de saecken wel en op de dreygementen van de Coxinse vyanden om met een grooter magt als te voren die plaets weder aen te tasten was niet gevolgt; ondertusschen hadden d'onse de fortesse .....

*Dagh-register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia van 't passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India,*(《巴達維亞城日誌》) anno 1667, p. 400.

## 1667 年 12 月 16 日

淡水鄭軍投荷營

Van Tamsuy waren 34 Kocksinse soldaten op Quelangh comen overlopen, die te rapporteren wisten, dat het daer ter plaetse secr sober was gestelt. Voorsz. overlopers waren met Overveen nae Hocksieuw gesonden en dat op haer eygen versouck, doch en heeft niet geschenen, hetselve de Tartarise regenten aldaer aengenaem is geweest. De reden daarvan en connen wij niet wel bedencken. Men opinioerde, dat in corte wel meer van dat volck tot de onse soude overcomen, maer soo haest als Sepoan, wesende de zone van Kocksinja, de begonnen viugt van sijne soldaten vernam, heeft al het oude volck van daer geligt en andere in de plaetse geleyt, waardoor de vordere fuge is voorgecomen, sijnde aen haer wegblijven weynigh gelegen, alsoo maer een deel schelmen en snode verraders syn, die men in 't minste niet vertrouwen raagh.

*Generale Missiven van Gouverneur-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie.*

Deel III: 1655-1674, p. 614.

## 1672 年

有艘荷蘭快船 *Cuylenburgh* 赴日遇海難，漂著臺灣西北部，即淡水遇難。不少船員被殺，一半乘員造小船逃離赴日；另一半三十餘人停留該地被鄭軍所捕。

東寧之內ケイランの近所ザンドイン<sup>200</sup>申所に吹付られ申候、夜中ニ而雨風強く御座候に付、方角知不申候故、碇を入申候得共、大波ニ而、岡に打揚げ、船破損仕候、  
《荷蘭風說書集成》上，頁 61-62。

.....de fluyt *Cuylenburgh* in zijn laatste reyse na Japan, wanneer op de **Noortwesthoeck** van Formosa quam te verongelucken, met 50 officieren, daeronder vier opper- en twee onderstuyrluyden, twee derdewaecken, drie hooghbootsluyden met een hooghbootsmansmaet, een bottelier met drie botteliersmaats, een opper- en twee onderkuypers, vier chirurgijns met een jongh barbier.

P. van Dam, *Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Deel III, 427

並見：C.R. Boxer, *Dutch Merchants and Mariners in Asia, 1602-1785*, p. 183。

伊能嘉矩，《臺灣文化誌》中卷，頁 901。

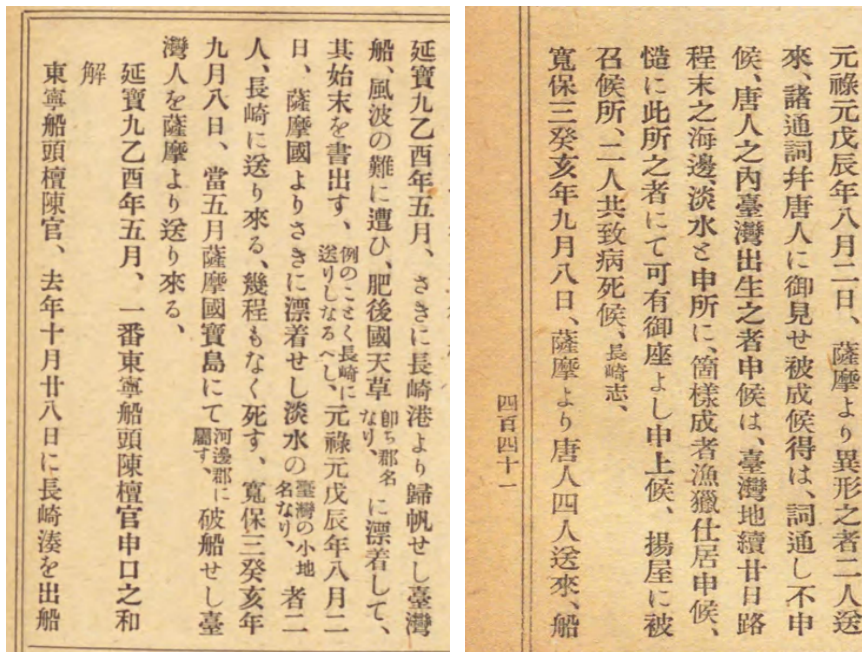
據《臺灣外記》：永曆 29 年（1675）2 月，鄭經攻下流放洪承疇之姪士昌、士恩與翰林楊明琅二家眷口共百餘人於淡水、雞籠；十月，攻下漳州，又流放黃芳度眷口於淡水。

## 1688 年

有淡水原住民漂流到日本九州薩摩，被捕入獄，病死。

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<sup>200</sup> ザンドイン，即荷蘭語的 *zandduin*，沙丘、沙崙！但《荷蘭風說書集成》編註者卻註成「基隆港內仙洞鼻」，誤。



《通航一覽》215，卷5，唐國福建省臺灣府，頁440～441。

陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



## 附錄四 十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記

- 【糧食】 稻米、蔬菜、根莖之類
- 【交通】 淡水雞籠間交通
- 【硫磺】 相關活動
- 【原住民】 任命、反亂、習俗
- 【殖民】 特許交易、漢人相關、漢人移民
- 【動植物】 竹子、樹木、木材、鹿皮、鹿肉、籐、雞、豬、牛

臺灣<sup>201</sup>=安平、大員

淡水地區=臺北盆地

雞籠=和平島

雞籠和淡水=臺灣北部的泛稱

金包里=基隆港周邊

三貂社=新北市貢寮區一帶

斤 (catty) =約 0.6 公斤

磅 (pound) =約 0.5 公斤

擔 (picul) =約 60 公斤 (100 斤)

