



Ilha Formosa Ilha Formosa Ilha Formosa Ilha Formosa

# 福尔摩沙

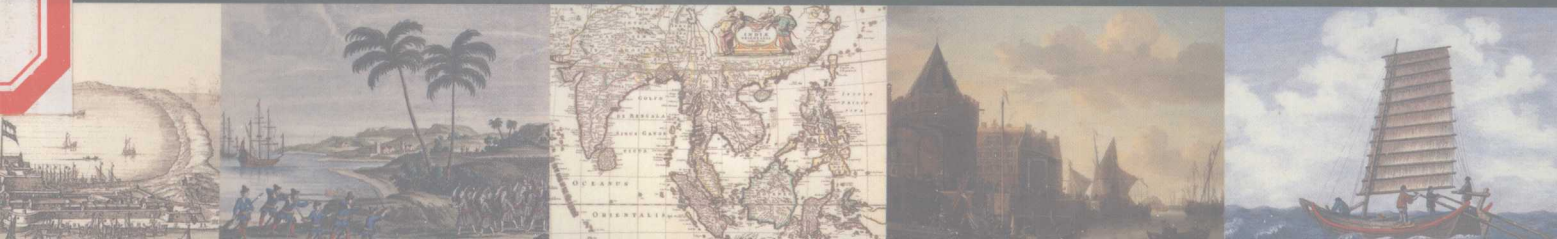
十七世紀的臺灣·荷蘭與東亞

Ilha Formosa

the Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century



Ilha Formosa Ilha Formosa Ilha Formosa Ilha Formosa



國家圖書館出版品預行編目資料

福爾摩沙：十七世紀的臺灣·荷蘭與東亞 =  
Ilha Formosa : the emergence of Taiwan  
on the world scene in the 17th century /  
石守謙主編. -- 初版. -- 臺北市：故宮，  
民92

面；公分

參考書目：面

含索引

ISBN 957-562-441-6 (平裝)

1. 古器物 - 臺灣 - 圖錄 2. 臺灣 - 歷史 -  
荷據時期 (1624-1661)

797.32

92001007

## 福尔摩沙 - 十七世紀的臺灣、荷蘭與東亞

發行人 / 杜正勝

主編 / 石守謙

執行編輯 / 林天人

特約編輯 / 歐蘭英 Eveline Oranje

英文編譯 / 宋兆霖

出版者 / 國立故宮博物院

地址：臺北市士林區至善路二段221號

電話：(02) 2881-2021-4

傳真：(02) 2882-1440

郵撥帳號 1961234-9

設計印刷 / 裕華彩藝股份有限公司

地址：台北縣新店市寶中路95號之8

電話：(02) 2911-0111

中華民國九十二年一月初版一刷

中華民國九十二年三月初版二刷

中華民國九十二年四月初版三刷

中華民國九十四年五月初版四刷

統一編號 / 1009200234

版 權 所 有 · 翻 印 必 究

# 福尔摩沙

十七世紀的臺灣·荷蘭與東亞

**Ilha Formosa**

the Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century



國立故宮博物院  
NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM

## 序1

國立故宮博物院今（九十二）年的重大展覽之一，是「福爾摩沙：十七世紀的臺灣、荷蘭與東亞」，而以「臺灣的誕生」作為主軸。工作同仁與策展團隊經過長時間的籌畫，從國內外三十八家博物館和私人典藏商借與十七世紀臺灣歷史相關的文物三百餘件，配合創意的展覽手法，呈現十七世紀臺灣的面貌。

綜觀整個十七世紀，臺灣從世紀初的原住民社會，海上私商冒險犯禁的交易會船點，至1624年變成荷蘭的殖民地，納入了世界的體系。而後在1662年鄭成功逐走荷蘭人，臺灣成為一個獨立的海上王國，並且矢志反清復明。最後又在1683年，由原鄭氏舊部的降清將領施琅率領清兵攻臺，被納入清朝版圖，成為中華帝國的邊陲。這一百年歷史變化之大，只有二十世紀可與相比。劇烈的世變當中，種種歷史的偶然與必然因素，影響直到現在。

