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RYUKYU:  
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY



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Manoa

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MASATO MATSUI  
TOMOYOSHI KUROKAWA MINAKO I. SONG



## Part I

### INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

Mitsugu Sakihara

Ryukyuan Resources at the University of Hawaii

Okinawan Studies in the United States During the 1970s

Reported best outside of Japan, have attracted many scholars from Japan and other countries to Hawaii for research. For such study *Ryukyu: A Bibliographical Guide to Okinawan Studies* (1963) and *Ryukyuan Research Resources at the University of Hawaii* (1963), both by the late Dr. Shunzo Sakamaki, have served as the best introduction. However, both books have long been out of print and are not now generally available.

According to *Ryukyuan Research Resources at the University of Hawaii*, as of 1963, holdings totalled 4,197 titles including 3,594 titles of books and documents and 603 titles on microfilm. Annual additions for the past fifteen years, however, have increased the number considerably. The nucleus of the holdings is the Hawley Collection, supplemented by the books personally donated by Dr. Shunzo Sakamaki, the Satsuma Collection, and recent acquisitions by the University of Hawaii. The total should be well over 5,000 titles.

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## RYUKYUAN RESOURCES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

### Introduction

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utsu no shi oyobi jo" [Song to chastize Ryukyu with preface], composed by Priest Nanpo with the intention of justifying the expedition against Ryukyu in 1609 and of stimulating the morale of the troops.

In this song, interestingly enough, Priest Nanpo refers to the king of Ryukyu's legendary descent from Minamoto Tametomo, a Japanese warrior-hero of the 12th century and uncle of Yoritomo, the first Kamakura shogun. This reference to the Tametomo legend in 1609 nullifies the suggestion that the Tametomo legend may have been a politically motivated product of Haneji Chōshū (1617-1676) whose *Chūzan sekan* [Mirror of the world of Chūzan], 1650, incorporated the legend as part of the first official history of Okinawa, strongly influencing later writers and historians.

Among the titles directly concerned with Ryukyu-Satsuma relations are Ijichi Sueyasu's *Nanpei kikō* [Account of the relations with Ryukyu], Ms., 3 volumes, 1832, and *Sasshū tōbutsu raiyukō* [Discourse on the origin of Chinese goods in Satsuma], Ms., 1840. The *Nanpei kikō* is a scholarly account of Satsuma-Ryukyu relations written in rather formal Chinese. Sueyasu's other book, *Sasshū tōbutsu raiyukō*, is written in Japanese and discusses the history of the Satsuma-Ryukyu-China trade. The *Ryukyu kankei monjo* [Documents related to Ryukyu], 18 volumes, compiled by Shimazu-ke hensanjo (Shimazu Family Compilation Institute), undated but probably 1928, is a comprehensive collection of excerpts related to Ryukyu from many Satsuma documents. Volume 25 of the *Sappan reiki zasshū* [Miscellaneous collection of Satsuma regulations] is very useful as it contains Satsuma regulations and orders to Ryukyu, including Amami-Oshima Islands, from the 17th to 18th century. Honda Shinpu's *Oshima yōbunshū* [Concise documents



of Oshima], Ms., 1805, likewise contains Satsuma's directives for governing the Amami-Oshima Islands mostly dated in the 17th century.

#### Anthologies of Chinese Poems

Mention should be made of the two copies of Tei Jun-soku's anthology, *Setsudō Yen Yūsō* [Setsudo's drafts while traveling in Yen], probably written in 1698 and published by Keibunkan Bookstore in 1714. In the appendix to this anthology, one finds the "Ryukyu-kō" [Monograph on Ryukyu], excerpted from Ch'en Jen-hsi's (died ca. 1630) *Shih-fa-lu* [Record of mundane phenomena]. Other anthologies of Chinese poems include the *Tōyūsō* [Drafts while traveling in the East], in three volumes, comprising poems by Tei Gen'i, Gi Gakken, and Shō Genrō, and published by In'undo Bookstore in Satsuma in 1843. *Ryukyu shika* [Ryukyu poetry lessons], 1873, is a collection of the work of Rin Sei-kō and Rin Sei-chū who were students at the Imperial Academy in China. *Ryukyu shiroku* [Ryukyu poetry record], 1873, is a book of similar academic value. The author, Rin Sei-kō or Nagushiku Satsunuchi, is perhaps better known in the history of Ryukyu for his suicide allegedly committed in front of the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Office) of China in Peking in 1880 in protest against Japan's annexation of Ryukyu. Another book of poems is the *Ryukyu hyaku-in* [Ryukyu hundred rhymes] by Makino Ri, of the Province of Buzen, with a postscript by Yokono Bun, of the Province of Awa, dedicated to Kushi Pechin, a member of the Ryukyuan mission to Edo in 1806. This is clear evidence that friendships were fostered between members of the Ryukyu mission to Edo and the Japanese literati in spite of the rigid restrictions imposed by Satsuma.



## Education

Important in the field of education are two books: Wang Shih-Jen's *Liu-ch'iu ju-ta-hsueh shih-mo* [The circumstances of Ryukyuan entering the university], ca. 1688, and P'an Hsiang's *Liu-ch'iu ju-hsueh chien-wen lu* [Firsthand record of Ryukyuan entering schools], 1768. These are sources of information on a very elite group of Okinawans--the scholarship students to China. Between 1392 and 1868, a total of 97 students in 26 groups went to China and brought back the great Chinese civilization to Ryukyu.

There are also two editions of the *Rikuyu engi* [Explanation of the Six Principles]. It was this book that Tei Jun-soku (1663-1734), Ryukyu's most famous Confucian scholar, brought back from China. Through Shimazu Yoshitaka, the *Rikuyu engi* was presented to the eighth shogun, Yoshimune, who was so impressed with the work that he was responsible for its publication and wide distribution throughout Japan for use in schools until the early Meiji period. One copy is the original edition of 1721, in two volumes, by Bukō Shorin Bookstore in Edo. In *kanbun* Chinese with return marks, it was probably intended for the use of the *samurai* class. The name of the first owner, a *samurai* from Nagoya, is still clearly visible in black ink on the back of the front cover. The other copy is the *Rikuyu engi wage* [Translation of the Six Principles elucidated] which seems to have been translated and printed by Toyokawa Oyakata Seiei of Ryukyu in 1740. As this one has the original Chinese verse and the Japanese translation in alternate lines, making it far easier to read for those with a minimum level of education, it was probably intended for commoners. The Hawley Collection also contains



the only extant set of *Ryukyu kyōiku* [Ryukyu education], a monthly journal published by the Okinawa kyōikukai (Education Association of Okinawa), 1 (October 1895) to 109 (July 1905). The period coincides with the time when Japan gained recognition as a world power, and this journal should shed more light on the role of education in the rapid Japanization of Okinawa at the time.

