

K A R A T E 1 . 0

Parameter of an Ancient Martial Art

空手の源流

K A R A T E 1 . 0

Parameter of an Ancient Martial Art

ANDREAS QUAST



Andreas Quast
2013

Copyright © 2013 by Andreas Quast

All rights reserved. This book or any portion thereof may not be reproduced or used in any manner whatsoever without the express written permission of the publisher except for the use of brief quotations in a book review or scholarly journal.

First Printing: 2013

Andreas Quast
40472 Düsseldorf, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

www.ryukyu-bugei.com

Disclaimer: Please note that the author and publisher of this book are NOT RESPONSIBLE in any manner whatsoever for any injury that may result from practicing the techniques and/or following the instructions given within. Since the physical activities described herein may be too strenuous in nature for some readers to engage in safely, *it is essential that a physician be consulted prior to training.*

*Corpora putrescunt tumulis, mens vivit Olympo.
Sola hic virtutis gloria firma manet.*

Contents

<i>Notes</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Foreword by Miguel Da Luz</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Foreword by Patrick McCarthy.....</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Foreword by Cesar Borkowski</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<i>Foreword by Dr. Julian Braun.....</i>	<i>xix</i>
<i>Foreword by Jesse Enkamp.....</i>	<i>xxi</i>
<i>Foreword by Heiko Bittmann</i>	<i>xxiii</i>
<i>Foreword by Leif Hermansson.....</i>	<i>xxv</i>
<i>Preface.....</i>	<i>xxvii</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Part I Old Ryūkyū Internal Affairs.....</i>	<i>7</i>
CHAPTER 1 Formation Period.....	9
CHAPTER 2 Consolidation of Society and the 1st Dynasty	15
Summary of the Early Military State of Affairs.....	16
Settlements to Stone Gusuku	19
Metal Articles and Weaponry.....	22
A Helmet Revealing History.....	25
Shō Hashi and the 1 st Dynasty	26
A Glimpse of the Shuri Court.....	31
CHAPTER 3 The Royal 2nd Dynasty under King Shō Shin.....	35
The Character of Shō Shin's Era.....	35
The Floating Islet.....	37
CHAPTER 4 The Government Organization since Shō Shin	41
Distinctive Hierarchical Layers.....	41
Government Institutions and Personnel.....	44
<i>Part II Old Ryūkyū Foreign Affairs</i>	<i>59</i>
CHAPTER 5 Investiture and Tribute Trade Relation with China	61
Beginning and Early Situation of the Tributary Relation.....	61
The People of Kumemura–Ming Era	63
Into the Great Age of Trade.....	65
Five Centuries of Sino-Ryūkyūan Relations.....	69
CHAPTER 6 Ryūkyū and Japan Sequence of Events Towards the Shimazu Takeover	87
Trade Interests, Power Shifts, Japan-Ryūkyū Relations.....	87
Hideyoshi	92
Tokugawa Ieyasu.....	93

The Course of the Hostile Takeover	95
Part III Satsuma Takeover to Transition Period	99
CHAPTER 7 1609 to Shō Shōken.....	101
Stipulation of the Ryūkyū Kingdom under the Shimazu	101
Main Permanent Control Mechanisms	103
Weapons Control Regulations During the Era of Satsuma Control	115
CHAPTER 8 Edo-nobori	123
An Edo-nobori in the Early Eighteenth Century	123
CHAPTER 9 Important Shifts in the Qing China Relations.....	127
The People of Kumemura–Qing Era	127
Three Famous Private Students	128
Fujian Connection I–The Qiu-merchants	129
Fujian Connection II–Ryūkyū’s Illicit Trade.....	130
The Establishment of the Customs Office	132
Sea Journeys and Pirates	133
CHAPTER 10 Transition Period from Shō Shōken to Sai On, 1666-1730s	135
The Ideological Framework of the Ryūkyū Kingdom	135
Curtailment of the Hiki and its Members, 1666-1730s.....	138
The Reform of the Hiki System and its Members	148
Conclusion from the Transformation of Seitō and Kerai Akukabe	159
The Guardian of Hokuzan and its Transformation	160
Classification of Ranks, Titles in Early Modern Ryūkyū	163
CHAPTER 11 Western Encounters I	165
Notes by the Portuguese.....	165
William Adams.....	166
Part IV Early Modern Ryūkyū Security-related Duties.....	177
CHAPTER 12 Correlation Tables of the Hiki and its Members.....	179
Tables Created in the Correlation Analysis	181
CHAPTER 13 The Royal Guards	185
Head of Royal Guards.....	185
Gateguards at Shuri Castle.....	187
General Notices on the Royal Guards in the Kyūyō	193
CHAPTER 14 Guards in Relation to Investiture Missions and the Ryūkyūan Trading Warehouse in Fuzhou	195
Tenshikan Gateguards of the Bamenguan Kind	195
Jūeneki Gateguards	198
Chinese Gate- and Bodyguards	198
CHAPTER 15 Police Officers and Similar Positions	201
Bureau of Police Inspection (<i>Sōyokome-hō</i>)	201
Overview from an Analysis of the Kyūyō	201
Police Inspector-generals (<i>Sōyokome</i>) in Genealogies.....	203
Police Inspectors in Genealogies (<i>Yokome</i>).....	209
Police Captains (<i>Yoriki</i>).....	211
Ryūkyūan Resident Commissioners (<i>Zaiban</i>).....	217
Local Guard of all Coasts (<i>Shoura Zaiban</i>)	218
The Okariya-Mamori	219
The Yamato Yokome	219
The Royal Armory Atari.....	223

The Department of Ceremonial Weaponry	224
Sōkumigashira of the Fire Bureau	225
Sōkumigashira–the Ombudsman.....	225
Kinjū	226
Offices related to Firearms	227
CHAPTER 16 Security Related Duties during the Edo-nobori.....	229
Weaponry during Edo-nobori.....	229
Police Captains and the Shisan	230
The Gieishō	232
Conclusion	233
Chronology and Members of the Edo-nobori	233
<i>Part V Early Modern Ryūkyū Security-related Government Organization.....</i>	<i>241</i>
CHAPTER 17 Local Government Level	243
Semiofficial Groups of Regional Authority and Community Meetings.....	244
Possible Influences on the Local Community-Security-system of Ryūkyū.....	247
Local Government Agencies.....	251
CHAPTER 18 Central Government Level	269
The Department of Justice (<i>Hirajo</i>)	269
The Department of Tomari (<i>Tomari Kashiradori</i>).....	275
The Department of Palace Affairs (<i>Sōshikori</i>)	277
The Department of External Affairs (<i>Sasu no Soba</i>)	278
The Board of Finance (<i>Monobugyō-sho</i>).....	279
Government Organization and Administrative Division.....	279
<i>Part VI Into the Maelstrom of Early Meiji.....</i>	<i>285</i>
CHAPTER 19 Western Encounters II.....	287
Harbingers of Western Demands	287
From the First Opium War to the Opening of Japan.....	293
CHAPTER 20 The Final Years of Tokugawa Japan Bakumatsu Era, 1853-1869.....	303
CHAPTER 21 Ryūkyū's Crucial Moments During Early Meiji.....	305
Abolition of Feudal Domains and Establishment of Prefectures	305
Ryūkyū as the Southern Frontier Segment	305
CHAPTER 22 Latent Conflicts And Factions of Ryūkyūan Gentry	317
The Stubborn Party I–Exiles.....	319
The Stubborn Party II–Following the 1st Sino-Japanese War.....	323
The First written Notes on Tōdī, and Karate.....	334
Combined Education and Military policy – the Road to Educational Karate.....	339
<i>Part VII Chronological Overview of Major Events Related to Martial Arts.....</i>	<i>349</i>
CHAPTER 23 Old Ryūkyū	351
CHAPTER 24 From the Shimazu Invasion to Shō Shōken	379
CHAPTER 25 Transition Period from Shō Shōken to Sai On	387
CHAPTER 26 Early Modern Ryūkyū to 1879	409
<i>Epilogue.....</i>	<i>439</i>
<i>References (excerpt)</i>	<i>447</i>
<i>Glossary Index</i>	<i>465</i>

List of Illustrations

Figure 0-1: Periodization, adapted from Takara's proposal.	3
Figure I-1: Periodization into four divisions as a immediate working hypothesis advocated by Takara 1989 (I: 2), contrasted to the accepted transition of Japanese history for easy understanding.	10
Figure I-2: Old Ryūkyūan helmet bowl, labeled the "Twenty-four Parted White Star Helmet Bowl" (from the possession of Tsurugane Shrine, Kagoshima).	19
Figure I-3: The Hachiman banner.	30
Figure I-4: Basic distinctive hierarchical layers of Old Ryūkyū.	41
Figure I-5: Royal officials and their headgear, 1524 (according to the Kyūyō, article 197).	43
Figure I-6: The Cycle of Consecutive Days of the Three Guards.	46
Figure I-7: The Hiki as an organic combination of various government functions.	47
Figure I-8: The Hiki as a maritime and land-based organization.	48
Figure I-9: Tentative reconstruction of the original Hiki.	49
Figure I-10: Internal structure of a Hiki.	49
Figure I-11: Conceptual diagram of the Hiki in Old Ryūkyū.	57
Figure II-1: Ryūkyūan trade routes (end of fourteenth to middle sixteenth century).	69
Figure II-2: Different kinds of early "hand cannons" (Shouchong). From left: 1) copper cannon from a castle excavation. 2), 3), and 4) copper cannon, late Yongle era (1402-24). 5) atypical copper cannon, Hongwu era (1368-98). 6) copper cannon, Hongwu era (1368-98) (Uezato 2008).	73
Figure II-3: A Ryūkyūan Sekkōsen departing from Naha to Fujian (Beechey 1831).	77
Figure II-4: The Ryūkyūkan in Fuzhou (Nishizato 2006).	80
Figure II-5: Yarazamori and Miegusuku securing the entrance of Naha harbor, 19 th century map.	95
Figure II-6: Map of departure of Shimazu troops from Kagoshima.	96
Figure II-7: Map of Shimazu troops advancement via Amami Ōshima.	97
Figure II-8: Map of Shimazu troops advancement on Okinawa Island.	98
Figure III-1: The Ryūkyūkan in Kagoshima (from: Satsuma Fudoki Vol. I, National Diet Library).	105
Figure III-2: Location of the Satsuma Resident Commissioners office, situated between Higashimura and Nishimura, in direct vicinity of the Tenshikan, the Royal Government Trading Center, the Omonogusuku, and Miegusuku fort.	108
Figure III-3: Ship with a Ryūkyūan envoy during the Edo-nobori in 1710.	124
Figure III-4: Curtailment of the Kerai Akukabe in 1723 according to the Kyūyō.	148
Figure III-5: Curtailment of the Hiki members in 1729 according to the Kyūyō.	148
Figure III-6: Classification of court ranks, titles in early modern Ryūkyū.	163
Figure IV-1: The Tenshikan as depicted in the Liuqiuguo Zhilüe, 1759.	196
Figure IV-2: Two persons on the right with the red lacquered cudgels (muchi), 1710.	229
Figure IV-3: Maegawa Pēchin, one of the Shisan or Police Captains of 1710, riding on horseback, with two attendants.	231
Figure IV-4: Misato Ōji Chōtei, chief envoy of 1710, in a sedan-chair. The Ryūkyūan attendants surrounding him are recognizable by their yellow caps, and otherwise the hairdo and cloths. In front of the sedan chair two Japanese bodyguards, or Uma-mawari, and two minor Samurai.	232
Figure IV-5: Ceremonial weaponry in front of the chief envoy's sedan chair, 1850. Note the shift in the attire from Ming to Qing style.	236
Figure V-1: Grass roots organization of administrative and judicial affairs.	243
Figure V-2: Conceptual diagram of organization of the three district schools of Shuri.	252
Figure V-3: Administrative Organization of the Urban Districts.	257
Figure V-4: Basic organization of the Rural District Offices.	258
Figure V-5: Early modern government structure of the local district government.	262
Figure V-6: The upper stratum of the Ryūkyū government organization under Shimazu control.	269
Figure V-7: Division of Judicial Affairs.	273
Figure V-8: Organization of the Royal government of Ryūkyū in early modern times.	281
Figure V-9: Administrative division of Ryūkyū (according to Matsuda 2001).	283
Figure VI-1: Landing of Admiral Guérin at Tomari, 1855	300

Figure VI-2: The first notation as Karate in 1900	337
Figure VII-1: The Chōganemaru (from: Kubo 2010).	353
Figure VII-2: Top: A Hiya, from Okinawa Prefectural Museum. Bottom: A Sanyanchong, from the possession of Yasukuni Shrine (From: Uezato 2010). Note the conical mounting device to fix the likewise conical end of the Bō.	354
Figure VII-3: Excerpt from a picture scroll, showing the firing of a Hiya.	356
Figure VII-4: The Chatan Nakiri.	358
Figure VII-5: Sketch drawing of a Hiya (from Iha 1938).	360
Figure VII-6: The Jiganemaru.	362
Figure VII-7: The military defense system of Shuri and Naha.	364
Figure VII-8: Yarazamori top view (Uezato 2000: 85).	367
Figure VII-9: The illustrated moments of the fourteen combative scenarios with the naked cudgel, chapter 12 of the Jixiao Xinshu.	375
Figure VII-10: The original locations of the Gokokuji (1), the Tensonbyō (2), and the Temple of Confucius (3). The Tenshikan (4), Nishimura village school (5), the Satsuma Resident Commissioners (Zaiban-bugyō) facilities (6), and the former weapons depot Iōgusuku (7).	393
Figure VII-11: Ceremony at the mausoleum of the deceased king (detail), 1756.	410
Figure VII-12: Illustration of the investiture of the Chūzan king (detail), 1756.	410
Figure VII-13: Portrait of the wedding banquet (detail).	421
Figure VII-14: Kenpōjutsu (Tsukunesu) tokkurō, from Nantō Zatsuwa Hoi-hen, 1933.	426

List of Tables

Table I-1: Seitō from Shuri lineages prior to 1609	50
Table I-2: Seitō from Naha Tomari lineages prior to 1609	50
Table II-1: Number of official trading missions from Ryūkyū to Southeast Asia	67
Table II-2: Chinese Investiture Legations to Ryūkyū	71
Table II-3: Reports by Chinese Investiture Envoys	74
Table II-4: Stipulated intervals of Ryūkyūan trade missions to China	76
Table II-5: Chronology of the Kanshō, Ming Dynasty	83
Table II-6: Chronology of the Kanshō, Qing Dynasty	84
Table III-1: The Fifteen Injunctions, October 24, 1611	102
Table III-2: Adjusted and merged list of Kariya Mamori and Zaiban Bugyō	108
Table III-3: Chronological Table of Travels to Edo (Edo-nobori)	126
Table III-4: Ideological frameworks of the Ryūkyū government during different eras	138
Table III-5: Examples of the Hiki in the written appointments, pre- and post-1609 data	139
Table III-6: Office of Inner Palace Affairs 1706	141
Table III-7: The Hiki under the Office of Inner Palace Affairs 1706	141
Table III-8: Designations for the 12 Hiki and their staff according to Vol. 2 of the Ryūkyū-koku Yuraiki, 1713.	142
Table III-9: Seitō from Shuri lineages post 1609	144
Table III-10: Seitō from Naha Tomari lineages post 1609	145
Table III-11: Seitō from Kumemura lineages post 1609	145
Table III-12: Periods of usage of Seitō and Seitō Zashiki in the genealogies	149
Table III-13: Seitō Zashiki in the genealogies–Shuri	149
Table III-14: Seitō Zashiki in the genealogies–Naha and Tomari	150
Table III-15: Seitō Zashiki in the genealogies–Kumemura	154
Table III-16: Notes of the Akukabe in the genealogies–Shuri lineages	157
Table III-17: Notes of the Akukabe in the genealogies–Naha lineages	158
Table III-18: Chronology of Unten Anji Chōei, 12 th generation successor of the Nakijin Anji family	162
Table IV-1: Correlation between the Ushinohiban (UnB, Guard of the Ox), the Hiki, as well as Seitō and Chikudun assigned to them in the Genealogies	181
Table IV-2: Correlation between the Minohiban (MnB, Guard of the Snake), the Hiki, as well as Seitō and Chikudun assigned to them in the Genealogies	181
Table IV-3: Correlation between the Torinohiban (TnB, Guard of the Rooster), the Hiki, as well as Seitō and Chikudun assigned to them in the Genealogies	181
Table IV-4: Correlation between the Three Guards and Shuri castle Gateguards, Shuri lineage	182
Table IV-5: Correlations between Seitō Zashiki and Police-inspector generals, Naha Tomari lineages	182
Table IV-6: Correlations between Seitō Zashiki and Police-inspector generals, Kumemura	183
Table IV-7: Correlations between Seitō Zashiki and Police-inspectors, Shuri lineages	183
Table IV-8: Correlations between Seitō Zashiki and Police-inspectors, Naha Tomari lineages	183
Table IV-9: Correlations between Seitō Zashiki and Yamato Yokome	183
Table IV-10: Correlations between Seitō Zashiki and Royal Armory Atari	184
Table IV-11: Correlations between Seitō and Police Captains	184
Table IV-12: Verified number and characteristics of the Royal Guards at the main palace courtyard under the six Heads of Royal Guards since 1733.	186
Table IV-13: Notices of the Heads of Royal Guard in the Genealogies	186
Table IV-14: Shuri Castle Gateguards from Shuri lineages	190
Table IV-15: Shuri Castle Gateguards from Naha and Tomari lineages	190
Table IV-16: Shuri Castle Gateguards from Kumemura lineages	190
Table IV-17: Notices of the Tenshikan Gateguards in the Genealogies	196
Table IV-18: Police Inspector-generals, Shuri	205
Table IV-19: Police Inspector-generals (Sōyokome/SY), Naha Tomari	206
Table IV-20: Police Inspector-generals, Kumemura	208

<i>Table IV-21: Police Inspectors, Shuri</i>	210
<i>Table IV-22: Police Inspectors, Naha Tomari</i>	210
<i>Table IV-23: Police Captains, Shuri</i>	213
<i>Table IV-24: Police Captains, Naha</i>	217
<i>Table IV-25: Police Captains, Kumemura</i>	217
<i>Table IV-26: The Yamato Yokome</i>	221
<i>Table IV-27: Notices of the Royal Armory Management Bureau</i>	224
<i>Table IV-28: Department of Ceremonial Weaponry</i>	225
<i>Table IV-29: Kinjū</i>	226
<i>Table V-1: Offenses as of March 1892</i>	273
<i>Table VI-1: Genealogy of the Princely Shō clan (House Yoshimura)</i>	323
<i>Table VII-1: Number of arms and armor exported to the Ming Dynasty until 1609</i>	352
<i>Table VII-2: Examples of the Hiki as seen in the written appointment from the 16.-17. centuries</i>	368
<i>Table VII-3: Song Taizu's Thirty-two forms of long Boxing (from Jixiao Xinsu, 1560)</i>	372
<i>Table VII-4: A selection of Shaolin staff (gun) techniques from the Wubeizhi</i>	382
<i>Table VII-5: Būsāganashī as given in various sources</i>	389
<i>Table VII-6: Summary of the Ten Items of Bugei, 1867</i>	431
<i>Table VII-7: Tangible Genealogy of the Kayō/Muramatsu Family</i>	432

Introduction

THERE IS no question that the historical predecessors of today's Karate and Kobudō developed in the specific geographic area, the timeframe, and the cultural influence of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. Yet, while Karate is well documented for the 20th century, there is not much detailed information about historical Karate. Its perception fluctuates in varying degrees between a plebeian martial art and that of nobility, between a solely unarmed or a rather holistic method.¹ What many approaches of explaining Karate's early development have in common is that no causal relationship between the historical events are identified, or they are misinterpreted. For instance, in an attempt to backproject the existence of a solely unarmed Karate to the kingdom era, for decades the theory of weapons bans both under King Shō Shin as well as under Satsuma control were instrumentalized to serve as a formation theory of Karate. Yet, both these theories are historically untenable and lead in a completely wrong direction.

