

Ryukyu and Taiwan in Maps of China made in Edo Japan

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I. Inception

It was on December 3, 2014 in Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫 that I encountered the map when Prof. emeritus Hosoya Yoshio 細谷良夫 at Tohoku Gakuin University and his colleague Prof. Onuma Takahiro 小沼孝博 gave an introduction of the map “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” 大明地理之圖 with Hosoya family’s back ground as oriental medicine specialist since the early eighteenth century (Hosoya and Onuma, 2015). Hosoya family previously donated the map to Toyo Bunko in the same year.

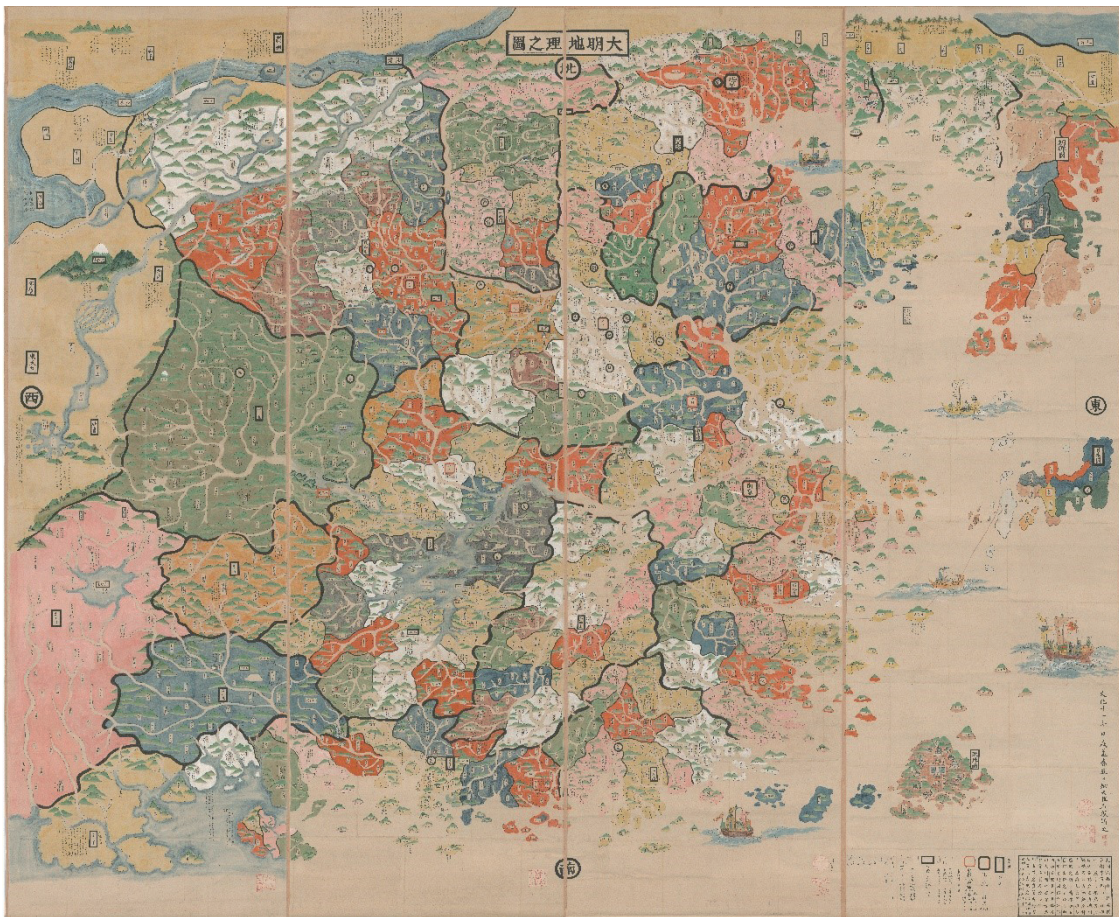


Figure 1. “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” in Toyo Bunko

Ming China territory occupies the central part of the map, and Western regions 西域, Mongolian plateaus, Korean peninsula, Japanese archipelago, Ryukyu islands, a part of Southeast Asia surround it. A lot of place names derived from legendary Yugong 禹貢 and icons of historical sites are arranged in administrative divisions in Ming China era. It is a map with old information in new framework.

