

Structural Transformation of Ryukyu Kingdom in the 17th and Early 18th Centuries:

As an Intersection of Cultural Interaction

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Preface

The history of Ryukyu kingdom established upon “Ryukyu arc”, a series of archipelagos from the south of Kyushu Island to the north of Taiwan Island, was significantly changed by the invasion of Satsuma at 1609 and the start of control by Satsuma and Tokugawa Shogunate. Ryukyu kingdom was flourished as maritime trade power before 1609, because of its subtropical climate, maritime resources and geographical location at the center of East China Sea. From its ancient and middle ages, Ryukyu arc was a production area of trading articles, for example shellfish like Lacinated Conch, Cone Shell, Cowrie, Turban Shell and Trumpet Triton¹⁾. Ryukyu entered into diplomatic relations with Chinese dynasty at 1372, in response to the invitation of the Hongwu emperor, the founder of Ming China. Ryukyu had developed as a main actor of maritime trade in East Asia and Southeast Asia, because of the maritime ban on private overseas trade (*haijin*) ordered by the Ming court and the Ming’s policy of preferential treatment towards Ryukyu. The Ming’s policy of preferential treatment towards Ryukyu was carried out as a countermeasure against maritime power including “*woko* (Japa-

1) Kinoshita Naoko 木下尚子, *Nantō kai bunka no kenkyū – Kai no michi no kōkogaku* 南島貝文化の研究— 貝の道の考古学 [A study of shellfish culture in south islands – archaeology of shellfish trade routes], Housei University Press, 1996. Kinoshita Naoko, *Senshi Ryūkyū no seigyō to kōeki – Amami / Okinawa no hakkutsu chōsa kara* 先史琉球の生業と交易—奄美・沖縄の発掘調査から [Prehistoric Ryukyuan livelihood and trade – from excavation researches on Amami and Okinawa] revised version, Kinoshita Laboratory, Kumamoto University, 2003. Takanashi Osamu 高梨修, *Yakōgai no kōkogaku* ヤコウガイの考古学 [Archaeology of Turban Shell], Dōseisha, 2005.

nese pirates)” which was inevitably “illegal” in the maritime ban. At least Ming China regarded its relationship with Ryukyu as a matter highly-related with Japan²⁾. During 15th and 16th centuries, Ryukyu was a vital portion of Asian maritime trade, as an intermediary which connected local trade networks, rather than a production area of trading articles³⁾. The golden age of the tributary relationship and trade between Ryukyu and the Ming found out by *Ming Shilu* and *Rekidai Hōan* was from the end of 14th century to the middle of 15th century. Since then, Ryukyu Kingdom proceeded with the political and economic integration of “Ryukyu arc”, while opportunities of its tributary trade with the Ming gradually declined⁴⁾. On the other hand, Japanese merchants mainly lived on Hakata or Sakai took initiative in maritime trade between Ryukyu, Japan and Korea after the middle of 15th century⁵⁾. In addition, after the unification of Japan by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Ryukyu became strongly affected by Japanese political influences through Satsuma located on the south of Kyushu. Especially the invasion of Korea by Toyotomi Japan was the worst-case condition for Ryukyu, in the sense of the battle between Japan and China as the most important states for Ryukyu. In this time, Ryukyu was forced to manage a very difficult diplomacy as allegiance to the Ming and sending several reports to the Ming about internal condi-

2) Okamoto Hiromichi, “Foreign Policy and Maritime Trade in the Early Ming Period: Focusing on the Ryukyu Kingdom”, *ACTA ASIATICA* 95, 2008.

3) On this point, there are a series of studies around 1940, based on *Rekidai Hōan*, a collection of diplomatic documents of Ryukyu kingdom written in Chinese. Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳, *Chūsei nantō tsūkō bōekishi no kenkyū* [A study of the history of contacts and trade of the Southern Islands in the middle ages], Nihon Hyōronsha, 1939 (revised version in 1993, Rinsen Shoten). Higashionna Kanjun 東恩納寛惇, *Reimeiki no kaigai kōtsūshi*, Teikoku kyō-uikukai shuppanbu, 1941 (*Higashionna Kanjun zenshū* 東恩納寛惇全集 3, Daiichi Shobō, 1979). Asato Nobu 安里延, *Okinawa kaiyō hattenshi: Nihon nanpou hattenshi josetsu* 沖縄海洋発展史—日本南方発展史序説 [The history of overseas expansion of Okinawa], Okinawaken Kaigaikyōkai, 1941 (reprinted in 1967, Ryūkyū Bunkyo Toshō). As recent studies, see Takara Kurayoshi 高良倉吉, *Shinpan Ryūkyū no jidai* 新版琉球の時代 [The age of Ryukyu, new edition], Hirugisha, 1989.