本院文物以中國古代及唐宋近世以降的藝術精品為主，臺灣歷史文物本非院藏所長。但是本院立足臺灣，我們願以更積極的作為與臺灣歷史對話。展覽不只是文物的陳列，也牽涉到文物與歷史的詮釋。在展覽的過程中，參觀者來到展場，經由觀賞文物，觸發了對歷史的理解與感受，是一種可貴的對話經驗。我們願藉由文物具體呈現十七世紀的臺灣，作為大眾思考的起點。

這本圖錄，除了收錄展出文物的圖版，更邀請學者就十七世紀臺灣史的各個面向撰寫專文，期能增益讀者對這段歷史的了解。臺灣這個海島，雖然是在一百萬年前就已經誕生，成為現在的模樣，但卻是在十七世紀受到各方勢力的競逐與形塑之下，後世意義的「臺灣」才誕生。臺灣當時面對的本土化、主體性和國際化種種課題，以及與中國的關係，如今也是我們要面臨的問題，考驗著我們的智慧，值得我們深思與反省。是為序。

國立故宮博物院 院長 

## Foreword

One of the major events at the National Palace Museum for year 2003 is the exhibition *Formosa: Taiwan, Holland and East Asia in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, with the emergence of Taiwan on the world scene as the central theme. The project is an extended period of time in the making, and my colleagues in the organizing committee have managed to borrow from 38 museums and private connoisseurs, both domestic and abroad, more than 300 artifacts that are in one way or another related to the historical development of Taiwan in the time frame specified. It is expected that these artifacts, coupled with the innovative and unique exhibition design, will deliver an authentic vista of Taiwan of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

An examination of East Asian history reveals that Taiwan at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was primarily a primitive society inhabited by aborigines of Austronesian descent; it was also a point of rendezvous for maritime traders bound by mutual benefit to be derived from their rather illegitimate business transactions. In 1624, the Dutch *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) first claimed Taiwan as a base for trade expansion, making the island part of the system of international commerce. In 1661, a Chinese fleet led by the Ming (明) loyalist Cheng Ch' eng-kung (鄭成功; known in the West as Koxinga) retreated from the mainland and occupied Taiwan. Having expelled the Dutch the next year, Cheng developed the island into an independent kingdom on the sea and established it as a foothold in his attempt to restore the Ming Dynasty. Twenty one years later, in 1683, Admiral Shih Lang (施琅), who had originally been one of the generals of Cheng, led the Ch' ing (清) forces and defeated the army of Cheng's successors, thus annexing the island and turning it into a marginalized frontier of the Chinese empire. The reader is reminded that the historical events that took place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century are only comparable to what humankind witnessed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that both the accidental and inevitable causes that had brought such rapid, drastic changes to pass have even to this day been influential in many respects.

The National Palace Museum is home to one of the finest collections of Chinese art from archaic times to pre-modern days. While the holdings are Han Chinese in nature, not of any pertinence to Taiwan, the Museum as a national institution has as its unwavering goal of assuming a more active stance to introduce its audiences to the island's historical and cultural past. The staging of exhibitions such as this one, to be sure, is an effective approach; yet, it should reach beyond the mere installation and presentation of artifacts to arrive at the realm of cultural and

## Foreword 1

---

historical interpretation. Indeed, the kind of historical comprehension and sensibility that the audiences acquire in the galleries will surely contribute to the realization of a valuable experience in the dialogue between man and his past. It is thus hoped that the present exhibition will offer a setting conducive for reflection upon the development and growth of Taiwan in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Apart from the plates and descriptive notes of the works on view in the exhibition, the accompanying catalog also features several essays on various aspects of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Taiwanese history, written by scholars to augment the reader's understanding of the context of historical events. As we thumb through the following pages we quickly realize that, while the geological formation of the island by a great fault block took place approximately one million years ago, it was not until the 17<sup>th</sup> century when Taiwan as we know it came into being, a phenomenon resulted from and molded by the recurrent, intense struggles among different powers. Many of the problems that the Taiwanese people of the time had to deal with, such as the upholding of an integral cultural identity, the fostering of a global orientation, and the maintenance of a counterbalance, as well as their relations with the Chinese mainland, are exactly what we today must confront, and the definition of solutions to these issues is in itself a test of wisdom, something that is worthy of our ruminations and retrospection.