Furthermore, with Karate being a relatively modern term propagated since the 20th century only, there is no single source from the Ryūkyū Kingdom period using the modern term "Karate." But then, how was it called? Who were the individuals or groups most responsible for its invention and what was their main incentive to train? What were the enigmatic parameters of the Ryūkyū Kingdom's Ancient Martial Arts, or Karate 1.0?

There are a few historical sources in existence considered to relate to Karate's predecessors during the Ryūkyū Kingdom time. Namely, in chronological order, there was the observation of King Shō Shin's procession by Korean castaways (1477), the Momourasoe Rankan no Mei (1509), reminiscent of the merits of King Shō Shin. Next, the Kyūyō compiled by Tei Heitetsu et.al. (1743), containing reports of the weaponry in old Ryūkyū as well as descriptions of combative situations and persons skilled in the martial arts. A poem written by Tei Junsoku (1663-1734), considered evidence for the practice of some kind of historical Karate since that time. This is followed by Tobe Yoshihiro's Ōshima Hikki (1762) with its notes on the Chinese military officer Kūsankū and his demonstration of an unarmed martial arts to Okinawans. Further the undated Okinawan Bubishi, describing and depicting an actual system of unarmed martial arts which unarguably had been imported from China. The Satsuyū Kikō (1801), written by a vassal of the old Higo province, narrating the battering of roof tiles with bare hands. And Basil Hall's "Account of a Voyage..." (1816), containing the first ever eyewitness account on historical Karate in Western sources. Further, Nagoya Sagenta's Nantō Zatsuwa (1855) with its two depictions of a person using a Makiwara for training strikes. Finally, the famous School Arts Festival and Mixed Performances from Kume, presented at the royal tea villa (*Ochaya-udun*) in Sakiyama (1867), and last but not least Matsumura Sōkon's posthumous manuscript (estimated from the 1870s to the end of the 1890s).

In these historical sources descriptions pointing to some sort of historical martial arts are found. In the Kyūyō the term Kūshu appears, written with exactly the same Kanji as modern Karate while predating it by several centuries. Kumiai-jutsu, Kenpō, and Kūsankū as found in the Ōshima Hikki. Yawara (*jūjutsu*) and Tetsukimi in the Satsuyū Kikō and a "boxer's position of defense" in Hall's account. Kenpō-jutsu in the Nantō Zatsuwa; and among the various performances of the Kume school at the royal tea villa in Sakiyama in 1867 were Tinbē (shield), Sai (iron truncheon) vs. Bō, the Kata Sēsan which is still practiced today, Bō

¹ Cf. Draeger 1997: 124-5, 129.

vs. Karate, the Kata called Shisōchin, Tinbē vs. Bō, Sai, Kumite (exchanging techniques), Kuruma-bō (flail), and even Sūpārinpē, which is known as the most difficult form in the Gōjū-ryū style of Karate.²

All the above terms clearly demonstrate the existence of unarmed and armed martial arts, or historical Karate, in which we rediscover specific methods of use, names of Kata, and methods of traditional training. However, neither detailed circumstances of the development of martial arts in the Ryūkyū Kingdom, nor their technical systems, nor any clue to a causal relation between them can be perceived from within this small amount of incoherent historical sources. With this data we cannot but fail to conclusively substantiate facts on the emergence, the specific parameters, and the transmission of ancient Ryūkyūan martial arts in the big picture. Yet in specialized Karate literature each of them is used to backproject the modern face of Karate onto the martial arts of the Ryūkyū Kingdom era.

The above suggests that possible causal relations between the existing historical sources and the parameters of Ryūkyū's history need be identified, isn't it? In order to achieve this, the following three prerequisites were determined as the framework for this work:

1) An administrative background for the development of martial arts within the security-related duties of the royal government organization of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. Historical Karate is therefore considered not as a solely unarmed system, but rather as having been a part of a larger and integrated system consisting of various armed and unarmed tactics. This explanatory approach is based on the simple insight that there must have been a constant trigger of sufficient magnitude for individuals or groups to train martial arts to an extent that it became a sophisticated tradition. According to the historical sources mentioned earlier, as well as according to numerous previous research, there is no problem using this prerequisite as a working theory.

2) The relatively constant form of the kingdom during the circa 450 years from Shō Hashi's unification until its disposition in 1879. This is backed up by research showing that by the time of Shō Shin the fundamental conception of the government organization and parameters of duties had assumed a form which—in principle—it was to maintain until 1879.³ Even after the Shimazu invasion of 1609, where one is inclined to believe that many things dramatically changed, large portions of the previous centuries of medieval Ryūkyū were just basically shock-frozen, as is shown in this work. Of course, new government offices for taxes, tribute trade, and the new relation with Japan were implemented, the Shimazu were in control and Ryūkyū became a de facto part of the Japanese Bakuhan system. Yet, the administrative interior and the proceedings of the kingdom remained basically untouched. It was in the Shimazu's own interest to keep things exactly as they were, and thus they did not interfere much in Ryūkyūan government. That is, in the big picture and viewed from the perspective of Ryūkyū's relative position to the outside world, the kingdom neither changed towards China from 1372 to the nineteenth century, nor changed it towards Satsuma and to the Bakufu from 1609 to the nineteenth century, nor changed it relative to the West from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. And it neither changed its relative position towards the morphing net of complicated interdependences of those three. The kingdom's inner structure was encapsulated and restricted to the nutshell of its ever re-recurring same role within changing world orders. Only the enormous global circumstances that resulted in the Meiji restoration provided enough momentum to generate a phase shift and the small kingdom came finally to an end in 1879. The old martial arts of the kingdom, in turn having been encapsulated themselves within the settings of the kingdom, and having been nurtured by it, lost their host and the fundamentals of their existence, and thus, began to fade into oblivion. I call this the "Ryūkyū Nutshell."

² OKKJ 2008, et passim.

³ Nakahara 1977: 587. Takara 1993, I: 16. Sakihara 1987: 162-63. Kerr 1958: 105, 115.

3) From the above two prerequisites the timeframe of this work was determined as the period from about the fifteenth century to the final abolition of the kingdom in 1879. This long period comprises of three distinctive eras, in the broadest sense embracing the periodization proposed by Takara (see Figure 0-1), yet, as it turned out, in a slightly adapted version.

a) Old Ryūkyū describes the approximately five hundred years from around the twelfth century via the Shimazu invasion in 1609 and further to the time of Shō Shōken (around 1666). It describes the era of formation, establishment, expansion, and stagnation of the old Ryūkyū Kingdom.

b) The Transition Period describes the time from Shō Shōken to Sai On (~1666-1730s), in which the old Ryūkyū kingdom was adapted and transformed into its new form.

c) Early Modern Ryūkyū describes the epoch following the Transition Period from about the 1730s until the Disposition of Ryūkyū and establishment of Okinawa Prefecture in 1872/79.

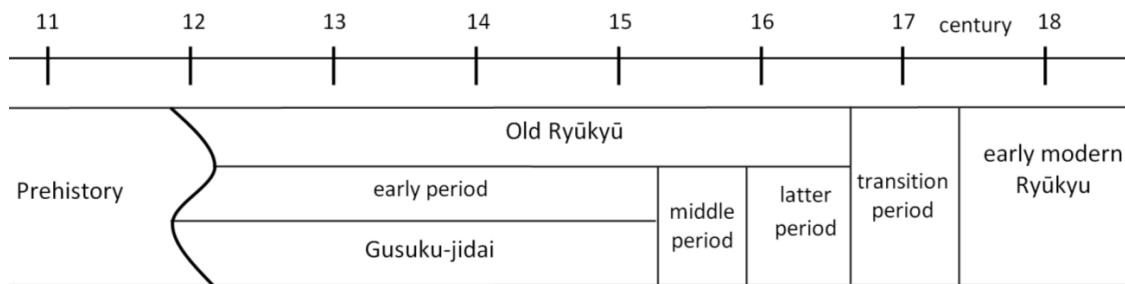


Figure 0-1: Periodization, adapted from Takara's proposal.

In order to establish a common theoretical basis and data collection covering the above mentioned prerequisites, sources from different areas of professional expertise were cumulatively interlaced in a multiple layer architecture of interdependency.

I) A framework of data describing the emergence, development, and actual existence of the Ryūkyū kingdom was created, based on the latest in archaeological, historical, and anthropological research. II) The administrative organization and composition of the kingdom was screened, described and classified. III) A statistical database of historical persons and their duties was created. IV) Important political events and international correlations were evaluated. V) Various other written historical sources like travelogues etc. were put into context with the aforementioned points. VI) The written sources explicitly dealing with martial art as already identified, as well as new discoveries were reassigned to the context. VII) The results were summarized. And VIII) The hypothesis was re-evaluated and re-formulated.

Let me add a few words to the above point III). In order to determine thoroughly airtight and completely new data on security-related duties hitherto unconsidered, a table which included a specific set of data was created, namely with the name of a person, his rank, duty, clan and house, the date of the entry and if applicable further notes.⁴ In this table all relevant data mentioned in the genealogies were included. Then the table was sorted according to the various security-related duties and an independent table for each of these duties was created. In this way it became possible to statistically analyze the vast amount of data within each of these tables, for each of the security-related duties. As now the tables could be sorted according to the various data categories, many details became readily available which otherwise would have been impossible to discern or to detect. Sorted according to the date of the entry, for instance, it became directly visible when a certain

⁴ The data in question was derived from the huge amount of official genealogies from Shuri, Naha, Tomari, and Kumemura as found in Vol. 5 of ORJ.

duty started or ended, whether it changed over time, where the person hailed from and to which clan and house he belonged. As a further example, in this way it was possible to accurately determine the date and duration when persons from Shuri, Naha, Tomari, or Kumemura were assigned to guard duty at each of the gates in Shuri Castle. Various other informations became readily available, like the existence of a job rotation system with typical different duties for certain ranks, cross comparisons between different tables and duties, and causal relationships between certain positions, ranks, families and houses or certain regions, and also their change over time.

Such a statistical analysis was rarely—if ever—used before by researchers on historic Karate. It directly or indirectly brought to light hitherto undiscovered details about individuals and duties related to martial arts in the Ryūkyū Kingdom. Apart from the duties itself, in a completely new attempt the security-related branches of the government organization were also screened, like the Department of Justice (*hirajo*) and others, and also distinguished between the central and regional departments, which also proved fruitful for detecting further causal dependencies.

It is from the above reasons that the present treatise uses a large amount of sources and is of a vast scope. While I feel I need to excuse for this, I still maintain that it was necessary to shed a ray of ancient light on Karate 1.0. By the new equation thereby provided I hope many approaches in the sphere of the highly differentiated historical interpretation of the modern term Karate may be successfully re-evaluated.

Next, let me briefly turn towards the structure of this work.

Structure

PART I describes the early formation period and consolidation of Ryūkyūan society, from the very beginning through the Eras of Fortresses and Three Kingdoms until the establishment of the 1st Dynasty of the Royal Shō Clan under King Shō Hashi and his successors. Added are descriptions on various influences and advances in the art of war, as well as on the early military organization of those eras. It then continues with the establishment and early period of the 2nd Shō Dynasty, the time of King Shō Shin and his trailblazing organization of government, with special emphasis on hierarchy in ranks and duties as well as the military organization of the Hiki.

Next, in Part II, the important external influences and Asian world order at the time are described, placing emphasis on the tributary relationship with China as well as the contacts with Japan towards the hostile takeover by Satsuma in 1609.

Part III covers the time from 1609 to Shō Shōken in 1666 and the following transition period to Sai On in the 1730s. This includes the stipulation of the Ryūkyū kingdom, the weapons regulations and other control mechanisms implemented by the Shimazu house of Satsuma. Furthermore, the Edo-nobori are explained, changes in the China relations, the transformation of the Hiki into a new system, as well as the Western encounters of the kingdom.

The following Part IV in great detail describes the transition of the most important security-related duties within the framework described in Part III. It is mainly made up of a vast number of tables and informations directly extracted, translated, and interpreted from two major sources, namely 1) the Kyūyō, and 2) the official genealogies of the Kingdom.⁵ The huge amount of security-related duties and persons presented in this chapter should be helpful in the future perception of the historical vs. modern martial arts of Ryūkyū.

In order to integrate the persons and duties identified in Part IV, the following Part V turns to the security-related government organization of early modern Ryūkyū, describing the local and central government of the kingdom in the timeframe from the 1730s to 1879,

⁵ For the genealogies, ORJ, Vol. 5 (Ryūkyū Genealogies) was used. For the Kyūyō, ORJ, Vol. 7, Nr. 4, was used, as well as the “Kyūyō Zenbun” online database at tutenze.pluto.ryucom.jp.

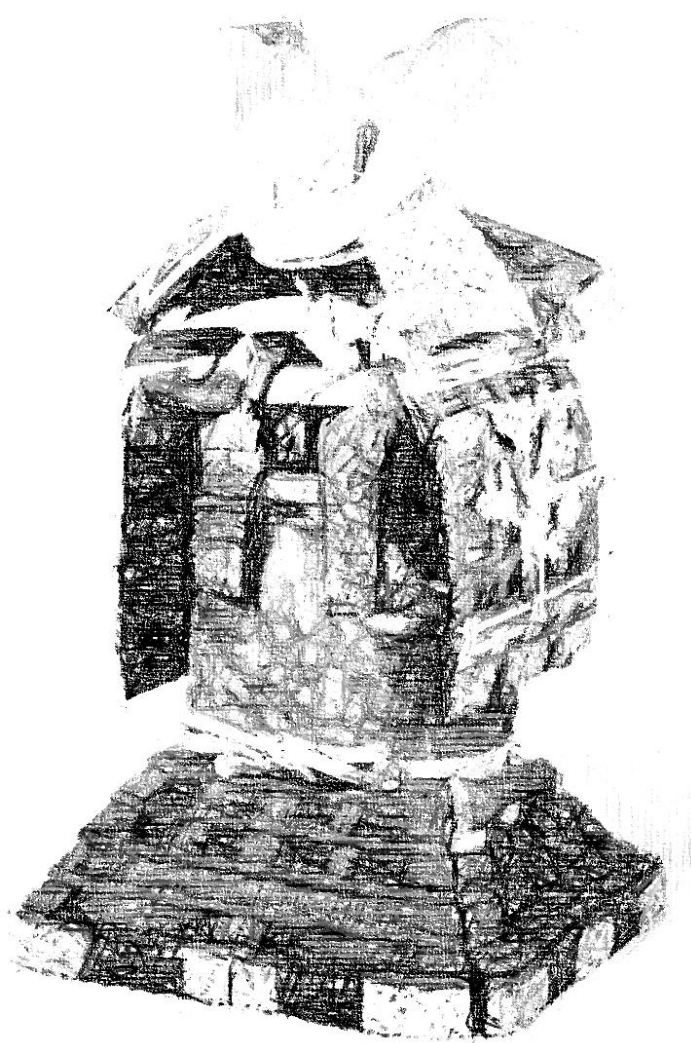
clearly showing that the security-related functions were the result of a well-directed organization.

With the above five parts the discourse determining the benchmarks of the multifaceted framework of Karate's historical background during the Ryūkyū kingdom era is completed. However, in order to place the findings in perspective to the emergence of modern Karate, Part VI is designed the link between old and new.

Part VII presents a chronological overview of major events related to the historical martial arts of Ryūkyū. Finally, the epilogue contains a resume.

Part I

Old Ryūkyū Internal Affairs



CHAPTER 1

Formation Period

IN THE Okinawa area a large number of human bones from the Paleolithic have been discovered. There are the Yamashita cave man from 31,000 years ago, and the Minatogawa man from 18,000 years ago, as well as the Pinza-abu cave man from Miyako dated to about 30,000 years ago. Bones of deer, mice and other animals were found, however, no paleolithic tools were discovered, so it is not exactly known as of yet what kind of culture these humans were connected to.⁶ It may be safe to say that it was an economy of food-gathering, hunting and shallow water fishing.

