

# 航向珠江

——荷兰人在华南(1600 ~ 2000 年)

## *Sailing to the Pearl River*

Dutch Enterprise in South China 1600 - 2000



蔡鸿生 包乐史 等著

*Cai Hongsheng Leonard Blussé et al.*

广州出版社

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## 图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

航向珠江：荷兰人在华南(1600~2000年)/蔡鸿生、包乐史等著. — 广州：广州出版社，2004.2

ISBN 7-80655-634-6

I.航… II.蔡… III.①对外贸易—经济史—广东省  
②文化交流—文化史—广东省、荷兰 IV.F752.9②K296.5

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2004)第 005768 号



# 航向珠江

——荷兰人在华南(1600 ~ 2000 年)

出版发行 广州出版社

(地址：广州市人民中路同乐路 12 号 邮政编码：510121)

主 编 (Editor-in-Chief) : Evert Groenendijk

翻 译 李志新 韩 颖 周朝霞

责任编辑 张玉霞 老嘉琪

责任校对 蚁燕娟

装帧设计 谢成华

印 刷 广州伟龙印刷制版有限公司

(地址：广州市沙太公路银利工业大厦 邮政编码：510507)

规 格 787mm × 1092mm 1/16

印 张 7.75

印 数 2000 册

版 次 2004 年 2 月第 1 版

印 次 2004 年 2 月第 1 次

书 号 ISBN 7-80655-634-6/F·71

定 价 88.88 元



# Acknowledgements

It will be impossible to name all the people and institutions who have spend time and effort in making the publication of this book possible. A big Thank You to you all.

Special thanks goes out to:

Prof. Dr. Leonard Blussé for his vision, and guidance throughout the project.

Professor Cai Hongsheng, Professor Zhang Wenqin, Professor Li Qingxin, Ms. Dr. Zhou Xiang, Dr. Jiang Yinghe, Prof. Dr. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, Prof. Dr. Leonard Blussé, Dr. Paul Van Dyke, Dr. Jan van Campen, Dr. Frans-Paul v.d. Putten, Dr. Guo Deyan, Mr. Liu Yong, Mr. Evert Groenendijk for their support, time, and articles.

Dr. Guo Deyan for his assistance throughout the project.

Ms. Leona Yu at the Hong Kong Museum of Art, for her dedicated assistance.

Ms. Michelle Gimbrère at DDI/ST for her extensive search through the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Cultural Institute of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government for their help in the search for illustrations, and advice on various publishing issues.

Our colleagues at the Consulate General Hong Kong for providing information on Hong Kong, logistical service, and support.

Mrs. Lao Jiaqi and the Guangzhou Publishing House for their tireless efforts to ensure the book could be published in time.

Consulate General of the Kingdom of The Netherlands in Guangzhou  
February 2004

## 鸣 谢

荷兰驻广州总领事馆衷心感谢各位及有关机构的鼎力合作,使本书的出版成为可能。

特别感谢:

包乐史教授为本书的编写作出了指导。

蔡鸿生教授、章文钦教授、李庆新教授、周湘副教授、江滢河博士、Dr. C. J.A. Jörg、包乐史教授、Dr. P. Van Dyke、Dr. J. van Campen、Dr. F. P. v. d. Putten、郭德焱博士、刘勇先生、胡毅先生等作者付出了宝贵时间和精力撰写文章。

郭德焱博士为本书的编写给予了协助。

香港艺术博物馆的 Leona Yu 女士为我馆给予了协助。

荷兰 DDI/ST 的 Michelle Gimbrère 女士为我馆查找荷兰对外事务部的档案。

澳门特别行政区政府文化局帮助我馆寻找有关插图,并且就版权及出版事宜提供了宝贵意见。

荷兰驻香港总领事馆的同事为我们提供了香港的有关信息并给予了支持。

老嘉琪女士及广州出版社付出了许多努力使本书能够按时出版。

荷兰驻广州总领事馆  
2004 年 2 月

亲爱的读者：

中荷贸易始于16世纪，可谓历史悠久。中荷之间的交往最初是由航行于葡萄牙船上的荷兰水手们完成的，后来则通过直接交往。这些交往增进了两国间的相互了解。

该书涉及了荷兰在华南地区的贸易、代表机构及外交关系的历史，从早年决定直航中国开始，一直谈到今日。各个故事中同时还配有与内容相关的插图。

我很高兴将此书赠给各位读者，因为此书是世界各地作者智慧的结晶，分享着他们对中荷交往历史的共同兴趣。在此，由衷感谢各位作者和机构贡献出他们的时间、知识以及资源，才使本书的出版成为可能。



Dear reader,

Trade between China and the Netherlands has a long history, dating back to the 16th century. Initially through ad hoc contacts of Dutch sailors sailing on Portuguese ships, and later through direct contact, these contacts led to a growing understanding between our two nations.

