

從考古學研究的方法再探宋元時期的「流求」及「毗舍耶」

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百餘年來，中外學者對於中國宋元時期史籍中的「流求」及「毗舍耶」究竟指涉何地，諸多前輩學者間一直存有不同的爭議，其中對於「流求」所在的意見，主要可分為「琉球論」與「台灣論」二者，而「毗舍耶」亦有「台灣論」、「菲律賓論」或菲律賓人 Visaya 移居台灣說等不同的意見，這些意見雖然至晚近曹永和先生統整各家意見，初步得到「流求」以「台灣說」為勝，且傾向以「毗舍耶」視為指涉「菲律賓」的結果後始論戰方歇，爾後他也針對流求提出元代以後私通貿易者重新利用自隋唐時代以來即已形成的「南島航路」，而致使不同時期對於特定區域認知的差異，可視為「琉球論」與「台灣論」的折衷，這個議題似乎就稍微平息下來。

本文嘗試就學者歷來對於文獻論戰的討論著手，並針對其中部分得以就考古資料予以驗證的研究議題如航線與年代分析，台灣與菲律賓、琉球的關係，以及史前文化與族群等作為切入點，重新解析歷史文獻中的流求與毗舍耶。研究結果初步認為南宋趙汝适撰《諸蕃志》所論述的流求，可能指的是以台灣北部、東北部為主而擴及南琉球一帶的島嶼總稱，但當時流求國與中國並無通商之利，而僅以土產往售於三嶼（菲律賓），而南宋孝宗年間發生毗舍耶寇擾澎湖、泉州的事件，初步讓中國開始認識這一個可能位於台灣西南平原的新蕃國；直到元代汪大淵撰《島夷誌略》時，流求與中國已有通商往來，而毗舍耶仍為位居海東一隅的蕃人。若參酌相關的考古資料，可知當時中國所認知的流求可能與台灣北部、東北部的十三行文化至南琉球有關，而毗舍耶則可能與台灣西南平原的蔦松文化較為相關，但其背景甚至可能與新石器時代晚期至金屬器時代活動於菲律賓製台灣南部地區的跨部落、區域之間的征戰、奇襲活動有關。

整體而言，筆者認為從《諸蕃志》到《島夷誌略》對於流求、毗舍耶的紀錄，似乎與泉州逐漸崛起成為中國重要的海外通商港口的過程有關，也與明代完全成型的中琉航線、東洋針路等航線的開展密切相關。

Discussion on "Liuqiu" and "Visaya" in the Song、Yuan Dynasty through Archaeological Approach

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For hundreds of years, scholars all over the world have been disputing over the area of "Liuqiu" and "Visaya" referred in the historical document of the Song Dynasty. For the definition of "Liuqiu", there are "Ryukyu Theory" and "Taiwan Theory"; and there are "Taiwan Theory", "Philippine Theory" and "Filipino named Visaya migrated to Taiwan" for "Visaya". In recent years, the disputed has been suspended due to Mr. Yong-He Tsao's integrated opinions and conclusion that "Liuqiu" tends to refer to Taiwan and "Visaya" tends to refer to the Philippines. Later, he proposed the perspective that the dispute may result from the different definition of the "South Island Route", which was formed in the Sui Tang Dynasty and then used by private traders since the Yuan Dynasty. This perspective is seen as a comprise for the "Ryukyu Theory" and the "Taiwan Theory".

This research aims to study the discussion of scholars and then analyze the archeological document through the perspectives on shipping routes, time and period, the relationship between Taiwan, the Philippines and Ryukyu, prehistoric culture and ethnic group to redefine Liuqiu and Visaya stated in the historical document. The search result shows that Liuqiu stated in the *Zhufan Zhi* written by Zhao Rugua during the late Song Dynasty might refer to the islands ranged from the north and northeast of Taiwan to the south of Ryukyu. At that time, the only trading activity between Liuqiu and China was the local products sold to the Three Islands (the Philippines). Not until the incident of Visaya pirates harassing Penghu and Quanzhou did China start to notice the new population in the southeast plain of Taiwan. Later on, the *Dao Yi Zhi Lue* written by Wang Dayuan in the Yuan Dynasty shows that there was trade relationship between Liuqiu and China and Visaya was barbarian living along eastern costal area. When considering relevant archeological document, it shows "Liuqiu" probably indicate "Shi Sian Hang" cultural of the northern and northeast Taiwan and maybe south Ryukyu, and possible connection between "Visaya" and Niasong culture of southwestern plain in Taiwan; though in fact, it maybe connect with the activities of attack and raid between tribes and areas around Taiwan and Philippine during the late of Neolithic Age and the Iron Age.

To sum up, the researcher discovers that the record of Liuqiu and Visaya mentioned in the *Zhufan Zhi* and *Dao Yi Zhi Lue* seems to relate to the development of Quanzhou as an important trade port of China and the full development process of China-Ryukyu Route and "Eastern Ocean Route (shipping route)" in the Ming Dynasty.