

Rhetoric and Fables in Sakishima Islands: A Historical Guide for visitors/stayers through the pursuit of G. H. Kerr

Takehito ONISHI

Preface

80 years have passed since the World War 2 ended. And about 120 years have passed since a specialist on the situation of Okinawa in Japan, F. Ifa (伊波普猷), posted a story of a tragic Yaeyama girl to a newspaper in Japan. Meanwhile, Sakishima islands and the inhabitants there have been experienced an unparalleled history of wars and their results including human migration.

My Narrative in this paper is based mainly on my experiences in Okinawa Prefecture for about 15 years, which include about 12 years in Miyakojima (宮古島, hereafter abridged expression 'Miyako' shall be adopted). Although I have got some stirring tales during the period, I take up the most touching and the most instructive ones, "a Yaeyama girl" and "Inugan", in this paper. Both stories have been traditionally handed down from generation to generation. The former one was featured by Ifa from his experience in Miyako. The latter was from Yonaguni island (与那国島, hereafter Yonaguni), which is located at the western end of the Sakishima islands (先島諸島, hereafter Sakishima).¹

At present these stories themselves can be read through some volumes published in Japan. However, for those interested in historical or geographical knowledge about Sakishima or the surrounding area, only a limited information can be got from them. But as a matter of fact, the information from the viewpoint of geo-political administration has been obtained since the 1960. This is with the result of the World War 2; the islands westward from Okinawa-Mainland (沖縄本島) had been under control of the military force of U.S.A. since 1945 until 1972. As a specialist engaged in Formosa (台湾, Taiwan), George Henry Kerr (1911-1992, hereafter Kerr) collected an enormous volume of historical materials after the 1950s. Among them the materials concerning Sakishima occupied a rather large part.

His interest in Sakishima was not simply due to needs for occupation policy in Okinawa. The then political situation in Taiwan must have affected his mind. That is, in Taiwan there arose the massacre against Taiwan people by Chinese army (Chinese National Party, KMT) in

¹ 'Sakishima' stands for the islands situated south-westward from 'Miyakojima islands' (宮古諸島) and north-eastward from 'Yonaguni'.

February 28, 1947. Later he wrote a book about this tragedy in 1965.² (see **Appendix-3**)

Kerr pursued hearing from a wide range of people engaged in Sakishima affairs. Especially he was most interested in archeological knowledge. He collected shards scattered in Sakishima by himself. However, his main theoretical framework was 'war' and its consequence of "subjugation". Therefore, when we hear from him, we find everything was seen from this basic viewpoint. Nevertheless, from his study we can learn about Sakishima something that are useful even now. For, I believe that the underlying ideology of his pursuit has been surviving and strengthening until now.

Japanese also have had a wish to know what Sakishima is, for a long time. Before the World War 2, there existed sizable studies about Okinawa including volumes referring to Sakishima. These intellectual tradition in Japan also gave important effects to Kerr's rhetoric.

By walking through the fables collected by Kerr as well as the authentic historical tales remained in Sakishima, Okinawa and Japan, this paper aim to navigate the readers to explore a new vision of fascinating Sakishima and Okinawa islands, breaking away from a traditional military regime.³

1. A Yaeyama girl as a tragic heroin

In January of 1909⁴ on a newspaper "Ryukyu Shinpou" (琉球新報), F. Ifa picked up a girl from the southern Yaeyama, Hateruma. He depicted her tragedy in his article, which adopted the oral traditions obtained in his research tour in Miyako. (Ifa, pp.210-220)

² "Formosa Betrayed" 1965. This book has a prefatory note by US Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer to the Secretary of State dated August 17, 1947, which wrote that Formosans would be receptive toward US guardianship and UN trusteeship.

³ Names of islands groups between Okinawa-Mainland and 'Taiwan' have changed even in a couple of centuries. At present, among 'Sakishima' islands, there exists an area named 'Yaeyama' (八重山), which includes many attractive islands; 'Ishigaki' island(石垣島), 'Iriomote' island(西表島), 'Taketomi' island(竹富島), 'Kohama' island(小浜島) etc. More than often, the area excluding Yonaguni islands is called 'Miyako-Yaeyama' (宮古・八重山), which offers a lot of important tales for this paper. Beside these islands there is 'Hateruma' island(波照間島) far southward of then. Some transitional variations about the grouping of the islands above mentioned shall be shown in **Appendix-1** of this paper.

⁴ We should take notice about the fact that this year is on a period that "movement asking for repealing heavy tax (人頭税撤廃運動)" had its peak. See **Appendix-2**.

Ifa was particularly impressed with the Susaka Well (白明井) when visiting Miyako Island. It scared him by its darkness and depth. Women dwelling in the neighborhood were obliged to engage in drawing water as a routine work. He wrote on the opening of the article; every time he heard the name of this well, he reminded of the story of a pitiful Yaeyama girl (可憐なる八重山乙女). Now, we introduce a synopsis of this fable due to Ifa's writing.

About 380 years ago, she was captured during the rebellion of Akahachi (赤蜂)⁵. This pretty girl was possibly a daughter of Akahachi, who bred her up as a hidden flower.⁶ As Akahachi had its origin in Hateruma, the girl lived in Hateruma with her parents. But, when Kanemori of Miyako attacked Yaeyama as a leader of Okinawa force, she was among the captives. She was the best trophy for him taken in the war. Nevertheless, as soon as she entered into Miyako she was forced to draw water in the steep well in a daytime, as well as to be exhausted with attending him at night. She could not put up with her toil and disgrace, she asked to return home many times. When she became aware of the futility of frequent pleadings, her thoughts were at home with her parents and made an Aago, (synopsis)

In the later version of this book, Ifa revealed that the source of this theme was from a traditional Miyako record “宮古島旧記”. But, as a matter of fact, he knew this story at the seaport Harimizu (漲水) in Miyako island on returning journey from Yaeyama in 1908.

According to his explanation, Ifa came to know this song from his friend Tomimori (富森寛卓), who had described this song by hearing the singing voice of his wife. Tomimori confessed that it would be very difficult to separate the prose from ‘vocal accompaniment’ compounded within her song. In fact, this song took a style of the traditional folk song “AaGo” (アーゴ). Ifa found out that the song had been sung by poets instead that the girl herself.⁷

Tomimori explained Ifa about the detailed content of this “AaGo” and the future fate of the girl. Ifa summarized the storyline of the “AaGo” as follows: *When the girl was living*

⁵This sentence is from the first version of his book, which was published in 1911. A rebellion against Shuri by Akahachi is allegedly in 1500.