Korean peninsula, Japanese archipelago and Ryukyu islands are in line along the right-side frame from the north to the south. In terms of map integration, a map of Korea and a map of Japan must be added to the base map of China. It will be discussed whether a map of Ryukyu Kingdom is added or not.

II. Toyo Bunko “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” and three others

Bibliographical data of Toyo Bunko “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” (Map A) are as follows.

<Map A>

Holder: Toyo Bunko

Title: Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu

Size: 344.8 cm x 360.8 cm

Place and date of facsimile: Kyoto in 1814 (Bunka 11)

Map maker: Hosoya Korenao 細矢惟直 (Oriental medicine specialist)



Figure 2. Part of “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” in Toyo Bunko

In the bottom right corner of Map A, Ryukyu Kingdom (Ryukyu-Koku 琉球國) is located as a distinctive large island in which more than ten buildings are depicted with names related to the palace of Ryukyu King including gates, a pond, two temples, and two guest houses for missions from China. Sho-Ryukyu (Xiao-Liu-Qiu or Ryukyu Minor) is adjacent to the large island. These islands having same color pattern can be assumed as a territory and three Chinese characters Ryukyu-Koku 琉球國 stand for Ryukyu Kingdom in a rectangle frame.

West to Ryukyu Kingdom, three islands colored blue, Kuheki-To 龜鼈島, Kosai-To 高采島 and Hoko-To 澎湖島 are arranged in an east-to-west direction. Except Houko-To, two others are known as names in itineraries of expeditions to Ryukyu 流求 dispatched by Sui government in the early seventh century. Kosai-To should be Koka-To 高華島 to be exact. The expeditions were recorded in the Book of Sui 隋書, since then quoted in many historical books in China by the time of emergence of Ryukyu Kingdom in the late fourteenth century (Akiyama, 1935, pp. 349-379). Then, Kosai-To has another name Tonei (Dongning) 東寧. This trivial sign may suggest that map makers in Edo Japan had serious interests with Taiwan.

Tei Seiko (Zheng Chenggong) 鄭成功 occupied Taiwan, and died in 1662. His son Tei Kei (Zheng Jing) 鄭經 took over the island, became the second King, and named the Kingdom as Tonei in 1664. Tei Seiko had Japanese mother in Hirado, and Tei family played a crucial role in setting a good relation with Japan through Tonei-Sen 東寧船 trades at Nagasaki, so they are known there (Ishihara, 1945, pp.76-112). In that sense, Map A has Taiwan as

name of Tonei.

The Toyo Bunko “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” (Map A) has three other similar maps. All four maps are manuscript in colors, and traced back to common base maps of China, Korea and Japan.

Institute for advanced Studies in Asia, the University of Tokyo, holds “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” (Map B) which is 288.0 cm x 358.2 cm in size, facsimiled in 1686 and added in 1690 at Yoshi-do 養志堂 (private school of oriental medicine) in Kyoto. It has description of map integration happened in 1681. Map maker is unknown.

Hosa Bunko, Nagoya City Museum 蓬左文庫 holds an untitled map (registered name: Shin-Koku-Juroku-Sho-No-Zu 清国十六省之図; Map C) which is 165 cm x 199.3 cm in size, has no data of facsimile and place of map making. It has description of map integration happened in 1681. Map maker is unknown.

Ashida Bunko, Meiji University Library 蘆田文庫 has an untitled map which is 161.2 cm x 201.8 cm in size, has no data of facsimile and place of map making but some place in Mito. Map maker is Tachihara Kyosho 立原杏所 (Painter, 1786-1840) who is a painter of Chinese pictures.

