

TRADE AND THE RISE OF THE OKINAWAN STATE

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INTRODUCTION

From the 12th to 16th centuries, a small but fascinating state developed in Okinawa. The archaeological record of this process is coming to light with an unprecedented number of excavations and architectural reconstructions undertaken by the prefectural government along with local and national agencies. In 1987, for instance, the prefectural government allotted the equivalent of US \$480,000 for excavation, survey and site preservation in 18 locations. This is a comparatively large amount for a small political unit, by any standard. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the same year 21,755 excavations took place in all of Japan, at a cost of US \$430 million. (Centre for Archaeological Operations 1989).

The newly-found archaeological record is not the only source of information. Because this development took place during a time period when historical documents from both Okinawa and also the surrounding regions of East Asia are available it seems possible to learn a great deal about this instance of secondary state development, which may be of utility in testing general anthropological models of the process.

This paper summarizes the archaeological finds from sites of the 12th to 16th centuries, the archaeological and historical periods of state evolution, the evidence of trade ceramics and the historical background of the trade. I attempt to establish archaeological means for refining our knowledge of the relationship between the trade and Okinawan political evolution.

In 1982, the Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education reported 223 castle sites on the main island of Okinawa and its outliers. Most of these sites have become places of religious veneration in past centuries, but many of them were originally dwelling structures of the *anji* or local lords. While the walled structures have always been thought to be particularly abundant, Okinawa has in fact the lowest number of castle sites of any Japanese prefecture (Toma 1985:2).