⁶This sentence is also due to the first version, on which Ifa expressed a doubt whether she was a daughter of Akahachi. In revised version, he changed Akahachi to Unitora.

⁷ This “AaGo” was written down by Ifa in his article. In this ‘Aago’, Unitora (鬼虎) appeared for the first time in ‘the name of the song’, which Ifa explained in the later version of his book that; women in Miyako used to be singing the long tune named ‘a song of the daughter Yaeyama Unitora’ since long time ago.

in Yaeyama, she was with her mother. But she was taken to the Harimizu seaport, betrayed by the words of a magnate that she would become his wife. Knowing her actual situation, she appealed for returning to the country her parents lived. Then she was demanded to fill a jar which had no bottom with water.⁸ She tried to fill it in vain. When she went to a carpenter to ask for making a bottom of the jar, she was refused. When crying desperately on the shore of Harimizu, she found a small fishing boat. Immediately she ran toward it and asked the male sailors from Ikema to help her back. They said that this boat was prohibited to load ladies and that the boat for you would come over there. After that, another boat did come. Again, she approached the boat and begged the ladies from Ikema to take her to Yaeyama. They said in the same way that this boat was not for women. They soon left for selling fish. After these incidents, she went to Sodeyama (袖山) and climbed a tall tree to gaze away at home. (Plot-1)

No one could remember the succeeding parts of this story, but Tomimori vaguely remembered that the following story was something like this: *From the tree she could find that her old mother was busy in sawing, and that her elder sister was weaving with calling the younger sister to help her. She tried to come close together...* (Plot-2)

Ifa cannot show the succeeding story. But, due to oral traditions, he surmised, the story ought to be continued further to show her tragic fate: *She was treated cruelly by a legal wife and damned by the neighbors, at last starved to death with her body on the tall tree.* (Plot-3)

As seen in the succession of the plots from 1 to 3, stories became more and more tragic and came home to the reader's mind. However, at the same time, the contents of the tale are thought to become inaccurate and leaving from the original content.

Nevertheless, Ifa did not cautious about this possibility. Ifa concluded that "AaGo" was made in the age of 'Yaeyama Seibatsu' (八重山征伐). And yet, he highly praised this tale from the viewpoint of a history of literatures in Okinawa.

'People living in Okinawa-Mainland are inclined to look down on the native of Sakishima. But seeing from the fact, they should squarely look at reality that Sakishima has given birth to the female poet who are much greater than Onna Nabi (恩納ナビ) and Yoshiya (吉屋, Chiru)'. He wrote at the concluding remarks of the article in that way.

With this statement, he insisted that those who believed that Sakishima Islands should be

⁸ It would be questionable how Ifa was impressed about this 'fact' at the time of first hearing.

barbarian island must change their opinion. (Ifa, 219)

From his cordial appeal we find that Yaeyama area had been thought as a miserable periphery subjugated by the central administrative force (Okinawa) until he wrote this. And Hateruma was also thought a further peripheral area, which gave birth to a rebellious person. Under these political situations, the girl from Hateruma was treated as a slavery girl. Ifa wanted to take up the girl as showing a prejudice of the prevailing common knowledge by his literate findings. However, we must say his eyes were not gazing at the girl herself who had been surely unhappy on this situation. He did not stand on the individual girl, but on her background culture of Sakishima which had been historically built up.

We may ask, what caused this tragic situation leading Yaeyama into misery? Ifa must think it as the result of the war. The girl was a sacrifice more than a heroin. Ifa might have injected his position in the central part of Japan to this story. If it were the case, we could understand his agony in full affirmation. However, the discourse emphasizing the result of war exclusively like him could easily give a broad interpretation about the human tragedy. It could be both implicative and explicative.

How Yaeyama and Hateruma came to be subjected by the alien forces? Can local history be explained only by military actions of aliens?

We need to examine his implicit assumption that Hateruma has been more underdeveloped island than Yaeyama as well as Okinawa. Ifa expressed Hateruma area as 'under Yaeyama', which did not imply necessarily look down on the island, although. Still, it could be worth considering that the situation of Sakishima islands might have been different until around the 13-14th century.

2. Unitora as a villain

Later in 1922, Ifa changed the father of a heroin from Akahachi to 'Unitora'. We are not sure about his reasoning behind this change. Most probably, Ifa might have had a suggestion from Kiyomura Kounin (慶世村恒任), who were a pioneer of Miyako history and wrote about the same legend as 'a tragedy of a daughter of Unitora' around 1920.

For, it was 1915 that a friend of Ifa, Tomimori, published his paper "Kyoudo-shi" in Miyako, due to an explanation by Shimoji Kazuhiro (下地和宏). Tomimori wrote nothing about 'Unitora' and 'Yonaguni' in the paper. Therefore, it would be unlikely that Tomimori could tell Ifa about Unitora. In other word, when Ifa heard this legend, the girl in the legend could not be a daughter of Unitora. Ifa, too, wrote nothing about 'Yonaguni' in his first version of this article. However, it does not mean that Ifa did not know about 'Unitora',

For, in the first version of Ifa's article, the name of this song was indicated 'a song of a daughter of Yaeyama Unitora'. Thus, precisely speaking, Ifa did not know that this song was related to Yonaguni.⁹

In the later version of this article, Ifa pointed out that "this Aago" must have suffered a great change during the oral-succession. In other words, he admitted a possibility that the men of later period might change the relics as their convenience.

Nevertheless, his article showed a confusion in some points.

Ifa understood the first part of the (plot-1) differently. That is; he wrote in a letterpress (other part besides the relics) of this article, that she was ordered to wait until the time, when a stone-made water pot without bottom existed on the seashore became filled with water. In this case, water pot (jar) could not be repaired from the beginning. Then, we must say that her wish was just rejected by her master with no other room remained. In other words, there would be no room for (Plot-2).

Moreover, it would be even probable that her homeland could be wealthier than Harimizu area. (Plot-2) might confirm this prospect. Her family was busy in homework, weaving, which implied her homeland could be prosperous by exporting goods destined for outer area. At last, (Plot-3) insisted her miserable end. This was because of her illegal position in the ruling family. And yet she was climbing a tall tree. Like other Sakishima tales, the tall tree often played an important role. That was for the sake of looking southward.¹⁰

From every plot, we can even imagine the economic background of this tale: The area southward from Miyako might be prosperous, because the girl was adoring her homeland, and her wish to return might include economic reasons. Of course, it could not be denied that children would be glad to be with their parents in any case. Be as it may, often people will adopt someone else.

