"Yizhou 夷洲" and "Liuqiu 流求" in Historical Chinese Texts: International Relations on the Northeast Asian Seas (3rd-17th Centuries)

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Asia Paper
December 2024

Institute for Security & Development Policy

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www.isdp.eu

"Yizhou 夷洲" and "Liuqiu 流求" in Historical Chinese Texts: International Relations on the Northeast Asian Seas (3rd-17th Centuries)" is an Asia Paper published by the Institute for Security and Development Policy. The Asia Paper Series is the Occasional Paper series of the Institute's Asia Program, and addresses topical and timely subjects. The Institute is based in Stockholm, Sweden, and cooperates closely with research centers worldwide. The Institute serves a large and diverse community of analysts, scholars, policy-watchers, business leaders, and journalists. It is at the forefront of research on issues of conflict, security, and development. Through its applied research, publications, research cooperation, public lectures, and seminars, it functions as a focal point for academic, policy, and public discussion.

Printed in Lithuania
ISBN: 978-91-88551-60-3

Distributed in Europe by:

Institute for Security and Development Policy
Västra Finnbodavägen 2, 131 30 Stockholm-Nacka, Sweden
Tel. +46-841056953; Fax. +46-86403370
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1. Introduction*

Sun Quan 孫權, Emperor Da of the Eastern Wu 大, and Emperor Yang 煬 of Sui Yang Guang 楊廣 sent armies across the sea to invade Yizhou and Liuqiu between the 3rd and the 7th centuries. Since 1874, when the French sinologist Léon d' Hervey Saint-Denys proposed the theory that Liuqiu of the past is Taiwan, giving it a close historical relationship with China, the question of whether Taiwan or Ryukyu 琉球 is the historical Liuqiu has been a significant topic of academic contention. Yizhou was brought into this discussion by the research of Ichimura Sanjirō 市村瓚次郎 in 1918, which similarly explored the question of whether Yizhou is Taiwan or Ryukyu.

This paper uses the Hanyu pinyin "Liuqiu" for antiquated toponyms in historical documents, including 流求 and 流球. "Ryukyu" is commonly used to refer to 琉球, the modern formulation in use since the Ming dynasty of China, in Western languages.

Research on Yizhou and Liuqiu has been very challenging as it requires comparing historical records and references to modern archeological and historical studies on international relations in maritime Northeast Asia. This paper employs increasingly available and comprehensive electronic databases to overcome past difficulties. Specifically, these are "Scripta Sinica" 漢籍電子文獻資料庫, the "Taiwan Documents Collection Database" 臺灣文獻叢刊資料庫 developed by Academia Sinica, and Donald Sturgeon's "Chinese Text Project," and others.[1]

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* The authors sincerely appreciate the many constructive suggestions provided through fruitful discussions following the presentation of this research at the Taiwan Research Institute of the Xiamen University Graduate Institute of History on September 25, 2023. Reviews for a Chinese version of this article published in *Chinese (Taiwan) Review of International and Transnational Law*, 19:2 (December 2023), pp. 40–119 have also been very helpful.

1 "Scripta Sinica," Scripta Sinica Research Group, Academia Sinica,https://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm (Some documents require authorization or may only be viewed from collaborating

Scholars have relied on descriptions of Yizhou and Liuqiu customs and material production as evidence for their arguments. This has included practices such as tattooing and raw fish consumption, the production of copper and iron, and horse breeding.[2] However, these cultural and material characteristics have little bearing on the dominion of Yizhou and Liuqiu, and customs and production of the islands changed across the millennium following the 3rd century. Instead, this paper examines the categorization of Yizhou and Liuqiu as "barbarian" or "foreign" in Chinese literature, their political and military organizations, location, and international relations, as well as the relative historical development of Ryukyu and Taiwan. The following is a brief overview of academic work identifying Yizhou and Liuqiu with Taiwan or Ryukyu. In the conclusion, we compare our findings with those of previous studies and highlight the academic implications of our work for understanding structural change in intra-Northeast Asian maritime relationships over more than a millennium.

institutions); "Taiwan Documents Collection Database," Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, https://tcss.ith.sinica.edu.tw/; "Chinese Text Project," Donald Sturgeon, https://ctext.org/. Our research also employed the Japanese National Diet Library Digital Collections (国立国会図書館デジタルコレクション, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/ja/) and the Republic of China National Central Library Chinese Rare Books Catalog (古籍與特藏文獻資源, https://rbook.ncl.edu.tw/).

2 For overviews of these academic debates, see Akiyama Kenzō 秋山謙藏, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*日支交涉史話 (Tokyo: Naigaishoseki 內外書籍, 1935); Liang Chia-pin 梁嘉彬, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*琉球及東南諸島與中國 (Taichung: Tunghai University, 1965); Lai Fu-Shun 賴福順, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)" 流中航線研究（上）, *Taiwan wenxian jikan* 臺灣文獻季刊, 54:1 (March. 2003), pp. 1–46; Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, "Jōdai no Taiwan" 上代の台湾, *Minzokugaku kenkyū* 民族學研究, 18: 1–2 (March 1954), pp. 108–112; Tu Cheng-sheng杜正勝, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun" 流求與流求論, *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究, 29: 4 (December 2022), pp. 1–69; Roderich Ptak, Chiu Tai-Jan 邱泰然, trans., *Fujian-Penghu-Taiwan: Zongjie wenxianzhong de zaoqi jiechu (Yue Xiyuan 200-1450 nian)* 福建—澎湖—臺灣：總結文獻中的早期接觸（約西元200-1450年） (Fujian - Penghu - Taiwan: Fruhe Kontakte, Nach Texten Zusammengefasst [Ca. 200-1450 n. Chr.]) (Taipei: Nantian chubanshe, 2022).

2. The Classification of Yizhou and Liuqiu as "Barbarian" and "Foreign"

The earliest description of the invasion of Yizhou by the Wu Kingdom is a section from *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* (*Linhai Shuitu zhi*臨海水土志) published in 275 and authored by Shen Ying 沈瑩, commander of Linhai Commandery 臨海郡 of the Wu Kingdom. Though this work itself is lost, a section relevant to our research was copied in "Collective Biographies of the Eastern Barbarians" (*Dongyi liezhuan*東夷列傳) of the *Book of the Later Han*（*Houhan shu*後漢書） and "Eastern Barbarians, One" (*Dongyi yi* 東夷一) in the "Four Barbarians Section" (*Siyi bu*四夷部) of the *Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia* (*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽).[3] *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi*三國志）by Chen Shou 陳壽 of the Western Jin 西晉(266–316) also contains an entry related to the invasion of Yizhou by the Wu army.[4] "Collective Biographies of the Eastern Barbarians (*Dongyi liezhuan*東夷列傳) of the *Book of Sui* (*Sui shu*隋書) compiled in the early Tang 唐 (618–690; 705–907) contains a complete record of the attack on the State of Liuqiu (*Liuqiu Guo* 流求國) by the Sui army.[5]

The historical texts mentioned above classify Yizhou and Liuqiu as "eastern barbarians." Thus, wherever Yizhou and Liuqiu were located, they were not part of "Chinese" territory, according to the Chinese differentiation between barbarians as *Yi* 夷and Chinese as *Xia* 夏.

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3 Fan Ye范曄, Li Xian李賢 and Sima Biao司馬彪, Yang Jialuo楊家駱 ed., *Hou Han shu* (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1981), p. 2822; Li Fang李昉 et al., *Taiping yulan*, in Zhang Yuanji張元濟 et al. eds., *Sibu congkan sanbian* 四部叢刊三編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), vol. 342, pp. 3586b, 3587a.

4 Chen Shou陳壽 and Pei Songzhi 裴松之, Yang Jia-luo 楊家駱 ed., *Sanguo zhi* (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980), pp. 1136, 1350, 1383.

5 Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al. Yang Jia-luo ed., *Sui shu* (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980), pp. 67, 74, 687, 1519, 1822–1825.

Furthermore, the texts themselves reveal that no Chinese regime maintained jurisdiction over Yizhou and Liuqiu. During the 3rd century, Sun Quan "assigned Wei Wen 衛溫 and Zhuge Zhi 諸葛直 to lead more than 10,000 soldiers across the sea to seize Yizhou and Danzhou 亶洲. Because [Danzhou] was too far for them to reach, they only captured a few thousand natives of Yizhou."[6] In the 7th century, Emperor Yang of the Sui made three expeditions to Liuqiu. In the second expedition, Zhu Kuan 朱寬 was sent "to persuade [the Liuqiuans] to capitulate [to the Sui Empire], but the Liuqiuans declined. Zhu Kuan only brought cloth armor back to the court." In the third expedition, Chen Leng 陳稜 and Zhang Zhenzhou 張鎮州（also recorded as 張鎮周）"led troops from Yi'an 義安 (modern Chaozhou, Guangdong) to journey to and attack [Liuqiu]. The Liuqiuans refused to surrender and resisted the imperial forces. Chen Leng defeated them. […] [Chen Leng] captured thousands of men and women, looted, and withdrew. From then on, contact [between the Sui Empire and Liuqiu] remained severed."[7] These accounts indicate that the Wu and Sui armies departed from Yizhou and Liuqiu after their attacks.

As Chinese texts categorized Yizhou and Liuqiu as "eastern barbarians," we can rule out certain regions when determining their location, as mentioned by other scholars. Claims that Yizhou and Liuqiu were Hainan or located in Southeast Asia by researchers including Yang Yunping 楊雲萍,[8] and that Liuqiu was in the South China Sea by Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝 based on Zhu Kuan's return to Guangdong after his mission to Liuqiu in Tang dynasty texts are likely incorrect. The South China Sea and surrounding geographical features, such as Hainan, were categorized as "southwest barbarians, southern Yue, Min Yue, and Joseon" in the *Book of Han* (*Han Shu* 漢書), and "southern and southwestern barbarian" in the *Book of Later Han*.[9]

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6 Chen Shou et al., *Sanguo zhi*, p. 1136.

7 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1825.

8 Zhang Shengyan 張勝彥, *Taiwanshi Yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 (Taipei: Huashi Chubanshe, 1981), p. 117; Zhang Shengyan, "Taiwan Jiansheng zhi Yanjiu" 臺灣建省之研究 (MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1972), pp. 12, 41–42.

9 Ban Gu 班固 et al., *Han shu* 漢書 (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1986), pp. 3858–3859; Fan Ye et al., *Hou Han shu*, p. 2835.

Past discussions have primarily located Yizhou and Liuqiu in the Ryukyu Islands or Taiwan. Hamashita Takeshi has described the constitution and geographical scope of the Ryukyu Islands.[10] In the broadest sense, they encompass the Ōsumi Islands 大隅諸島 (Yakushima 屋久島, Tanegashima 種子島, etc.), which have been under Japanese control since the 7th century; the Tokara Islands 吐噶喇列島, a borderland influenced by both Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom between the 14th to 17th centuries; the Okinawa Islands, which formed the core of the Ryukyu Kingdom (Okinawa沖縄, Kume 久米, Iheya 伊平屋, Ie 伊江, etc.); as well as the Miyako Islands 宮古群島, Yaeyama Islands 八重山群島 and the Amami Islands 奄美群島 (Amami Oshima 奄美大島, Kikai 喜界, etc.). The latter three island groups were brought into the Ryukyu Kingdom's territories in the 15th and 16th centuries during its expansion to the southwest and northeast at the peak of its economic and military power. Before then, each of these islands existed as independent entities. As discussed later, 3rd-century Yizhou and 7th-century Liuqiu were likely within the Ryukyu Islands in the broadest definition.

10 Hamashita Takeshi 濱下武志, *Okinawa nyūmon: Ajia wo tsunagu kaiiki kōsō* 沖縄入門ーアジアをつなぐ海域構想 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2000), p. 58.

3. Political and Military Organization

Yizhou and Liuqiu had political and military organizations more sophisticated than Taiwan's aborigines of the same period.

The *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* states, "The heads of these barbarians [in Yizhou] each claim themselves king and partition lands. [Yizhou's] people belong to different kings."[11] This indicates that at least several rulers had large territories and were recognized by the Wu Chinese as "kings" in Yizhou.

The *Book of Sui* states that "Liuqiu" 流求 was a "state" (*guo* 國) with a king. Under the king, there were "four or five generals (*shuai*帥) commanding the caves (*dong* 洞). The caves had princes (*xiaowang* 小王). […] The villages had subordinate generals (*niaoliaoshuai* 鳥了帥) who were good at battle and could establish themselves. They managed the village affairs." In their state, "the subordinate generals decided upon all crimes; those who dissented could appeal to the king, who would send ministers to deliberate and make a decision." The State of Liuqiu also had defensive installations that caused the Sui army to "battle bitterly with no respite."[12]

The *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu* (*Hyōtō Ryūkyūkoku ki* 漂到流球國記), written in 1243, also calls Liuqiu a state. The scroll was written by the Japanese monk Keisei 慶政 and tells of the experience of a group of seafarers and travelers in 1243. When they approached Liuqiu, they saw a single scout wearing red and carrying a spear. At dawn the next day, they encountered a marine force of over 10 crafts, unlike Song Chinese and Japanese ships, carrying over 100 people and commanded by a general.

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11 Li Fang et al., *Taiping yulan*, pp. 3586b, 3587a.

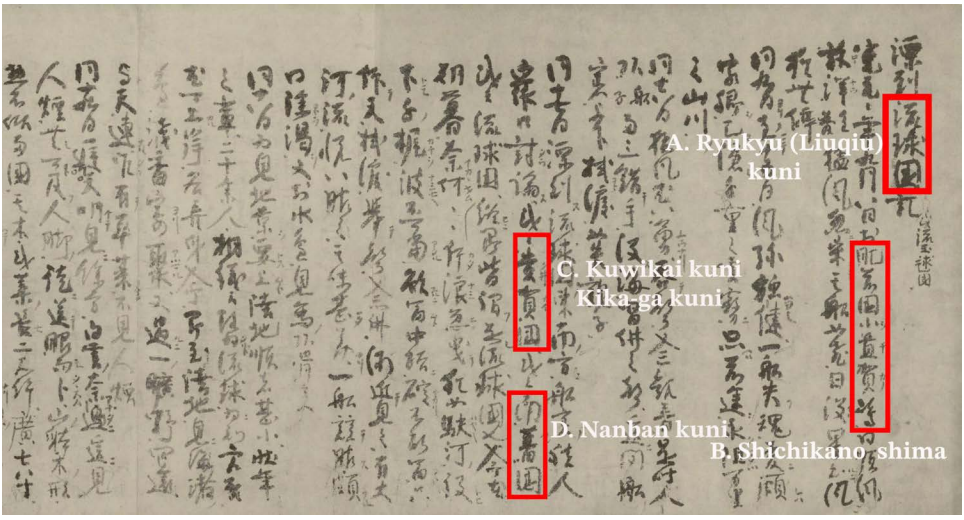
12 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, pp. 1519, 1823.

The force "fired arrows that flew far and rapidly like raindrops" (see Figures 1-3, 1-4).

According to the sailors interviewed by Keisei, the Liuqiuans likely believed that these outsiders came to invade, and they sent out a force to attack. Once the two sides discovered no intention to harm each other, the Japanese travelers gave gifts to the Liuqiuans. The Liuqiuans gave the travelers boiled taro and purple seaweed and invited them to their settlement (see Figures 1-2, 1-4). The State of Liuqiu depicted by Keisei's account is similar to that recorded by the *Book of Sui* in that it could mobilize and deploy relatively large forces for defense.

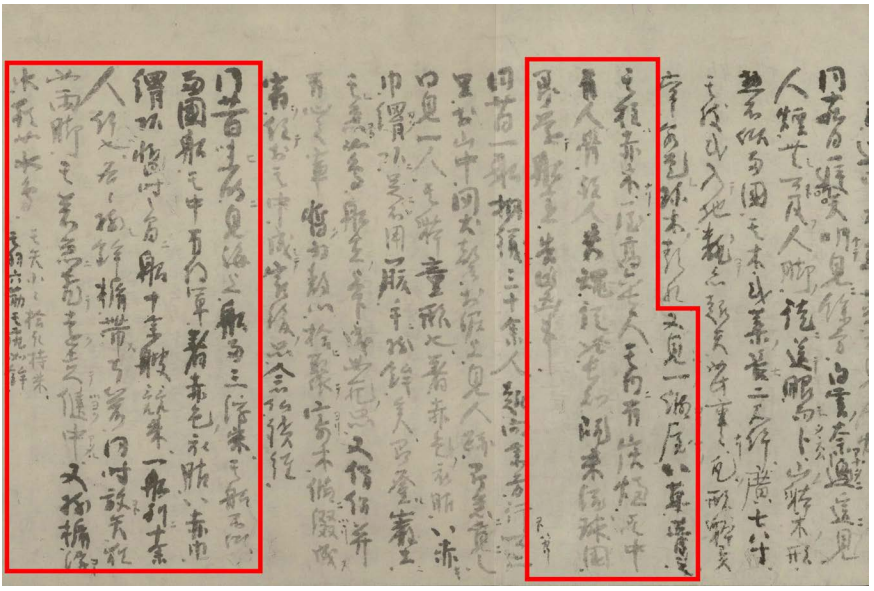
Figure 1. *Hyōtō Ryūkyūkoku Ki (Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu)* written in 1243

1-1

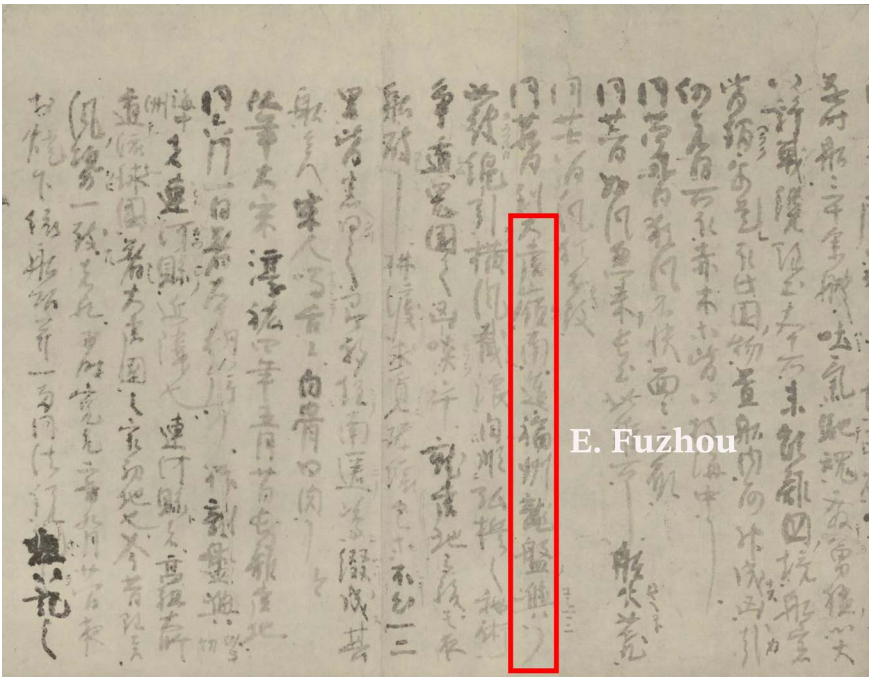


A. The State of Liuqiu; B. Shichikano Island (Ojika Island 小値賀島, Nagasaki today); C. Kuwikai Island (also called Kika-ga Island, which could be Kikai Island); D. Nanban andKuni (possibly Amami Island)

1-2



1-3



E. Fuzhou

The original text "Fuzhou, Lingnan Circuit of the Tang" (Da Tang Lingnan Dao Fuzhou 大唐嶺南道福州) should actually be"Fuzhou, Fujian Circuit"of the Song Dynasty. The administrative divisions of the early Tang dynasty were still used by Keisei on his journey during the late Southern Song dynasty.

1-4

Note: The *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu* is a scroll, so it should be read from right to left. The images above have been arranged accordingly.
Source: Keisei, *Hyōtō Ryūkyūkoku ki* (Tokyo: Kunaichōshoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部, 1962), no pagination.

Contemporary archeological research has found large villages in caves, hills, and coastal areas of the Ryukyus that could have acted as centers of power controlling neighboring areas. Some villages also have remains of what seem to be fortifications, which could have been the predecessors of the royal castles (*gusuku* 御城) of the 10th century and later.[13]

In Taiwan, not only have there been no archeological discoveries of settlements that match descriptions from the *Book of Sui*, but some Chinese sources from as late as the 15th and 16th centuries even claim that northern Taiwan still had no leaders. Some Spanish sources claim that there were states in Keelung 雞籠 and Tamsui 淡水, yet they provided no detailed descriptions.[14]

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13 Asato Susumu 安里進, "Nana kara jūni seiki no Ryūkyū Retsutō wo meguru mittsu no mondai" 7～12世紀の琉球列島をめぐる 3 つの問題, *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hokoku* 國立歷史民族博物館研究報告, 179 (2013), pp. 391–423; Kinoshita Naoko 木下尚子, "Iseki no gaiyō to roku kara nana seiki no Ryūkyū Rettō" 遺跡の概要と6～7世紀の琉球列島, Kinoshita Naoko (ed.), *Senshi Ryūkyū no seigyō to kōeki: Roku kara nana seiki no Ryūkyū Rettō ni okeru kokka keisei katei kaimei ni muketa jisshōteki kenkyū* 先史琉球の生業と交易：6～7世紀の琉球列島における国家形成過程解明に向けた実証的研究 (Kumamoto: Kumamoto University, 2001), pp. 3–22.

14 Also see Chen Tsung-jen 陳宗仁, *Selden Map yu Dongxiyang Tangren: Dilizhishi yu shijiejingxiang de tangsuo (1500-1620)* Selden Map與東西洋唐人：地理知識與世界景象的探索 (1500-1620) (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2022), pp. 187–188; Chen Tsung-jen, "Shiliu shiji mo 'Manila Shougao' youguan Jilongren yu Tanshuiren de miaohui" 十六世紀末〈馬尼拉手稿〉有關

The 1501 entry for the State of Liuqiu in *Haedong chegukki* (Miscellaneous countries on the East Asian seas 海東諸國記) claims, "The State of Xiao Liuqiu (on "Xiao Liuqiu" and "Da Liuqiu," see later discussion in this work) lies a seven- or eight-day journey to the southeast of the State (of Liuqiu). It has no leader. When people reach adulthood, they have no custom of clothing."[15] *Huang Ming shifalu* (Institutions of the August Ming dynasty 皇明世法錄), compiled in the early 17th century from Ming military records, also states, "This state (Liuqiu) is also called Da Liuqiu. Xianluo 暹羅 lies to its southwest and Japan to its northeast. When sailing from Changle 長樂 (one district within Fuzhou fu) and Guangshi 廣石 (one garrison near the Changle county and along the Ming River), what appears to be a small floating hill will appear in the distance. This is Xiao Liuqiu. The journeys across the waters (from probably Fuzou) to Tai 臺 (probably Nantai), Shuang 礵 (several islands within Fujian), and Dongyong 東湧 (in Mazu) on the eastern coast of Fujian vary. To the south are the hills of the Eastern Barbarians東番 (Taiwan). It is to the northeast of Penghu. Its people live in villages with no leaders. They customarily use bows and arrows and seldom use boats. They have not paid tribute to the court since ancient times."[16]

Village alliances and chiefdoms like those in Liuqiu, as described in Sui dynasty historical records, do not appear in Taiwan until much later. Quataong 大肚, a settlement built by Pingpu people in central Taiwan, Tjuaquvuquvulj 大龜文, and Lonc-kjauw 瑯嶠, mainly inhabited by Paiwan people, only appear in archives starting in the 1630s. Dutch records state that the political organization of Quataong and Lonc-kjauw had just two levels: a principal leader and chiefs, who each controlled a little less than 20 villages. The relationship between the leader of Lonc-kjauw and his chiefs was stronger than Quataong and more similar to 7th-century Liuqiu.[17]

雞籠人與淡水人的描繪及其時代脈絡, *Taiwanshi yanjiu*, 20: 3 (September 2013), pp. 8, 25–30.