樽 (balij) =1644 年挖煤的樣品樽容量為 364 磅，約 180 公斤

last=約 1500 公斤

呎 (voet) =約 0.3 公尺

噶 (fathom) =約 1.8 公尺

哩 (mijl) =走路一小時的距離

### 1626 年

ST 1626-07-30，<sup>202</sup>菲律賓長官 de Silva 上奏西班牙國王：

- 【殖民】西班牙軍隊由少校 Antonio Carreño de Valdés 率領，乘兩艘槳帆船，於 5 月 5 日離開 Cagayan，11 日抵達雞籠，該海灣有 18 噶深，可以停泊 500 艘船，而且鄰近中國。
- 【原住民】西班牙軍隊抵達雞籠時，發現該處有座 1500 房屋的城鎮，房屋用香木蓋成，居民類似 Cagayan 人，但是語言不同。

<sup>201</sup> Teijouan，原譯「大員」，範圍在古地圖上被畫作大灣的地方，本計劃皆譯為「臺灣」。

<sup>202</sup> ST 為 *Spaniards in Taiwan*。



**ST 1626，耶穌會年報殘檔：**

【原住民】原住民會帶食物來向西班牙人交換罐子、珠寶、瑪瑙、銀子，他們熟悉這些東西，也知道他們的價值。原住民沒有統一的君長，每個村社自己管理自己，並且彼此爭戰。

## 1627 年

**ST 1627-09-10，長崎的荷蘭官員來信，報告從柬埔寨的西班牙船得到的情報：**

【殖民】至 1627 年 2 月，高達 250 名左右的西班牙人和 Pampanga 人死去，還活著的也相當虛弱。原因是含硫磺的水非常不健康。西班牙人在雞籠的堡壘只有基本的防禦，看起來像是臨時性的。雞籠西方有一個港灣，在雞籠的漢人稱它為淡水。這些荷蘭人在經過淡水時沒有發現任何防禦工事，只有煙從前述漢人舵公所說的地方冒出來。

【硫磺】【動植物】漢人會駕篷船去雞籠去取得硫磺、砂金，以及砍伐一些木材。

## 1628 年

**ST 1628-07-30，耶穌會神父描述 1627 年 7 月至 1628 年 7 月間菲律賓群島與周邊地區狀況，關於臺灣島部分：**

【糧食】【原住民】淡水河兩岸的原住民互相敵對，靠西班牙堡壘這一邊（按：即淡水河右岸）的原住民想要與西班牙人結盟。基於信任與需要，西班牙側派出軍官 Antonio de Vera 帶 20 名士兵到淡水，主要目的是要籌措一些稻米。他們與原住民一起生活了一兩個月，但原住民遲遲不提供稻米讓他們完成任務。西班牙人與淡水原住民衝突。當 Lazaro de Torres 帶著增援與補給抵達雞籠，他決定要為此事復仇。他率領一百名士兵搭乘槳帆船登陸淡水，原住民見狀即逃離他們的村社。西班牙人搶奪該村社的糧倉，糧倉裡的糧食很多，顯示淡水這塊土地相當富饒。

## 1631 年

**DZ 1631-06-30**，<sup>203</sup>六個出身馬尼拉附近，被西班牙人帶到北臺灣做工的黑人，逃離西班牙人的掌握來到臺灣商館提供情報：

【原住民】他們說西班牙人與原住民的關係有時有好，有時敵對，但沒有真正動武打仗。

【動植物】淡水還有原住民帶鹿、山羌、水果土產等物品來交易，但他們也希望能自己打些獵物好和原住民交易。

【交通】淡水和雞籠間有兩條交通路線，一條沿著海岸，一條經過內陸。

**ST 1632-11-24**，在臺灣北部住過幾個月的 **Diego Aduarte** 神父所寫的福爾摩沙備忘錄，提出建議，希望國王的幫助可以維持在此島上已經達到的成就：

【交通】**Aduarte** 從雞籠經 20 里格的海路到淡水，回程走內陸河流，約 30 里格。他說神父可以在雞籠和淡水間的地區，以及兩座堡壘以外數里格的地區自由行動，不會遭到原住民的攻擊，原住民甚至希望他們可以在村社住下來。

【硫磺】**Aduarte** 認為經濟上的利益是維持島上據點的理由，雖然現在眼前還看不到，但這就像播種到收穫需要時間一樣。漢人會為了金礦、銀礦、硫磺等礦產造訪此島。等到時機許可，將可以用原住民貢稅的形式來開發這些礦產。

【糧食】有很多西班牙人生病，這些人需要雞肉。由於雞籠的醫院還無法自給自足，故這些雞肉需要從馬尼拉補給。（按：在馬尼拉補給的送貨單中有出現運幾籠活雞的記錄。）稻米是維持這個島運作的最重要食物，每人每年需要 24 gantas，即一百人需要 5000 cavans（約 15000 公斤或 10 last）稻米。此處的數字是以碾過的體積計算，如果送來的稻米是未碾過的，則數量還要加倍，因為會有一半的分量在碾米的過程中耗損。故補給的稻米最好是碾過的，雖然碾過的稻米不能長久保存，但可以節省貨艙空間。米可以從 Pampanga 取得。運送補給的船隻每年應分為兩班，一班在五月，一班在八月，各送 2500 cavans 的稻米與其他補給品去雞籠。1631 年 5 月時沒有補給船到來，駐軍陷入飢餓的困境，好在有一艘從柬埔寨滿載稻米的船偶然停泊在雞籠，才解決燃眉之急。每年固定兩班船也可以累積雞籠的貿易聲望，當漢人知道雞籠有西班牙補給船來，就知道有生意可做。但如果他們發現五月沒有船過來，就會推測八月也沒有船，最後就不來雞籠貿易。總之，補給與稻米是維持西班牙在雞籠據點的原動力。

【殖民】**Aduarte** 建議要讓適婚年齡的女人帶著嫁妝移居臺灣，與當地人結婚，以增加人口。淡水地區沃野千里，可以種植各種作物，應該給予漢人這種他們在祖國所沒有的便利，以吸引他們來開墾。這樣一來，不出幾年此處生產的稻米就會比所需還多，有餘力可以出口。