Map B is almost same as Map A on Ryukyu Kingdom. Map C and D commonly have Dai-Ryukyu 大琉球 (Ryukyu Major) with Sho-Ryukyu as an attached island. Dai-Ryukyu is depicted rather simple with no signs of palace-related buildings. Map C has a red line connected Dai-Ryukyu with the main land China and Map D does as well. Map B, C and D unanimously have Tonei in Kosai-To.

During the conference and right after that, I got new information of “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu”, one is held in Yamaguni Jinja shrine, Kyoto and the other in National Museum of Asian Arts-Guimet, Paris. That suggest number of maps of this kind would increase for future.

III. Dai-Min-Sei-Zu

Currently three maps called “Dai-Min-Sei-Zu” 大明省圖 exist in Kushuon-In 久修園院 in Suita (Map X), Kobe City Museum (Map Y) and Dr. Gabor Lukacs in Paris (Map Z) (Gabor, 2014). All three maps are colored manuscript. “Dai-Min-Sei-Zu” is larger than Map A and B. In terms of the base map of China, “Dai-Min-Sei-Zu” is common to “Dai-Min-Chili-No-Zu” but Korea and Japan parts are different. The three maps are close relative to the four maps.



Figure 3. Part of “Dai-Min-Sei-Zu” in Kushuon-In (*The World In Japanese Maps Until The Mid-19th Century*, 1975)

Map X is made in 1691 by chief priest Sokaku 宗覚 at Buddhist temple Kushuon-In, Map Y leaves a lot of marks of correction through referring to Map X, and Map Z explains of its bibliography including several copy works after making of Map X. In terms of extent maps, Map X is the oldest. However, the bibliography of Map Z accounts three predecessors back to circa 1680's.

The three maps are almost identical. The large island with an account of sea route that two days voyage from Kuheki gets to Ryukyu Kingdom. It has no buildings. Kuheki 龜鼈, Hoko-Sho 澎湖嶼 and Koka 高華 are arranged in the east-to-west direction. Koka has an account of sea route that two days voyage from Senshu (Quanzhou) 泉州 get to Koka. Like Map C and D, each of three maps has a red line drawn from Ryukyu Kingdom to Senshu. And, the three maps unanimously have no Tonei in Koka. It means Map X, Y and Z has no Taiwan.

During the conference and right after that, I got new information of “Dai-Min-Sei-Zu” held in National Archives of Japan.

IV. Map Integration

Map X, Y and Z are less edited than Map A, B, C and D. Elaborate Ryukyu Kingdom in Map A and B must be edited in the process of integration in Japan. Of course, the model can be traced back to *Ryukyu-Zusetsu* (*Liugiu-Tushuo*) 琉球圖說 by Tei Jakuso (Zheng Ruoceng) 鄭若曾 circa the mid-16th century, the third version of *Koyo-Zu*. (*Quangyu-Tu*) 廣輿圖 by Ra Kosen (Luo Hongxian) 羅洪先 in 1561 and *Tosho-Hen* (*Tushu-Bian*) 圖書編 by Sho Ko (Zhang Huang) 章潢 in 1613. Moreover, an explanatory legend in each of the four maps written by Japanese mapmakers gives citation policy. Tosho-Hen is listed as one of them. Anyway, the original base map of China can be traced back to the 16th century.

Naming of Ryukyu-related islands has three types. Ryukyu-Koku without Ryukyu Minor in Map X, Y and Z is directly from the original base map of China. Ryukyu Major and Ryukyu Minor in Map C and D is edited in Japan. Ryukyu-Koku and Ryukyu minor in Map A and B are copied through citation from Tosho-Hen in Japan. They show mapmakers appreciation for Chinese knowledge on Ryukyu issues.

The red line should be drawn in the original base map of China. Map X, Y, Z, C and D have the line connected Ryukyu with China. Map A and B do not. Map A, B, C and D has another red line drawn from Kyushu to Meishu-Tsu (Mingzhou-Jin) 明州津. Meishu is old name of Ninpo (Ningbo) 寧波 but mapmakers intentionally spot another place for Meishu from Ninpo to distinguish close relation between Japan and China (Takahashi, 2012, pp. 31-43). These two kinds of red lines may reflect mapmakers' interests of China with Japan or Ryukyu respectively.