Starting with the years leading up to the decision to set sail for China, this bilingual book covers the history of trade, representations and diplomatic relations in South-China until the present day. Vignettes on a wide range of related subjects interlace these stories.

It gives me enormous pleasure to present this book to you, in particular because it is the result of combined efforts from people around the world, sharing their interest in our mutual history. My heartfelt thanks goes out to all the authors and institutions who have been so kind to contribute their time, knowledge and resources to make the publication of this book possible.

Reynout van Dijk  
Consul General  
Consulate General of the Kingdom of The Netherlands in Guangzhou



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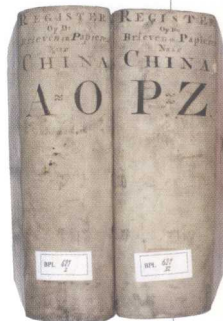
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## 17~18 世纪的荷兰人 与珠江三角洲

蔡鸿生

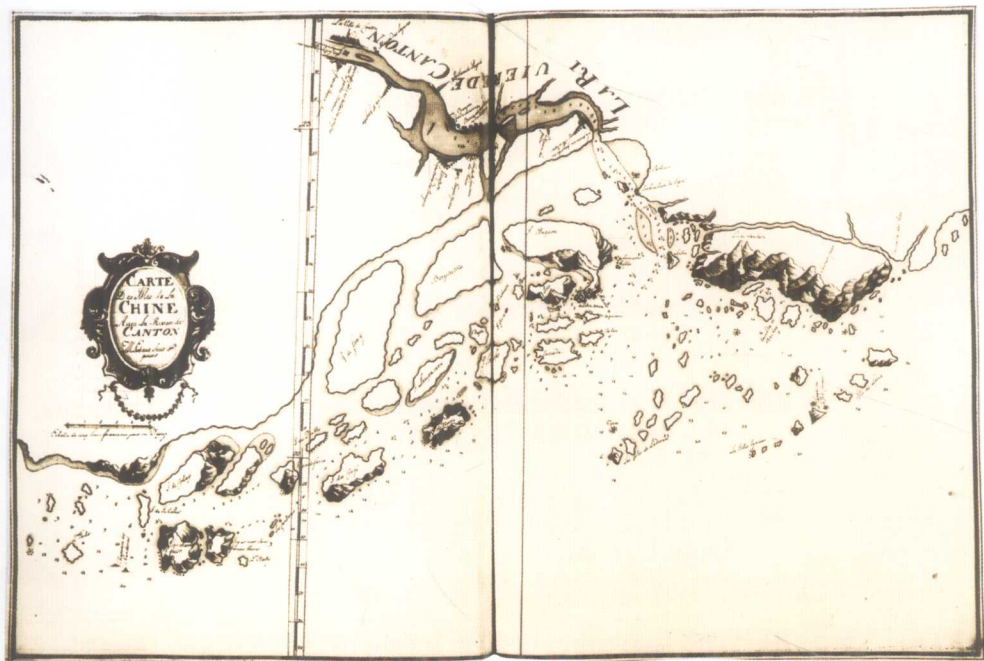


图1: 珠江地图

Fig 1: Map of the Pearl River

17~18 世纪，以广州为中心城市的珠江三角洲，处于中西经济交往和文化交流的前沿，成为“夷务”滋生的地区。早期的荷中关系，就是从荷兰人到珠江三角洲开始的。

“荷兰”一名，在明清时代有各种异译：贺兰、和兰、阿兰陀、尼特兰，等等。<sup>①</sup>至乾隆五十九年（1794），奉旨“噶栏国改写荷兰国”<sup>②</sup>，这个译名的书写才规范化了。



## *Dutch Enterprise in the Pearl River Delta during the 17th and 18th Century*

Prof. Cai Hongsheng

In the 17th and 18th Century, the Pearl River Delta and its main port Canton [today's Guangzhou city] were at the forefront of economic contact and cultural exchange between China and the West. This was the key region where foreign relations with the European nations were created. As a matter of fact the first contacts between the Netherlands and China occurred with the arrival of several Dutch ships in the Pearl River delta.