### Government

On the structure of the central government, there is the *Ryukyu-koku Chūzan ofu kansei* [Organization of the government of the Chuzan Royal Court, Ryukyu] by Sai Taku, et al., Ms., 1706. Posts at the top echelons of the central government were reserved for the sons of the hereditary aristocrats, but the middle and lower ranking posts were filled by members of the gentry who had passed the civil service examination and by some who had studied in China upon passing the scholarship student examination. One such civil service examination entailed the drafting of appropriate solutions to contemporary issues. The *Ryukyu-bon: Gohyōjōsho kabun* [Ryukyu text: the Council of State Examination writings], 2 volumes, Ms., 1869, and the *Ryukyu-bon: Hitobito anbum* [Ryukyu text: people's draft writings], 2 volumes, Ms., 1869, in the Sakamaki Collection, appear to be the compilation of model answers for the benefit of the students. As these writings are cited from actual correspondence, they are useful in revealing the Ryukyu government's concern and attitudes toward many issues of the day.

The *Gozaisei* [Fiscal system], Ms., 1715, the *Okinawa-ken kyūkan sōzei seido* [Traditional taxation system of Okinawa], 1895, and the *Ryukyu-han zakki* [Miscellaneous records of the Ryukyu domain]



prepared by the Treasury Department of the Japanese government, 1873, are indispensable to any study of economic and financial aspects of Ryukyu. Especially important is the *Ryukyu-han zakki*, an exhaustive report on such topics as population, land, taxes, products, officials and their stipends, law codes, education, medical facilities, temples and shrines, and other miscellaneous matters pertaining to Ryukyu.

On the government at the rural district and village level, there are several records such as the *Yaeyama-jima shoza okimochō* [Regulations of the various bureaus in Yaeyama Islands], Ms., 1769, the *Kujichō utsushi* [Copy of the Book of Official Matters], Ms., 1839, for Yonagusuku District, and the *Kume Gushikawa magiri kimochō* [Book of regulations, Gushikawa District, Kume Island], Ms., ca. 1849. Also, there is a set of ten personal histories of district level officials entitled *Kōjō-oboē* [Statements on personal history], Ms., 1878. These personal histories listing meritorious services performed for the government were submitted to superiors for the purpose of seeking promotions.

#### Chinese Mission Reports

There are about seventy Chinese books which include many reports by Chinese envoys or accounts of Ryukyu in the official history compilations of China. Some of the rare Chinese books are *Ch'ung-k'o shih Liu-ch'iu lu hsu* [Introduction to the report of a mission to Liu-ch'iu reprinted] by Kuo Ju-lin, the envoy in 1562, and *Chung-shan yen-ko chih* [History of Ryukyu] in two volumes, by Wang Chi, the envoy in 1683. Wang Chi was a noted scholar who passed a special examination in 1679 known as the Po-hsüeh hung-tz'u. He was a corrector in the Hanlin Academy and a member of the editorial board of



the *Ming shih*. In addition, although it is not a formal mission report, Tu San-ts'e, the envoy in 1633, left *Tu T'ien-shih Ts'e-feng Liu-ch'iu Chen-chi ch'i-kuan* [True records of strange observations by Tu, enfeoffing envoy to Liu-ch'iu]. The edition in the Hawley Collection was published by an eighth generation descendant, Hu En-hsien, but no date is given. Tu has the distinction of being the last envoy of the Ming Dynasty and the first envoy to Ryukyu after Ryukyu passed under the sway of the Shimazu daimyo of Satsuma in 1609.

There are four copies of *Shih Liu-ch'iu lu* [Report of a mission to Liu-ch'iu] by Ch'en K'an who visited Okinawa in 1534 as the investiture envoy. Also, there are six different editions of Hsü Pao-kuang's *Chung-shan ch'uan-hsin lu* [Veritable records of Ryukyu] of 1721. Some of these should probably be called *Chūzan denshinroku* in Japanese pronunciation as they were edited with return marks to be read in Japanese. Since the editions were widely circulated, they may not merit attention from specialists.

Among other titles in this category with chapters on Ryukyu are: *Pei shih* [History of the Northern Dynasties] by Li Yen-shou, ca. 659, *Sui shu* [History of the Sui Dynasty] by Wei Cheng, 636, *Hsin T'ang shu* [New history of T'ang Dynasty] by O-yang Hsiu, 1060, *Chü-fan chih* [Records of various barbarians] by Chao Ju-kua, 13th century, *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* [Encyclopedia of literary records] by Ma Tuan-lin (ca. 1250-1319), *Shu-yu chou-tzu-lu* [General reports concerning strange lands] by Chia Ho-yen, 1583, *Ming shih* [History of the Ming Dynasty] by Chang T'ing-yü (1672-1755), and *Chung-shan chien-wen pien-i* [Accounts of Okinawa] by Huang Ching-fu, 1877.



Related to the arrival of Chinese in Ryukyu, there is a two volume book, *Shina sappōshi rairyū shoki* [Records on the arrival of the Chinese investiture envoys in Ryukyu], Ms., 1866. Arrival of the Chinese investiture mission, comprising about five hundred members, was the most important as well as expensive event in the lifetime of a Ryukyu king. For instance, in 1838, it cost 3,220 *kan* in silver to feed and entertain the Chinese mission, certainly an extraordinary expense for the Ryukyu government. The *Shina sappōshi rairyū shoki* provides a most detailed and comprehensive report on expenses related to the Chinese investiture mission and its day-by-day activities, rites, entertainment, and gift lists, and it also contains a minute accounting of all expenses including the amount needed to purchase the private cargo brought by the Chinese mission members.

#### Overseas Trade

The Ryukyuan relationship with China is inevitably intertwined with Ryukyuan overseas trading activities with China, Korea, and Southeast Asia including Annam, Siam, Malacca, Sumatra, and Java. The best source on this vital aspect of Ryukyu history is the *Rekidai hōan* [Precious documents of successive generations], an official compilation of diplomatic correspondence, voyage records, memorials to the king, royal orders, etc. Between 1697 and 1867, there were three compilations covering the period from 1424 to 1867. Of the three complete sets made before World War II, one was destroyed in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923; another, in Okinawa, was lost during the Battle of Okinawa in 1945; and the remaining one has been preserved intact in the library of the National University of Taiwan



till today. The University of Hawaii library has a microfilm copy of the Taiwan set of 249 volumes in addition to a photocopy of those at the University of the Ryukyus library. A complete description of the *Rekidai hōan* is found in Sakamaki Shunzo's "The *Rekidai hōan*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXIII, No. 1 (January-March 1963), pp. 107-113. Important studies based on the *Rekidai hōan* are: Kobata Atsushi, *Chūsei nantō tsūkō bōeki shi no kenkyū* [Study of overseas contacts and trade of the Southern Islands in the Middle Ages], 1939; Asato Nobu, *Okinawa kaiyō hattenshi* [History of Okinawa's oceanic expansion], 1941; Higaonna Kanjun, *Reimeiki no kaigai kōtsū shi* [History of overseas contacts at the dawn of a new age], 1941; and lastly, Kobata Atsushi and Matsuda Mitsugu, *Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Sea Countries*, 1969.

There are also two pocket-size books which tempt the curiosity of anyone interested in Ryukyu's overseas trade. The *Ryukyu-san tanmono misechō* [Sample book of Ryukyuan textiles], Ms., 1851, and the *Ryukyu sanbutsu sōkō misechō* [Sample book of Ryukyuan tortoise shells and claws], Ms., 1857, appear to be handbooks kept by Osaka merchants. What is intriguing is that though it is called "Ryukyuan," the merchandise listed, such as woolen textiles, is clearly European. In addition, each merchandise entry is accompanied by several lines of enigmatic symbols (merchant's price codes?).