Tu Cheng-sheng  
Director

生長在臺灣這塊土地上的人，應該先認識臺灣的歷史。

民國初年，連橫所完成的《臺灣通史》鉅著「序」中指出：「臺灣固無史也，荷人啟之，鄭氏作之，清代營之，日人興之，民國開之。」就「史前時代」和「歷史時代」的區別，一般而言，人類沒有文字的時代叫「史前時代」，有文字的時代叫「歷史時代」。據連氏所言，臺灣的歷史時代，就是從荷蘭人在臺灣建立政權開始

今年農曆春節初一，國曆是二月一日；巧的是，西元一六六二年的二月一日，正是鄭成功和荷蘭人完成締約的日子。之後，荷蘭被驅離臺灣，結束了在臺灣三十八年的統治。隨著鄭成功渡海來臺的兩萬五千名大軍及其眷屬，是臺灣史上第一波大規模的集體移民。

十七世紀，不僅是臺灣歷史的開端，且其貿易之發達、多元文化之匯聚、以及國際化之程度，堪稱當時的「亞太營運中心」；可惜，十七世紀的福爾摩沙卻也是臺灣民眾最生疏的一段歷史。

當前臺灣文化的多元，對外關係的密切，國際貿易的興盛，冒險奮鬥和克服困難的精神，就是承繼過去歷史的具體表現。飲水思源，我們不但要珍惜並發揮先民筚路藍縷開創臺灣的精神，也應進一步瞭解台灣的歷史。

有鑑於此，國立故宮博物院、教育部和中國時報系不惜耗費長達兩年時間的策劃和鉅資，從元月二十四日起至四月三十日止，於國立故宮博物院文獻大樓舉辦「福爾摩沙：十七世紀的臺灣·荷蘭與東亞」特展，展出文物約三百五十餘件，呈現十七世紀臺灣與荷蘭、東亞間的關係，展品除了國內收藏的文物之外，更結合了荷蘭、丹麥、德國等國外二十多家博物館的收藏。藉由深富教育意義的展示，讓參觀者對於身處的台灣，有更深一層的認識。而本冊圖錄的完成，不但是故宮和多位學者的心血結晶，更是認識十七世紀福爾摩沙的重要鉅著，本人特此表示由衷的敬意。

中國時報 董事長 俞建新

## Foreword 2

Everybody who is born in Taiwan should know its history.

In 1921, (Line Heng) wrote the following in the introduction to his extensive work *The History of Taiwan*: “As early Taiwanese history has no written sources, the history of Taiwan was started by the Dutch, continued by Cheng Ch'engkung, developed by the Ch'ing dynasty, modernized by the Japanese and opened-up during the Republican period.” Lien thus makes a distinction between the pre-historical period before the appearance of written historical sources and the historical period based on written sources. In his view the written historical period of Taiwan starts with the Dutch rule of Taiwan.

This year on February 1, is the date Cheng Ch'engkung signed the document stipulating the conditions for the surrender of the Dutch. After this the Dutch were forced to leave Taiwan and ended their 38-year rule of the island. Cheng Ch'engkung army of 25,000 soldiers and relatives was the first large wave of immigrant to come to Taiwan.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century is not only the beginning of Taiwanese history, it is also a period in which trade bloomed and a multi-cultural society developed, the island became a veritable Asia-Pacific trade centre; it is a pity that 17<sup>th</sup> century Formosa is also one of the most unfamiliar periods of history.

At the time, Taiwan had a multi-cultural society and close international ties. The international trade grew fast in a general atmosphere of hard work and entrepreneurial zest. Looking back, we need to cherish the spirit of our ancestors in opening-up Taiwan and further understand the history of Taiwan.

This was the reason for the Palace Museum, the Ministry of Education and the China Times Group to plan the exhibition “Formosa: Taiwan, Holland and East Asia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century”. After a planning period of two years, the exhibition will open on January 24, 2003 and continue until April 30 at the Palace Museum. The exhibition will include more than 350 objects related to Taiwan in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, these objects were provided by museums and collectors in Taiwan, but also from 20 museums and collections in Holland, Denmark, Germany etc. The exhibition is especially designed to be educational and provide a more profound insight in Taiwanese history. This catalogue is not only the result of the intense efforts of the Palace Museum and scholars, but also a major work on the history of Taiwan to which I pay my respect.