15 Sin Suk-chu 申淑舟, *Haedong chegukki* 海東諸國記, manuscript, vol. 2 [1929], p. 96).

16 Chen Renxi 陳仁錫, *Huang Ming shifalu*, Chongzhen 崇禎 edition, vol. 80, [1628–1644], pp. 18b, 19a.

17 Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 28–30, http://www.

However, there is no trace of the massive fortifications mentioned in the 7th-century *Book of Sui* in Taiwan. Even the Sanhe Culture at that time, created by Paiwaneses' possible ancestors, lacks associated evidence. It is impossible to claim that the Sanhe people or the early Paiwanese had the organization and ability to mobilize people as shown by the State of Liuqiu in the early 7th century through their extensive settlements and records of battles.[18]

gutenberg-e.org/andrade/andrade01.html/ (accessed January 18, 2023). The Chinese names for the village alliances or chiefdoms are "Dadu" 大肚 for Quataong, "Daguiwen" 大龜文 for Tjuaquvuquvulj and "Langqiao" 瑯嶠 for Lonc-kjauw. On Lonc-kjauw and Quataong's scale and hierarchy, see the annotated translation by Jiang Shusheng 江樹生, *Relanzhecheng rizhi* 熱蘭遮城日誌 (De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia), vol.1, May 15, 1636; vol. 2, April 5, 1645. This text can be found through the "Taiwan Diary Knowledge Bank" of the Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, https://taco.ith.sinica.edu.tw/tdk/%E7%86%B1%E8%98%AD%E9%81%AE%E5%9F%8E%E6%97%A5%E8%AA%8C (accessed June 9, 2023). Also see Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiu lun," pp. 29–32.

18 Archeological evidence and legends indicate that the Paiwan people moved from the coastal plains near Taitung to the Central Mountain Range in the 6th and 7th centuries, concurrent with the Sui and Tang. After this, they expanded to the Hengchun Peninsula and other areas of Pingdong. The Paiwan were still in the early stages of cosmogonic myth when the Sui army attacked the State of Liuqiu. The genealogies of long-standing chiefs' and leaders' families reach back only about a thousand years from today. Those established more recently might only go back to the 17th century. For further details, see Chang Chin-sheng 張金生 (Lulji Ruvaniyaw), "Paiwanzu Mamazangiljan zhidu ji qi buluo bianqian fazhan zhi yenjiu" 排灣族Mamazangiljan制度及其部落變遷發展之研究 (PhD thesis, National Chengchi University, 2013), pp. 15–17, 202–203, 247–253.

4. Location

Academics have extensively discussed the locations of Yizhou and Liuqiu, especially the latter. The discussion of Liuqiu location focused very much on comparing records related to Liuqiu customs and production with the Ryukyu Kingdom in the 14th to the 19th centuries, revealing stark differences and leading to the conclusion that Liuqiu may not necessarily have been located among the Ryukyu Islands.[19] Even before Liuqiu became a topic of academic focus in 1874, Chen Kan 陳侃, the 16th-century Chinese envoy to the Ryukyu Kingdom, and Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725), a Confucian scholar of Tokugawa Japan, already observed disparities in the rituals and production of the Ryukyu Kingdom of their time and the Liuqiu as recorded in the *Book of Sui*.[20] Chen thought the differences were due to errors in historical records; however, Arai argued, "Why would we assume there are errors or ambiguities in ancient texts when customs and language differ across the Ryukyus in the past and present (Arai believed Liuqiu was located among the Ryukyu islands)?"[21]

Arai's view on the possibility of ritual change and diversity aligns with the work of Fernand Braudel. Braudel proposed three aspects of historical change; the second is the transformation of society and culture. Change in society and culture progresses at a slower pace than political and military events, which constitute the third aspect of historical change, according to Braudel. Nonetheless, society and culture can shift massively over millennia compared to changes in geography, which exist on timelines

19 Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," pp. 22–29.

20 Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," pp.23, 25, 27.

21 Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu lu* 使琉球錄, Sheng Jiefu 沈節甫 (ed.), *Jilu huibian*紀錄彙編 (Yixing: Chen Yuting 陳于廷, 1617 [originally published in 1534]), vol. 66, pp. 26a; Arai Hakuseki, *Nantō shi*南島志 (Tokyo: manuscript, 1719), p. 6b, Yenching University Collection, http://id.lib.harvard.edu/aleph/008107942/catalog (accessed June 9, 2023).

of tens of thousands or even millions of years.[22] The location of Yizhou and Liuqiu is an issue pertaining to the first aspect of historical change depicted by Braudel: geographical location, which is the least changing aspect of historical change.

In the following section, we first discuss the location of Yizhou by exploring historical maps for the Eastern Wu period and related studies, the correlation between Chinese and Japanese toponyms for Yizhou and Liuqiu, and materials related to the area between the Ryukyu Islands and Kyushu. We believe that Yizhou was more likely located between the Okinawa archipelago and the islets around southern Kyushu. Next, we examine changes in place names along the maritime routes leading to Liuqiu and funeral and burial customs to argue that Liuqiu was located in the Okinawa Islands. Our arguments show that both Yizhou and Liuqiu were located in the Ryukyu Islands in the broadest sense.

4.1 The Location of Yizhou

The *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* states, "Yizhou is to the southeast of Linhai."[23] According to research by Liang Chia-pin 梁嘉彬 and Lai Fu-shun 賴福順, Linhai was split from Guiji 會稽 Commandery of the Later Han. Its area spanned the area that is now Taizhou台州 and Wenzhou 溫州. The commandery seat was in today's Zhang'an 章安 on the north edge of Taizhou Bay.[24] Ling Shun-sheng 凌純聲, a key proponent of the theory that Yizhou was located in Taiwan, also argues that the commandery seat was in the area of Taizhou. His findings differ from those of Liang and Lai insofar as he claims that part of Fuzhou was within the commandery.[25] Zhang Chonggen's 張崇根 descriptions of the territory and seat of Linhai

22 Fernand Braudel, Sian Reynolds trans., *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 20–21.

23 Fan Ye et al., *Hou Han shu*, p. 2822.

24 Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*, pp. 114–115, 183, 186-187; Lai Fu-Shun, "Yizhou lishi yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 114–115.

25 Ling Shun-sheng, *Zhongguo bienjiang minzu yu huantaipingyang wenhua* 中國邊疆民族與環太平洋文化 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 1979), p. 375.

Commandery are mostly consistent with Lai and Liang. They differ, though, with respect to the direction of Yizhou from Linhai. Zhang writes, "The Yizhou reached when traveling southeast from Taizhou Bay could only be Taiwan. If this Yizhou were Okinawa, it could only be reached by traveling east from Taizhou Bay."[26] We require a more accurate historical map to resolve these scholars' disagreements.

We used Academia Sinica's GIS-based application "Chinese Civilization in Time and Space (CCTS)"[27] and Google Maps to create Probable Locations of Yizhou Relative to Linhai Commandery (Map 1). On this map, Taiwan is almost due south of Zhang'an, and the Ryukyus are in the oceans east and southeast of Zhang'an. The Ryukyus are thus closer to the location of Yizhou, as given in the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer.*

Creating a Digital Historical Map

The "Book of Wu" of the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* states, "[The Wu army] sailed to take Yizhou and Danzhou亶州." It states that the people of Danzhou "frequently traveled to Guiji to purchase cloth." It also states, "The people of the East County of Guiji 會稽東縣 travel the ocean, and winds and currents have driven some to Danzhou." From other accounts in the book, the East County of Guiji should be identified as the Linhai Commandery, split from the Guiji Commandery. These clues as to Danzhou's location are similar to descriptions of the location of Japan (at the time called *Wo*倭) recorded in the "Book of Wei" of the *Records of the Three Kingdoms,* which states that "it is to the east of Guiji and Dongye 東冶 (Fuzhou福州 of the present)."[28] Based on these descriptions, we can infer that Danzhou was relatively close to Japan or a part of Japan. The entry for "Dongti" 東鯷 in the "Wo" 倭 section under the "Collective Biographies of the Eastern Barbarians" of the *Book of Later Han* mentions

26 Lai Fu-Shun, "Yizhou lishi yanjiu (*shang*)" 夷洲歷史研究 (上), *Laogushi* 硓砧石, 35 (June 2004), pp. 114–115; Zhang Chonggen, *Taiwan shiqianshi yu zaoqishi* 臺灣史前史與早期史 (Beijing: Jiuzhou Chubanshe, 2017), pp. 306–308.

27 See https://gissrv4.sinica.edu.tw/gis/cctslite.aspx (accessed June 25, 2023).

28 Chen Shou et al., *Sanguo zhi*, pp. 855, 1136.

Map 1. Probable Locations of Yizhou Relative to Linhai Commandery

Creator: Yi-chen Huang

Note: The area of Linhai Commandery and the location of the commandery seat portrayed in this map were determined using Academia Sinica's electronic resource "Chinese Civilization in Time and Space (CCTS)" (https://gissrv4.sinica.edu.tw/gis/cctslite.aspx) and Google Maps. Reference was also made to Lai Fu-Shun, "Yizhou lishi yanjiu *(shang)*,"pp. 112, 121–123; Lai Fu-Shun, "Yizhou lishi yanjiu (*xia*),"pp. 6–15.

another toponym alongside Yizhou: "Chanzhou" 澶洲. Though the characters for Chanzhou are slightly different in form from "Danzhou" in the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, its description seems to be a combination of "Dongti," located across the sea from Guiji by the *Book of Han*, and the "Danzhou" and "Yizhou" of the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*. "Chanzhou" and "Danzhou" thus likely refer to the same location. The Crown Prince Zhanghuai of the Tang commented on the entry of the "Dongti under *Wo*" of the *Book of Later Han* by including "Yizhou" in the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer*. This indicates he regarded Yizhou and Dongti as being near today's Japan. And if Yizhou was near today's Japan, it is more likely that it was located in Okinawa than Taiwan.

The *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* makes the following statements on the

geography of Yizhou: "Mountains encircle the area where the people reside. There is a huge, white stone like the King of Yue's archery target on one of the mountain peaks." Based on this quote and his field investigation, Lai Fu-shun's "Yizhou lishi yanjiu (*xia*)" concluded that the port where the

Wu people landed in Yizhou was on Motobu 本部 Peninsula in Kunigami District near Iejima, northwest of the Okinawa Islands.[29]

Lai makes this conclusion because, first, like the description in the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer*, this area is "encircled by mountains." The high, white face of Mount Gusuku, the flatted peak of Iejima, resembles the large, white stone mentioned in the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer*.

Furthermore, archeological excavations in this region have uncovered numerous artifacts, such as butterfly-shaped shell charms and bone tools with designs similar to pre-Qin Chinese bronze artifacts. Moneys have also been unearthed, including Warring States period Yan Kingdom knife money and the *wuzhu* (五銖) coins of the Han Dynasty.[30]

Chinese and Japanese place names, such as Iyaku 夷邪久 or Ryukyu, concerning the region between the Ryukyu Islands and Kyushu are worthy of the following attention. These names are similar to those of Yizhou to some degree. Perhaps Yizhou referred not only to today's Iejima, as Lai stated, but also included the islands north of the Okinawa Archipelago, south of Kyushu.

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29 Lai Fu-Shun, "Yizhou lishi yanjiu (*xia*)" 夷洲歷史研究（下）, *Laogushi* 硪砧石 37 (December, 2004), pp. 11–12.

30 Takamiya Hiroe 高宮廣衛, "Nantō kōko zatsuroku (II)" 南島考古雜録 (II), *okinawa kokusai daigaku bungaku bukiyō shakaigakkahen* 沖縄国際大学文学部紀要. 社会学科篇, 20: 2 (March 1996), pp. 43–59；Takamiya Hiroe 高宮廣衛, "Nantō kōko zatsuroku (II)" 南島考古雜録(II), *Okinawakokusaidaigakubungakubukiyō shakaigakkahen* 沖縄国際大学文学部紀要. 社会学科篇, 20:2 (March 1996), pp. 43–59; Kinoshita Naoko, "Maizō to sōshin shūzoku kara mita Hirota Iseki: Kasōki no 3 kara 5 seiki o chūshin ni" 埋葬と装身習俗から見た広田遺跡:下層期の3〜5 世紀を中心に, in Kinoshita Naoko (ed.), *Hirota Iseki no kenkyū: Hito no keishitsu, gijutsu, idō* 広田遺跡の研究：人の形質・技術・移動 (Kumamoto: Research Group of Kinoshita Naoko, Faculty of Letters, Kumamoto University, 2020), p. 288.

A Comparison of Chinese and Japanese Toponyms and the Area between Okinawa and Kyushu

The *Book of Sui*'s records on Zhu Kuan's mission to persuade the State of Liuqiu to capitulate to the Sui in 608 contains the contemporary Japanese name for this place. Of his mission, it states, "...Liuqiuans refused [to capitulate]. Zhu Kuan then stole their cloth armor and returned." Upon Zhu Kuan's arrival, a Japanese envoy was visiting the Sui court. "They saw [the armor] and stated, 'The people of the State of Iyaku 夷邪久國 use this.'"[31]

The Japanese envoy was likely in the group led by Ono no Imoko 小野妹子, which was sent in 607 by Prince Shōtoku 聖德 and returned in 608. The term "Iyaku" is missing from Japanese official histories such as *Chronicle of Japan* (*Nihon Shoki*) and *Continued Chronicle of Japan* (*Shoku Nihonshogi*). However, after 618, official histories contain records of the Yamato court's (c. 250–710) interactions with Yaku islanders (written variously as 掖玖, 夜句 and 夜久). These toponyms refer to today's Yakushima, which is near southern Kyushu, or the Ryukyu Archipelago in their broader sense. Based on their similar pronunciation and recorded locations, Japanese toponyms like "Iyaku" or "Yaku," the Chinese "Liuqiu" used from the 7th century onward, and the 3rd-century Chinese term "Yizhou" might share the same etymology.[32]

From the archeological excavations of shell mounds, including in Gushigibaru 具志原 in Iejima and Ushuku 宇宿 in Amami Ōshima, scholars conclude that Ryukyuan cultural and economic exchange during the 3rd century was concentrated in the Amami Islands and the Ōsumi Islands, which are near and adjacent to Kyushu.[33] The Okinawa Islands

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31 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1825.

32 Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū: Kaiyō Ajia no kagayakeru ōkoku* 古琉球：海洋アジアの輝ける王国 (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2019), p. 56; Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*, pp.166–168.

33 Oda Shizuo 小田静夫, "Ryukyuko no kokōgaku—Nanseishotō ni okeru hito to mono no kōryūshi" 琉球弧の考古学ー南西諸島におけるヒト・モノの交流史, in Aoyagi Yōji Sensei taishoku kinen ronbunshū henshū iinkai 青柳洋治先生退職記念論文集編集委員会 ed., *Chiiki no tayōsei to kōkogaku:*

and the intersecting area between the northern Ryukyus and Kyushu, as Hamashita Takeshi has stated, could be regarded either as Japan or Ryukyu in a long historical frame.[34]

One possibility is that there were numerous polities that were together named as "Yizhou," "Liuqiu" or the other toponyms discussed in this paper. In the 13th-century *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu*, people interviewed by Keisei mentioned that after they were driven to Liuqiu, "[they] discussed on their ships. Some thought the place they arrived was possibly Kuwikai Kuni 貴賀國 (Kikai Island of the present, Figure 1-1-C); some suspected it was Nanban Kuni 南蕃國 (possibly Amami Oshima of the present, Figure 1-1-D). Later, everyone agreed that it was the State of Liuqiu." This record implies that many states coexisted in this region in the 13th century. Chinese historical records place Yizhou within the broader denomination of "Wo" and "Dongti." Locating Yizhou in the Okinawa islands as well as in the Ryukyus north of Okinawa would also be consistent with the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer*, which states, "The heads of these barbarians [in Yizhou] each claim themselves king and partition lands. The people of Yizhou belong to different kings." Multiple polities were explicitly grouped by *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* under the term Yizhou, and they could have been spread across the Okinawa islands and northern Ryukyus.

4.2 The Location of Liuqiu

The Evolution of Sino-Liuqiu Routes and Changes in the Toponyms for Liuqiu End

The *Book of Sui* contains descriptions of the position of Liuqiu and the maritime routes leading there. The section on Liuqiu in the "Collective Biographies of the Eastern Barbarians" states, "[Liuqiu] is located in a

Tōnan Ajia to sono shūhen 地域の多様性と考古学:東南アジアとその周辺 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 2007), pp. 37–61; Okinawa Prefectural Archeological Center, *Heisei nijū nendo kikakuten: Genshijin no chie to kufū—tennen sozai (kaigara, hone, kaku, ha) no katsuyō* 平成20年度企画展:原始人の知恵と工夫ー天然素材（貝殻・骨・角・牙）の活用ー (Okinawa: Okinawa kenritsu maizō munkazai sentā, 2008), pp. 12–14.

34 Hamashita Takeshi, *Okinawa nyūmon: Ajia wo tsunagu kaiiki kōsō*, p. 58.

group of islands east of Jian'an Commandery 建安郡 (located in present northeast Fujian, its seat was in the area of what is now Fuzhou). It takes five days to travel there by water."[35] Thereafter, the entry describes the natural environment, customs, religion, and social organization of Liuqiu. The last part of the entry describes the Sui court's discovery and subsequent invasions of Liuqiu for "collection of foreign customs" and "pacification."[36]

Zhu Kuan led the first two attacks on Liuqiu, but there is no record of his forces' journey. Only the depiction of the third invasion led by Chen Leng and Zhang Zhenzhou gives details of the navigation. It states that the Sui army "departed from Yi'an (Chaozhou, Guangdong today) and crossed the sea to invade [Liuqiu]. [They] first arrived at Gaohua 高華 islet, then Goubi Islet 鼇鼊嶼 after two days further journey east. The next day, [they] arrived at Liuqiu 流求."[37] The "Biography of Chen Leng" additionally states, "It took over a month [for the troops] to arrive in [Liuqiu]."[38]

Varying entries in the *Book of Sui* have caused significant controversy regarding Liuqiu's location, the terminus of the Sino-Liuqiu Route, and its navigational landmarks.[39] For example, where did Chen weigh anchor in China, Jian'an or Yi'an? We answer that both sites are probable. Nevertheless, traveling from either to Liuqiu, whether it was Taiwan or Ryukyu, would not have taken over a month. Lai Fu-shun and Zhou Yunzhong 周運中 argue that more than one month includes the time it took for the Sui army to gather and train in Yi'an. This interpretation reasonably explains the discrepancies in entries from the *Book of Sui*.[40]

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35 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1823.

36 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, pp.1824–1825.

37 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1825.

38 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1519.

39 Lai Fu-shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 10–11.

40 Lai Fu-shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 3–7; Zhou Yunzhong 周運中, *Zhengshuo Taiwan gushi* 正說臺灣古史 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2016), pp. 87-92.

Zhou Yunzhong believes that the Sui army set sail from Yi'an and traveled north along the coast to Quanzhou, which was in the southern part of Jian'an. From there, the army went on to Liuqiu. However, the probability of this is low because Quanzhou's foreign exchange was primarily with Southeast Asia in the early 7th century and earlier.[41] Lai Fu-shun believes that the Sui army indeed set sail from the seat of Jian'an since the first and last segments of the voyage in the Liuqiu section of "Collective Biographies of the Eastern Barbarians" should be the same. The intermediary text, he claims, is a point along the way. Likewise, the five-day journey from Jian'an to Liuqiu includes the journey from Gaohua Islet to Liuqiu.[42] Japanese scholars Matsumoto Masaaki 松本雅明 and Murai Shōsuke 村井章介 believe that after the Sui army completed its preparations, it was easier for them to sail eastward from Yi'an to Gaohua Islet, pass Goubi Islet, and then reach Liuqiu after three days.[43]

Many scholars who have researched the location of Liuqiu believe that Gaohua Islet, Goubi Islet, and Liuqiu could, respectively, refer to Hua Islet, Kuibi 奎壁 Hill in the Penghu Islands, and Southwestern Taiwan.[44] If so, setting sail from Jian'an would involve heading nearly due south to Hua Islet, a northeast to Kuibi Hill, and then a southeast turn to Taiwan. If the army set sail from Yi'an, they would head east-northeast, northeast, then southeast. Both routes involve many directional changes. Conversely, if Gaohua Islet, Goubi Islet, and Liuqiu are instead identified as Pengjia Islet or Huaping Islet in the sea northeast of Taiwan, Kume Island, and the Okinawa Islands, navigation between them aligns more closely with

41 Zhou Yunzhong 周運中, *Zhengshuo Taiwan gushi* 正說臺灣古史, pp. 94–95; Zhang Xun 章巽, "Zhendi zhuan zhong zhi Liang'an jun" 真諦傳中之梁安郡, *Fujian luntan*福建論壇, 4 (August 1983), pp. 82–85; Liao Dake 廖大珂, "Liang'an jun lishi yu Wangshi jiazu" 梁安郡歷史與王氏家族, *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 海交史研究, 3 (December 1997), pp. 1–5.

42 Lai Fu-shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*xia*) " 流中航線研究 (下), *Taiwan Wenxian Jikan,* 54:2 (June 2003), pp. 256–257.

43 Matsumoto Masaaki, *Okinawa no rekishi to bunka: kokka no seiritsu wo chūshin toshite* 沖縄の歴史と文化ー国家の成立を中心として (Tokyo: Kondō shuppansha, 1971), pp. 28–30; Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 43–45.

44 Lai Fu-shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 21–24.

the directional information mentioned in the *Book of Sui*—"east of Jian'an Commandery."[45] Even if the army had departed from Yi'an, they would still have followed an eastward course.