4) Okamoto[2008], op. cit., pp.36–41, pp.52–55.

5) To overview related studies, see Itō Kōji 伊藤幸司, “15 / 16 seiki no Nihon to Ryūkyū: Kenkyūshi seiri no shiten kara” 15・16世紀の日本と琉球—研究史整理の視点から [Japan and Ryukyu in the 15th and 16th Centuries: from the reexamination of former studies], *Kyushu-shigaku* 九州史学 144, 2006.

tions of Japan on the one hand, and as maintenance of relationships with Satsuma and Toyotomi Japan on the other hand. After Hideyoshi's death, Tokugawa Ieyasu succeeded to the rule of Japan, and then started negotiations with Ming China through several channels to restore a relationship between Japan and the Ming. But these results were not desirable for him. In the situation like this, Ryukyu was getting a great deal of attention as one of channels for the negotiation to the Ming. However, the reaction of Ryukyu in the time was extremely cold against Tokugawa Japan and Satsuma. This attitude is reasonable considering the importance of the Ryukyu's relationship with Ming China, the difficulty of the negotiation for the restoration of relationship between Japan and Ming, and bad influences on Ryukyu in case Ryukyu would engage in restoration activities on the Japan's side. But Tokugawa Shogunate and Satsuma felt frustrated against this Ryukyu's cold attitude, and began to make further breakthrough more aggressively. Just before the invasion of Ryukyu by Satsuma, Satsuma regarded acquisition of Amami islands as the most important problem to solve the inner contradiction of its power structure. On the other hand, Tokugawa Shogunate regarded the negotiation for a restoration of diplomatic relations with Ming China through the intermediation of Ryukyu as the most important issue. These two did not agree with expectation for Ryukyu completely. However, Ryukyu's "stubborn" attitude led Tokugawa Shogunate approve the dispatch of troops by Satsuma, then Ryukyu kingdom became incorporated into the "rule" of Satsuma, and Tokugawa Shogunate dominating over Satsuma⁶⁾.

In this paper, I will discuss the transition of Ryukyu Kingdom's diplomacy, which was ruled by Satsuma and Tokugawa Shogunate, on the other hand maintained its investiture-tributary relationships with Ming-Qing China. Then I will confirm Ryukyu Kingdom's "Cultural Strategy" generally established until early 18th century, and the establishment of "Ryukyunes" inherited in contemporary Ryukyu-Okinawa society, which was come from the diplomacy and surrounding conditions of Ryukyu Kingdom in this period. Through these researches, I would like to provide useful examples to consider the state of "traditional society"

6) For the circumstances leading up to the invasion by Satsuma, Prof. Kamiya Nobuyuki advanced his own research. See Kamiya Nobuyuki 紙屋敦之, *Bakuhanseikokka no Ryūkyū shihai* 幕藩制国家の琉球支配 [The control of Ryukyu by Shogunate state], Azekura Shobō, 1990.

derived from the accumulation of “Cultural-Interaction” on the more global context.

1. The diplomacy of Ryukyu Kingdom

After the invasion by Satsuma, Ryukyu kingdom was forced to manage its diplomacy under the restriction by Satsuma and Tokugawa Shogunate. But on the other hand, the fact of Japanese rule over Ryukyu was able to be the fatal disadvantage for the diplomacy of Ryukyu. So, Ryukyu inevitably tended to conceal Japan’s control over itself. This is often called “the concealment policy of the relationship with Japan” in the study of Ryukyuan history. However, it is not surprising that each diplomatic agent would conceal its own inconvenient truth. It is of course a proper attitude. Especially in the context of Ryukyu’s history, why “the concealment policy of the relationship with Japan” is regarded as the characteristic factor in the early-modern Ryukyu era? So I would like to reexamine the diplomacy of Ryukyu Kingdom in the 17th and early 18th centuries to understand this issue.