Map A, B, C and D have Tonei in Kosai-To but Map X, Y and Z do not in Koka-To. That means the latter three maps maintain original form of the island and the former four express serious interests on Taiwan. Tonei is a sign of interest of Taiwan in early Edo period Japan.

V. Barbarian Ryukyu to Ryukyu Kingdom

This section starts with two Ryukyus which give references to see the transition from barbarian Ryukyu to Ryukyu Kingdom. “Nihon-Huso-Koku-No-Zu” 日本扶桑國之圖 (circa 14c.) in Hiroshima Prefectural Museum of History is a marvelous Gyoki style map (manuscript in black and red) in which Ryukyu-Koku 龍及國 is located along the upper left frame. Two Chinese characters follow Ryukyu-Koku. They look Atama 頭 (head) and Tori 鳥 (bird), which usually lead an expression of a species having a bird-head and human-body. Another feature is that a red line borders these Chinese characters with Japanese territory. The red line separates a space for non-human species from another for human. The idea of a “bird-head and human-body” species can be traced back to

barbarian Ryukyu in the Book of Sui.

Korea provides an excellent example of map of Yugu (Ryukyu) as an attached map “Yugu-Kuk-Ji-Do” 琉球國之圖 in *Haedong Cheguk Ki* 海東諸國紀 (1471). The main island with rich information of Naha port, Shuri palace and other places is disposed in the center of the map and surrounded by small islands with sea routes information. For short, it is totally different from the palace-oriented map of Ryukyu Kingdom like in Map A and B and does not have any barbarian factor. This map is the earliest extent map of Ryukyu Kingdom. However, the map “Yugu-Kuk-Ji-Do” did not affect mapmaking of China-centered Asian maps made in Japan.

VI. Tonei and Kokusenya (Koxinga)

Miyagi Prefectural Library holds “Kunyu-Wankuo-Chuantu” (Konyo-Bankoku-Zenzu) 坤輿萬國全圖 by Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (1602) and its accurate copy with brilliant colors. They can claim themselves as a world map, and both have Dai Ryukyu and Sho Ryukyu standing for Ryukyu Kingdom and Amami Oshima 奄美大島 respectively. In this case, Sho Ryukyu is rather independent from Dai Ryukyu. An island between Dai Ryukyu and Luzon 呂宋 has no name in the original map and Tonei in the copy map. At least, Matteo Ricci geographically recognized the island but no reliable information of its name.