Various Chinese names were given to "The Netherlands" or "Holland" during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, such as Hè Lan, Hé Lan, A Lan Tuo, Ni Te Lan and so on.<sup>1</sup> In the 59th year of emperor Qianlong's reign (i.e. 1794), an imperial order declared that the characters for Hè Lan had to be changed into "Kingdom of Hé-Lan".<sup>2</sup> That translation has become the standard name ever since.

In the winter of 1601, a Dutch fleet led by Jacob van Neck came to Guangdong and requested the establishment of official trade relations. Li Feng, the Guangdong Tax Official and Maritime bureau Eunuch wrote afterwards: "*The Dutch visited and had a meeting in the city [of Macao]. They stayed for one month and then returned*". The name of "Red-haired barbarians", as the Dutch were then called, continued to be used in Guangdong and Guangxi since that visit.<sup>3</sup> In 1602, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was officially established and acquired special trading privileges from the East of the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan. From that moment on, the "Ships of the Red Haired Barbarians" appeared in the South China Sea more and more frequently. As a result, the people of Canton became quite familiar with the ships and merchants from the Netherlands. Qu Dajun (1630 -1696), the famous poet, wrote in his poem Zhenhai Mansion:

*Around Humen seaport, various foreigners often come and go.  
The Red-haired are the Dutch, the black teeth are the Yuehshang.*<sup>4</sup>

He even personally boarded the Dutch ships, saw a variety of "red-hair" styles and left the following visual account to future generations:

*Dutch ships also have come to Canton. I boarded the Dutch ships. The*



## Sailing to the Pearl River

### 航向珠江

17世纪的开端，也是中荷关系的开端。公元1601年，即明朝万历二十九年冬季，范·纳克（J. van Neck）率领的荷兰船队来粤要求通商，广东税使、市舶太监李凤接待了他们并写道：“游处会城，一月始还”，从此荷兰人在岭南留下了“红毛夷”之名。<sup>③</sup>1602年，荷兰东印度公司（VOC）正式创建，从国会取得在好望角以东至麦哲伦海峡一带的贸易专利权，“红毛船”日益频繁地出现于南中国海。因此，清初的广州人，对来自荷兰的船舶和洋商并不陌生。著名诗人屈大均（1630~1696），在五言长歌《镇海楼》中写道：

海口控虎门，诸蛮多梯航。  
红毛知荷兰，黑齿惟越裳。<sup>④</sup>

他还亲身登临过荷兰船，目验种种“红毛”风尚，给后人留下了如下的直观记录：

贺兰舶亦尝至广州，予得登焉。舶腹凡数重，縊之而下。有甜水井、菜畦。水柜水垢浊，以沙矾滤之复清，悬釜而饮。张锦绸白毡而卧，名曰软床。人各以柔韦韬手，食则脱之。食皆以苏合油煎烙，馒头牛腩，皆度色如金黄乃食。其刀可屈，信如蛟蛇，左右盘拿，类古之鱼肠剑。然时鼓弄铜琴铜弦，拍手鞞肩，对舞以娱客，似有礼者。<sup>⑤</sup>

在屈氏笔下，清初荷兰舶商的饮食、起居和礼节，可说已经画出一个轮廓了。

在清朝的“夷务”管理体制中，荷兰属于“粤道贡国”之一，难免要与广州结下不解之缘。1655年（顺治十二年），荷印总督派遣由使节德·侯叶尔（De Goyer）和凯塞尔（Keizer）组成的第一个外交使团经广州赴北京，未能达到直接通商的预期目的，只取得微小的进展：“著八年一次来朝，员役不过百人，止令二十人到京。所携货物，在馆交易，不得于广东海上私自货卖”。文中所谓“馆”，指临时居停的客馆，并非常驻经商的商馆。1685年（康熙二十四年），粤海设关，经清廷议准，“荷兰国进贡之期，原定八年一次，今该国王感被皇仁，更请定期，应五年一次”<sup>⑥</sup>。只是缩短了“贡期”，并未建立起经常性的通商关系。“直到1727年（雍正五年），荷兰人才得准在广州设立一个商馆”<sup>⑦</sup>，从而使荷兰东印度公司的对华贸易，进入新的发展时期：“由17世纪至18世纪初叶，荷兰东印度公司主要以巴达维亚为基地来经营