1–1. 1609–1635, from the invasion of Satsuma to the “restoration” of the Ryukyu’s diplomatic position

After the invasion of Satsuma was ended, Satsuma army took the king of Chūzan (Shō nei), a younger brother of the king (Shō kō), two of Sanshikan (Council of Three, Urasoe Chōshi and Jana Rizan), and so on, and made a triumphant return to Kagoshima. Next year, the lord of Satsuma domain took them to Sunpu and Edo, and had an audience with Tokugawa Ieyasu and Tokugawa Hidetada. Of course their position in this journey was prisoners of war. However, Tokugawa Shogunate’s reception for the party of the king Shō nei was prepared according to the mission from Joseon Korea in 1607. Tokugawa Shogunate treated the party of Shō nei as a diplomatic mission from a foreign country, and treated Ryukyu as the same rank of foreign countries as Joseon Korea. It means that when the Shogunate accepted “a mission dispatched by a foreign country” in the case like this, the treatment itself had a great significance for the prestige of the newborn Tokugawa Shogunate. At the same time, it reveals that then Tokugawa Shogunate must take the treatment of Ryukyu as a country which was enough to act as intermediary in the negotiation between Japan and Ming China. Though Ryukyu was surrendered militarily, it must be still a dignified and inde-

pendent country for Tokugawa Shogunate.

However, the negotiation for the restoration of the relationship between Japan and Ming China had not made progress. Ryukyu sent its envoy to the Ming court in the next year of Satsuma's invasion, but then the Ming court decided to prohibit Ryukyu's tribute in ten years. The true meaning of the Ming's attitude is a fear against Japan. The Ming court pointed out that the tributary articles from Ryukyu contained articles made in Japan at the time, but it was of course ordinary more than two hundred years. Probably the Ming court regarded the invasion of Ryukyu by Satsuma as a second coming of Japanese military campaign like the invasion of Korea⁷⁾. The next year, Satsuma requested Ryukyu to bring the diplomatic document to the Ming court which pressed the Ming to choose one of the three options of trade between Japan and Ming China. But it contained Japanese intimidation to attack Ming China if the Ming refused the proposal, it was very dangerous mission for Ryukyu. Ryukyu refused its request at last, it showed an example of "cultural-interaction" between Ryukyu and Japan in diplomacy, and also showed Ryukyu's independence to some extent at that time.

The restoration of the relationship between Ryukyu and Ming China was also not easy issue itself. Especially the process of restoration of Ryukyu's tribute once every two years showed its difficulty. Ming's restriction for Ryukyu's tributary opportunities had gradually loosened up, and finally it restored once every two years as former times in 1633. The reduction of traffic between Ryukyu and China until 1633 resulted in a depression of Ryukyu's economy. In 1616, after the die of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the diplomatic policy of Tokugawa Shogunate changed to abandon the restoration of the relationship between Japan and Ming China, on the same time the Shogunate tended to restrict the maritime trade gradually. Satsuma also changed its attitude against Ryukyu in this situation, and began to promote transformation of Ryukyu's manners and customs into exotic. The causes of this

7) Ming China in that time would felt a fear against Japan behind Ryukyu, rather than Ryukyu itself. See Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, "1609 nen, Nihon no Ryūkyū heigō ikō ni okeru Chūgoku / Chōsen no tai Ryūkyū gaikō: Higashi ajia 4 koku ni okeru sakuho, tsūshin soshite tozetsu" 1609年、日本の琉球併合以降における中国・朝鮮の対琉球外交—東アジア四国における冊封、通信、そして途絶 [Chinese and Korean diplomacy toward Ryukyu after Japan's annexation of Ryukyu in 1609: investiture, state-level interaction, and suspension of relations among the four countries of East Asia], *Chōsenshi kenkyūkai ronbunshū* 朝鮮史研究会論文集 46, 2008.

change were not simple, but one of them was that Satsuma considered Ryukyu as a foreign country provided Satsuma with more profits rather than Ryukyu assimilating into Japan. At the same time, Satsuma tried to promote the economic development of Ryukyu. On the other hand, Tokugawa Shogunate and Satsuma had a strong precaution against Christian's contact in the "Ryukyu arc". The rotation system of officials dispatched from Shuri on Yaeyama (*Yaeyama-Zaiban-sei*) started from 1632, the purpose of this system was defending these islands against Christianity, Spanish and Portuguese which had an ambition for the Ryukyu archipelago⁸).

In 1634, the institution of a mission dispatched from Ryukyu kingdom to Tokugawa Shogunate at the enthronement of the new Shogun of the Shogunate or the new King of Chūzan started. And the usage of the title "Kokushi" for the king of Chūzan started between Ryukyu and Satsuma in the next year. It means that the king of Chūzan was regarded as an official of Satsuma. Therefore the essential rituals between Ryukyu and the three political powers over Ryukyu – Ming China, Tokugawa Shogunate, and Satsuma – were established definitely⁹).