<sup>203</sup> DZ 為《熱蘭遮城日誌》

## 1632 年

**ST 1632**，**Jacinto Esquivel** 神父〈艾爾摩沙島情況相關事務的報告〉、〈有關艾爾摩沙島近況變化的報告〉：

（按：這兩篇報告是關於西班牙統治的北臺灣最詳盡的當代史料，對【糧食】【交通】 【原住民】【殖民】【動植物】 等主題皆有論及，特別是原住民的分布與風俗，還有西班牙統治原住民的措施等歷史，皆有詳細報導。參考李毓中主編譯註，《臺灣與西班牙史料彙編》第三冊，南投：國史館臺灣文獻館，2013，頁 1-98。）

## 1633 年

**DZ 1633-03-23**

【硫磺】荷蘭船長 **Claes Janssen** 從魷港和二林間截獲一艘篷船，前一年從福州出航，停靠雞籠後去過馬尼拉，今年乘季風再到雞籠。船主是西班牙人。船內有 30 擔未提煉的硫磺。

## 1636 年

**DZ 1636-03-14**，有一艘屬於西班牙人所有的篷船來到臺灣商館，他們於二月從雞籠出發前往馬尼拉，遭遇逆風，失去桅杆和船舵，不得已自己投入荷蘭人的手中。從這些人口中問到關於雞籠的情報：

【原住民】西班牙人與鄰近他們的原住民和平共處，在雞籠有兩個西班牙神父向原住民傳教，在淡水也有兩位。但西班牙人與較遠的幾個原住民村落仍繼續作戰。

【糧食】西班牙人在淡水建造城堡，並且從那裡運大量的稻米、玉米等食物去雞籠。

**DZ 1636-05-21**，從中國來的篷船帶來情報：

【原住民】淡水的原住民在夜間襲擊西班牙人的城堡，放火燒掉，驅逐駐守淡水的 60 名西班牙人，其中一半被殺死，其餘逃走了。

## 1637 年

**DZ 1637-11-19**，從中國來的漁船帶來情報：

【原住民】西班牙人與淡水的原住民締和，但是淡水的原住民也擔心西班牙人會為了去年的重大損失而動用軍隊報復。西班牙人把淡水的城堡全部拆毀，全軍撤往雞籠。

## 1638 年

**DZ 1638-01-15**，來到臺灣商館的漢人帶來臺灣北部的情報：

【殖民】雞籠的西班牙人把城堡的駐軍幾乎全部調回馬尼拉，只留下 50 到 60 個士兵守衛雞籠的城堡。

**DZ 1638 年 1 月至 4 月**

【動植物】西班牙人撤離淡水之後，1638 年年初起開始出現漢人篷船持荷蘭人發的通行證去淡水捕魚和收購鹿皮的記載。

## 1639 年

**ST 1639-09-07**，給船長 **Maerten Gerrits de Vries** 的偵察雞籠與淡水西班牙據點的指令（按：最後因天候不佳無功而返）：

【硫磺】【動植物】先前荷蘭人已經派遣商人 **Peco** 的篷船去收購硫磺和鹿皮，**Vries** 將會遇到 **Peco** 的船，應視情況向他尋求協助，但不可以妨礙他們的生意。

【原住民】應嘗試與淡水的原住民建立關係。據漢人來報，有 18 社的原住民已經開始反抗西班牙人。

【殖民】必須畫地圖、測水深，如果可能，可以抓漁民來問情報。

**ST 1639-10-04**，道明會神父 **Teodoro de la Madre de Dios** 致信道明會在馬尼拉的首長（按：作者欲與菲律賓長官 **Corcuera** 撤防雞籠的方針作對，故多作誇大之詞）：

【糧食】 【硫磺】臺灣島土地肥沃，稻米產量豐富，可以餵養西班牙人和漢人。有三座硫磺礦，離基隆 16 到 20 里格處有三座金礦，稱作 **Jorboan** 和 **Parusarun**，海路一天可及。此外還有水晶礦、真珠、琥珀。

【動植物】 臺灣島有豐富的漁產。因為氣候濕潤，牧草取之不盡，常保新鮮翠綠。山裡還有很多野獸可以狩獵。該島出產有香氣的木材（按：檜木？），原住民用這種木材造船，可以用五十年不壞。另有一種 pinabetes 的木材，漢人買去做官員的棺材，因為據說這種木材不會腐爛。

## 1640 年

### DZ 1640

【硫磺】荷蘭人開始將硫磺運出臺灣。

## 1641 年

### DZ 1641-01-10

【硫磺】於臺南純化硫磺。

## 1642 年

DZ 1642-09-14，雞籠戰地指揮官召開議會，做成決議中有：

【原住民】沒有特別命令，荷蘭士兵與軍官不得渡海（八尺門）去原住民村落的房屋、莊稼。因為原住民已經歸順，故不得侵害原住民的財產。

【殖民】不得損害漢人與漢人家庭的房屋、莊稼，以及任何東西。

### DZ 1642 年 9 月

【原住民】23 日 Kijpatou 社和 Pinorouan 社的人到雞籠呈獻土地給荷蘭人。

DZ 1642-10-04，一艘篷船從福州抵達雞籠，船員說：

【硫磺】至三貂社收購硫磺。

### DZ 1642-10-07

【動植物】至淡水附近的村社交換新鮮食物。

【糧食】報告，當地有豐富的白米與紅米。

【原住民】報告，原住民食的習慣。

【交通】本次從雞籠去淡水換取新鮮食物之行，也觀察了從雞籠到淡水的內陸交通路線，並敘述從上游乘獨木舟往下游的情況。

#### DZ 1642 年 10 月至 1643 年 4 月

【動植物】荷蘭人不斷要求淡水河上游的原住民帶竹子與長草來淡水，做為建立堡壘與住所的建材。。

#### FE 1642-10-19，駐雞籠上尉 Harrouse 致淡水指揮官 Lamotius 書信：

【交通】10 月 14 日從淡水發的信，18 日到雞籠，19 日回信，20 日經陸路送達淡水。

#### DZ 1642-11-13

【原住民】 【動植物】原住民來淡水歸順。中尉 Pedel 向原住民宣讀戰地指揮官留下的條款，命令來歸順的原住民把他們的水果、根莖、雞蛋、家畜、魚帶到市集來賣。此後，不斷有原住民前來。