⁹ In addition, we should know that Ifa's controversial paper 'Ryukyu annexation is a type of abolitionism', written in February of 1914, was inserted in the 2nd version of Ifa (1) in 1916 and the 3rd version of 1922. But later, in the improved version of 1942 this article had been deleted from the book.

¹⁰ The girl was adoring southward. We can find the same situation in the fable of Irabu island (伊良部島), the adjacent island of Miyako, too. Legend of 'Noushi-Utaki (乗瀬御嶽)' pictures a girl waiting for her father back from southern islands, which did not emphasized by Miyako historians.

We can be suspicious about the difference between two versions of description. Ifa made a decision to refer newly the name of Unitora as a father of heroin in the later version.

It could be probably the case that the story Ifa directly heard from Tomimori was as follows: “She was a daughter of either Akahachi or of his nameless colleague” .

We may ask Ifa that; what impressed him so terribly? Only abduction of a beautiful girl? Or women’s hard work in a dark cave? Both are conceivable, but we must take economic situations at that time into consideration. In Sakishima, there was a “movement against a severe tax” . He must know this move and be also eager to improve their economic conditions. Ifa must have a strong expect to show the political situation of Sakishima toward the people in Japan.

Why a villain must be Unitora instead of Akahachi? We can assume that he might accept Miyako historians.

After Ifa wrote about a girl from Yaeyama, he might learn from the progress in Miyako historians, in which Unitora has been seen the best person eligible to play the role of villain. In fact, Yaeyama including Yonaguni has come to appear on the stage as a sacrificed area by the war caused by rebellious person Unitora, which ought to lead the defeated island to economically poor situation.

Thus, the tragedy that this legend tried to appeal, which had originally no relation with a military matter, later became a representative rhetoric in our thought. Historians in the later period came to be able to describe a history from the viewpoint of heroes making splendid activities and leading to military results.

In this way this tale became a tragedy of Okinawa accompanied by the introduction of Unitora and later Yonaguni. This development must have strengthened the impression of the tale. In other words, to the extent that the girl was a daughter of Unitora, the tragedy was seemed to be more caused by the subjugation of the island by alien forces. It may reflect Japan’s economic development at that time.

Miyako has accumulated a numerous classic literature on the history of the island. The most important material among them was a “ChuhDoh” family’s pedigree (忠導氏家譜).¹¹

In this pedigree, the founder of the family Nakasone Tuyumiya (仲宗根豊見親) was described as a honorable winner on the battles against Yaeyama. Akahachi in Yaeyama and Untora in Yonaguni

¹¹ This was compiled in 1757 by an order of 1729 from Shuri to Yaeyama officers. Nakasone Tuyumiya himself and his battle against Yaeyama were previously listed in an official record “Yousei Kyuhki” (雍正旧記) in 1727.

were depicted in this document. However, the name “Untora” appeared exclusively in local documents like this pedigree. No official document of Ryukyu government lists this name.

We have to notice a political environment of those days. In 1689, Shuri administration newly established an office of genealogy. After this, the vassals of Shuri had to make two pedigrees, one of which should be for administration in Shuri and another was for each family with red mark of Syuri.

It is important that by this pedigree local magnates were guaranteed their social standings by the central administration. Local landlords were probably willing to make their family glorified by this pedigree. And the stories written in the local records (Miyako had an urbane Japanese style epic (“記事仕次” 1748) beside this) were on the events of about 250 years ago!

In the 20th century, historians of Miyako positively published writings about their island. Their works exerted a large influence among Sakishima historians as well as archeologists. These writings were, more or less, obliged to accept the images depicted in the traditional records. Kiyomura and other Miyako historians were also affected by the rhetoric originated from these. Thus, a geopolitician like Kerr will easily snatch up these materials, especially when he was interested in the military affairs in Yonaguni.

3. A strange fable in Yonaguni

Now in the beginning of the travel searching Sakishima history, a fable named “Inugan” shall be introduced. Kerr heard this story from a famous Yonaguni historian. We will follow Kerr’s description as it was.¹²

Once upon a time a ship set out from Kume island for Okinawa, to carry tribute to the King at Okinawa¹³. Buffeted by storm, it drifted southward to Yonaguni, and this empty island appeared to be a good place to live. One woman and her dog were among the castaways. All seemed to be going well for the company until the men began mysteriously disappear, one by one. In truth they were being killed by the dog. When none were left, the woman and her four-footed companion settled down to live in a great cave which had a spring within.¹⁴

¹² The description here is exactly by the same wording as Kerr’s manuscripts II-Y3-4 and IX-3-5, with due grammatical corrections.

¹³ There are some differences in Kerr’s description between manuscripts. In the text II-Y3, “Chuzan” (中山) was used instead of “Okinawa”. Here, the description in manuscript (IX-3) is adopted.

¹⁴ The outflowing stream is today called the Inugan (“Dog spirit”) river.

Meanwhile, far away on Kobama island, a happily married man went out one day to fish. His canoe was caught in a storm and driven far westward to Yonaguni. Coming ashore he found no houses and no signs of human life. Suddenly he stumbled on the cave and the beautiful girl from Kume island. She at once implored him to leave, telling him that the dog would surely kill him if he did not go immediately.

He pretended to take her advice, but going only a short distance he climbed into a tree, armed with his sword and fisherman's shafted hook.

Soon the dog came by. Scenting the stranger he leaped at the tree. Our hero drove his spear at the dog again and again without effect. At last, he jumped to the ground and killed the animal with his sword. Then he hastened back to the cave. He told the girl that her companion the dog was dead. She merely said, "Where did you bury him?" but received only a vague answer.

The two settled down and in time produced five sons and two daughters. The man could not forget Kobama, and at last one day managed to make his way back to his native land. He had been given up for lost long before this, and so the reunion with his original family was a tearful but very happy one. He settled down to resume the old life on Kobama.

One day he was indiscreet enough to tell of his adventures on Yonaguni, and of the beautiful Kume girl and the seven children. He thought longingly of the little family, and begged his old wife to go with him back to Yonaguni. She refused.

When he insisted on leaving without her, she cursed him roundly, and declared that henceforth Kobama would have nothing further to do with Yonaguni, and for this reason, in return, the Yonaguni people to this day never sing Kobama songs when they are at sea.

Our indiscreet hero reached Yonaguni safely enough, and was welcomed cordially by his second family. Taking over old times, warmed by liquor and thoughtless again, he indiscreetly revealed the exact location at which he had buried the fierce dog, so long ago. That night his Yonaguni wife left the house secretly, and on the next day she was found near the old tree, lying dead, with the bones of the dog clutched in her arms.