1–2. 1635–1684, Ming–Qing transition and the end of disorders in the East Asia

For Ryukyu kingdom, this period is a period of instability, though I have said "the essential rituals ... were established definitely" just before. The most important factor of instability was the Ming–Qing transition. In 1636, Manchu declared its own name changed into "Qing" and invaded Joseon Korea. A lot of rebellions occurred everywhere inside Ming china, and the Ming court had not enough power to suppress them. The Ming dynasty perished in 1644 because of the rebellion led by Li Zicheng, at that time Wu Sangui, who was the general of the Ming and confronting against the Qing's army on the north of Beijing, made peace with

8) Machira Fusaaki 真栄平房昭, "Sakoku keiseiki no Ryūkyū zaiban bugyō" 鎖国形成期の琉球在番奉行, *Ryūkyū no rekisi to bunka: Yamamoto Hirofumi hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* 琉球の歴史と文化—山本弘文博士還暦記念論文集, Honpō Shoseki, 1985, pp.147–148.

9) Kamiya[1990], op. cit., and Kamiya Nobuyuki, *Taikun gaikō to higashi ajia* 大君外交と東アジア [Taikun diplomacy and East Asia], Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997. On the other hand, Prof. Tomiyama Kazuyuki had critically-revisited from a positive standpoint of Ryukyuan initiative. Tomiyama Kazuyuki 豊見山和行, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no ōken to gaikō* 琉球王国の王権と外交 [Royal authority and diplomacy of Ryukyu kingdom], Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004.

the Qing and led the Qing's army into Beijing to fight against Li Zicheng. As a result, the Qing could occupy the old Ming's capital Beijing. But there were not a few powers to resist the Qing and each of them declared itself the successor of Ming emperor, which was called "South Ming". Zheng Chenggong, who was a general of the Ming and assisted one of them, expelled the Dutch from Taiwan to obtain a foothold in 1661 and continued resisting the Qing. Wu Sangui also rebelled against the Qing in 1673. Its final consequence was uncertain for Ryukyu, Japan and the other peripheral countries, so it was very difficult to choose the new diplomatic counterpart in these powers.

In addition, Manchu and the Qing dynasty were originally "barbarians" in the traditional Chinese context, so Ryukyu and Japan tend to hate Manchu's rule. Especially Ryukyu and Japan including Tokugawa Shogunate and Satsuma was afraid of being forced to accept its pig-tail hair, they had exchanged a lot of letters about measures against the Qing each other. At first the Shogunate and Satsuma wanted Ryukyu to resist against the Qing, but finally they gave up its judgement and regarded Ryukyu as "out of the territory of Japan" to avoid these troublesome problems like this. In this process, we can find out a fact that Tokugawa Shogunate and Satsuma needed Ryukyu as an "independent" diplomatic actor in their diplomacy¹⁰⁾, and Ryukyu could find out its own *raison d'être* in it. Ryukyu was struggling with this diplomatic situation and seeking its more suitable plan to manage its own kingdom. Shō Shōken was the most famous political leader in this period of Ryukyuan history, determined the course of the kingdom's policy through "*Haneji-Shioki*" and his own politics.

1-3. 1684-, the Qing Empire's stable rule and the age of "quiet diplomacy" in East Asia

After 1683, the Qing's victory against Zheng's Taiwan brought maritime East Asia peace and a new situation. The Kangxi emperor of the Qing dynasty basically succeeded the style of diplomacy from the former Ming dynasty especially for East and Southeast Asia, but its concept was not same. Qing's diplomatic attitudes were completely different in each region, and were chosen according to each regional situation. In addition, the Qing court would not interfere with outside the empire excessively in contrast to the early Ming. Prof. Iwai Shigeki

10) Tomiyama[2004] op. cit., pp.75-76.

called its tendency “quiet diplomacy”¹¹⁾.

Ryukyu kingdom was also forced to perform as a diplomatic actor in this situation. Therefore Ryukyu began to adopt “the concealment policy of the relationship with Japan”. The change of the route for sending drifted ships and peoples back to their mother country was a symbolic example of this policy. Drifted ships and people to the Ryukyu archipelago were at first sent to Nagasaki and then sent back to each mother country normally until 1686. However, the Qing court gave Ryukyu an official notice to send drifted Chinese ships and people back to China in 1684, and Ryukyu offer a response to the Qing that Ryukyu obeyed the notice in 1686. It should be noted that Ryukyu decided this change without Satsuma’s permission. Ryukyu reported this change to Satsuma in 1694 and gained its confirmation, because Ryukyu was afraid to reveal its relationship with Japan in the fact of sending ships and people to Nagasaki. Japanese coming and going around the Ryukyu archipelago were explained as the people from “*Takara-jima*” to Chinese. When a Chinese mission for the investiture of the King came to Ryukyu, all things and people related to Japan were concealed temporarily. Manuals for dealing with drifting ships and people come to Ryukyu were compiled several times during the 18th century. Manuals for sailors who were possible to drifting and being washed on the foreign ashore were also compiled. These treatments were not only temporarily but based on the firm policy, then this “concealment policy of the relationship with Japan” restricted and offered the direction of Ryukyuan society.