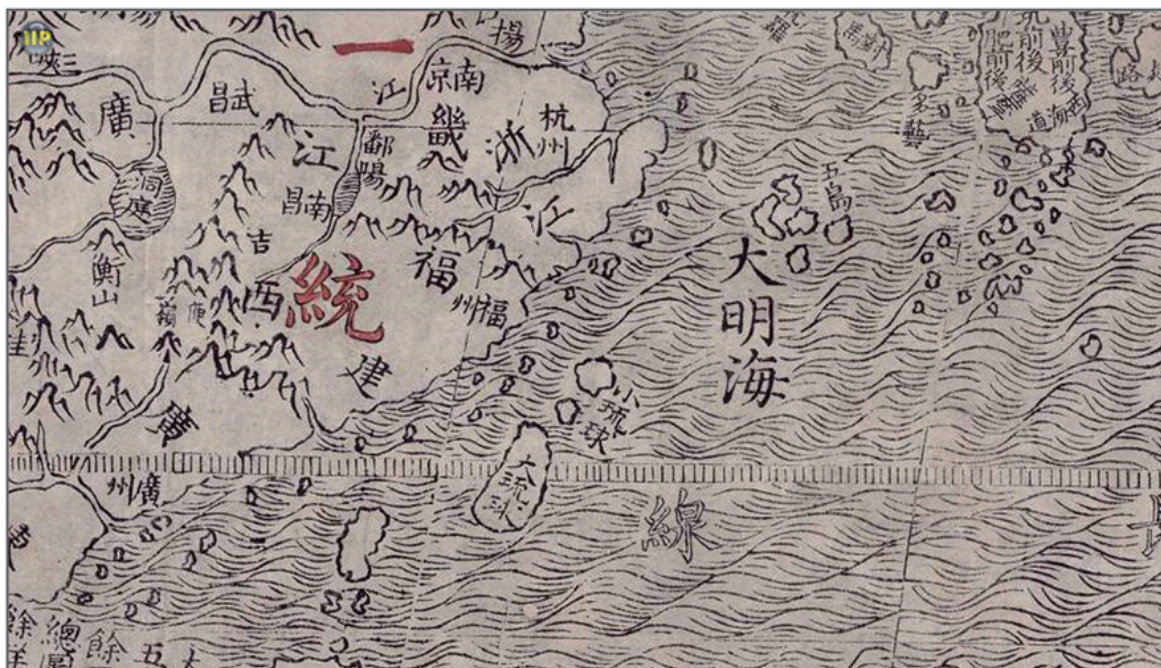


Figure 4. Part of “Kunyu-Wankuo-Chuantu” (Konyo-Bankoku-Zenzu) by Matteo Ricci (1602)

Once Da Liuqiu or Dai Ryukyu was brought in Japan, it was always allocated to Ryukyu Kingdom in maps. Xiao Liuqiu or Sho Ryukyu was treated differently. In Matteo Ricci’s “Kunyu-Wankuo-Chuantu”, it stands for Amami island. Of course, this idea was originated in China like other examples.

Unknown mapmaker reproducing the copy map of “Kunyu-Wankuo-Chuantu” in Japan surely had information of the island as Tonei. It means the copy work was done after 1664 when Teikei named the Kingdom as Tonei, and same time shows keen interest with the island which is later called Taiwan. In that sense, usage of Tonei endorses the copy map to have a common concept of the island with the previous four maps though the former has totally different bibliography with the latter.