Albert Yu

Chairman of the Board  
CHINA TIMES GROUP



地圖

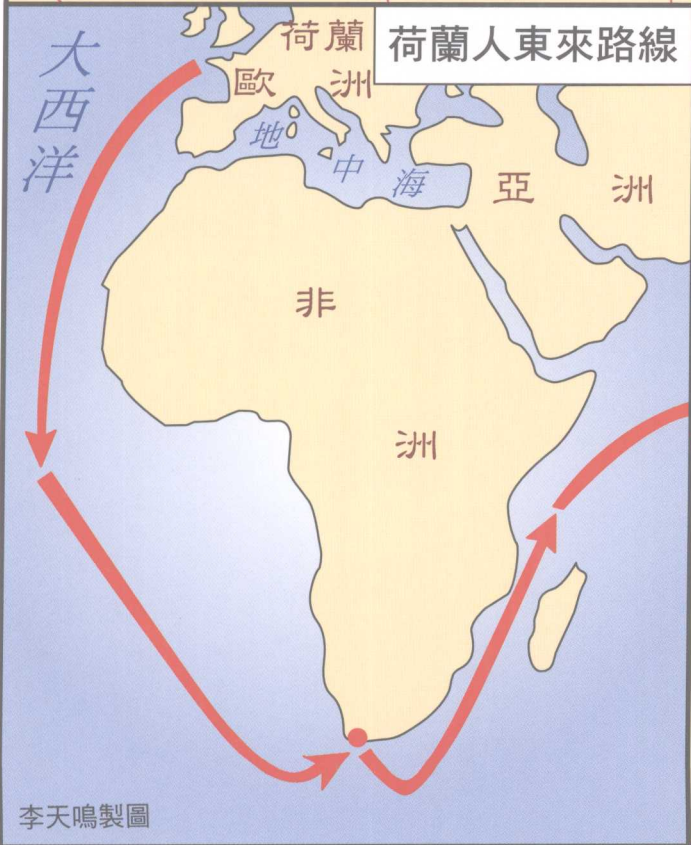
Map

---

30°

45°

60°



李天鳴製圖

30°

45°

60°



## 目錄

- 2 序<sub>1</sub> 杜正勝
- 5 序<sub>2</sub> 余建新
- 8 十七世紀歐亞交流地圖
- 10 目錄
- 13 **第一篇**  
導論：十七世紀作為東亞轉運站的臺灣  
曹永和
- 33 **第二篇**  
經緯：地圖與荷鄭時代的臺灣  
冉福立
- 53 **第三篇**  
轉運與出口：荷據時期的貿易與產業  
陳國棟
- 75 **第四篇**  
對峙：熱蘭遮圍城兩百七十五日  
林偉盛
- 105 **第五篇**  
原鄉：世變下的臺灣早期原住民  
翁佳音
- 125 **第六篇**  
揭開鴻濛：關於臺灣古代史的一些思考  
杜正勝
- 145 參考書目
- 153 十七世紀百年紀事
- 165 圖版索引
- 177 圖版解說

- 2 Foreword 1 Tu Cheng-sheng / National Palace Museum
- 5 Foreword 2 Yu Chien-hsin / China Times
- 8 Map of Euro-Asian Interaction in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century
- 10 Contents
- 13 **Introduction:**  
Taiwan as a Center of East Asian Maritime Traffic in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century  
Ts' ao Yung-ho
- 33 **The Warp and Woof:**  
Maps, Charts, and Taiwan of the Dutch-Koxinga Periods  
Kees Zandvliet
- 53 **Transit and Export:**  
Trade and Commerce in Taiwan During the Dutch Period  
Ch' en Kuo-tung
- 75 **Confrontation and Opposition:**  
The Siege of Fort Zeelandia  
Lin Wei-sheng
- 105 **Land of the Primitives:**  
Taiwan and Its Early Aborigines in a Time of Changes  
Ang Kaim
- 125 **Before the Creation:**  
Some Thoughts on the Ancient History of Taiwan  
Tu Cheng-sheng
- 145 Bibliography
- 153 Chronicle of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century
- 165 Index to the Plates
- 177 Descriptions of the Plates

