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From Cairo to the nationalistic geography of China: Street-naming in Taipei City immediately after WWII

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Peter Kang

Dept. of Taiwan and Regional Studies
National Donghwa University
TAIWAN

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From Cairo to the nationalistic geography of China: Street-naming in Taipei City immediately after WWII

Abstract: This paper examines the outcome of two street-renamings in Taipei, the largest city of Taiwan, immediately after World War Two when the Chinese Nationalists, representing the victorious Allied forces, took over Taiwan from Japan. The Taiwan Administrative Office conducted the first street-renaming in June 1946 and the second street-renaming in January 1947. The first wave was characterized by the themes of local reminiscence and cityscape, anti-Japanese significance, and the ethos of Chinese nationalism. The second instance of renaming predominately features Chinese nationalistic ideas in that the streets were renamed after geographical names of China proper, we well as Tibet, East Turkestan (or Uyghurstan), Mongolia and Manchuria. This was a common practice in 1947, and one that persists in present times. The paper discusses the state ideologies behind the

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aforementioned two types of street-naming by examining the ideas and the spatial layouts of the two naming practices.

Keywords: Taipei, street-naming, Chinese nationalism, Taiwan.

Du Caire à la géographie nationaliste de la Chine : création de noms de rues dans la ville de Taipei immédiatement après la Seconde Guerre mondiale

Résumé : Nous étudions le résultat de deux changements de noms de rues à Taipei, la plus grande ville de Taiwan, immédiatement après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, lorsque les nationalistes chinois, représentant les forces alliées victorieuses, ont pris le contrôle de Taiwan sur le Japon. Le bureau administratif de Taiwan a procédé au premier changement de nom de rues en juin 1946 et au deuxième changement de nom de rues en janvier 1947. La première vague était caractérisée par les thèmes de la réminiscence et du paysage urbain locaux, de la signification anti-japonaise et de l'éthique du nationalisme chinois. Le deuxième cas de changement de nom reprend principalement les idées nationalistes chinoises en renommant les rues d'après les noms géographiques de la Chine proprement dite, comme au Tibet, au Turkestan oriental (ou Uyghurstan), en Mongolie et en Mandchourie. C'était une pratique courante en 1947 et qui persiste encore aujourd'hui. Nous étudions aussi les idéologies des États qui sous-tendent les deux types susmentionnés de dénomination de rues, en examinant les idées et la disposition spatiale de ces deux pratiques de dénomination.

Mots-clés : Taipei, nom de rue, nationalisme chinois, Taiwan.

Von Kairo zur nationalistischen Geographie Chinas: Straßenbenennung in Taipei City unmittelbar nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg

Zusammenfassung: Dieser Beitrag untersucht das Ergebnis von zwei Umbenennungswellen in Taipeh, der größten Stadt Taiwans, unmittelbar nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, als die chinesischen Nationalisten, die die siegreichen alliierten Streitkräfte vertraten, Taiwan von Japan übernahmen. Das taiwanesische Verwaltungsbüro führte im Juni 1946 die erste Straßenumbenennung und im Januar 1947 die zweite Straßenumbenennung durch. Die erste Welle war gekennzeichnet durch die Themen: lokale Erinnerung und Stadtbild, antijapanische Einstellung und chinesischen Nationalismus. Die zweite Umbenennungswelle umfasst vorwiegend chinesisch-nationalistische Vorstellungen, indem Straßen nach geographischen Namen von China, Tibet, Ostturkestan (oder Uyghurstan), der Mongolei und der Mandschurei umbenannt wurden. Dies war eine übliche Praxis im Jahr 1947, die auch heute noch besteht. In dem Beitrag werden die Ideologien und Benennungsmotive des Staates hinter den beiden vorgenannten Arten von Straßennamen diskutiert, indem die Ideen und räumlichen Layouts der beiden Benennungspraktiken untersucht werden.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Taipei, Straßenbenennung, chinesischer Nationalismus, Taiwan.

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From Cairo to the nationalistic geography of China: Street-naming in Taipei City immediately after WWII*

PETER KANG

1. Introduction

In the year of 1945, the end of World War Two in East and Southeast Asia witnessed the disintegration of the Japanese Empire, which precipitated scrabbling among the Allies for the territories formerly seized by the Japanese during, and even before, World War Two. Those that had been annexed by the Japanese Empire during the Great War were immediately reclaimed by the victorious Allied forces, whereas the territories Japan had obtained since the late nineteenth century were regarded as new trophies to be distributed among the Allies as they decided, as what we may see from the declaration issued after the conference among the Allies in Cairo, Egypt in 1943. Thus, it was the Russians who represented the Allied Forces in accepting the Japanese surrender in Manchuria, North Korea and Sakhalin, while the Americans played this role in South Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, the Pacific islands and the Philippines, and the Chinese did the same in North Vietnam and Taiwan. The immediate postwar transient military take-over and occupation of the aforementioned territories have led to the subsequent geographical demarcation of new international boundaries (Yahuda 2004: 21–23). For instance, the legacies of North and South Vietnam in this regard lasted until the year of 1976, about three decades after the end of World War Two, and those of the two Koreas endure until today. A similar case to that seen on the Korean Peninsula could be said to apply to Taiwan, or *Formosa* as it was then called, as the Taiwan issue remained unsettled during the Cold War (Lim 2005: 149), and the island remained under postwar Chinese Nationalistic rule until recently. The current paper will therefore explore how the Chinese Sinicized its trophy by street-renaming, creating, in the process, the symbolic landscape of a nationalistic China in the immediate postwar era. The case of Taipei, the former colonial capital of the Japanese Empire on this island, and then called *Taihoku*, will serve to illustrate the point.

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2. The postwar new occupation authority and the principles for street naming

On 25 October 1945, under the authorization of Douglas MacArthur's General Order No. 1, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of the Chinese Nationalist Force had Chen Yi 陳儀 represent the Allied forces in receiving the official surrender from General Andō Rikichi 安藤利吉, the commander of the Japanese 10th Area Army and Governor-General of Formosa, in Taipei City Hall. This event officially concluded the war in Formosa.

On 30 October, Chen, acting as the Governor of the newly established Taiwan Administrative Office (*Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ* 臺灣省行政長官公署),[1] which was designed to replace the Government-General of Formosa (*Taiwan Sōtokufu* 台湾総督府) under the Japanese Empire to govern the entire island, ordered all Japanese troops to turn in their weapons and equipment. The ethnic Japanese on Formosa, both military and civilian, were relocated to camps to await deportation to Japan. Nevertheless, as late as February 1946, it was reported that more than 320,000 ethnic Japanese were still in detention camps on Formosa, in addition to thousands who were required to remain at their posts in the civil administration and police (Lai et al. 1991: 63). Meanwhile, the Taiwan Administrative Office in November of 1945 issued an order for the overall place-renaming throughout the entire island.

The decree in November 1945 required the local city and county governments to rename the streets within two months.[2] Those with Japanese implications, such as designations styled after Japanese figures, geography, history and culture were to be removed and replaced with nomenclature in

[1] The spelling of street names in 1946 in this article is based on Taiwanese vernacular (*Pe̍h-ōe-jī*) since most of the street names followed the original ones used in Taiwan, and it was the Taiwanese-led Taipei City Government that designed the city-wide street-naming, whereas the spelling in 1947 is mainly based on the official spelling in Chinese published by the Chinese Nationalist Government at a later stage, as the entire renaming was conducted by the Chinese-led Taiwan Administrative Office. The Romanization of Chinese in this text follows the Hanyu pinyin system, but the contemporary usage of Wade-Giles spelling, as utilized by the Chinese Nationalist Government at the time, is also provided for critical terms such as Chung-hua (China) or Fu-hsing (Glory Reviving) advocated by the Chinese Nationalists. Please also refer to the Appendix for a complete list of denominations and their various Romanized spellings in Chinese Mandarin, Taiwanese, Japanese, etc.

[2] At the moment when the Taiwan Administrative Office issued the decree of street-renaming, only the local governments of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Keelung were able to follow the order. The other districts were still to some extent disorganized. The Taiwan Administrative Office acknowledged the chaotic situation everywhere and thus granted a grace period for the districts other than the aforementioned three in its decree. See: 23 November 1945, *Bîn-pò* 民報.

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line with the following four points. First, to carry forward the Chinese national spirit (*Fāyáng zhōnghuá mínzú jīngshén* 發揚中華民族精神); second, to promote the Three People's Principles (*Xuānyáng sānmín zhǔyì* 宣揚三民主義)[3]; third, to commemorate the great national figures (*Jìniàn guójiā wěidà rénwù* 紀念國家偉大人物); and fourth, to be suitable for local geographies or habits, and also meaningful (*Shìhé dāngdì dìlǐ huò xíguàn qiě jùyǒu yìyì* 適合當地地理或習慣且具有意義). The decree also provided several examples for the first three categories (see Table 1).