The seven children and their father became prosperous, and in time Yonaguni was peopled by their descendants, but no one today forgets the admonition "Even if you have seven children, be sure to cherish your wife", and moreover, there are no dogs on Yonaguni.¹⁵

¹⁵In this last sentence, (Kerr (1) IX-5: hereafter only the number of pages in his manuscripts shall be indicated) writes 'don' t neglect your wife' and finish this sentence. Here the words of(II-Y3,4) is adopted.

4. Was Sakishima an isolated area? (Image stretched from Cheju Castaways)

There appear three islands in this fable “Inugan”. Those are Kume, Yonaguni and Kohama. Each island belongs to outer Okinawa Mainland group. A rough sketch of this group with the surrounding area is given in **Chart-1**. Main stage is Yonaguni, which is situated in the westernmost of Sakishima Islands. It is the adjacent island of Taiwan. The fable above mentioned, therefore, can be supposed to reflect the past relations with the surrounding areas including continent. Probably this is the reason why Kerr paid attention to this story.

As this fable has been handed down in Yonaguni, it stands to reason that Yonaguni should play a central part in the story. Although Miyako and Yaeyama did not appear in the wording, these islands should not be regarded negligible.

Actually, a lot of archeological and historical searching have been pursued on these islands, which have been offering precious knowledge about these areas. Among them, one of the most influential materials was ‘the testimonies to Korean Dynasty by Castaways from Cheju-Island’ (hereafter abridged as ‘Cheju-Castaways report’). Ifa once had a great concern for this report, on which he wrote an article titled ‘Southern Islands in the end of the 15th century revealed by a record of adrift Koreans’ in 1927.¹⁶

After the World War 2, in 1958, Kerr wrote that ‘The inhabitants of 14th-century Yaeyama and Miyako lived in almost neolithic simplicity’ and that ‘Miyako legends reflect late settlement in these remote islands, a period of barbarous lawlessness extending well into the 14th century, with conditions of unrelieved poverty.’ (Kerr (2), 117-118).¹⁷

This idea was due in large part to Cheju-Castaways report, which offered rather minute description about the islands in their return way, especially about Yonaguni. This report was unanimously accepted in the archeological circles and historians in Japan. In this report, Yonaguni island (more or less every Sakishima islands too) was pictured as a primitive island with no pigs and no continental ceramics. (IX-7)¹⁸

However, after considering the archeological researches on this region mainly pursued during

¹⁶Cheju-island (濟州島 Jeju) is located in about 100km southward of Korean Peninsula. Ifa regarded castaways as ‘Koreans’. However, in the report they were called just as “Cheju island castaways” by the Korean administration.

¹⁷Kerr took notes that ‘For the local legends recounted here I have drawn from a collection …made available to me at Hirara, Miyako, by the officers of the Civil Affairs Team in May, 1952, for whom the manuscript had been prepared, and to conversations with Okinawan friends from Miyako and Yaeyama. (op. cit. p.478)

¹⁸Kerr seemed to have some doubt about the report on this point from the beginning.

1958-1962 to be followed his two times of research visit to Sakishima from Dec.1962 to Jan.1963, Kerr was going to admit that ‘there can be no doubt of very early communication between Formosa and Yonaguni’ and also that ‘there can be no question of Hateruma’ s ancient ties with the south’ . (IX-5, VIII-2)

Thus, Kerr’ s recognition about Sakishima before the 15th century changed to a large extent.¹⁹ Kerr concluded that; ‘it is too early to form clear judgement upon the prehistory of Yonaguni (与那国) or indeed of any period of Yonaguni’ s history before 1600.’ (IX—7). This also meant the criticism against Japanese archeologists.²⁰

Kerr’ s conviction contained two flanks, one was that Yonaguni should have had close trade ties with Taiwan and another was the ties of Hateruma with the south. Those are sometimes dealt as separate themes.

The remarkably important fact for him is that the past relations of these two were broken off just by one military action and at once. In this case, the big change of Sakishima was caused by subjugation from alien forces. He wrote that ‘Yonaguni chieftains were destroyed at the time of the overwhelming invasion from Okinawa, and Shuri (首里), which thereafter pursued the usual policy of ignoring the past of a conquered people. As a result, in the 16th century, Yonaguni was in effect a distant unimportant colony administered through Miyako, and in time Yonaguni was used by Ishigaki as a dumping place for undesirables’ (IX-19). He called this course of the events as ‘the subjugation of Yonaguni(与那国征伐)’ .

5. Forming a Yonaguni story

Through the fact that he found celadon shards attributed to earlier than 15th century in Yonaguni, which was not a single reason of him, he posed a question about the authenticity

¹⁹ Kerr confessed; ‘in my earlier book (Kerr (2)), I relied too heavily upon the accepted tradition set forth by Okinawa antiquarians, and brief Japanese accounts which suggests that a neolithic people living in the southern Ryukyus occasionally acquired Chinese ceramic pieces, shards of which appear in primitive kitchen middens on primitive sites. (V-7)

²⁰ Actually, Kaneko Erika wrote, ‘Pottery and stone implements seen in Miyakoan collections would … support G. H. Kerr’ s ‘island stepping stone theory’ of an original settlement from the south… But future excavations, and even the available surface finds may well in the future establish the Miyakos as a separate area. (Kaneko, 115) See **Appendix-4**.

of the discourse based on the ‘lingering’ Castaways.²¹

We must admit that the castaways might be the interregional traders. As their report was just about on their return way home as Chuzan government ordered, we cannot know their route from Cheju to Yonaguni. We need to reconsider the castaways’ routes in-between Sakishima islands.

At any rate, already in the 1950’ s, Kerr realised that he had to depend on the legends and tales left in Miyako. ‘Mountainous Yaeyama has relatively few legendary and quasi-historic monuments, but the flat, dry country side of Miyako is rich in traditional sites, marked now by sacred woods and groves. Here and there in large sheltering caves are ancient wells and springs upon which the community must depend for its survival… Miyako legends reflect late settlement in these remote islands, a period of barbarous lawlessness extending well into the 14th century, with conditions of unrelieved poverty.’

By using the legends of Miyako, he could say, ‘The villain of song and legend is often an intruder from Yaeyama or the traveling merchant-mariner or pirate from Japan or Okinawa, here today and gone tomorrow, leaving behind him broken hearts and many unprotected children.’ (Kerr (2), 118-9)

More important result was that: Kerr came to infer that changes in Sakishima was caused by the ancient quarrel between Miyako and Yonaguni. He conjectured that the quarrel has been carried on today as a mild dispute among local antiquarians who published either a “Miyako version” or a “Yonaguni version” of events in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. In either version, Sannai (Sakai) Isoba played a leading role as the paramount chieftain of Yonaguni when the Okinawan expedition came in. He became able to make a story by himself.