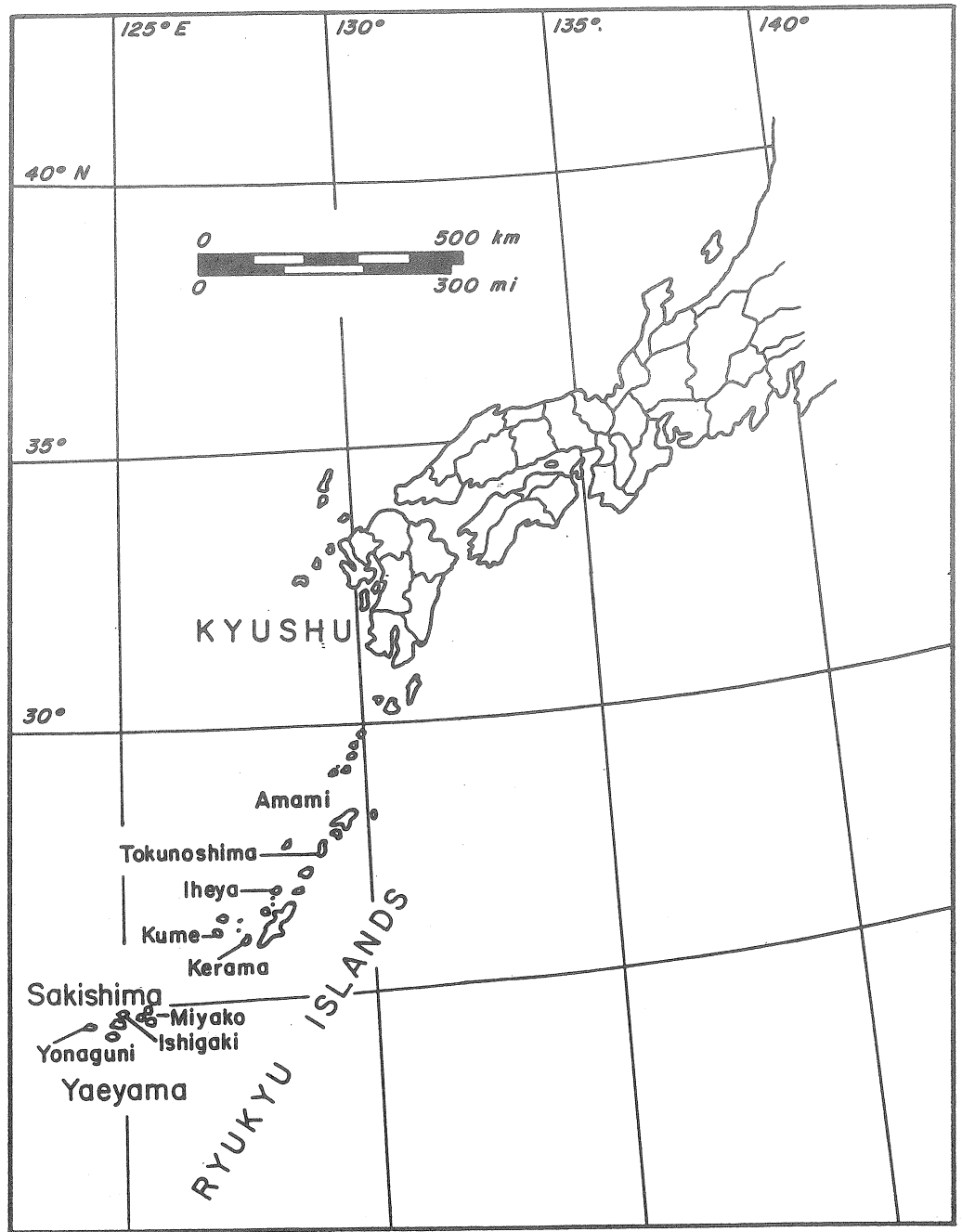


FIGURE 1: THE LOCATION OF THE RYUKYU ISLANDS WITHIN SOUTHERN JAPAN

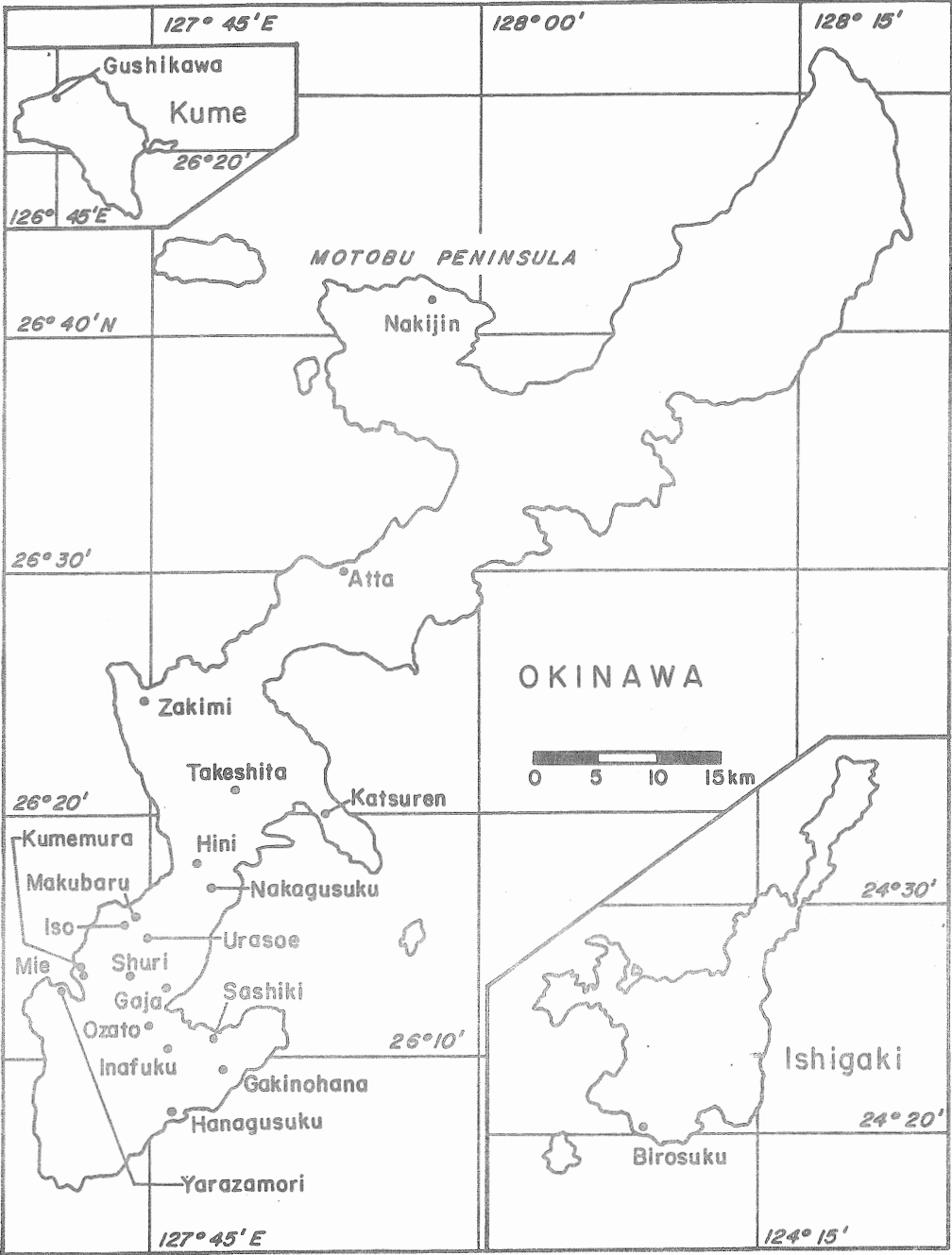


FIGURE 2: OKINAWAN SITES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

MAJOR EXCAVATIONS AND FINDS; BRIEF SUMMARY

It is impossible to convey in a few pages the magnitude and diversity of archaeological discoveries which relate to the emergence of the Chuzan Kingdom, the central power within Okinawa for much of her traditional history. A huge number of individual archaeological excavation reports has been published in the past twenty years. Useful summaries have been prepared by Asato (1987, 1988), Toma (1985) and the Okinawan Prefectural Museum (Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 1985).

From the time of the Gusuku Period, which began in the 12th century, walled structures appear. These are termed *gusuku*. While prehistoric Okinawan sites possessed architectural remains, these were in the form of house posts or shallow house depressions (Okinawa Kokogaku Kyokai 1978).

Internal structures within the castles include walls, gates, pavements, stairways and wells. Large castles contain storage and residential areas. Within Nakijin castle, for instance, rectangular structures delineated by post holes with interior hearths have been interpreted as elite residences by the types of associated artifacts.

Among the artifacts found in the castle sites the most abundant category is Chinese porcelain, described below in detail. The general shapes of celadon vessels are plates, cups, shallow bowls, narrow necked jars and incense burners. White ware bowls, plates, cups, and wide necked jars have also been recovered. Tea consumption is indicated by *temmoku* (oil spot glaze) bowls and black glazed tea containers. Black glazed wine containers have also been found (Toma 1985:15). Korean Koryo celadons have also been recovered in a small number of sites. Greyish roof tiles, believed to have been made in Korea, have also been recovered from sites such as Urasoe. It is possible that roof tiles were also produced in the northern part of Okinawa although this is based on speculation. *Suribachi*, special ridged mixing bowls, have also been found, as well as pottery weights and spindle whorls.