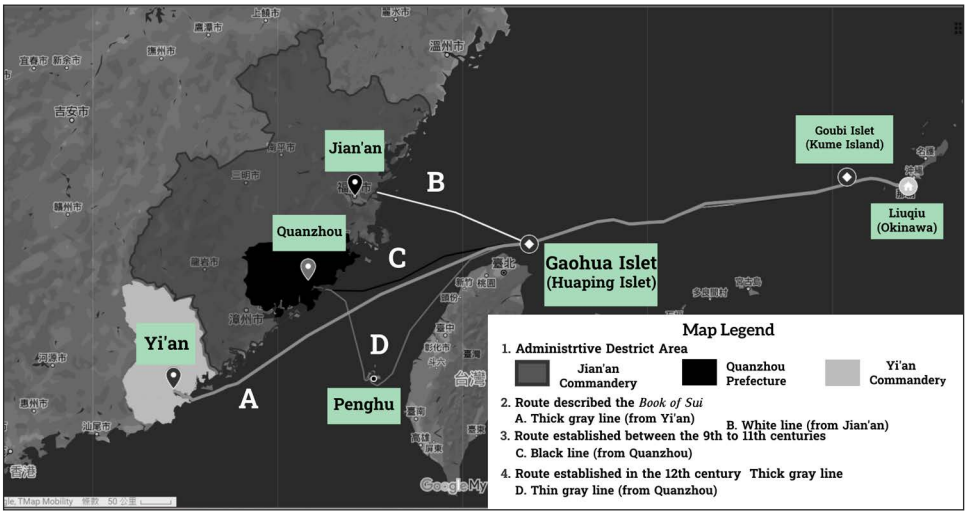
Map 2 shows the navigational routes drawn based on the *Book of Sui* and the research described above. The white line represents the route from Jian'an, and the thick grey line represents the route from Yi'an.

After the *Book of Sui*, the following extant account of navigational routes to Liuqiu is the text written by the monk Keisei in the 13th century. Sailors and monks interviewed by Keisei stated, "On the eighth day of the ninth month of Kangen (1243), we caught a favorable wind and departed from Shichikano Island 小置賀嶋 (now Ojika Island, Nagasaki see Figure 1-1-B) in Hizen 肥前 Province (now Saga and Nagasaki County, northwest Kyushu).[46] A fierce wind drove our ship away [from the route]." They drifted for nine days. On the 17th day of the ninth month, the ship "drifted ashore in the southeast part of the State of Liuqiu." The people on board the vessel argued about where they had arrived, but eventually, everyone agreed it was Liuqiu. They could not help but feel panic. The group set sail with the wind to escape on the 23rd day; however, "they were still unable to exit the borders of Liuqiu even though they had departed." Their ship waited until there was "a good wind" on the 26th day. They continued to sail with the wind for three days and eventually landed at

45 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1825; Lai Fu-shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*xia*)," pp. 241–245

46 To determine place names and their modern equivalents, we compared the provinces of Japan under the Ritsuryo system modeled after the Tang empire and today's prefectures of Japan with historical maps together with Tatsuoka Yuuzi 立岡裕士 of the Naruto University of Education and Shiba Emiko 司馬愛美子 of the Esri Japan Corporation. We also referred to the *Official Survey Map of Japan* from 1879 held by the National Archives of Japan. For more information, see Shiba Emiko's "Map of the Ritsuryo Provinces," https://hub.arcgis.com/datasets/ej::%E4%BB%A4%E5%88%B6%E5%9B%BD%E3%81%AE%E5%9C%B0%E5%9B%B3/explore (accessed June 21, 2023) and the Japanese Great Council of State, *Official Survey Map of Japan (2): San'in, Sanyō, Nankai, Saikai*, Digital Archives of the National Archives of Japan, https://hub.arcgis.com/datasets/ej::%E4%BB%A4%E5%88%B6%E5%9B%BD%E3%81%AE%E5%9C%B0%E5%9B%B3/explore (accessed June 21, 2023).

Map 2. Sino-Liuqiu Routes from the Sui to Yuan Dynasties



Creator: Yi-chen Huang
Sources: Lai Fu-Shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (shang)," pp. 34–44; Zheng Ruozeng, *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu* 鄭開陽雜著, vol. 7, p. 17b.

"Longpan Islet, Fuzhou, Lingnan Circuit of the Tang" (see Figure 1-3-E).[47] The route they took from Liuqiu to China matches the descriptions in the *Book of Sui*.

The sailors and monks interviewed in *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu* thought they might have reached one of the small polities at the southern end of Kyushu that belonged to the Ryukyu Kingdom during the Ming and Qing. But they had arrived at the State of Liuqiu, which was further south. It is clear that this 13th-century Liuqiu, like Liuqiu in the *Book of Sui* and Yizhou in the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, was closer to Japan than Taiwan.

The exchange between Ming and Qing China and the Ryukyu Kingdom was initially conducted through Quanzhou, a major harbor during the

47 Nagayama Shūichi 永山修一, "Kodai. Chūsei no Ryūkyū, Kikai-ga Shima" 古代・中世のリュウキュウ・キカイガシマ, Takeda Kazuo 竹田和夫 (ed.), *Kodai Chūsei no kyōkai ishiki to bunka kōryū*古代・中世の境界意識と文化交流 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2011), pp. 238–245; Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 63–66.

Song and Yuan. Later, Fuzhou became the primary Chinese port for conducting this trade.[48] The route of this exchange not only used Pengjia Islet (or Huaping Islet) and Kume Island—named Pingjia Shan 平嘉山 and Gumi Shan 古米山 in historical records—as navigational landmarks and the time it took to travel this route was close to that given in the *Book of Sui*. For instance, Ming Chinese envoy Chen Kan's 陳侃 *Records of a Mission to Ryukyu* (*Shi Liuqiu lu*使琉球錄) states, "On the eighth day [of the fifth month of the 13th year of the Jiajing reign period], we saw a vast sea beyond the port. […] On the tenth day, a south wind drove the ship fast, which moved as if it were flying. Yet, as the direction was with the current, there was not much turbulence. We passed by Pingjia Shan on the same day. […] On the evening of the eleventh day, we came to Gumi Shan, which is in Ryukyu. […] We finally arrived at the island another day." Records of other envoys, like Xia Ziyang 夏子陽 and Xu Baoguang 徐葆光, state that it took one or two days for their fleets to reach Pingjia Shan from Fuzhou.[49] The evidence presented by this paper thus far indicates that the 7th-century "Liuqiu" (流求), the 13th-century "Liuqiu" (流球), and "Ryukyu" (琉球) after the 15th century were all Ryukyus and not Taiwan.

As for whether Liuqiu could be reached from Fuzhou in five days, as stated in the *Book of Sui*—a question previously discussed by academics—we can refer to Keisei's *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu*. After Keisei's interviewees drifted for three days upon leaving Liuqiu, it only took them another three days to reach Fuzhou when the winds changed in their favor. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, if time spent waiting for supplies, changes in winds, and course correction was deducted, it took Chinese and Ryukyuan envoys five to eight days to travel between Fuzhou and Naha, capital of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Wang Ji 汪楫, a Chinese envoy

48 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom: Cornerstone of East Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), pp. 44–46.

49 Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu lu*, pp. 13a, b; Xiao Chongyie 蕭崇業, *Shi Liuqiu lu* 使琉球錄, Wanli 萬曆 edition, vol. 1 (1579), pp. 13a, b; Xia Ziyang, *Shi Liuqiu lu* 使琉球錄, Ming manuscript, vol. 1 (published sometime after 1606), pp. 8–9; Xu Baoguang, *Zhongshan chuanxin lu* 中山傳信錄 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1972), pp. 13–14.

during the early Qing, made the journey in just three days.[50]

Quanzhou 泉州 became a port of departure on maritime routes to Liuqiu in the 11th century, as recorded in "Administrative Geography dilizhi 地理志" in the *New Book of Tang*, compiled in 1060 (see the black line in Map 2).[51] In the early 12th century, Li Fu's 李復 "Letter to Sub-Prefect Qiao Shuyang" (yu Qiaoshuyan tongpanshu 與喬叔彥通判書) from his *Jue River Collection* (*Jue Shui ji* 漚水集), quotes a detailed description of the Quanzhou section of the Sino-Liuqiu route from Zhang Shixun's 張士遜 *Anecdotes of Fujian* (*Mingzhong yi shi* 閩中異事). It states, "Taking a boat from the coast of Quanzhou eastward for 130 *li* is a big sea. It takes two days to arrive at Gaohua Islet, […] another two days to reach Goubi Islet, […] then one more day to reach the State of Liuqiu." The quote from *Anecdotes of Fujian* also states that people in Fujian could vaguely see "barbarian states in the sea to the north," appearing as "several points like overturned cauldrons" on autumn days when the winds and waves were calm. Zhang Shixun regarded Liuqiu as one of "the barbarian states in the northern seas."[52]

Penghu, located in the seas off Quanzhou, became administratively attached to Quanzhou after Chinese exploration there during the Southern Song. It became a new stop on the Sino-Liuqiu route (see the grey line on

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50 Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu lu*, pp. 12a–15b; Xiao Chongyie, *Shi Liuqiu lu*, pp. 7b, 8a; Tei Junsoku 程順則, *Shinan kōgi*指南廣義 (Naha: Chūzan Seifu 中山政府, 1708), pp. 5a, b. On Chinese and Ryukyuan envoys, also see Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo,* pp. 129–131, 335–336; Masuda Osamu 増田修, "Zuishoni mieru Ryūkyūkoku: Kenangun no higashi. Suikou Itsuka ni shite itaru kaitō" 「隋書」にみえる流求国——建安郡の東・水行五日にして至る海島, in *Shimin no kodai kenkyūkai*市民の古代研究会 ed., *Shimin no Kodai* 市民の古代 (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1993), vol. 15, pp. 138–157; Lai Fu-Shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 15–20; Lai Fu-Shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*xia*)," pp. 256–258; Wang Ji 汪楫, *Shi Liuqiu zalu* 使琉球雜錄, Yongzheng 雍正 edition, 1684, pp. 5a–6a; Xu Baoguang, *Zhongshan chuanxin lu*, pp. 12–22.

51 The *New Book of Tang* states, "From Quanzhou, it takes two days of eastward travel to arrive at Gaohua Islet. Goubi Islet is reached after two more days. The State of Liuqiu 流求 is reached the following day." Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), p. 1065.

52 Li fu, *Jue Shue ji*, vol. 5, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, 2009, pp. 19b, 20a-b.

Map 2).[53] This new route is already found in a document from before Penghu's administrative incorporation into the Chinese empire: Zheng Zao's 鄭藻 *Qianchun jishi* 乾淳紀事, an early Southern Song Fujianese Gazetteer described by the Ming military geographer Zheng Ruozen 鄭若曾. It states, "Among the islands on the sea, the State of Liuqiuis located on a great island to the southeast. […] From an island called Penghu, which is east of Quanzhou, one can see Liuqiu and, from there, sail to Liuqiu in five days.[…] It takes two days to reach Gaohua Islet, two more days of eastward sailing to reach Goubi Islet, and then one more day to reach Liuqiu."[54] Quanzhou became the main port of departure for Liuqiu and, together with Penghu, became one of the customary reference points to describe the location of Liuqiu during the Song and Yuan dynasties.[55]

At least two early Chinese maps depicted Sino-Liuqiu routes and their termini. One is the *Map of Ten Tang Circuits* (*Tang shi dao tu*唐十道圖) from *Handy Geographical Maps Through the Ages* (*Lidai dili zhizhang tu*歷代地理指掌圖) compiled by the Northern Song cartographer Shui Anli 稅安禮 during the late 11th century (see Map 3).[56] The other is the *Map of East Cinasthana* (*Dong Zhendan dili tu* 東震旦地理圖), part of *Chronicle of the Buddhas* (*Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統紀), a late 12th-century general history of Buddhism by Southern Song monk Zhipan 志磐 (see Map 4). Of the two maps, the *Map of Ten Tang Circuits* contains more detail. The Sino-Liuqiu route depicted therein is marked with Gaohua Islet (labeled "A" in Map 3) and Goubi Islet (labeled "B" in Map 3) in order from left to right. Quanzhou 泉州 and Xinghua 興化 are the Chinese termini of the route (within the square on the bottom-right of Map 3), and the State of Liuqiu 流求國 is the opposite terminus (labeled "C" in Map 3). The *Map of East Cinasthana* shows Liuqiu

53 Tuo tuo et al., *Song shi* 宋史 *(History of Song)* (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1980), p. 14127.

54 Zheng Ruozeng, *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu* 鄭開陽雜著, vol. 7, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, 2009, p. 17b–18a.

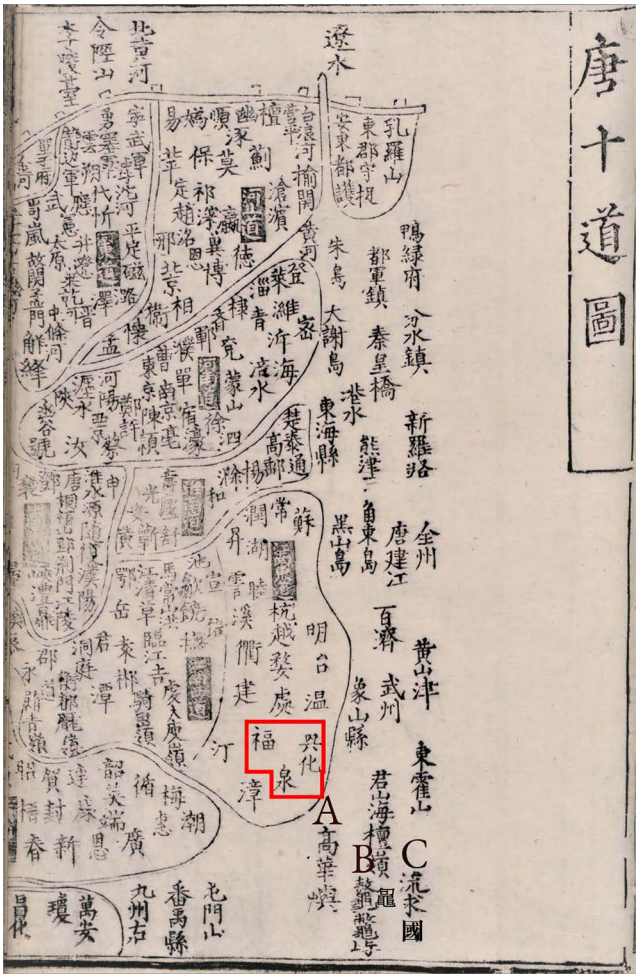
55 Lai Fu-Shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 39–44.

56 We used an open-access Ming edition, while the closest edition to the time of its publication is held in Toyo Bunko, Japan, and is from the early Southern Song. Regarding the Southern Song edition and author Shui Anli, see Shui Anli, *SongbenLidai dili zhizhang tu* 宋本歷代地理指掌圖 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1989), pp. 1–4, 62.

and Fu 福, i.e., Fuzhou, as the two termini of the Sino-Liuqiu route (Map 4).

The *Map of Ten Tang Circuits* marks the appearance of Quanzhou in Sino-Liuqiu routes between the Middle Tang and Northern Song periods. The route shown on the *Map of East Cinasthana* accords with descriptions of travel to Liuqiu from the *Book of Sui*. The Sino-Liuqiu routes presented by

Map 3. *Map of Ten Tang Circuits in Handy Geographical Maps Through the Ages*: **The Quanzhou Sino-Liuqiu Route and Its Termini During the Late Northern Song, 1099**



Source: Shui Anli, *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* 歷代地理指掌圖, Library of Congress Online Catalog, https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_02961/?st=gallery/ (accessed February 5, 2023).
Note: B. Goubi Islet (it is referred to as "Aobi" Islet on the map)
* The character "Ao 鼇" has a similar form to "Gou 黿."

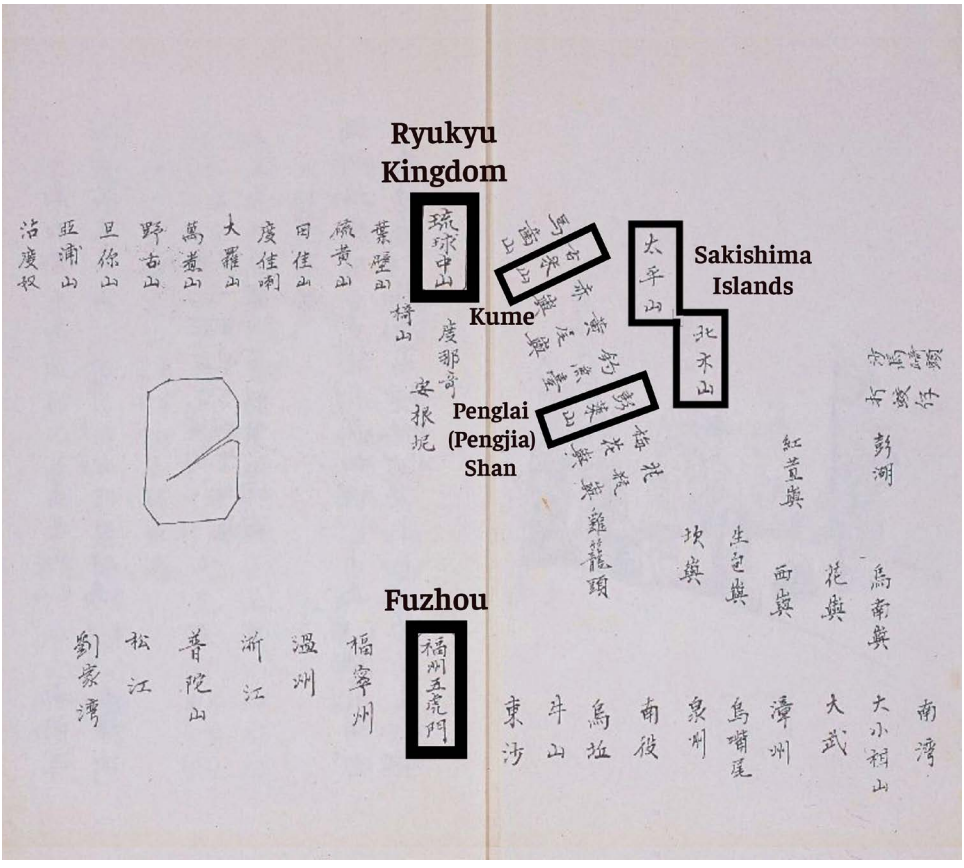
Map 4. *Map of East Cinasthana in Chronicle of the Buddhas*: **The Fuzhou Sino-Liuqiu Route and Its Termini During the Late Southern Song, 1269**

Source: Zhipan, *Fozu Tongji* 佛祖統紀, book 6, p.5a, NDL Digital Collections, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/2559762 (accessed June 24, 2023).

these maps are also similar to routes seen in Ming and Qing documents and charts. In the nautical chart created by Ryukyuan scholar-official Tei Junsoku 程順則, for instance, the Chinese terminus of the route is Fuzhou. However, the Chinese characters for Liuqiu have been changed from "Liuqiu" 流求 to "Ryukyu" 琉球 (see Map 5).

The terminus of the Sino-Liuqiu routes changed from "Liuqiu" 流求

Map 5. *Shinan Kōgi* **Navigational Chart: The Sino-Ryukyu Route of the Ming and Qing Periods, 1708**



Source: Tei Junsoku, *Shinan kōgi* (Naha: Chūzan Seifu, 1708), pp. 16a, b.

to "Liuqiu" 流球 or "Ryukyu" 琉球 in maps and other documents by the Ming and Qing periods. This seems to imply that the "Liuqiu" 流求 referred to in Sui records, as well as the "Liuqiu" 流球 and "Ryukyu" 琉球 of the Song and Yuan were all located within the Ryukyu Islands of the present and do not refer to Taiwan.

Tu Cheng-sheng notes that the change from "Liuqiu" 流求 to "Ryukyu" 琉球 already appears in Du You's 杜佑 (735–812) *Comprehensive Statutes* (*Tongdian*). However, in the earliest version of *Comprehensive Statutes* we were able to access—an edition from the first year of the Jianzhong Jingguo 建中靖國 reign period (1101) during the late Northern Song held

by the Imperial Household Agency Archives and Mausolea Department Building in Japan—the older form "Liuqiu" 流求 is used. Subsequent versions from the Yuan and Ming dynasties also retained the use of this older version.

In 1897, Chuma Kanoe 中馬庚 and Kumamoto Shigekichi 隈本繁吉, mentioned that the toponym "Ryukyu" 琉球 referred to as Okinawa was brought by the Japanese students abroad in China like Kūkai 空海 (774–835).[57] What they meant must have been "Liuqiu" rather than "Ryukyu." Another earlier record of Liuqiu comes from the celebrated Middle Tang scholar Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824). His send-off essay for Zheng Quan 鄭權 (?–824), who was appointed as an envoy to oversee the five Lingnan prefectures (*Lingnan jiedushi* 嶺南節度使, the Tang's Lingnan included Guangdong, Guangxi, and Vietnam), stated that the foreign places that traded with Guangdong included "Danfuluo 耽浮羅 (Tamna, now Jeju Island), Liuqiu, Maoren 毛人 and the regions of Yi 夷 and Dan 亶."[58] This is perhaps just a list of historic regions that represent a larger set of varied and interrelated polities located in the Ryukyus, Kyushu, and Korea.

A Brief Account of Island Barbarians (Daoyi zhilue 島夷誌略) by Wang Dayuan 汪大淵 (1311–?) during the Late Yuan contains the first obvious use of "Ryukyu" 琉球.[59] Another name with the same pronunciation but different characters, "瑠求," also appears in Yuan period documents, though only in the "Annals" and "Biographies of Foreign Barbarians" of the *History of Yuan* (*Yuan shi*元史).[60]

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57 Chūma Kanoe and Kumamoto Shigekichi, "Taiwan to Ryūkyū to no kondō ni tsukete" 臺灣と琉球との混同に付て, *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌, 8:11, p. 24.

58 Han Yu, "Song Zheng shanshu xu," in Dong Gao 董誥 et al. eds., *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), vol. 556, p. 5626b.

59 Wang Dayuan, Su Jiqing 蘇繼廎 annot., *Daoyi zhilüe Jiaoshi* 島夷誌略校識 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), p. 16.

60 Song Lian 宋濂 et al., *Yuan shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), pp. 4767–4768.

"Ryukyu 琉球" eventually rose in prominence over the other forms and became the standard and official name for the islands during the early Ming dynasty. Tu Cheng-sheng, citing the introduction to Shō Shōchin's 向象賢 *Mirror of Chūzan* (*Chūzan seikan* 中山世鑑) compiled in 1650, states, "In the sixteenth year of the Hongwu reign period (1383), Liuqiu 流求 was renamed Ryukyu 琉球 [by the Ming court]."[61] However, this change might have actually occurred earlier. Year five of the *Veritable Records of Ming Emperor Taizu* (*Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄) states, "In the year Renyin (1372), […] Yang Zai 楊載 was sent as an envoy to the state of Ryukyu瑠球 Satto 察度, King of Chūzan 中山 (the most powerful state before unifying with the other two states to have turned into the Ryukyu Kingdom), sent his brother Taiki 泰期 and others to present tribute and a petition. His Majesty granted Satto a 'Datong Calendar' and five bolts of gold-threaded brocade and silk gauze. Taiki and the other mission members were also given gold-threaded brocade, silk gauze, and coats."[62]

Ryukyu came to refer to the entire Ryukyu Archipelago after the Ryukyu Kingdom expanded to the Yaeyama and Amami Islands in the 16th century. Nevertheless, Okinawans, the inhabitants of the core of the Ryukyu Kingdom, often called their home "Uchinā" ("Okinawa" in Ryukyuan) rather than "Rūchū" ("Ryukyu" in Ryukyuan).[63] Chen Kan and Xu Baoguang recorded "Uchinā" in their writings as "Wojina 倭急拿" and "Wuqire 屋其惹."[64] The difference between the autonyms and official names likely stems from the time before the political unification of the Ryukyu Islands when many separate political entities existed. Though ruled by the Ryukyu Kingdom, groups of islands still retained

61 Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiu lun," p. 2, Note 1; Shō Shōchin, *Chūzan seikan* 中山世鑑, (Naha: Chūzan seifu, 1650), p. 11b.

