

台灣經濟四百年

國立成功大學人文社會科學中心

台灣荷治時期的鹿與原住民

吳聰敏 (台大經濟系)

2023/9/20

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3. 鹿產貿易與利益衝突
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5. 從資源耗竭到資源保育
6. 文化遺產

熱蘭遮堡外城牆遺跡



熱蘭遮堡與大員市鎮 (1640年代)

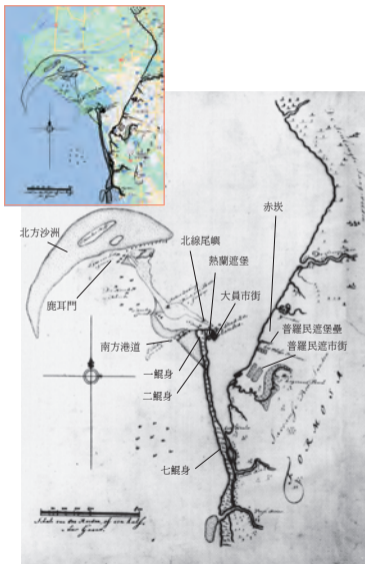


- 此圖朝下為北方

古堡街即華爾街

- 沿著熱蘭遮堡東面城牆的一條街, 今天名為古堡街, 當時則稱為 Wall street (雲海龍吟, 2009)
- 今天紐約的曼哈頓也有一條街道名為 Wall street (華爾街), 是全球金融中心之一
- 兩條 Wall Street 都是荷蘭人取的名字

大員及附近地區 (1652)



從成大到熱蘭遮堡, 大約 6.4 公里。

聯合東印度公司

- 聯合東印度公司 (VOC) 創立於 1602 年, 總部在阿姆斯特丹, 目的是要開發東印度地區的貿易機會
- 1619 年, VOC 占領爪哇的巴達維亞 (今印尼的雅加達)
- 1624 年 8 月, 在明朝政府的要求下, 荷蘭人退出澎湖, 前來大員建立貿易商館
- 17 世紀的通訊: 大員 — 巴達維亞 — 阿姆斯特丹
日誌與書信集: *DZ1* (2000), *DM1* (2007), 程紹剛 (2000), ...

- 荷蘭人設立商館初期, 與荷蘭人互動較多的原住民是新港, 蕭壠, 目加溜灣, 與麻豆社, 為方便說明, 以上 4 社所在的位置稱為「西拉雅一帶」

西拉雅原住民

荷蘭人的記錄:

- 鹿很多
- 原住民與漢人及日本人交易, 鹿皮出口到日本, 鹿脯出口到福建
- 分工: 女生負責耕種, 採集與捕魚, 男生負責打獵與打仗
- 原住民之間爭戰不休, 能從戰爭中帶回敵人頭顱者是社內英雄

Candidius (1628): 強制墮胎制度

If children are born to them, they mostly remain with their mother in her house; but when they reach the age of twenty-three, they take up their abode with their father. In the first years of marriage the wife has no children; for, according to the laws and customs of this people, a woman is not allowed to bear children till she is thirty-five, thirty-six, or thirty-seven, years of age; for, when she is with child, the fruit of her womb is destroyed. This is brought about in the following way: They call one of their priestesses, and, on her arrival, the woman lies down on a couch or on the floor, and is then pushed, pinched, and roughly handled till abortion follows, which occasions more pain than if the child had been brought living into the world. It is not for lack of maternal love among these women that this system is followed, but because their priestesses teach them so to act. It would be considered a great shame, a great sin, if women bore any children before the age mentioned above, and thus the fruit of their wombs is generally destroyed. They themselves have often confessed to me that they have been with child fifteen or sixteen times and had practised abortion each time. One woman told me that she was with child the seventeenth time, but would now be allowed to bring her child into the world and to be born in the natural way; so that it is only when women are about thirty-seven to thirty-eight years of age and are with child that they allow their children to see the light of day without practising the sin of abortion.