The extent of the use of coinage is not completely clear, although Chinese coins, mainly from the Song to the Ming periods, have been found. They are particularly abundant at Shuri and Katsuren.

Dice for children's games have been found at sites such as Inafuku, Katsuren and Urasoe, while *saikoro*, bone gaming pieces, and *go* pieces have been found in the inner enclosure (*san no maru*) of Katsuren (Toma 1985:19,20).

Personal objects found in Okinawan castles include beads, bronze hairpins (*kanzashi*), bone hairpins, metal tweezers and finger rings. The recovery of small oil jars indicates the use of cosmetics, probably camellia oil. A Chinese Song mirror was found in the Inafuku site.

Iron adzes were used for working both wood and stone. In addition, iron knives, awls, sickles, and hooks have been recovered. Blacksmith shops for the maintenance of these tools were located in the castles and slag deposits have been found. Whetstones have also been recovered. Objects associated with battle include iron and bone arrowheads, short sword blades and guards (*tsuba*), iron armor slats, gilded halters and bits, and decorative studs.

Food remains include carbonized rice and barley along with the bones of wild boar, cat, dog, bird, cattle, horse, dugong, sea turtle and fish. The cattle bones are the most frequent. There is evidence of manufacture of bone objects since bone fragments show signs of cutting and shaping.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CRITERIA FOR THE STAGES OF OKINAWAN STATE EVOLUTION

At the end of the Shellmound Period, about AD 900, the appearance of new kinds of ceramics marked increasing contact with Kyushu and the beginning of economic changes. Vessels with wide flat bases appear, replacing pottery with pointed bases or bases with a constriction above the narrow foot. These wide flat-bottomed vessels are said by Asato to be a reflection of increased agricultural production rather than collecting, and to be copies of steatite stone bowls or cauldrons (*ishi nabe*) produced in Kyushu in the 10th and 11th centuries. Three vessel forms, *kame*, *hachi*, and *tsubo* are present. Asato points out that these shapes, along with the other artifacts, confirm the existence of agriculture. This type of ceramic is thought by Asato to be made by specialists for distribution, although at this time there are no archaeological data to support this hypothesis. The progression of pottery styles is shown in Table 1.