According to the Yonaguni version, Sannai-Isoba had ruled all of Yonaguni. When Shuri offered to help the Miyako Chieftains in their quarrel with Oyake Akahachi of Yaeyama, Miyako chieftain Nakasone Tomioya eagerly accepted on behalf of his own associates on Miyako. All went well in the campaign against Akahachi at Ishigaki. Then one of Nakasone’ s sons, Nakaya

²¹ There was another issuing point, the megalithic tombs, which heavily attracted Kerr. Kerr wrote ‘the most spectacular objects on Yonaguni are huge stone troughs. They are not to be seen anywhere else in the Ryukyus.’ (GHK1F 02017) And, the most spectacular objects in Sonai and Hinai are great stone tanks or troughs found in the dooryards. No one know the full story of these massive objects; similar “tanks” are seen in Eastern Formosa, but they are not to be found anywhere else in the Ryukyus.’ (IX—8) I wonder if the bottomless jar of the tragic girl might be this kind of troughs.

Kanamuru (仲屋金盛), gained a success in the surprising attack to Yonaguni and sailed away. Three years later, Isoba set sail for Miyako with her most able men for revenge. Pausing at Ishigaki, she found Kanamuru there, acting as Shuri's agent in the administration of conquered Yaeyama. Observing that he had an overwhelming force at his command, she resorted to guile pretending to sue for peace. In the midst of the great banquet, she cut off a Kanamuru's arm. In the uproar she and her companions escaped to their boats and swiftly and safely made their way home again to Yonaguni. (IX-14,15)

This story pictured the quarrel between Yonaguni and Miyako like 'a small skirmish on the outskirts of Okinawa' under Shuri regime. In this story, Yonaguni should be regarded as not conquered by Shuri-Miyako allied forces. If so, the fighting did not result in a conquest. Then, against Kerr's surmise, there should have been no conquerors and no human resettlements caused by military action of Miyako in Yonaguni. Main result of the war was just a victory of Miyako=Shuri over Oyake Akahachi in Ishigaki and merely an additional success in Yonaguni by the follower of Miyako. The leader of the rebellion was from Yaeyama (Hateruma), but the war-site was in Ishigaki island. And Isoba only ran afoul of Shuri's local agent, Otake Sonoto (大竹祖納当) in western Iriomote. (IX-15)

This history did not mention about 'Seibatsu' of 1500 in Ishigaki explicitly. This means that Yonaguni was independent from the war in Ishigaki, but in 1510 Yonaguni (peacefully?) came to be under Shuri control. Even if "Unitora" rebelled against Syuri in 1522, the control by Shuri has not been disturbed. Soon after this rebellion, the man from the adjacent land of Ishigaki became the head of Yaeyama, which meant exclusion of Miyako by Chuzan (Shuri). This could suggest that Miyako had an ambition to take over Yonaguni regardless of Shuri's interests in 1522.

At any rate, if this version were the case, by this quarrel there would have been no important change on the political relation between Yonaguni and the surrounding islands. Rather an ambitious military action by Miyako was impressed.

6. Miyako version as a subjugation

Kerr was more interested in the "Miyako version" of the story. This must have a good reason. For, this version exposed the detailed course of the military occupation against a small island near Formosa by invading Okinawan forces.

This version insisted on the complete victory of Nakasone (Miyako) resulting from a rigid alliance between Shuri and Miyako.

However, admitting the close alliance between Shuri and Miyako, Kerr himself once pictured a suspicious description as follows:

Nakasone Tomiya's expedition was 'the supreme event in Saki-shima history and forms the theme of its principal legends, songs, and dramatic dances retelling Nakasone's exploits and the fate of his captives. Soon after his return to Hirara, Nakasone had to face the formidable expedition against Miyako by Sho Shin. Some three thousand men were in the Okinawan force, and there could be no doubt as to the ultimate decision. Nakasone therefore negotiated a surrender on terms which saved the Miyako villagers from disaster. For this he was later deified and worshipped at the principal shrine in the islands.' (Kerr (2), p.121)

This story cannot be found in the present prevailing works about Miyako history.²² And, Kerr himself showed no evidence about the reliability of this story. It was unfortunate enough that Kerr did not write down the name who gave this story. (Or, just I miss the description about it in his large volumes of manuscripts). Nevertheless, a surmise could be made from a pioneer's writings. For, Ifa once wrote about a delegation that Sho-Shin dispatched to Korea in 1501, which consisted of 4 ships and 500 subordinates. Ifa was surprised at the scale of the fleet and said it was no wonder that Nakasone Tuyumiya, who was shown off the grandeur warships, had to be subordinate to Okinaganasi (悪鬼納加那志) just one year before. Therefore, it would be no wonder if that story could be the case.²³

In Miyako too, there are legends that questioned the perfect victory of Nakasone for himself. Tomimori wrote on his volume: *When Akahachi made a rebellion, all the inhabitants in the island willingly obeyed him. Knowing the situation that Akahachi would attack Miyako, Chieftain of Miyako, Nakasone, came to Shuri. Sho-shin appointed Upu-Tatih (大里) as a Chief Commander, and Nakasone as a courier. It was Upu-Tatih that subjugate Akahachi.* (Tomimori, p.130, the name of Upu-Tatih was seen in the official document of Shuri)

At any rate, in this version, "Untora" appears as a successor of Yonaguni chieftain, Isoba. At the same time, it also pictured a tragic end of young beautiful daughter of Untora in Miyako. Both are the splendid materials for constituting a rhetorical history.

²² Even a Yonaguni historian, Ikema, wrote this incident of 1500 as depicted in a "ChuhDoh" pedigree, which did not mention the name of San-Ai Isoba. Ikema seemed to believe in the strong ties between Miyako and Shuri due to this pedigree.

²³ Ifa (1) , p.227. Ifa suggested that this description was based on a report to a king of Korean dynasty (燕山君). Actually however, the report wrote that, the number of Ryukyuan subjects were only 22 person and this delegation was just for new year's greeting. We cannot know about the remaining 450 people.

Nevertheless, it also brought out that the leader of the ‘rebellion’ had a relation by adoption with Karimata (狩俣), the outskirts of the center area of Hirara (平良), in the Miyako Island. It could be implied that the whole unification of the Miyako Island had not been accomplished or only recently accomplished at the time of ‘rebellion’.