#### DZ 1642-11-20

【交通】淡水主管派會西班牙語的士兵 Joost de Hont 與兩個 Cenar 社人送信給雞籠的上尉 Harrousee，並命令他要沿途觀察居民的習性、道路、小徑、河川等情況。他在 11 月 28 日回到淡水，報告經北海岸到雞籠的路況（DZ 1642-11-28）。

#### DZ 1642 年 12 月 8 日至 15 日，中尉 Pedel 巡視淡水河上游各社：

【動植物】【原住民】里族社的物產與情況。

### 1643 年

#### DZ 1643-03-12

【原住民】今年以來，原住民帶了不少番酒（massecaww）到淡水來，荷蘭人認為這是要來灌醉士兵的，故嚴令禁止士兵交易番酒。

【硫磺】荷蘭官員巡視硫磺山回來，描述了當地的情況。

#### DZ 1643-04-10

【動植物】淡水城堡發生火災，營房和廣南人的房子都被燒毀了。城堡的圍牆也燒毀，故要用竹子重建。

**DZ 1643-08-21，臺灣商館議會決議：**

【硫磺】以後在雞籠和淡水提煉過的硫磺必須繳納什一稅。

【糧食】所有進口的穀物（米、小麥、麵粉、豆子等），也必須繳納什一稅。

**DZ 1643-10-08，臺灣商館議會決議：**

【硫磺】批准漢人申請通行證去雞籠淡水交易硫磺，並決定每百擔未提煉的硫磺，在淡水收 20 里爾的稅，在雞籠收 30 里爾的稅。

**ST 1643-03，Juan de los Angeles 神父論福爾摩沙的陷落：**

【殖民】荷蘭占領雞籠後即吊死六個原住民，分別來自金包里社、三貂社、Taparri 社，因為這三社不願意提供荷蘭人食物與嚮導。

【硫磺】【動植物】荷蘭很快就在淡水過去西班牙建築堡壘的地方蓋起木造城寨，這樣就可以控制硫磺、籐、鹿皮等物產的貿易。

**ST 1643-07-26，道明會神父 Teodoro Quiros 論福爾摩沙的陷落：**

【硫磺】福爾摩沙有四個硫磺坑，現在荷蘭人控制硫磺坑，賣硫磺給漢人，然後用賺來的錢對抗西班牙人。

【動植物】福爾摩沙出產許多稻米、魚類、水果、鹿隻、野獸，種類與西班牙和中國相似。

## 1644 年

**DZ 1644-02-09，臺灣商館議會決議：**

【硫磺】允許從福州來的中國官員在雞籠與淡水交易硫磺，並豁免他的出口稅。

**DZ 1644-03-29，臺灣商館議會決議：**

【殖民】允許漢人住在淡水與雞籠的城堡下及相關規定事項。

**DZ 1644-05-10**

【糧食】【硫磺】 【原住民】【動植物】荷蘭人與金包里社原住民的問答。

**FE 1644-07-04**，淡水的 Pedel 來信：

【動植物】淡水地區各社原住民從本年七月開始，必須像在臺灣的原住民一樣，以鹿皮繳納貢稅。

## 1645 年

**DZ 1645-07-15**，臺灣商館議會決議：

【硫磺】議會決議漢人以後只准在越過公司馬廄的地方，或是在赤崁提煉。

## 1646 年

**FE 1646-02-09**，淡水下席商務官 Nolpe 來信：

【原住民】1645 年的 landdag 之後，淡水地區發生瘟疫，人口大量死亡，故淡水當局派出士兵 Willem Albertus 去巡視各村社，以便列出現存村社、戶數與人口數。此事其實已經延宕許久，因為荷蘭人也受瘟疫影響，病得無法執行任務。

**DZ 1646-03-27**，臺灣商館決議：

【殖民】因為淡水和雞籠缺乏糧食和日用品，所以願意遷居該地的漢人，將依照行業享有數年的免稅優惠，但仍要繳人頭稅。並且開放從中國前往雞籠和淡水的航運，以促進貨物自由來往，但仍要向在臺灣一樣繳稅。

**FE 1646-05-08**，雞籠下席商務官 Nolpe 來信：

【原住民】【動植物】淡水村社和金包里社的鹿皮貢稅已經齊全，總共有 3010 枚水鹿皮和 4260 枚鹿皮（DZ 1646-05-23）即將運至臺灣。

**FE 1646-09-03**，淡水下席商務官 Nolpe 來信：

【糧食】因為無法期待有足夠的稻米送到臺灣北部，所以淡水當局決定以現金收購稻米。淡水當局將派一名士兵去噶瑪蘭買稻米。噶瑪蘭的稻米品質不如淡水，但和上次從臺灣轉運來的泰國米品質差不多。



## 1647 年

### DZ 1647-05-15

【動植物】儲放在淡水和雞籠倉庫裡的皮革運到臺灣。

### FE 1647-07-11，淡水下席商務官 Nolpe 來信：

【動植物】淡水的荷蘭官員告訴淡水社（Tapparij）原住民，想要聘請他們幫忙伐木。這些原住民聽了之後大為緊張，因為荷蘭人要的木材不是長在海邊或是平地，而是要翻越許多深山峻谷才能取得，作為棟樑的木材。他們請求臺灣長官不要把這樣的重擔加在他們身上。