*hull of the ship has several decks, clinging to a rope one can descend. There was a fresh water well and a vegetable garden on board. If the water tank is turbid with deposit the water can be filtered clean. The sailors raised the buckets and drank the water. They spread out white brocaded felt and slept on it. They called it soft beds. They wore soft leather gloves and took them off while eating. Food was fried and baked with Suhe oil, and the bread and meat was roasted until the colour turned golden yellow before it could be served. Their swords could be bent like snakes, and looked like the famous Yucang sword, and were held by both hands. People often played copper musical instruments and copper strings. They clapped hands and shook their shoulders, dancing together to entertain the guests. They appeared polite.<sup>5</sup>*



图2: 范·纳克像  
Fig 2: J.C. van Neck

In this way Qu gave a rough sketch of the diet, daily life and social etiquette of the Dutch sailors in the early years of the Qing Dynasty.

Under the “Foreign Administration System” of the Qing Dynasty, the Netherlands was one of the tribute bearing countries that sent its envoys to the imperial throne via Canton. In 1655, the first diplomatic mission consisting of the envoys De Goyer and Keizer was sent by the Governor General of the Netherlands Indies to China and passed through Canton on its way to Beijing. At the imperial court, the mission did not attain the objective of establishing free and direct trade relations with China, but achieved only slight progress as a contemporary source confirms:

“They were allowed to come to China once in eight years with no more than a hundred people. Only 20 delegates could proceed to Beijing. The merchandise brought by the envoys was traded in the Guan but they were not allowed to sell goods privately in the coastal waters of Guangdong.”

This so-called Guan location referred to the guesthouse for temporary residence at Canton, but not to the factory where traders used to stay in later time.

When the Maritime Customs service was established along the coast of Guangdong in 1685, the following Dutch request was submitted to the Qing government for approval: “The original tribute period for the Netherlands was once in eight years. The King of the Netherlands was grateful to the Qing Emperor and asked to have the tribute period changed to once in five years”.<sup>6</sup> The tribute period was shortened, but regular trading relations were not established. From the 17th Century until the beginning of the 18th Century, the Dutch East India Company used Batavia as its base for the Chinese tea trade between Europe and Asia, relying on the Chinese junks which visited this town every year. Not until 1727 did the Dutch receive permission to set up a commercial establishment in Canton after the directors of the Dutch East India Company had decided to establish direct trade





## Sailing to the Pearl River

### 航向珠江

欧、亚间的华茶贸易。到了1728年12月5日，该公司更自本国直接派船前往广州购买茶叶及其他货物。船中载银三十万盾，交易完毕，于1730年7月13日返抵荷兰，运回茶叶、丝绸及瓷器等物，获得净利为投资的一倍有余。自1731年至1735年，又有十一艘荷船往广州贸易。自1739年（乾隆四年）开始，华茶成为荷船自东方运返欧洲的价值最大的商品。”<sup>⑧</sup>

清代广州的荷兰馆，是专门贩运茶、丝、瓷等外销货的商馆，并不像北京俄罗斯馆那样兼备传教和学艺的职能。<sup>⑨</sup>

在广州的洋场中，荷兰馆又名“集义厅”（the Hong of Justice），其经商宗旨是十分明显的。<sup>⑩</sup>不过，作为清代前期荷兰驻华的惟一机构，它在外交事务和文化交流中仍不能不有所介入，并起着独特的作用。

18世纪在欧洲风行一时的“中国热”，尽管是多渠道、多层次形成的，但广州荷兰馆曾经起到推波助澜的作用，则是一个明显的事实。饮茶风尚的传播不必细说，仅就园林艺术的建构而言，也不难看出荷兰馆的中介作用。

1760年，第一个庭园在荷兰建成，但这个所谓的“中、英园林”结合了中国和英国的园林传统，富有曲折的景色布局，令人目瞪口呆：有一座小桥，一个山洞，一座中国

此图选自《红毛夷图》，描绘了两位荷兰人（Redhairs）的形象。图中人物穿着典型的17世纪欧洲服饰，左侧人物穿着蓝色上衣和黄色裙子，右侧人物穿着蓝色外套和红色裤子，手持拐杖。背景为浅黄色，上方有竖排的文字。



图3：“红毛夷”  
Fig 3: “Redhairs”

relations with that port.<sup>7</sup> Trade between the Netherlands and China thereby entered a new period of development.