There appeared another noteworthy tale that; when Untora was attacked by Miyako force, a chieftain of Hateruma, Uyamisya Akatana, joined the battle on Miyako side and fought bravely. (Ikema, p.77-78, from the lecture of KISHABA Eijyun (喜舎場永珣)).

By the Miyako version of the conquest, Kerr concluded that ‘the subjugation of Yonaguni marked an interesting point in the history of the Ryukyu Kingdom and of Japan proper as well.’ (IX-19) Kerr confessed, ‘if Untora was in fact a Miyako chieftain who refused to accept Nakasone’s overlordship, we can understand the spirit of revenge which prompted this (by his daughter’s miserable end). The effort to justify the subjugation of Yonaguni by asserting that the people of Yonaguni called in Otake Sonoto to deliver them from Untora has its own parallels in the 20th century, when the world’s round, small nations are being “liberated” or “protected” by strangers.’ (IX-16,17)²⁴

7. Original version of “Inugan”

About the “Inugan” Kerr said, ‘it is the Yonaguni stories as they appear in “Yonaguni-to Shi (与那国島誌)” (by Ikema Eizo (池間栄三) and Shinzato Wasei (新里和盛), 1957 ed. pp.206.)’. This fable was named “Inugan” by Ikema Eizo.²⁵

However, there exist some important differences between his fable and the Ikema’s tale. Kerr’s fable lacks some important words from the original narrative of Ikema. One of these is about weaving activity in the islands, which related to this passage: When the aforesaid Kohama woman, the old wife of the hero, declared that henceforth Kobama would have nothing further to do with Yonaguni.

²⁴He took compassion for Sakishima people in this way: ‘In reading official and traditional stories we must always remember the Shuri clerks adopted the arrogant and top-lofty phrases borrowed from the Chinese records to justify aggression. They “soothed barbarians” and extended the “benefits of Okinawan culture” in much the manner which Europeans and Americans spread over the world to “civilize” non-Christians at a later date’. (V-10)

²⁵(II-Y5, V-76). To make a supplementary explanation, Shinzato Wasei is a father of Ikema Eizo, which means that not a little part of this fable was told by Shinzato to Ikema in the first half of 20th century.

According to Ikema's original fable, she also made an important action at the same time. She vandalized her weaving machine (or, implicitly all the machines of the island).

If Kerr believed in some relations with the surrounding area within Sakishima, one of the most essential industries at that time should not have been dismissed.

This abbreviation shows that the product of weaving was regarded not important trade item by him. Then, Sakishima islands were just a conquered islands without no products. But, as a matter of fact, Sakishima islands had been producing fairly good textiles, a kind of ramie fabric (苧麻 or 上布), since at the latest in the 16th century, when the official documents declared proudly. It could be probable to advance the date earlier, in the latter half of the 15th century. Even in 1477 Cheju Castaways witnessed weaving machines similar to their home country in Yonaguni.²⁶

In spite of the important trade goods that Sakishima manufactured, people inhabited there had a destiny to suffer a harsh tax by Shuri in due time (See **Appendix 2**). We cannot know when the heavy burden system began, but the command economy regulated by the alien central forces lasted until the beginning of 20th century. After the extensive political change brought about by people of Miyako, Sakishima people became able to cultivate sugar, which visitors of the present age can see everywhere in Sakishima.

The fact that Kohama woman vandalized weaving machine must symbolize a break-off of relations between Kohama and Yonaguni. This ought to include a cutoff of the economic (trade) relation between both islands. Again, even if it was the case, it is difficult to know when this happened. Even so, neglecting trading goods in Sakishima would make Kerr's effort focus only on military matters seeking for trade routes of ceramics.

On the other hand, Kerr actually knew that 'The women of Yonaguni are skilled weavers, producing handsome striped textiles (Yonaguni Kasuri) which reflect a close relationship with the striped fabrics of northern Formosa. The back-strap looms, too, are not unlike the looms of the neighboring island.' (IX-9)

We can see here, his eyes were only looking for Taiwan. He would not look at the Sakishima

²⁶ 40 sheets of the soft minutely bleached clothes made from ramie were exported to Ming dynasty as a part of the tributes from Ryukyu in 1489. We cannot know where these clothes were produced. But there seem to be possibility that they were from Sakishima. This might not mean the products for export. However, we know from Cheju Castaways that there were local trades (woods and rice) within Sakishima. As an export industry, ramie products in Miyako were thought to begin about 1573 (Kohata, p.97). Even due to the official legend in Miyako, it was in 1583.

economy itself, which should have been connected from the south and eventually to Okinawa and Japan as well.

8. 'A dog' as an immigrant

As a matter of fact, Yonaguni had allegedly no dog in the 15th century. Ifa said that 'when Cheju castaways reached Yonaguni, there were no dogs in Sakishima'. His anticipation was also based on the Chen Kan's Report about Ryukyu, saying that in the 16th century dogs were found only in Sonai (Iriomote), Miyako and Okinawa mainland. (IFA (2), pp. 54-99 in "collective works of F. IFA")²⁷

Concerning this, Ifa had walked through "Inugan" in his work as follows:

Once upon a time Yonaguni had a large population. But one day, a very big dog appeared and ate all the people except for one woman. The dog made her its wife and built a castle to live with her. One day a fisherman living in Kohama island drifted to land Yonaguni. The dog chased him to kill by biting. The fisherman ran for his life and climbed a tree. On the spur of the moment, a sword he carried with him dropped out of the case to fall on the dog. The sword happened to go through the neck of the dog. The dog died in an instant. The fisherman married with her to have three children. In spite this course, he returned home and did not come back to Yonaguni again. After this event, people of Yonaguni made it a rule not to raise dogs. Even if some natives were to raise dogs, they must eat them before the dogs grow up. In yonaguni, dogs grow up very fast. Within three or four months, they say, dogs become giant enough to eat up all the poultry including fowls. As a result, dogs would become fierce more and more.

The latter half of this fable seems reasonable for explaining the situation that Yonaguni had no dog, which might be Ifa's intention. However, contrasting with the original version of this fable, this story had less information concerning Sakishima, as there appeared only two islands, Kohama and Yonaguni. Moreover, Kohama island was only mentioned as an origin of the fisherman, who left Yonaguni in due time. The origin of the dog was unclear (in other words, not important). We cannot know the reason why Ifa did not mention Kumejima (久米島), but trades between Sakishima and Okinawa might be out of his sight.