Pottery Type	Description	Chronological Position
Omonawa No. 1	notched appliqué band	7th to 8th centuries AD (from dated coins)
Fensa Lower Type	constricted flat base	Fensa lower layer dates to early half of 9th century
Akajanga Type A	broad spatula impressions constricted flat base	
Yajiyagama Type A	fine spatula impressions pointed bottom	Early Yayoi (as Hirota Lower) from 100 BC

TABLE 1: POTTERY TYPES USED AS MARKERS FOR THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD
(After Asato 1987:32)

The second type of pottery is a form of *sueki* (hard fired grey stoneware), formerly called *ruisueki*, which is now thought to have been produced in a few centers and

transported to sites from Amami to Sakishima. One site, on Tokunoshima, has been identified as a production center of this grey stoneware, termed *kamuiyaki*.

In addition, a third type of pottery which is black has been found in Amami at Uminonakamichi, a site believed to have been devoted to the production of lime by roasting coral. The lime was exported from the Ryukyus. The black pottery is thought to have been sent from the administrative center of Dazaifu in northern Kyushu. These new types of pottery seem to indicate the beginnings of economic changes leading to a series of political changes.

THE GUSUKU PERIOD (13TH TO 16TH CENTURIES) AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

The beginning of the Gusuku Period is marked by the appearance of small-scale stone walled enclosures ranging from 100 to 700 m² in area and built on natural surfaces. The associated artifacts are dated to the 13th and 14th centuries AD. An example is Hini *gusuku*. The range of *gusuku* sizes seems to indicate different concentrations of power although no sites are particularly large (Asato 1987:80).

In the Early Gusuku Period there are two types of *gusuku*, middle-sized ones of 2000-5000 m² in area and small ones of 1000 m². The small type usually has a single enclosure while the middle-sized ones usually contain two enclosures, although a few are single.

The Middle Gusuku Period is defined by construction on natural surfaces with the use of cut stone walls. The surfaces were not excavated or levelled prior to building so loose rubble was used in site preparation. The Gakinohana site, at the beginning of the Middle Period, contains a small portion which is artificially constructed of cut stone. Asato places the Iso site in Urasoe City and Itokazu *gusuku* on the southern coast in this category. The end of the Middle Period is marked by Zakimi *gusuku*, which tradition states was built in AD 1420. The date of the artifacts recovered here appears to be early 15th century. In the Middle Period the *gusuku* are large in scale, ranging from 10,000 to 20,000 m² in area.

The Late Gusuku Period can be dated by Chinese historical sources. In addition, there are structural changes in the castles. This period ranges from the end of the 15th century to the mid 16th century. Examples are Shuri, Nakagusuku, Katsuren, and Gushikawa (located on Kumejima). The stone enclosures of these sites are large and multiple and most of the construction is of cut stone. Middle-sized structures disappear and large castle sites over 40,000 m² appear.

The Final Gusuku Period, which begins in the mid 16th century, features extremely large structures as well as some very small ones. Yarazamori (AD 1554) and Mie *gusuku* are small defensive structures built at the entrance to Naha Harbor. In 1546 Shuri castle was enlarged to a maximum size of 43,000 m² and its defences were strengthened. The final size of Nakijin was 38,000 m².

STAGES OF EVOLUTION OF THE RYUKYU KINGDOM

The archaeological sequence may be correlated with the following steps of historical and political development proposed by Asato (1987, 1988) (See Figs 3 and 4).

Date	Okinawa	Japan	China
AD1600	Final Gusuku AD 1550-1609	Momoyama AD 1573-1615	Ming AD 1368-1644
1500	Late Gusuku AD 1450-1550	Muromachi AD 1333-1573	
1400	Middle Gusuku AD 1350-1450		Yuan AD 1279-1368
1300	Early Gusuku AD 1200-1350	Kamakura AD 1185-1333	Song AD 960-1279
1200			
1100	Late Shellmound Period 100BC to AD1200	Heian AD 794-1185	
1000			
900			Tang AD 618-960
800		Nara AD 710-794	
700		Asuka AD 600-710	
600			