It should be noted that although many details of its paleolithic character are unknown, claw patterned pottery (*tsumegata mondoki*) similar to the Jōmon earthenware of Kyūshū were dug up in archeological excavations at the historic ruins of Toguchi Tōbaru in Yomitan, dating from the subsequent Shell mound period of about seven to five thousand years ago. In other words, from the perspective of cultural content, Ryūkyū's beginnings have been confirmed to date back to the early days of the Jōmon period culture, pointing to an exchange with Kyūshū at this time.⁷

Moreover, stone axes and stone dishes etc. were found and from about this time wild boars were popular as food.⁸ Knives used for preparing wild boar and fish seem to have been made from hornstone, a hard sedimentary rock found in the stone elevation called Tacchū⁹ on Ieshima, as well as on Iheyajima, Izenajima, and Ishigakijima, which by chipping becomes sharp as a razorblade.¹⁰

Thereafter, earthenware similar to that of Kyūshū-style Yayoi period¹¹ pottery had been unearthed in various places in the Ryūkyū Islands,¹² as well as obsidian from Kyūshū, which was used, among others, for the production of arrowheads.¹³ Instead of the stone tools representative for Japan of those days, in Ryūkyū shell products were made use of abundantly, which shows one characteristic of Okinawa's prehistoric culture. Since the Yayoi period, shell-made bracelets and other finished shell goods from Ryūkyū were unearthed in archeological excavations reaching from Kyūshū to Hokkaidō, verifying the existence of a trade route between Okinawa and Kyūshū.¹⁴

However, reaching the early shell mound period as symbolized by the Ogidō-style and Iha-style pottery,¹⁵ Ryūkyū's prehistoric culture rapidly began to move away from the classification of the Jōmon culture. Since then, despite the above mentioned wave of Yayoi culture reaching the Ryūkyū Islands, it decisively and uninterruptedly transformed its original social life and there are no traces of the subsequent Kofun culture having reached the Ryūkyū Islands.¹⁶

⁶ Dana Masayuki, in OKKJ 2008: 38. OKBH 1994: 4. Kreiner 2001: 1.

⁷ OKBH 1994: 5. Takara 1993, I: 5.

⁸ Dana Masayuki, in OKKJ 2008: 38. OKBH 1994: 4-5. Fully made stone axes etc., together with a large amount of wild boar bones were unearthed from the Noguni shell mound in Kadena.

⁹ 175 m high and usually called Gusukuyama 城山.

¹⁰ OKBH 1994: 5.

¹¹ c. 300 BCE-300 CE

¹² Dana Masayuki, in OKKJ 2008: 38-39.

¹³ OKBH 1994: 5.

¹⁴ Dana Masayuki, in OKKJ 2008: 39.

¹⁵ Ogidō-shiki Doki 萩堂式土器, Iha-shiki Doki 伊波式土器.

¹⁶ Takara 1993, I: 5. Dana Masayuki, in OKKJ 2008: 39. Takara pointed out that the sphere of Jōmon culture reaching the Ryūkyū Island was only visible in the two regions of Amami and Okinawa and did not reach the Sakishima Islands. The Yayoi culture, too, was likewise limited

KARATE 1.0 – PARAMETER OF AN ANCIENT MARTIAL ART

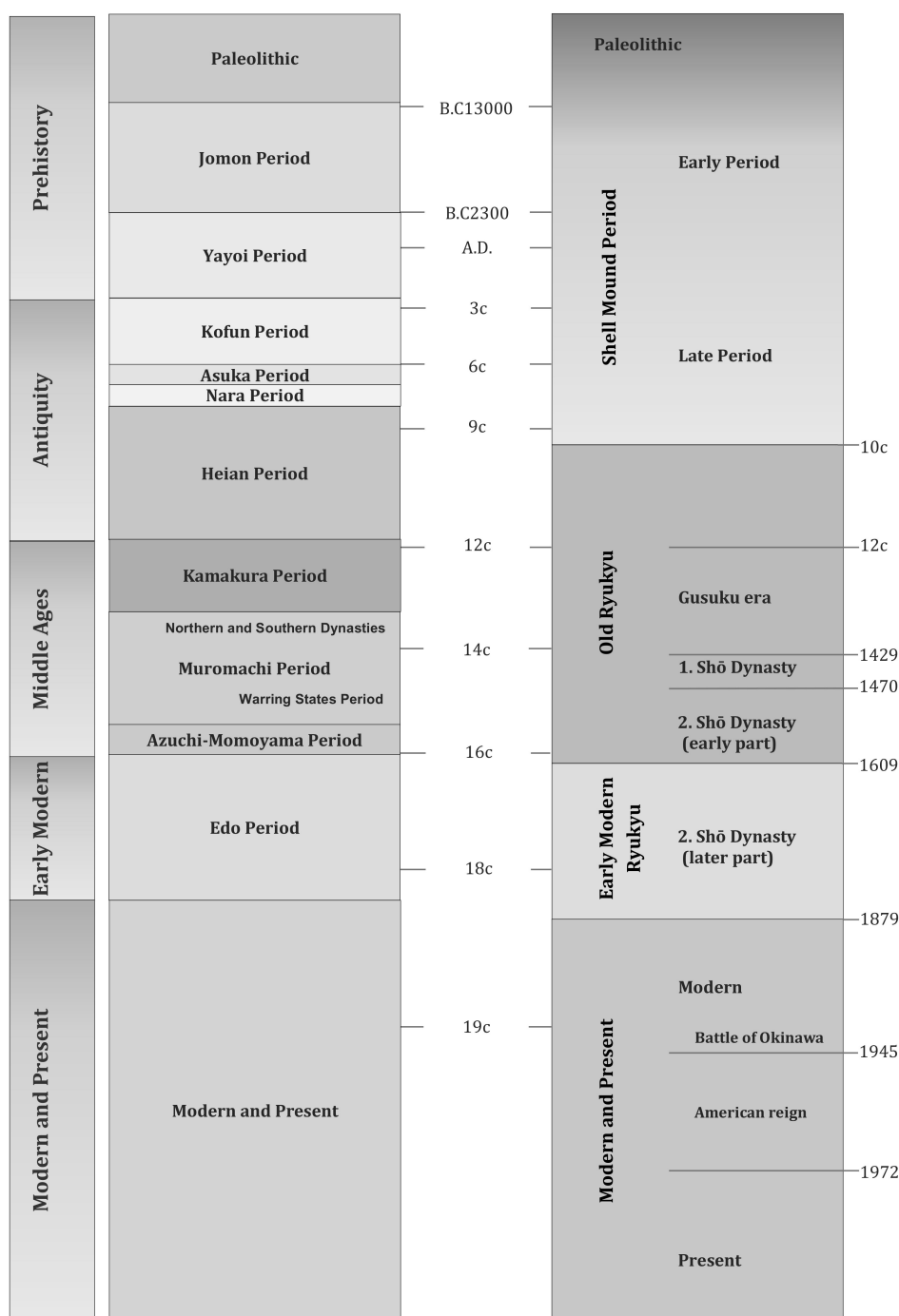


Figure I-1: Periodization into four divisions as a immediate working hypothesis advocated by Takara 1989 (I: 2), contrasted to the accepted transition of Japanese history for easy understanding.

to the Amami and Okinawa regions, and no traces of Yayoi culture were found in Sakishima. It has additionally been confirmed that the extent of Yayoi culture was large in the Amami region, but small in the Okinawa region. These facts demonstrate a gradually attenuated penetration and simultaneously the prehistoric specificity of Sakishima within the Ryūkyū Islands, indicating various regional characteristics of prehistoric Ryūkyū.

It can thus be said that prehistoric Ryūkyū shared common cultural contents with the Japanese archipelago, more specifically the Jōmon culture. However, as the periods gradually progressed, it started to follow a path of individualization and since the early shell mound period (= the late Jōmon period) it became relatively distinguished from the culture of the Japanese archipelago, beginning a metamorphosis of its own cultural context.¹⁷

As is well known, early Japanese literature refers to the situation of the seventh to ninth centuries, i.e. the formative years of the nation under the Ritsuryō legal and administrative system. Among those, the *Nihon Shoki* and the *Shoku Nihongi*, i.e. two of the six classical Japanese history texts, both contain articles stating that people from the Southern Islands arrived in Japan to pay tribute in 600 A.D., accounting for the existence of trading management in those southern islands. And in the record *Tōdai Washō Tōsei-den* written by the monk Ganjin (688-763), we find Okinawa described as *Okonaha-jima*, substantiating the existence of a cultural exchange. Other research confirmed that by the seventh and eighth centuries the Ryūkyūans traded with the Japanese mainland as well as with the island of Kyūshū, including Satsuma.¹⁸ It should be noted here that especially the Amami region is believed to indeed have had a certain relationship of subordination within the Japanese state under the Ritsuryō-system, but this was neither a long-term nor a stable subordination, but is to be understood as a temporary and shifting relationship.

Summarizing the above it can be said that the Ryūkyū Islands as such were not incorporated and organized into the territory and inner surface of old Japan, but rather existed as an outside group of islands, i.e. they constituted a foreign land relative to old Japan.¹⁹

Miyako and Yaeyama earthenware from the sixth to eighth centuries not only indicate a strong influence from the South Seas, but also point to the introduction of the Taro plant culture. In this period, rice cultivation had not yet been introduced to Okinawa, and it was supposedly still a culture of collecting from nature, with agriculture appearing to have undergone a first state of trial and error during the sixth to eighth centuries, receiving new and foreign influences in the ninth to tenth centuries.²⁰

Already in the Heian-era (794-1185) Okinawans would travel to Japan in order to purchase the crescent-shaped jewels called *Magatama* as well as other goods, a fact that is confirmed in the poems of the *Omoro*.²¹

Seen from the standpoint of archeology, this period constituted the final period of the prehistoric age in the Ryūkyū Islands (*kaizuka-jidai*), characterized by the most developed stage of a gathering and lagoon fishing economy. The interior of the Ryūkyū Islands themselves was still individually disjointed and not yet established as an integrated region,²² and the same is true for Okinawa Main Island. At the same time trade and exchange with Japan increased²³ and by about the eleventh century a trading route between Japan and Ryūkyū had been established.²⁴

From about the eleventh century to the thirteenth century a maritime trading route from Hakata in Japan to Ryūkyū flourished.²⁵ A major reason for this was the Chinese Song

¹⁷ Takara 1993, I: 5-6.

¹⁸ Matsuda 2001: 16-17. Referring to Arai Hakuseki: *Nantōshi* 南島志 (Gazetteer of the Southern Islands), 1720, in: Imaizumi Sadasuke: Arai Hakuseki Zenshū. Tōkyō 1906. Vol III, 697-698.

¹⁹ Takara 1993, I: 6. Dana Masayuki, in OKKJ 2008: 39.

²⁰ Yamamoto 2008: 4.

²¹ Iha 1938: 292.

²² Takara 1993, I: 7.

²³ Yamamoto 2008: 4.

²⁴ Uezato 2008: 58-59. This trade route was verified by numerous Ryūkyū findings of Kamuiyaki ware, affiliated to the Sueki ware of medieval Japan and Koryo, and stone cooking vessels made of talc from the Nishisonogi peninsula in today's Nagasaki Prefecture.

²⁵ Yamamoto 2008: 6.

dynasty having been driven south by the Jurchen of the Jin dynasty and produced large quantities of ceramics in order to stabilize their state finances.²⁶ These ceramic goods were exported to Japan in enormous quantities via the sea route from Mingzhou (today's Ningbo) to Hakata.

The latter half of the thirteenth century saw the introduction of Japanese Buddhism to Okinawa and it appears that Buddhist priests also introduced the Hiragana script, which came to be in use since about that time. Aboard the merchant ships reaching Naha and other ports of Okinawa were Japanese priests, artisans, technicians and various other people, who introduced technical equipment, production technologies, and other innovations.²⁷ Furthermore, from the thirteenth century onwards a direct flow of goods from south China to Ryūkyū is also visible. This trade entailed an influx of goods and people from Japan and China to Okinawa, which resulted in further improvements in agricultural productivity as an important factor for the further growth of trade. Then, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, revolts by Fang Guozhen and Zhang Shicheng, related to the Red Turban revolt, and others occasioned the relaxation of state controls on overseas trade in the late Yuan dynasty, which triggered increased private commercial activities on the sea routes.²⁸ Concurrently, an increasing activity of the so-called Japanese pirates (*wakō*) around the Korean peninsula resulted in extreme deterioration of law and order along the Chinese coast.²⁹ Therefore, the maritime merchants began to use a safer southern route leading from Takase in Higo province in southern Kyūshū, via Satsuma province and the Ryūkyū Islands, and from there to Fujian.

Meanwhile, from about the fourteenth century the economic activities of Japanese warriors (*bushi*) from southern Kyūshū had extended as far as the Amami Islands.³⁰ At this point, from about the middle of the fourteenth century, the Ryūkyū Islands became a regular way station within the Asian maritime trade network. An increased flow of people and goods from Japan³¹ and elsewhere to the Ryūkyū Islands can be seen, entailing, among other things, the development of the port city of Naha in a spontaneous fashion through these foreign influences.³²

Japan had continually exerted a strong influence on Ryūkyū and a basic affinity between the two existed since early times. Due to the different stages of cultural development, shipbuilding technologies for river, coastal and oceangoing use in China, Korea, and Japan were far superior to that of Ryūkyū. From this reason, early communication and trade until the end of the twelfth century took place mainly from the outside world towards Ryūkyū. Until then, shipbuilding and navigation in Ryūkyū was in a primitive stage characterized by dugout canoes used for shallow water fishing and trade along the coasts or from island to island. This provided the Ryūkyūans only one choice of traffic towards the outside world, namely, the route along the islands scattered along to the north towards Amami and Kyūshū, Japan.³³

It was into the above described society that a new wave of immigrants from the north came, transmitted in the memory of the Ryūkyūan people, as evidenced in the following Omoro song called The Immigration of the Miruya People.³⁴

²⁶ Their kilns were in Zhejiang and Fujian in east China, Guangdong in south China, Jiangxi in southeast China, and elsewhere.

²⁷ Matsuda 1966: 276, 292.

²⁸ Yamamoto 2008: 5-6, 10.

²⁹ Acta Asiatica, Nr. 95, 2008: iv.

³⁰ Acta Asiatica, Nr. 95, 2008: iii.

³¹ This is verified by archeological findings of trading goods as well as anthropological research showing traits in human bones from the Ryūkyū Islands similar to those of medieval Japanese of around the same time.

³² Uezato 2008: 58.

³³ Sakihara 1987: 206-8.

In the age of the gods, men from Miruya, chose this Makyo village and came down, and are revered for eternity. In the age of the ancients, men from Miruya, chose this Makyo village and came down, to the garden of Arakaki, they chose this Makyo village and came down, to the garden of the forefathers.

In this example, so-called Miruya people came from the north and settled in Arakaki, a village in present day Nishime in Gushikawa-son on Kume Island. They made a big impression on the villagers and exhibited culture, extraordinary appearance, and ability. The wording of the Omoro song reflects the pride of the villagers on the fact that these great Miruya came to their village. The term Miruya denotes a country of eternity or paradise beyond the ocean.³⁵

Examples of folktales recording the coming of outsiders, very often Japanese warriors, are found all over the Ryūkyū Islands, in the Amami Ōshima group, the Okinawa group, and the Sakishima group, and occurred with very little disturbance, if any. The absence of disturbances connected with the advent of the new immigrant group, as reported both in the Omoro-sōshi³⁶ as well as in other historical data, may be construed to indicate that these people were 1) not in pursue of territorial expansion by military means, 2) though their number may have been large in total, they did not all come at once, 3) though they were most likely bearers of a more advanced culture, they were not essentially different racially or culturally from the islanders, and 4) their integration took place comparatively easy and without much conflict. This can be seen in the following Omoro presumably dates to about the eleventh to thirteenth century and is called The Miruya Man is a Worldly God:³⁷

Because the Miruya-man is a wordly god, hooray! Because the Miruya-man is a gifted god, hooray! Because the Miruya-man is a proud god, because the Miruya-man is a great country god. Proudly he wears the Kanewakako sword. Gallantly, he wears the Kanemisaki sword. On the Kanewakako, hangs a string of bells. On the Kanemisaki, hang ringing bells.

The specific type of sword with bells reminds of the swords and spears of the ancient Japanese warriors, which just as well had bells attached to them. There's no indication that the above described Miruya man had been the victim of a shipwreck and with his outstanding appearance he probably caused some hustle and bustle, striding through the village in confidence, his jingling bells dangling from the hilt of his fine sword as all eyes are upon him. Such Miruya people reached Ryūkyū at different places and different times. They probably belonged to the armed merchant groups or pirates from Japan roaming all over the South Seas and the Chinese coast. Or possibly they were members of a defeated Japanese clan seeking refuge in one of the islands. In any event, those Miruya decided to settle on the Ryūkyū Islands. With their assumable knowledge in civil and military spheres they were quickly integrated into the upper class of the receptive island societies. Besides the well-known Tametomo legend and an Omoro that allegedly describes his arrival, there are some historical figures such as lord Mochizuki of Katsuren (ca. 1540s), who, judging from his name, was definitely of Japanese descent. This is not at all inconsistent with the contemporary political situation in Japan at the time. When the once powerful Taira clan, having controlled the Imperial Court, was finally thoroughly defeated by the opposing Minamoto clan in 1185, at Dan-no-Ura at the western extreme of Honshu, many Taira clansmen, with the Minamoto in pursuit, fled to the numerous islands southward in search of refuge.³⁸ Indications of the presence of the defeated Taira refugees are seen all over, from

³⁴ Sakihara 1987: 48. Omoro Sōshi Vol. XXI, Omoro 1. #1394.

³⁵ Sakihara 1987: 49.

³⁶ Cf. Okinawa. Sono Rekishi to Bunka. 1973: 22.

³⁷ Sakihara 1987: 49-51. Omoro Sōshi Vol. XI, Omoro 72. #627.

³⁸ Kreiner 2001: 3.

Tsushima Island in the north to Yonaguni Island in the south. On many of the islands they landed, with the exception of Okinawa Island proper, they established themselves as the ruling class. Those who went to Okinawa Island were few in number and did not join the ruling class. This seems to be a strong indication that the fleeing Taira had some knowledge of Minamoto influence on Okinawa, or otherwise knowledge of frequent visits by Japanese ships at her harbors.³⁹

³⁹ Sakihara 1987: 51-52.