62 Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 (ed.), *Ming Shilu Taizu shilu* 明實錄太祖實錄, (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1964), vol. 77, p. 1416.

63 Hiyane Ryota 比屋根亮太, "Chongsheng rentong de xingcheng: Shehui "neibu" ji "waibu" yinsu de fenxi" 沖繩認同的形成—社會「內部」及「外部」因素的分析, *Yuanjing jijinghui jikan* 遠景基金會季刊, 20: 4, (September 2019), pp. 114–117.

64 Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu lu*, p. 43a; Xu Baoguang, *Zhongshan chuanxin lu*, p. 266.

their character.

The "Collective Biographies of the Eastern Barbarians" in the *Book of Sui* provides two additional types of evidence that point to the location of Liuqiu and align with Braudel's theory that social and cultural phenomena change at a pace slower than military and political events. The first is Liuqiu's unique funeral and burial rituals.

Liuqiu Funerary Customs

The *Book of Sui* states that after hostilities, the Liuqiuans "collected the dead, ate them, and presented the skulls to the king." It continues, stating of their funerary customs that Liuqiuans "wash bodies, wrap them in cloth or reeds and place them on the ground without a tomb. People abstain from meat for a few months following their father's death. In the southern regions, customs are somewhat different. After a person's death, their neighbors consume the corpse."[65] In his account, Keisei mentions "a makeshift structure of thatched grass and redwood pillars, measuring six to seven *chi*尺 (roughly 1.8 to 2.1 meters) tall. Inside this structure, a charcoal stove was found with human bones." Chen Kan made a similar report during the mid-Ming.[66] From these records, it can be concluded that aerial sepulture and endocannibalism as mortuary ritual were practiced in Liuqiu.

Iha Fuyū's 伊波普猷 field surveys and research in the early 20th century also indicate that Okinawans continued practices of aerial sepulture and consumption of the deceased until modern times. The latter is reflected in the custom of consuming a whole pig after funeral ceremonies and distinguishing the closeness of kinship through the part of the pig an individual consumes. Another commonality related to funerary practice between Okinawa in recent times and Liuqiu in the *Book of Sui* are the

65 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1824.

66 Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu lu*, p. 29b.

many caves where skulls are gathered.[67]

Since Liuqiuans practiced cannibalism as a part of funerary rites, Chinese and Japanese elites often described Liuqiu as a cannibalistic state. There are numerous accounts of this nature, particularly in Japanese. Regarding his journey to Tang China in the early 9th century, Kūkai stated, "When the south wind rises in the morning, we fear the Tamna's cruelty; when the evening north wind blows, we dread the Liuqiuan's ferocity."[68] After the 10th century, many authors further imagined Liuqiu as a terrible, filthy place inhabited by powerful and cannibalistic "monsters" (yōkai 妖怪) in stark contrast with the purity of Japan.[69] For example, Keisei's interviewees expressed great fear over drifting to Liuqiu. Even after they made peace with the Liuqiuans, the tall, dark-skinned Liuqiuan's "brutal" behaviors, such as eating meat with knives, still frightened the Japanese sojourners.

Funerary practices of indigenous Taiwanese were different from the Liuqiuans. The *Continued Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture (Xuxiu Taiwan fu zhi* 續修臺灣府志), published in 1774 by Yu Wenyi 余文儀, formerly the Prefect of Taiwan, states that Taiwanese indigenous people "all use coffins and bury [the deceased] inside the home" or "bury [the deceased] by digging a grave within the home and surrounding it with stones." It also states that they "build a cave with rocks inside the home for burials; the stones are sealed together, and the living do not migrate."[70] In the 1800s, a Japanese merchant ship captain named

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67 Iha Fuyū 伊波普猷, *Wonari Kami no shima* をなり神の島 (Tokyo: Rakurō Shoin, 1942), pp. 27–45, 59–61.

68 Kūkai, "I Taishi yo Fukushū Kansatsushi sho" 為大使與福州觀察使書, in Shinzei Kūkai 真濟 coll., Morie Sashichi 森江佐七 ed., *Seireishū kōsei* 性靈集校正 (Tokyo: Morie Sashichi, 1893), book 2, vol. 5 to vol. 7, p. 3a. Kūkai's statements on wind directions and travel times between Kyushu, Jeju Island and Liuqiu make it more likely that his "Liuqiu" is in the Ryukyus rather than Taiwan. According to the relative positions of the islands in the East China Sea, one would most likely drift to the Amami Islands or the Okinawa Islands after encountering a north wind when sailing from Fukuoka or the Gotō Islands towards China.

69 Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 60–63.

70 Yu Wenyi 余文儀, Xuxiu Taiwan fu zhi (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研

Bunsuke 文助 was cast ashore at the mouth of the Xiuguluan 秀姑巒 River of Hualian in East Taiwan. He passed through Langqiao, eventually reaching Tainan, from where he returned to Japan with the help of the Qing government. During his stay in Taiwan, Bunsuke observed that the Amis and the inhabitants of Langqiao practiced earth burial. The latter also had a bone collection ritual. However, neither group practiced endocannibalism as a funerary practice. *Investigations of the Customs of the Aborigines in Taiwan* compiled during the 1910s by the Taiwan Governor-General made similar observations. The mortuary custom of the Paiwan, Amis, and Seediq, these reports recorded, was to bury the dead near or within the homes.[71]

Based on differences in funerary practices, the State of Liuqiu described by the *Book of Sui* and subsequent texts was more likely located within the Ryukyu Islands of the present than in Taiwan.

究室, 1962), pp. 515, 523, 527, https://tcss.ith.sinica.edu.tw/browse-ebook.html?id=EB0000000121 (accessed June 25, 2023); Iha Fuyū, *Wonari Kami no shima*, pp. 28–29.

71 Rinji Taiwan kyūkan chōsakai daiitchi bu 臨時臺灣舊慣調查會第一部, Banzoku kanshū chōsa hōkokusho 蕃族慣習調查報告書 (An Investigation of the Customs of the Aborigines of Taiwan), vol. 1, "Abi zoku" 阿眉族 (Amis) (Taipei: Rinji Taiwan kyūkan chōsakai daiitchi bu, 1914), p. 101; vol. 3, "Sazeku zoku" 紗績族 (Seediq) (1917), p. 64; vol. 5, "Paiwan zoku, Saisetto zoku" 排彎族獅設族 (Paiwan, Saisiyat) (1921), pp. 190, 192–193, 197–200, 225–235.

5. External Relations of Liuqiu and Yizhou

From the perspective of external relations, it is most likely that Yizhou and Liuqiu were among the Ryukyu Islands. Shell trade began between the Ryukyus, China and Japan by the 3rd century CE. Still, interactions between the Ryukyus and Japan were more frequent and closer than with China until the 6th century. Trade with China can only be inferred from small amounts of Chinese coins, arrowheads and markings on shells that imitate motifs from Chinese jade instruments.[72] Before the 6th century, trade was likely conducted between the Ryukyus and the whole of Japan through the trading hubs of Amami, Yaku, and Tanegashima. The people of the Liuqius also may have entered into exchange with the Korean Peninsula, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang in China via Kyushu.[73] The latter two routes eventually became the northern and southern routes of the Japanese missions to Tang China (represented by the slender white line and bold gray line in Map 6 and, by extension, the Great Ocean Route.

Between the 7th and 9th centuries, a southern island route through Tanegashima, Yaku, and Amami developed from the southern route, possibly because of the increasing demand for *turbo mamoratus* by Sui and Tang China and the Yamato court's increasing control over Kyushu. The *New Book of Tang* provides information about these routes in the 10th century: "Among the islands in the East Sea, there are three small kingdoms: Yegu 邪古 (likely Yaku 掖玖/夜久), Boye 波邪 (likely a Hayato tribe in southern

72 Takamiya Hiroe, "Gusukudake to Meitōsen" 城嶽と明刀銭, in Okazaki Takashi Sensei taikan kinen jigyōkai 岡崎敬先生退官記念事業会 (ed.), *Higashi Ajia no kōko to rekishi: Okazaki Takashi Sensei Taikan kinen ronshū* 東アジアの考古と歴史：岡崎敬先生退官記念論文集 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1987), vol. 2, pp. 242–264 (offprint); Kinoshita Naoko, "Nihon Rettō no kodai kaibunka shiron" 日本列島の古代貝文化試論, *Nihon-kenkyū: Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentā kiyō* 日本研究：国際日本文化研究センター紀要, 18 (1998), pp. 11–23 (offprint); Kinoshita Naoko, "Cong gudai Zhongguo kan Liuqiu liedao de baobei" 從古代中國看琉球列島的寶貝, *Sichuan wenwu*四川文物1 (2003), pp. 29–34.

73 Oda Shizuo, "Ryukyuko no kokōgaku," pp. 37–61.

Kyushu)[74] and Duoni 多尼 (likely Tanegashima). The Silla Kingdom (a state in the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula that existed from 57 BCE to 935 CE) is to their north; Baekje (a state in the southwestern part of the Korean Peninsula that existed from 18 BCE to 660 CE) is to their northwest; and by traveling southwest, one can reach Yue 越 Prefecture (near Shaoxing, Zhejiang)."[75] Travelers on the southern island route occasionally deviated to the Ryukyus (this deviation is shown as a black and black dotted line in Map 6. For instance, the monk Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) drifted to Okonawa 阿兒奈波 Island (Okinawa) during his sixth journey to Japan in 753 CE. After leaving Okinawa, he made his way to Satsuma.[76]

Japanese archeologists also argue for the existence of the Kaiyuan tongbao 開元通寶 route, in which Kume Island was a node that linked Fujian, Okinawa and Kyushu. This was not only due to Kume Island's substantial place in the processing of *turbo mamoratus*, it was the closest Ryukyu Island to China. The Kaiyuan tongbao route partly coincides with the Sino-Liuqiu route of the *Book of Sui.*

According to sporadic records in Chinese literature after the 7th century, Liuqiu maintained trade relations with other parts of Asia. For instance, in the 9th century, Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819) mention that Liuqiu and Southeast Asian states conducted trade in Guangzhou.[77] In the early 11th century, Cai Xiang 蔡襄, a native of Xinghua 興化, stated that Fuzhou's lychees were sold in "Silla, Japan, Liuqiu and Arabia." In the late 11th century, Li Fu's 李復 anthology records that the State of Liuqiu "assiduously built an accommodation for Chinese near the shore."[78] Even during the Yuan Dynasty, some poems state that Liuqiu

74 Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*, p. 277.

75 Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tang shu*, p. 629.

76 Mahito no Enkai 真人元開 (Oumi no Mifune 淡海三船), Koden hozon kai 古典保存會 (ed.), *Tō Daiwajō tōsei den* 唐大和上東征傳, (Tokyo: Koden hozon kai, 1931, photocopied manuscript from Tōji Kanchiin 東寺觀智院 in Kyoto), pp. 55–62.

77 Han Yu, "Song Zheng shangshu xu," p. 5626b; Liu Zongyuan, "Ling'nan jiedu xiang'juntang ji" 嶺南節度嚮軍堂記, both in Dong Gao 董誥 et al. eds., *Quan Tang wen*, vol. 580, p. 5859a. Also see Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," pp. 33–34.

78 Zai Xiang 蔡襄, *Lizhi pu* 荔枝譜, in Zuo Gui 左圭 (ed.), *Baichuan xuehai* 百川學海, book 30, vol. gui

traded with Japan and Chenla (roughly covering the area of Cambodia).[79] Yet, by the late 13th century, the Sino-Liuqiu routes had not yet replaced the routes between Kyushu, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Korea. It only became the primary springboard of East Asian maritime trade in later centuries.

Yudi tu 輿地圖 (Map of Administrative Divisions) made in the late 13th century, only shows the "Great Ocean Route" between Japan, Liuqiu, and Ningbo, then called Qingyuan 慶元, which combined the southern route and the southern islands route of the Japanese Missions to Tang

China and the "Passing-Sand Route" Guoshalu 過沙路 from Ningbo to Korea (Map 7).[80] The names of the Zhoushan Islands, at the Chinese end of the route, are listed carefully in *Yudi tu* and include Baotuo shan 寶陀山 (Mount Putuo), Yangshan,and Sangushan 三姑山.[81] Among them, the people of Daishan 代山 and Qushan 朐山 (Daishan Island 岱山 and Qushan Island 衢山 today) built memorial temples as early as the late Tang for Chen Leng, who led the Sui army against Liuqiu.[82] This

癸 (1), Chinese Text Project, scanned from copy of Song version, T'ao Hsiang Publishing, by, pp. 2b–3a; Li fu, *Jue Shue ji*, 20a.

79 Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," p. 36。

80 On the origin and content of *Yudi tu*, see Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄, *Tō, Sō jidai no kōtsū to chishi, chizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌地図の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1963), pp. 596–597,602–603,609–611. The version of *Yudi tu* used in this article was also taken from this book.

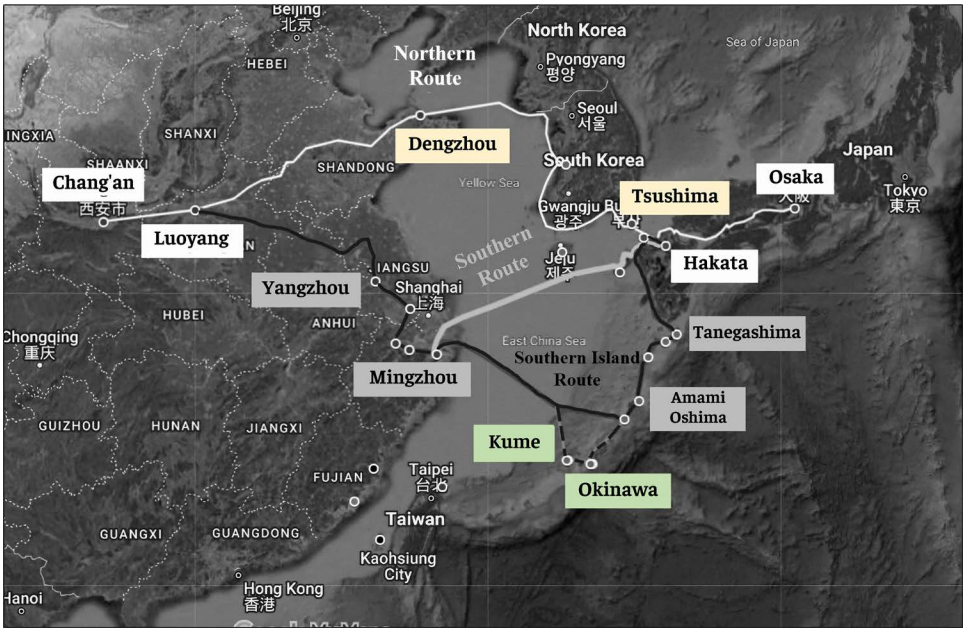
81 Place names between Qingyuan, Japan and Liuqiu in *Yudi tu* were checked against Southern Song local gazetteers and Academia Sinica's digital resource "Chinese Civilization in Time and Space (CCTS)." See also Zhang Jin 張津 et al., *Qiandao Siming tujing* 乾道四明圖經, vol. 4, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, pp. 1a, 2–5, 6a; Fang Wanli 方萬里 and Ruo Jun 羅濬, Hu Qu comp., *Baoqing Siming zhi* 寶慶四明志, vol. 20, Chinese Text Project, scanned from the *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, pp. 9b, 10ab, 12b, 13ab.

82 Zhang Jin et al., *Qiandao Siming tujing*, vol. 7, pp. 1b–2a; Fang Wanli et al., *Baoqing Siming zhi*, vol. 20, pp. 22b, 23a–b. There is archeological as well as documentary evidence for the early establishment of Chen Leng Temples in Daishan and Qushan. In 1908, an 838 A.D. epitaph entitled "Da Tang gu Cheng furen muzhiming xu" 大唐故程夫人墓誌銘并序 was uncovered in Huangfen Ji 皇墳基 on Qushan Island. The epitaph states that near Lady Cheng's tomb there was a "General Chen Temple." See Chen Gang 陳剛, "Chen Leng xinyang yu Song, Yuan zhedong de Liuqiu renzhi" 陳稜信仰與宋元浙東地區的琉球認知, *Ningbo Daxue xuebao* (Renwen kexue bao) 寧波大學學報（人文科學版）, 34:3, (May 2021), pp. 56–65.

evidence does not directly imply that there was close trade between coastal Zhejiang and Liuqiu; however, the above-mentioned sources show there was very likely interaction between Liuqiu, Zhejiang, and Korea to some degree.

Archeological findings also support the existence of this exchange. At the time, China and Japan traded porcelain, stone cookware, and iron manufactures with the Ryukyus for *turbo mamoratus* and sulfur. Chinese merchants and Japanese monks brought their technologies, institutions

Map 6. Routes of the Japanese Missions to Tang China

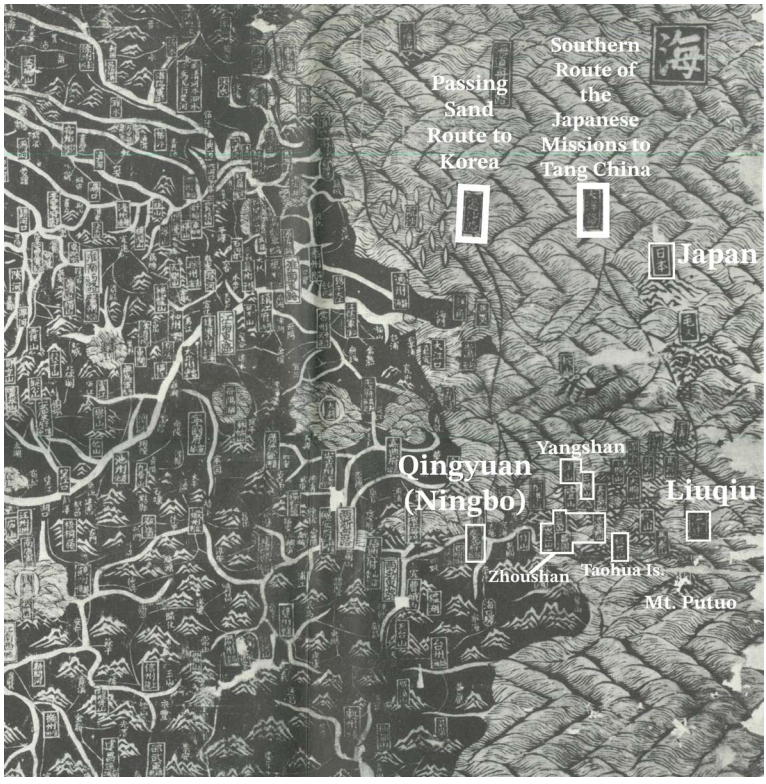


Creator: Yi-chen Huang

Legend
Northern route: Slender white line
Southern route: Bold gray line
Southern island route: Black line
Off-course journey of monk Jianzhen in 753: Dotted black line

Sources: Mozai Torao 茂在寅男, "Kodai Nihon ni okeru kōkai" 古代日本における航海 (Maritime Navigation in Historical Japan), Kōkai 航海, 24 (1966), pp. 8–12; Tanaka Fumio 田中史生, "Nana kara jūichi seiki no Amami, Okinawa shōtō to kokusai shakai" 7-11 世紀の奄美・沖縄諸島と国際社会：交流が生み出す地域 (Amami, Okinawa Archipelago, and International Events during the 7th and 11th Centuries), Shizen-ningen-shakai 自然・人間・社会, 38 (September 2005), pp. 62–67.

Map 7. The Southern Route of the Japanese Missions to Tang China and Relevant Place Names in *Yudi Tu*, c. 1265-1274



Source: Aoyama Sadao, *Tō, Sō jidai no kōtsū to chishi, chizu no kenkyū*, Plate VIII, held by Rikkyoku-an Tōfuku-ji 栗棘庵東福寺. We're grateful for Yoshikawa kōbunkan's generous permission for our citation.

and religions. They even set shore on the Ryukyus themselves,[83] greatly influencing the politics, society, and commerce of the Ryukyu Kingdom from the 14th to 17th centuries.[84]

83 Foreign religion likely first arrived in the Ryukyu Islands during the Xianchun Reign of the Southern Song (1265–1274). The 18th century work *Qiuyang jishi* 球陽記事 states that during this period, the monk Zenkan 禅鑑 drifted to Naha and constructed Gokuraku 極楽 Temple, beginning the practice of Buddhism in the Ryukyus. Also see Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom: Cornerstone of East Asia*, pp. 61–62.

84 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom,* pp.11–17; Lin Man-houng 林滿紅, *Jingmao Taiwan yu Dalishi* 經貿臺灣與大歷史 (*Trade-Dependent Taiwan and Big History)* (Taipei: Lantai chuban, 2021), pp. 89–90; Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島毅 supv., Haneda Masashi 羽田正 (ed.), Zhang Ya-ting 張雅婷 trans., *Cong haiyiang kan lishi* 從海洋看歷史 (Taipei: Guangchang chuban, 2017), pp. 57–74.

Through the expansion of Zhejiangese and Fujianese commerce during this period, Ryukyuan islanders may have continued and deepened their connection with Southeast Asia. In the 7th century, Chen Leng led the Sui army to pacify the Ryukyuans. People of Kunlun 崑崙, who "understand their [the Ryukyuan's] language, accompanied the army." In the Tang and Song, "Kunlun" often referred to natives of Linyi 林邑 (a kingdom that existed between the 2nd and 8th centuries in what is now Vietnam) and Funan 扶南 (a kingdom that existed from the 1st to 7th centuries in what is now Cambodia, southern Laos, Vietnam, and southeastern Thailand). This indicates that there was some connection between Ryukyu and Southeast Asia at the time.[85] After the Sui dynasty, there was a break in evidence of exchange between Southeast Asia and Liuqiu. It was not until the 10th and 11th centuries that Japanese documents tell of Kyushuan warlords giving "redwood" and *turbo mamoratus* to the court at Heiankyō 平安京. This "redwood" was likely sappanwood, which, apart from being gathered in Ryukyu, could have come from Southeast Asia.[86] Two other records indicate that there was an exchange between Liuqiu and Southeast Asians in the late 14th century. The first is the *History of Yuan*, which states that Miyagu 密牙古 islanders (likely the Miyako Islands), who originally set sail for Southeast Asia to trade, fell off course and eventually made their way to Wenzhou. The second is the *Veritable Records of Ming*, which states that Ryukyuan missions in the Sanzan period (Chūzan, Hokuzan, and Nanzan—the three kingdoms period before unifying into the Ryukyu Kingdom) sometimes smuggled Southeast Asian goods into China when they paid tribute to the Ming court.[87]

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85 Wei Zheng et al., *Sui shu*, p. 1825; Wang Pu王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, vol. 98, p. 18; vol. 99, p. 21, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=2060&page=1 (accessed June 28, 2023).