### Geography

In the field of geography, the study of which was probably stimulated by Japan's formal annexation of Ryukyu, *Liu-ch'iu ti-li-shih* [Gazetteer on the geography of Ryukyu], by Yao Wen-tung in 1883, contains translations of six Japanese works detailing the geography



of Ryukyu. Also most of the aforementioned Chinese mission reports contain chapters on the geography of Ryukyu.

In Japanese, there are Yanagi Yūetsu's *Nantō suiro shi* [Hydrography of the Southern Islands], 2 volumes, compiled by the Hydrographical Bureau of the Japanese Navy, 1873, and *Okinawa-ken chishi ryaku* [Brief topography of Okinawa Prefecture] compiled by Okinawa shihan gakkō (Okinawa Normal School) in 1885, in addition to several articles. *Ryukyu shinshi* [New gazetteer of Ryukyu], 2 volumes, 1873, was written by an outstanding scholar, Ōtsuki Fumihiko. With respect to geographical names and their historical significance, there is no other work like *Nantō fudoki* [Account of the natural features of the Southern Islands], a geographical dictionary of Okinawa and Amami Oshima, 1950, by Higaonna Kanjun. Dr. Sakamaki describes it as "a monumental work reflecting thirty years of continued study."

As for maps, there are several which were published during the Tokugawa and Meiji periods. Of particular interest is a set of three huge old maps entitled *Ryukyu-oku no zu* [Map of Ryukyu Province]. Measuring 3 meters by 1.5 meters in size, each contains colored maps of Amami-Oshima Islands, Okinawa Islands, and Miyako and Yaeyama Islands. In the lower right hand corner of each map is written "Ryukyu-oku no uchi taka tsugo narabi shima irowake mokuroku" [Assortment of islands by color and productivity assessment of Ryukyu] with the productivity assessment in *oku* of each island and the number of villages, followed by the name Matsudaira Matasaburō in the sixth year of Hōreki (1756). Matsudaira Matasaburō is Matasaburō Tadahiro, more popularly known as Shimazu Shigehide, who had just ascended to the head of the Shimazu family in the preceding year. It is a matter



of record that in 1756, bakufu deputies Kyogoku Takanori and Aoyama Shigeari visited Kagoshima, and Satsuma-han presented them maps of the Satsuma domain (including Ryukyu) and the *Chishi yōryaku* [Brief summary of geography]. These great maps or their duplicates are probably the ones presented to the bakufu deputies at the time. As some villages noted on the map have since disappeared, it is possible to trace the vicissitudes of the population and regional histories. The name of the cartographer is not known but his skills were certainly exceptional since the general shapes of the islands seem to be exactly the same as those on modern maps.

*Ryukyu sansho narabi ni sanjūrokutō no zu* [Map of the three divisions and thirty-six islands of Ryukyu], supplementary to *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* [Illustrated account of three countries] by Hayashi Shihei in 1785, several versions of which are in the Collection, was widely circulated and famous, but as a map it is clearly far inferior to the Shimazu map. Hayashi's map was probably a copy from Hsü Pao-kuang's *Chung-shan ch'uan-hsin lu* [Veritable records of Ryukyu]. If anyone assumes that Hayashi's famous map of Ryukyu represents either the geographical knowledge of Ryukyu by the Japanese or the level of Japanese skills in surveying and cartography, it would be a grievous mistake and a serious underestimation.

As for the 19th century, there is the *Bankoku yochi no zu* [World map] by Nisshosai in 1829. Of the maps of the late Tokugawa period and the early Meiji period, the most important is Kume Chojun's *Okinawa-ken kannai zenzu* [Complete map of Okinawa Prefecture], ca. 1885. It is a large map, 48 cm x 80 cm, on a scale of 1:240,000, with inserts of Naha and Shuri city maps. Ten years later, in 1894,



the Rikuchi sokuryōbu (Land Survey Department) of Tokyo issued a set of 15 maps of Ryukyu, 45 cm x 67.5 cm, on a scale of 1:200,000. Also, there is an aged set of Korean maps, *Chōsen chizu*, date unknown, in four books which include Ryukyu in the section of foreign countries.

#### Flora and Fauna

*Chūzan denshinroku*, as mentioned previously, may not merit special attention, but *Chūzan denshinroku bussankō* [Treatise on products in the veritable records of Ryukyu] is an extremely rare book. Written in 1769 by Tamura Ransui, volumes 1 and 2 contain 1,344 colored pictures of Ryukyuan products which appear in *Chūzan denshinroku*, and volume 3 contains 68 pictures of flora and fauna of Ryukyu not mentioned in *Chūzan denshinroku*. Tamura Ransui (Noboru) was a physician in the service of the Tokugawa bakufu. Upon winning Shimazu Shigehide's friendship, he was given an opportunity to study the products of Ryukyu. In the following year, 1770, he published *Ryukyu sanbutsushi* [Ryukyuan products] in sixteen similarly illustrated volumes. As for books of a comparable nature, there are two copies of *Shitsumon honzō* [Queries on botany] 5 volumes, 229 leaves, 1787-1789, by a Ryukyuan named Go Kei-shi. The preface is dated 1789 and the book was published by the order of Shimazu Shigehide in 1837. What is intriguing about this book is its authorship. Although Go Kei-shi is clearly indicated to be a Ryukyuan, no other record of him exists either in Okinawa or in Kagoshima, and his identity remains a mystery to this day. *Gozen honzō* [Edible flora and fauna], dated 1824, contains 138 folios and lists a total of 311 food items. It is said to be written by Tokashiki Pechin, the physician for the royal family. The Hawley



Collection has two copies; one bears the seal of the erstwhile owner, Sueyoshi, Mō Clan, the other, the seal of Nakagusuku Udun, indicating it was in the library of the Crown Prince of Ryukyu.

Also on the subject of flora is a long scroll, "Chūzan kaboku-zu" [Flowers and trees of Ryukyu], in color, with a poem by Tei Jun-soku. This is a faithful copy made by Miyazaki Kinpo from the original by Kimura Tange of Satsuma. Miyazaki, from Owari Province, was a scholar in the school of Itō Tōgai. Also from about the same period is "Ryukyu-ran shasei no zu" [A sketch of a Ryukyuan orchid] by Udagawa Yōan (1798-1846), a physician for the Tsuyama Domain and Dutch scholar in botany and chemistry. At the top of the picture is a Dutch inscription. The final item in this category is "Ken Ryukyu-ō kaki shogasatsu" [A book of pictures of flowers presented to the King of Ryukyu], left by the Chinese investiture envoy, Lin Hung-nien, and four others who arrived in Ryukyu in 1838. The flowers in the pictures do not appear to be those of Ryukyu.