Furthermore, the sword guard (*tsuba*) of a long sword (*tachi*) dated from around the tenth century had been excavated.⁷⁷ From data concerning a similar sword guard currently in possession of the Kurama-dera in Kyōto, archaeologists were able to obtain a more complete picture of the corresponding long sword. From that, and from the fact of its elaborated production, the sword this guard belonged to is considered to actually have been utilized as a treasured object related to religious rituals rather than in actual combat. That is to say, the few metal fragments of weapons dating from the long period from the beginning of the 1st millennium until entering the Era of Fortresses must be considered extremely rare objects.⁷⁸

Entering the Era of Fortresses in the twelfth century, small knives (*tōsu*) and axes (*ono*) and other things, harpoons (*mori*) and sickles (*kama*) and other tools for hunting and harvesting of edibles, as well as pots and other cooking metalware were found. An excavation survey from the Shuri castle ruins and the Tenkaiji temple, as well as other ruins from that era, account for the appearance of iron arrow-heads (*tetsuzoku*) actually used as implements of combat, their increase from the second half of the thirteenth to the first half of the fourteenth century, and their utilization in large quantities in the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁷⁹

The construction of Nakijin castle was begun around the end of the thirteenth century. Excavations in the castle ruins brought to light fragments of weapons and defensive armament (armor), which clearly account for the castle having been equipped for and used in actual combat. In a 1997 excavation, nine iron arrowheads were discovered, among which were regular arrowheads and also those used as fire-arrows. As all these arrowheads were found right outside and under the castle walls, they are considered to stem from a battle with enemy soldiers.⁸⁰

Among the fragments from different kinds of thrust and cut weapons, only a few sword blades were excavated. Sword guards and ferrules (*habaki*), oval washers (*seppa*) and other products manufactured from bronze were also discovered. Besides, bullets (cannonballs) made of stone and metal were discovered. The stone bullets were primarily made of fine grained sandstone, with soot cleaving to their surfaces. Their diameter varies from 2-12cm. The diameter of the bronze made metal bullets ranges from 1.4-2.8cm. While these bullets were used with firearms, the exact method of their usage remains unclear.⁸¹

As for different kinds of armor as relics and traces of the rivalry of the local warlords, a great number of fragments from armors and helmets has been excavated.⁸² For example, metal fixtures of the kind Hassō-kanagu, small metal plates for scale armor (*kosane*), as well as other small metalware were used to produce the various parts of suits of armor, helmets, and other armor, and particularly in the Shuri excavation large quantities of these had been quarried.⁸³

Although no suit of armor in its entirety was found in Nakijin, metal fittings of suits of armor and helmets were also brought to light there.⁸⁴ A large amount of fragments from the torso-portion of an armor were found in archeological excavations in the historic ruins of Heshikiya Kojima in Uruma-shi, and from a cave close to the Tamagusuku Jōseki castle ruins in Nanjō-shi.

The arms and armor found in Shuri castle, particularly in the Kyō no Uchi excavation, where the former storehouse was located, were mostly made of iron or bronze.⁸⁵ The

⁷⁷ From Heshikiya Tōbaru.

⁷⁸ OKMBS I: 8, 14.

⁷⁹ OKMBS I: 14.

⁸⁰ Tenji Kaietsu Shīto, Nr 3. 2011.

⁸¹ OKMBS II: 11-12.

⁸² Mainly in the Kyō no Uchi excavation, where the former storehouse was located.

⁸³ OKMBS I: 6.

⁸⁴ Tenji Kaietsu Shīto, Nr. 3. 2011.

CHAPTER 6

Ryūkyū and Japan

Sequence of Events Towards the Shimazu Takeover

IT IS not exactly sure when relations between Ryūkyū and Kyūshū first began, but they were of long standing. Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199), founder of the Kamakura shōgunate in 1185, had an affair with the sister of his partner Hiki Yoshikazu (?-1203). She became pregnant and due to the jealousy of Yoritomo's wife Masako, from the powerful Hōjō clan, she was forced to flee to Satsuma where she gave birth to Tadahisa. Later Tadahisa built a castle in Shimazu, from which he derived his name, Shimazu Tadahisa (1179-1227), and this was the founding of the Shimazu house of Satsuma located in Kyūshū, the Japanese main islands closest to Ryūkyū. Among the several military families that populated Kyūshū the Shimazu house of Satsuma counted among the most powerful of Japan.³⁸⁴ The 1609 Shimazu takeover of Ryūkyū must be seen in context with the political developments, power shifts, and trade interests within the unstable political entity that Japan constituted at that time. In the time prior to 1609, the Ryūkyū kingdom basically had five principal trade connections with Japan: 1) the Kinai region under the Muromachi Bakufu prior to the Ōnin War, 2) Sakai merchants under control of the Hosokawa family following the Ōnin War, 3) the Ōuchi family prior and following the Ningbo Incident, 4) the Shimazu family, and 5) Hakata merchants.³⁸⁵

Trade Interests, Power Shifts, Japan-Ryūkyū Relations

Ryūkyū Trade to the Muromachi Bakufu Prior to the Ōnin War

The first written testimony of an official Ryūkyūan ship visiting Japan appears in 1404, with an Okinawan ship (*okinau-bune*) mentioned in a document of the Yano-no-shō estate belonging to the Tōji monastery in Kyōto. Then, as early as the 1420s Ryūkyū sent missions to the Kinai region, which was a one-way affair only. At this time the relations between Japan and Ming China were severed and thus Ryūkyū filled the gap as a trade intermediary between Japan and Ming China. However, Japan being an unstable political entity at the time, there was often no clear distinction between merchants, pirates, and officials. At that time the Hosokawa family held the post of military governor (*shugo*) in Settsu province, with Hyōgotsu as the designated port for Ryūkyūan ships. The cargo inspections system fell under the Hosokawa family's direct jurisdiction and they used it as a pretext for a preferential merchandise trade with Ryūkyūan ships arriving at Hyōgotsu. In 1451 Hosokawa Katsumoto seized the entire goods of a Ryūkyūan ship and would neither pay nor return the goods, even after a Bakufu official was sent to Hyōgo in order to establish the facts of the matter. In 1466 the inspection system was revised and Ryūkyūan ships arriving at Hyōgotsu were granted the right of self-assessment. The Bakufu and two of its advisors hostile to the Hosokawa had planned to restore direct trade with China, Ryūkyū, etc. and to get rid of the Hosokawa. In order to achieve this, the Bakufu planned to re-install Ōuchi Masahiro, the Hosokawa's rival, for securing the sea lanes in the Inland Sea (*seto naikai*). However, due to inner power struggles of the Bakufu this didn't happen. Thus, the Hosokawa simply revoked the new regulations and their advantage over the Ryūkyūan ships was revived. Consequentially, under this circumstances, and with general destabilization of peace and order in the Inland Sea sea routes following the outbreak of the Ōnin War (1467-77), all visits of Ryūkyūan ships to Kinai came to an end.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Matsuda 2001: 12, 17.

³⁸⁵ For a detailed description, see Itō 2008: 79-99.

Visits by Sakai merchants

Following the Ōnin War the influx of products from the southern seas to the Kinai region by way of Ryūkyūan ships was cut off. In 1480, the Muromachi Bakufu pressed Ryūkyū to resume sending trading missions to Kinai, using the Shimazu family as intermediaries, but Ryūkyū wouldn't send ships to Kinai anymore. Reasons were safety issues on the sea routes between Ryūkyū and Japan and particularly the aforementioned system of cargo inspection, which was still controlled by the Hosokawa. Merchants from Sakai, which had developed into an international trading port, filled the gap and began to make frequent trips directly to Ryūkyū with the object of procuring the highly sought products from the southern seas. One such person was, for example, Yukawa Sen'a, who visited Ryūkyū in order to obtain goods from Ryūkyū meant for a Japanese tribute mission to depart for China in 1476. However, the Hosokawa found another way of participating in the Ryūkyū trade. On the 5th day of the 11th month. Ōta Yukiyo, captain of the gateguards at the imperial palace (*emon no jō*) and a personal retainer of Hosokawa Katsumoto, issued a document³⁸⁷ by means of which the Keicho branch of the Hosokawa family established their own route from Sakai to Ryūkyū. Accordingly, merchant ships bound for Ryūkyū had to bear a document authenticated by the impression of the Hosokawa's seal (*inbanjō*). This document and seal provided Sakai merchant ships to Ryūkyū with protective escorts by Inland Sea pirates such as Miyake Kunihide, who escorted the trading ships from Sakai to southern Kyūshū, while in the seas south of Kyūshū protection was provided by the Shimazu. Ships from Sakai to Ryūkyū not accredited by the Hosokawa would be cracked down upon by these Inland Sea pirates and the Shimazu naval forces. The Hosokawa seal system on the Sakai-Ryūkyū route was definitely continued to be used until the end of the fifteenth century, and it may be said to have continued to operate until the early sixteenth century, when the Shimazu slashed Miyake Kunihide at Bōnotsu.³⁸⁸

The Ōuchi Family

Contacts between the Ōuchi family and Ryūkyū began in the mid-fifteenth century, during the time of Ōuchi Norihiro. Under Ōuchi Masahiro two missions were sent to Ryūkyū apparently in order to obtain large quantities of quality products from Southeast Asia to be used as goods for a Japanese tribute mission to Ming China. Furthermore, the Ōuchi presented the shōgun and court nobles (*kuge*) in Kyōto with so-called Chinese goods (*karamono*) from China and Southeast Asia, which they sourced in Ryūkyū. The Ryūkyūan Zen temple Tenkaiji acted as the Ōuchi's contact. In the late fifteenth century large numbers of temple bells were cast in Ryūkyū, most of which were Japanese-style bells (*washō*) and according to the inscriptions they were made by Japanese bell founders (*imajō*), many of which were from Ōuchi.³⁸⁹

In the sixteenth century Asia became the hotly contested economic region for European powers, most notably the Portuguese, which occupied Malacca in 1511 and thus destroyed the Muslim trade network. Apparently Ryūkyū didn't see any more advantage in further trade with Portugal-controlled Malacca and withdrew from it. This was the beginning of the gradual decline of Ryūkyū's Golden Age of Trade. Ryūkyū turned towards the tributary trade with Ming China instead and also began to shift its focus to Japanese markets. At about the same time, following the Meiō upheavals, the power of the Ashikaga Shōgun crumbled. Both the Ōuchi and Hosokawa were deeply involved in this process and, also first

³⁸⁶ Itō 2008: 80-82, 85.

³⁸⁷ Shimazu-ke Monjo: Emon no jō Yukiyo Hōsho (島津家文書: 右衛門尉行頼奉書).

³⁸⁸ Itō 2008: 86-87.

³⁸⁹ Uezato 2008: 68. Itō 2008: 87. Itō surmised that many of the Ryūkyūan bells from this period were produced by casters from Ōuchi territory, including the two bells of the Enkakuji, and thus constitute a material evidence of the close relationship between the Ōuchi and Ryūkyū at the time. Itō 2008: 88.

CHAPTER 8

Edo-nobori

FOLLOWING THE Shimazu invasion of 1609, Ryūkyū was placed under suzerainty of the Satsuma fief and the government in Edo. On one hand, Ryūkyū was now obligated to send congratulatory envoys (*keigashi*) for the appointment or succession of a new Shōgun in Edo. In case a new king of Ryūkyū inherited the throne, on the other hand a gratitude envoy (*shaonshi*) for the recognition of the new king was sent to Edo. These trips were called Edo-nobori, or going up to Edo, and generated the possibility of cultural exchange between Ryūkyū and Japan. The orders for dispatching both these types of envoys were issued by Satsuma, which also controlled and managed every little detail of the entire journey. Between 1634 and 1850 there were eighteen such Edo-nobori.

A large number of people participated in the processions. In 1710, for instance, the procession included 168 Ryūkyūans and 4,147 Satsuma men. During the journey, and during their stay in Edo, Satsuma gave the impression to rule over an exotic, foreign land related to China. For this reason the Ryūkyū-embassy was prohibited to exhibit “Yamato-manners,” such as typical Japanese clothing and language. Instead, the Ryūkyūans were generally required to display a maximum of uniqueness and to accentuate their foreignness, wearing native or Chinese clothes and native hairdo, played native and Chinese songs on their peculiar musical instruments, performed native theater and displayed their customs. Juvenile musicians, master musicians and dancers—which were almost exclusively young aristocrats—accounted for a large part of the delegations. The processions (*gyōretsu*) were orchestrated by the Satsuma fief and added to the picture the Japanese, high and low, were intended to get of Ryūkyū. The Satsuma fief could boast having a foreign state under its domination.⁵³² Although the various music, Ryūka and the like that were performed were recorded in detail with all instruments and performers,⁵³³ other practical performances, including possible martial arts, were not mentioned. The mere ceremonial weaponry used by the Ryūkyūans and the non-military appearance during these missions—especially in comparison to the vast weaponry displayed by the accompanying legation of Shimazu—may thus be considered to be part of that orchestrated picture.

An Edo-nobori in the Early Eighteenth Century

For the Edo-nobori⁵³⁴ the legation started from Naha on local Ryūkyū ships and traveled from island to island up to Kagoshima in Satsuma, overall about 750 km. From Kagoshima special Japanese ships were available for the chief and vice envoys, while the entourage

⁵³² Matsuda 2001: 49. Beillevalaire 2000: I, 6. The curiosity and interest aroused among the Japanese by these Satsuma-led Ryūkyūan processions are reflected in a number of works produced in Japan, which are described in Sakamaki 1963: 91-96.

⁵³³ See, for instance, the descriptions in the TIR-RKB.

⁵³⁴ Compiled for the year 1710 from data provided by articles from the following sources: - Ryūkyū Kafu: Shuri-kei, Naha Tomari-kei, Kumemura-kei. In: ORJ, Vol. 5. - Ryūkyū Chūzan-Ō Ryōshisha Tojō-gyōretsu. 1710/11/18 (year of the tiger): Prozession of the two envoys of the Ryūkyū Chūzan king to the castle. - Chūzan-ō Raichō-zu, ORJ, is a picture scroll showing the fleet of the 1710 Edo-nobori on its way to Japan. - Ryūkyū-jin gyōretsu-zu, ORJ. TIR-RKB. Binkenstein 1941, Vol. 4 (1): 256-69, who for his analysis of processions to Edo besides general chronicles and historical works used special representations that emerged around 1800. Among sources of descriptive content were Ryūkyū-dan Denshin-ki, Ryūkyū Nyūkō Kiryaku, Chūsan Heishi-ryaku, Ryūkyū-jin Daigyōretsu-ki, Ryūkyū-jin Raichō-ki, and Ryūkyū-jin Gyōretsu-ki. Illustrated scrolls or picture sheets illustrating the course of a procession, with little Japanese text in book format or just folded, were Ryūkyū-jin Raichō Gyōretsu-zu, Ryūkyū-jin Gyōretsu-tsuketari, Ryūkyū-jin Raichō-gyōretsu no Zu, and Ryūkyū Heishi-ryaku.

continued on a Ryūkyū ship, accompanied by sixty-five barges (*agenifune*) and sixty-five service vessels (*kashobune*). The route went from Kagoshima northward along the west coast of Kyūshū, through the Seto Inland Sea and then upstream the Yodogawa in today's Ōsaka Prefecture, overall about 750 km.

The main part of the fleet consisted of six ships of the type Kawagozafune, two or three smaller escort boats of similar design from lower sovereigns, and one Ryūkyū junk. Other Daimyō provided escort boats. From Ōsaka to Fushimi in Kyōto the ships were pulled with ropes by approximately 450 persons. Then the group traveled on foot from Fushimi to Edo. The distance from Ōsaka to Edo was about 500 km in total. The envoys were accompanied by musicians who often were young aristocrats and would present various performances in the Satsuma fief, en route, as well as in front of the Shōgun in Edo.

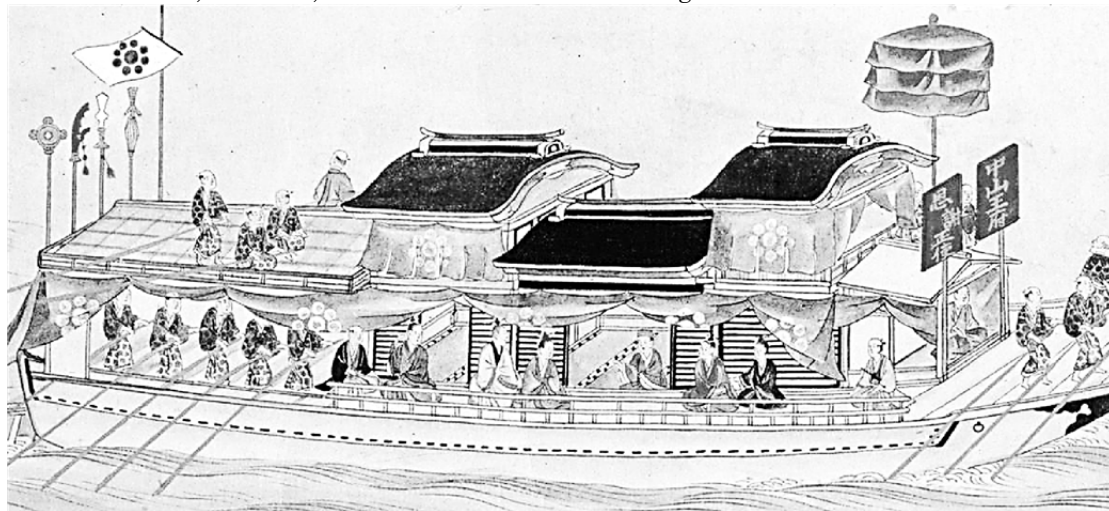


Figure III-3: Ship with a Ryūkyūan envoy during the Edo-nobori in 1710.⁵³⁵

The Japanese Units

The vanguard of the procession was formed by more than 4000 persons affiliated to the Shimazu house, led in units under their respective high-ranking leaders and exhibiting three to six different kinds of weapons on average.