Table 1: Examples of street-names prearranged by the Taiwan Administrative Office

Categories	Examples
Chinese national spirit	China (*Chung-hua / Zhōnghuá* 中華) Fidelity (*Hsin-i / Xìnyì* 信義) Peace (*Ho-p'eng / Hépíng* 和平)
Three People's Principles	Three People (*San-min / Sānmín* 三民) Nationalism (*Min-tsu / Mínzú* 民族) Civil Rights (*Min-ch'üan / Mínquán* 民權) People's Livelihood (*Min-sheng / Mínshēng* 民生)
Great national figures	Sun Yat-sen (*Chung-shan / Zhōngshān* 中山) Chiang Kai-shek (*Chung-cheng / Zhōngzhèng* 中正)
Local geographies or habits	N/A

Note: *Fidelity* and *Peace* in the category "Chinese national spirit" which are mentioned in the decree are from Sun Yat-Sen's *Three People's Principles* on nationalism. Both go together with Loyalty (*Zhōngxiào* 忠孝) and Benevolence (*Rén'ài* 仁愛) to constitute the so-called Eight Virtues (*Bā dé* 八德) since the total number of characters total eight. However, the Eight Virtues are commonly summarized into four phrases by treating two characters as one phrase in both colloquial usage and street-naming.

3. The enterprise of street-renaming in 1946

The Taipei City Government, led by an assigned Taiwanese mayor and also a member of Chinese Nationalists Party, or Kuomintang, named N̂g Tiâu-khîm (Huang Chao-chin 黃朝琴),[4] on the first day of January 1946

[3] The Three People's Principles is a political philosophy proposed by Sun Yat-sen, who is regarded as the "Father of the Nation" by the Chinese Nationalists or Kuomintang (KMT). The three principles are translated into and summarized as nationalism, civil rights, and the people's livelihood. This philosophy has been claimed as the foundation of the policy of Republican China by the Chinese Nationalists.

[4] N̂g Tiâu-khîm (1897–1972) was born in Kiâm-chúi-káng 塩水港／鹹水港 in South

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bulletined the list of 115 new street names under its jurisdiction. It announced a 10-day probation period in which civilians could offer their own comments and propose alternative street names. The bulletin also affirmed four additional principles for street-naming. First, to eliminate Japanese elements (*Chănchú rìběn sècăi* 剷除日本色彩); second, to use the original street names wherever possible to make them easy to remember (*Biànlì jìyì, jĭnliàng căiyòng yuán yŏu jiēdào míngchēng* 便利記憶, 儘量採用元有街道名稱); third, to commemorate the national heroes associated with [Taiwan] Province (*Jìniàn yŭ běnshĕng yŏuguān zhī mínzú yīngxióng* 紀念與本省有關之民族英雄); and fourth, to advocate the Three People's Principles and to extol the great achievements of Chairman [Chiang Kai-shek] (*Gŭchuī sānmín zhŭyì, gēsòng zhŭxí wĕiyè* 鼓吹三民主義, 歌頌主席偉業).[5] There are ostensible differences between the list of street renaming principles promulgated by the Taipei City Government in January 1946 and that bulletined by the Taiwan Administrative Office in November 1945. The Taipei City Government not only changed the sequence of the list of principles by having those related to Taiwan appear before those associated with the Chinese Nationalists, but also emphasized the use of original street names as much as possible. In addition, the commemoration of national heroes associated with Taiwan was surely a newly added theme, and one that deviated from the convention of naming after great national figures that was advocated by the Taiwan Administrative Office. In terms of the latter approach, the only contemporary figures honored in this way were Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen.[6]

On 24 January 1946 the Taipei City Government submitted to the Taiwan Administrative Office a list of 112 street names, 2 park names and 3

Taiwan, graduated from Waseda University 早稲田大学 in 1923 and later obtained a Master degree in political sciences from the University of Illinois in 1926. N̂g was recruited into the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1925 when he was a student in the U.S. After graduation he went to China to work for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China, and was later appointed as the Consul General in San Francisco, Yangon, and Calcutta. After World War Two, N̂g was appointed as the Commissioner of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan and the Mayor of Taipei City. His position as Mayor was discharged by Governor Chen on 28 February 1946.

5 See: 1 January 1946, *Bîn-pò* 民報.

6 Attention should be given to the fact that the official urban coding and naming system under the Japanese Empire before 1945 was not based on a linear pattern, such as that made up by streets. The fundamental spatial coding unit was based on street blocks instead, and several adjacent blocks shared an official sub-district name such as *Shinkichō* 新起町, *Wakatakechō* 若竹町, or *Suehirochō* 末廣町. In other words, it was a spatial pattern, rather than a linear one, that was used for naming. Thus, theoretically, the new street names proposed by the Taipei City Government in 1946 did not match up directly with the names being replaced.

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bridge names for usage.[7] The list of street names submitted by the city government was slightly different from that which had been publicized earlier. For instance, *Bamboo Alley* or *Tek-hāng Street* 竹巷街, a legacy from an old ward in the townscape, was changed into *Longevity* or *Tn̂g-siū Street* 長壽街 to convey the meaning of auspicious aspiration. *Dragon Cave* or *Lōng-tōng Road* 龍峒路, which came from a local place name,[8] was changed to become into *Great Harmony* or *Tāi-tông Road* 大同路, after the idea promoted by Sun Yat-sen in his *Three People's Principles* or Sunology.[9] *Vegetable Garden* or *Chhài-hn̂g Street* 菜園街 was merged into *Lotus* or *Liân-hoe Street* 蓮花街. Both are legacies from the old local street names. The idea for the removing of *Vegetable Garden* was similar to that behind the renaming of *Bamboo Alley*, and reflected the approach of getting rid of those appellations with less- urbanized or less-modernized imagery attached to them. Attention should also be paid to those street names with commemorative implications. Thus, *Peace* or *Hô-pêng Road* 和平路 was changed into *Retrocession* or *Kong-ho̍k Road* 光復路.[10] *Museum* or *Phok-bu̍t-koán Street* 博物館街, named after the former Taiwan Governor Museum located nearby, was transformed into *Cairo* or *Khai-lô Street* 開羅街, after

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7 See: 24 January 1946, "Submitted case of comparison table of old and new street-names of Taipei City" (Táiběi shì jiēdào xīn jiù míngchēng duìzhào biǎo chéngsòng àn) 臺北市街道新舊名稱對照表呈送案, in *Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ dǎng'àn* 臺灣省行政長官公署檔案 [Archives of Taiwan Administrative Office], Vol. 009, No. 003, Collection No. 00344100009003.

8 *Lōng-tōng* is from the local place name *Tōa-lōng-tōng*, literally meaning 'Big Dragon Cave'. *Tōa-lōng-tōng* is the sound imitation from a local Austronesian village name, which was also recorded by the Dutch in the 17th century as *Pourompon*. It results from choosing the characters possessing both close pronunciation and the meaning of 'Big Dragon Cave' as a single phrase. The dropping of the first syllable *Tōa* into *Lōng-tōng* turned out to both retain the meaning of 'Dragon Cave' and follow the instruction of a street name with 2-character (2-syllable) dictated by the Taiwan Administrative Office.

9 Sun, in his lecture in 1924, claimed that his idea of People's Livelihood (Mínshēng 民生) is identical to Socialism, which often appears under the alias Communism, and also to the doctrine of Great Harmony, which could be interpreted as 'the great communion' or 'era of world brotherhood'. The idea of Great Harmony is a classical Chinese philosophy and was also advocated by reformer Kang Youwei 康有為 in the late nineteenth century (Chang 2015: 203n34).

10 *Retrocession* essentially appeared before the building of the Government-General of Formosa on the list of 1 January 1946. It disappeared in favor of *Chen Yi* or *Kung-ch'ia* Road 公洽路 on the list of 24 January 1946, which was intended to celebrate the new Governor. Chen, nevertheless, did not accept this compliment, perhaps seeing it as flattery, and replaced it with *Philanthropy* or *phok-ài* 博愛, after one of the ideas promoted in Sunology, when the Taiwan Administrative Office officially announced the conclusive list of street names on 25 June 1946.

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the Cairo Declaration issued on 27 November 1943. *Activating* or *Kiàn-sêng Street* 建成街, which took its name from the local street name in use in the late 19th century,[11] was converted to *Ūi-súi Street* 渭水街, after a local Taiwanese doctor and social activist who founded a hospital on that street.[12] The substituting of street names showed a preference for using modern urban imagery, as well as commemorative meanings emphasizing themes such as the restoration of Taiwan to China and anti-Japanese jingoism.