- Candidius (1628)

馬爾薩斯 (1797): abortion

Ch. v. *the Islands of the South Sea.* 87

remained unmarried, living like the members of the Eareeoie society in Otaheite, and distinguished by a similar name.* In the island of Formosa, it is said that the women were not allowed to bring children into the world before the age of thirty-five. If they were with-child prior to that period, an abortion was effected by the priestess, and till the husband was forty years of age the wife continued to live in her father's house, and was only seen by stealth.†

- Malthus (1826), 頁 87

強制墮胎

馬爾薩斯的解釋

- 馬爾薩斯: 台灣原住民的人口過多, 食物不足
- Shepherd (1995) 不同意:
西拉雅族原住民身材高大, 表示健康情況良好, 應該沒有糧食不足的問題

邵式柏的解釋

- 原住民男女分工: 女生負責耕種, 採集與捕魚, 男生負責打獵與打仗
- 男生: 年齡階級 (age group) 制度
- 第 1 個階級 (大約 17-40 歲) 的男生負責作戰與狩獵, 第 2 個階級 (40 歲之後) 與妻子同住, 協助耕種
- Shepherd (1995, 頁 33-34): 男子如果已有小孩, 上戰場會有後顧之憂, 因而影響其作戰表現
- 羅馬帝國在第 1 與第 2 世紀也有類似的管制, 禁止軍人結婚

但是, ...

- 除了西拉雅地區之外, 台灣其他地方的原住民也有年齡階級的制度, 例如, 東部的阿美族與卑南族, 但他們並無強制墮胎制度
- Shepherd (1995, 頁 66) 猜測: 「可能是因為西拉雅地區的衝突較激烈」
“perhaps intense warfare leading to severe age grade discipline, religious radicalism demanding abortion for headhunters’ wives”
- 為何西拉雅地區的衝突較激烈?

鹿產貿易與利益衝突

魁北克的河狸毛皮貿易

- 17世紀初, 法國商人前往魁北克地區 (Quebec), 向當地的印第安人購買河狸毛皮 (beaver fur)
- 河狸毛皮是保暖衣服與帽子的材料
- 魁北克的河狸毛皮出口後, 毛皮的價格上升, 捕獵的利益上升, 原住民的利益衝突也上升
- 如何解決利益衝突?
- Leacock (1954): 印第安人劃分土地並指定為私有地, 各人都在自己的土地上捕獵河狸, 利益衝突的問題獲得解決
- 建立土地產權制度可以減少利益衝突, 促進經濟成長

台灣的鹿脯皮角貿易

- 台灣鹿脯皮角何時出口?
可能是在16世紀晚期, 鹿脯出口到福建, 鹿皮出口到日本
- 鹿脯皮角出口使價格上升, 利益衝突也上升
- 大員是台灣鹿脯皮角出口的主要地點, 也因此西拉雅一帶成為利益衝突的中心
 - 西拉雅一帶, 平均每社人口最多 (狩獵為勞力密集產業)

西拉雅強制墮胎

- 但是, 鹿會到處遊走, 即使建立私有土地產權制度, 也無法化解捕獵的利益衝突
- 結論: 西拉雅原住民發展出強制墮胎制度, 原因可能是這地區是鹿脯皮角出口的主要地區, 利益衝突激烈, 而且無法以土地產權制度化解衝突

從商館到殖民統治

麻豆社事件

- 荷蘭人於1624年建立商館之前, 台灣的鹿產與出口是由原住民, 漢人, 日本人合作創造出來的
- 1624年, 荷蘭人加入後, 引發不滿
- 1629/6/13: 荷蘭人前往麻豆社搜捕漢人海盜
- 回程渡河時, 原住民發動突擊, 殺死所有荷蘭人, 僅有一名漢人翻譯與黑人奴隸逃走
- 第4任台灣長官普特曼斯 (Putmans) 於1629/6/21上任, 想要展開報復行動, 但武力不足, 先攻打戰力較小的目加溜灣社

- 目加溜灣原住民被打敗, 與麻豆社人前來求和:
 - 歸還被謀殺的荷蘭人的頭顱與骨頭,
 - 歸還荷蘭人的武器,
 - 每年進貢。
- 原住民與荷蘭人第一個和約, 但原住民後來並未遵守
- 1635/11/23, 荷蘭人出兵攻打麻豆社, 原住民戰敗求和

麻豆社和約 (1635/12/18)

- That all the relics which they still possessed, be it of beads or garments, should be restored to us.
- That they were to pay a certain contribution in pigs and paddy.
- That every second year they should bring two pigs to the Castle on the anniversary day of the murder.
- **That they should give us the sovereignty over their country**, and as a symbol thereof place at the feet of the Governor some little pinang and cocoa trees, planted in the earthen vessels in the soil of their country.
- That they should promise never again to turn their arms against us.
- That they should no longer molest the Chinese.
- That, in case we had to wage war against other villages, they should join us.