2. “Cultural strategy” in the diplomacy of Ryukyu Kingdom

In this section, I would like to introduce several examples of the “Cultural strategy” in the diplomacy of Ryukyu Kingdom. Although these were not all, and former two happened only once in one or several decades, but these examples contained the essence of “Cultural strategy” of Ryukyu.

11) Iwai Shigeki 岩井茂樹, “Shindai no goshi to ‘chinmoku gaikō’ 清代の互市と「沈黙外交」 [Border markets and “quiet diplomacy” during the Qing period], Fuma Susumu ed., *Chūgoku Higashi ajia gaikōkōryūshi no kenkyū* 中国東アジア外交交流史の研究 [Essays on the history of Chinese diplomacy and cultural exchange in East Asia], Kyoto University Press, 2007.

2-1. Dispatches of Ryukyu's mission to the Tokugawa Shogunate

As stated above, the institution of a mission dispatched from Ryukyu to Tokugawa Shogunate started from 1634. These missions were dispatched 18 times from 1634 to 1850, and the number of people in each mission was around a hundred. Each mission firstly went to Kagoshima, then boarded on ships with escorts dispatched by Satsuma together and went through the west side of Kyushu island and Setonaikai sea to Osaka. After sailing upstream to Kyoto, they walked on the road to Edo¹²⁾.

The preparation of each mission started one or several years before their departure. Especially the training of music and dances were preparing elaborately, a special magistrate (*Odori-bugyō*) was appointed temporarily and managed training program for young people selected from the gentleman's lineage. The music for training and presentation contained the music for reception (*uzagaku*) and the music for parade (*rojigaku*). The costume of each official was Chinese-style, and each mission embodied the essence of Chinese culture. The culture and ability of making Chinese and Japanese poem, calligraphy, painting, etc. were needed to each official of the mission, and their high evaluation in each journey was regarded as rising up the evaluation and prestige of Ryukyu kingdom. So, it was regarded as the significant means to manage the diplomacy of Ryukyu kingdom. Of course, gifts for Shogun, some higher officials in the Shogunate and a lot of feudal lords (*daimyō*) were also preparing elaborately.

Through examining a mission dispatched to Tokugawa Shogunate, we can understand that the diplomacy of Ryukyu kingdom was closely related with many cultural factors.

2-2. Reception for Chinese missions dispatched for the investiture of the King of Ryukyu

Chinese missions for the investiture of the king of Ryukyu were dispatched 23 times by the Ming and the Qing dynasty from 1404 to 1866, 9 times after the

12) For dispatches of Ryukyuan envoy to Shogunate, see Miyagi Eishō 宮城榮昌, *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori* 琉球使節の江戸上り [The journey of Ryukyuan envoy toward Edo], Daiichi shobō, 1982. Yokoyama Manabu 横山学, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū* 琉球国使節渡来の研究 [Studies on Ryukyuan envoys coming to Japan], Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987.

invasion of Satsuma. The number of people in each mission was about 300 to 600, and each mission was dispatched after the request from Ryukyu and the permission of the emperor. The core members of the mission were appointed by the emperor in the capital, and then they went to Fuzhou and did preparation for the voyage to Ryukyu. Each voyage from Fujian to Naha needed 7 to 10 days usually, but it was regarded as very dangerous, so each mission prayed to Mazu (or Tianfei, Tianhou) for the safety of the voyage¹³⁾.

The preparation for Chinese missions was similar to the preparation for Ryukyuan missions dispatched to Japan. Its main factors contained (1) music and dances, (2) poem and writing, calligraphy, painting, (3) gift and dishes. Of course, the Japanese cultural factors were excluded. Each mission from China stayed Ryukyu at least 3 months to wait a good monsoon for their return, so they were sightseeing around Shuri and Naha, and correcting the information about Ryukyu during their stay. Since 1534, the head of each mission wrote a book about Ryukyu after returning to China, and peoples in other countries including Japan could know the information of Ryukyu through reading these books¹⁴⁾.