#### Calligraphies and Scrolls

It is difficult to talk about the Ryukyu kingdom without reference to the Chinese missions and their official records, *shih-lu*. However, in addition to the *shih-lu*, there are other records of the investiture envoys' trips to Ryukyu. One Chinese investiture envoy who came to Ryukyu in 1683 was Wang Chi (1636-1699), a noted scholar and man of letters with the degree of Po-hsüeh hung tz'u. In the Hawley Collection there is a scroll of a stanza which he composed at the promontory of Naminoue in Naha on the night of August 18, 1683. His calligraphy is masculine and vigorous in style. Lin Hung-nien, who, as noted above, visited Ryukyu much later in 1838,



also left a book of calligraphy entitled "Nankakucho" [Book of the Southern Hills], but it appears to have been written as a calligraphy textbook. There are, in addition, several scrolls depicting scenes of the investiture of a Ryukyu king by the celestial envoy from China. One is a long scroll by Kugi Shiteki (Yamaguchi Suiō) entitled "Ryukyu kokuō sappō no zu bankoku tokai senki no zu" [Picture of the investiture of the King of Ryukyu and pictures of flags of the barbarian ocean-going ships] in 1788. The scene depicted is most likely that of Envoys Chuan Kuei and Chou Huang who visited Ryukyu in 1756 for the investiture of King Shō Boku. The topography of the area around Shuri and Naha is fairly detailed. The latter half of the scroll is devoted to reproductions of numerous European flags, banners, ensigns, and pennants, with descriptions in English, but these were copied from an original scroll in the private collection of some daimyo and are not related to Ryukyu.

#### Ryukyu and Edo

As for the Ryukyuan missions to Edo, there are no official reports similar to the *shih-lu* written by the Chinese envoys to Ryukyu. Yet their tracks are clearly visible. Whenever a new king ascended the throne in Ryukyu or a new shogun succeeded the shogunate in Edo, the Okinawan mission went to Edo either to express gratitude for confirmation of the king's succession or to offer congratulations to the new shogun. An envoy was equal to the rank of prince and a vice envoy was equal to the rank of *weekata*, with others of lesser rank being charged with such duties as those of scribes, musicians, etc. The total number of the entourage varied. A small entourage



was reported to be about 40 or 50 persons, whereas a large entourage numbered more than 170 people. It was customary for the entourage to be preceded and guarded by the Shimazu daimyo and his men. They went by sea from Kagoshima to Osaka and Fushimi on the outskirts of Kyoto. From Fushimi they proceeded overland on the Eastern Sea Highway (Tōkaidō) to Edo, the seat of the Tokugawa shogunate, on an officially approved schedule. This was called Edo-nobori (going up to Edo). During the 223 year period from 1649 to 1872, a total of 17 Ryukyuan missions made this grand tour to Edo at the rate of one every 13th year. Needless to say, these missions had political significance both for the Shimazu daimyo and for the Tokugawa shogunate.

It is often stated that the Shimazu daimyo used the Ryukyuan as a demonstration of his military might (i.e., an alien king under his wing) and that the Tokugawa shogun used the occasion to demonstrate that all provinces of Japan and even some overseas were pledging allegiance and paying homage to him. In addition, there appears to have been a considerable flow of cultural influence. Because of the fact that Japan was largely isolated from the outside world, a grand procession of "aliens" who, strange in costume and appearance and speaking no Japanese, enjoyed outlandish Ming Chinese music and songs, aroused immense curiosity among the Japanese populace. Along their scheduled route people gathered from afar to watch the "Ryukyuan." In Edo, particularly, the bakufu officials took special care that the Ryukyuan's route was in good repair (no unsightly scenes, no puddles, etc.) and they issued proclamations that the townspeople should be on their best behavior (no fingers



pointed at the Ryukyans, etc.).

To satisfy the onlookers' curiosity, numerous reading materials on Ryukyu were printed for sale using the woodblock technique. These may generally be classified as follows. First, there are the *emono* [pictorials]. These one or two sheet woodblock prints portray the Ryukyans in procession with their names and simple explanations. Most are in black and white, but some are in color. Most of the twenty-six *emono* sheets in the Hawley Collection date roughly from the Kansei period (1789-1800) to the Kaei period (1848-1853). In the explanations provided--probably to satisfy the reader's curiosity--several Okinawan and Chinese terms are used with a liberal number of errors. Unfortunately, it was this kind of publication which was most widely circulated at the time. These cheap, one-leaf flyers which emphasized the exotic and appealed to one's curiosity undoubtedly fostered misconceptions about Okinawans in the minds of the average Japanese from the Bakumatsu period through the Meiji period, doing incalculable harm to later generations.

The second category is the *gyōretsuki* [procession records]. These all have similar titles such as "Ryukyu-jin gyōretsuki" [Record of the Ryukyuan procession] or "Ryukyu-jin dai-gyōretsuki" [Record of the great procession of the Ryukyans], etc. *Gyōretsuki*, one-sheet pictorials multiplied more than a dozen times, are comparable to *emono* in content. Their emphasis remains unchanged as they simply list more information (misinformation?) calculated to arouse the reader's curiosity. There are several *gyōretsuki* in the Hawley Collection. Most of them were published in Kyoto and Osaka during the period from about 1752 to 1832. Kyoto was not only the leading



center of the publishing business in Japan but also the starting point of the Ryukyuan's long and slow overland journey to Edo.

The third category is the *yomimono* [readers]. They fall short of being classified as academic treatises, but the purpose of their publication is no longer the demonstration of a mere exotic procession; they aim to give information about Ryukyu itself. There are several copies of the *Ryukyu kidan* [Strange tales of Ryukyu] by Beizanshi (pseudonym), a Satsuma, in 1832. It is an interesting book but it contains numerous errors and fanciful details. *Ryukyu zatsuba* [Miscellaneous talks on Ryukyu] is a small booklet, rather meager in content, published by Hon'ya Hikoemon in Edo in 1788. Morishima Chūryō's *Ryukyu banashi* [Ryukyu talks] was published in Kyoto in 1790. It is essentially a popularized version of the notable *Chung-shan chuan-hsin lu* [Veritable record of Ryukyu; *Chūzan denshinroku* in Japanese] by Hsü Pao-kuang, an eminent Chinese scholar-official who visited Ryukyu as envoy in 1719. *Ryukyu banashi* (also called *Ryukyu-dan*) is said to be one of the most widely read books on Ryukyu at the time. In general, all *yomimono* books try to cover a variety of topics on Ryukyu in a presentable manner and endeavor to present an authentic account of Ryukyu. The authors' interests seem wider and their treatment of subjects appears to be more systematic and in depth.

Finally, we come to the fourth category, publications by academicians. For instance, there is *Ryukyu enkaku shi* [Account of Ryukyuan history] probably written soon after 1796. This is a scholarly work on Ryukyuan history, institutions, geography, customs, genealogies, relations with Japan and China, and other subjects. Although the



author is unknown, there are clues which point to Amemori Togoro, retainer of Sō Tsushima no kami, daimyo of Tsushima Islands. Among the sources he cites are such books as *Chūzan sekan* [Mirror of the world of Chūzan], 1650, and *Chūzan seifu* [Genealogy of Okinawa], 1725, both by Ryukyuan scholars and presumably not readily available in Japan. Other works similar in caliber and scope are Ban Takuho's *Chūzan heishi ryaku* [Short account of the Ryukyuan mission], published in Edo following a visit by the Ryukyuan mission in 1832, and Tomioka Shukō's *Chūzan-koku shiryaku* [Brief notes on Ryukyu], 1850, a portion of which was translated by Ernest M. Satow in "Notes on Loochoo," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, I (1874), 5-9. There is also *Ryukyu nyūkō kiryaku* [An abridged account of a Ryukyuan mission], originally by Nabeta Sanzen in 1832 and revised by Yamazaki Yoshinari in 1850. In spite of its title, this is a general work with illustrations of Ryukyu. Another account of particular interest is Sugawara Natsukage's *Ryukyu Ron* [Discourse on Ryukyu], printed on one large sheet in 1832. Sugawara gives a historical sketch of Ryukyu in which he clearly identifies her people as having descended from Japan, in contrast to the generally prevailing view of Ryukyuan as aliens like the Koreans and Chinese.