86 Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡, *Shinsarugakuki*新猿楽記, manuscript, (1860), pp. 18b, 19a; Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資, *Shōyūki*小右記, in Sasagawa Tanerō 笹川種郎, Yano Tarō 矢野太郎 rev., *Shiryou Daisei* 史料大全 (Tokyo: Naigaishoseki, 1936), vol. 3, pp. 39, 88, 156, 210; Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 70–71.

87 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八, Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏 ed., *Tōzai kōshōshi no kenkyū: Nankai hen* 東西交涉史の研究：南海篇 (Tokyo: Hagiwara seibunkan, 1943), pp. 407–416; Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology, *Ming shilu Taizu shilu*, vol. 199, pp. 2989–2990.

The extension of Liuqiu trade to Southeast Asia was caused firstly by the Liuqiu islanders possessing experience in seafaring and inter-island trade that served them well in Southeast Asia during the 13th and 14th centuries. Second, a significant proportion of the Sino-Japanese and Korean-Japanese trade shifted to the Sino-Liuqiu route following the invasion of China by the Mongols at the end of the 12th century and piratical activities throughout Zhejiang and Jiangsu in the late 14th century. Third, Fujianese trade networks in China and throughout the South China Sea expedited the expansion of Liuqiuan trade across the region. Centered in Quanzhou, Fujianese merchants strengthened Liuqiu's connection with China and extended their exchange networks to Champa and Java. The "36 Fujianese Lineages" of Kumemura 久米村 near Naha played an essential role in the Ryukyu Kingdom's trade with Southeast Asia, a history that Wang Gungwu, Murai Shōsuke and Francois Gipouloux have all explored in their research.[88]

Archeological discovery and research have shown that there was an axis of exchange between East and South Taiwan and Southeast Asia during the 15th century BCE and the 3rd century CE. Early residents of Taiwan, including the people of the Beinan (3500–2300 BCE) and early and middle Sanhe (2400–1600 BCE), traded jade and jade implements for ironware, glass, and their production technologies and even imported political and social institutions. The Paiwan and Rukai people crystallized these interactions. However, the interactions nearly ceased after the 3rd century AD. In this period, exchange between Taiwan and China was also intermittent. Evidence for trade between the 3rd and 10th centuries comes only from the Shisanhang site in northern Taiwan.[89]

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88 Wang Gungwu 王賡武, *Zhongguo yu Haiwaihuaren* 中國與海外華人 (*China and Overseas Chinese*) (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1994), pp. 96–100; Francois Gipouloux, Johnathan Hall and Dianna Martin trans., *The Asian Mediterranean: Port Cities and Trading Networks in China, Japan and Southeast Asia, 13th–21st Century* (Cheltenham, Gloucester: Edward Elgar, 2011), pp. 76; Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 197–212.

89 Liu Yi-chang 劉益昌, *Diancang Taiwan shi, yi: shiqian renqun yu wenhua* 典藏臺灣史（一）：史前人群與文化 (Taipei: Yushanshe 玉山社, 2019), https://www.thenewslens.com/article/118810/ (accessed January 18, 2023).

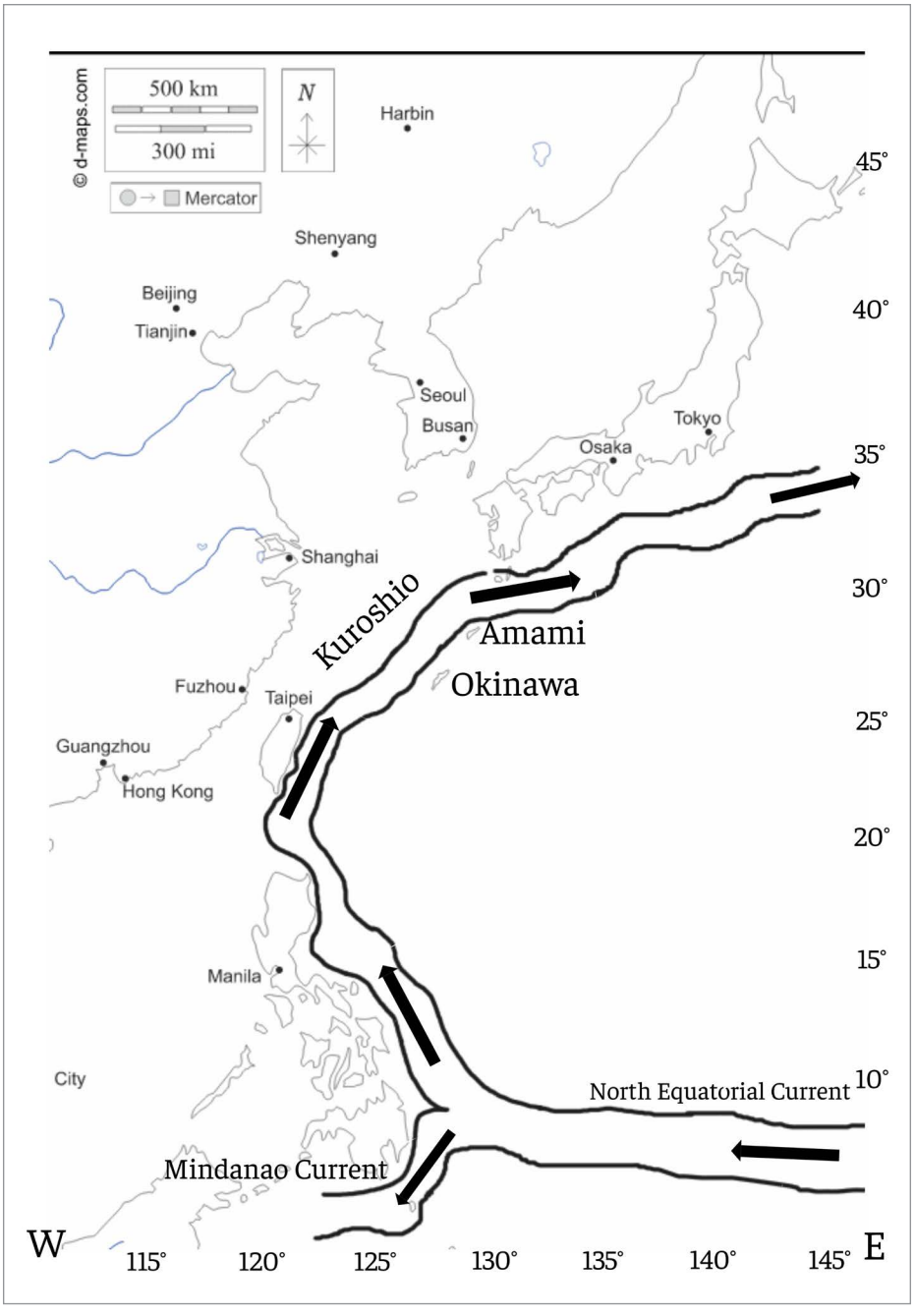
Ts'ao Yung-ho has shown that after the 3rd century, the central axis of Asian exchange shifted to the Continental Silk Road, extending east to the Japanese islands, and the Maritime Silk Road, stretching from South Asia to Guangzhou 廣州. The only old routes of exchange Japan retained with the external world were the northern route to the southern Korean Peninsula, the Shangdong Peninsula, and the southern route to Ningbo. The Kuroshio 黑潮 Route (see Map 8), which connected Japan to South China and Southeast Asia, became less active. Taiwan and Ryukyu, which are on this route, became increasingly isolated.[90]

From the 3rd to the 12th century, Ryukyu maintained economic and political connections with Northeast Asia, primarily by supplying shells for *raden*. In contrast, Taiwan fell into relative isolation for around a thousand years. By the late 13th century, the Mongol invasion of China forced the Sino-Japanese exchange to partially shift from the Kyushu-Zhejiang route to the Sino-Liuqiu route. Rampant piracy in the Jiangsu and Zhejiang coasts in the late 14th century further prompted the Ming Empire to strengthen relations with Ryukyu to combat the pirates. With long-term experience in external exchange, Ryukyu embarked on a path to prosperity. Taiwan, however, did not exit its isolation until the late 16th century.[91]

90 Ts'ao Yung-ho 曹永和, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu xuji* 臺灣早期歷史研究續集 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban 聯經出版, 2000), pp. 5–7, 10–11.

91 Lin Man-houng, *Jingmao Taiwan yu Dalishi*, pp. 86–90; Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 107–115.

Map 8. The Kuroshio Current



Creator: Yi-chen Huang

Source: Hideo Nitani, "Beginning of the Kuroshio," in Henry M. Stommel and Kōzō Yoshida eds., *Kuroshio: Physical Aspects of the JapanCurrent* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1972), pp. 129–132.

6. Comparative Development of the Ryukyu Islands and Taiwan

Zhao Rugua's 趙汝适 *Records of Various Barbarous Countries* (*Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志) of 1225 states, "Its (Liuqiu 流求) lands have no special products and people there are habit to plunder. Merchants do not travel there." *History of Song* also contains a similar statement: "Liuqiu is east of Quanzhou. […] It has no other special products and no contact with merchants." *History of Yuan* states, "Liuqiu 瑠求 is east of the southern sea. […] it has not appeared in historical records since the Han and the Tang. Recently, there are no reports of traders visiting the country."[92] *Brief Account of Island Barbarians*, written before *History of Yuan*, describes the islands: "Their towering mountains are steep. They appear very close to Penghu."[93] These quotes seem to speak against Liuqiu's exchange with Northeast Asia across this period.

The toponym "Liuqiu" and similar names used during the Song, Yuan, and even Tang literature might also refer to the entire island arc between Satsuma and Fujian. Some descriptions of Liuqiu, such as the proper time for voyaging there or its appearance viewing from Fujian and Penghu, make it seem as if "Liuqiu" might be Miyako, Yaeyama, or a part of Taiwan.[94]

Sanshan zhi (*Gazetteer of Fujian*) by Liang Kejia 梁克家 in the early South Song states that people sailing in the seas east of Nanni 南匿 Island (Nanri Island 南日島, Putian today) could be blown to Liuqiu within a

92 Zhao Rugua, Li T'iao-yüan 李調元 annot., *Zhufan zhi* (Peiping: Wendiange shuzhang 文殿閣書莊, 1935), p. 55; Tuo tuo 脫脫 et al., *Song shi,* p. 14127; Song Lian et al., *Yuan shi,* p. 4667.

93 Wang Dayuan, Su Jiqing annot., *Daoyi zhilüe Jiaoshi*, pp. 16–17.

94 The following research explores analyses of the specific positions of Liuqiu and places bearing similar toponyms from the Song to Yuan: Huang Su-Jen 黃樹仁, "Sighting Liuqiu: Fujianese Knowledge of Taiwan in the Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties" 望見流求：從福建沿海觀測紀錄論宋元明人的臺灣認識, *Cheng Kung Journal of Historical Studies* 成大歷史學報, 50, (June 2016), pp. 42–55; Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," pp. 37–39.

day by storms.[95] Similar statements can be found in Japanese literature. Monk Enchin 圓珍, the founder of the Buddhist school to which Keisei belonged, traveled to the Tang on the ninth day of the eighth month of 853. He traveled on the ship of the Chinese merchant Kin Ryōki 欽良暉, which departed from Nagasaki. A strong northern wind drove them to the Liuqiu on the thirteenth day of their journey. On the fourteenth day, they "suddenly caught a southeast wind and headed straight northwest." At noon the next day, they arrived at Lianjiang County, Fuzhou.[96]

The above records indicated that Northeast Asian travelers between the 9th and 14th centuries referred to the Ryukyu Islands as "Liuqiu"and used this name to collectively describe the islands east of Fujian and south of Kyushu. Such travelers may not have named every island as precisely as some authors did during the Ming. The "Liuqiu" that had no external contact described in the texts above most probably refers to Taiwan proper, which began to attract notice when Penghu became a stop on Sino-Liuqiu routes during the Southern Song. Taiwan was brought under the broad grouping "Liuqiu," which East Asians used to describe the "outer barbarians" (*waiyi* 外夷) in the Northeast Asian Sea that were neither Chinese nor Japanese. Even during the Yuan, when the Sino-Liuqiu route became increasingly important, Taiwan remained incorporated into the term "Liuqiu." The Yuan Empire's two military campaigns against "Liuqiu 瑠求" recorded in the *History of Yuan* are concrete examples.

95 Liang Kejia 梁克家 ed., *Chunxi Sanshan zhi* 淳熙三山志, vol. 6, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, p. 3. Only Ming and Qing editions of *Chunxi Sanshan zhi* are extant. It is possible that "Liuqiu" was added during the Ming and Qing dynasties and was not a part of the original text. See introduction from Central Library Chinese Rare Books Catalog, https://tinyurl.com/ykmphr8a (accessed June 22, 2023).

96 Chishō Daishi Enchin 智證大師圓珍, "Zen Nittō guhō Juzzenshi Enryakuji Dentō Daishi Ijō" 前入唐求法十禪師延曆寺傳燈大師位狀, in Tokyo daigaku shuryō hensansho 東京大學史料編纂所 (ed.), *Dai Nippon shiryō* 大日本史料 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuryō hensansho, 1922), vol. 1, no. 1, "Kanpei sannen jūgatsu nijūkyū nichi" 寬平三年十月二十九日 (29th day of the tenth month of the 3rd year of the Kanpei Reign), p. 769.

In 1291, Kublai Khan launched an expedition against Liuqiu to plunder its riches.[97] Wu Zhidou 吳志斗, a literati from Quanzhou who understood Liuqiu to some degree, submitted a proposal suggesting that "the navy depart from Penghu, survey the waters and the lands, and then decide whether to launch an attack."[98] Kublai Khan approved the proposal and dispatched a mission with Wu among its ranks. On the 29th day of the third month of the following year, the mission set off from Tingluwei Ao 汀路尾澳 in Penghu to Liuqiu.[99] "Between 9 to 11 am that day, a long but low mountain appeared due east in the middle of the ocean approximately fifty *li* away." The mission's leader, Yang Xiang 楊祥, thought they had arrived at Liuqiu. "[He] approached the low mountain with a small ship. Given the many natives, he, himself, did not land. Still, he ordered Officer Liu Min 劉閔 and over two hundred soldiers ashore […] with a person from Sanyu 三嶼 (located in the Philippines), Chen Hui 陳煇, [to interpret]. The locals, who did not know the Sanyu language, killed three of them." They then turned back, passed by Sanyu, and arrived at Penghu on the 2nd day of the fourth month, returning to China with failure.[100] The *History of Yuan* states that they did not even reach Liuqiu.[101] In late 1297, the Administrator of Fujian sent a group from Quanzhou to explore Liuqiu. Still, they failed to arrive and only "captured and brought back about a hundred people near [Liuqiu]." After the release of the captives the following year, there are no further Yuan dynasty records on Liuqiu.[102]

This "Liuqiu" identified in Quanzhou and Penghu and close to Sanyu falls within the broad definition of "Liuqiu" and could encompass Taiwan.

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97 Zhang Zhihan 張之翰, *Xiyan ji* 西巖集, vol. 3, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, pp. 3b, 4a; Ts'ao Yung-ho, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu* 臺灣早期歷史研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 1979), p. 109.

98 Lai Fu-Shun determined Wu Zhidou's birthplace in his research on Yuan literature. See Lai Fu-Shun, "Tingluwei'ao: Penghu zuizao de difang ming" 汀路尾澳——澎湖最早的地方名, in Ji Li-Mei 紀麗美 ed., *Penghu yanjiu di'sijie xueshu yantaohui runwenji* 澎湖研究第四屆學術研討會論文輯 (Magong: Penghuxian wenhuaju 澎湖縣文化局, 2005), pp. 18–21, 25–26.

99 Lai Fu-Shun, "Tingluwei'ao: Penghu zuizao de difang ming," pp. 28–33.

100 Song Lian et al., *Yuan shi,* pp. 4667–4668; Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," pp. 41–42.

101 Song Lian et al., *Yuan shi,* p. 356.

102 Song Lian et al., *Yuan shi,* pp. 350–351, 409, 414, 4667–4668.

The "low mountain" the Yuan mission reached was likely in southwestern Taiwan given its location east of Penghu, proximity to Sanyu and the hostility of its inhabitants to outsiders. As maritime exchange increased between Fujian, Penghu, and Liuqiu, Chinese understanding of these archipelagos improved and began to form corresponding geographic concepts. A group of islands, including Taiwan, came to be known as "Smaller Liuqiu" (*Xiao Liuqiu*小流球, sometimes just "*Liuqiu*"流球). At the same time, the present-day Ryukyus were referred to as "Greater Liuqiu" (*Da Liuqiu*大流球).

Chen Zongren has shown that the term "Greater Liuqiu" emerged after the "Sanzhan" of the Ryukyus began to join the Ming tributary system in 1372.[103] This scheme of identification can already be seen in *the Territorial Map of Great Scope* (*Guanglun jiangli tu* 廣輪疆理圖) from 1360 (Map 9). Qingjun清濬, a Buddhist monk alive during the late Yuan and early Ming periods, authored this map. The earliest known copy is from the Hongzhi 弘治 reign (1488–1505) edition of the *Diary of Ye Sheng* 葉盛 held by the National Central Library of Taiwan. As the goal of this section is to show that a differentiation between Greater and Smaller Liuqiu was made in China by the Yuan dynasty at the latest, we use the more detailed Wenyuange 文淵閣 edition, which is part of the *Complete Collection of the Four Categories* (*Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書). In the square we have placed over this map, it is clear that Smaller Liuqiu is below and vertically aligned with Greater Liuqiu. Smaller Liuqiu is further from Japan and Korea.

This differentiation between Greater Liuqiu and Smaller Liuqiu was later followed by official writings like the *Veritable Records of Ming Emperor Taizu* and the *August Ming Ancestral Instructions* (*Huang Ming zuxun* 皇明祖訓). The *Veritable Records* even consider them to be two different political entities.[104]

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103 Chen Tsung-jen, "Youguan Taiwan yu Liuqiu de miaohui ji qi zhishi yuanyuan: jianlun Beigang yu Jialilin deweizhi yu diyuan yihan" 有關臺灣與琉球的描繪及其知識淵源:兼論北港與加里林的位置與地緣意涵, *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 27:3 (September 2020), p. 5.

104 Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology (ed.), *Ming Shilu Taizu shilu*, vol. 77, p. 1397, Emperor Taizu 明太祖, *Huang Ming zuxun*, Ministry of Rites, Hongwu 洪武 edition (c. 1395),

The *General Map Including the Capitals of Various Dynasties* (*Honil gangni yeokdae gukdo ji do* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖) (Map 10) is another map that distinguishes between Greater and Smaller Liuqiu.[105] This world map was created in Chosoen 朝鮮 in 1402. According to its postscript by Gwon Geun 權近, the map was drawn by consolidating two Yuan dynasty maps: *Map of the Area of Imperial Verbal Instruction* (*Shengjiao guangbei tu* 聲教廣被圖) and the *General Territorial Map* (*Hunyi jiangli tu* 混一疆理圖). It likely reflects geographical understandings of the late Yuan and early Ming. The original version of this map has been lost. The two currently extant versions are held in Japan. The version we refer to was copied anonymously in Chosoen during the 1470s or 1480s and is now held in the Ryūkoku University Library 龍谷大学図書館. The map was authored during the Southern Song and Yuan periods and displays Penghu, Smaller Liuqiu (Liuqiu), Greater Liuqiu, Satsuma, and Hakata 博多 in a sequence that closely follows the Sino-Liuqiu route emerged from the Northern Song. From their relative positions, Greater Liuqiu is likely the Ryukyu Kingdom. Smaller Liuqiu is likely Taiwan in light of evidence from the 16th century examined below.

At that time, the routes from Fuzhou to Ryukyu and Japan described by Chen Kan and Zheng Ruozeng 鄭若曾 state that the Smaller Liuqiu is one or a couple of days' journey by boat from Fuzhou. It is really near the Pingjia shan 平嘉山 (Zheng Ruozeng called it Pengjia shan 彭嘉山, i.e., Pengjia Islet) and Keelung Island. This Smaller Liuqiu could be certainly northern Taiwan, including Keelung and Tamsui.[106] As trade increased between

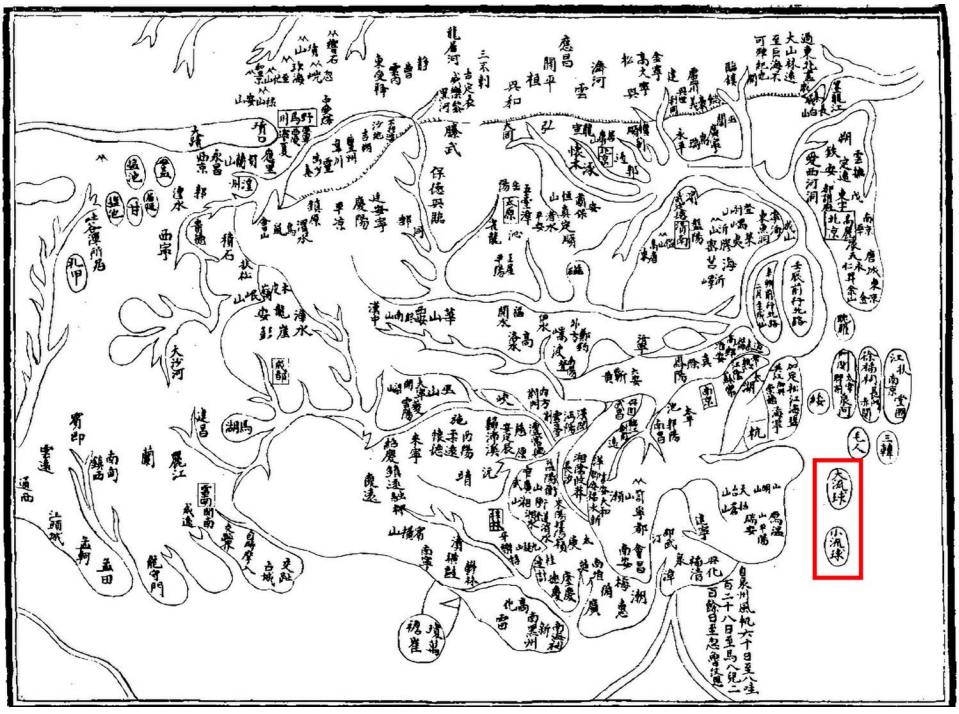
National Palace Museum, pp. 5b–6b.