### DZ 1647-07-25

【糧食】淡水來信，稱 1646 年淡水主管收購的米已經開始生蟲腐爛了，為避免損失，應該趁機出售，因為這個夏天還有暹羅米可以吃。

### DZ 1647-08-20，臺灣商館議會決議：

【動植物】派船前往淡水和雞籠，要帶補給和 40 頭牛過去，回程則要載煤炭。

### FE 1647-08-25，臺灣商館議長 Overtwater 寫信給淡水下席商務官 Nolpe：

【原住民】全福爾摩沙島的貢稅都已經免除。

【動植物】臺灣商館方面澄清他們並不是要強迫原住民伐木，但要求送的木材樣本。

## 1648 年

### DZ 1648-05-14，臺灣商館議長 Overtwater 寫信給淡水下席商務官 Plockhoy：

【糧食】命令淡水的官員與議會要設法禁止任何穀物被運往中國，並把臺灣這邊禁運穀物的告示。

### FE 1648-07-08，淡水下席商務官 Plockhoy 來信：

【原住民】 【糧食】 【殖民】颱風，造成很大損失。

**FE 1648-08-19**，臺灣商館議長 **Overtwater** 給隊長 **Pedel** 的指令：

【糧食】本次派遣 **Pedel** 去雞籠和淡水收購稻米，因為當地已面臨糧食短缺。

## 1651 年

**FE 1651-07-19**，淡水下席商務官 **Keerdecoe** 來信：

【動植物】漢人收購鹿皮，使荷蘭人無法買到鹿皮；淡水竹造的房屋正在不斷腐爛。

## 1654 年

**FE 1654-03-05**，臺灣長官 **Caesar** 寫信給淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen**：

【動植物】臺灣長官指示淡水地方官員調查如何雇用漢人、荷蘭人、或是原住民來砍伐木材。

**DZ 1654-03-22**，淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen** 來信：

【原住民】雞籠和淡水瘟疫流行，靠近淡水的沙八里有 60 名原住民死去，雞籠的金包里社死去 37 人，但神奇的是荷蘭人都平安無事。

【殖民】雞籠與淡水的議會決議採用一位熟悉西班牙語和當地語言的漢人頭家陳哥當通事。

**DZ 1654-04-30**，臺灣商館議會決議：

【殖民】批准漢商 **Pau**（可能是郭懷一的兄弟）用一艘篷船在淡水雞籠交易。

**FE 1654-06-11**，淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen** 來信：

【動植物】6 月 6 日淡水地方發生十年未見蝗災，蝗蟲乘著東風從南邊跨過淡水河飛來。

**FE 1654-11-12**，淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen** 來信：

【原住民】【糧食】淡水當地官員決定在 12 月的滿月之日舉行地方集會（**landdag**）。

**DZ 1654-11-15**，淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen** 來信：

【殖民】【原住民】淡水瘟疫流行，荷蘭人與原住民都大量死亡。

## 1655 年

**DZ 1655-03-26**，淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen** 來信：

【糧食】1654 年底以來已經吹了前所未有的乾燥北風，使 1655 年第一期稻作的前景堪慮。

**FE 1655-04-19**，臺灣長官 **Caesar** 給新任淡水雞籠主管 **Elsevier** 的指令，以及臺灣長官 **Caesar** 給淡水下席商務官 **van Iperen** 的書信：

【動植物】關於伐木之事，將委任隊長 **Pedel** 去淡水雞籠一帶探查。臺灣商館方面將鹿皮、山羊皮、水鹿皮等商品的貿易收為公司壟斷，禁止所有走私貿易。

**DZ 1655-05-22**

【動植物】隊長 **Pedel** 樹木資源調查報告。

**FE 1655-05-22**，巡視淡水的隊長 **Pedel** 和商務官 **Elsevier** 聯名寫給臺灣長官的信：

【糧食】1654 年發生的蝗災造成淡水地區的饑荒，淡水的議會請求公司高層拯救飢民。

**FE 1655-05-30**，臺灣長官 **Caesar** 寫給淡水商務官 **Elsevier** 的信：

【動植物】根據 **Pedel** 探勘淡水附近森林後的報告，另令 **Elsevier** 調查適合伐木的季節。

【糧食】通知淡水方面，將未脫穀稻穗給當地守軍並賣給原住民。

**DZ 1655-06-28**

【殖民】今日臺灣長官與福爾摩沙議會召集漢人頭家與主要商人，討論如何活絡臺灣的貿易，並探詢如果運一些商品去雞籠，是否會吸引福州或沙埕的商人去雞籠貿易。

**FE 1655-06-30**，淡水商務官 **Elsevier** 來信：

【動植物】**Elsevier** 稱他在 **Pedel** 離開後又自己去看過那些森林，觀察到的狀況比 **Pedel** 保守。

【殖民】【硫磺】持公司通行證在淡水採硫磺的篷船，似乎藉由採硫的名義在做其它生意，將鹽、鐵、布等商品賣給原住民。

**FE 1655-08-28**，臺灣長官 **Caesar** 寫信給淡水商務官 **Elsevier**：

【糧食】臺灣商館目前已經無力再撥出更多稻米，必須等到從日本來的船抵達才有餘力。如果雞籠淡水方面還有需要，應再向臺灣商館報告。

【動植物】在淡水地區伐木的事業暫時擱置。臺灣商館也將送牛去淡水。

**FE 1655-10-17，淡水下席商務官 van Mildert 來信：**

【動植物】【原住民】與八里坌社的原住民的衝突。

**FE 1655-11-14，臺灣長官 Caesar 致東印度總督 Maetsuijcker 書信：**

【殖民】報告總督六月時詢問漢商將貿易據點移至雞籠的可能性，但漢商比較喜歡用小型篷船到臺灣貿易。

## 1656 年

**FE 1656-02-17，淡水下席商務官 van Mildert 來信：**

【殖民】自 1651 年 9 月以來不斷有風聲表示國姓爺可能會攻取臺灣，可能會進攻淡水。

【糧食】【動植物】【原住民】原住民的反抗。

**FE 1656-03-18，臺灣商館議會決議：**

【殖民】增強淡水堡壘的防禦力。

**FE 1656-04-20，臺灣商館議會決議：**

【殖民】禁止在雞籠和淡水以外的臺灣北部進行貿易，只有持特別核准通行證的商人可以例外。

**FE 1656-05-19，東印度總督 Maetsuijcker 來信：**

【殖民】巴達維亞方面同意臺灣商館方面動用臺灣的駐軍對淡水採取行動。

**FE1656-07-13，雞籠下席商務官 van Mildert 來信：**

【硫磺】幾乎沒有漢商的篷船來雞籠貿易。