On December 5, 1728, the Dutch East India Company started a direct shipping link between the Netherlands and Canton to purchase tea and other merchandise. The ships carried silver from Europe worth 300,000 Dutch guilders. After completion of the transactions, the ships returned to the Netherlands on July 13, 1730, carrying tea, silk, porcelain and other goods. The return on investment exceeded 100%. From 1731 to 1735, eleven more Dutch ships voyaged to Canton to trade. By 1739, Chinese tea had become the most valuable commodity of all the goods carried by the Dutch ships from Asia to Europe.<sup>8</sup>

Unlike the Russian establishment in Beijing, which also had religious and study functions, the Dutch trading house in Canton was a purely commercial establishment specialized in the sales of export commodities such as tea, silk and porcelain.<sup>9</sup> Among the foreign establishments in Canton, the Dutch trade house with its clear business objectives was also called the Hong of Justice.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, as the only Dutch organisation in China during the early Qing Dynasty, it dealt with foreign relations and cultural exchange, and therefore had its distinctive functions.

Although the “Chinoiserie Fashion” which became prevalent in Europe during the 18th Century passed through various channels, the Dutch trading house in Canton obviously added fuel to the flames. Here we not need mention in further detail the introduction of the tea and its ceremony but would also like to point out the intermediary role played by the Dutch Hong in the transmission of garden architecture.

“Around 1760, the first extensive landscape gardens were laid out in the Netherlands. These gardens were called “Anglo-Chinese Gardens” because they combined the gardening traditions of China and Britain. Their layout was full of winding twists and surprising views on small bridges, a cave, a Chinese-style temple, a tea pavilion, a hanging chain bridge and even Gothic ruins. The most eye-catching garden in the Netherlands that combined Chinese and Western styles was undoubtedly the Chinese Garden in Baarn, which was laid out in 1790 by R. Scherenberg, a former head merchant of the Dutch East India Company in Canton. In the garden, which unfortunately is no longer in existence, there were two Chinese-style mansions painted in red, purple and white, situated in between the man-made hills and a pond. These two mansions were named Beijing Mansion and Canton Mansion respectively. They had been prefabricated in Canton in advance and then transported to the Netherlands on the ships of the Dutch East India Company”.<sup>11</sup>

The import of Western commodities into China by the Dutch Hong showed a wide variety of “tribute articles” and commodities, such as clocks, watches, and telescopes, which were all big eye-openers for the Chinese customers.

Well known in the port city of Canton, the Dutch Hong was celebrated as early as the Qianlong period by various literatis and poets. Zhang Jiuyue, a native from Xiangtan City in Hunan Province who then served as magistrate of Shixing and Haiyang County in Guangdong Province, wrote his Foreign Hong Poem in 1770. Focusing on the Dutch Hong, the poem gives a detailed account of Western people and events in Canton in those years. The long poem, hardly known at the time, consisting of 78 sentences with seven characters per line<sup>12</sup>, describes in detail how the foreigners handed in their materials, unloaded cargo and clinched a deal after







## Sailing to the Pearl

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式庙宇，一座凉亭，一架吊桥，甚至还有一片哥特式建筑的废墟。荷兰最引人注目的这类中西合璧的园林无疑是巴伦 (Baarn) 的“中国园林”，这是1790年荷兰东印度公司商务馆员斯赫伦堡 (R. Scherenberg) 建造的。在这座现在已不复存在的园林里，在假山和池塘中有两座用红、紫、白等颜色油漆的中国式楼阁，分别被命名为北京阁和广州阁。这两座楼阁是在广州预先定制后，再用东印度公司的商船分散运到荷兰。<sup>①</sup>