FIGURE 3: CHRONOLOGY OF THE GUSUKU PERIOD

<p><u>The Shunten Dynasty</u> Shunten (AD 1187-1237) Shunba Junki (AD 1238-1248) Gihon (AD 1249-1258)</p> <p><u>The Eiso Dynasty</u> Eiso (AD 1260-1299) Taisei (AD 1300-1308) Eiji (AD 1309-1313) Tamagusuku (AD 1314-1336) Sei-i (AD 1337-1349)</p> <p><u>The Satto Dynasty</u> Satto (AD 1350-1395) Bunei (AD 1396-1405)</p>	<p><u>The Sho Shisho Dynasty</u> Sho Shisho (AD 1406-1421) Sho Hashi (AD 1422-1439) Sho Chu (AD 1440-1444) Sho Shitatsu (AD 1445-1449) Sho Kinpuku (AD 1450-1453) Sho Taikyu (AD 1454-1460) Sho Toku (AD 1461-1469)</p> <p><u>The Sho En Dynasty</u> Sho En (AD 1470-1476) Sho Sen-i (AD 1477) Sho Shin (AD 1477-1526) Sho Sei (AD 1527-1555) Sho Gen (AD 1556-1572) Sho Ei (AD 1573-1588) Sho Nei (AD 1589-1620)</p>
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FIGURE 4: THE SUCCESSIVE RULERS OF CHUZAN (RYUKYU)

The Early Gusuku Period refers to the period before the development of the three kingdoms. In this stage there were many large and small *gusuku* sites, but no powerful rulers or centers had yet emerged. The royal genealogies mention the union of Tametomo, of the Minamoto family, with the daughter of the lord of Ozato castle. It seems that migrants or refugees from the main islands of Japan may have arrived in Okinawa at the end of the Heian period (AD 1185). Sakihara (1987:49) notes that all over the Ryukyu Islands there are stories of the arrival of outsiders, often with very little disturbance to the local communities.

The Middle Gusuku Period refers to the Sanzan Period of the three contending centers, Nakijin, Shuri and Ozato. Related to these are the sites of confederates, who were the councillors of the rulers. In the case of Nakijin, the King of Hokuzan subjugated the Motobu region, Kunigami, Haneji, Nago, Kin, and the Iheya and Izena Islands (all in the northern part of Okinawa). In the historical sources the large fortified castles are called *sai* (fort). The power at this time was shared by the king and his councillors. The councillors resembled confederates more than vassals and the power was in their hands rather than with the king. The three principalities sent missions to Korea in 1397 and to China in 1396 and 1397 (Kerr 1958:75-83). In 1403 Shuri appears to have established relations with the Ashikaga *shoguns* (Kerr 1958:81). Sakihara (1987:144) points out that most of the goods taken by Sho Taiki on the first tribute mission to China were transhipped items from Southeast Asia, implying that the trade had been going on for some time and was fully developed. Taxation was instituted in the reign of Eiso (1260-1299) on Okinawa and it was extended to Kume, Kerama and Iheya in 1264 (Sakihara 1987:140; Kerr 1958:51).

Sakihara (1987:144) mentions the role which rulers played in the distribution of agricultural implements made with iron purchased from the Japanese and other foreign ships. In particular, Satto, founder of the Satto dynasty who reigned from 1350 to 1395, and Sho Hashi (reigned from 1422-1439) were famous for such activities. Early *gusuku* sites have yielded iron artifacts, and in some sites foundries and tuyeres have been recovered (Oshiro 1983). I assume that the iron was imported to Okinawa from China or Japan, and that local craftsmen shaped and refashioned agricultural tools from the imported iron ingots. Oshiro points out that at the present time it is not clear whether iron artisans were attached to each *gusuku* or whether they functioned independently. It would seem that they would be attached to local *anji* (local aristocrats), since only the *anji* would have had the power to import the finished goods or iron slabs. By the 15th or 16th centuries it is believed that Okinawans could win iron from ore-bearing sands.

Trade with Japan is also indicated, in Sakihara's view, in the *Omoro Song of the Imported Folding Screen* (Sakihara 1987:108-109). Another *Omoro* mentions trade from Japan in iron hammers and jewels, which Sakihara interprets as *magatama* (Sakihara 1987:110-111). The comma-shaped jade beads became the regalia of local spirit mediums (*noro*) and are identical in shape to those from the Korean Three Kingdoms and the Japanese Kofun Period.

The Late Gusuku Period coincides with the First Sho Dynasty (1406-1469) and the consolidation of power at Shuri, capital of Chuzan, which is situated on the ridge inland and to the west of the main port of Naha. The first center of power of this period was Urasoe, from which Satto, king of Chuzan, began to send tribute to the Ming for the first time in 1372. In 1407 Sho Hashi (Sho Shisho in Fig. 1), *anji* of Sashiki, drove Bunei from Urasoe and made himself king of Chuzan. Shuri castle was built between 1406 and 1427 (Kamei 1986:388). In this period the defensive castles were limited to Shuri, the castles of the councillors, and those of members of the royal family. In the consolidation process, Hokuzan, the polity in the north centered on Nakijin, and Ozato, a strong polity in southern Okinawa (also referred to as Nanzan) were defeated. An apparently opposing view is offered by Wada Hisanori (1975:23), who mentions that most historians have assumed that the two kingdoms ceased to exist from that time since there is no record of tribute being sent to China after AD 1422 from Hokuzan or Nanzan. Wada proposes that both Hokuzan and Nanzan survived much longer than was previously thought even though they did not send tribute to China regularly. In each case their tribute missions had been more sporadic than those of the more centrally located, powerful Chuzan kingdom. Thus, throughout part of the fifteenth century, which was the period of the greatest flowering of the China trade and the development of Okinawan civilization, there may have been three kingdoms instead of one.