【原住民】因為蝗災與疾病，窮苦的原住民在收穫季節甚至必須放下他們的莊稼，帶著妻子和小孩去為富人的磨坊工作。

**FE 1656-08-29，臺灣長官 Caesar 寫信給下席商務官 van Mildert：**

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【糧食】臺灣商館撥米北運。

【殖民】臺灣長官指示淡水和雞籠主管堅守堡壘不要主動出擊。

## 1657 年

**FE 1657-09-03**，臺灣商館議會議長 **Coyett** 寫信給雞籠商務官 **Boons**：

【動植物】持續禁止漢人去雞籠和淡水的森林伐木，向原住民買木材、出口木材。

**FE 1657-10-15**，率領遠征軍的郡守 **Schedel**、隊長 **Pedel**、商務官 **van Iperen** 三人來信：

【原住民】遠征軍抵達淡水後，與原住民的情況。

**FE 1657-10-28**，雞籠商務官 **Boons** 來信：

【原住民】補充報告遠征軍指揮官三人的狀況

## 1658 年

**FE 1658-01-11**，雞籠商務官 **Boons** 來信：

【原住民】敘述了 1657 年地方會議舉辦的情況。

## 1661 年

**DZ 1661-05-10**

【殖民】何斌說國姓爺計畫派三千武裝士兵經由陸路，再加上三十艘篷船，海陸進攻荷蘭人在雞籠與淡水的堡壘。

**DZ 1661-05-24**

【殖民】一個國姓爺的官員說，如果荷蘭人把熱蘭遮城交給國姓爺，國姓爺就會讓公司去雞籠和淡水貿易。

**DZ 1661-11-04**，原任雞籠商務官 **Loenius** 從長崎出島來信：

【殖民】6 月 13 日，淡水的原住民阻擋港道不讓船進入淡水。認為國姓爺的軍隊遲早會攻打雞籠。最後將雞籠守軍全部撤往日本長崎出島的荷蘭商館。

## 1664 年

11 月 28 日，荷蘭人再佔雞籠。

12 月 16 日，鄭軍來淡水修築淡水紅毛城。

陽明山國家公園

陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

一 西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



## 附錄五 會議記錄

### 陽明山國家公園管理處

#### 104 年委託辦理案

#### 「陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫—西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案」期初審查會議紀錄

一、會議時間：104 年 3 月 23 日（星期一）下午 2 時 30 分

二、會議地點：本處二樓會議室

三、主席：陳處長茂春

記錄：范雅靜

四、出席人員：（詳簽到簿）

五、業務單位報告：（略）

六、受託單位報告：（略）

七、討論：

（一）黃富三老師：

目前已搜集不少《熱蘭遮城日誌》之硫磺資料，可以肯定，但未來仍有不少工作要完成。

1. 何以僅收硫磺，其他資料沒有嗎？例如河、溪漁蝦豐富，亦有某些獵物，何以未見？又，北部有沙金，亦可搜集。
2. 所搜資料之名詞應有註釋，如 p5, 1639/12/2, 蘇拉特；又，1640/12/27, Suratte，是否指同地？又，應說明：p8, 1642/11/2, 30 last, p11, 行 2, Lamcam, p15, 10 brooden。P22, 1655/9/8, choromandel。
3. 人物：如頁 5, Peco、Campe 等。
4. 錯字、標點有誤者請修正。
5. 未來資料搜完之後，應做進一步的將相關地點列出並連結起來，如淡水、基隆、熱蘭遮城、中國港口、東亞港口等，並繪製地圖以顯示其網絡。
6. p2, 註 2, DZI：應註原文，加中文名。
7. 譯本有錯者，亦指出修正。

（二）劉益昌老師：

1. 從歷史文獻的解讀，思考陽明山在大歷史的位置，這是最後為這本書必須思考的重點。



2. 其他的產業資料，也請一併思考，例如植物類的薯榔。

(三)廖敏君課長:

1. 報告書格式請依內政部委託研究報告格式撰寫，相關資料將提供團隊。
2. 是否有西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期當時生活利用動、植物等資料，例如農耕。

(四)陳茂春處長:

頁 1 提到，被紀錄的文獻，必然是因為陽明山鄰近地區原住民及外來的漢人曾進入活動。請老師留意聚落等人為活動資料，也許可瞭解凱達格蘭人是否在此居住。

團隊回應:

謝謝各老師及陽管處的意見，回應如下:

1. 目前僅列《熱蘭遮城日誌》資料，尚未加註註解及修正拼音，又相關文獻有薯榔、穿山甲、加蚋魚等資料，此外，除了硫磺，亦會搜集其他相關產物資料。將於期中報告一併列出相關資料，並加註註解及修正。
2. 有關陽明山在大歷史的位置可列相關資料但不敢確定，例如日本人在 17 世紀初期攻打基隆；又依耶穌會的資料，基隆、淡水人不和其他外國人來往，只和漢人交易，並由漢人繳交類似稅的費用。
3. 有關硫磺輸出地等資料，將視時間狀況進行。荷蘭時期之前，一般知道硫磺銷到日本，又依西班牙文獻資料，福州人會來臺灣買硫磺。另在臺灣也有使用硫磺的資料，例如漢人會做鳥銃。

陳茂春處長:

透過相關資料的蒐集，請老師於科普資料呈現陽明山在大歷史的位置。

八、結論:

期初報告原則通過，後續請參照老師及同仁意見修正，並請依契約規定辦理請款事宜。

九、散會(下午 4 時整)

**陽明山國家公園管理處**  
**「陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的蒐集計畫-西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案」期中簡報會議紀錄**

一、時間：104 年 8 月 4 日（星期二）上午 10 時整

二、地點：本處 2 樓會議室

三、主持人：本處陳處長茂春

四、出（列）席單位人員：（詳簽到簿）

五、業務單位報告（略）。

六、受託單位簡報（略）。

七、與會單位與人員綜合討論

（一）黃富三委員：

1. 本計畫案討論項目未來是否以專題性論文呈現？
2. 目前所見檔案條目其挑選依據及標準應於前言部分加以說明清楚。
3. 目前相關史料文獻皆以日期作為排比，不易呈現討論主題之輕重，及其相互關係。
4. 檔案中所引資料請以加註方式呈現。
5. 論文寫作格式應符合既定傳統格式。

（二）劉益昌委員：

1. 北臺灣所產煤礦品質非用於冶鐵，僅只是用來打鐵，從客家話的讀音以及當時臺南地區形成一專門的打鐵街約略能呈現該狀況。另外，林朝榮先生針對臺灣煤礦之分布及品質亦有相當深入之研究。
2. 關於古今地名比對部分，請明訂以何年之行政區劃作為對應基準。
3. 針對當時臺北盆地的狀態(如原住民分部、河流走向等)建議以古地圖加註方式，或另繪地圖予以說明。