### Scholarly Treatises

Some celebrated scholars of the Edo period also contributed to the study of Ryukyu. Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728), a Confucian tutor for Shogun Tsunayoshi, wrote *Ryukyu keishi-ki* [Account of the Ryukyuan envoys] in formal Chinese in 1710; there are three copies of this work in the Hawley Collection. Another foremost Confucian scholar-

statesman under Shogun Ienobu, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), produced two works on Ryukyu: *Ryukyu-koku jiryaku* [Digest of the country of Ryukyu] in 1711, and *Nantō-shi* [Gazetteer of the Southern Islands] in 1720. In the Hawley Collection are *Go Jiryaku* [Five digests], edited by Takenaka Hōka, 1883, which contains Arai's *Ryukyu-koku jiryaku*, and a single book *Ryukyu jiryaku* [Ryukyu digest], a variant version of *Ryukyu-koku jiryaku*. There are also several copies of *Nantō-shi*. One copy came from the collection of Tayasu daimyo, descended from Shogun Yoshimune, and the other copy is a manuscript hand-copied and annotated by the outstanding Confucian scholar Kariya Ekisai (1775-1835). According to the late Professor Nakahara Zenchū, this is one of the most valuable books in the collection.

#### Ryukyu Mission Records

The preceding books were printed for circulation. In addition, the Hawley Collection contains manuscript records concerning the Ryukyuan missions to Edo. Not all can be listed here, but some of them are: *Ryukyu-jin raichōki* [Account of the arrival of Ryukyuans in Japan], *Boshin Ryukyu-jin raichō no shiki* [Ceremonies related to the coming of Ryukyuans to Japan in the year 1748], and *Ryukyu raichōki* [Account of the arrival of Ryukyuans in Japan]. These three were all written in 1748 and bear similar titles but are different works. There are also *Ryukyu-jin shoji ikken no hikae* [Copy of the matters related to the Ryukyuans] for the period from 1796 to 1843, *Ryukyu-jin tsunahiki ninsoku warikata chō* [Record of the assignment of the rope pullers for the Ryukyuans], at Fushimi on the outskirts of Kyoto in 1806, and *Ryukyu-jin tsunahiki ninsoku chō* [Record of the rope pullers for the Ryukyuans], *Ryukyu-jin sanpu no setsu*



*kakitome* [Memorandum on the occasion of the Ryukyuan's journey to the capital], and *Ryukyu-jin kata onagamochi osashimono ukechō* [Receipt book for the Ryukyuan's chests], all manuscript copies for 1832. Other titles are omitted here. The rope pullers refer to the corvée workers conscripted from nearby villages of Fushimi who pulled ropes attached to the boats of the Ryukyu mission going upstream on the Yodo River from Osaka to Kyoto.

### Religion

For study of religion in early Okinawa, the writings of Priest Ryōtei Taichū (1552-1639) are of great interest. There are several editions and copies of Priest Taichū's *Ryukyu shintō-ki* [Account of the ways of the gods in Ryukyu], the first account of religion in Ryukyu in 1605. As Taichū, from Mutsu province, northern Japan, was in Ryukyu from 1603 to 1606, his *Ryukyu shintō-ki* affords a very valuable glimpse of Ryukyuan society of the pre-Satsuma invasion of 1609. The Hawley Collection has several copies and different editions including the 1934 colotype edition by Yokoyama Shigeru, published by Ōokayama Bookstore, and the 1938 and 1943 editions by the Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai (The Commemorative Society of the Meiji Emperor). The most valuable copies, however, are two sets (two books consisting of five volumes) of a 1648 woodblock print edition from Kyoto and a manuscript copy, with notes, of the same year. There is also a scroll of calligraphy believed to be by Priest Taichū. On the back cover of the box containing the calligraphy are written a certification of the authenticity of the calligraphy and the name of the original owner.

Nearly two and a half centuries later, another missionary,

Dr. Bernard Jean Bettelheim, stayed in Okinawa for about six years, from 1846 to 1852, at the end of the Tokugawa period. He was a very controversial personality, but all would at least agree that he was a linguistic genius, for he was able to translate the Bible into Ryukyuan without the help of a single dictionary and in spite of all the efforts made by the Ryukyu government to prevent him from learning the language. The Hawley Collection has Bettelheim's *Yohane-den fukuin-sho* [The Gospel according to St. John] and *Seisa genkō-den* [The Acts of the Apostles], both published in 1855. In the same year he also published *Ruka-den fukuin-sho* [The Gospel according to St. Luke]. Often said to be a Ryukyuan translation, it is actually a Japanese translation which was published in Hong Kong. There is also a copy of Charles Gutzlaff's *Yohane fukuin-no-den* [The Gospel according to St. John], in Japanese. This is a limited edition by the Nagasaki Bookstore in 1941 of the original published in Singapore in 1837.

#### External Affairs

Bettelheim was in Okinawa when Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived there enroute to Japan. Perry's *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* is well known and needs no introduction. The *Ryukyu-oku gaikō-roku* [Record of the diplomatic relations of Ryukyu], 72 folios, is less well known but also important as it contains documents on Ryukyu's negotiations with Commodore Perry in 1853-54. The Hawley Collection has a copy made from the original records which, housed in the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Japanese government, were destroyed in the great earthquake of 1923. *Ryukyu Eifutsu-sen torai kiroku* [Records of



arrivals of English and French ships to Ryukyu] is a manuscript dated 1846. There are also other manuscripts of similar title and content dated around the mid-19th century.

### Meiji Restoration

*Ryukyu shobun* [Disposition of Ryukyu] in three volumes and in two books, 1879, is an official Japanese government publication containing documents and correspondence between the governments of Japan and Ryukyu on the subject of converting the Ryukyu kingdom into Okinawa prefecture under the administration of Meiji Japan. It was compiled by Matsuda Michiyuki, Chief Secretary of Home Affairs, who was in charge of the entire negotiation from 1875 to 1879. It was published in Tokyo in 1980 as a part of the *Ryukyu shozoku mondai kankei shiryō* [Materials related to the issue of Ryukyu's dual sovereignty].

If *Ryukyu shobun* presents the Japanese government's perspective on the matter, the Ryukyuan perspective is presented in such works as *Shō Tai-kō jitsuroku* [Authentic record of Marquis Shō Tai], a biography of the last king of Ryukyu by Higaonna Kanjun in 1924, and *Ryukyu kenbunroku ichimei haihan jiken* [Ryukyuan records from personal knowledge; or, Events related to the abolition of the han] written by Kishaba Chōken, aide to King Shō Tai, in 1879. Subsequently published in 1914 and 1952, the latter included some other equally important writings of Kishaba Chōken, revealing Kishaba's firsthand knowledge about the unprecedented changes in the history of Okinawa and the demise of the kingdom.