Description of a Japanese Party

Horsemen, thirty archers with quivers and three boxes of arrows, on horse the leader of the archers (*yumigashira*), spears (*yari*), Hasamibako, thirty bearers of long-spears decorated with white feathers (*nagae shiro-torike*) and mother-of-pearl handles, on horse the leader of the long-spear bearers (*varigashira*), thirty shooters with firearms (*teppō*), one sumpter, five guided horses, ten luggage Hasamibako, parasols, crossbows (*dohyō*), quivers (*utsubo*), small bows (*hankyū*) and arrows with eagle feathers, flagpoles and two chests with flags (*hatabako*), four sets of bow racks, pair of Hasamibako, two bear skins, two spears decorated with white yak tail hair (*shirokuma-yari*), one halberd decorated with white feathers (*ōtorike naginata*), sixty pedestrians, two persons with swords carried in barrels (*katana-zutsu*), retinue, lances with chestnut-skin-like scabbards made from birds feathers (*ōtorike*), lances with scabbards made from fur and the like (*tsui no nagezaya*), one cross-headed spear decorated with white yak tail hair (*shirokuma jūmonji*), one spear decorated with white feathers, three guided horses, two loads of Bentō boxes, twenty-five Hasamibako, ten retainers with spears, six physicians, two guided horses, two armor chests, two sets of bow racks, a pair of Hasamibako, one pair of spear-halberds (*yari-naginata*) decorated with feathers, ten pedestrians, two guided horses, one armor chest, two sets of bow racks, a pair

⁵³⁵ Chūzan-O Raichō-zu, ORJ, Vol. 5.

appropriate to consider that security issues have been discussed and planned together with the Chinese authorities prior to the actual investiture missions, and an exchange of security-related issues seems inevitable.



Figure IV-1: The Tenshikan as depicted in the Liuqiuguo Zhilüe, 1759.

The regular appearance of the term Bamenguan for Tenshikan gateguards in genealogical entries only begins in 1719. It must therefore be seen in connection with the reorganization and new features of the kingdom's security system, i.e., the reduction in number and the ascription of ranks to this group of persons. Prior to this and just as in case of the different guards of Shuri castle, these Tenshikan gateguards have almost certainly been rankless members from rural families, which explains why no earlier entries are found in the genealogies. If it would have been persons from Kumemura—who all had the status of aristocrats—it would have been noticed in the genealogies.

And from Arai Hakuseki we know that “the Qing officers guarding the Ryūkyūkan (in Fujian) are called Bamenguan,”⁷⁷⁶ thus perfectly corresponding to the term used for the Tenshikan gateguards in the genealogies. One further term used only one time is “Guard at the four gates of the Tenshikan,”⁷⁷⁷ given for 1756/10/28 for Yohena Chikudun Pēchin Chiyui, who had been awarded silver by the imperial envoys for his service.⁷⁷⁸

Table of Notices of the Tenshikan Gateguards in the Genealogies

Table IV-17: Notices of the Tenshikan Gateguards in the Genealogies

clan (house)	gen. name	issued	place	from
Kin	11 Hei	1719/06/01	For the Imperial investiture envoys temporarily appointed Gateguard Tsūji, where he served diligently every day. The Imperial Envoys returned home on 02/16 the following year. So his duty ended.	Kumemura
Mō (Yoseyama)	4 To-tsūji Jotoku	1719/06/11	At the time of arrival of the Imperial investiture envoys he became gateguard until the 8 th month, then changed and became Tsūji of the Department of Assessment until the 11 th month and again changed	Kumemura

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. TIR-RKB 23, referring to Arai Hakuseki's Ryūkyū-oku Jiryaku.

⁷⁷⁷ 天使館四隅閑番.

⁷⁷⁸ See genealogy: 新参衡姓家譜 (饒平名家) 饒平名筑登之親雲上知唯.

EARLY MODERN RYŪKYŪ–SECURITY-RELATED DUTIES

				and became Tsūji of the Bureau of Attendants until the 2 nd month the following year.	
Kō (Wauke)	11	Shiken	1719/06/11	For the return of the Treasure Ship he was appointed to the Bureau of Attendants until the 06/25. For the Imperial Envoys his duty was transferred and he was appointed as gateguard taking charge of four (obviously Chinese) gate- and bodyguards simultaneous take care of affairs of the Department of Assessment.	Kumemura
Tei (Yoza)	5	Shūsai Shijō	1719/06/11	At the time of arrival of the Imperial investiture envoys he became Gateguard Tsūji. On 02/16 the following year the Imperial Envoys returned home and this official duty ended.	Kumemura
Kin	11	Totsūji Nai	1719/06/11	As an additional post he became temporary Gateguard for the Imperial investiture envoys. When the Imperial investiture envoys returned home the following year 02/16, this official duty ended.	Kumemura
Ryō (Aka)	5	Kokuren	1755/09/28	Received royal order at the time of the investiture become Gateguard Government Official, 1757/01/30 this official duty ended	Kumemura
Kō (Wauke)	12	Isashigawa <i>WSh</i> Heiken	1755/09/28	Because the arrival of the Imperial investiture envoys he was ordered to become Tenshikan Gateguard.	Kumemura
Tei (Yoza)	6	Tenyū	1756/09	became gateguard Tsūji for the investiture envoys coming to the country	Kumemura
Tei (Ikemiyagi)	15	Kokushu	1756/09/16	Became gateguard	Kumemura
Sai	14	Shin	1799/10/15	took charge of the gateguards for the large state ceremony. 1800/05/12 the Imperial Envoys honored Naha port with their presence. This official duty ended 1800/10/20.	Kumemura
Kō	5	Yohena <i>ChP</i> Chiyui	1756/10/28	Guard at the four gates of the Tenshikan	Naha/Tomari
Sai (Gushi)	14	Tokubō	1799/10/15	became gateguard at the time of the Imperial investiture envoys	Kumemura
Son (Ōmine)	6	Kōyū	1800/04	served as an attaché for the Imperial investiture envoys as well as Gateguard and Security officer. This official duty ended in the 10 th month	Kumemura
Chin (Nakamoto)	13	Yuken	1800/09/01	became gateguard	Kumemura
Tei (Miyagi)	7	Kokuhō	1800/12/27	became Tsūji and promoted to Waka-satonushi (he was bestowed upon this rank due to his meritorious services on occasion of the investiture, where he acted as gateguard)	Kumemura
Mō (Yoseyama)	7	Yōsen	1807/11/13	on the occasion of the investiture he was granted the government official post of a Gateguard. 1807/12 he became Estuary Manager (Tsūji) of the Department in charge of investiture matters.	Kumemura
Haku (Kuniyoshi)	9	Kuniyoshi <i>Ch</i> Ryōshō	1808/03/19	Clerk gateguard	Naha/Tomari
Kin	15	Jōhō	1837/07/06	became gateguard for Investiture affairs. In the following year 10/11 this official duty ended.	Kumemura
Sai (Uehara)	15	Hōsa	1837/07/16	Due to preparations for the large investiture ceremony, he became gateguard. 1838/05/18 the Imperial Envoys honored Naha port with their presence until the same year 10/14, investiture ships returned to China and this official duty ended.	Kumemura
Kin	16	Seigen	1837/09/11	Became Gateguard Kasei Tsūji for Investiture affairs. In the following year 10/11 this official duty ended.	Kumemura
Hei (Ōshiro)	3	An'in	1838/08/14	became Gateguard Clerk for the Crown ship.	Naha/Tomari
Kin (Toyosato)	15	Sei'i	1865/02/17	Because the arrival of the investiture envoys as distinguished guests in 1866 he was ordered to become Gateguard. In 1867/11 the Imperial Envoys returned home and this official duty ended	Kumemura

Continuing with material gleaned from Western sources, in 1832 Klaproth correctly noted that “*Les présens que le roi de Riou kiou envoie à l'empereur du Japon, consistent en sabres.*”¹¹⁵⁰ Gutzlaff in 1834 noted that the Ryūkyūans are, “however, by no means those simple and innocent beings which we might at first suppose them to be. Upon inquiry we found that they had among them the same severe punishments as at Corea; that they possessed arms likewise, but are averse to use them.”¹¹⁵¹ Elijah Coleman Bridgman, publisher of *The Chinese Repository*, in 1837 noted that the military weapons and various modes of punishment prevalent in the country are the same as in China.¹¹⁵² Samuel Wells Williams noted that his group saw no arms, neither swords, nor matchlocks, nor knives and draw a comparison between the Japanese and the Ryūkyūans to the “Philistines when ruling over the Hebrews,” who “had taken away their arms, and forbade them the usage of weapons.”¹¹⁵³ And thus the notion of the weaponless kingdom continued to exist.

From the First Opium War to the Opening of Japan

From the mid-eighteenth century to 1840 the British East India Company emerged as the world's largest drug dealer. China under the Qing was unable to stop the import of opium and slid into the First Opium War (1839-42). Defeated by the modern army of the British Empire with relative ease, the decline of the once unlimited Chinese hegemony in Asia was launched, gradually deadening its scope to that of an informal colony of Western powers. As the British captain Belcher termed it, the Ryūkyūans supposed “that as we had punished the Chinese we were masters of the world.”¹¹⁵⁴ The Treaty of Nanking in 1842 made Fuzhou one of five Chinese treaty ports completely open to Western merchants and missionaries. Qing China's decline was further marked by the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) and the Second Opium War (1856-1860), which were accompanied by a reorganization of the Qing military.¹¹⁵⁵ These events, naturally, resulted in a shift of the Japanese and Satsunan perspective towards Western visitors to Ryūkyū, too. Their significance was increased by the fact that many of the Western vessels were straightforward warships manned with guard under arms, all officers wearing swords, and the marines equipped with bayonet rifles. In Miyako, British captain Belcher reported on “traces of warlike habits,”¹¹⁵⁶ namely the existence of walls “which only required the presence of guns to constitute a battery, [...] furnished with a loop-holed screen in front to serve the use of archers or matchlocks. These works might have been constructed either as a defence against the Chinese or Ladrone pirates, which formerly infested these seas, or they may have furnished a stronghold to the pirates themselves.”¹¹⁵⁷ Although “the use of firearms or of any offensive weapon is unknown” among the inhabitants of Miyako, coercive force was a frequent means used by the Miyako officials, and although they would often substitute the bamboo for the fan, they were “not unsparing in their methods of coercion.” Stringent laws and more serious punishment must have existed “as the most abject permission and endurance of punishment, though we saw nothing beyond that inflicted by a stroke of bamboo, appeared to be submitted to cheerfully, and to have a powerful effect on the bystanders.” It was probably from this reason that “they

¹¹⁴⁹ Beechey 1831: 189-90.

¹¹⁵⁰ Klaproth 1832: 179.

¹¹⁵¹ Gutzlaff 1834: 368. Okinawa, which Gutzlaff reached in August 1832, is described in Chapter VII: 289-296.

¹¹⁵² Anonymous (E.C.Bridgman) 1837: 117.

¹¹⁵³ Williams 1837: 226.

¹¹⁵⁴ Belcher 1848, I: 322.

¹¹⁵⁵ For details see McCord 1993: 19-30.

¹¹⁵⁶ Belcher 1848, I: 77.

¹¹⁵⁷ Belcher 1848, I: 84.

Jean-Baptiste Cécille reached Okinawa in 1846 and demanded trade relations in the name of France. The demands were declined by the Ryūkyūan government and the French squadron left for Japan, “but hinting darkly that French warships would come again to make known the French king’s reaction to Shuri’s unsatisfactory answer.”¹¹⁶⁴ Cécille’s interlocutor in the negotiations had been named Kuja, that is, Kunigami Anji Seishū. Meanwhile, “Cécille’s show of force in Okinawa, together with the protracted stay of missionaries on the island, had important consequences in Japan. The news of the French insistence to conclude a treaty with Ryūkyū, duly reported to Edo by the lord of Satsuma, rang the alarm among high-ranking officials. After a series of tense discussions, the shōgun himself, upon the advice of his chief-councilor Abe Masahiro, secretly granted Satsuma the authorisation to trade with the French, should the latter prove unbending.”¹¹⁶⁵ Gravière reported,

Nous avons demandé à ne pas être suivis par la police, espérant que notre promenade en deviendrait plus libre et plus intéressante; mais le bambou des kouannins, invisible pour nous, n’en planait pas moins sur les épaules de ces pauvres gens.¹¹⁶⁶

This is confirmed by the following citation dated to 1849 again showing the state of affairs and authority the feudal bureaucratic regime had over its citizens:

No police or military were requisite to keep order among this large assembly, one wave of the fan by either of our mandarin conductors being sufficient to make the whole mass fall back in an instant to the right and left.¹¹⁶⁷

In 1850 Bettelheim noted that “According to the statutes of this country, all prisoners are taken cognizance of by the criminal judge alone,”¹¹⁶⁸ referring to the official called Gokukan, to be understood as Official for Law and Punishment, that is, the Ōyako of the Department of Justice (*hirajo*). Crimes are said to have not been numerous and appear to be confined to “petty larceny and occasional public robbery; but the police are vigilant and effective.”¹¹⁶⁹ Also in 1850, George Smith quite properly described the circumstances of the Ryūkyūan officials monitoring Bettelheim, such as “various symptoms of secret espionage adopted by the authorities,” and “a small building [...] forming a shelter for the police agents,” and generally “the agency of spies.” These, to some degree, provide clues to the general mode of law in the kingdom.¹¹⁷⁰

First of all, the personal policeman assigned to Smith and his group was a subordinate of the Magistrate of Naha (*Naha satonushi*). This policeman united “in his person the offices of interpreter, counsellor, spy, and police-inspector; for which functions his astute countenance and plausible bearing seemed abundantly to qualify him.”¹¹⁷¹

As in the other descriptions Smith also noted that the police agents had such authority that they cleared the roads and lanes of every Ryūkyūan by a mere wave of their fans. Several watchmen or soldiers manned a guard-house or Bandokoro and in one scene Ryūkyūan attendants acting as kind of body-guard were drawn up opposite of the sailors and marines.¹¹⁷² Smith also provided a description of Ryūkyū, borrowed from a manuscript written by Bettelheim some month prior to October 1850. From this it gets apparent that

¹¹⁶⁴ Kerr 1958: 278.

¹¹⁶⁵ Beillevaire 2000: I, 22.

¹¹⁶⁶ Gravière 1854: 234.

¹¹⁶⁷ Halloran 1856: 32-33.

¹¹⁶⁸ Bettelheim 1850: 41.

¹¹⁶⁹ Smith 1853: 74.

¹¹⁷⁰ Smith 1853: 8.

¹¹⁷¹ Smith 1853: 22-23.

¹¹⁷² Smith 1853: 46, 52, 55.

Japanese to believe that the United States would be glad to see Japan rather than another Western power or China possess it.”¹²³⁷

Subsequently, foreign minister Soejima was sent on a mission to Beijing during March-July, 1873.¹²³⁸ For this matter he had been authorized to assert Japan's sovereignty over the Ryūkyū Islands. At the same time Soejima clearly envisioned the acquisition of Taiwan as the “throat of Asia,” either by force and diplomacy. China, on the other hand, maintained her perspective that the Taiwan incident was not Japan's business, since Ryūkyū was a member of the Chinese tributary system (*sappō*). Soejima was cautious as regards a war with China. Japan's army was still small and finances tight at the time, so the outcome was unpredictable. However, councilor Saigō Takamori and Kagoshima prefectural governor Ōyama Tsunayoshi supported an expedition to give vent to the anger of their samurai evoked by the recent conscription law and the intention to reduce samurai stipends. At the same time Saigō was motivated by a larger ambition to protect Japan by means of dominating Asia, saying, “we must advance to Korea; and to protect Hokkaido, we must advance to Possiet Bay.” Saigō's idea of a Korean expedition—intended were 50,000 troops—won over Soejima and was also backed up by the Minister of Justice, Etō Shinpei, an expansionist who already had presented the government with an outline plan of the conquest in Asia.¹²³⁹

The Taiwan Issue following the return of the Iwakura Mission

Following the return of the Iwakura mission in September 1873 things took a different turn. Iwakura, Ōkubo and others were prone to resolve all main foreign issues—Taiwan, Korea, and the Russian advances—by negotiations. In October 1873, in the Council of State, the Iwakura coalition clashed with the “war party” among the caretakers—Soejima, Saigō and other military men—over the question of military action against Korea and Taiwan. In the emperor's presence, decision went against the “war party”, and both military expeditions were rejected on October 23.¹²⁴⁰ The backers of the Korean and Taiwan expeditions resigned, including Etō Shinpei, Saigō Takamori, Satsuma police officials and imperial guardsmen, who returned to their prefectures.

The samurai class continued to demand action towards Korea. On January 14, 1874, an assassination attempt on Iwakura took place and shortly afterwards the Korean and Taiwan issues were resumed. In early February news of the Saga rebellion under former caretaker Etō Shinpei reached Tōkyō. While the Meiji government sent troops to crush the Saga rebellion, the Korean and Sakhalin policies were adopted and in late February 1874, Ōkubo and Iwakura authorized an expedition against aboriginal Taiwan. The troops under command of Saigō Tsugumichi, Saigō Takamori's brother and later “minister of war,” embarked in late April and early May. Due to diplomatic reservations of the Western powers, the central government ordered Saigō to stay put at Nagasaki, yet he ignored the order, went to Taiwan and chastised the aboriginal clan to his satisfaction.¹²⁴¹ The envoy dispatched by the Japanese government reached China too late, which suddenly sent forces to claim sovereignty over all of Taiwan including the aboriginal regions, thereby confirming her jurisdiction for the murder of the Ryūkyūans in 1871. Japan avoided a confrontation and pulled out their troops. In autumn, Ōkubo Toshimichi in charge of the political management of the Taiwan affair went to China for negotiations. He played a bold game and although he had to concede sovereignty over Taiwan to China, he won reparation payments for the murdered Ryūkyūans, thus strengthening Japan's claim over Ryūkyū.

¹²³⁷ Mayo 1972: 798, 801-803, 805.

¹²³⁸ On Soejima's mission to Beijing in 1873, see Black 1883: 399-406.

¹²³⁹ Mayo 1972: 803, 805-807, 811-812.

¹²⁴⁰ Kerr 1958: 358.

¹²⁴¹ As the incident later turned out good for Japan, Saigō received no penalty for his disobedience. Quiet on the contrary, he was treated like a war hero.