In addition, some street names on the submitted list were relocated, rather than replaced, in order to superimpose a symbolic layout on the urban space. For instance, the initial spatial arrangement was in anticipation of the city expanding eastward in the future. Right in the center of the projected Taipei city there were five planned thoroughfares. The longitudinal one was named after *China* or *Tiong-hôa Road* 中華路, and the latitudinal ones after the three main themes of Sunology and Sunology itself. On top of the five planned thoroughfares an existing main road running in an East-West direction and intersecting with *China* was named after *Koxinga* or *Iân-pêng Road* 延平路.[13] It is obvious that the initial design was to align a popular historical figure among the Taiwanese with the idea of China and Sunology as the foundation of a newly-imagined nation. The submitted list, however, changed the street name from *Koxinga* to *Chiang Kai-shek* or *Chung Cheng Road* 中正路. *Koxinga* was repositioned in order to substitute *Peaceful* or *Thài-pêng Road* 太平路, which occupied a relatively less significant position in the spatial configuration of the city as a whole, in the old quarter.[14] The

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[11] *Kiàn-sêng* was originally the brand name of the major business on that street. It was also treated as the street name in the late 19th century and later evolved into the sub-district name as *Kenseichō* 建成町 before the end of World War Two. Note that the term, although composed of the identical characters 建 and 成, is pronounced somehow differently in Japanese, Taiwanese and even Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese. The characters are pronounced as *kensei*, *kiàn-sêng* and *jiànchéng*, *wanseong*, *kiến thành* respectively.

[12] *Ūi-súi* is named after Chiúⁿ Ūi-súi 蔣渭水 (1890–1931), a doctor and also one of the founders of the Taiwanese Cultural Association or Tâi-oân Bûn-hòa Hia̍p-hōe / Taiwan bunka kyōkai 台湾文化協会 and the Taiwanese People's Party or Tâi-oân Bîn-chiòng Tóng / Taiwan-minshutō 台湾民衆党. He is widely regarded as one of the most important figures in the Taiwanese resistance movement against Japanese rule in the 1920s.

[13] Koxinga (1624–1662) was a Hokkien-Japanese maritime merchant and warlord who fought against the Manchu Empire along the southeastern coast of China and later established a regime in Taiwan by conquered the Dutch outposts there. Nowadays the Taiwanese folk religion has transformed Koxinga into a popular deity with the titles such as "the Prince of Iân-pêng" (*Iân-pêng Kūn-ông* 延平郡王), or "the Saint Lord who cultivates Taiwan" (*Khai-Tâi sèng-ông* 開台聖王).

[14] The street name *Thài-pêng* had been used in the late nineteenth century and later was transformed into a Japanized subdistrict named *Taiheichō* 太平町 without changing the street name that had been in use since the early twentieth century.

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spatially emblematic implication apparently shifted toward a more contemporary political and less localized direction.

The Taiwan Administrative Office did not immediately publicize the list received from the Taipei City Government. In early February 1946, the Taiwan Administrative Office first decreed that the local governments had to ensure to all the new street names contained only two characters, with meaningful connotation, for the sake of brevity.[15] It was not until 25 June 1946 that the Taiwan Administrative Office finally announced the 110 new street names, 2 park names and 3 bridge names,[16] in which the Taiwan Administrative Office retained most of the names submitted by the City Government in January. Some minor changes were applied in furtherance of the principle of standardization, at the expense of local geographies or habits. For instance, *Meiji Bridge* 明治橋[17] in the north of the city, erected in 1901 mainly as a mostly wooden structure and then upgraded to a modern reinforced concrete arch bridge in 1933, was initially proposed to be renamed as *Sword Lake* or *Kiàm-thâm Bridge* 劍潭橋,[18] after the local place name, in the list submitted in January. The Taiwan Administrative Office, nevertheless,

[15] *Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào* 臺灣省行政長官公署公報 [Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office] (Spring, 1946), 53–54.

[16] *Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào* 臺灣省行政長官公署公報 [Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office] (Summer, 1946), 818–821.

[17] *Meiji* is coined after Emperor Meiji (1852–1912), who ruled Japan from 1867 until his death. During his reign, Japan quickly changed from a pre-modern feudal state to a capitalist and imperial world power.

[18] The place name *Sword Lake* was said to be associated either with the Dutch, who established a factory in 1624 on the southwestern coast of Taiwan and then developed it into a fort and later ruled the lowland areas of the entire island, or with Koxinga, who expelled the Dutch from Taiwan in 1662 and whose son later established an independent kingdom on the island. The first version, which was popular at an earlier stage in history and recorded in the gazette of the Manchu Empire in the 18th century, declared that there used to be a lot of huge Bishop wood trees (*Bischofia javanica*) near that section of the river and the Dutch once stuck a sword into a tree trunk. The tree continued to grow, swallowing the sword inside it, and thus the local place was named *Sword Lake*. The second version, which is still popular nowadays, asserted that Koxinga and his soldiers ran into the stormy waves caused by a monster while approaching the river. Koxinga then threw one of his treasured swords into the river, subduing the monster. Scholarly research has revealed that the Dutch once contracted some local Austronesian villagers to log for them in order to supply materials for ship maintenance. This did not turn out to be a successful enterprise, due to the quality of wood failing to meet expectations and the local villagers fearing the area and surrounding it with mysterious taboos. This is probably the origin of the legend of the Dutch sword being stuck in the trunk of a tree. As for Koxinga, he had never been outside the areas surrounding the newly conquered Dutch strongholds before his death in 1662. In either case, the place name *Sword Lake* has not only been used in the local area but is also widely known in the rest of Taiwan.

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changed it to *Sun Yat-sen* or *Chung Shan Bridge* 中山橋 since it was at the end of the proposed *Chung Shan* Road.

4. The official street names in 1946: Local legacies

The list of street names publicized by the Taiwan Administrative Office in 1946 was the first conclusive official list for the postwar Taipei City under the occupation of the Chinese Nationalists. Most of the street names were after the local geographies or habits, but those which had Japanese connotations were not to be preserved. For instance, *Mountain Hoa* or *Hôa-san Road* 華山路 was proposed on 1 January 1946 by the City Government for the thoroughfare running through the sub-district formerly known as *Kabayamachō* 樺山町 after use of the Japanese spatial unit *chō* was abolished. Kabayama was named, in fact, after Kabayama Sukenori 樺山資紀 (1837–1922), who was the first Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan, from 1895 to 1896. *Kabayama* is written in Kanji, the adopted logographic characters widely used in East Asia, as 樺山, which is pronounced as *Hôa-san* in Taiwanese. The City Government initially proposed the street name *Hôa-san* by following the local custom, but changed the characters to 華山, which has an identical pronunciation to 樺山 in Taiwanese. The literal meaning of the characters 華山 thus turns out to be *Mountain Hoa*, the name of a sacred mountain in East China. Nevertheless, this delicate arrangement aimed at preserving both the local colloquial practices and conveying a meaning symbolic of Chinese physical geography did not make it onto the list presented to the Taiwan Administrative Office on 24 January. This is most likely due fear of causing offence due to its Japanese undertones, since Governor-General Kabayama was indeed a historical figure of considerable renown. Moreover, the minor modification of characters may not have easily erased the memory of the common people about Kabayama whenever they uttered the street name *Hôa-san*. Thus, *Hôa-san* was replaced by and annexed into *Chiang Kai-shek* or *Chung Cheng Road* 中正路.

Table 2 displays the numerical distribution of officially publicized street names in 1946 based on the naming principles decreed by the Taiwan Administrative Office in November 1945.

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Table 2: Numerical distribution of street names on the official list in 1946

Categories	Number	Percentage (%)
Chinese national spirit	1	0.9
Three People's Principles	7	6.2
Great national figures	7	6.2
Local geographies or habits	93	83.0
[Others]	4	3.6
Total	112	99.9

Notes: 1. The second category "Three People's Principles" includes *Great Harmony* or *Tāi-tông* 大同, *Philanthropy* or *phok-ài* 博愛, and *Glory Revival* or *Ho̍k-heng* 復興, in addition to the three major themes of Sunology and Sunology itself.
2. The third category "Great national figures" consists of *Koxinga*, *Chiúⁿ Ūi-súi* 蔣渭水, *Û Chheng-hong* 余清芳, *Fukusei Ra* 羅福星, *Liû Yún-fuk* 劉永福, in addition to Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek.
3. The fifth category "Others" refers to the four street names not belonging to any of the above four categories identified by the Taiwan Administrative Office. They are *Rebirth* or *Sin-seng* 新生, *Retrocession* or *Kong-ho̍k* 光復, *Cairo* or *Khai-lô* 開羅, and *Franklin D. Roosevelt* or *Lô-su-hok* 羅斯福. The first three insinuate the idea of a "return" of Taiwan to China.

There were 93 streets named after local geographies or habits, accounting for 83% of the total street names in Taipei. Those in the old quarters prior to the Japanese take-over, such as the one inside the demolished city wall called *Siâⁿ-lāi* 城內, the area in the north called *Tōa-tiū-tiâⁿ* 大稻埕, and the one roughly situated in the west, called *Báng-kà* 艋舺, were mostly named after the earlier local place naming legacies. Nevertheless, those in the south and in the adjacent east, where urbanization happened only after the Japanese takeover, developed different strategies for street-naming.