Reception for Chinese mission dispatched to Ryukyu for investiture of the king was the most significant event for the diplomacy of Ryukyu kingdom, and was also significant for the *raison d'être* of Ryukyu kingdom. Although its cost was a burden for Ryukyu, it is indispensable for not only Ryukyu kingdom but also Satsuma and Tokugawa Shogunate.

2-3. Practices of Ryukyuan “Cultural strategy” in the early-modern Ryukyu era

These two cases above were quite important events for the diplomacy of

13) There are a lot of works for Chinese missions for the investiture of the king of Ryukyu. See Okinawa Prefectural Museum ed., *Sappōshi: Chūgoku kōtei no shisha* 冊封使—中国皇帝の使者 [Missions for the investiture: the envoy of Chinese Emperor], Associates of the Okinawa Prefectural Museum, 1989.

14) After Chen Kan's visit to Ryukyu in 1534, Chinese missions for the investiture of the king of Ryukyu basically had written records of their experience and knowledge called “Shi Liuqiu lu”, and almost of their records are translated into Japanese by Harada Nobuo 原田禹雄. For the historical characteristics of “Shi Liuqiu lu”, see Fuma Susumu ed., *Zōtei Shi-Ryūkyū-roku kaidai oyobi kenkyū* 増訂使琉球録解題及び研究 [Bibliographies and studies on “Shi Liuqiu lu”: enlarged and revised edition], Yōju Shorin, 1999.

Ryukyu kingdom in the early-modern Ryukyu era, and there had been made careful preparations on these practices. However, they had limited significance on the whole story of cultural interaction in Ryukyu around that time. Because these events were occasional, only once in several decades. Of course, Ryukyuan peoples had put on practice of their “Cultural Strategy” at ordinary times. It should be internalized as the essential part of Ryukyuan society.

Haneji Shioki, written by Haneji Chōchu, or Shō Shōken (Tōmei, personal name in Chinese style), contained twelve kinds of skills which should be cultivated by members of Ryukyuan ruling class¹⁵⁾. These skills could be generally classified three categories: a) skills directly related with work and sophistication required for government officials – literacy, calculation, calligraphy, b) specialized technical skills – medicine, cooking, horse-riding, c) skills for entertainment and social intercourse – singing, playing Chinese music, tea ceremony, flower arrangement. Haneji, who carried out a series of rationalistic reforms, declared all of these skills were required for each official in Ryukyu kingdom. This was probably an overstatement, but these skills which were linked with “Cultural diplomacy” of Ryukyu should be necessary for survival of Ryukyu kingdom at that time.

Quite a few of members in Ryukyuan ruling class could learn these skills in their society personally, on the other hand many members went to Kagoshima or Fuzhou to study these skills in the case of Ryukyu. Ryukyuan schooling system like *kokugaku* or *Hiragakkōjo* had established only after the end of 18th century, this slowness might be due to these rich opportunities for overseas education.

2–4. Effective reach of “Cultural strategy”: Ryukyu Arc’s cultural orientation and cultural interaction in the early–modern Ryukyu era

As mentioned above, “Cultural Strategy” of Ryukyu kingdom had been involved and internalized in daily life of its society, and incorporated in the self-consciousness of “Ryukyu”. It really had a great effect on the concrete aspects of Ryukyuan diplomacy as dispatches of missions to the Shogunate in Edo, reception for Chinese missions, dispatches of missions to Satsuma, and so on. However, it

15) Okinawa ken Okinawa shiryō henshūjo 沖縄県沖縄史料編集所 ed., *Okinawaken shiryō zenkindai 1: Shuri ōfu shioki* 沖縄県史料 前近代1 首里王府仕置, Okinawa ken kyōiku iinkai, 1981, p.24.

is supposed to define the cultural orientation of Ryukyuan society, even on the scene where was not relevant to it. In this section, I estimate several examples which already had former researches in a lot of cases like this.

A. Drifting ships and countermeasure of Ryukyu

As for cases of drifting ashore, there are many related source materials, especially on *Rekidai Hōan* and historical documents of relationships between China and Ryukyu. Recent progress of study for this theme is remarkable, and there already exist a variety of concrete researches for drifting cases both from Ryukyu to overseas and from overseas to Ryukyu¹⁶⁾. Moreover, Ryukyu was an islands state surrounded by ocean, and had not a few opportunities to contact with overseas through drifting cases. On the other hand, because of “the concealment policy” of its relationships with Japan mentioned above, Ryukyu was forced to develop various strategies to prevent its information from leaking out to foreign countries. Therefore, countermeasure manuals like “*Ryokō kokoroe no jōjō*” as mentioned formerly had been prepared and disseminated in early-modern Ryukyu era.