²⁷Actually, castaways said 'Only in Miyako and Iriomote, people raise dogs', in 1477. Kerr noticed that 'It is said in another context that all dogs on Yonaguni were destroyed at one time, after one had been found disturbing a new burial site. I have told these stories as I heard them on Yonaguni, and as they have been re-told in Yonaguni-to Shi ("The History of Yonaguni Island" 与那国島誌)

Nevertheless, from the fact that a dog was very big and made a castle, readers can estimate that a dog was actually a symbolized strong foreign immigrant.

Then, how can we realize “Inugan” in Sakishima history? Kerr related this fable to castaways’ migration in his way. ‘In this story we again have the suggestion of an empty island, peopled by castaways from other islands.’ (IX-5)

Kerr pondered the essence of this fable as ‘the affair between a girl and a dog’. From this understanding, he says, that ‘the strange tale of the affair between a girl and a dog has an echo in a somewhat similar story told on Irabu island about the people of Kurima (来間島), in the Miyako group, where the people of a neighboring island are alleged to have descended from the union of a dog and his mistress, who are lonely refugees.’ (IX-5)

9. From where they moved?

After collecting approximately 15,000 shards, which were found in 140 sites of the Miyako and Yaeyama and brought to Shuri, with a help of Dr. Fujio Koyama in classification, he concluded that ‘trade with Yonaguni and Hateruma probably began in the Sung and Yuan periods, shifting in late Yuan and early Ming into eastern Iriomote and Ishigaki. The great majority of imported materials appear to date from the 14th and 15th centuries’.²⁸

Among these islands, the most important trade outpost between Okinawa and Sakishima islands is Hateruma. ‘There can be no doubt that Hateruma enjoyed prosperity and a relatively high standard of living some six hundreds ago. No other island yields such an abundance of ceramic material in such variety and wide distribution.’ (VIII-13)

‘Many ships from Japan and Okinawa engaged in the namban trade, stopped at Hateruma, the last outpost on the voyage south and the first point of call within “home” territory on the northern course.’ (note IX-21) ‘From Ishigaki and Taketomi (竹富) the Okinawan fleet took a course around the north shore of Iriomote by way of Hatoma island (鳩間島) and on westward to Yonaguni.’ (V-11, 12)

As a matter of course, Hateruma became a homeland for many Sakishima leaders who migrated to Ishigaki. Thus, Oyake Akahachi in Ishigaki represented the migrants of this navigation group. This route connected Sakishima to the outer world including the Philippines. They might have the ancient cultural tradition.

²⁸ Memo to General Caraway, 1963. 4. 25, in GHK1F03028

When we stand on this Hateruma-centered chart, the opposition between “Yaeyama-Yonaguni” and “Miyako-Okinawa” was seen like an opposition between South and North, both are stemming from Hateruma. The alleged conflict between Miyako and Yonaguni (‘Yonaguni-Seibatsu’) would be caused ultimately by the traders engaged in the south route (called *Hae Patera*) and those in the northern route.

Kerr illustrates a fable about this opposition: *once there was a story of Akamara, a local chieftain, who seized Shuri’s tax-ship and took it south to Hae Patera (old Hateruma), the traditional homeland from which the Hateruma people believe their ancestors came. Even today story-tellers chuckle when they speak of this action by Akamara, for it is not often they can outwit the “sophisticated” men of Shuri and Naha.* (IX-21)

‘Just as Yonaguni looks westward toward Formosa and China, Hateruma seems to look southward. One story, often told, said that when a ship from the Philippines was wrecked on Hateruma, the crew members settled down to spend the rest of their days in comfort with the Hateruma people’ . (noteIX-21)

Now, Kerr become able to trace a migrating route within Sakishima. That is from the viewpoint of trade relations.

‘The earliest figures which emerge as individualized characters in the local folk-lore are usually said to have been immigrants from Ishigaki, Kuroshima (黒島), Yonaguni.’

‘These heroes had its origin in Hateruma. They had been, more or less, emigrated or dislodged from their homeland.’

10. Rhetoric or symbol

Kerr once thought: ‘The Yonaguni legends themselves tell an “origin story” which speaks of ancient migration, and of travelers riding in on the great Black Current which sweeps up from the tropics.’ (IX-1)

Kerr also illustrates a relating tale; ‘Luzon Island comes frequently into Hateruma folk lore and tradition. There is the story, for example, of *the strong Hateruma girl who paddled each night to Luzon to sleep with her Filipino lover there, and paddled back again before dawn.* There are said to be many names of plants and foods “from the Philippines”, and traditions of certain households who were merchants concerned principally with the Philippines trade’ . (VIII-11,12)

The stage of the fable “Inugan” is on the trade route of Kerr, which includes Kohama and

Yonaguni. Kohama belongs to the starting area of this route, which end at Yonaguni within Sakishima. Those are the places where the main characters of “Inugan” were born.

Main character of “Inugan” is a girl from Kume and her dog.

As to Kume, we should take one more care. There remains a possibility that Kume might be Kumi (old name of Iriomote). In this case, this fable could be seen as reflecting people’s life in olden days on the zone. We can imagine that this fable might tell us about the unknown traders.

If Kume indicates Kume island (久米島) following to the letter, we could regard the players as a traders of Okinawa influence (a transborder trader). Then, Kohama couple could be the natives who inhabited the scrambled area, and a dog from Kume might be a trader from Okinawa.

Is it possible that dogs in the fables could announce the real lives of Sakishima people in political turbulence?

Or, beyond big nose about a ‘dog’, the fact that a woman preferred a dog to a natural human husband would make us reconsider what a life should be. What does this mean?

As a species of animal, human species cannot help migrating? Like migrating birds?

11. Real base of rhetorics

After the World War 2, Kerr observed Okinawa as an officer of military occupation and said about Sakishima; ‘since Ishigaki has become the administrative and economic center for all post-war Yaeyama, many migrants from Miyako and Yonaguni have drifted in to Ishigaki town. There… Street brawls are not infrequent in which the contestants are often men from Yonaguni and Miyako versus natives of Ishigaki island, and the issue is “discrimination”.’ (IX-19)

On the other hand, in Taiwan he learned: ‘By late 1946 the Chinese were seizing private property of every description on Formosa, prompting many dispossessed Okinawan residents there to smuggle themselves and their possessions across to Yonaguni, the first and most difficult move on the way homeward to war-torn Okinawa.’ (IX-20)

In 1947 the massacre of Formosans by the subordinates of Chiang Kai-Shek prompted many Formosans as well to slip across to the Ryukyus with a view to reaching Japan proper or …less often…one of the Chinese ports. (IX-20)

The purpose of this paper is just for rethinking what the prevailing rhetoric means in face of global-migration age. We are inclined to accept rhetorics of the age. How human beings have been considering and striving with war and its accompaniment trans-border migration?