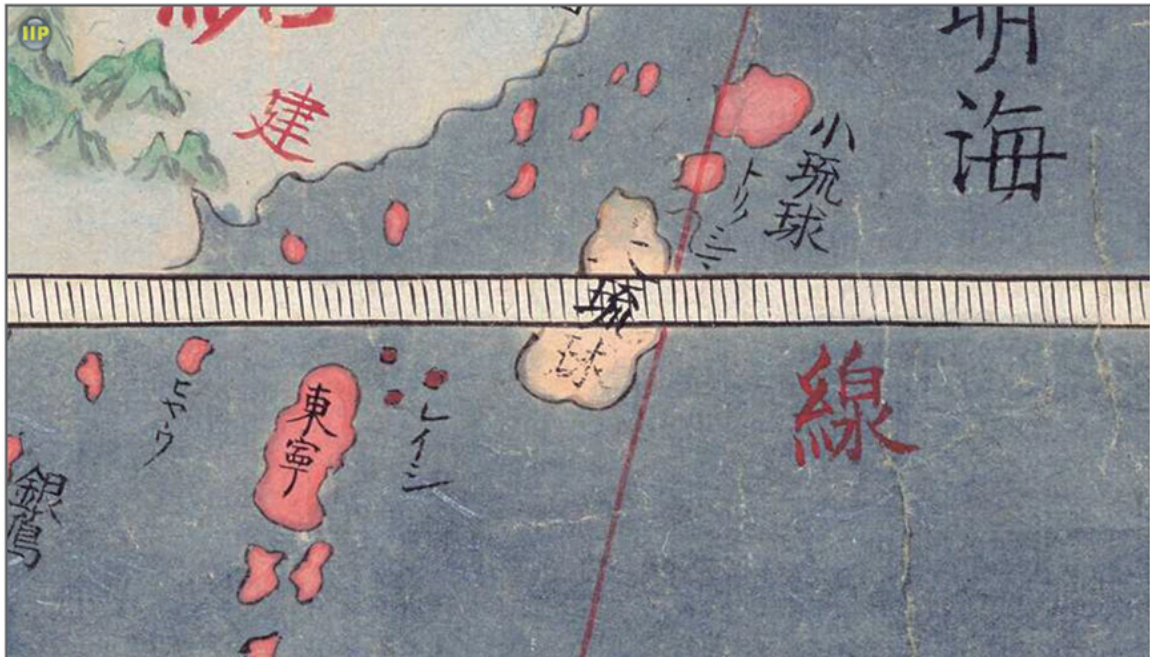


Figure 5. Part of "Konyo-Bankoku-Zenzu"

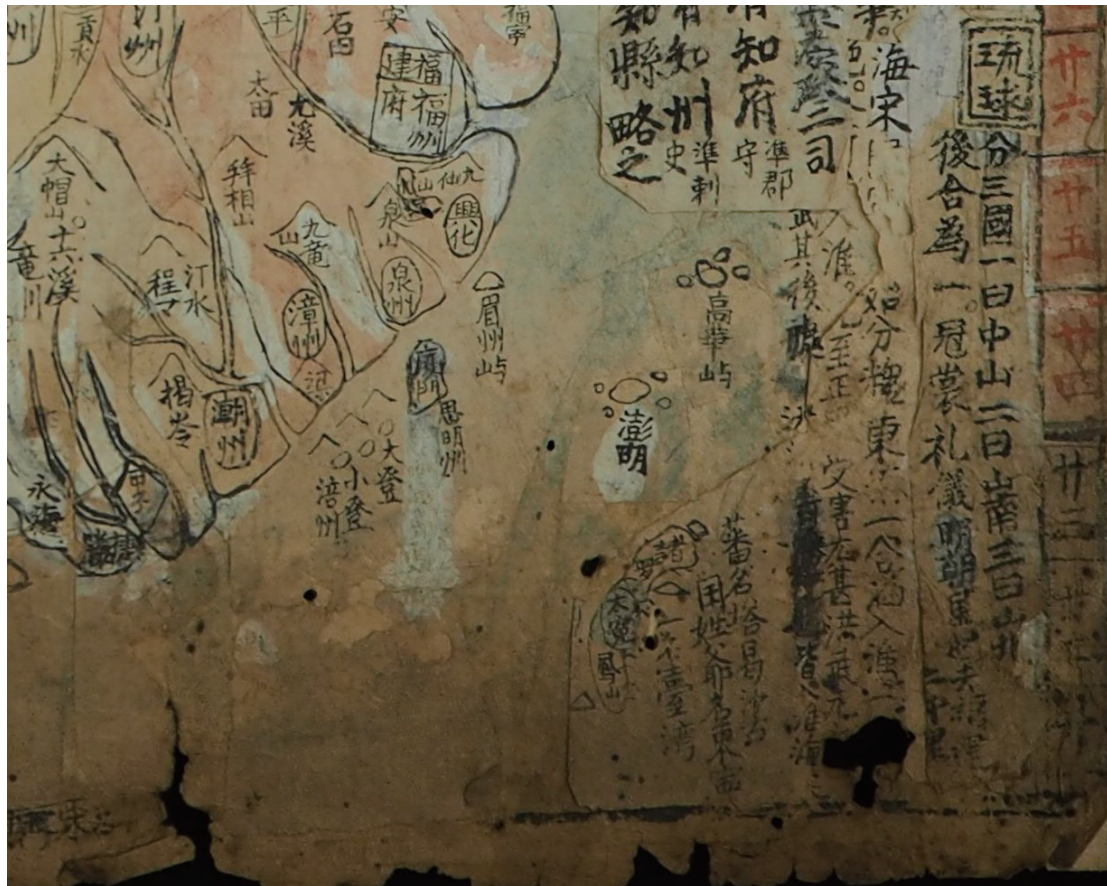


Figure 6. Part of "Dai-Min-Itto-Nikyo-Jusan-Sho-Zu" in *Todo Shugun Kokon Enkaku Zu*