專論  
Essays

---



# 導論： 十七世紀作為東亞轉運站的臺灣

曹永和 中央研究院 院士



臺灣地處東亞之衝要，但直到十六世紀仍少為人知。早在西元前漢人已廣泛地繁衍到亞洲各地；而這個大且肥沃的島嶼雖與中國大陸如此的接近，但直到明朝（1368～1644）中葉以前，漢人對臺灣所知甚少。臺灣孤立於漢人之外，是因為臺灣沒有大量市場需求的產物來吸引貿易者，以致於這個島嶼一直處於那些時代的亞洲貿易網絡之外。

## 臺灣的出現

從西元初期，漢人從中亞細亞及海路，已發展出很好的對外貿易。當時中國主要的海上口岸，最初是在現今所稱的東京（越南河內一帶）區域。後來廣東發展成漢人商業中心，而藉著海路、陸路聯繫著南、北中國。當時，中國與南亞、西亞間的海上商業穩定成長。同時也藉著佛教與中國文化的傳布，中、韓、日之間的商業關係也變得緊密。與韓國、日本的貿易，成為亞洲本身貿易的一個分支，使中國與南亞、西亞連結。但此時的漢人對於海外航行仍未充分準備；因此海上貿易仍操在以北方貿易為主的新羅時代韓國人與由南方來的波斯人（後來是阿拉伯人）手中。

當新羅沒落，中國商人開始主導韓國與日本間的貿易。唐宋之際，漢人逐漸參與海外貿易，經由南中國海到達東南亞，進而到印度洋。這個時代標示了漢人成為航海民族的開始。廣州、泉州與明州成為對外貿易的主要中心，而管理商船的機構（市舶司）也就設立在這些港口。

此時開始建立了從一條長江下游三角洲地帶，經東海到韓國與日本的貿易路線。另外一條路線則是沿著海岸，穿過南海到東南亞。宋代商人從熱帶地區進口了貴重貨品，如象牙、珊瑚、犀牛角、香料與藥材到廣州與泉州。海外來的貨品伴隨著國內的產品，如絲與瓷器從明州出口到韓國與日本等地。而後出現的一條貿易路線，顯示宋、元時期的臺灣南部成為到菲律賓群島的必經之路；中國人和臺灣原住民間似乎已建立某種程度的商業接觸。

十一、二世紀之間，日本商人從高麗海岸，冒險穿過東海到宋朝領域，他們逐漸在東亞水域發展海上貿易。1274年、1281年元朝兩度侵略日本遭到敗績。此後，日本人的海外貿易活動就常以海盜行為出現。結果，他們不斷地掠奪成為高麗與中國嚴重的問題。明朝建立後，洪武（1368～1398）皇帝禁止中



國船隻下海，以減少搶奪事件。禁止了私人海上貿易，沿海島嶼居民被迫遷移到內陸。明朝也放棄管轄澎湖群島，居民被移回到中國大陸。臺灣與大陸之間的連結被切斷；中國對於臺灣的認識，從十四世紀以後，又漸歸於蒙昧。

但因為一方面整個亞洲各國經濟在成長中；另一方面，歐洲人到達亞洲的結果傳統國際關係架構瓦解，在東亞產生全球性影響的變動。沿東亞海岸，在海上商業出現了激烈的競爭。這種情勢的變化，說明臺灣處於極具戰略性的位置。



中國新圖 盧多維哥·喬治奧 1588年 64×73.5cm 歐福曼先生藏  
*Chinae, olim sinarum regionis, Nova descriptio.*  
Ludovico Georgio 1588 Collection of Mr. Paul J.J. Overmaat

首先，日本人的海上劫掠成為國際關係中的變數，劫掠行動在十六世紀中葉加劇。日本襲擊者成群出現在浙江、福建和廣東的港口。這些海盜實際上包含許多來自中國東南沿海，特別是福建的漢人海