105 Chen Tsung-jen, *Selden Map yu Dongxiyang Tangren*, pp. 198–200; Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology,*Ming shilu Taizu shilu*, vol. 217, p.1397; Lai Fu-Shun, "Tansuo Yuan-Ming shiqi Zhongguo yu Xiao Liuqiu Guo de guanxi — Jianshu Zhu Yuanzhang yu liang guo lun" 探索元明時期與小琉球國的關係——兼述朱元璋與兩國論, Zhonghua Mingguo Shiliao Yanjiu Zhongxin 中華民國史料研究中心 ed., *Zhongguo xiandaishi zhuanti yanjiu baogao* 中國現代史專題研究報告 22 (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2001), pp. 65–123; Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu Lu*, pp. 12ab, 13ab, 14ab, 15ab; Tei Junsoku, *Shinan Kōgi*, pp. 5a, 5b.

106 Chen Kan, *Shi Liuqiu lu*, p. 12b; Zheng Ruozeng, Hu Zongxian 胡宗憲 ed., *Chou hai tubian* 籌海圖編, vol. 2, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, p. 12a.

Fujian, Guangdong, and Southeast Asia, merchants began to stop on the western side of Taiwan. Several navigational landmarks and smuggling points in mid-western or Southwestern Taiwan gained significance, and the area was sometimes collectively referred to as "Dongfan." Trading points on the western shore of Taiwan came under the official scrutiny of the Ming due to their concern over Japanese piracy.[107]

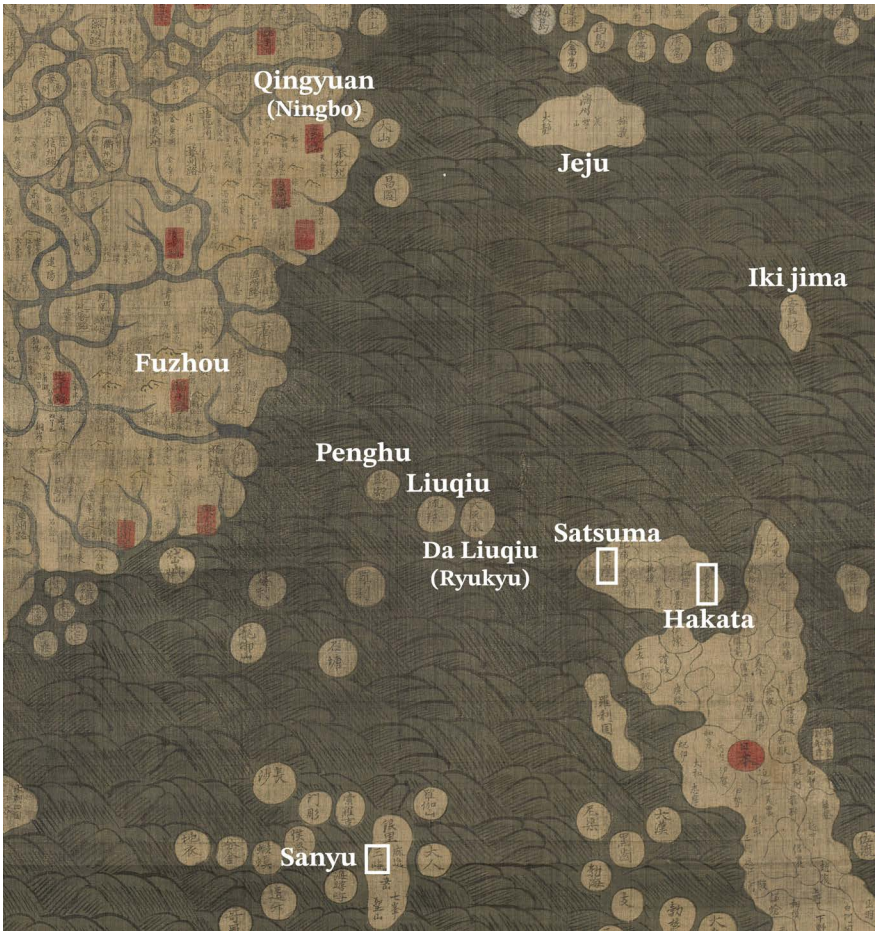
Map 9. Greater and Smaller Liuqiu in the *Territorial Map of Great Scope*, c. 1488–1505



Source: Ye Sheng, *Shuidong riji* 水東日記 (Diary of the Eastern Waters), Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, vol. 17, pp. 1a–2b. The Hongzhi edition of the map can be viewed through the National Central Library Chinese Rare Books Catalog (https://reurl.cc/7j6kzy (accessed February 5, 2023).

107 Xu Xueju's 徐學聚 memorial from 1605, "Chubao Hongmaofan shu" 初報紅毛番疏, (Initial Report on the Red-Haired Foreigners) states: "When the foreign ships dock at Penghu, they are not far from Dongfan and Smaller Liuqiu." In 1616, Huang Chengxuan's 黃承玄 memorial "Ti Liuqiu zi bao Wo qing shu" 題琉球咨報倭情疏 (Report on the Japanese from the Ryukyu Kindom) states: "Greater Liuqiu […] has fallen under Japanese control. […] Jilong and Danshui, slightly to the south, are commonly called Smaller Liuqiu. The maritime journey between here and our Tai 臺, Shuang 礵, and Dongyong 東湧 takes merely several gen. One gen 更 is two hours. The islands of the Dongfan are further to the south and face Penghu more directly." See Taiwan yinhang jingji

Map 10. Greater Liuqiu, Smaller Liuqiu, and Other Locations in *General Map Including the Capitals of Various Dynasties*, c. 1470s to1480s



Source: Kim Sa-hyeong 金士衡, Yi Mu 李茂 and Yi Hoe李薈, *Honil gangni yeokdae gukdo ji do* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖 (General Map Including the Capitals of Various Dynasties), held in the Ryūkoku University Library 龍谷大学図書館.

yanjiushi ed., *Ming jingshi wenbian xuan* (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1971), pp. 192, 227. According to Tu Cheng-sheng, Taiwan might not be referred to by either of these place names (especially Smaller Liuqiu) because Dongfan and Smaller Liuqiu appear together in late Ming literature. However, based on the geographical information cited above, we tend to consider both Dongfan and Smaller Liuqiu to be toponyms referring to Taiwan. Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiulun," p. 45.

From the mid-16th to the mid-17th centuries, maritime trade of silk and silver flourished in East Asia in response to increasing Chinese demand for silver. Maritime traders—often called pirates by the Chinese government—were of Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, and Portuguese origin and sold Japanese and Latin American silver along routes mirroring the northern and southern routes of the Japanese Missions to Tang China: the northern route went through the Korean Peninsula, and the southern route came to China at Ningbo (its port was called Shuangyu 雙嶼 or"Syongicam"). The Sino-Liuqiu route ending at Fuzhou (Map 11) was also among the routes traveled by these traders.[108] At the beginning of the 16th century, there was significant activity on the southern route, though it quickly declined due to piratical raids and destruction around Shuangyu.[109] The Sino-Liuqiu route remained active due to the relatively stable conditions in Fujian and Guangdong until the conquest of Ryukyu by Satsuma.

Map 12 illustrates the late Ming explorer Zheng Shungong's 鄭舜功 description of his journey to Japan as an emissary under imperial orders from 1556 to 1557.[110] Due to piratical activities, Zheng had to first sail from Guangzhou to Jinmen 金門 when he embarked on his journey. From there, he traveled to Greater Liuqiu via Smaller East Island (Xiaodongdao 小東島), i.e., Smaller Liuqiu or Taiwan. He then passed Pengjia Islet and sailed through the Pinnacle Island—Huangwei 黃尾 and Ciwei 赤尾—and reached the Ryukyus and Yaku Islands. After arriving in Yaku, Zheng headed north and entered Japan proper capitalized at Kyoto from Bangjin棒津 (Bonotsu 坊津),[111] Satsuma, where the Japanese Missions to

108 Man-houng Lin, *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies, 1808–1856* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 59–64; Cheng Wing-Sheung 鄭永常, *Laizi haiyang de tiaozhan: Mingdai haimao zhengce yanbian yanjiu* 來自海洋的挑戰：明代海貿政策演變研究 (Banqiao: Daoxiang chuban, 2004), pp. 137–158.

109 Cheng Wing-Sheung, *Laizi haiyang de tiaozhan,* pp. 137–158, 161–163; Cheng Wing-Sheung, *Shunjian qiannian: Dongya haiyui zhoubian shilun* 瞬間千年：東亞海域周邊史論 (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd., 2021), pp. 276–279.

110 Fujita Ganxun 藤田元春, *NishiKotsu no kenkyu: jujkinsei hen* 日支交通の研究：中近世篇 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1938), pp. 200–221.

111 Cheng Wing-Sheung, *Shunjian qiannian*, pp. 282–288, 301–303.

Tang began. During the Muromachi and Edo periods, Bonotsu was an active smuggling point.[112] Taiwan became increasingly well-known as a maritime landmark between Japan in the north, Macao in the west, and the Philippines in the south, which brought increasing clarity to conceptualizations of Taiwan.

Europeans' knowledge of East Asian maritime routes led to the appearance of Ryukyu and Taiwan as "Lequeo Grande/Major" and "Lequeo Pequeño/Minor" in late 16th-century European maps. Europeans gradually integrated new knowledge of East Asian routes with their concurrent knowledge of "Formosa" (Map 13, Map 14 and Map 15).[113] Map 13 is a nautical chart. Zhangzhou, labeled as "Ochincheo,"[114] can be seen on this chart with Lequeo Pequeno (Smaller Liuqiu), labeled "A," stretching vertically across the map in the seas east of Fujian. The small islands labeled "B," Lequeo Grande (Greater Liuqiu), are further to the northeast. Tanaxuma (Tanegashima 種子島) is above Lequeo Grande and past that is Japan. The placement of the islands follows a maritime route similar to the one described in Map 11 by Zheng Shungong. The author of this map, Fernao vaz Dourado, was a Portuguese merchant who once traveled from Goa to Macao and Nagasaki. He came across many materials on littoral China and may have begun promulgating routes to Japan through Greater Liuqiu and Smaller Liuqiu in Europe. Map 14 is a map of Asia created by Abraham Ortelius in 1579. The island labeled "A" in the seas outside of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou on this map, Lequiho pequenininho (a derivation of pequeño), is likely Taiwan, then called Smaller Liuqiu. "C," the northernmost island close to Japan, is Lequiho Grande, the Ryukyu Kingdom. The island labeled "B" just south of Lequiho Grande

112 Kokushi daijiten henshū iinkai 國史大辭典編輯委員会 (ed.), *Kokushi daijiten* 國史大辭典 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1991), vol. 12, pp. 645–646.

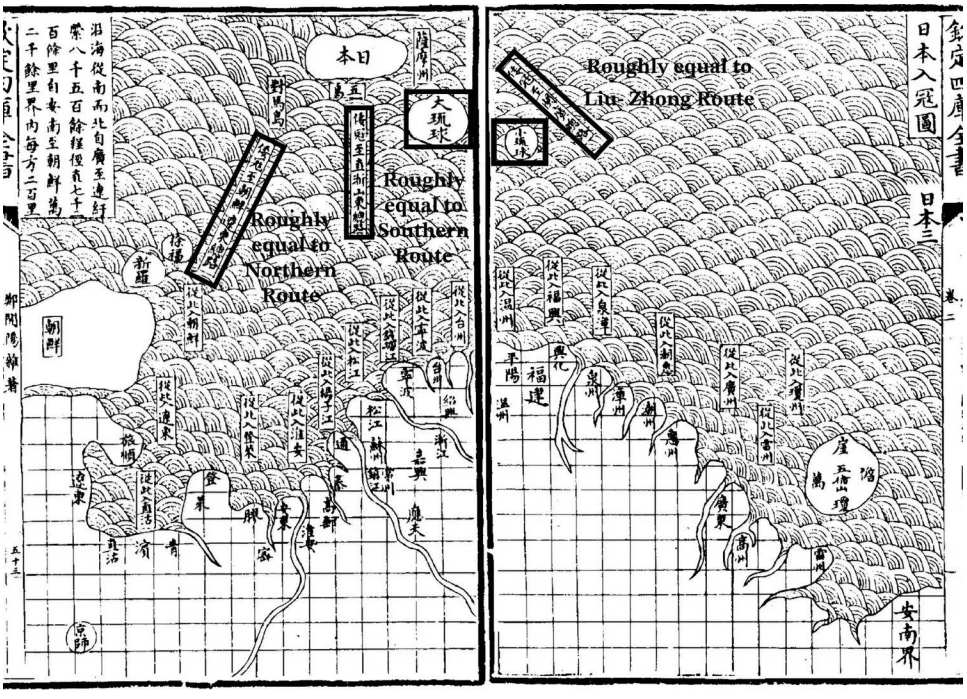
113 Chen Tsung-jen, "Lequeo Pequeno yu Formosa: Shiliu shiji Ouzhou huizhi ditu dui Taiwan haiyu de miaohui ji qi zhanbian" Lequeo Pequeno 與 Formosa ——十六世紀歐洲繪製地圖對臺灣海域的描繪及其轉變, *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報, 41 (June 2008), pp. 109–164.

114 Regarding the identity of Ochincheo, see Jin Guoping 金國平, "Zaoqi Puyu wenxian zhong de Chincheo" 早期葡語文獻中的 Chincheo, *Xilidongjian: Zhongguo zaoqi jiechu zh*uixi 西力東漸——中葡早期接觸追昔 (Macao: Aomen jijinhui [Fundação Macau], 2000), pp. 52–73.

is called I. Fermosa (Island of Formosa) by Ortelius. This shows that in the 1570s, when Map 14 was created, Europeans were already integrating knowledge of Smaller Liuqiu with their conception of Formosa, which they passed on their journeys to Japan from Southern China beginning in the 1550s. However, the two were only placed together on the map, and no direct connection was made.[115]

Map 15 is an appendix to Jan Huygen van Linschoten's first volume of *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* of 1596. Like Dourado, van Linschoten also worked in Goa and thus handled Portuguese documents related to maritime navigation. On this map, we can see that Formosa and Smaller Liuqiu have been combined. Van Linschoten drew Taiwan as three separate islands called Lequeo Pequeno (Smaller Liuqiu). The

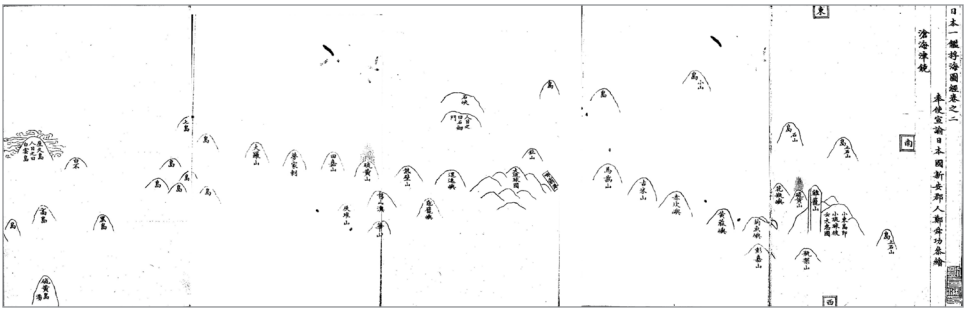
Map 11. Zheng Ruozeng's Mid-16th Century Map of Japanese Intrusions, c. 1562



Source: Zheng Ruozeng, *Zheng Kaiyang zazhu*, Chinese Text Project, scanned from *Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* held by Zhejiang University, vol. 2, pp. 53a–b. The earliest extant version of Zheng Kaiyang zazhu reedited and issued by Zheng Ruozeng's fifth generation grandson Zheng Qihong 鄭起泓 and his son Dingyuan 定遠 in the thirtynineth year of Kangxi (1700), then Guoxue Library, Nanking, reprinted it in 1932. To avoid controversies about copyright, we choose the open-access Siku Quanshu edition.

115 Chen Tsung-jen, *Selden Map yu Dongxiyang Tangren,* pp. 198–202..

Map 12. Greater Liuqiu and Smaller Liuqiu in the Silk and Silver Trade—Sino-Japanese Trade Routes in *Riben Yijian*, c. 1560s



Source: Zheng Shungong, *Riben yijian: Fuhai tujing* 日本一鑑：桴海圖經,reprinted in 1939 from an older manuscript, vol. 2, pp.1a–3b. The 1939 reprint is held at the Fu Sinian Library of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Permission from the library has been obtained for citation, and the images have been processed using digital drawing software.

On the map, left is north, and right is south. The largest island in the middle section of the scroll is the Ryukyu Kingdom. To its lower left, below Rebi 熱壁 Mountain (Iheya Island), is Yuanbi 黿鼻 Islet, which is likely Goubi Islet from the Sui Sino-Liuqiu route. Logically, it should be to the right or lower right of the Ryukyu Kingdom, recognized by Ming Chinese as Liuqiu of the Sui. We suggest that the appearance of Yuanbi Islet next to the similarly pronounced Rebi Mountain reflects the inability of the Ming Chinese to integrate earlier geographical information with their own understanding of the Ryukyus.

northernmost island is labeled I—Fermosa (the Island of Formosa, inside the left square).

In 1567, before Europeans combined concepts of Greater Liuqiu, Smaller Liuqiu, and Formosa, the Ming opened Yuegang 月港, Zhangzhou, to handle external trade with all foreign places except Japan, as the costs of combating smuggling had sharply climbed.[116] Though involved in trade, Taiwan, which Ming Chinese often called Dongfan,[117] was initially a refuge or smuggling spot for pirates and merchants. In 1589, the yearly number of vessels traveling from Fujian to Taiwan remained in the single digits, but they rose to over several hundred by the 17th century. [118] In the

116 Shiuh-Feng Liu 劉序楓, *Mingmo Qingchu de Zhongri maoyi yu Riben hauqiao shehui* 明末清初的中日貿易與日本華僑社會, Renwen shehui jikan 人文及社會科學集刊, 11:3 (September 1999), pp. 439–442.

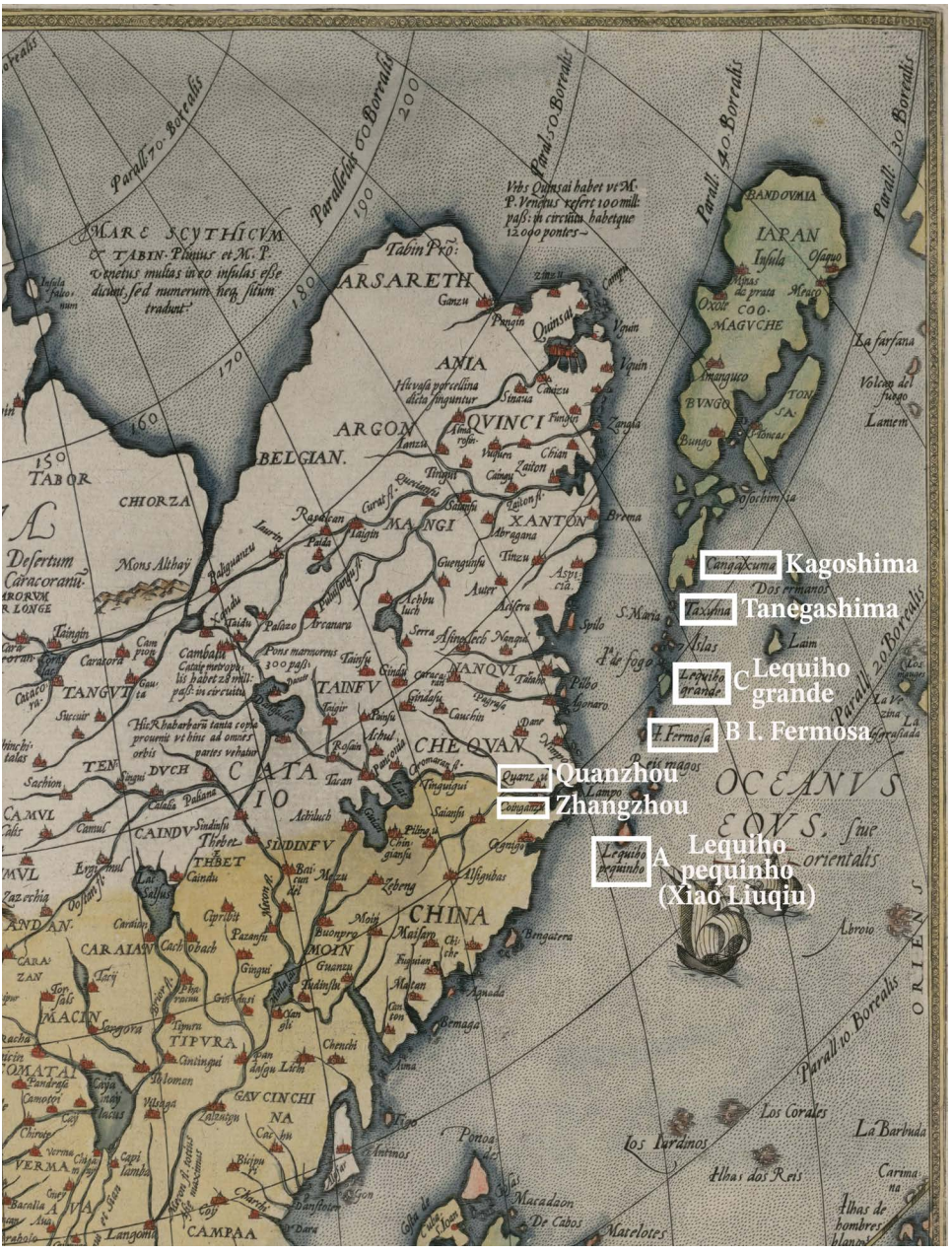
117 Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, *Ming shilu Minhai guanxi shiliao* 明實錄閩海關係史料 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1971), pp. 1–3.