土地所有權與使用權

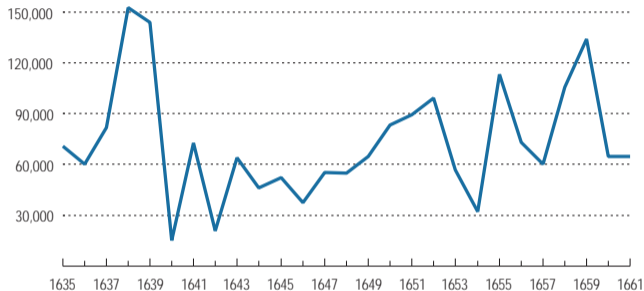
- 麻豆社和約是 VOC 在台灣殖民統治的起點
- 原住民歸順東印度公司, 土地也變成東印度公司所有
- 但原住民保有土地使用權

荷蘭人禁止墮胎

- 荷蘭人在1630年代中期建立殖民統治政權後,即禁止強制墮胎,並由傳教活動改變西拉雅族夫妻分居的制度
- 但是,以上的政策並未減輕捕鹿的利益衝突
- 荷蘭人建立殖民統治政權後,即獨占鹿皮出口
- 為了提高出口,引入中國人來台灣捕鹿(最晚在1637年),原住民與漢人的利益衝突加劇

從資源耗竭到資源保育

台灣鹿皮出口



- 引入中國獵人前來台灣, 1638與1639年鹿皮出口增加, 但是1640年, 鹿皮出口劇減
- 原因: 漢人是挖陷阱捕鹿, 造成鹿資源耗竭

- 荷蘭人很快改變政策, 禁止中國獵人捕鹿, 後來也管制原住民捕獵的期間
- 改變政策之後, 鹿皮出口回升, 但原住民捕鹿的利益衝突仍然存在
- 1650年, 西拉雅一帶劃分獵場, 但效果如何不明

西拉雅獵場分區 (1650年)



1730 年代, 台灣已無鹿皮出口到日本。

文化遺產

DICTIONARY
OF THE
FAVORLANG DIALECT
OF THE
FORMOSAN LANGUAGE,
BY
GILBERTUS HAPPART:

WRITTEN IN 1650.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
BATAVIAN LITERARY SOCIETY:

BY W. H. MEDHURST.

BATAVIA:

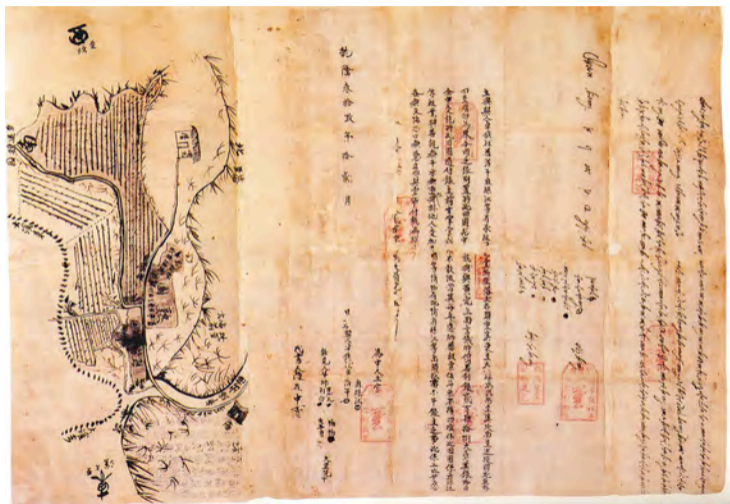
PRINTED AT PARAPATIAN.

1840.

DICTIONARY
OF THE
FAVORLANG DIALECT
OF THE
FORMOSAN LANGUAGE.

- A*, and; as *chaü a to*, fire and water; *boesäm a tö*, heaven and earth.
A-ä, a twig, a branch: as *a öök*, a twig of a bamboo; *a-o barön*, a branch of a tree.
A-dack, a peg, as that on which arms are hung: *a dack o balawä*, a hanger; from *äemadag*.
A-nyük-o, a step; from *äemapaq*.
A-enig, a word or speech uttered quietly, as if one were ashamed or abashed; from *äemewig*.
Arroo, a roll, any thing rolled up; *arroo o bido*, a roll of writing; *arroo o bad-sige*, a sheet of paper rolled up; from *äemurroon*.

新港文書 (1774年)



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c931011106.pixnet.net/blog/post/232143716 (visited on 11/25/2009)。