Furthermore, in the agreement the Ryūkyūans were referred four times as “subjects of Japan.”¹²⁴²

Recoil on Ryūkyū

We have seen that despite the unilateral proclamation of the Ichiji-Narahara mission to cancel the tributary relations with China, Ryūkyū decided to continue sending tribute missions both in 1872 and 1874.¹²⁴³ So, while in Beijing, Ōkubo learned to his chagrin that a Ryūkyūan tribute mission had reached Beijing while he was there. He “demanded the envoys to be brought in front of him,” but was refused. It was to become Ryūkyū’s last tribute mission to China and thus five-hundred years of tributary relations ended.¹²⁴⁴ Ōkubo took this event as the occasion to reprimand Ryūkyū. In 1875 he ordered Ryūkyū to break off all relations with China and to close the Ryūkyūkan trading depot in Fuzhou.¹²⁴⁵ Summoned by Ōkubo, the new envoys Ikegusuku Uēkata Anki, Yonabaru Uēkata Ryōketsu, and Kōchi Pēchin Chōjō (Shō Tokukō) reached Tōkyō in May the same year, and were presented the following requirements:¹²⁴⁶

1. the King was to come to Tōkyō,
2. Meiji era names were to be adopted (and the Chinese calendar discarded)
3. the Meiji Criminal law codes were to be adopted
4. the administrative organization of the Shuri government was to be revised according to the regulations of the Home Ministry,
5. ten youth’s selected by Shuri were to be send to Tōkyō for education.
6. a military garrison was to be established.

On May 8, Ōkubo, becoming more and more coercive, announced the end of further negotiations and the dispatch of a garrison force drawn from Kumamoto to Okinawa. Ikegusuku Uēkata and Yonabaru Uēkata wanted to refer with Shuri first, but Ōkubo, tired of the waiting game, decided to change tactics to a direct on-site intervention.¹²⁴⁷ Matsuda Michiyuki, Chief secretary of the Home Ministry, was dispatched with a suitable number of aides, and reached Naha on July 10 and issued a directive in Shuri castle as regards the reformation of the feudal domain. It included the explicit order to sever the tribute relations with China and to abolish the Fuzhou Ryūkyūkan. The detachment from the Kumamoto Division also landed and the Okinawa garrison was established. Official ranks were reclassified and distributed among the Shuri gentry, with salaries paid from the local government treasury: the king was given first-class court rank, the regent (*sesse*) only fourth rank, and the three Sanshikan only sixth rank, rendering the Ryūkyūans powerless as compared to their Japanese counterparts in any negotiations.¹²⁴⁸

In face of the looming loss of their century-old comfortable prerogatives, a boiling debate of the pros and cons among the subsidized academic and clerical gentry of Ryūkyū ran high.¹²⁴⁹ As Newman put it, “After Japan annexed the Ryukyus, she lopped off the upper classes there, placing almost everyone in commoner’s status. What remained of the indigenous

¹²⁴² Mayo 1972: 816, 818-819. Kerr 1958: 358-60.

¹²⁴³ Japan Gazette, August 23, 1879 “The Loochooan Difficulty” translation of a letter addressed by the King of Loochoo to the Government of China, from Shanghai Courier. Japan Daily Herald, 10th October 1879, “The Loo Choo Question and General Grant.” In: Beillevaire II, Vol. 2.

¹²⁴⁴ There are indications that Ryūkyū kept trying to send tribute missions until 1876, but the ships were not cleared by the Japanese authorities at Naha harbor.

¹²⁴⁵ Japan Gazette, August 23, 1879 “The Loochooan Difficulty” translation of a letter addressed by the King of Loochoo to the Government of China, from Shanghai Courier. Japan Daily Herald, 10th October 1879, “The Loo Choo Question and General Grant.” In: Beillevaire II, Vol. 2.

¹²⁴⁶ Kerr 1958: 367-68. Chūzan Seifu, Appendix Vol. 7: King Shō Tai, 1875.

¹²⁴⁷ Kerr 1958: 370, 372.

¹²⁴⁸ Kerr 1958: 366. Uechi 1977: 389.

¹²⁴⁹ Kerr 1958: 372-73. Uechi 1977: 389.

Ryūkyū culture was only the peasant part of it. The esoteric character of the upper-class native life was lost, to be replaced by Japanese customs.”¹²⁵⁰ Riots occurred here and there with crowds gathering in front of Matsuda’s headquarters. Ryūkyūan officials who participated in the conferences abused and interfered with as they passed. Ie Ōji and Ginowan Uēkata, held responsible by the gentry for accepting the Japanese memorial of 1872 and its aftermath, became exposed to public attack and abuse. Matsuda left to Tōkyō in September, with Nakijin Ōji and six students instead of the planned ten.¹²⁵¹

Brewing Trouble in the Slipstream

As indicated by the resignation of many of the caretakers after the rejection of the military campaign to Korea in October 1873, and the subsequent Saga rebellion under former caretaker Etō Shinpei, inside Japan revolt against the Meiji government was brewing.

The abolition of the samurai class as a consequence of the establishment of modern armed forces based on conscription was one major focus of the early Meiji Restoration. The army to overthrow the Tokugawa government during the Boshin war was mainly composed from samurai of Satsuma and Chōshū. In February 1871 about 10,000 troops were combined under the direct control of the government, provided by Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa. The government confiscated castles, weapons and ammunition throughout Japan and established four garrisons in Tōkyō, Ōsaka, Sendai and Kumamoto as a standing army for the suppression of possible uprisings. Yet, the nucleus of the new army still consisted of voluntary samurai from the former fiefs. Following the abolition of the feudal fiefs and establishment of the prefectures later in 1871, the government had to pay these soldiers. In order to reduce the financial burden and simultaneously to use the released funds for the modernization of the army, in January 1873 compulsory military service was introduced under the principle of the equality of the former four classes.¹²⁵² The conscription law was a major reason for resentment among the samurai, amplified by the discontinuation of their stipends and the prohibition of wearing swords in public in 1876.

After Saigō Takamori had returned to Satsuma 1873, and while the government was busy to consolidate its power, he did so only to emerge as the leader of the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, with some forty thousand men risen in arms¹²⁵³ and “a full-scale rebellion against the Meiji leaders and their renovation policies.”¹²⁵⁴ With 7000 casualties this was the largest civil war in the history of modern Japan,¹²⁵⁵ which “although the rebellious elements were oppressed—laid the groundwork for the ‘official’ policy of imperialistic conquest after a period of strengthening.”¹²⁵⁶ In May 1878, as an aftershock of the Satsuma rebellion, Ōkubo Toshimichi, who so stringently had followed the path of incorporating Ryūkyū into young Meiji Japan, was assassinated.¹²⁵⁷

Naturally, it is easy to adopt the notion that Saigō and other ex-samurai were the sole militant wing in early Meiji, while the Meiji government under Iwakura were the moderate and “enlightened.” Yet, Calman argues that economic gain through a sustainable movement toward overseas expansion was already the core issue behind the 1873 crisis following the return of the Iwakura mission. Seeing it as a “culmination of forces and movements extending over a long period of time, and not as something springing up within a few years,”¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁰ Newman 1948: 398-99.

¹²⁵¹ Kerr 1958: 367, 373.

¹²⁵² Epkenhans/Gross 2003: 187.

¹²⁵³ Kerr 1958: 375.

¹²⁵⁴ Mayo 1972: 798.

¹²⁵⁵ Epkenhans/Gross 2003: 187.

¹²⁵⁶ Krebs 1994: 861.

¹²⁵⁷ Kerr 1958: 375.

¹²⁵⁸ Calman 2013: 72.

with the newer royalist movement of the Kōdōkai. Accompanied by Yomitan Chō'ei and two other persons, they met with Chōgi's older brother Meiryō, Urasoe Chōbin and another person for consultation and the fusion accomplished. At the time Chōgi's group left Fuzhou, the Boxer rebellion (*Giwadan no Ran*) in Beijing took place. In 1903 Chōgi travelled to Fuzhou again to deliver financial aid, either for his brother or the movement. And in 1906, following the demise of his older brother, he again traveled to Fuzhou for the funeral. Two and a half decades later, in 1933, Chōgi returned the remains of both his father Chōmei and his older brother from Fuzhou to Okinawa, where they were buried in a tomb in Shuri.

Yoshimura Chōgi's Martial art

An example of old style martial arts tradition can be seen in 3rd generation Yoshimura Chōmei. He taught his sons Meiryō and Chōgi in the martial arts and in addition instructed Kanagusuku Sanda (Kinjō Masanra), who became famous as a constable (*Ufuchiku*) and master of Saijutsu.¹³⁶⁰

4th generation Chōgi (1866-1945) was the second oldest son of Chōmei and Makamado-kane, the oldest daughter of Ie Ōji Chōken from the royal Shō-family. Chōgi's Chinese name was Shō Meitoku, his *nom de plume* was Jinsai.¹³⁶¹ As Chōgi left his Autobiographic Martial Arts Records¹³⁶² a closer look at an aristocrat's martial lifestyle and the persons involved during the late 19th century is possible.

As the second-born son of an influential family I grew up on a spacious stately property (in Shuri Akabira), with many servants attending me, and I was able to behave as unconcerned and *ad libitum* as I desired. however, was also subjected to strict family rules. On the other hand, however, as my ancestry made an extensive education necessary, I had to comply with the strict rules of my clan, receiving a disciplined upbringing and learning the sciences as well as different arts.

My late father Chōmei was above all a martial arts aficionado. He held the view that 'Among the skills of the samurai the art of war (*budō*) is the most important thing.' I was introduced to Karate at the age of eleven. My then teacher was a man named Ishimine, who was about sixty years of age at the time. He was the administrator of our stately property and took care of the bookkeeping and all sorts of other business matters of our family.¹³⁶³ Every day I practiced Naifanchi and Passai in the spacious garden. Of course, training took place during my free time, that is after my actual work with writing exercises, studies, etc. Every now and then I invented an excuse and was lazy. Nevertheless, I practiced two years quite properly. This was at the time of the abolition of the feudal system and the establishment of prefectures.

At the age of seventeen, that is around 1883/84, I had reached the handsome age of manhood. About this time I began to seriously pursue training with Bushi Matsumura. I remember the honorable Matsumura had already passed the age of seventy at that time. We served together as royal guards at the Southern Parks (*Nan'en, Shikina-en*). I mainly trained Ūsēshī (i.e. Gojūshiho), as well as Kūsankū. Since

¹³⁶⁰ Nakamoto 2007: 198-200.

¹³⁶¹ Narahara Tomomitsu: Okinawa-ken Jinjiroku. Naha, Okinawa-ken Jinjiroku Hensansho 1916. 植原翠邦 [友満] 編: 沖縄縣人事録. 那覇: 沖縄縣人事録編纂所、1916。

¹³⁶² Yoshimura Nisai: Jiden Budōki. In: Gekkan Bunka Okinawa. September issue, September 15, 1941. 義村仁斎: 自伝武道記. In: 月刊文化沖縄. Republished in: Yoshimura Chogi Ten (Shōsas-shi). Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 1981. 義村朝義展 (小冊子). 沖縄県立博物館.

¹³⁶³ Sūchichi スーチチ, archaic word in the kanji notation *sōkiku* 惣聞. It describes the administrator of the property of a Udun 御殿 or Dunchi 殿内, or the families associated with these elegant town houses. Among others, the Sūchichi included accountants called Jidē ジデー as well as many other kinds of employees. Cf. SNDD.

about this time my eyes gradually opened up to the martial arts and an incentive began I undauntedly maintained throughout my life. With Bushi Matsumura's personal instruction I was to become an expert myself, and one day my conduct was to become a reflection of it. The years of my awkward age had passed, giving way to a time of life experience. By the way, from the honorable Matsumura I also learned the forms of fencing with the Bokutō, the saber made in one-piece from solid wood. Matsumura's teacher had been the fencing master Ijūin from Kagoshima,¹³⁶⁴ a master of the Jigen-ryū.

In Naha, a certain Higaonna had distinguished himself as a student of the Karate expert Nagahama, and in Shuri it was Itosu as the student of the honorable Matsumura. Azato and Tawada also distinguished themselves as talented students of Matsumura. If one believes the public tattle, Tawada was less powerfully built than Azato and more of a tall, lanky person. Tawada's other teachers are unknown. From my 22 year, that is about 1888, I was a student of master Higaonna. About three times a month I went the distance from Shuri to him. Situated near the beach in Naha, in front of the Hongan-ji¹³⁶⁵ he ran a business selling firewood.

Over time, master Higaonna made the journey to our residence in Shuri, where I received his instruction. It was on a day during the first year of my training with him when it rained and stormed heavily without interruption. After concluding the lesson, which lasted from 6-10 o'clock in the evening, neither a palanquin nor any other means of transportation was available. And so master Higaonna made his nightly journey walking home the deserted streets. This image vividly remained in my memory. Of course, I also remember our conversations.

From master Higaonna I learned Sanchin as a foundation, and also Pecchūrin (i.e. Sūpārinpē). From this experience it appears to me that if one seeks to thoroughly master the ultimate secret of the art of war, learning the practical use of the extremities only would render it to remain an immature art. A strong heart has to be the fundament of the training.

Well, when ignorant people speak of Uchinadī (*Okinawa-te*) in relation to Matsumura, and of Tōdī in relation to Higaonna, then this is the reason that I use the expression "*umare bushi*" (born warrior or warlike gentleman) in context with Matsumura, and the word "Kata" in context with Ishimine, and in connection with master Higaonna I point out that it is best to avoid actual combat (*jissen*). The master's nobility of mind is the purity of heart of martial arts, or Budō Seishin. Today, after such a long time, my ignorance as regards the meaning of "actual combat" (*jissen*) has disappeared: "actual combat" (*jissen*) means to actually fight, to quarrel, it is brawling (*kenka*). That is, learning the martial arts means to apply the actual case. The scene of the fighting are the pleasure quarter. For this reason, every night one sets off to the three pleasure quarters of Tsuji, Tochi, and Nakashima, to carry out the showdown¹³⁶⁶ called Kake-dameshi.¹³⁶⁷ This is nothing but the sale and purchase of brawls, without recurring pairs of adversaries. Giving the makiwara-hardened, capable fists a try in such a fight is similar to the sword-cut test (*kiri dameshi*) of Japan's main island. I remember that Matsumura told such a story of

¹³⁶⁴ I.e. Ijūin Yashichirō 伊集院矢七郎.

¹³⁶⁵ 本願寺, also called Shinkyō-ji 真教寺 at the time. The place was later made a residential area by land reclamation. It is situated in today's Omoromachi 3-chōme 4-8-505, right behind the Okinawa Prefectural Museum & Art Museum.

¹³⁶⁶ Ude dameshi 腕だめし.

¹³⁶⁷ 掛け試し. Oki.: カキダミシ. A wild bout.

the unarmed test of boxing skills (*tekobushi*). When he was in office as a servant of King Shō Kō it happened about twenty times. According to the order of the king he fought a wild bull, and when he struck at it with his fist, it toppled over. For if this is true or not, I can not guarantee. Matsumura was an educated warrior and produced good calligraphies.

Slightly deviating from the order of this text I'd like to note some things concerning the Karate of my older brother Chōshin. Although I do not know exactly what path his career took in this regard, I can tell that because he was of the same age as Itosu he must have been younger than Ishimine. What my older brother learned I do not know, but he trained diligently under both masters for about half a year.

In addition to Karate I also studied the Kon, that is, the 1.82 m long, wooden fencing cudgel (*rokushaku-bō*) as well as the wooden sword (*bokutō*), that is, I learned these from Matsumura.

And as regards horsemanship (*bajutsu*) I started at the age of ten. Between nineteen and twenty-three years of age, i.e. around 1885-89, I studied with the famous cavalry captain Makiya.¹³⁶⁸

The fundamentals I learned on the wooden horse on our premises and later practiced at the hippodrome of Shikina. I went there about six times a month. Sometimes I went for long rides up until Yomitan. I still remember that during my young days I practiced horse-riding archery (*yabusame*) at the hippodrome of Shikina, and I also remember learning archery (*kyūdō*), which is a precious affair. The above mentioned arts I pursued about until to 1889.

Besides Budō, I also studied calligraphy, painting, singing, shamisen, as well as old Chinese medicine. Eventually I did not attain greatness in any of these. In short, I had too many desires. However, I do not regret anything because I believe that each of these things amounted in cultivation.

The author is adviser of the Okinawan Association of Calligraphy

In about the 1890 Chōgi started a trading business and from 1898 onwards he imported Chinese tea from Fuzhou, China, and his trade flourished. It is to be noted here that this tea trade took place exactly at the time when his father and older brother stayed in Fuzhou as political exiles from the anti-Japanese stubborn party. In 1904 his tea trade came to an end and Chōgi began the production of hats, manufactured from the leaf of the pandanus palm, a local specialty of Okinawa. For some time he operated a branch business in Kōbe, mainland Japan, and his overseas export prospered. In his later years he relocated to Tōkyō and Ōsaka and deepened his study of calligraphy and painting. On March 14th, 1945, prior to the evacuation of Ōsaka, he got into an air raid and lost his life at the age of seventy-nine.¹³⁶⁹

The Kojō Clan and their Family Style of Martial Arts

The ancestor of the Kojō family was a certain Sai Jō from Nan'an in Quanzhou, Fujian province in China. He came to Ryūkyū as a member of the Thirty-six Families who settled in Kume village since 1392. One branch family of the Sai clan called themselves by the

¹³⁶⁸ A book on the families horsemanship was published: Okinawa Kenritsu Toshokan: Catalogue of Regional Materials → Makiya Ke: Shintō-ryū Bashō, Shintō-ryū Bajutsu Zassho. 沖縄県立図書館『郷土資料目録』(昭和4年)→真喜屋家:神当流馬書・神当流馬術雑書。

¹³⁶⁹ OKKJ 2008: 548-49. Yoshimura Chōgi left behind around 50 works, which currently are kept in the Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan (Museum of Okinawa Prefecture). This owes to the cordiality of Chōgi's third daughter Nagasawa Sendai 長坂千代, who in September 1979—while living in Tōkyō—donated the works from her personal holdings to the museum.

as stratagems against enemies. Chen noted he had heard that in ancient times pirates conspired to murder the king of Chūzan, but the priestesses stopped their vessels by transforming water into salt, and rice into sand, and chased and killed the pirates in one fell swoop. In this way holy women provided an important sorcery-style protection for the kingdom.¹⁵⁷⁸

In Chen's supplement on the "Language of the Barbarians" we also find words for military equipment used at the time, like helmet (*buliqian*), armor (*yaoluo-yi*), swords (*dazhi*), arrows (*ya*), bows (*youni*), bowstring (*tunu*), lance (*yali*).¹⁵⁷⁹ The terms given in brackets are the phonetic pronunciation of the characters added by Chen, which clearly point to their Japanese origin, like Yoroi, Tachi, Ya, Yumi, Yari etc.