（三）詹素娟委員：

1. 本案所用文獻 *The Formosan encounter* 是否直接應用原文，又或是採用現有中譯文本(材料使用問題)。
2. 目前該研究計畫僅羅列荷蘭時期的檔案文獻，關於西班牙及明鄭時期檔案皆未看見，請盡速補齊。另外，當時的日本亦多有來臺從事貨物交易的行為，該類資料是否需於本計畫案併同補充。
3. 本計畫案最後所需呈現的部分是提供管理處未來推廣科普資訊之用，但這樣的研究成果仍須透過深入的考訂、研究及論述才可能得到該結論，所以該研究階段仍須存在，不可偏廢。
4. 文本於傳抄時多會出現錯字，本報告書亦是如此，請加以更正。

(四) 廖敏君課長：

1. 本案仍請協助增補當時代有關北臺灣之相關古地圖，以利了解當代環境背景。
2. 請提供該時期之大事記年表，藉以說明臺灣於東西方勢力消長下與國際情勢的互動。

(五) 盧淑妃副處長：

1. 請簡述所用文獻之基礎資訊，以方便閱讀。
2. 大事記及研究中提及之度量單位換算，確有參考需求，請協助彙整。

(六) 林加豐約僱巡查員：

1. 本文所用基礎資料請以「凡例」方式先行說明，如古今地名對應的時間基準。關於該時期相關度量衡、地名及原住民分布對照表請以「附錄」方式呈現。
2. 可否補充該時期與臺灣有關之檔案文獻，以方便後續研究之用。
3. 除簡報中所提相關物產外，黃金也是荷蘭人於北臺灣積極尋找的資源。報告書中針對當時臺灣早期住民時用「族人」，時用「野人」兩者有何差別。
4. 報告書多次提及：荷蘭取得北臺灣管理權後，曾以書信通知給各部落輸誠。閱讀書信的人是誰？又或是口信？還是透過翻譯員？

(七) 譚偲約聘研究員

1. 報告書於研究緣起處，欲以「國際性格」的角度論述臺灣於全球貿易的地位，

該論點是否恰當，又或是有其他更詳實的資料能強化該論點。

(八) 受託單位回應：

1. 本計畫案將以專題性論文呈現，內容包括：
  - (1) 整體性的導讀(如所用檔案性質簡介，以及後續專題研究的先行導讀兩部分)。
  - (2) 專題研究部分，如硫磺、木材資源、稻米與糧食、淡水雞籠間交通、漢族移民、原住民反亂等。
2. 文獻考訂部分，期末報告會以歷史學科之研究方法進行。
3. 有關所提報告書中新增凡例、附錄、大事記以及古輿圖部分後續將一併提供。
4. 有關西班牙及明鄭時期檔案已收整完畢，將儘速提供管理處。

八、結論

本案期中簡報審查原則通過，會中意見請受託單位考量檢討、修正，並請依契約規定辦理請款事宜。

九、散會(11: 42)。

**陽明山國家公園管理處**  
**104 年「陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫-西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案」委託辦理計畫**  
**期末簡報會議紀錄**

壹、時間：104 年 12 月 8 日（星期二）上午 10 時整

貳、地點：本處 2 樓會議室

參、出（列）席單位人員：詳如簽到簿

肆、宣布開會

伍、討論

一、黃富三老師：

以陽明山國家公園為題搜集古籍資料，極為不易，主持人能搜集不少直接、間接紀錄，可予肯定。

- (一) 第三章是主體，呈現格式是依編年方式，在年度下再分項目，可接受；另一方式是先分類分項，在其下再依時間編錄，二者利弊如何？
- (二) 史料引文甚長，建議將關鍵詞反黑以醒目。
- (三) 補充：
  - 1.P7 表，加一欄位：來源，指出某一名稱之確定來源。又嘎哇別，清代多稱嘎勞別，出自何處？它與北投社、八里坌社之關係為何？
  - 2.P19-20，交通，可繪一路線圖。
- (四) 訂版 P235-238，荷蘭文是否譯成英文或中文。
- (五) 註腳：P1-10，不少處欠缺，應補。
- (六) 來源，主要引自三書，中、日文有淡水、雞籠資料，何以未列入。
- (七) 文字：P208，八里「坌」：應為「坌」，讀「hoon」音。P234，段 2，「尊貴的公司」，原文為何？讀來怪怪的。

團隊回應：

- (一) 表 7 會加入資料來源。
- (二) 第三章第一節的大事記整理了同章第三節中的大項目資料(如：糧食、交通等)及相關的英文字。
- (三) 「尊貴的公司」會調整用詞，其餘可修正部份會調整。

二、詹素娟老師：

- 1. 作為期末報告，本案已大致成型，此後應強化者為細節的調整與加工。
- 2. 目前的章節架構還有調整的空間。建議如下：  
全書分為兩大部分(part 1、part2) 第一部份重新調整章節(如 chap 1. 研究緣起

主旨、方法與過程); chap 2.研究發現(史料提要〔稻米、動物、林木、原住民〕,唯此處應將「原住民」獨立為一節,「物產」會併為一節),兼及硫磺、交通 2 項, chap 3. 硫磺; chap 4.交通; chap 5.結論(包括研究建議)。第二部份則為資料彙整。

3. 研究地區需再予界定,除了淡水之外,還有金山及北海岸等地區。並繪製地圖。
4. 「原住民」部份應再補充加強。
5. 「史料長編」與「大事記」之呈現方式應有所區別。大事記應為敘事化,非僅資料合併整理。
6. 文字不順、錯字極多,請改正。例如:P234,「..來馬國姓爺工作..」即明顯有文字誤植。

P9 陽明山是否為針路的標誌地?

團隊回應:

- (一) 章節資料會視情況作調整。
- (二) 將補充採硫時糖水之用途等資料。
- (三) 文字會修正。

陳茂春處長:如資料足夠可獨立為一章節。

三、 廖敏君課長:

- (一) 報告書格式請加摘要(包括研究緣起、研究方法及過程、重要發現及主要建議事項)。
- (二) 音「son-soui」是否為現今的桑椹?