至于广州荷兰馆如何将西洋物

种引进中国，当时是在朝贡体制之下进行的。门类繁多的“贡品”和商品，尤其是钟、表、望远镜等物，都是开人眼界的。

荷兰馆作为广州“舶市”的一家老字号，早在乾隆年间已为人所熟知，并被文人骚客形诸吟咏了。曾任广东始兴、海阳知县的湖南湘潭人张九钺，于乾隆三十五年（1770）作《番行篇》，以荷兰馆为中心，详记当年广州的洋人洋事，是一首罕为人知的长歌，计七言七十八句。<sup>②</sup>末段感伤时事，不必赘引，仅将实质性的描述录后：

红毛鬼子黄浦到，纳料开舱争走告。  
蜈蚣锐艇桨横飞，婆兰巨棚山笼罩。  
相呼相唤各不闻，或喜或嗔诌能料！  
舶商色喜洋商快，合乐张筵瓶碗赛。  
何船火齐木难多，何地驼鸡佛鹿怪。  
散入民廛旅贾招，居中狙侏公行大。  
公行阳奉私饱囊，内外操赢智相若。  
湖丝粤缎采离披，瓯茗饶瓷光错落。  
顷刻珠玑走大官，待时深玩筹奇作。

红毛船抵黄埔港后，如何纳料、卸货、成交，以及在公行保商（狙侏）操持下采购回航商品，几乎都点滴不漏地入诗了。





图 4: 华南地图

Fig 4: Map of South-China

their ships arrived at the roadstead of Huangpu (Whampoa), and how they purchased commodities for the return voyage under the control of the Customs Service.

In Qing Dynasty archival papers, the names of the supercargos of the Dutch trading house in Canton can hardly be traced back. Only A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, who was appointed as the supercargo in Canton from 1791 until 1794 and held a prominent position in Sino-Dutch relations due to his achievements and writings, is mentioned by name.

A.E. van Braam Houckgeest (1739 - 1801) was born on November 1, 1739 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. He served as an officer in the Dutch navy in 1759. He came to Macao and Canton on an East Indiaman, and engaged there in business for eight years. He thereupon returned to the Netherlands to run his country estate and lived a squire's life until 1773. He was naturalized as a citizen of the United States of America in 1774 and became a sea merchant with a dual nationality. Afterwards, when he returned to the East he was first detained in Malacca and Batavia but then

sent again to Canton where he was appointed into his former position at the Dutch Hong.<sup>13</sup> Van Braam Houckgeest was a smart person, good at seizing any opportunity. As soon as he learned from the Macartney Mission that a grand ceremony was to be held in Beijing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Emperor Qianlong's reign, he suggested to the Governor General of the Netherlands Indies in Batavia to send a special envoy to express his congratulations. The proposal was accepted and a Dutch delegation was formed with Isaac Titsingh (1745 - 1812) as the Head Envoy and A.E. van Braam Houckgeest as the Deputy Head Envoy. The program of the mission was as follows:

*15 August 1794: Departure from Batavia, voyage to Canton via Macao on board the ship "Siam".*

*13 October 1794: The delegation was received by Changlin, Governor of Guangdong and Guangxi in the Haitong Temple. Their credentials were examined.*

*22 November 1794: The delegation consisting of 27 people voyaged via the inland river and canal system from Canton to Beijing by ship.*

*9 January 1795: The delegation arrived in Beijing.*

*12 January 1795: The delegation paid their respects to the Qianlong Emperor by saluting him through the ritual kowtow, which consisted of threefold kneeling, and touching the ground nine times with the forehead. The delegation attended the imperial banquet in the Hall of Purple Light.*

*31 January 1795: The delegation paid homage to the Longevity Hill.*

*8 February 1795: The delegation said farewell to Emperor Qianlong in the old Summer Palace and accepted a "specially issued imperial decree".*

*9 May 1795: The Dutch delegation returned to Canton.*



### 航向珠江

在清代文献中，广州荷兰馆大班有名可考者，犹如凤毛麟角。只有1791年（乾隆五十六年）至1794年（乾隆五十九年）连任大班的范罢览，因其事和著述，而在中荷关系中占据突出的地位。