The street naming in the south took an old place name there and further extended it into something that would convey a spatial symbolic image. There was a village in the south named *Entrance of Dragon Cave* or *Liông-a̍h-kháu* 龍匣口庄 in the late nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, it developed into a street being named *Dragon Mouth* or *Liông-kháu Street* 龍口街 and also a sub-district labeled *Ryūkōchō* 龍口町. Both the words *entrance* and *mouth* share the same character 口. Nevertheless, the village name *Entrance of Dragon Cave* was derived from an Austronesian village name being written down by the Dutch as *Rieuwwerowar* in the seventeenth century, which was recorded as *Liáu-a* 了阿 by abbreviating the syllables during a later stage. The Hokkien immigrants subsequently established a new village in front of *Rieuwwerowar*, and thus the new village was given the name *Entrance of Liáu-a*, which gradually turned into *Liông-*

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ȧh-kháu, with the characters literally meaning *Entrance of Dragon Cave*. In fact, the entire scenario had nothing to do with the image of a dragon, in terms of either mythology or landscape morphology, but the juxtapositioning of characters created the meaning out of the original phrase.

The list in 1946 took *Dragon Mouth Street* as the base, and further christened several surrounding streets after the imaginary dragon. Thus, we had *Dragon Throat* or *Liông-âu Street* 龍喉街, *Dragon Throat Ahead* or *Liông-âu-chiân Street* 龍喉前街, *Dragon Saliva* or *Liông-chin Street* 龍津街, *Dragon Flying* or *Liông-hui Street* 龍飛街, and *Dragon Peaceful* or *Liông-an Street* 龍安街 scattered around in the former sub-district called *Ryūkōchō* and nearby neighborhoods. Collectively, all these street-names associated with the character for dragon turned out to be an imposition of a mythological creature on the urban symbolic landscape.

As for the area in the adjacent east, the street-naming utilized the image of the East Gate for spatial nomenclature. As a matter of fact, 13 streets were christened after the demolished city wall or city gates, among the 93 instances of naming after local geographies or habits, accounting for 14% of the total. The aforementioned 13 are *East Gate* or *Tang-mn̂g* 東門, *North of East Gate* or *Tang-mn̂g Pak* 東門北, *South of East Gate* or *Tang-mn̂g lâm* 東門南, *Interior of East Gate* or *Tang-mn̂g lāi* 東門內, *Exterior of East Gate* or *Tang-mn̂g gōa* 東門外, *Northern Exterior of East Gate* or *Pak Tang-mn̂g gōa* 北東門外, *West Gate* or *Se-mn̂g* 西門, *Exterior of East Gate* or *Se-mn̂g gōa* 西門外, *South Gate* or *Lâm-mn̂g* 南門, *Auxiliary South Gate* or *Sió Lâm-mn̂g* 小南門, *North Gate* or *Pak-mn̂g* 北門, and *Exterior of North Gate* or *Pak-mn̂g gōa* 北門外, in addition to the one named after the city wall itself, *West of Wall* or *Siâⁿ-sai* 城西. Of note is the fact that 6 of these are associated with *East Gate*, accounting for more than two fifth of the total. The high proportion of street-naming after the image of the *East Gate* explains the naming strategy in the adjacent east.[19]

The map in Figure 1 shows the distribution of 6 street names related to the dragon image in the south and the 14 streets related to the demolished city wall or city gates.

[19] The cases of street-naming after the image of a Dragon and East Gate here are similar to what we call "thematic grouping" in some naming practices used in Finland when there are no enough previously existing local toponyms for street-naming. The theme mostly has a connection to the neighborhood itself. For instance, the oldest themes of streets in Vuosaari are named after rowing and sailing vessels, seafaring, and fishing, to commemorate the marine history and the traditional livelihoods of its residents (Ainiala 2016: 108).

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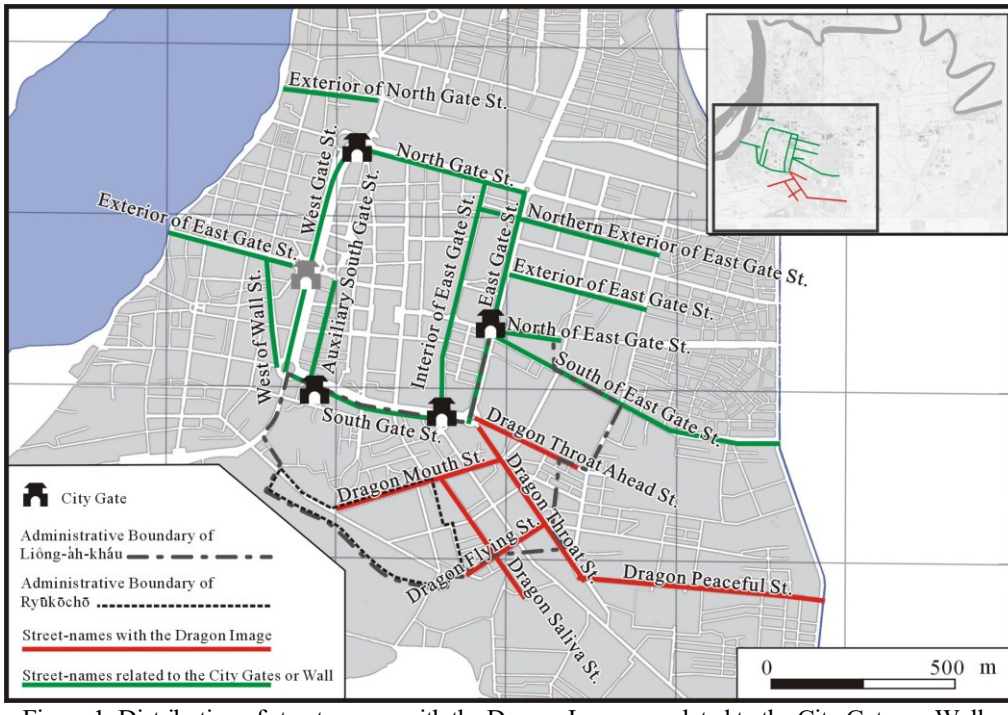


Figure 1: Distribution of street-names with the Dragon Image or related to the City Gates or Wall

5. The official street names in 1946: Nationalistic commemoration

In addition to following the aforementioned 4 points of nomenclature announced by Taiwan Administrative Office, the official list of street names in 1946 revealed the theme of Chinese nationalistic commemoration. Especially deserving of attention is the street-naming associated with Taiwan. We may roughly divide street names according to two aspects: the commemoration of anti-Japanese rule, and the emphasis of Taiwan as the territory of China.

The commemoration of anti-Japanese rule was manifested through street naming after historical figures. Unlike the commemoration of great national figures proposed by the Taiwan Administrative Office, the final list in 1946 admitted five Taiwan-related figures that may not have been considered as *great* national figures on a level with Sun Yat-sen or Chiang Kai-shek in the eyes of Chinese Nationalists. They were *Koxinga* for *Iân-pêng Road* 延平路, *Chiúⁿ Ūi-súi* 蔣渭水 for *Ūi-súi Street* 渭水街, *Û Chheng-hong* 余清芳 for *Chheng-hong Street* 清芳街, *Fukusei Ra* (Lo Fu-hsing) 羅福星 for *Hok-seng Street* 福星街, and *Liû Yún-fuk* (Lưu Vĩnh Phúc)

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劉永福 for *Éng-hok Street* 永福街. Except for Koxinga, the remaining four were all associated themselves with the period of Japanese rule in Taiwan, beginning in the late nineteenth century.