Apart from the records of the main protagonists, Matsuda, Shō Tai, and Kishaba, some sidelight is shed in the following

documents. Only recently made available to the public is *Ryukyu ikken* [Ryukyuan affair], containing ten booklets of diplomatic correspondence between Japan and China on Japan's annexation of Ryukyu and translations into Japanese of foreign press articles on the subject dated between May 10, 1879 and December 12, 1879. *Meiji jūnin-en Ryukyu shutchō nikki* [Diary of a tour of duty to Ryukyu in 1879] is an original manuscript diary by Oka Tadasu, a Japanese police officer. As Oka made his frequent night patrols of the city of Naha, rocks were sometimes thrown at him under the cover of darkness, yet he observed the demise of the island dynasty with sympathetic eyes and even shed tears to see King Shō Tai and his officials forced to vacate Shuri Castle. Could it be because he was reminded of the similar fate which had so recently befallen his own Niigata domain?

### Internal Affairs

On life in Ryukyu during the 18th century, there is Tobe Yosteru's *Oshima hikki* [Oshima notes], 4 volumes, Ms., 1761. Tobe, a samurai of Tosa province, wrote the *Oshima hikki* based upon his interview with Shiohira Pechin, a Ryukyuan official, aboard a ship which was cast ashore on Oshima beach in Tosa. Sai On (1682-1761), one of the ablest statesmen in Ryukyuan history, left his *Hitori monogatari* [Soliloquy], 1749, and *Sai-shi Gushican oyakata Bunjaku anbum* [Autobiography of Sai On], 1757, for us to learn about the Ryukyuan society of the 18th century.

For the 19th century, there is a thick, two volume book entitled *Ryukyu jin kurikata keizai kiroku* [Economic records of a Ryukyuan temple], which is actually an account book of an aristocratic family



of Shuri in the year 1879. It is an excellent source for the study of how the life of an aristocratic family was affected by the great social and political upheaval of the Meiji period. Another report, *Okinawa-ken zatsuroku* [Miscellaneous records of Okinawa], ca. 1887 by an anonymous writer, probably a Japanese official, also yields valuable knowledge about Okinawa after the Meiji Restoration.

#### American Occupation

The Hawley Collection includes about 400 titles in English and other European languages. The majority by far are in English, and many are documents and records of the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus and its antecedent military governments. These are basic sources for any study of the U.S. control of Okinawa for the twenty-seven year period from 1945 to 1972. Of importance are the *Summation of U.S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands*, U.S. Army Far East Command, which covers the early occupation years from 1946, *Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands*, *Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands*, *The Ryukyu Islands*, *Prewar and Postwar*, *Ryukyu Islands Facts Book*, *U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands*, and messages to the Ryukyuan Legislature from several High Commissioners. Complementing these official documents are some newspapers. The American-published *Okinawa Morning Star* (in microfilm), a daily, usually favored the U.S. in any controversy between the U.S. military and the local populace. For Okinawan views and reactions, often critical of the U.S. policy in Okinawa, there are English translations of editorials and news highlights of the Japanese language Okinawan newspapers for the fifties and sixties, and a complete set of the Okinawan-

published English language *Weekly Okinawa Times* for December 1965 to November 1966.

In addition to the above, for background on the American occupation of Okinawa, students will find interesting a 120 page mimeographed book, *The Okinawas [sic] of the Loo Choo Islands: A Japanese Minority Group*, compiled by the Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Department of the Army, Honolulu, 1944. Written by Professor Alfred M. Tozzer of Harvard University, the study is based on surveys and interviews with Okinawan residents of Hawaii as well as on published sources. As its subtitle indicates, the book views the Okinawans as a minority group within Japan and emphasizes the cleavage between the Okinawans and the *naichi* Japanese from other prefectures. This study, seemingly made primarily for use by the anticipated American occupation authorities, probably had an important influence upon occupation policy decisions which did try to play up the "uniqueness of the Okinawan culture" and the Okinawan's separate identity from the Japanese.

#### Great Loo Choo

On the old, idyllic days of the Great Loo Choo, let it suffice here to mention a few books of prominence. First there are Captain Basil Hall's *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo Choo*, 1818, John McLeod's *Narrative of a Voyage, in His Majesty's Late Ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through the Numerous and Hitherto Undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lewchew; with an Account of Her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gasper*, 1818, and the second and third revised editions of the same. Both of these accounts paint flattering



pictures of Ryukyu islanders. Basil Hall, in particular, is the source of the oft repeated characterization of Ryukyans as "people who are ignorant of the arts of war." A contrasting critical view is provided in "Diary of the Rev. Dr. Bernard Jean Bettelheim, Missionary to the Loochoo Islands, Japan, 1846-1854" and "Letter from B. J. Bettelheim..." in *Chinese Repository* (Canton), XIX, 1850.

While Commodore Perry's three volume *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron*, 1956, gives a rather faithful last look at old Ryukyu, for the period following the unprecedented political and social upheaval of the Meiji Restoration, there are the writings of Captain Basil Hall's grandson, Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain, who was teaching linguistics at the Imperial Tokyo University at the time. In addition to five articles on Ryukyuan customs and language, he published the famous *Essay in Aid of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Luchuan Language* in 1895. However, Charles S. Leavenworth's *The History of the Loo Choo Islands*, published in Hong Kong in 1905, is probably the first general history of Ryukyu written in English.

### Literature

The Hawley Collection is also important for the study of Okinawan literature. Though there are numerous publications on both the pre-war and the post-war literature of Okinawa, only a few old, rare items will be mentioned here. It is said that Tsukuda Hyosuke, of Iwami province, who worked for Ōtaka Yūkan, a doctor in Satsuma, resided in Okinawa for ten years, from 1587 to 1597. Having passed the age of eighty, he became the priest known as Jōsai. In 1712, Kusakabe Kagehira wrote Jōsai's story of Ryukyu as *Jōsai hoshi*

*Ryukyu-koku tokai-ki* [Record of travel to Ryukyu by Priest Jōsai] or *Jōsai Ryukyu monogatari* [Jōsai's tale of Ryukyu] in 1712. It must have been widely circulated, as there are five different versions in the Hawley Collection. Next, we should mention the military tales of Satsuma's invasion of Ryukyu in 1609. The invasion, of course, is historical fact, but most of the stories are made up and embellished with fanciful details rather than reflecting factual historical records. Therefore, they should be treated as historical fiction. Most of the works are undated and anonymous, but they seem to have been written by samurai of Satsuma. Manuscript copies were made from other copies. Most bear similar titles such as *Shimazu Ryukyu kassen-ki* [Record of the war between Shimazu and Ryukyu], *Ryukyu seihitsu-ki* [Record of the pacification of Ryukyu], or *Ryukyu seibatsu-ki* [Record of the conquest of Ryukyu]. The latter, dated 1763, seems to have been used as a text by the *Jōruri* ballad raconteurs.

These military tales apparently were quite popular, but by far the most important publication, one which made the name "Ryukyu" familiar to the ordinary Japanese citizen, was the *Chinsetsu yumi-harizuki* [Strange tales of the master archer], an epic tale of the master archer, Chinzei Hachirō Minamoto Tametomo, written by Kyokutei Takizawa Bakin in 1806-1810. Minamoto Tametomo (1139-1170) was a warrior hero of the famed Minamoto clan. According to legend, he landed on Okinawa in 1165. He married the sister of the Lord of Osato in southern Okinawa, and from their union was born a boy who grew up to be Shunten, the founder of the first historical Ryukyuan dynasty, who ruled from 1187 to 1237. The great novelist Takizawa



Bakin based his *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* upon this historical legend. The Hawley Collection has a number of editions including the original woodblock prints dated 1806-1810, in thirty volumes, and re-publications in modern editions.