范罢览（A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, 1739~1801），1739年11月1日生于荷兰乌特勒支省。1759年为荷兰海军候补生员，随东印度公司货船到澳门和广州经商八年，后返荷兰经营田庄，过乡绅生活直到1773年。1774年入美国籍，成为一名双重国籍的海商。其后，又重返东方，滞留马六甲和巴达维亚，1790年（乾隆五十五年）7月8日抵达广州，任职于荷兰馆。<sup>⑬</sup>

范罢览是一个善于抓住机遇的精明“红毛”，当他从马戛尔尼使团获悉北京将有庆祝乾隆登位六十年的盛典，即向巴达维亚的荷印总督建议派遣致贺专使。此议被采纳，一个以德胜（又译“得胜”或“余悚第生”，即Isaac Titsingh, 1745~1812）为正使、范罢览为副使的荷兰使团便组建起来了。该团的出使行程，要点如下：

1794年8月15日 乘“暹罗”号自巴达维亚起航，经澳门来广州。

10月13日 两广总督长麟在海幢寺接见使团，验看国书。

11月22日 使团一行27人自广州沿内陆河及运河乘船赴北京。

1795年1月9日 使团抵京。

1月12日 谒见乾隆皇帝，行三跪九叩头礼，出席紫光阁御宴。

1月31日 瞻仰万寿山。

2月8日 在圆明园向乾隆皇帝辞行，接受“特颁敕谕”。

5月9日 荷兰使团返抵广州。



图5：船上的荷兰人  
Fig 5: Dutch on ship

关于两广总督长麟与荷兰使团在海幢寺会晤的情景，王文诰《韵山堂诗集》卷一《长牧庵制府带同荷兰国贡使诣海幢寺接诏恭纪八首》有详细记述，可补清代文献之缺。



图7: 范罢览的签名

Fig 7: Signature of van Braam Houckgeest

A detailed account of the meeting between Changlin and the Dutch delegation can

be found in the book 'Eight Poems on the Reception of the Dutch Tribute Delegation' by the Governor of Guangdong and Guangxi in the Haitong Temple, in the first volume of the Yun-Shan-Tang Poem Collections written by Wang Wengao. Because of its detailed account this book fills a void in the Qing literature. Changlin, who received the Dutch delegation, was a senior government official for the coastal border defence who had made considerable promotion in the later years of Qianlong Emperor's reign. Zhaolian, who was a contemporary of his, commented that "Changlin was Governor of Guangdong and Guangxi and was a very efficient official." He arranged an official reception ceremony for the Dutch delegation on the morning of the 13th of October 1794. That morning, Wang Wengao reported that "the Governor followed the imperial edict this morning" and "received the envoys when the morning clock struck". The reception took place in the Buddhist temple instead of the tributary hostel. Changlin told the Dutch envoy Isaac Titsingh that foreign guests could not be received in a government office according to the regulations, and that Lord Macartney was received in the same venue after he returned from Beijing the previous December.<sup>14</sup>

The question is, why did the Haitong Temple become a guest-greeting house?

The Haitong Temple was located on the South bank of the Pearl River in Canton, and faced the Thirteen Hong Quarter, the business area where the foreigners engaged in trade, across the river. It was one of the most celebrated temples in Guangdong and Guangxi. The following account was given in the book 'General Account of Guangdong' by Ruan Yuan:

*Haitong Temple, located South of the Pearl River, was built on Lingfu Square in the Ten Thousand Pine Park. In earlier times it had been the Thousand Autumns temple, which was established in the Southern Han dynasty but was later abandoned by the local people. The priest Guangmu raised funds at the Guolong Mountains, and after having slowly restored the temple, named it Haitong. The priests Yue and Jin Wu then constructed the Buddhist hall, a depository of Buddhist texts and an Abbott's quarter one after the other. In the 11th year of Emperor Kangxi's reign, the Tian Wang Hall was constructed by Ping Fan, and the gate of the Buddhist temple was built by Liu Bingquan, the Governor of the Province. The Eagle melon flowers, planted in the Guo Garden in bygone days, remained exuberant while the place changed, covering the pavilion. The 'hidden' depository of Buddhist texts was the most beautiful of all, and the dignified image of a dragon in the middle was the finest among all of the Buddhist temples.<sup>15</sup>*



图6: 范罢览像

Fig 6: A.E. van Braam Houckgeest