Figure 7. Part of “Dai-Shin-Koyo-Zu”

Nagakubo Sekisui provides another example of keen interests with Taiwan. “Dai-Min-Itto-Nikyō-Jusan-Sho-Zu” 大明一統二京十三省圖 in the atlas and one sheet large map “Dai-Shin-Koyo-Zu” 大清廣輿圖 (completed in 1783, published in 1785) have Taiwan-related islands. The former has a banana-shaped island with three names Taien (Dayuan) 大寬 in the middle, Shora (Zhuluo) 諸羅 in the north and Hozan (Fengshan) 鳳山 in the south. Beside the island, belief history is described that barbarian name is Ta-Ka-Sa-Go (Ta-He-Sha-Go) 塔曷沙古, Koku-Sen-Ya (Ko-Xin-Ga) 国姓爺 named Tonei-Koku (Dongning-Guo), and another name is Taiwan. All the information should be in the original atlas. Of course, Koku-Sen-Ya means Tei-Seiko (Zheng Chenggong). Chikamatsu Monzaemon won a great reputation through long-run staging of Ningyō Joruri (puppet theater) “Koku-Sen-Ya-Kassen” 国性爺合戦 for more than seventeen months. It started in the eleventh month of 1715.

The latter has additional accounts of gazetteers, history, place names and Sho-Ryūkyū (Xiao-Liuqi) 小琉球 off the southwest coast of island. Currently, tourists can enjoy one day trip for Xiaoliuqi from Gaoxiong port. Sekisui added these accounts to the map. The latter map shows Sekisui’s serious motivation to add Taiwan information on maps.

VII. Ryūkyū and Taiwan Imagined

A map maker in Japan has a map of China to duplicate it for himself or publish for many persons who are interested in history, geography, literature in China, namely Sinology. He does not want to change the core part of maps. If possible, he wants to edit the other parts, Japanese archipelago, Korean peninsula, or islands in the sea.

In terms of Ryukyu, map makers tend to choose Chinese sources. They do not choose “Yugu-Kuk-Ji-Do” in *Haedong Cheguk Ki* which can be an excellent candidate for Ryukyu Kingdom. Sho-Ryukyu issues brought some diversity or confusion on map making in China. Map makers in Japan accepted and reflected them on map making. Transition from barbarian Ryukyu to Ryukyu Kingdom corresponds to changes in original maps of China.

Taiwan issues were treated differently. As Map A, B, C and D, putting Tonei on the island Kosai-To shows strong intention of the map makers to visualize Taiwan. Tonei was the earliest representation for Taiwan since the early 17th century. That paved a way to the long run success of “Koku-Sen-Ya-Kassen” by Chikamatsu Monzaemon since the early 18th century. Then, Ta-Ka-Sa-Go and Koku-Sen-Ya in maps followed that popularity.

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Comment to Session 1

SHIH Wen-cheng

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Professor Lin’s article is a sharing of some of the experiences and research methods of his map research in recent years. He thinks that cartography is a study in combination of various branches of knowledge, the interpretation of historical documents, the knowledge in chorography, the academic background in geography and toponymy. And the researcher should also do internal and external analysis of a map, taking into consideration the historical background, the style and the drawer’s habit.

Indeed, the study of antique maps is like a process of decoding and translating, especially the language of the old map needs to be translated. In addition, the map has different themes, political economy, military, engineering, and *feng shui* (風水), etc. The map of China also involves the discussion of art history and image history, so the study of maps is indeed attractive. Lin’s paper mentioned several methods for studying maps. I think there is another point that is important. Researchers should go out of the research room and go to the historical site to find out the landscape map and route of the ancient map. The research will find map can really reflecting reality.

The second article is a study by Professor Watanabe Miki about the map of the Ryukyu Kingdom drawn by