團隊回應:

- (一)「son-soui」為現今養蠶的植物(小葉桑)。
- (二)會盡量找出原詞的意義,例如原文中的檸檬。

四、 林加豐約聘巡查員:

- (一) 文獻資料是否可看出陽明山地區過去曾有原住民?
- (二) P5 穿山甲在當時是有趣的物種,是否可再補充詳細資料?
- (三) P3 採硫的特定時間是否有其原因?
- (四) 請再補充明鄭時期的資料。

團隊回應:

- (一) 從 16、17 世紀的文獻資料看不出陽明山與原住民有關,資料描述陽明山為禁忌之山。若從信仰觀點來看應無聚落產生。
- (二) 會增加穿山甲的文章資料。
- (三) 依傳教士記載原住民在 8-12 月採硫,是因為原住民在其他時間要做其他事,但是跟清代記載的不同,使用時需再確認。
- (四) 因時間因素,明鄭時期資料無法再增加。

呂理昌技正:

- (一) 建議將文獻中的地名註明現今地點。
- (二) 有關物產,可參考康熙年間的物產圖。

陸、 決議

期末報告通過，請受託單位參考與會人員意見修正報告書，後續依契約書辦理。

柒、散會(上午 12 時 25 分)

### 期末會議意見回應表

與會人員意見	團隊回應
<p>黃富三老師：</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. 第三章是主體，呈現格式是依編年方式，在年度下再分項目，可接受；另一方式是先分類分項，在其下再依時間編錄，二者利弊如何？</li><li>2. 史料引文甚長，建議將關鍵詞反黑以醒目。</li><li>3. 補充： 甲、P7 表，加一欄位：來源，指出某一名稱之確定來源。又嘎哇別，清代多稱嘎勞別，出自何處？它與北投社、八里坌社之關係為何？ 乙、P19-20，交通，可繪一路線圖。</li><li>4. 訂版 P235-238，荷蘭文是否譯成英文或中文。</li><li>5. 註腳：P1-10，不少處欠缺，應補。</li><li>6. 來源，主要引自三書，中、日文有淡水、雞籠資料，何以未列入。</li><li>7. 文字：P208，八里「<u>盆</u>」：應為「<u>坌</u>」，讀「hoon」音。P234，段 2，「<u>尊貴的公司</u>」，原文為何？讀來怪怪的。</li></ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. 〈史料彙整〉採編年方式，加以考證、修訂與註解。〈十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記〉亦以編年方式，摘要〈史料彙整〉中大事，分類糧食、交通、硫磺、原住民、殖民、動植物等六種，提供對照。</li><li>2. 同上，提供〈十七世紀陽明山周邊歷史大事記〉分類以便利使用</li><li>3. 已加入資料來源，並修正。有關其與他社關係，有待他案或其他學者進一步研究；交通路線圖可參見圖 2-4。</li><li>4. 已經盡量加入既有的英譯，以及中文摘要，礙於時間關係，無法進一步翻譯</li><li>5. 已依審查意見修改。</li><li>6. 中、日文補充在〈史料彙整〉中。</li><li>7. 已依審查意見修改。</li></ol>
<p>詹素娟老師：</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. 目前的章節架構還有調整的空間。建議如下： 全書分為兩大部分(part 1、part2)，第一部份重新調整章節(如 chap 1. 研究緣起主旨、方法與過程)；chap 2. 研究發現(史料提要〔稻米、動物、林木、原住民〕，唯此處應將「原住民」獨立為一節，「物產」會併為一節)，兼及硫磺、交通 2 項，chap 3. 硫磺；chap 4. 交通；chap 5. 結論(包括研究建議)。第二部份則為資料彙整。</li></ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. 章節資料已依審查意見調整。</li><li>2. 已依審查意見修正。</li><li>3. 將補充在通俗文章中。</li><li>4. 已依審查意見修正。</li><li>5. 已依審查意見修正。</li></ol>

<p>2. 研究地區需再予界定，除了淡水之外，還有金山及北海岸等地區。並繪製地圖。</p> <p>3. 「原住民」部份應再補充加強。</p> <p>4. 「史料長編」與「大事記」之呈現方式應有所區別。大事記應為敘事化，非僅資料合併整理。</p> <p>5. 文字不順、錯字極多，請改正。例如:P234, 「..來馬國姓爺工作..」即明顯有文字誤植。P9 陽明山是否為針路的標誌地？</p>	
<p>廖敏君課長：</p> <p>1. 報告書格式請加摘要(包括研究緣起、研究方法及過程、重要發現及主要建議事項)。</p> <p>2. 音「son-soui」是否為現今的桑椹？</p>	<p>1. 依審查意見修正。</p> <p>2. 「son-soui」為現今養蠶的植物(小葉桑)。本計畫中盡量找出原詞的意義，例如原文中的檸檬。</p>
<p>林加豐約聘巡查員：</p> <p>1. 文獻資料是否可看出陽明山地區過去曾有原住民？</p> <p>2. P5 穿山甲在當時是有趣的物種，是否可再補充詳細資料？</p> <p>3. P3 採硫的特定時間是否有其原因？</p> <p>4. 請再補充明鄭時期的資料。</p>	<p>1. 從 16、17 世紀的文獻資料看不出陽明山與原住民有關。</p> <p>2. 目前既有資料已如報告書中。</p> <p>3. 依傳教士記載原住民在 8-12 月採硫，是因為原住民在其他時間要做其他事，但是跟清代記載的不同，故該史料使用時，需小心斟酌。</p> <p>4. 因時間因素，明鄭時期已盡量補充。</p>
<p>呂理昌技正：</p> <p>1. 建議將文獻中的地名註明現今地點。</p> <p>2. 有關物產，可參考康熙年間的物產圖。</p>	<p>1. 已補充於圖 1-1。</p> <p>2. 謝謝審查委員，會參考。</p>



陽明山國家公園人文史蹟文獻資料的搜集計畫

—西班牙、荷蘭及明鄭時期檔案



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