The oldest extant literary work by an Okinawan is the *Omoide-gusa* manuscript [Draft of reminiscences], dated 1700, by Shikina Seimei (1651-1715). Shikina also compiled the first lexicon of the Okinawan language, *Konkō kenshū* [Collection of words of virtue], in 1711. Other old manuscripts include the *Mimochi monogatari* [Story of personal doings] on which is inscribed the signature of the owner, Gushiken-nya of Motobu District and the date 1748, the *Ryukyu kōjo-den* [Biographies of filial women in Ryukyu], dated 1835, and the *Heijō kanai monogatari* [Common household tales], undated. *Ryukyu odorī kyōgen* [Ryukyuan dance drama] by Murasaki Chōwa, a samurai from Kumamoto Prefecture, was published in 1893.

### Poetry

The first anthology of Ryukyuan poems, *Omoro sōshi* [Draft of sensations], in twenty-two volumes, was compiled by the Royal Government of Ryukyu on several occasions between the early 16th century and the early 17th century. The poems are said to be comparable to those of the *Man'yōshū* and the *Norito* of Japan. The oldest extant manuscript copy is that of 1710; known as the Shō Family copy, it is in the Okinawa Prefectural Museum. The Hawley Collection has the first published work, *Kōtei Omoro sōshi* [Revised *Omoro sōshi*], 1925, by Iha Fuyū (1876-1947), who has been called the Father of Okinawan studies. Iha's *Kōtei Omoro sōshi*, in three volumes, was issued as a limited edition of 600 copies. Recent publications

such as the *Kōhon Omoro sōshi* [Revised book of *Omoro sōshi*], by Nakahara Zenchū and Hokama Shuzen in 1965, and the *Omoro sōshi jiten* [Dictionary of *Omoro sōshi*], by the same authors in 1967, and others, have been added to the collection.

A pioneer student of Ryukyuan literature and language in modern times was Tajima Risaburō. His *Ryukyu bungaku kenkyū* [Studies in Ryukyuan literature], published in 1924, is essentially a re-issue of his earlier work, *Ryukyu-go kenkyū shiryō* [Materials for the study of the Ryukyuan language], in 1898. Tajima was responsible for leading the aforementioned Iha Fuyū, his former student at the Okinawa First Prefectural Middle School, into the study of Ryukyu. During his lifetime, Iha produced more than thirty-four works and numerous articles in the fields of Ryukyu linguistics, history, and culture.

There are numerous materials in the field of *ryūka* (Ryukyuan short poems) and *waka* (Japanese short poems). Among them are two manuscript copies of the *Iroha-uta* (Ryukyuan poems arranged according to the Iroha syllabary) said to be the works of Sai On (also known as Gushichan Bunjaku). One copy is dated 1881. The poems are mostly didactic and moralistic. There are also two copies of *Okinawa-shū* [Okinawa collection] compiled by Giwan Chōho (1823-1876), who is often referred to as Okinawa's "last great statesman." This anthology contains 1,439 *waka* by 109 individuals. One copy is dated 1870, the other, 1876. There is also an unusual anthology entitled *Kyōgi Iroha shika* [Iroha syllabary poems in parody] by Yōin Chiō. The manuscript copy is dated 1835. Yōin Chiō is a pseudonym meaning "an old fool in the shade of a banyan tree." This work



consists of satirical poems in both Ryukyuan and Chinese. It would be interesting to know the identity of the parodist as parodies are very rare in Ryukyuan literature. Most Ryukyuan poems are quite somber and sanctimonious.

For the study of scroll inscriptions and tablets, there is a manuscript book which incorporates the two volumes of a work entitled *Ochaya no okakemono narabi ongaku okaketoko ji utsushi* [Copies of the inscriptions of scrolls and tablets in the Uchaya Hall], produced ca. 1860. It contains copies of the calligraphic inscriptions of numerous scrolls and hanging tablets which decorated the walls and alcoves of Uchaya Udun Hall in Sakiyama Ward in Shuri, one of the favorite places for social gatherings of the aristocrats of Ryukyu since the days of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). In this work, numerous copies, on papers of different qualities and sizes, and in different hands, are bound together in simple fashion.

### Music

There are relatively few materials relating to the field of music, probably reflecting the inherent difficulty of recording in writing what is evanescent and fleeting. In addition to some books and manuscripts of popular folk songs of Ryukyu, there are a few books of *kunkunshi*, a type of musical notation or score invented by Yakabi Chōki (1718-1775). Oshiro Hikogorō published several books of folk songs and *kunkunshi*, one of which is *Ryukyu gakuten kunkunshi* [The *kunkunshi*: a Ryukyu music book], 1925. On the subject of modern, theoretical studies, there is Tanabe Hisao's "Uta to odori no kuni--Ryukyu" [Ryukyu: country of songs and dances] in *Keimei-kai dai-hachikai kōenshū* [The eighth lecture series of the

Keimei-kai], 1923. A theoretical analysis of many aspects of Ryukyuan music is presented by Tomihara Shusei in his *Ryukyu ongaku kō* [A study of Ryukyuan music], published in 1934. Another important study is Serei Kunio's *Okinawa kayō shiron* [A history of Okinawan ballads and music], published in seventy-six installments in the *Ryukyu Shimpō*, in 1941. On the samisen, the basic instrument of Ryukyuan music, Ikemiya Kiki wrote *Ryukyu samisen hōkan* [Treasure book of the Ryukyuan samisen] in 1954.

#### Handicrafts and Manual Arts

In contrast to music, the fields of handicrafts and manual arts seem well represented. First, there are the *Ryukyu no orimono* [Ryukyuan textiles], published in 1939 in a limited edition of 100 copies, with fifty-nine swatches of Ryukyuan fabrics pasted on separate leaves, and the *Bashōfu monogatari* [Chats about abaca cloth], published in 1943. Both works are by Yanagi Muneyoshi, also known as Sōetsu. The team of Tanaka Toshio and Reiko published the *Okinawa orimono kireji no kenkyū* [A study of Okinawan textile fabrics], with Japanese and English texts, in 1952. Concerning the *bingata*, a distinctively Ryukyuan textile, there are the *Bingata ko Ryukyu* [Color-print textiles of Old Ryukyu], edited by Yamamura Kōka, 1928, with two swatches and thirty-three plates in full color illustrating the *bingata* design; *Ryukyu no bingata* [Ryukyuan color-print textiles], with actual samples of dyed textiles, published in 1954 by Riichi Shōten Store; and *Ko Ryukyu katagami* [Stencils of Old Ryukyu], by Kamakura Yoshitarō, published in 1958. Other works of interest are *Ryukyu senshoku meihin-shū* [Collection of outstanding works of Ryukyuan dyeing and weaving],



two volumes, 1955, by Nakagawa Isaku and Akashi Someto; *Ryukyu-gire* [Ryukyuan cloth], a text of forty pages with swatches of actual fabrics, by Omichi Hiroo, 1952; and *Ryukyu no katatsuke* [Ryukyuan prints], with samples of printed cloth, by Serizawa Keisuke, 1943.