Û Chheng-hong (1879-1915) was known as the leader of the Tapani or Ta-pa-nî 噍吧哖 uprising of 1915, which was one of the largest armed revolts against Japanese rule and based on the elements of millenarianism and folk religion. *Fukusei Ra* (1886–1914) was a member of a secret society called the United Allegiance Society or Tóngménghuì 同盟會 founded by Sun Yat-sen, and also an overseas martyr in the eyes of Chinese Nationalists. Of Hakka-Dutch-Indonesian ancestry and born in Batavia (today's Jakarta, Indonesia), he was executed in Taihoku (today's Taipei) for his part in a plot to overrun the Japanese authorities in Taiwan. *Liû Yún-fuk* (1837–1917) was a soldier of fortune hailing from the Sino-Vietnamese border area, and later a commander of the celebrated Black Flag Army fighting against the French in Tonkin (today's northern Vietnam) in the 1870s, where he was also known as Lưu Vĩnh Phúc to contemporary Vietnamese. *Liû* was also the second and last President of the short-lived Republic of Formosa in 1895, after the Manchu Empire ceded Taiwan to the Japanese Empire in the same year. Nevertheless, attention should also be paid to the earlier mentioned *Chiú*^{n} *Ūi-súi*. Among all these figures, he was the only one not originally proposed as a namesake by the Taipei City Government but later added to the list in 1946. His case was also the only one where the street honoring his name commemorated his actual physical presence there, as it was the locus of both his medical and socio-political careers. In contrast, the rest of the figures chosen as namesakes for street-naming had nothing physically to do with the streets bearing their names.[20]

The placing of emphasis on Taiwan being the territory of China was achieved by street-naming in front of the grand public buildings erected during the Japanese period, in particular. The road facing Taipei City Hall (today's Ch'ung-shan Hall 中山堂, after Sun Yat-sen), where the new Governor Chen received the official surrender from Japanese Governor-General Andō, was named as *Retrocession Road*, replacing the proposed *Peace Road* in early January 1946. The street in front of the former Taiwan Governor Museum (today's National Taiwan Museum 國立臺灣博物館), established in 1908 and renovated into one of the largest public buildings in 1915, was referred to as *Cairo Street*, substituting for the *Museum Street*

[20] It is worth noting that Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), the 32nd U.S. President and the only Westerner chosen for street-naming, was also included on the list in 1946 as Lô-su-hok Road 羅斯福路 as recognition for his role in supporting Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist China and declaring war against the Japanese Empire.

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appellation that had been recommended earlier.

Retrocession unequivocally denotes the meaning of the return of Taiwan into Chinese hands after the former was "stolen" from the Manchu Empire by the Japanese, who then ruled the island for 50 years. Later, in August 1946, Governor Chen proclaimed the day he received the official surrender from Andō (i.e., 25 October 1945) as *Taiwan Retrocession Day* (*Táiwān guāngfù jié* 臺灣光復節), which has always been regarded as controversial, since Japan did not actually give up legal sovereignty over Taiwan in any treaty until the year of 1952. *Cairo* refers to the Cairo Declaration issued on 27 November 1943. The Cairo Declaration is related to Taiwan, as it announced that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, including Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China". Together with their associations with public buildings, both *Retrocession* and *Cairo* were undeniably utilized because of their connotation of the territorial claim advocated by the Chinese Nationalists.

The map in Figure 2 shows the distribution of 6 instances of street-naming after the commemoration of anti-Japanese rule or for placing emphasis on Taiwan as being the territory of China.

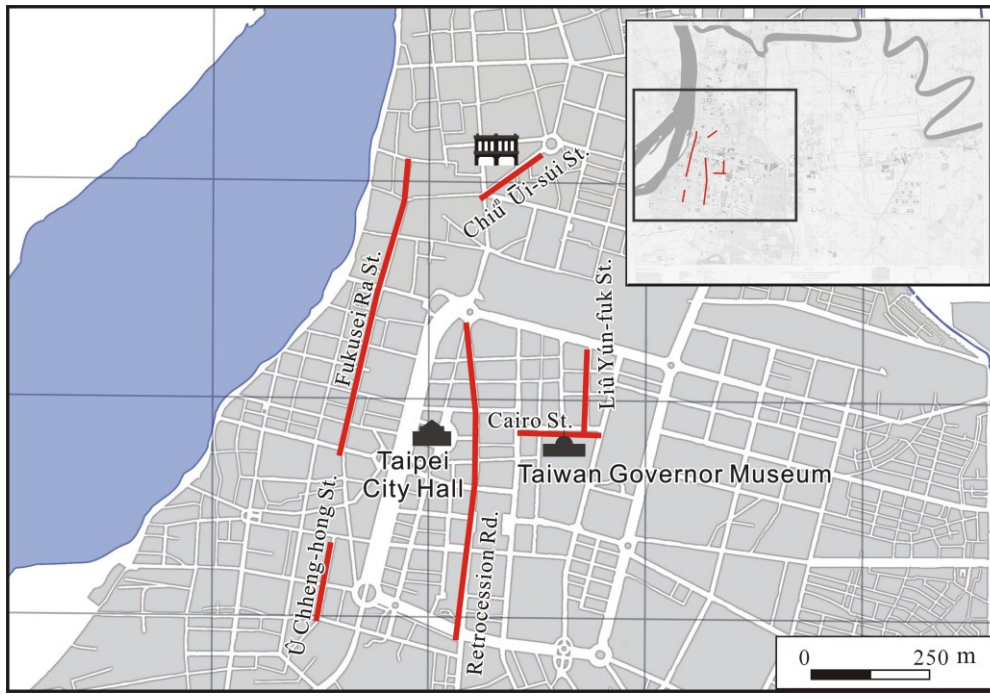


Figure 2: Distribution of commemorative street-names for anti-Japanese rule and restoration in Taipei, 1946

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6. The street names in 1947: Boulevardization of naming for political ideologies

On 15 January 1947 the Taiwan Administrative Office announced the new list of street names to replace most of those that had been proposed by the Taipei City Government about half a year previously.[21] The new list was designed by Cheng Ting-pang (Zhèng dìngbāng 鄭定邦), an architect from Shanghai who had worked as a Deputy Technical Specialist in the Office of Civil Affairs (mínzhèng chǔ dàilǐ jìzhèng 民政處代理技正) of the Taiwan Administrative Office since 13 July 1946. The Taiwan Administrative Office had Cheng modify the street-naming practices used in Shanghai City since the mid-nineteenth century for use in Taipei. The Shanghai model had initially been proposed by Sir Walter Henry Medhurst (1822–1885), the British counsel in Shanghai, in 1862, when the British and the French failed to reach an agreement on the street-naming within their joint-settlement in Shanghai. Medhurst proposed the use of geographical names of China, namely provincial names for the streets running in a North-South direction, and city names for streets running South-East, rather than following the contemporary European tradition for street-naming. The City of Shanghai accepted his proposal.

Cheng's street-naming model, adapted from Shanghai practice for Taipei in 1947, involved first setting up a focal point in the City of Taipei as the center of the quadrant graphs, for which the site of Taiwan Administrative Office was chosen. Then the four major thoroughfares in the four cardinal directions became the two axes intersecting at the projected center. The new project used the two axes to serve as base lines. If a street under one name cut cross one of the axes, that road's name would be split into two, designated as either east or west, or north or south. Thus, according to the official street names publicized in 1946, the longitudinal axes would be *Sun Yat-sen* or *Chung Shan Road* 中山路 in the north, and *East Gate* or *Tang-mn̂g Street* 東門街 in the south; whereas the latitudinal axes were *North Gate* or *Pak-mn̂g Street* 北門街 in the west and *Chiang Kai-shek* or *Chung Cheng Road* 中正路 in the east.[22] The list from 1947 changed *Sun Yat-sen*, *East Gate*, *North Gate*, and *Chung Cheng* into *Sun Yat-sen North* (*Chung Shan North*), *Sun Yat-sen South* (*Chung Shan South*), *Chiang Kai-shek West*

[21] *Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào* 臺灣省行政長官公署公報 [Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office] (Spring, 1947), No. 10, p. 160; No. 11, p. 176; No. 12, pp. 191–192.

[22] The spellings of street names in 1947 follow the English version of the Taipei City Map (Chen 1964), available in the Special Collection of the Leiden University Library. Note that the official Romanization of street names in Taipei is not fully in accordance with Wade-Giles spellings, as we have Swatow 汕頭 on the map rather than Shan-t'ou (Shàntóu in pinyin).

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(*Chung Cheng West*), and *Chiang Kai-shek East* (*Chung Cheng East*) roads, respectively. In addition to *East Gate* and *North Gate*, the streets after *West Gate* and *South Gate* were also renamed *China* and *Patriotism West* or *Ai Kuo* (àiguó 愛國) *West Road*, respectively. Thus, the urban symbolic landscape was composed of two nationalist figures for the urban cardinal axes, and the old walled city was enclosed by the aforementioned two nationalist figures, along with *China*, and *patriotism*, at the expense of local geographies and customs.

Nevertheless, before Cheng's modified version of Shanghai street-naming formula was imposed on Taipei, the Taiwan Administrative Office first applied the first two points for street-naming it had decreed in 1945, namely the use of *Chinese national spirit* and *Sunology* for major thoroughfares. Examples of street-naming after Chinese national spirit on the new list of 1947 are *China* or *Chung Hua* (zhōnghuá 中華), *Loyalty* or *Chung Hsiao* (zhōngxiào 忠孝), *Benevolence* or *Jen Ai* (rén'ài 仁愛), *Fidelity* or *Hsin Yi* (xìnyì 信義), and *Peace* or *Ho Ping* (hépíng 和平). Cases of street-naming after the Three People's Principles on the new list of 1947 are *Nationalism* or *Min Tsu* (mínzú 民族), *Civil Rights* or *Min Chuan* (mínquán 民權), and *People's Livelihood* or *Min Sheng* (mínshēng 民生), and the themes of *Glory Revival* or *Fu Hsing* (fùxīng 復興) were also added. All these were either newly named or relocated to the existing and the planned extended thoroughfares. Among them, *Peace* and all the five streets named after the Three People's Principles were further divided into East and West or South and North roads.