It must be based on their rhetorics. Hence, expected readers of this paper are the visitors and the stayers in Sakishima region of the present day.

Implications of the fables took up here should be left to the readers. As the contents cited in this paper are from manuscripts of Kerr, we should not regard his description as his final thought. If you have any questions about this paper, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Appendix-1

Some Historical Variations in the official expressions of Miyako-Yaeyama region

(Each Map can be easily looked on NDL website. Often Maps are protected by copyright)

Eg 1. Miyako-Yaeyama region was shown as 'Miyako Guntou' (宮古群島). (1889. July, in 'Kannei-Suirosi' (『カンエイ水路誌』) Vol. 4: 宮古・八重山が併せて宮古諸島と表示)

Eg 2. Miyako-Yaeyama region including 'Yonaguni' island was described as 'Yaeyama Rettou' (八重山列島) situated in adjacent west of 'Ryukyu Syotou' (琉球諸島), which was also situated in adjacent west of 'Amamai Syotou' (奄美諸島). (1907. Jan, in 'Bunpou Syohmitsu Bankoku Daitizu' (『分邦詳密万国大地図』, 青木嵩山堂): 宮古・八重山以西が併せて八重山列島と表示)

Eg 3. Westward Islands beyond Miyakojima was expressed under the name of Senkaku islands while eastward from Miyako Strait was grouped by the name of Satsunan islands.

(1925, in 'Current Chart' (『海流図』、守屋荒美雄編『帝国精図』、帝国書院: 沖縄本島を含めた宮古海峡以北が薩南諸島と表現され、宮古島諸島以南は尖閣諸島と表示)

Appendix-2

Movement asking for repealing heavy tax

There used to be a severe tax system in Sakishima area. This system has survived a long period until the beginning of the 20th century. Main items were grains of millet and women's labor for ramies (苧麻). Especially the woven products from ramie made in Miyako (宮古上布) and Yaeyama (八重山上布) has been famous for their marvelous quality. Those textiles had been exported from Ryukyu to Ming Dynasty from at the latest the 16th century according to the official documents. In fact, local traders were supposed to deal with these goods in exchange for not only the necessities of life but also export items.

After the Meiji revolution in 1868 (明治維新), a movement asking for repealing this tax system arose in Miyako. Meiji revolutionary government in Japan took a policy of converting feudal taxes to a land tax. Traditional taxes in Sakishima were seen as land taxes, which in Sakishima were called a kind of poll tax (人頭税). Actually, this tax was not imposed on the individual person, but on the villages. As the traditional tax imposed rather heavy

burdens on native inhabitants, people in Sakishima took a word “Poll Tax” as representing a harsh tax.

In November of 1893, people from Miyako visited Tokyo to make a petition, which more than 10 newspapers reported. Soon they could meet with a government official, Ichiki Kitokuro (一木喜徳郎). He began researchs from 1894. After examining the traditional relation between Ryukyu and Japan before July of 1871, he doubted the legal bases of “notices to inhabitants” (規模帖) from the traditional authorities. He found out that the most severe burden for Sakishima inhabitants should be a restriction on human move. Further, He wanted to privatize the land holding system, prospecting sugar cane production in Sakishima. Also, he questioned a tremendous crowd of population that Miyako local ruling class held.

After many complications, from 1896 to 1903, Sakishima people had a success to get a new tax system by this Movement. The result was not limited to Sakishima. Hereafter Japanese economy became able to release labor force from bondages of the land, which made people move responding to the arising industrial needs. This movement originated from Miyako made a breakthrough in Japan’s economic development in 1900–1930.

Appendix-3

“Background” of ‘A Study of Southern Ryukyu Islands’ by Kerr’s statement of himself

(1) In 1952, USA Civil Administrator of the Ryukyu Island, and the Pacific Science Board of the national Research Council (Washington) asked him to prepare a report on Okinawa’s historical ties with Japan. He distributed this finished product to senior officers concerned with civil administration in 1953. This was translated (badly) into Japanese (『琉球の歴史』赤表紙本) for distribution in the Ryukyuan schools and distributed in 1956.

(2) To reach a wider audience, he undertook privately to enlarge the study, resulting in publishing the second book, which was principally concerned with the island of Okinawa, “Okinawa: The History of an island People” in 1958. This was recently translated in Japanese (revised version of 2000, 『沖縄島人の歴史』2014).

(3) With grants from the Rockefeller and McInerny (Honolulu) Foundations, he took three prolonged field trips in the southern Ryukyu Islands (the Miyako and Yaeyama groups) in 1960, 1961 and 1962.

(4) In 1970 the Japanese-American Defense Treaty must be renewed, and Japan’s left wing is making the “Okinawa reversion issue” a major base for attack upon the present pro-American government in Tokyo. This issue, in turn, stems from Okinawa’s historical relationship with Japan proper, and with China nearby.’

Appendix-4

“Stepping stones” by Kerr

East of Formosa, between Hateruma and the northernmost islands of the Philippines, lie two “stepping stones”. Migrants coming up from the south would first come upon Botel Tobago (火焼島), today home of the primitive Yami people. From this island the southern tip of Formosa may be seen lying far to the west, and to the north the low-lying “Green Islands, (緑島)” marks the horizon. This in turn is known to the Japanese as Koto-sho (紅頭嶼), a concentration camp for political prisoners held by the Nationalist Chinese. It is too flat and too distant to be seen from Hateruma, but it lies directly in the rapid stream of the Black Current, pouring northward into Ryukyus. (VIII-11, some geographical misunderstandings can be seen in this manuscript)

References

1. G.H. Kerr (1), Documents and Research papers from The G.H. Kerr papers, which are categorically arranged in “A Catalogue of the G.H. Kerr Papers”, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, March 2011
2. G.H. Kerr (2), “Okinawa: The History of an Island People”, 1958 (Citation is from the revised edition of 2000)
3. Erika Kaneko, “Ryukyu Report 1962”
4. Ikema Eizo and Shinzato Wasei, “Yonagunijima-Shi”, 1957
5. F. IFA (1), “OLD LOOCHOO VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF LOOCHOOAN STUDIES”, 1911
6. F. IFA (2), ‘The Islands of Onari Deity’, 1927
7. TOMIMORI Kantaku, “Kyohdo-Shi”, 1915
8. KOBATA Atsushi, “A study on the trade history between Southern islands in the medieval period”, 1939
9. KISHABA Eijyun (喜舎場永珣), “History of Yaeyama”, 1954, (revised edition 1975)

CHART-1 Sakishima trade routes before 1500 by Kerr