B. Cultural Interaction through books

In early-modern Ryukyu era, a large amount of books published in China and Japan had flowed into Ryukyu, and became widely read there. Of course, most of them were assumed to be flowed into Shuri, Naha, and near there around the government of Ryukyu kingdom. However, considerable number of books had been brought into the other island in Ryukyu arc, and most of them still exist. For example, Uezu-ke monjo and Yonamine-ke monjo in Kume island, Miyara-dunchi Bunko and Ishigaki-ke monjo in Ishigaki island are well-known. There are not a few studies about distribution and reading of these books in early-modern Ryukyu

16) Recently, Watanabe Miki had made a series of researches: Watanabe Miki 渡辺美季, “Shin-dai Chūgoku ni okeru hyōchakumin no shochi to Ryūkyū (1) / (2)” 清代中国における漂着民の処置と琉球(1)・(2) [The treatment for drifters in Qing China and Ryukyu(1)/(2)], *Nantō Shigaku* 南島史学 54–55, 1999–2000. Watanabe Miki, “Shin ni taisuru Ryū-Nichi kankei no inpei to hyōchaku mondai” 清に対する琉日関係の隠蔽と漂着問題 [Concealing Ryukyu-Japanese Relations from Qing China and the problems of castaways], *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌114–11, 2005.

era¹⁷⁾, but it remains a further possibility of research.

C. Kansen geinou, Uzagaku, Rojigaku, and Kumiodori: their relationships with local dance and music

Chinese style music called “Min-Shin gaku” had spread from Nagasaki to various regions in Japan, and in Ryukyu it had involved into Ryukyuan ceremonial music, so-called *Kansen geinō* at the reception for Chinese missions, and *Uzagaku, Rojigaku* on dispatches missions to Shogunate. It is assumed that these had played essential role on “the Cultural Strategy” in the diplomacy of Ryukyu kingdom. In addition, it is well-known that its effect had covered not only officers and a part of gentleman in Ryukyuan ruling class, but also societies of remote villeges and islands¹⁸⁾. In 1719, *Kumiodori* was created by Tamagusuku Chōkun for the sake of reception for Chinese mission. It was performed former story of Ryukyu based on elements of performing arts, which were originally brought from Japan and China. However, around 1800 and later, it can be seen on the stage of local village’s festival. The linkage between Ōfu Kumiodori, or former one, and Chihō Kumiodori, or later one, is not still clear, it is desirable to make further research for this field¹⁹⁾.

D. Chinese tea and Japanese tea

In Ryukyu arc, ceramics supposed as tea things after 14th century were

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- 17) Especially Chinese books flowed into Ryukyu arc in that time, see Takatsu Takashi 高津孝 and Enokawa Atsushi 柴野川敦 eds., *Zōho Ryūkyū kankei kanseki mokuroku: Kinsei Ryūkyū ni okeru kanseki no shūshū / ryūsū / shuppan ni tsuite no sōgōteki kenkyū* 増補琉球関係漢籍目録 近世琉球における漢籍の収集・流通・出版についての総合的研究 [Catalog of Chinese books related with Ryukyu, revised edition: comprehensive studies on collection, distribution and publication of Chinese books in early-modern Ryukyu], Shibundō, 2005.
- 18) Ō Yōka (Wang yaohua) 王耀華, *Chūgoku to Ryūkyū no sangen ongaku* 中国と琉球の三絃音楽 [Sangen musics in China and Ryukyu], Daiichi shobō, 1998. Prof. Kato Tōru’s website is also useful: “Okinawa no Chūgoku denrai ongaku” 沖縄の中国伝来音楽 in “Min Shin gaku siryōko” 明清楽資料庫 URL: <http://www.geocities.jp/cato1963/singaku.html>
- 19) Suzuki Kōta 鈴木康太, “Kumiodori to Ryūka: Ōchō bunka no shosō” 組踊と琉歌 王朝文化の諸相 [Kumiodori and Ryūka: several aspects of the court culture], Zaidan hōjin Okinawaken bunka shinkōkai kōmonjo kanribu shiryō henshūhitsu 財団法人沖縄県文化振興会 公文書史料編集室 ed., *Okinawaken shi kakuronhen 4 Kinsei* 沖縄県史 各論編 4 近世, Okinawa ken kyōiku iinkai, 2005.

unearthed and until 16th century the existence of Japanese *Chanoyu* tea culture in Ryukyu was confirmed by document source materials. But it would be limited in contrast to north of Kagoshima, or Japan archipelago. On the other hand, there appeared some descriptions about “*Tōcha*”(Chinese tea) on historical source materials in 18th century, Chinese tea’s influence seemed to cover Ryukyuan society. Ryukyu had imported Chinese tea from Fuzhou and Japanese tea from Kagoshima in that time. Moreover, we could find out domestic production on each islands in Ryukyu arc during the same period. Ryukyuan society had developed its own unique tea culture, while it was affected by Japan and China as a periphery of both countries²⁰).