Table 3 displays all the street-naming in 1947 with cardinal directions.

Table 3: Street-naming in 1947 with cardinal directions

North-South Direction	East-West Direction
	Pin Chiang (Bīnjiāng 濱江)
	Nationalism / Min Tsu (mínzú 民族)
River Loop / Huan Ho (huánhé 環河)	Civil Rights / Min Chuan (mínquán 民權)
Hsi Ning (*Xiníng* 西寧)	People's Livelihood / Min Sheng (民生)
Koxinga / Yen Ping (Yánpíng 延平)	*Nan King* (*Nánjīng* 南京)
Chung Ching (*Chóngqìng* 重慶)	*Chang An* (*Cháng'ān* 長安)
Sun Yat-sen / Chung Shan (zhōngshān 中山)	Chiang Kai-shek / Chung Cheng (中正)
Hsao Hsing (*Shàoxīng* 紹興)	*Ching Tao* (*Qīngdǎo* 青島)
Heng Chou (*Hángzhōu* 杭州)	Patriotism / Ai Kuo (àiguó 愛國)
Rebirth / Hsin Sheng (xīnshēng 新生)	Peace / Ho Ping (hépíng 和平)
Glory Revival / Fu Hsing (fùxīng 復興)	

Note: Smaller font size indicates less significant naming as evidenced by the assignment of the generic term "street" or *chieh* (jiē 街) rather than "road" or *lu* (lù 路). In general, "street" refers to a thoroughfare that is either shorter or narrower than a "road". Use of italic indicates street-naming after geographical names.

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If we look at the spatial layout of the street-naming for major thoroughfares, in addition to *Sun Yat-sen* and *Chiang Kai-shek* as the major urban cardinal axes, we see the major three themes of Sunology running in a horizontal direction north of *Chiang Kai-shek*, and south of *Chiang Kai-shek* are the four major thoroughfares bearing the names of the *Eight Virtues* of Chinese National spirit set out by Sun Yat-sen. South of *Sun Yat-sen*, where *Franklin D. Roosevelt* starts to turn southward it is intersected by another thoroughfare called *Patriotism*. East of the major urban cardinal axis *Sun Yat-sen*, we have *Rebirth* and *Glory Revival* running vertical courses. The former indicates Taiwan being taken into Chinese hands by evoking the metaphor of resurrection, whereas the latter implies the future goal of China on the world stage.

The map in Figure 3 illustrates the spatial layouts of the street naming of major thoroughfares in 1947.

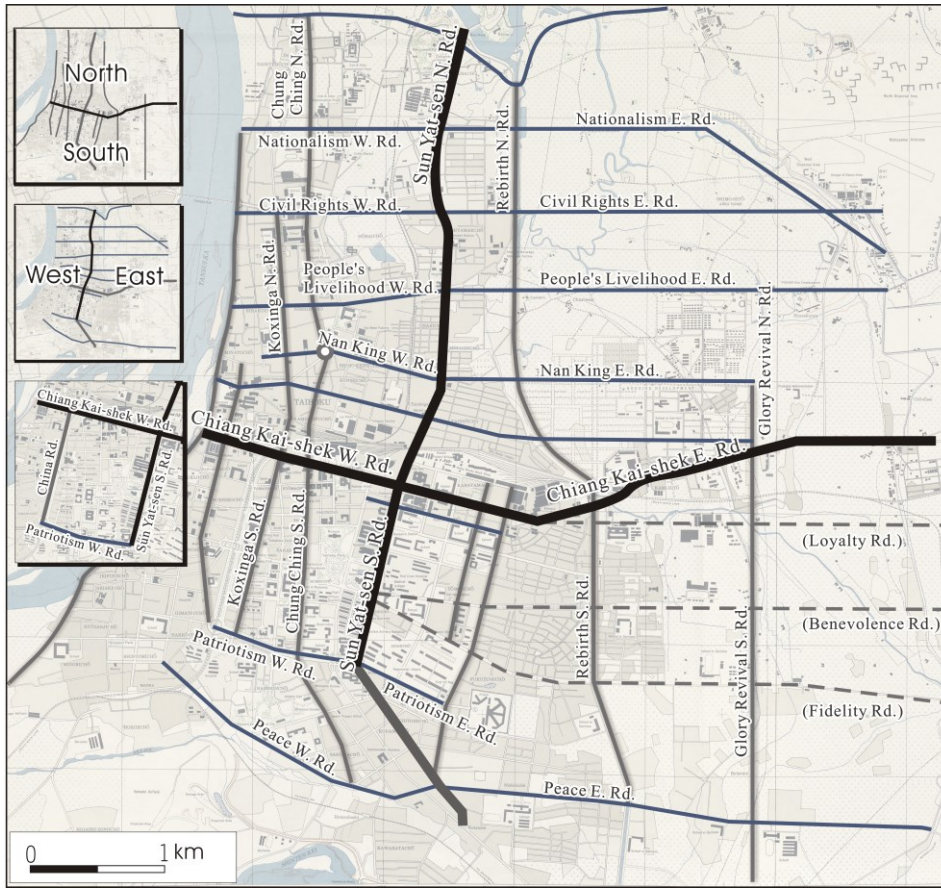


Figure 3: Spatial layouts of street names of major thoroughfares in Taipei, 1947

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7. The street-names in 1947: A nationalistic geography of Great China

The second step of Cheng's model was to superimpose the map of China on the street map of Taipei City.



Figure 4: Place names from China utilized for street-naming in Taipei, 1947

The projected center and two axes served as the quadrants for assigning place names from China. The site of the Taiwan Administrative Office was roughly matched to the projected center of China in Cheng's project, which was

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around the meeting point of three provinces, namely today's Hebei, Henan and Shangdong. The streets on the northeast side of the Taiwan Administrative Office would be named after place names corresponding to the same direction, based on the projected center of China such as *Pei Ping* (Běipíng 北平, i.e., Beijing), *Tien Chin* (Tiānjīn 天津), and *Lung Chiang* (Lóngjiāng 龍江). Likewise, those on the southwest side would have place names like *Pao Ching* (Bǎoqìng 寶慶), *Cheng Tu* (Chéngdū 成都), *O Mei* (Éméi 峨眉), *Nei Chiang* (Nèijiāng 內江), *Kuei Yang* (Guìyáng 貴陽), *Kuei Lin* (Guìlín 桂林), and *Liu Chou* (Liǔzhōu 柳州). However, there were some exceptions that did not match well with Cheng's quadrant scheme. For instance, place names from the southeastern coast of China such as *Swatow* (Shàntóu 汕頭), *Canton* or *Kuang Chou* (Guǎngzhōu 廣州), and *Chuan Chou* (Quánzhōu 泉州) should have been applied to the southeast of the Taiwan Administrative Office, rather than on the southwest side, as they were on the list in 1947. However, the latter arrangement prevailed, since the area in the southeast direction was mostly rural, with few urban streets.

The map in Figure 4 illustrates the geographical distribution of place names from China which were utilized for street-naming in Taipei in the year of 1947.

Table 4 presents the numerical distribution of officially publicized street names in 1947 based on the naming principle decreed by the Taiwan Administrative Office in November 1945. About 70% of street bore place names from China, or more precisely speaking, representing the nationalistic geography of China. This came at the expense of local geographies or habits, the use of which dropped considerably, from 83% of all street names in 1946 to less than 7% in 1947. Therefore, the symbolic landscape of postwar Taipei turned out to be a terrain which manifested the nationalistic geography of China.

Table 4: Numerical distribution of street names on the official list in 1947

Categories	Number (A)	Percentage (%) (A)	Number (B)	Percentage (%) (B)
Chinese national spirit	5	4.8	6	4.9
Three People's Principles	7	6.8	12	9.8
Great national figures	5	4.8	8	6.6
Local geographies or habits	7	6.8	8	6.6
[Geography of China]	76	73.8	84	68.8
[Others]	3	2.9	4	3.3
Total	103	99.9	122	100.0

Notes: 1. Column A counts street names by treating streets with a cardinal direction (i.e. South vs. North or West vs. East) as a single street name. Column B treats the same thoroughfares as two street names instead.
2. The second category "Three People's Principles" includes *Great Harmony*, *Philanthropy*, *Glory Revival*, and *Patriotism* in addition to the three major themes of Sunology.
3. The third category "Great national figures" consists of *Sun Yat-sen* and *Chiang*

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Kai-shek, *Koxinga*, *Lin Sen* (Lín Sēn 林森), and *Long Live Chiang Kai-shek* or *Chieh Shou* (Jièshòu 介壽).