### Industrial Arts

On ceramics, first to be mentioned should be *Nankai kotōji* [Old porcelain from the Southern Seas] by Itō Chūta and Kamakura Yoshitarō in 1937. This is a large, distinguished volume reporting on numerous porcelain bowls, jars, dishes, etc., unearthed not only in Okinawa but also in southern Celebes. Also worthy of mention is the March 1939 edition of *Gekkan kōgei* [Monthly industrial arts] which, devoted to Ryukyuan ceramics, contains commentaries and articles by Yanagi Muneyoshi, Kawai Kanjirō, Higa Keijō, Hamada Shōji, and Yamazato Eikichi.

On lacquer ware, there is Ishizawa Hyōgo's *Ryukyu shikki kō* [Treatise on Ryukyuan lacquer ware], 1889. This study was made under the auspices of the Okinawa prefectural government. The book begins with a history of Okinawan lacquer ware, and it faithfully preserves the intricate designs of lacquer ware produced from 1714 to 1870.

On architecture, there is a magnificent volume by Tanabe Tai and Iwaya Fujio, *Ryukyu kenchiku* [Ryukyuan architecture], 1937. Following a general discussion of Ryukyuan architecture, there are detailed descriptions and photographs of castles, the royal palace, shrines, temples, gardens, bridges, tombs, and epitaphs, many of which were destroyed during World War II.

Finally, mention should be made of the *Ryukyu gangu no zu*

[Pictures of Ryukyuan toys] published by Ozaki Seiji in 1936. It contains a set of fifty-five color woodblock prints of traditional Ryukyuan handmade toys, which have long since been swept away by the tide of factory manufactured tin toys from Japan. Faithfully preserved in the bright colors of Okinawa, the *Juriuma* dancers, fighting cocks, drums, red-devil masks, kites, etc., in this book bring to mind the annual May 4th toy market in the town of Naha and arouse our nostalgia for the things of our childhood forever lost.

#### Satsuma Materials

This concludes our summary review of the Ryukyu Collection, but brief comments should be made regarding Satsuma materials which are extremely important to the study of Old Ryukyu. Although nominally a "kingdom" vis-a-vis foreign nations, Ryukyu after 1609 was a territory of the daimyo of Satsuma. Thus, the history of Ryukyu after 1609 cannot be fully comprehended without an understanding of the history and society of Satsuma and Japan. That is to say, while it is important to study Ryukyu proper, it is also necessary to keep in mind the influence of Satsuma and Satsuma-Ryukyu relations. Of all the factors which influenced Ryukyu, probably none was as important as that of Satsuma, especially in recent history. Therefore, efforts have been made to supplement the Hawley Collection with source materials on Satsuma. The Satsuma materials number about one thousand titles.

Among these are standard works such as the *Kagoshima kenshi* [History of Kagoshima Prefecture], the *Sappan kaigunshi* [Naval history of Satsuma], *Dai Saigō zenshū* [Complete works of the great



Saigō], the *Satsu-Gū-Jitsu chiri sankō* [Geographical references to Satsuma-Ōsumi-Hyūga Provinces], the *Shimazu kokushi* [History of Shimazu Domain], the *Sappan shidan-shū* [Collection of the historical talks of Satsuma-han], the *Hanpō-shū: Kagoshima-han* [Collection of han laws: Kagoshima-han], and the *Shimazu Nariakira monjo* [Documents of Shimazu Nariakira]. There are also local history gazetteers such as the *Naze shi-shi* [History of Naze City], the *Bōnotsu kyōdo-shi* [Local history of Bōnotsu], the *Kakutōin Imuda-gō shi* [Local history of Kakutōin Imuda District], etc. In addition, there are a considerable number of local district and village administrative records as well as agricultural, tax, census, and genealogical records which, preserved by old families, were hand-copied by Professor Haraguchi Torao, of Kagoshima University, over many years.

Central to these records is the *Sappan kyūki zatsuroku* [Old records of Satsuma Domain], by the father-son team of Ijichi Sueyasu and Suemichi. This work, numbering several hundred volumes, preserves the official documents of Satsuma in chronological order. Fundamental sources on the social and political structure of the Satsuma-han include the *Sappan seiyō-roku* [Summary of the government of Satsuma] and the *Retchō seido* [Institution of successive generations], both as xerox copies of the original and in the printed version. Other works on Satsuma are the *Nagasaki kōshō ikken* [On trade in Nagasaki], the *Kanki gukō* [History of Satsuma], the *Seikei zusetsu* [Botanical encyclopedia], *Oshima setsuran* [Glimpses of Oshima], *Kokuji ōshō shiryō* [Sources on the affairs of government], and Tokunō Tsūshō's *Tsūshō roku* [Tsūshō's encyclopedia of Satsuma].

Several manuscripts with such variant titles as *Jōshi-sama*

*otori no setsu okotaegaki* [Answers to the bakufu inspectors during their visit] or *Shosho ni oite okotaesubeki taigai oboe* [Memorandum of answers which should be given at several places], etc., are Satsuma-han memoranda to district and village officials providing them a set of authorized answers to all the questions which might possibly be put to them by the Tokugawa bakufu inspectors. The practice of dispatching the bakufu inspectors to the daimyo domains to oversee their governance began in 1633. At first it appears to have been effective, but before long the daimyo came up with effective counter-measures in the form of these memoranda of officially prepared responses. The contents cover almost all aspects of the han government but, interestingly enough, whenever the questions touch upon Ryukyu, answers invariably become very simple or deliberately evasive, revealing one aspect of Satsuma's policy on Ryukyu vis-à-vis the Tokugawa government.

### Bibliographies

At the outset of this essay, brief mention was made of two bibliographies by Shunzo Sakamaki. For those who wish additional bibliographies, George H. Kerr's *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*, 1958, has a still useful bibliography. For the post-1945 period, there are two bibliographies in English: Norman D. King's *Ryukyu Islands: A Bibliography of English Titles*, Pamphlet No. 550-4, Hdqrs., U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., and Ishikawa Kiyoharu's *Ryukyu kankei Ei-bun bunken mokuroku* [Catalogue of English language sources on Ryukyu] for 1945-1963, published by the University of the Ryukyus Library, 1964. For the latter half of the 1960s, Kanna Kenji wrote "Kaigai ni okeru Okinawa kenkyū to sono dōkō" [Okinawan



studies overseas and its trend], *Okinawa keiken*, (May 1973), 46-55.

For the decade of the seventies, the present author wrote "Amerika ni okeru Okinawa kenkyu no jokyō" [The state of Okinawan studies in America in the 1970s], *Okinawa Shiryo Henshujo Kiyo* [Bulletin of the Historiographical Institute of Okinawa], No. 6 (March 1981), 1-24. A revised English version of the same article appears elsewhere in this book.

Only a very small number of books and records have been chosen for comment from the vast array of publications on Okinawa. This choice has necessarily been a subjective one, but an effort has been made to select representative works of major importance and interest. Recent publications have not been included within the scope of this paper.

Year	Number of Articles	Percent
1970	2	3
1971	18	23
1972	21	28
1973	4	5
1974	18	23
1975	2	3
1976	1	1
1977	1	1
Total	77	100