1537, Yuwan Ufunushi, Another Armed Intervention in Ōshima

The royal government in Shuri appointed various chieftains in Amami Ōshima. They had to pledge allegiance to the kingdom and to take good care of local government. Among these leaders one was called Yuwan Ufunushi. He was loyal and fulfilled his duty with filial piety. Other chieftains, however, all crafty and fawning persons, permanently were hostile towards him. At the time of the tribute payment they presented a slanderous memorial to the king, claiming that Yuwan planned to betray and revolt, and requested to quickly put the criminal to death without delay. Ōshima lies far away in the ocean, so it was difficult for King Shō Sei to get to know the real situation. Finally, confused by the alleged slander, he appointed Nesabu Uēkata as supreme commander of the expedition forces and dispatched him to track down and kill Yuwan Ufunushi. When the government army disembarked at the shore, Ufunushi looked up to the skies sighing, 'I, being without sins, assume the jaws of death; only I and the heavens know the truth.' With this he strangled himself to death. The officers took his son, called Nukanakagususku, and returned home to Okinawa. Nukanakagususku testified his father's innocence and later was appointed to rank by the king. His son (Ufu-) Urasoe Uēkata Ryōken, founder of the Ba-clan (House Oroku)¹⁵⁸⁰ was promoted to Sanshikan. And also afterwards a large number of family members would become Sanshikan. From this reason this family is considered one of the foremost noble clans of the kingdom.¹⁵⁸¹

1542, Dispute Between Chinese Merchants in Naha

Because Naha Port was one of the largest trading centers in the East China Sea region at the time, armed private maritime merchants also visited and often caused trouble. In 1542 a dispute involving assault and murder took place in Naha between the sea merchant Chen Gui from Zhangzhou in Fujian and another commercial ship from Chaozhou in Guangdong, which came to Ryūkyū for trade.¹⁵⁸² Sea merchants arriving at Naha port caused all sorts of problems, and the Ryūkyūans devised various defensive countermeasures.¹⁵⁸³

1546, Shuri Castle Defenses Strengthened

The defenses of Shuri castle were strengthened by enlarging the outer fortifications at the Keiseimon gate side of the castle.

1551 King Shō Gen Dispatched Army to Amami Ōshima

In 1551 King Shō Gen dispatched an army for counter-insurgency in Amami, using the kingdom's military organization called Hiki for this campaign.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Chen Kan: SLQL, Vol 1, 1534. In: ORJ. Vol. 8, No. 1.

¹⁵⁷⁹ 器用門；盔，不力千。甲，約羅衣。刀，答知。箭，牙。弓，由迷。弦，禿奴。鎗，牙立。

¹⁵⁸⁰ See genealogy of the Ba-clan (House Oroku) 浦添親方良憲，馬姓家譜（小緑家）。

¹⁵⁸¹ Kyūyō, article 202, extended with details from the entry Yuwan Ufunushi 与湾大親, accessed via ja.wikipedia.org, 06.02.2013.

¹⁵⁸² The Chen Gui Incident 陳貴事件. Cf. Uezato 2009: 33.

¹⁵⁸³ Noted in the Ming Shizong Shilu. Cf. Uezato 2008: 68.

1554, Yarazamori Epigraph and the Hiki

During the time of King Shō Sei, Yarazamori fort was built in 1554 as the defense base of the southern bay head of Naha harbor, with firing slits for cannon muzzles in the stone walls.¹⁵⁸⁴ Miegusuku fort at the northern bay head is thought to have been also built shortly after. The road from the coastline to Yarazamori fort stretched out in the sea of the harbor entrance, and the fort was built on the reef at the road's tip. Yarazamori was enclosed with a rectangular stone masonry and provided with a total of sixteen loopholes towards the open sea and the harbor entrance. This structure was intended for nothing but attacking unwelcomed vessels trying to enter Naha harbor. On the opposite bank of the bay was located the similar structure of Miegusuku fort. These two forts were, so to speak, the front-line artillery batteries of Ryūkyū. During this period, as a measure against pirates in the coastal areas of China, guardhouses, strongholds, forts, castles, and other military installations were defended by large firearms. It seems likely that the turrets built in Naha harbor were based on the know-how of such Chinese castle and artillery construction. For example, the batteries at Shandong and the Penglai Water Fortress (*Penglai Shuicheng*) are roughly of the same architecture as Yarazamori fort. It then also seems likely that the loopholes similarly were equipped with cannon from China. And in the early sixteenth century a new kind of cannon had been introduced to China from Portugal, called *Folangji-pao*, i.e. the "Franco cannon." Since it was used to repel the pirates it seems that it was the most modern weapon at the time.

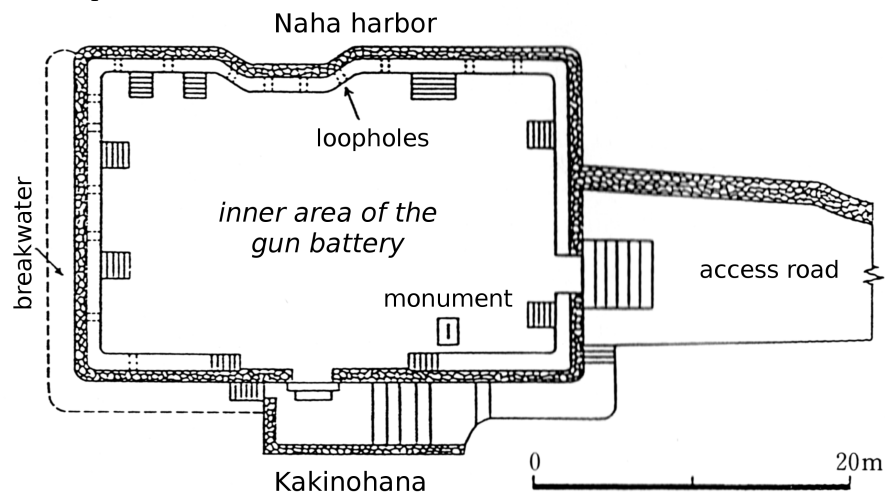


Figure VII-8: Yarazamori top view (Uezato 2000: 85).

On the epigraph on the monument commemorating the completion of Yarazamori—along with the defense of the Royal Palace and Naha city—, being the strategic position at the harbor's south bank, it is no wonder that the epigraph also reports on the defense of Kakinohana and Yarazamori fort. It was defined for cases of emergency that under military leaders called Omae of the Three Guards, one guard (regiment) would defend Shuri Castle, the troops of the second guard would guard Naha, and the troops of the third guard—together with the troops under command of the various southern districts of Haeburu, Shimasoe Ōsato, Chinen, Sashiki, Shimagiri, and Kyan—would be assigned to the defense of Kakinohana and Yarazamori fort. From this inscription it is apparent that a system of defense for the facilities with central function to the kingdom as well as the districts existed.¹⁵⁸⁵ It should be noted that the troops of the various southern districts and the troops (*hiki*) of the Three Guards constituted two individual forces. Because the various southern districts

¹⁵⁸⁴ Iha 1938: 307.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Iha 1938: 306-7. Takara 1993, I: 118.

- La Pérouse, Jean-François de Galaup: "Meeting with the inhabitants of Kumi (Yonaguni) Island." *The Journal of Jean-François de Galaup La Pérouse, 1785-1788* (Edited by John Dunmore). Hakluyt Society 1995. Vol. II, 259-261. In: Beillevaire 2000, Vol. I.
- Leavenworth, Charles S.: *The Loochoo Islands*. North-China Herald Office, Shanghai 1905.
- Lee, Tong Soon: *Chinese Street Opera in Singapore*. University of Illinois Press, 2008.
- Leturdu, Pierre-Marie: *Rapport sur Liou-Kiou, à MM. les Membres du Conseil Central de Lyon, Hongkong, Januar/Februar 1849*. Archives de la Société des Missions-Etrangères de Paris. In: Beillevaire 2000, Vol. V.
- Loon, Piet van der: *Les origines rituelles du theatre chinois*. In: *Journal Asiatique Paris*. Vol. 265, No 1-2, 1977, pp. 141-168.
- M'Leod, John: *Narrative of a Voyage, in His Majesty's Late Ship Alceste, to The Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through its Numerous Hitherto Undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lewchew; with an account of her Shipwreck in the Straits of Gaspar*. John Murray, London 1817.
- Mabuni Kenwa: *Kōbō Jizai Karate Kenpō. Sēpai no Kenkyū. Tōkyō, Karate Kenkyūsha Kōbukan 1934. Supplement: Bubishi.*
 摩文仁賢和：功防自在空手拳法。十八の研究。東京：空手研究社興武館、1934。附：『武備誌』。
- Maehira Fusaaki: 16.-17. *Seiki no okeru Ryūkyū Kaiiki to Bakufu-sei Shihai*. In: *Nihonshi Kenkyū* (Nr. 500). *Nihonshi Kenkyūkai*, 2004.
- Maehira Fusaaki: *Kaizoku Mondai kara meta Chūgoku to Ryūkyū* (China und Ryūkyū aus dem Blickwinkel der Seeräuber-Problematik). In: Murai Shōsuke: *Hachi-Jūshichi Seiki no Higashi Ajia ni okeru Hito, Mono, Shōbō no Kōryū-Kaiiki no Minatoichi no Keisei, Minzoku, Chiikikan no Sōgo Ninshiki o Chūshin ni*. Vol. 2. *Tōkyō, Tōkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Jinbunshakai Kenkyūka* 2004. ...
- Makishi Akiko: *Ryūkyū Ōoku Ichigo Seiki Chūki Ikō no Kineisei-tekina Tokuchō to Ōjō Girei. Kannin Soshoku to Ōjō Girei no Hensen*. Hosei University Repository, 2012.
 真喜志璃子：琉球王国一五世紀中期以降の畿内制的な特徴と王城儀礼-官人組織と王城儀礼の変遷.法政大学学術機関リポジトリ, 2012.
- Matsuda Hiroko: *Colonial Modernity Across the Border. Yaeyama, the Ryūkyū Islands, and Colonial Taiwan. A Thesis Submitted for The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Australian National University*. June 2006.
- Matsuda Mitsugu (松田貢): *The Government of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū, 1609-1872* 『琉球王統史 1609-1872年』 . A dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, January 1967. Japan, 2001.
- Matsuda Mitsugu: *The Ryūkyūan Government Scholarship Students to China, 1392-1868: Based on a Short Essay by Nakahara Zenchū, 1962*. In: *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 21: 3/4 (1966), pp. 273-304.
- Matsumura, Wendy: *Becoming Okinawan. Japanese capitalism and changing representations of Okinawa*. Dissertation. New York University, 2007.
- Matsuo Kanenori Sakon: *Ryūkyū Ōke Hiden Bujutsu-Karate, Bukijutsu*. Tōkyō, Baseball Magazine 1990.
 松尾兼徳左近：琉球王家秘伝武術—空手・武器術。東京：ベースボール・マガジン社、1990.
- Mayo, Marlene J.: *The Korean Crisis of 1873 and Early Meiji Foreign Policy*. In: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4. August 1972. pp. 793-819.

- palace affairs (Sōshikori), and external affairs (Sasu no Soba) 255, 280
- Bodhidharma (Damo Dashi) 達磨大師. Jp. Daruma Daishi 391
- Bōhiya 棒火矢, lit. fire-arrow cudgel 96, 119, 120, 228, 377, 416, 417
- Bōjutsu 棒術, martial art with a long staff 261, 267, 274, 299, 328, 371, 380, 388, 400, 430
- Bong Ma-ryeong 卜麻寧 (복마령 · 萬年), Korean who drifted ashore in Gajiyajima in 1450, served at King Shō Kinfuku's court 354
- Bōnotsu 坊津, port city in the southwest of Satsuma Peninsula 88, 91, 105
- Bō-odori 棒躍, non-warrior tradition of self-defense tactics, formalized into folk dances 250, 384, 428
- Bosatsu-sama 菩薩様, that is lit. the honorable Bodhisattva 389
- Bōshi 帽子, temper line of the blade point 358, 362
- Boshin Sensō 戊辰戦争, the Boshin War 1868-69, in which the Tokugawa and shōgunate forces were defeated by government troops mainly from Satsuma and Chōshū 304
- Boshin War see Boshin sensō
- Bu Idō 武爲道, Dasshin-nin 320
- Bu no Mai 武舞, military dances performed during the festivities for the Chinese investiture envoys in 1719 and 1756 405, 410
- Bu Seitatsu (Wu Chengda) 武成達, lit. "he who achieved the perfect martial," Chinese-style name of Matsumura Sōkon 433
- Bubishi 武備司, Ch. Wubeisi, the Department of Military Preparation, part of the royal government of early modern Ryūkyū 223, 414
- Buchō 武長, lit. leader of warriors 433, 436
- Budhha's Disciples' Boxing, Luohan-quan 羅漢拳. Jp. Rakan-ken. Luohan is an abbreviation for Aluohan 阿羅漢, i.e. Arhat (Sanskrit). It denotes a holy man, who left behind all earthly desires and reached Nirvana. Therefore it is also called Arhat Boxing 391
- Bugashira 武頭, military leaders of the Satsuma forces during the 1609 takeover 96
- Bugyō 奉行, commissioner, magistrate 44, 205, 206, 208
- Bugyō-sho 奉行所, bureau of the commissioner, ~ magistrate 113, 276, 279
- Bukan 武官, military or naval officer 442
- Bunbu 文武, civil and military affairs, scholarship and art of war 55, 392, 406
- Bunbu-ryōdō 文武兩道, proficiency in scholarship as well as in the arts of war 406
- Bunei 武寧, rg 1396-1406, king of Chūzan, received the second Sappōshi in Ryūkyūan history in 1404 26, 62
- Bureau for Maritime Affairs (Funate-hō 船手方) 279
- Bureau of Forest Conservation and Management (Yama Bugyō-sho 山奉行所) 259, 276, 277
- Bureau of Genealogy (Keizu-za 系圖座), established in 1689 to compile genealogical records of the royal family as well as of the aristocratic families 276
- Bureau of Household Registry (Ōkumiza 大与座) 244, 259, 276, 277, 406, 409, 415, 443
- Bureau of Land Assessments and Grants (Takabugyō 高奉行) 279
- Bureau of Police Inspection (Sōyokome-hō 総横目方) 201, 203, 253, 275
- Bureau of Reminders (Saisoku-hō 催促方) 279
- Bureau of Tax Rice to Satsuma (Shinoboze-za 仕上世座), created in 1610 107
- Bureau of Temples and Shrines (Jisha-za 寺社座) 275
- Bushi 武士 405
- economic activities in the 14th century 12
- Kyōahagon presented as ~ 365
- masters of historical Karate 431
- Ryūkyūan names for ~ 381
- Buzhengshisi 布政使司, Provincial Administration Commissioner for Tribute Affairs 70
- Byō 鉋, rivet 21
- Cai Tainlue 蔡添略, from Haitanzhen coastal defense battalion, acted as convoy commandant of the 1719 investiture 403
- Cai Tinghui 蔡廷會, Ryūkyūan envoy to China in 1560 369
- Cai Yong 蔡勇, lieutenant of the 1719 investiture 403
- Canjiang 參將, Qing era military official, 3rd major rank of the Green Standard Army 綠營 421
- Chae Gyeong 蔡璟 (채경), Korean person, dispatched in 1462 as Ryūkyū envoys to the Joseon Dynasty in Korea 355
- Chai Shan 柴山, envoy dispatched by Emperor Hongxi in 1425 for Shō Hashi 27
- Chang-gou 長鈎, a long hook weapon 399
- Changqiang 長鎗, long lances 71
- Channan チヤンナン, person from Fuzhou, shipwrecked on Okinawa, taught a number of Kata to various Okinawans that had been handed down 333
- Chaozhou 潮州, place in Guangdong 366