4. The fourth category "Local geographies or habits" contains *River Loop* or *Huan Ho* (huánhé 環河), *Keelung* (Jīlóng 基隆), *Park* or *Kung Yuan* (Gōngyuán 公園), *University* or *Ta-hsüeh* (Dàxué 大學), *East Garden* or *Tung Yuan* (Dōngyuán 東園), *West Garden* or *Hsi Yuan* (Xiyuán 西園), and *Waterhead* or *Shui Yuan* (Shuǐyuán 水源).

5. The sixth category "Others" refers to *Rebirth*, *Retrocession*, and *Franklin D. Roosevelt*.

Attention should also be paid to the two streets named after important cities to the Chinese Nationalists, namely *Nan King* (Nánjīng 南京) and *Chung Ching* (Chóngqìng 重慶). *Nan King* was the state capital of the Republic of China, and *Chung Ching* the provisional capital during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). In the new list of street names in 1947, we had *Nan King* as *Nan King East* and *West Roads* whereas *Chung Ching* featured *Chung Ching North* and *South Roads*. Both *Nan King West Road* and *Chung Ching North Road* intersected at the roundabout hub of six streets, located to the northwest direction of the Taiwan Administrative Office. This indicates that the naming of a street after *Nan King* did not follow the ostensible rule of Cheng's quadrant scheme, as the naming itself seemed to deliberately have *Nan King* intersect with *Chung Ching* at the only roundabout hub beyond the outskirts of the razed Taipei City Wall. Moreover, among all the streets named after place names of China, both *Nan King* and *Chung Ching* are the only two with cardinal directions in their nomenclatures that are also regarded as "road" or *lu* (lù 路) instead of "street" or *chieh* (jiē 街), which indicates both nomenclatures are the most revered among all the place names of China (see Table 3).

Among all the place names of China used for the street-naming of Taipei, we should also take note of those from outside China proper. For instance, *Kumul* or *Ha Mi* (Hāmì 哈密), *Ürümqi* or *Di Hua* (Díhuà 迪化), meaning "Enlightening and Civilizing" in Chinese, and *Kulja* (*Ghulja*) or *Yi Ning* (Yīníng 伊寧) are all in East Turkestan or Uyghurstan, the area Chinese Nationalists called the *New Frontier* or *Hsin-chiang* (Xīnjiāng 新疆) Province, after the naming system in place since 1884 during the Manchu Empire. *Mukden* or *Shen Yang* (Shěnyáng 瀋陽), *Barga* or *Hsing An* (Xìng'ān 興安), and *Chang Chun* (Chángchun 長春) are all in Manchuria. *Hohhot* or *Kuei Sui* (Guīsuí 歸綏), meaning "Naturalizing and Pacifying" in Chinese, is in inner Mongolia. All the aforementioned place names are outside China Proper, but were inherited by Republican China at the turn of the 20th century from Manchu Empire.[23] In addition, *South China Sea* or

[23] The streets named after *Tibet* or *Hsi-tsang* (Xīzàng 西藏) and *Ulaanbaatar* (*Ulan Bator*) or *Ku Lun* (Kùlún 庫倫) in Mongolia were later added to the city of Taipei.

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Nan Hai (Nánhǎi 南海) appears to be the only water body used for the street-naming of Taipei. The street-naming for Taipei City in 1947 was thus utilized for the purpose of claiming it as integral territory by the Chinese Nationalists.

The map in Figure 5 displays the streets named in Taipei after the aforementioned place names from outside China proper.

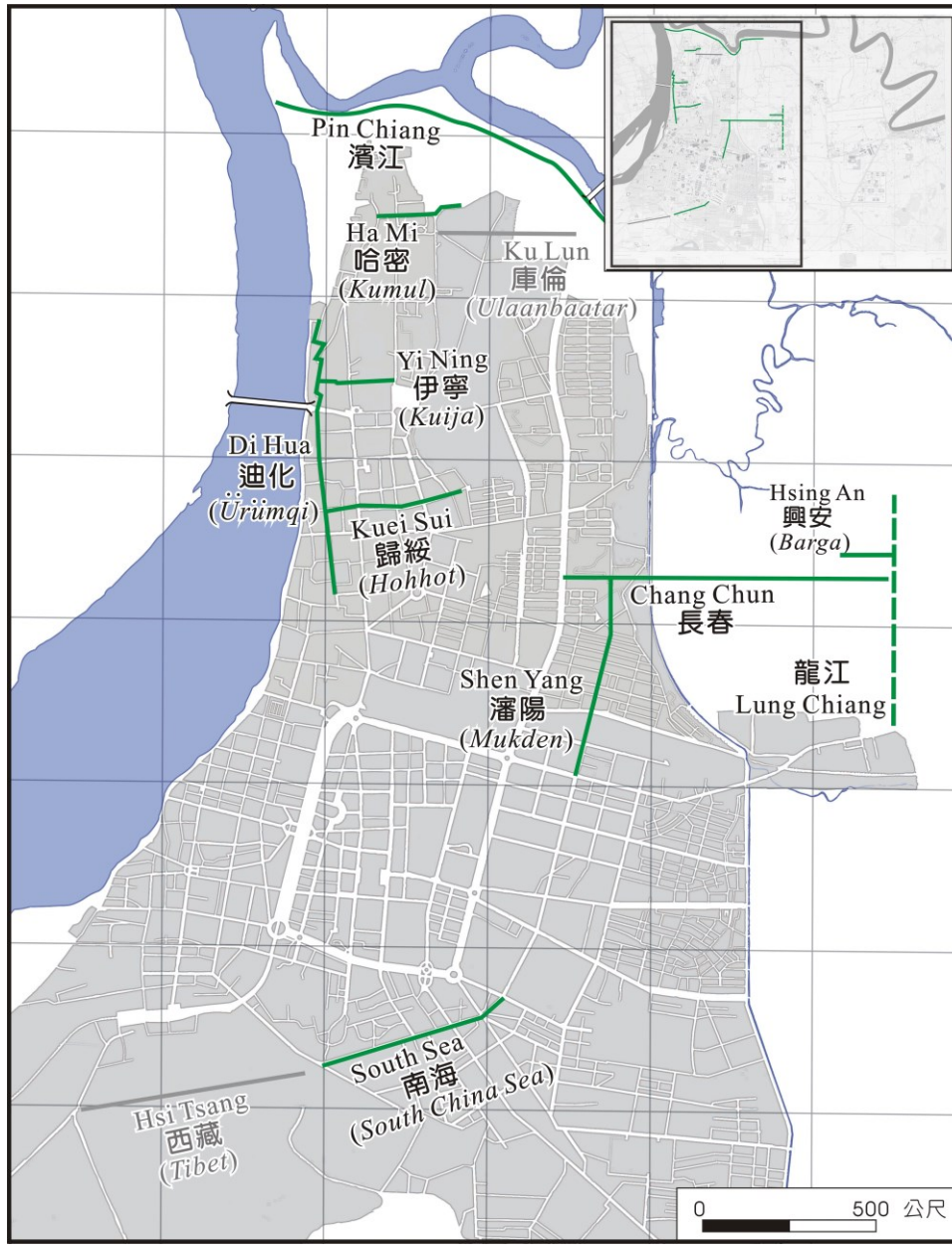


Figure 5: Street-naming in Taipei after place names from outside China proper, 1947

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8. Conclusion

After World War Two, the new occupation authority representing the Chinese Nationalists was the Taiwan Administrative Office. The Office issued two waves of street naming and renaming in Taipei within one-and-a-half year immediately following the official surrender of Japan. The first one, in June 1946, was mainly conducted by the Taipei City Government, which was led by a Taiwanese who was also a member of Chinese Nationalist Party. The second one, in January 1947, was orchestrated exclusively by the Taiwan Administrative Office and commanded by the Allies who had backed the Chinese force. The first wave predominately stressed the local legacies of urban symbolic space, whereas the second emphasized national integrity and to its inspiration from a greater Chinese territory inherited from the early modern Manchu empire. These two waves of street-naming were both permeated with the nationalistic ethos, albeit in a slightly different way. If we use the street-names after foreign toponyms as metaphors, then the first version emphasized the proclaimed establishment of a linkage between Taiwan and China by the use of "Cairo", whereas the second version simply imprinted an image of greater China by using different geographical names from China or territories claimed by the Nationalist Chinese.

The 1946 version was dominated by local legacies, as the images of the demolished city gates and the old city quarters were preserved, although a conspicuous preference was shown for the use of modern urban images, at the expense of others. The earlier version also comprises a few cases emphasizing the commemorative meanings, such as the alleged restoration of Taiwan to China and the anti-Japanese allusions. The former was achieved by the naming of the streets in front of the grand public buildings erected during the Japanese colonial era, whereas the latter took the form of commemorating figures related to Taiwan in street names. In contrast, the 1947 version is overshadowed by the geographical names borrowed from Nationalistic China. In addition, not only were the urban cardinal axes based on the two Nationalistic leaders, along with *China* and *patriotism*, which encircled the area of what had formerly been the old walled city. The naming of major thoroughfares embodied the main themes of Sunology and referred to the Chinese national spirit. Thus, an overall emblematic idealization of China was manifested by way of street-naming when it came to the Nationalists' newly occupied trophy.