118 Huang Fu Cai 黃福才, *Taiwan Shangyieshi* 臺灣商業史 (Nanchang: Jiangsi renming chubanshe 江西人民出版社, 1990), pp. 8–10.

Map 13. Knowledge of Greater Liuqiu and Smaller Liuqiu Reaches Europe—Fernão Vaz Dourado, Carta da Ásia Oriental, 1571

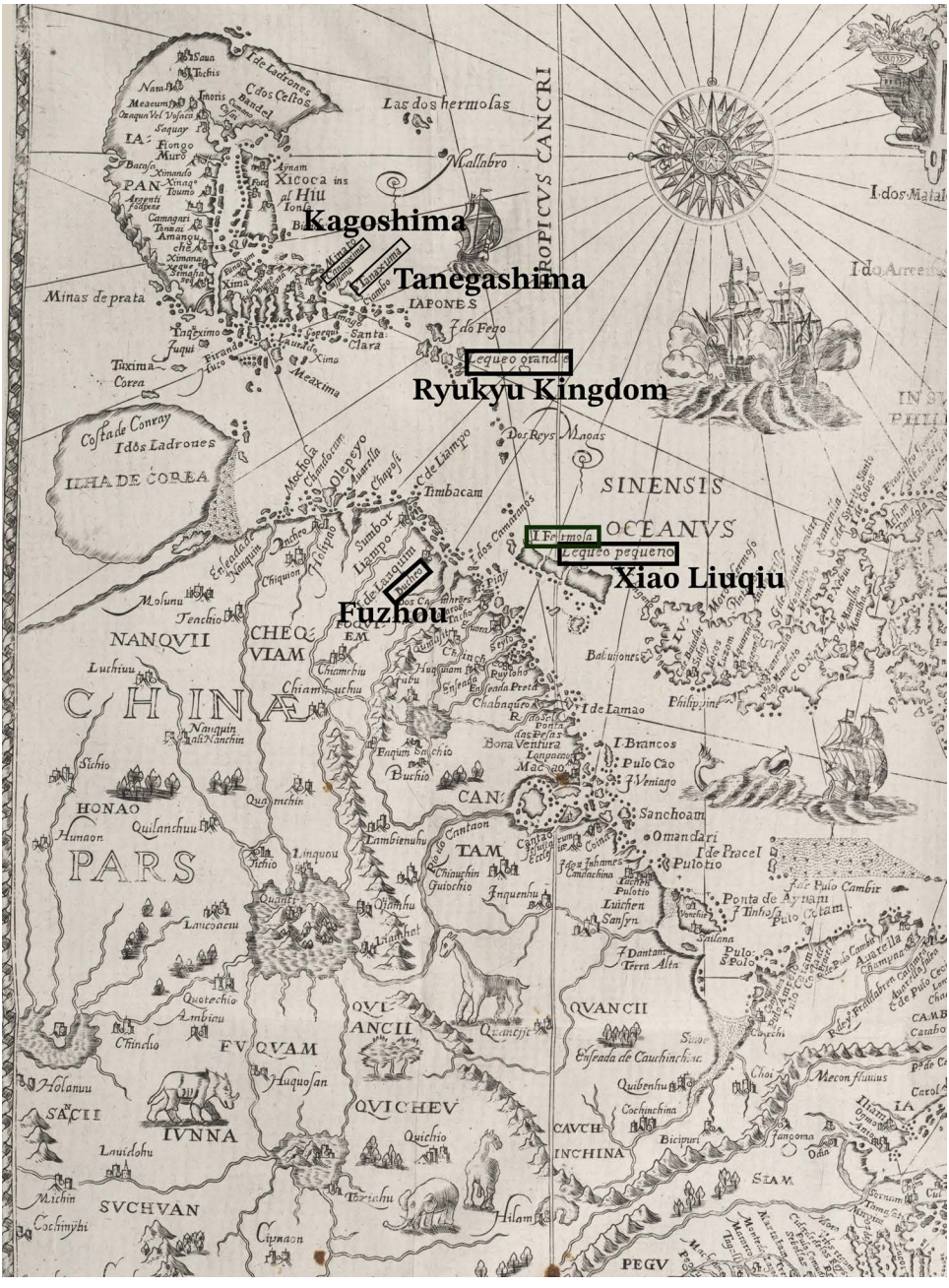
Source: This map was authored by Dourado in 1571 and digitized by the Torre do Tombo National Archive, https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4162624/ (accessed February 6, 2023).

Map 14. Conjunct Knowledge of Smaller Liuqiu and Formosa—Abraham Ortelius, *Asiae Nova Descriptio* (A New Description of Asia), 1579



Source: Library of Congress, https://tile.loc.gov/image-services/iiif/service:gdc:gdcwdl:wd:l_:18:90:1:wdl_18901:HC.MAP.1187_A/full/pct:100/0/default.jpg/ (accessed February 1, 2023).

Map 15. Integrated Knowledge of Formosa and Lequeo Pequeño—*Exacta & accurata delineatio cum orarum maritimdrum tum etjam locorum terrestrium quae in regionibus China, etc.*,1598



Source: Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Exacta & accurata delineatio cum orarum maritimdrum tum etjam locorum terrestrium quae in regionibus China, etc.*, 1598, Yale University Library Digital Collection, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2036135 (accessed February 6, 2023).

1620s, fixed trade points formed across Taiwan's northern and western coasts. These included Keelung, Beigang, and Dayuan 大員 (Taiyuan 臺員), which came to surpass the others in importance. Dayuan and Keelung also became names that generally refer to Taiwan.[119] Around this time, Taiwan became a trade entrepot frequented by Chinese, Japanese, and European merchants.

Although the Ming Empire's understanding of Taiwan deepened and the Chinese frequently visited its coasts, unlike Penghu, Taiwan was still outside Chinese administrative jurisdiction. A garrison was established in Penghu by the Song and Yuan dynasties. Chinese authorities still deemed Penghu the border of their domain in the early Ming dynasty, even though the government removed the garrison and mandated evacuation.[120] The Ming regularly dispatched naval patrols to Penghu and sometimes traveled to the island to expel pirates.[121] Taiwan was called "Keelung" and "Keelung Shan" and listed alongside Ryukyu in the "Biographies of Foreign Countries" rather than in the "Records of Administrative Geography" as Penghu with provinces of the Ming Empire in the *Book of Ming* compiled by the Qing.

The name "Taiwan" did not appear in official reports until the 1630s.[122] When Qing Emperor Yongzheng Emperor ascended the throne in 1723, he said in remembrance of the former emperor, "The place that is Taiwan did not belong to China in ancient times. My father, the emperor, through

119 Chen Tsung-jen, *Jiling Shan yu Dnshui Yang* 雞籠山與淡水洋 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 2005), pp. 65–76.

120 Lou Yao 樓鑰, *Gongkuiji* 攻媿集 (Hitting the shames), vol. 88, p.15b–16a; Zhao Rugua, *Zhufan zhi*, *juan shang*, p. 39a; Wang Dayuan and Su Jiqing (eds), *Daoyi zhilüe Jiaoshi*, p. 13, Huang Zhongzhao 黃仲昭, "Guji" 古蹟 (Historic places), in *Bamin Tongzhi* 八閩通誌 (Comprehensive records of the whole of Fujian), (Fuzhou: Chen Dao 陳道, Garrison Eunuch of Fujian 福建鎮守中官, 1490), vol. 80, p. 12; Zhou Ying 周瑛 (ed.), *Daming Zhanzhoufu zhi* 大明漳州府志 (Ming Zhangzhou Prefecture Gazetteer), (Zhangzhou: Chen Hongmo 陳洪謨, Prefect of Zhanzhou 漳州知府, 1513), vol. 30, p. 1a.

121 Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology (ed.), *Ming shilu Shenzong shilu* 明實錄神宗實錄, vol. 30, pp. 731–732; vol. 127, p. 2638; vol. 312, p. 5842.

122 Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Ming shi* 明史, vol. 323, "*Waiguo liezhuan* 4," (Beijing: Wuying palace edition, 1739), pp.17b–18a.

his mighty spirit, brought it into [our] territory."[123] This was not only the first time Taiwan came under the rule of the Chinese Empire but also the first time Penghu was administratively attached to Taiwan under the jurisdiction of Taiwan Prefecture.[124] Taiwan has not belonged to China since the Southern Song, and the assertion that it did is based on close ties between Taiwan and Pescadores beginning much later in the Qing.

In the late 14th century, the Ryukyu Kingdom worked with the Ming to combat Japanese pirates, which allowed it to enjoy more excellent trade opportunities than many other states paying tribute. Ryukyu flourished from the 14th to the 16th century through its central role in the transit trade between the Ming, restricted under the maritime ban, Japan, Korea, Siam, and Malacca.[125] During the 138 years from 1432 to 1570, Ryukyu sent at least 44 missions to Siam, Annam, Malaya and Java. Official Ryukyu merchants monopolized regional trade in East Asia, and the kingdom often profited "a hundred times over their costs," making Naha an important international port.[126] This was in contrast to Japan, with which the Ming government banned trade as Japan did not pay tribute.[127]

The prosperity of Ryukyu caused the geographical concept "Liuqiu"—the island groups between Fujian and Kyushu—to influence early 16th-century Portuguese geographical understandings of East Asia. The Portuguese were more familiar with the Ryukyuan than the Japanese, even though Marco Polo already made mention of Japan in the late 13th century. Earlier Portuegese nautical charts collectively referred to Ryukyu

123 Zhonghua shuju (ed.), *Qing shilu Shizong Xianhuangdi shilu* 清實錄世宗憲皇帝實錄, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), vol. 10, p. 189.

124 Jiang Yuying 蔣毓英 et al., *Taiwan fu zhi* 臺灣府志 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1977), p. 19. Jiang was the first Prefect of Taiwan after Taiwan was incorporated into the Qing Empire in 1684.

125 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom,* pp. 28–30, 32–34.

126 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom,* pp. 41–43, 48–51; Yang Zhongkui 楊仲揆, *Zhongguo, Liuqiu, Diaoyutai* 中國、琉球、釣魚臺 (Hongkong: Youlian yanjiusuo 友聯研究所, 1972), pp. 35–36.

127 Yang Zhongkui 楊仲揆, *Zhongguo, Liuqiu, Diaoyutai*, pp. 52–53.

and Japan as "Lequeos."[128]

In the latter half of the 16th century, the structure of Southeast Asian trade shifted with the arrival of Europeans and the loosening of the Ming maritime ban, pushing Ryukyu out of the exchange between China and Southeast Asia. Though it continued to act as a transit port in the silk and silver trade between Fuzhou, Hakata, and Manila while the Sino-Japanese trade was still banned, it no longer held its grand position of the past.[129]

Japanese powers, such as the Satsuma Daimyo, were increasingly intent on possessing or at least controlling Ryukyu beginning in the 1570s.[130] First, they sought to replace Ryukyu to gain commercial profit from the bulk trade that was conducted between Ryukyu, Japan, and Korea passing through Kikaijima, Amami, and Satsuma. Additionally, the Japanese became more concerned about military security in Ryukyu and the islands around its southern border due to the introduction and rapid spread of firearms and Christianity beginning in 1549, as well as Spanish ambitions to dominate East Asia, including China, Ryukyu, Java and Japan, when they arrived in Asia in the 1570s.[131] For the Japanese, possession of Ryukyu was critical to the defense of the southern islands of Japan.

Satsuma frequently threatened to aggress against Ryukyu to impel the Ming to lift its ban on trade with Japan; however, the Ming government ignored Satsuma's advances. In 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 unified Japan. The Satsuma Daimyo invited Ryukyuan envoys for a congratulatory visit in 1588 to request that Ryukyu become a broker for Sino-Japanese trade. However, Ryukyu never entered this role. Hideyoshi's repeated demands for provisions after he launched an

128 Murai Shōsuke, "Lequios no naka no Iapam" Lequios のなかの Iapam, in *Kodai Chūsei no kyōkai ishiki to bunka kōryū*, pp. 97–104;Chen Tsung-jen, *Selden Map yu Dongxiyang Tangren*, p. 189; Nakajima Yoshiaki 中島楽章, *Daikōkaijidai no Kaiiki Ajia to Ryūkuū: Rekiosu wo Motomete* 大航海時代の海域アジアと琉球：レキオスを求めて (Kyoto: Shibunkaku 思文閣, 2020), pp. 288–290.

129 Nakajima Yoshiaki, *Daikōkaijidai no Kaiiki Ajia to Ryūkuū: Rekiosu wo Motomet*, pp. 398–404, 411–412.

130 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom,* pp. 49–50, 58–63

131 Yang Zhongkui, *Zhongguo, Liuqiu, Diaoyuta*i, pp. 41–44.

invasion of Choseon caused the Ryukyu Kingdom to become concerned about Japan's ambition. Nonetheless, the Tokugawa Shogunate, founded in 1600, still strived to gain assistance from Ryukyu.[132]

In 1602, a tributary mission from Ryukyu bound for the Ming court was blown to northeast Japan. The Tokugawa Shogunate helped the castaways return to Ryukyu, whereupon the Japanese again asked Ryukyu to act as a facilitator in negotiations with the Chinese. However, the Ryukyuans did little to comply as they valued their relationship with Ming China more than with Japan.[133] In 1609, Satsuma attacked with a large fleet citing Ryukyu's disrespect of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Ryukyuans placed culture above military power for over two centuries, ultimately leaving them vulnerable to Japanese aggression.[134] Satsuma not only captured its king and top three officials (*Sanshikan* 三司官), it also forced a *de facto* cession of four islands in the northern Ryukyus: Amami, Tokunoshima, Okinoerabu, and Kikaijima.[135] The Ryukyu Kingdom was a tributary state of Japan (Satsuma) and China from 1609 to 1875.

Japan demanded that Ryukyu maintain its tributary relationship with China through the people of Kumemura to gain from the trade between China and Ryukyu. Satsuma also required Ryukyu to pay an annual tribute after it completed a land survey of the entire kingdom.[136] The Shogunate formally added Ryukyu's tribute to the register of domain taxes to be paid to the Shogunate in 1634.[137] In terms of internal affairs, Satsuma, in 1628, intervened in the kingdom by establishing a resident

132 He Ciyi 何慈毅, *Ming, Qing shiqi Riben yu Liuqiu kanxi shi* 明清時期日本與琉球關系史 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe 江蘇古籍出版社, 2002), pp. 47–49.

133 Murai Shōsuke, *KoRyūkyū*, pp. 371-375; He Ciyi, *Ming, Qing shiqi Riben yu Liuqiu guanxi shi*, pp. 49–54.

134 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, pp. 58–63.

135 He Ciyi, *Ming, Qing shiqi Riben yu Liuqiu guanxi shi*, pp. 52–53.

136 Murai Shōsuke, *KoRyūkyū*, pp. 397–398.

137 Kagoshimaken rekishi shiryō sentā Reimeikan 鹿児島県歴史資料センター黎明館, *Kagoshimaken shiryō Kyūki zatsuroku kōhen go* 鹿児島県史料旧記雑録後編5, (Kagoshima: Kagoshimaken, 1985), pp. 419–421, 444.

magistrate (*zaiban bugyō* 在番奉行) in Naha, who held authority over the kingdom. Satsuma even controlled appointments to the *Sanshikan*, the central governing body of the Ryukyu Kingdom. This enabled Satsuma to manipulate and monitor the king, effectively allowing Satsuma to govern the kingdom.[138] Satsuma even exploited and expanded theories of Japanese origin, including the Ryukyuan founding myths, to strengthen the legality of their remote control.[139]

The Ming did not formally recognize Satsuma's *de facto* control of Ryukyu. However, it responded by reducing the frequency of Ryukyuan tributary visits to China from once every two years to once every ten years.[140] In the following decades, Satsuma succeeded in dominating Ryukyu's system of government, domestic economics, and external trade.[141] Satsuma rose to become one of Japan's four most potent Daimyos, mainly due to the resources it obtained through Ryukyu. Japan's influence on Ryukyuan politics, economics, and culture gradually surpassed that of China. As the Japanese vied for influence, the Ryukyu Kingdom suffered increasingly severe political conflict between pro-Japan and pro-China factions.[142] In the early 1700s, Ryukyu's status as a trading hub weakened and was lost altogether when Japan prohibited the export of silver. Political turmoil and economic setbacks accelerated the kingdom's decline.[143]

The Ryukyu Kingdom completely lost its independence in the 1870s. In 1874, Japan dispatched troops and demanded compensation from Qing China for the death of Ryukyuan fishermen in 1871 in southern Taiwan. Japan repeatedly requested the Qing recognize Japan's suzerainty over Ryukyu in a dual peace agreement. Later, from 1875 to 1876, Japan

138 Murai Shōsuke, *KoRyūkyū*, pp. 396–397.

139 Murai Shōsuke, *KoRyūkyū*, pp. 384–389.

140 Academia Sinica Institute of History and Philology (ed.), *Ming shilu, "Shenzong,"* vol. 496, p. 9342; vol. 497, pp. 9363–9365; vol. 497, pp. 9374–9376; vol. 539, p. 10258.

141 Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom,* pp. 72–78, 95–99.

142 Yang Zhongkui, *Zhongguo, Liuqiu, Diaoyutai*, pp. 47–50, 76.

143 Lin Man-houng, *Jingmao Taiwan yu Dalishi*, pp. 89–92.

ordered Ryukyu to terminate its tributary relationship with the Qing and established it as a *daimyo* under the rule of the Home Ministry. In 1879, Ryukyu became a Japanese prefecture—Okinawa Prefecture.[144]

Since the 17th century, Taiwan has experienced Dutch, Spanish, Zheng, Qing, and Japanese rule. Trade was largely stable and prosperous, and Taiwan played an increasingly critical role in East Asia. After World War II, as the government of the Republic of China relocated to Taiwan and concluded the 1952 *Taipei Peace Treaty* with Japan (Treaty of Peace between the Republic of China and Japan, UN treaty series no. 1858), Taiwan gained a "country" that represented itself—the Republic of China.[145]

144 Yang Zhongkui, *Zhongguo, Liuqiu, Diaoyutai*, pp. 76–78.

145 Lin Man-houng, "Ryukyu and Taiwan on the East Asian Seas," *Liewu, jiaohun yu Taiwan dingwei: Jianlun Diaoyutai, Nanhai guishu wenti* 獵巫、叫魂與臺灣定位：兼論釣魚臺、南海帰屬問題(Taipei: Liming wenhua, 2017), pp. 288–305.

7. Related Historiography

The 19th-century French sinologist Léon d'Hervey de Saint-Denys' essays on the relationship between Taiwan, Liuqiu, and China profoundly impacted historiography in Japan, China, and Taiwan.[146] D'Hervey's writings stemmed from the renewed interest of European countries in East Asia, beginning with the Opium War in 1840. After he took up the position at the Académie Française, lecturing on Chinese, Tartar, Manchu, and other languages in 1874, d'Hervey published two serialized essays in September of that year and June of the following year in the *Journal Asiatique* that discussed the relationship between China, Liuqiu, and Taiwan.

Based on a translation of Ma Duanlin's 馬端臨 "Examination of the Four Barbarians" (*Siyi kao* 四裔考) from his *Comprehensive Examination of Literature* (*Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考) written in the 14th century,[147] these essays claimed that Taiwan was integrated with China and it is impossible that the Chinese only came to know of Taiwan as late as the 15th century.[148] Ma Duanlin states, "The State of Liuqiu is on oceanic islands east of Quanzhou. There is an island called Penghu, from which one can see Liuqiu. It takes five days of sailing to reach it.[…] The Emperor dispatched the Huben Commander Chen Leng and others to lead troops [to invade

146 "Hervey De Saint Denys, Marie Jean Léon," *The Encyclopædia Britannica* 11th edition (New York: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 1910), vol. XIII, "Harmony to Hurstmonceaux," 404; French National Library, https://gallica.bnf.fr/services/engine/search/sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&maximumRecords=50&collapsing=true&exactSearch=true&query=(dc.creator%20adj%20%22Hervey%20de%20Saint%20Denys%20%20L%C3%A9on%20d%27%22%20or%20dc.contributor%20adj%20%22Hervey%20de%20Saint%20Denys%20%20L%C3%A9on%20d%27%22/ (accessed February 15,2023).

147 Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, (Unknown: Baoxutang 寶旭堂, 1524), vol. 327, pp. 3b, 4a-b, 5a-b, 6a-b.

148 Leon d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, "Sur Formose et sur les îles appelées en chinois Lieou-Kieou," *Journal Asiatique*, 7:4 (Août-Septembre 1874), pp. 106–107.

Liuqiu]. [They] sailed from Yi'an to Gaohua Islet, then sailed east another two days to Yuanbi (鼋鼊, likely Goubi) Islet, and then continued one more day and arrived at Liuqiu." Ma's description incorporates the Sino-Liuqiu route from the Sui with the new route from Quanzhou through Penghu that developed in the mid-Tang to the Song. It does not follow the *Book of Sui*'s original text.

D'Hervey took Ma's text as primary proof for his claims. "Please follow the itinerary of the Chinese expedition on the map attached to this article, and you will see that there can be no doubt that Formosa is the land where they landed. The fleet first traveled from Y-ngan (A, Yi'an) to Kao-hoa (B), the southernmost Peng-hou islands, still referred to by that name today. The distance was about thirty-eight myriameters (10 kilometers) in a straight line, which she took two days to cross. Sailing for another two days, she arrived at Youen-peï (C), at the northern tip of the Peng-hou archipelago."

D'Hervey then compares the ethnographies of the Ryukyus and Taiwan by Europeans in the 18th century with descriptions of Liuqiu from the Sui dynasty. Through this comparison, d'Hervey claims that the Liuqiuans' language, customs and social organization are more similar to those of indigenous Taiwanese than those of Ryukyuans.[149] D'Hervey admits that interactions between Liuqiu (Taiwan) and China were sparse between the Sui dynasty and Ma's lifetime; he still states, "Formosa was, therefore, the sole 'Lieou-kieou' island known to the Chinese."[150]

He further associated "Liuqiu" with Iyaku (which he called Riou-kiou) mentioned by the Japanese envoys to the Sui, speculating that the information from the envoys may have led the Chinese to use "Liuqiu" as

149 Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*, pp. 107–109, 221–227.

150 Leon d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, "Sur Formose et sur les îles appelées en chinois Lieou-Kieou," pp. 105–121; Leon d'Hervey Saint-Denys, "Note complémentaire sur Formose et sur les îles Lieou-kieou," *Journal Asiatique*, 7:5 (May to June 1875), pp. 435–443. Also see Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 337–339; Macabe Keliher, "Contested Sovereignties: The Liuqiu-Taiwan Thesis as National Historiography (1874–1920)," unpublished manuscript, 2023, pp. 6–11.

a general term to refer to all islands between Japan and China. This is the root of the confusion concerning the true identity of "Liuqiu." According to d'Hervey, the Chinese were unfamiliar with the Ryukyu Archipelago "at least until the mid-13th century." The islands "did not, for a long time, give rise to any new names." The Chinese regarded the Ryukyus "as appendages to the Lieou-kieou (Taiwan) and both are included under this single designation until the 16th century."[151] Finally, d'Hervey emphasized the close relationship between Formosa and China since ancient times, even though he acknowledged that Liuqiu 流求 after the 14th century is the Ryukyu of more recent times.

The soundness of this interpretation is questionable for many reasons, though that did not keep it from becoming widespread in continental European scholarly circles in the 1880s.[152] D'Hervey's theory spread to East Asia, where it was accepted by academics in Japan, colonial Taiwan, and Republican China in the first half of the 20th century and continued to be influential after World War II.[153]

After d' Hervey released the Liuqiu-Taiwan theory, Dutch scholar Gustave Schlegel refocused on examining folklore and extended d'Hervey's theory in 1895, asserting: "Liuqiu refers to present-day Taiwan. Ryukyu of the present was named only in 1382 and corresponded to what the History of Ming refers to as Chūzan , Nanzan, and Hokuzan."[154] Studies by d'Hervey and Schlegel were not introduced to Japan until 1897. That year, Ludwig Reiss, a German historian and professor at Tokyo Imperial University, published his monograph *Geschichte der Insel Formosa*. Reiss's foundational role in modern Japanese historiography deeply entrenched Schlegel and

151 We could not find a reason for why d'Hervey recorded the Japanese pronunciation of Iyaku as Riou-kiou. See Leon d'Hervey Saint-Denys, "*Sur Formose et sur les îles appelées en chinois Lieou-Kieou*, Journal Asiatique, vol. IV, 7 ser. pp. 117–118.