- Chara チャラ, designation of a leader during the Gusoku-jidai 16
- Chatan Nakiri 北谷菜切, a precious Wakizashi sword 358
- Chatan Pēchin Shūshin 北谷親雲上秀辰, aka Katsu Kōsai 葛向菜, appointed Chief Judge of the Department of Justice in 1524, so this duty existed since olden times 269
- Chen Gui 陳貴, sea merchant from Zhangzhou in Fujian, took part in a dispute involving assault and murder in Naha in 1542 366
- Chen Ruifang 陳瑞芳, from Quanzhou, served in Min'anzhen when appointed commander-in-chief (Dusi) of the Sappōshi in 1800 418
- Chen Songhe 陳松鶴, forcibly taken to Kuchinoshima by the Japanese Tsuruya Shōgen, adopted the Japanese name of Chin Yagozaemon 39
- Chen Yuanfu 陳元輔, from Fujian, Confucian teacher of Tei Junsoku 128
- Cheng Fu 程復, Chinese person, served King Satto for more than 40 years 64
- Chi 敕, edict of the Ryūkyū king's appointment brought by the Sappōshi 73
- Chief Ombudsmen (Ōkumigashira 大與頭, or alternatively 大与頭, 大組頭) 225
- Chief Supervisors (Nushidori 主取) 254
- Chiji 知事, prefect of the former feudal fiefs during the Hanseki Bōkan from 1869-71 305
- Chikudun Pēchin 筑登之親雲上, rank in early modern Ryūkyū 264
- Chikudun 筑殿, old Ryūkyū subordinate military official under the Seitō. Essentially early military or naval officers. Chiku was the name of an old weapon. Not to be confused with the early modern Chikudun 筑登之 rank 55, 56, 92, 139, 146, 140-43, 180, 181-82, 187, 381, 429
~ as an occupational designation 44
~ as members of the Hiki 48
Japanese ~ in the royal government 39
- Chikudun 筑登之, rank in early modern Ryūkyū 264, 266, 405
- Chikusaji 筑佐事, originally an occupational title within the military organization of old Ryūkyū, later in early modern era policemen 44, 55, 56, 158, 226, 246, 265, 267, 271, 265, 429
- Chin Genpin 陳元贊, Chinese emigrant who taught kenpo in Japan 384-85
- Chinese Encampment Lookout Duty (Tōei Kanfū no Shi 唐榮觀風之使), Kumemura-specific designation for police duties 204
- Chinpē 君南風, also Kimihae, lit. Queen of the Southern Wind 360, 362
- Cho Deuk-sseong 肖得誠 (조득성), Korean person, stayed in Shuri castle in 1462 355
- Chōban 長番, permanent resident guards, in the early modern period called Jōjūsha 32
- Chōganemaru 千代金丸, a precious sword 352, 353, 363
- Chōheirei 徴兵令, Conscription Ordinance of 1872, valid in Okinawa since 1898 341
- Chōkōshi 朝貢使, tribute envoys to China 115
- Chōkōtei 長虹堤, a kilometer-long causeway connecting old Naha (Ukishima) with the royal capital of Shuri 38, 398
- Chronological Overview of Major Events Related to Martial Arts 351-438
- Chūgi Taifu 中議大夫, Kumemura-specific title 255, 403
- Chūmon Konjin 中門閤人, royal guards in the inner castle area 53
- Chūmon Seitō 中門勢頭, leaders of the guards assigned to the intermediate gates in Shuri Castle 143, 147
- Chūmon 中門, guards assigned to the intermediate gates in Shuri Castle 143, 147
- Chūmon 中門, the nine intermediate gates in Shuri Castle, the Zuisenmon 瑞泉門, Rōkokumon 漏刻門, Kofukumon 広福門, Hōshinmon 奉神門, Uekimon 右掖門, Saekimon 左掖門, Shukujunmon 淑順門, Bifukumon 美福門, and Hakuginmon 白銀門. The four outer gates are the Kankaimon 歡会門, Kyukeimon 久慶門, Keiseimon 継世門, and the Kobikimon 木曳門 53, 143
- Chūna 手斧, adze 21
- Chuō-shūken 中央集権, centralized authoritarian rule under Shō Shin 36
- Chūshu-en 中秋宴
martial arts performances at the ~ 404
- Chūzan Seifu Fukan 中山世譜附 (1731-1876), compilation of records and references pertaining the influence of Satsuma, which had been placed aside from the Chūzan Seikan and the Chūzan Seifu (Cf. Sakamaki 1963 37-39) 115
- Chūzan Seifu 中山世譜 (1701-1874). Based on a Chinese translation of the Chūzan Seikan, intended for perusal by Chinese investiture envoys. The Chūzan Seifu was continued by the Bureau of Genealogy (Keizuza), established in 1689 to compile genealogical records of the royal family as well as of the aristocratic families, continued until 1874 (Cf. Sakamaki 1963 17, 63, 85, 110, 128
- Chūzan Seikan 中山世鑑 (1650). The first official historical chronicle in Ryūkyū. Compiled by Shō Shōken (Haneji Chōshū, 1617-1676) primarily as a genealogical

- (海の彼方), from which it appeared to protect people and places. The highest priestess Kikoe Ōgimi constituted the medium in which this deity could manifest when called. The priestesses were considered protectors of the country and were of quasi royal rank. The appearance of Kinmamon in this story to greet the Jiganemaru sword on the way as well as on its return, seems to be an indication of the importance placed on this sword 364
- Kiri 鉏, auger 21
- Kissaki 切っ先, blade portion of the point of a blade 358
- Kiyō Uto 嘉陽ウト, relative of Matsumura Sōkon 436
- Kō Tokusei 衡得正, aka Wakinaguni Pēchin Yoshitada 脇名國親雲上吉忠 51
- Ko-akukabe 小赤頭, or junior red-cap vassal 324
- Kobashigawa Satonushi Pēchin Chōshō 小橋川里之子親雲上朝昇, aka Shō Jūkō 向重光, dispatched as judge to Miyako Island in 1861, accompanied by a police squad 246
- Kobudō 古武道, lit. old martial arts. Modern term used to describe pre-20th century armed martial arts 398, 403
hints to Chinese origins 371, 429
weaponry of the 1683 Sappōshi 399
- Kōchi Uēkata Chōjō 幸地親方朝常, aka Shō Tokukō 向徳宏 320, 321
- Kōdōkai-undō 公同会運動, movement to entrust the Shō family with the hereditary right to the consul post of Okinawa Prefecture, established in 1896 by Shō In, second son of Shō Tai. 324
- Kōgai 筭, sword needle 358
- Kogane-bugyō 金奉行, i.e. metal fitting producers (Kanagushi 金具師), picture framers (Hyōgushi 表具師), planers (Kezuirmonoshi 削物師), saddlers (Kurauchi-saiku 鞍打細工), bell craftsmen (Tsuzusaiku 鈴細工), engravers (Horimono-saiku 彫物細工), embroiderers (Meimono-saiku 縫物細工), Itokumi-saiku 糸組細工, Tamanuki-saiku 玉貫細工, etc 24
- Kōganji 廣嚴寺, Ryūkyūan Zen temple with a cemetery for Japanese 38
- Koji 居士, Buddhist laymen or private scholars 104
- Kojiki 古事記, record of old events, historical work compiled 712 AD. by Ō no Yasumaro 360
- Kojō Ikō 湖城以幸 (1836-1907), studied under Qing military officer Iwā. During his time Kojō-ryū became a great deal of Karate 329
- Kojō Ikyō 湖城以恭 322
- Kojō Isei 湖城以正(1832-1891), studied under Qing military officer Iwā XE "Iwā イワー, military officer of an investiture mission" . During his time Kojō-ryū became a great deal of Karate 322, 329, 331
- Kojō Isei 湖城以正(1832-1891), studied under Qing military officer Iwā. During his time Kojō-ryū became a great deal of Karate 332
- Kojō Ishō 湖城以昌 (1848- 1910), studied under Qing military officer Waishinzan. During his time Kojō-ryū became a great deal of Karate 329
- Kojō Kafu 湖城嘉富, Kojō-ryū, learned bujutsu under his grandfather Kahō, and later under his father Saikyō and his uncle Kojō Shūren 湖城秀蓮 (1883-1945) 329
- Kojō Kahō 湖城嘉宝 (1849-1925), aka Kogusuku no Umē 湖城のウメー, Kojō-ryū, trained martial arts under his father's teacher Iwā XE "Iwā イワー, military officer of an investiture mission" , invented Kojō-ryū Jōjutsu, nicknamed "Gakusha Tanmē" (the Venerable Old Scholar) (学者タンメー). During his time Kojō-ryū became a great deal of Karate 329, 330
- Kojō Kishō 湖城其章, former Okinawa Sanwa Ginkō Bank president and father of Kojō Shūren 湖城秀蓮 331
- Kojō Pēchin 湖城親雲上, unknown dates, early generation of Kojō-ryū, nicknamed "born warrior" (umare bushi 生まれ武士), learned and taught a fusion of kumiuchi-hō 組打法 and Chinese martial arts, worked out new techniques in great numbers 328
- Kojō Saikyō 湖城再鏡 (1873-1941), Kojō-ryū, nicknamed Kumejima-ō (久米島王, The King of Kume Island) 329
- Kojō Shigeru 湖城繁 (1934-1999?), Kojō-ryū, opened a dōjō in Naha Tsuboya with his father Kafu, closed in 1975 due to poor health 329
- Kojō Shūren 湖城秀蓮 (1883-1945), uncle and martial arts teacher of Kojō Kafu. Disciple of Maezato Ranpō and father of former Okinawa Sanwa Ginkō Bank president Kojō Kishō 湖城其章 329, 331
- Kojō Taitei 湖城大禎 (1838- 1917), Isei's cousin, studied under Qing military officer Waishinzan, nicknamed "Gōken Tanmē (venerable old man of powerful boxing), influential person at the time of the emergence of modern Karate 329
- Kojō Uēkata 湖城親方, aka Sai Chōkō 蔡肇功, 1656-1737, founder of Kojō-ryū. Got granted a book on the Chinese art of war by Emperor Kang Xi (rg 1661-1722). He taught martial arts and the methods of wrestling and scuffle (kumiuchi-hō) to the young men of his clan 328

- Mingzhou 明州, today's Ningbo in Zhejiang province in east China 12
- Minohiban 巳日番, Guard of the Day of the Snake 45
correlation table with security-related government duties 181
- Minren Sanshiliu-xing 閩人三十六姓, people from the thirty-six Min families who settled in Kumemura 63
- Minshu 閩書, Book of Fujian 129, 351
- Miruya みるや, refers to country of eternity or paradise beyond the ocean from where gods are said to have brought different crops and tools to the Ryūkyūan people at different times 12, 13, 18
- Mitsu Kuwagata-dai 三鍬形台, helmet of a three-horns variety 25
- Miura Kōjiuemon 三浦興次右衛門 384
- Miyagi Chōjun 宮城長順 (1888-1953) 247, 322, 390, 393, 422
- Miyake Kunihide 三宅國秀, Inland Sea pirate who escorted the trading ships from Sakai to southern Kyūshū. Slashed by the Shimazu in Bōnotsu in 1516 88, 91
- Miyamoto Musashi 宮本武蔵, famous swordsman 435
- Mō Bun'ei 毛文英, aka Takushi Uēkata Seiri 澤岫親方盛里, 3. gen. of the Mō-clan (House Uezato), died in 1526/08/18 51
- Mō Seichō 毛精長, aka Kunigami Pēchin Seishō 319, 320, 321
- Mōdō 鰻, warships 92
- Mōji 模結習, first tribute envoy of King Haniji 伯尼芝 of Sanboku to China, 1383 61
- Mokey 模型, a model, a template, or a routine with Bō utilized by the military commanders of that during the Sanzan-jidai (according to Majikina Ankō) 351
- Momourasoe Rankan no Mei 百浦添之欄干之銘, the Eleven Great Achievements of the Age describing the achievements of King Shō Shin inscribed on the balustrade situated in front of the main palace (1509) 1, 35, 363
- Momourasoe Shimokori 百浦添下庫理, the Office of Inner Palace Affairs (OIPA) at Shuri castle 141, 278
- Monban 門番, gateguards 46, 104, 105, 142, 278
- Monchū 門中, *lit. inside the gates or the family, patrilineal groups originally limited to the upper class, although the peasantry had reorganized its society along similar principles by the end of the 18th century. See also Shinzoku Shūdan* 244
- Monobugyō-sho 物奉行所, the Board of Finance with the three departments of domestic affairs, land control, and provisions 279
- Monomairi 物参り, the "three things", i.e. the rice ceremony, the harvest festival and the ritual rainmaking prayers performed in the royal castle, terminated in 1729 46
- Mori 鉾, harpoon 23
- Morita Shōan 森田正安, director at the Shuri Primary school in 1898, assigned to perform "conscription education" 344
- Moriyama Pēchin 森山親雲上紹長, aka On Kai'ei 温開榮 236, 238, 328
- Moriyama Yunchū 盛山与人, the "Village Headman" Moriyama 202
- Mōshiguchi-hō 申口方, the Board of General Affairs 269, 279, 280
- Most Important Security-related Duties in Early Modern Ryūkyū 177–239
- Muchi 鞭, in Ryūkyuan dialect pronounced Ben ベン or Waimuchi ワイブチ, literally whip or rod. Bian in Chinese, describing a baton or an ancient segmented iron weapon. Otherwise described as red lacquered cudgels or other sorts of Bō, namely Keimuchi 刑鞭 or Seibaibō 成敗棒, i.e. baton of punishment. In Chinese also given as Hong-gelu 紅隔路 125, 226, 230, 233, 234, 239, 403
- Mukei 無系, *lit. no genealogy*. Commoners that could not prove family lineage. See also Keimochi 119, 427
- Mumei 無銘, an unsigned blade 358
- Mune 棟, spine of a blade 358
- Mura-gakkō 村學校, Village Schools 252
- Mura-jigashira 村地頭. Although exactly written as Jitō, i.e. Estate Steward, the term read as Jigashira here denotes an assistant. They did not belong to the formal staff of the Village Schools, though 253, 254, 255
- Muromachi Bakufu 室町幕府, Muromachi shōgunate, also Ashikaga Bakufu/shōgunate, military government of the Ashikaga family, 1336-1573 39, 87, 88, 90
Ryūkyū trade to the ~ 87
- Muromachi-jidai 室町時代, the Muromachi era, the era of military government under the Ashikaga shōguns, 1336/1338–1573 or 1392–1573 24, 29, 356
- Musha-hashiri 武者走り, or warrior walk. Such battlements can be seen at the eastern watchtower (Azana) as well as a connection between the superstructures of the Kankaimon and the Kyūkeimon 414
- Nabeshima Naoakira 鍋島直彬 (1843-1915) 312
- Nadekoro 撫でころ, refers to a warrior 381
- Nagae Shiro-torike 長柄白鳥毛, long-spears decorated with white feathers 124
- Nagaie 長柄, long-handled spears 96

- Tomari-jitō 泊地頭, the department of Tomari and its superintendent. Official function of family register, civil affairs, public security and welfare, fire protection, religion, construction as well as Ryūkyū's second trading port located in Tomari. It had jurisdiction over each of the respective government offices of Jisha-za, Ōkumiza, Sō-yokome, Sōkumihō and others 275
- Tomari-mura Gakkō-sho 泊村学校所, the village school of Tomari 255
- Tomi 富, sometimes addressed as 豊見, eulogistic suffix of shipnames as well as each of the Hiki 46, 47
- Tomihama Pēchin Chōroku 富濱親雲上朝陸
- Tomikawa Uēkata Seikei 富川親方盛奎, aka Mō Fūrai 毛鳳來, Sanshikan in 1875, Dasshin-nin in 1882 322
- Tomimori Uēkata Chōchoku 富盛親方朝直, aka Shō Bunkō 向文光, Dasshin-nin in 1884 322
- Tonoura 外浦, important harbor in Kyūshū 89
- Toomi-bansho 遠見番所, coastal guardhouses on the islands of the kingdom 265, 279
- Torikohori 鳥小堀, place name 270
- Torinohiban 酉日番, Guard of the Day of the Rooster 45
- Torite 取手, 捕手, トリテ, used in connection with law enforcement and arresting thugs 379, 415
- Tōshin 刀身, sword blade 358, 362
- Tōsu 刀子, small knives 16, 22, 23
- Totsūji 都通事, mainly, but not limited to, senior interpreter-clerk handling tributary and other public affairs 75
- Toyomiya 豊見親, designation for Anji on Miyako 50
- Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598), also simply known as Taikō 太閤. Following the suicide of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 most important military commander. Prohibited Christianity in 1587, pressed ahead the unification of Japan 92, 93
- Tsuba 鐔, sword guard 23
- Tsui no hasamibako 對の挿篋, boxes carried on poles 125
- Tsui no nagezaya 對のナゲザヤ, lances with scabbards made from fur and the like 124
- Tsūji 通事, Kumemura-specific title 255
- Tsukazan Uēkata Chōkō 津嘉山親方朝助, aka Shō Ryūkō 向龍光, captured as leaders of the black party in 1885 322
- Tsukishiro 月代, tutelary moon goddess, also called Ufusunagami, acted as the guardian deity of the villages during the 1st Shō-Dynasty 25, 26, 361
- Tsūkō-ichiran 通航一覽, completed in 1853 this work contains the most comprehensive compilation of records concerning Ryūkyū that had been produced during the Edo period (1603-1868), with some 900 bibliographical citations on Ryūkyū, including some 200 discrete works 93, 94, 96, 97, 173, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238, 239, 291, 398, 462
- Tsukunesu 突く子術→突く練術, the art of training strikes 426
- Tsumegata Mondoki 爪形文土器, claw patterned pottery 9
- Tsurashima 連島 90
- Tsuru Okina 鶴翁 355
- Tsuruya Shōgen 鶴屋將監 39
- Tsushima 對馬 13, 91
- Uchan 打 (うちゃん), Ch. Da, to beat, to strike, to hit, to break, to fight 404
- Uchigatana Koshirae 打刀拵え, a sword equipped to be worn with the cutting edge upward as opposed to the Tachi worn with the edge downward 363
- Uchima Nishidun 内間西殿 179
- Uchima Osasu 内間御鎖, Custodian of the Inner Area 278
- Uchima Pēchin Chōchoku 内間親雲上朝直 320
- Uchima Udun 内間御殿 225
- Uchinākuwānā ウチナークワンナー, Okinawa Station, other name for the Fuzhou Ryūkyūkan 322
- Udun Seitō 御殿勢頭, Seitō of Residences, a term also found in the RKK 140
- Uechi Kanbun 上地完文 (1877-1948), studied martial arts in China from 1897-1909 330
- Uei Hiya 宇栄比屋, person from Yamagusuku village 365
- Uēkata-be 親方部, the Uēkata class 276
- Uesugi Mochinori 上杉茂憲 (1844-1919), 2nd Provincial Governor of Okinawa, in office 1881-83 339
- Ufuchiku Tamanaha 大筑玉那覇, noted for 1728 on Kume Island 265, 406
- Ufukumi-bugyō 大與奉行, either Magistrate of Police with 大與=大与, or short for Ōkumigashira 大組頭, i.e. Chief Ombudsman to handle private legal disputes among the residents of Shuri since 1671 162
- Ufusaji 大佐事 271
- Ufusunagami 産土神, tutelary moon goddess, also called Tsukishiro, acted as the guardian deity of the villages during the 1st Shō-Dynasty 361
- Ujibaru Satonushi 宇地原里之子, aka Tei Ken 鄭謙 405
- Uken 宇堅, the shell mound heap Uken Kaizuka-gun 宇堅貝塚群 22
- Ukishima 浮島, floating island 38, 63, 357
- Uma-mawari 馬廻, warriors as bodyguard close to the lord 230