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Appendix: List of names and their various Romanized spellings in Chinese Mandarin, Taiwanese, Japanese, etc.

	English equivalents or denotations	Characters	Chinese Mandarin	Chinese Mandarin	Taiwanese	Japanese
			[Wade-Giles]	[Hanyu Spelling]		
(Street names)	Auxiliary South Gate	小南門			Sió Lâm-mn̂g	
	Bamboo Alley	竹巷			Tek-hāng	
	Benevolence	仁愛	Jen-ai	Rén'ài		
	Cairo	開羅			Khai-lô	
	Civil Rights	民權	Min-ch'üan	Mínquán		
	Dragon Cave	龍峒			Lōng-tōng	
	Dragon Flying	龍飛			Liông-hui	
	Dragon Peaceful	龍安			Liông-an	
	Dragon Saliva	龍津			Liông-chin	
	Dragon Throat	龍喉			Liông-âu	
	Dragon Throat Ahead	龍喉前			Liông-âu-chiân	
	East Garden	東園	Tung Yuan	Dōngyuán	Tang-hn̂g	
	East Gate	東門			Tang-mn̂g	
	Eight Virtues	八德	Pa-te	Bādé		
	Exterior of East Gate	東門外			Tang-mn̂g gōa	
	Exterior of East Gate	西門外			Se-mn̂g gōa	
	Exterior of North Gate	北門外			Pak-mn̂g gōa	
	Fidelity	信義	Hsin-i	Xìnyì		
	Glory Revival	復興	Fu Hsing	Fùxīng	Ho̍k-heng	

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	Great Harmony	大同	Ta-t'ung	Dàtóng	Tāi-tông	
	Interior of East Gate	東門內			Tang-mn̂g lāi	
	Longevity	長壽	Ch'ang-shou	Chángshòu	Tn̂g-siū	
	Lotus	蓮花			Liân-hoe	
	Loyalty	忠孝	Chung-hsiao	Zhōngxiào		
	Mountain Hoa	華山			Hôa-san	
	Museum	博物館			Phok-bu̍t-koán	
	Nationalism	民族	Min-tsu	Mínzú		
	North Gate	北門			Pak-mn̂g	
	North of East Gate	東門北			Tang-mn̂g Pak	
	Northern Exterior of East Gate	北東門外			Pak Tang-mn̂g gōa	
	Park	公園	Kung Yuan	Gōngyuán	Kong-hn̂g	
	Patriotism	愛國	Ai Kuo	Àiguó		
	Peace	和平	Ho-p'eng	Hépíng	Hô-pêng	
	People's Livelihood	民生	Min-sheng	Mínshēng		
	Philanthropy	博愛	Po-ai	Bó'ài	Phok-ài	
	Rebirth	新生	Hsin Sheng	Xīnshēng		
	Retrocession	光復	Kuang-fu	Guāngfù	Kong-ho̍k	
	River Loop	環河	Huan Ho	Huánhé		
	South Gate	南門			Lâm-mn̂g	
	South of East Gate	東門南			Tang-mn̂g lâm	
	Three People	三民	San-min	Sānmín		
	University	大學	Ta-hsüeh	Dàxué	Tāi-ha̍k	
	Vegetable Garden	菜園			Chhài-hn̂g	
	Waterhead	水源	Shui Yuan	Shuǐyuán	Chúi-goân	

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	West Garden	西園	Hsi Yuan	Xiyuán	Se-hn̂g	
	West Gate	西門			Se-mn̂g	
	West of Wall	城西			Siâⁿ-sai	
(Street names)						
[after place names]	Barga	興安	Hsing An	Xìng'ān		
	Beijing	北平	Pei Ping	Běipíng		
	Canton	廣州	Kuang Chou	Guǎngzhōu		
	China	中華	Chung-hua	Zhōnghuá		
	Hohhot	歸綏	Kuei Sui	Guīsuí		
	Keelung	基隆	Chi-lung	Jīlóng	Ke-lâng	
	Kulja	伊寧	Yi Ning	Yīníng		
	Kumul	哈密	Ha Mi	Hāmì		
	Mukden	瀋陽	Shen Yang	Shěnyáng		
	South China Sea	南海	Nan Hai	Nánhǎi		
	Swatow	汕頭	Swatow	Shàntóu		
	Ürümqi	迪化	Di Hua	Díhuà		
		長安	Chang An	Cháng'ān		
		長春	Chang Chun	Chángchun		
		成都	Cheng Tu	Chéngdū		
		青島	Ching Tao	Qīngdǎo		
		泉州	Chuan Chou	Quánzhōu		
		重慶	Chung Ching	Chóngqìng		
		杭州	Heng Chou	Hángzhōu		
		紹興	Hsao Hsing	Shàoxīng		
		西寧	Hsi Ning	Xiníng		

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		桂林	Kuei Lin	Guìlín		
		貴陽	Kuei Yang	Guìyáng		
		柳州	Liu Chou	Liǔzhōu		
		龍江	Lung Chiang	Lóngjiāng		
		南京	Nan King	Nánjīng		
		内江	Nei Chiang	Nèijiāng		
		峨眉	O Mei	Éméi		
		寶慶	Pao Ching	Bǎoqìng		
		天津	Tien Chin	Tiānjīn		
(Street names)						
[after personal names]	(Chen Yi)	公洽	Kung-ch'ia	Gōngqià		
	(Chiang Kai-shek)	中正	Chung-cheng	Zhōngzhèng		
	(Chiúⁿ Ūi-súi)	渭水			Ūi-súi	
	(Franklin D. Roosevelt)	羅斯福			Lô-su-hok	
	(Fukusei Ra)	福星	Fu-hsing	Fúxīng	Hok-seng	
	(Koxinga)	延平			Iân-pêng	
	(Liû Yún-fuk)	永福	Yung-fu	Yǒngfú	Éng-hok	
	(Sun Yat-sen)	中山	Chung-shan	Zhōngshān		
	(Û Chheng-hong)	清芳			Chheng-hong	
(Personal names)	Fukusei Ra	羅福星	Lo Fu-hsing	Luó Fúxīng		Fukusei Ra
	Kabayama Sukenori	樺山資紀				Kabayama Sukenori
	Liû Yún-fuk (Hakka spelling)*	劉永福	Liu Yung-fu	Liú Yǒngfú	Lâu Éng-hok	
		康有為	Kang Yu-wei	Kāng Yǒuwéi		

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		蔣渭水 (JP) / 蔣渭水 (TW)			Chiúⁿ Ūi-súi	
		黃朝琴	Huang Chao-chin		N̂g Tiâu-khîm	
		余清芳			Û Chheng-hong	
		鄭定邦	Cheng Ting-pang	Zhèng dìngbāng		
(Settlement names)	Big field for paddy-drying	大稻埕			Tōa-tiū-tiâⁿ	
	Canoe	艋舺			Báng-kà	
	Entrance of Dragon Cave	龍匣口			Liông-ah-kháu	
	Inside the city wall	城內			Siâⁿ-lāi	
	Saltwater Harbor	塩水港 (JP) / 鹹水港 (TW)			Kiâm-chúi-káng	Ensuiko
		了阿			Liáu-a	
(District or area names)	Activating	建成 (町)			Kiàn-sêng	Kensei(chō)
	Dragon Mouth	龍口 (町)			Liông-kháu	Ryūkō(chō)
	Kabayama	樺山 (町)			Hôa-san	Kabayama(chō)
	Newly-built	新起 (町)			Sin-khí	Shinki(chō)
	Peaceful	太平 (町)			Thài-pêng	Taihei(chō)
	Uyghurstan / East Turkestan	新疆	Hsin-chiang	Xīnjiāng		
		末廣 (町)				Suehiro(chō)
		若竹 (町)				Wakatake(chō)

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(Bridge names)	Meiji	明治			Bêng-tī	Meiji
	Sword Lake	劍潭			Kiàm-thâm	
(Others)	Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office	臺灣省行政長官公署公報		Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào		
	Deputy Technical Specialist	代理技正		dàilǐ jìzhèng		
	Taiwanese Cultural Association	台湾文化協会			Tâi-oân Bûn-hòa Hia̍p-hōe	Taiwan bunka kyōkai
	Taiwanese People's Party	台湾民衆党			Tâi-oân Bîn-chiòng Tóng	Taiwan-minshutō
	The Office of Civil Affairs	民政處		mínzhèng chǔ		
	The Prince of Koxinga	延平郡王			Iân-pêng Kūn-ông	
	The Saint Lord who cultivates Taiwan	開台聖王			Khai-Tâi sèng-ông	
	The United Allegiance Society	同盟會		Tóngménghuì		

* Also known as *Lưu Vĩnh Phúc* in Vietnamese.

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