152 Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiu lun," pp. 7–8.

153 Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 334–337; Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*, pp. 221–227, 235–237; Macabe Keliher, "Contested Sovereignties," pp. 6–11.

154 Gustave Schlegel, Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 trans., *Zhongguo shisheng zhong weixiang zhuguo kaozheng* 中國史乘中未詳諸國考證 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928), pp. 164–167, 185–888.

Saint-Denys' theories in Japanese academia.[155] Through Reiss's influence, scholars such as Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, Ichimura Sanjirō 市村瓚次郎, Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豐八, Inō Kanori 伊能嘉矩 and Wada Sei 和田清 all came to endorse the theory that "Liuqiu" only referred to Taiwan or at least included Taiwan until the 14th century. They accumulated substantial evidence to support this theory from areas including folklore, language and environmental studies.

In his article "Tōizen no Fukken oyobi Taiwan ni tsuite" (On Fujian and Taiwan before the Tang Dynasty) published in 1918,[156] Ichimura Sanjirō argues that Yizhou, which was invaded by the Wu, was also Taiwan. Ichimura refutes views from Chinese and Japanese literature that both Yizhou and Danzhou 亶洲 were near Japan. Without extensive verification, he claims that the location of Yizhou, its distance from the Wu Kingdom, natural conditions, and local customs as described in the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* support his claim.

Inō Kanori and Wada Sei, along with many other respected scholars, accepted Ichimura's argument and provided a variety of evidence to support it. Iha Fuyū, who thought Liuqiu was more likely Ryukyu, also recognized the value of Ichimura's work. This common academic consensus gave legitimacy to the view that Yizhou and Liuqiu were historical toponyms for Taiwan, an idea that became mainstream in Japan from the 1920s onward and even appeared in middle school textbooks.[157]

Akiyama Kenzō 秋山謙藏, a pioneer in the study of Ryukyu trade history, was among the first to explore the genealogical dissemination of d'Hervey's theory. Akiyama shows that two main factors caused the identification of Yizhou and Liuqiu with Taiwan to gain attraction. One

155 Ludwig Riess, Yoshikuni Tōkichi 吉國藤吉 trans., *Taiwantō shi* 臺灣島史 (Geschichte der Insel Formosa) (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1898), pp. 1–40; Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 3338–340.

156 Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 343–347; Ichimura Sanjirō 市村瓚次郎, "Tō izen no Fukken oyobi Taiwan ni tsuite" 唐以前の福建及び臺灣に就いて, *Tōyōgakuhō* 東洋學報, 8:1 (1918), pp. 1–25.

157 Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 339–341.

was European sinology's influence on Japanese Oriental studies and theories.The other was an urgent demand for an increased understanding of areas of Japanese expansion, which included Taiwan, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Korea by the 1890s. Many Japanese sinologists, some of whom had participated in or received funding from the Oriental Society founded by important figures, including Katsura Tarō, unreflectively accepted and further elaborated upon d'Hervey's weakly substantiated theories.[158]

Beginning in 1946, Liang Chia-pin, a student of Wada Sei, conducted a series of studies on the locations of Yizhou and Liuqiu. His work was published in 1965 as a monograph, *Islands in the East and South China Seas and China* (*Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*). Liang criticized Japanese academics' assertion that Yizhou and Liuqiu were Taiwan. He also discussed the academic genealogy and dissemination of this theory within Japan. He agrees with Akiyama that the strong impact of European sinology and the demands of external expansion caused Japanese scholars to accept this theory readily.

Because Liang had experience with both Chinese and Japanese academics, his research also extends to the identification of Yizhou and Liuqiu with Taiwan in the Republic of China. He identifies Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞, author of *New History of Yuan* (*Xin Yuan shi* 新元史), as one of the Republican Chinese historians who accepted the theory that the Liuqiu of Sui and Yuan period records was Taiwan. Under the entry for Liuqiu in "Biographies of Foreign Countries V," Ke largely follows Schlegel's argument, stating that "Liuqiu is Taiwan of today. Ryukyu of today did not come into contact with China until the Ming. Those who conflate them make a great mistake."[159] Ke was essentially a traditional historian. The identification of Yizhou with Taiwan in Republican academia likely began with anthropologist Lim Hooi Seong 林惠祥. Lim's 1930 work, *The Primitive Culture of Taiwanese Aborigines* (Taiwan fanzu zhi yuanshi

158 Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 343–347.

159 Ke Shaomin, *Xin Yuan shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), p. 4570.

wenhua臺灣番族之原始文化), makes arguments similar to Schlegel.[160] Feng Cheng-chun 馮承鈞 and Lü Ssu-mien 呂思勉 both also expressed support for the identification of Yizhou and Liuqiu with Taiwan.[161]

To Liang, Republican Chinese scholars and their colleagues in colonial Taiwan, like Lien Heng 連橫, author of the *General History of Taiwan*, accepted the Liuqiu-Taiwan theory for two primary reasons: first, Ke Shaomin's reputation; second, the abundance of European and Japanese scholarship that they considered rigorous and scientific.[162]

A minority of pre-1945 scholars supported the theory that Liuqiu was actually Ryukyu. In Europe, the French sinologist M.C. Haguenauer was at the forefront of academics who argued this position. In Japan, Chūma Kanoe 中馬庚, Kumamoto Shigekichi 隈本繁吉, Kita Sadakichi 喜田貞吉, Akiyama Kenzō and Iha Fuyū supported this theory.[163] In 1897, Chūma and Kumamoto advanced that Liuqiu is Ryukyu with modern academic methodology. They first focused on information concerning geography and navigation from the *Book of Sui* and compared this with navigation records between China and Ryukyu from the Ming and Qing dynasties. In response to d'Hervey and Schlegel, they examined similarities and differences in the rituals and material production of Liuqiu during the Sui, and Taiwan and Ryukyu of more recent times. They concluded that Liuqiu was more likely the Ryukyus than Taiwan. They believed the differences between Ryukyu and Liuqiu could have resulted from contact with Japan and the adoption of Japanese cultural elements.[164]

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160 Lai Fu-shun, "Yizhou lishi yanjiu (*shang*)," p. 139; Lin Huixiang (Lim Hooi Seong), Taiwan fanzuzhi yuanshi wenhua 臺灣番族之原始文化 (Shanghai: Academica Sinica Institute of Social Sciences, 1930), pp. 91–98.

161 Lai Fu-Shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp. 26–28.

162 Liang Chia-pin, *Liuqiu ji Dongnan zhudao yu Zhongguo*, pp. 107–108.

163 Akiyama Kenzō, *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 383–388.

164 Chūma Kanoe 中馬庚 et al., "Taiwan to Ryūkyū to no kondō ni tsukete" 臺灣と琉球との混同に付て, pp. 25–45.

Akiyama published at least three articles on the topic of Liuqiu, Ryukyu, and Taiwan. In 1932, the famous translator Qian Daosun 錢稻孫 introduced Akiyama's ideas to Republican China with an abbreviated translation of one of his works. In the translation, Qian stated these critical points of Akiyama's argument: 1. Pre-16th century travelers did not have a clear understanding of Smaller Liuqiu; 2. There is more evidence of historical exchange between Ryukyu and China than between Taiwan and China; 3. Monsoons significantly influenced navigation in historical times. The months of the invasion of Liuqiu 流求 recorded in the *Book of Sui* overlap with journeys of emissaries to Liuqiu during the Ming and Qing; 4. Ming and Qing emissaries believed that funerary and other customs of the Ryukyu of their time were similar to those recorded for Liuqiu in the *Book of Sui*.[165] Iha Fuyū, known as the "Father of Okinawan Studies," collected and analyzed a vast amount of fieldwork and documentary materials on the customs of the Ryukyus. He believed that, in terms of customs, Okinawa was more similar to Liuqiu than Taiwan.[166]

Given anthropological and archeological discoveries in Ryukyu and the reinterpretation of existing Chinese and Japanese materials following 1945, many Japanese scholars became less sure of Liuqiu's identification with Taiwan. Many even identified Liuqiu with Ryukyu, including Shidehara Taira 幣原坦 in the late 1940s,[167] Matsumoto Masaaki 松本雅明 in the 1970s, and Masuda Osamu 增田修 and Murai Shōsuke 村井章介 in the 1990s. Those who argue that Liuqiu's identity is uncertain include Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎, Takara Kurayoshi 高良倉吉, and Akamine Mamoru 赤嶺守.[168]

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165 Qian Daosun 錢稻孫, "Liuqiu, Taiwan? Ryukyu?" (Liuqiu, Taiwan or Ryukyu?) 流求，臺灣？琉球？" *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 37:3 (1932), pp. 1–8; Akiyama's work later collected in his book *Nisshi kōshō shiwa*, pp. 380-415.

166 See Iha Fuyū, *Wonari Kami no shima.*

167 Shidehara Taira 幣原坦, "Oki no Awa" 沖の泡, *Okinawa Bunka Ronsetsu* 沖縄文化論說 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron sha, 1947), p. 10.

168 Lai Fu-Shun, "Liu-Zhong hangxian yanjiu (*shang*)," pp 9–31；Murai Shōsuke, *Ko Ryūkyū*, pp. 3-51; Takara Kurayoshi 高良倉吉, *Ryūkyū no jidai: Ōinaru rekishizō wo motomete* 琉球の時代——大いなる歴史像を求めて (Naha: Hirugi sha, 1989), pp. 29–33; Akamine Mamoru, Lina Terrell trans., *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, p. 4.

After World War II, Kuo Ting-yee 郭廷以 and Ts'ao Yung-ho were among the Republic of China scholars in Taiwan who argued that Liuqiu is Taiwan.[169] Su Beng's 史明 *Taiwan's 400-year History* (Taiwan ren sibai nian shi 臺灣人四百年史) also makes this argument.[170] Maurus Hao Fang 方豪 refrained from making a clear statement on the concrete location of Liuqiu.[171] Liang Chia-pin and Lai Fu-shun from Taiwan argued that Liuqiu is Ryukyu.

Anthropologist Ling Shun-sheng, who long sought to explore the connections between the cultures of the Pacific Rim and ancient China, was at the forefront among scholars in Taiwan after World War Two, maintaining that Yizhou was Taiwan. In "A Survey of Ancient Min-Yüeh Tribes and Formosan Aborigines," Ling, to prove the cultural proximity of indigenous Taiwanese and the Baiyue, or even that the indigenous Taiwanese descended from the Baiyue, argued that Yizhou was Taiwan based on its location southeast of Fuzhou, the southern part of Linhai Commandery under the Wu. He supported his argument by noting similarities in the customs of Yizhou—headhunting, tooth extraction, and cliff-burial—indigenous Taiwanese and the pre-Qing Baiyue.[172] Kuo Ting-yee, Ts'ao Yung-ho, and Maraus Hao Fang more or less agreed with Ling's arguments.[173]

Early PRC scholars who argued that Yizhou and Liuqiu were Taiwan include Su Jiqing 蘇繼廎, Chen Bisheng 陳碧笙, and Tan Qixiang 譚其驤.[174] More recent proponents include Zhang Chonggen 張崇根, Zhou

169 Kuo Ting-yee, *Taiwan shi'shi gaishuo* 臺灣史事概說 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1954), pp. 5-8.

170 Tu Cheng-sheng, "Liuqiu yu Liuqiu lun," pp. 9–10；Su Beng 史明, *Taiwan ren sibainianshi (Hanwen ban)* 台灣人四百年史（漢文版） (San Jose: Paradise Culture Associates, 1980), pp. 20–28.

171 Maurus Hao Fang, *Taiwan zaoqi shigang* 臺灣早期史綱 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1994), pp. 23-24.

172 Ling Shun-sheng, *Zhongguo bienjiang minzu yu huantaipingyang wenhua,* pp. 363–387.

173 Kuo Ting-yee, *Taiwan shi'shi gaishuo*, pp. 2-3; Ts'ao Yung-ho, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu*, p. 73; Maurus Hao Fang, *Taiwan zaoqi shigang*, pp. 5-8.

174 Macabe Keliher, "Contested Sovereignties," p. 1, note 2; Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (ed.), *Zhong-guo Lishi Ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集, "The Three Kingdoms Period and the West Jin Dynasty Period" (Beijing:

Yunzhong 周運中, and Xu Xiaowang 徐曉望.[175] Zhang and Zhou start by arguing that both Yizhou and Liuqiu were Taiwanese based on Wu, Sui, Song, and Yuan records of Han Chinese exchanges and activities in Taiwan and Penghu. They infer that the Chinese carried out long-term exploitation of Taiwan and Penghu and that Chinese powers exercised sovereignty over Taiwan and Penghu. Zhou further argues, "Since Taiwan's historical development has been completely consistent with that of mainland China since ancient times, Taiwan currently belongs to China, which is an undoubted historical inevitability."[176] In the PRC, Mi Qingyu 米慶餘 is the clearest supporter of arguments for Liuqiu's identification with Ryukyu.[177]

George Henry Kerr was a Western scholar who argued that Liuqiu was Ryukyu. His influential work, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*, states this position.[178] However, many other scholars, such as Leonard H. D. Gordon and Roderich Ptak, have recently supported arguments identifying Liuqiu with Taiwan theory. Ptak is also one of the few Western researchers who have discussed the identification of Yizhou. He concluded that the location of Yizhou is challenging to determine.[179]

Zhong-guo Ditu Chubanshe, 1996), vol. 3, pp. 26–27; Tan Qixiang ed., *Zhong-guo Lishi Ditu ji*, "The Sui Dynasty Period, the Tang Dynasty Period and the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period" (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1996), vol. 5, pp. 3–4.

175 Zhou Yunzhong, *Zhengshuo Taiwan Gushi*, pp. 102–104.

176 Zhou Yunzhong, Zhengshuo Taiwan Gushi, p. 265.

177 Mi Qingyu, *Liuqiu rishi yanjiu* 琉球歷史研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin renming chubanshe, 1998), pp. 9–15.

178 George Henry Kerr, *Okinawa, The History of an Island People* (North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 2000), pp. 40–41.

179 Roderich Ptak, Chiu Tairan trans., *Fujian-Penghu-Taiwan: Zongjie wenxianzhong de zaoqi jiechu (Yue Xiyuan 200–1450 nian)*, pp. 7–40.

8. Conclusion

Through this study's reinterpretation of Yizhou 夷洲 and Liuqiu 流求 as recorded in pre-1874 primary sources, we describe the shifting of Ryukyu and Taiwan's statuses in the long-term history of Northeast Asian waters. We also describe the spread of theories that identify Yizhou and Liuqiu with Taiwan. With the following summary of our findings, we hope that this paper can serve as a reference for further academic research and political discourse:

First, historical Chinese texts describe Yizhou during the Three Kingdoms and Liuqiu during the Sui as "eastern barbarian." The Wu Kingdom launched military invasions against Yizhou and the Sui Empire against Liuqiu, though neither established governance over these places. Yizhou and Liuqiu had their own military and political systems, and whether these places were located in Ryukyu or Taiwan, they were not categorized as "a part of China" by contemporary sources. From the Southern Song to the Ming, Chinese regimes established military bases in Penghu and even brought it under the administration of Quanzhou, Fujian. Literature of the time usually described Penghu as located at the intersection of China and foreign lands. Taiwan, at that time, remained outside of Chinese dominion. Taiwan was incorporated into a Chinese empire for the first time in 1683 after the Qing conquered the Zheng regime. Neither the Wu and the Sui invasions of Yizhou and Liuqiu nor Song, Yuan, and Ming control of Penghu support the argument that China ruled Taiwan before the Qing.

Second, the theory that Liuqiu is Taiwan was the product of a series of international academic fallacies that can be traced back to the work of French sinologist Leon d'Hervey Saint-Denys in 1874. In the past, without modern databases, gathering and comparing historical texts made it challenging to determine the geographical location of

Yizhou and Liuqiu. D'Hervey's assertions were based on Ma Duanlin's description of Liuqiu, which combined the entry from the *Book of Sui* with his coeval knowledge of the Sino-Liuqiu route passing Penghu (Penghu was not part of Taiwan until 1683). Based on his nineteenth-century perception of the relationship between Taiwan and Penghu, d'Hervey inferred that the Gaohua and Goubi islets the Sui army passed before reaching Liuqiu were within Penghu. This interpretation is inconsistent with the original entry of the *Book of Sui*, which states that the Sui army headed due east from these two islets to reach Liuqiu.

Around the time of the Song dynasty, "Liuqiu" came to refer to the area between Ryukyu and Fujian, including Taiwan, which contributed to the confusion of modern scholars. Ryukyu went through more significant cultural shifts than Taiwan because it was integrated into intra-Asian exchange to a higher degree from the 3rd century onward. Satsuma itself considerably changed Ryukyu by establishing it as a *de facto* Japanese protectorate. The dissimilarities between Ryukyu and Liuqiu led d'Hervey to conclude in the late 19th century that indigenous Taiwanese were more similar to the people of Liuqiu recorded by the *Book of Sui* than Ryukyuans.

Despite its fallacies, d'Hervey's theory became widely acknowledged among continental European academics in the 1880s. The early 20th century greatly influenced Japan, Republican China, and Taiwan in terms of both academic discourse and education. Even after World War II, d'Hervey's theories continued to influence the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China (Taiwan), Europe, and the United States. The PRC's White Paper to unify Taiwan begins by saying, "Taiwan has belonged to China since ancient times. It was known as Yizhou or Liuqiu in antiquities (*sic*)."[180]

180 Man-houng Lin and Yichen Huang, "Has Taiwan Been China's Since Ancient Times? 'Yizhou'and 'Liuqiu' in Historical Records," in Bo-jiun Jing and Torbjörn Lodén eds, *Assessing the Development of Taiwanese Identity* (Stockholm: Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2023), pp. 12–23.

Third, regarding Yizhou's location, this study departs from Lai Fu-shun's view that Yizhou was at the northwest end of Okinawa. Instead, we suggest that Yizhou was in the northern part of the area between present-day Kyushu and Okinawa—the northern Ryukyus in the broad sense as defined by Hamashita Takeshi. This intermediary region was at the junction of Japanese and Ryukyuan influence from the 14th and 17th centuries. Some toponyms, such as Yaku 夜久 and Yaku 掖久, in 7th-century Japanese texts that refer to the northern part of the Ryukyus possibly share the same etymology as the Chinese term Yizhou. The pronunciations of both Yaku 夜久 and Yaku 掖久 are also similar to Iyaku, the Japanese name for Liuqiu, which also appeared in the 7th-century *Book of Sui.* In addition, the *Seaboard Geographic Gazetteer* describes Yizhou as a place where "The heads of these barbarians each claim themselves king and partition lands. The people belong to different kings." This description is similar to the *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu*,which describes many small states in the area between Kyushu and Okinawa. There are also more archeological sites from around the 3rd century that fit historical descriptions of Yizhou in this area. Moreover, *Records of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Book of Later Han* categorize Yizhou as a place near Japan and eastern barbarian, suggesting that its location—whether in Japan or Ryukyu—was outside of the central Chinese territories. We also employed historical mapping software to show that Yizhou, southeast of modern Taizhou, is more likely to be the Ryukyu Islands in the broad sense than Taiwan, which lies more directly south.

Fourth, unlike those who identify Liuqiu with Taiwan, we use historical maps and documentary evidence retrieved to argue that Liuqiu is Ryukyu or within Ryukyu rather than Taiwan through the following points:

1. In Taiwan, there is no historical or archeological evidence of the "state" or "capital" of Liuqiu during the Sui and Southern Song.

2. Liuqiuan aerial sepulture described in the *Book of Sui* differs from the burial practices of indigenous Taiwanese. The endocannibalism attributed to Liuqiu is also absent among indigenous Taiwanese.

4. The 13th-century State of Liuqiu, recorded in the *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu*, describes aerial sepulture, rumored cannibalism, bigger capacity for military mobilization, and similar maritime routes as the *Book of Sui*. The *Record of Drifting to the State of Ryukyu* clearly states that the State of Liuqiu was directly south of Kyushu and the Amami Islands.

5. Depictions of Sino-Liuqiu routes on historical maps and in textual records from the late Northern Song to the Ming became increasingly detailed. A transition in Chinese characters from "Liuqiu" 流求 to "Ryukyu" 琉球 occurs in writings and maps across this period.

6. In contrast to Taiwan, which remained primarily outside of regional East Asian maritime commerce from the 3rd to the 13th centuries, Ryukyu maintained exchange with Kyushu and other regions of Japan, the Korean Peninsula, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang. Ryukyu was connected to Fujian via the Sino-Liuqiu routes since the 7th century. To a certain extent, these connections were created and maintained by the trade of *turbo marmoratus* and Chinese and Japanese raden objects, porcelain, stone cookware, and iron products. This exchange laid the foundation for the Ryukyu Kingdom to become the "*wanguo jinliang*" 萬國津梁 (the port of ten-thousand countries) during the peak of its prosperity from the 14th to 17th centuries. The Mongol invasion of Song China in the 13th century, the rise of piracy along the coasts of Kyushu and Zhejiang in the 14th century, and the silk-silver trade across China, Japan, and Latin America in the 16th and 17th centuries further strengthened Sino-Liuqiu maritime routes and bolstered exchange between Ryukyu and Southeast Asia.

7. The Chinese discovered Taiwan when the Penghu branch of the Sino-Liuqiu route began to develop. During the 10-14th centuries, contemporaries either included Taiwan within the broader geographic concept of "Liuqiu" or recognized it as "Xiao Liuqiu." Silk-silver trade in the 16th and 17th centuries caused Taiwan to

gain significance in maritime commerce. Concerned over the threat of Western powers since the late 16th century, Satsuma launched an invasion of Ryukyu in 1609 and thereafter controlled the Ryukyu Kingdom's economic and political affairs. These pivotal factors caused Taiwan to replace Ryukyu in importance in Asian waters. Thus, the Yizhou invaded by the Wu in the 3rd century and the Liuqiu attacked by the Sui in the 7th century were most likely the Ryukyu Islands, which then held much greater importance in maritime exchange than Taiwan.

Fifth, connections between Liuqiu, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Japan, and Korea coincide with the Routes of the Japanese Missions to Tang China from the 7th to 9th centuries. This paper traces the roots of the Jiangsu-Zhejiang route of the Japanese Missions to Tang China by discussing 3rd-century Yizhou. The continuous shifts in the routes of these missions from the 13th to the 17th centuries correlate with the changing status of Ryukyu and Taiwan in Asian waters. These transitions reveal structural transformations in Asian maritime trade routes. We confirmed Ts'ao Yung-ho's claims that the Kuroshio route was active until the 3rd century, whereafter the structural core of inter-Asian exchange shifted to the overland and marine silk roads through the 13th century. These structural transformations are significant to understanding international historical relations within Asia.

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