E. Countermeasure against smallpox and traffic across islands

In early-modern Ryukyu era, Ryukyu had traffic with mainland China and Japanese archipelago continuously. So an influx of epidemic disease from outside had been a great threat. Especially in a closed island, if once a dangerous infection like smallpox broke out, it means a collapse of the island society for the worst. Therefore, the government of Ryukyu kingdom had implemented countermeasures against smallpox, through quarantine of people for possible infection and systematic implementation of vaccination against smallpox²¹). These countermeasures restricted real movements across sea, and should also affect meanings of maritime traffic and mutual recognition as seen from island societies.

20) Maehira Fusaaki, “Chūgoku cha to Nihon cha” 中国茶と日本茶 [Chinese tea and Japanese tea], *Ryūkyū wo chūshin to shita higashiajia ni okeru butsurūyū kōzō* 琉球を中心とした東アジアにおける物流構造 [The structure of distribution in East Asia: focusing on Ryukyu], Report of research results of Grant-in Aid for Scientific Research(C) from 2005 to 2007 (Representative: Maehira Fusaaki), 2008. Furthermore, I am proceeding my investigation for tea culture in Ryukyu arc as a part of joint research at ICIS.

21) Kobayashi Shigeru 小林茂, *Nōkō / keikan / saigai: Ryūkyū rettō no kankyōshi* 農耕・景観・災害—琉球列島の環境史 [An environmental history of the Ryukyu islands: agriculture, landscape and disasters], Daiichi shobō, 2003. Kobayashi Shigeru, “Shippei ni miru kinsei Ryūkyū shotō” 疾病にみる近世琉球諸島 [Early-modern Ryukyu archipelago from the perspective of disease], *Okinawa kenshi kakuronhen 4 kinsei*, Okinawa ken kyōiku iinkai (Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education), 2005.

3. Cultural transformation of societies inside Ryukyu in the early-modern Ryukyu era

The effect of “Cultural strategy” of Ryukyu kingdom was not being felt only in the society of gentleman lived around Shuri, the capital of the kingdom, but also the other societies inside the Ryukyu archipelago. It is of course because Ryukyu kingdom had already advanced its administrative and economical integration across the whole area of the archipelago to some extent. In addition, we must pay attention to the potential of Ryukyu as a periphery against China and Japan. These rapid changes which made the foundation of the “tradition” in Ryukyu, was obviously stimulated by its own difficult and complex role as “subordinate double-tributary state”, the concept insisted by Prof. Tomiyama Kazuyuki²²⁾. About “Cultural Interaction” between the gentleman society around the capital of Ryukyu kingdom and the other societies, further research would be required, but there are so many examples to examine this issue in the early-modern Ryukyu era. For example, relationships between the large consumption in Ryukyuan society and marine products like sea tangles which were provided in the north end of Japan, problems around ships across Ryukyu arc like *Jibune* (Ryukyuan local ship), *Māransen* (Chinese style local ship), *Yamatobune* (Japanese ship), problems around various textiles and handicrafts as tax or tributary goods, several aspects of religion and ceremony in Ryukyuan society, in addition, the interaction against Amami islands which were substantially under the control of Satsuma²³⁾, and so on. These examples were also found in the outside of the gentleman society, and were closely related to the diplomatic position of Ryukyu kingdom. In order to deepen our understanding of the cultural transformation in early-modern Ryukyu era, we have to find a structure of “cultural interaction” which was constructed by the interface and the context of each society or group. In that sense, the concept “Cultural Interaction” is very useful to research for the history of Ryukyu.

22) Tomiyama[2004], op. cit.

23) For example, Taira Taeko examined a exchange between a local officer in Okinoerabu island and Chinese missions for investiture of the king of Ryukyu, it is very interesting. Taira Taeko 平良妙子, “Sakuhō shisetsu rairyūji ni okeru shibun kōryū: *Totō nikki wo chūshin ni*” 冊封使節来琉時における詩文交流—「渡唐日記」を中心に[Exchange of poems with Chinese envoys for the investiture of the king of Ryukyu: focusing on *Totō Nikki*], *Shukan toyo gaku* 集刊東洋学(*Chinese and Oriental studies*) 94, 2005