After the official defeat of the northern polity of Hokuzan, in the 20th year of Yongle (AD 1422), the second son of Sho Shisho became the governor of Hokuzan. In what has been termed the First Governorship, from 1422-1469, there appear to have been lines of command from Shuri to Nakijin, and also from Shuri to the dependencies of Nakijin. The position of Nakijin reflects the political structure of this period. The governor of Nakijin under the Second Sho Dynasty had the rank of a cabinet minister in the Shuri court. The third son of Sho Shin was given this position, and subsequently lived at Nakijin. The reason for his residence at Nakijin was given, as before, to control the local *anji* who still maintained a good deal of power. The first governorship came to an end in 1469, at the end of the first Sho Dynasty, with the demise of the ruling family who were buried in the cemetery of the 100 *anji* below the castle (Nakahara 1984:473)

Two later rivals were Gosamaru, the ruler of Nakagusuku castle which lies in the highlands to the north of Shuri, and Amawari, the ruler of Katsuren, which is situated on a peninsula on the central east coast. Katsuren was destroyed in 1458 by Sho Taikyū. Sakihara mentions that before their open rivalry the daughter of Sho Taikyū, Princess Momoto Fumiagari, was married to Amawari to form an alliance. The alliance was doomed to failure.

In the Final Gusuku Period, particularly in the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), the structure of the state was consolidated. The king took over greater power and the *anji* who had originally been equals to the king became bureaucrats, leaving their castles to reside in Shuri. According to Kerr (1958:106), up to the time of Sho Shin, the majority of the *anji* lived in castles which were situated on their own hereditary estates. Sakihara

(1987:175) emphasizes the completeness of Sho Shin's centralization policy. Each lord, together with his family, was compelled to stay permanently in Shuri. This policy was more radical than the Tokugawa policy in which the lords resided in their own fief in alternate years. It led to a separation of urban people from rural communities. Swords were no longer to be worn as personal equipment, the *anji* were ordered to bring all weapons to Shuri to be stored in a warehouse under the king's control, and gradually the outlying *anji* estates came to be managed by royal overseers known as *jito dai*. The effect of coercing the *anji* to move to the capital at Shuri was not only to remove them from the bases of political power, but also to reinforce the divisions of social class over local kin groups. In 1477 the king's sister was established as the chief *noro*, or priestess. The second most powerful priestess was from the island of Iheya, since this was the place of origin of the first and second Sho kings.

Within the aristocracy residing in Shuri, in 1506, status distinctions based on six colours were introduced. As in the case of the Silla Kingdom in Korea (Pearson *et al.* 1989) the motivation for this seems to have been to rationalize the positions of various outlying local aristocrats into one unambiguous system in the center.

In 1509 sumptuary rules were instituted to regulate dress and other manifestations of rank in Shuri (Kerr 1958:110). Rebellions, which took place in the outlying islands from about the middle of the reign of Sho Shin, may have been caused by harsh exploitation by the Shuri government as it became overextended. The Yaeyama islands (which lie roughly 370 km to the southwest of Okinawa) are said to have stopped sending tribute to Okinawa about 1496 or 1497 and were punished in 1500 by a force of 3000 soldiers in 46 ships (Sakihara 1987:185).

In 1546 Shuri castle was enlarged and its defences were strengthened. The only castles remaining in this period were Shuri castle, Nakijin for defending the north and ruled by a governor appointed from Shuri, and the defensive castles for Naha Harbour - Yarazamori *gusuku* and Mie *gusuku* - which were built in 1554.

TRADE CERAMICS: THEIR CHRONOLOGY AND DISTRIBUTION

The analysis of ceramics from Okinawan sites is continually being refined. I rely on Chapter 6, *Perspectives on trade ceramics in the Ryukyus*, in the book by Kamei Meitoku (1986). Kamei notes that recent excavations have yielded substantial evidence of trade with China long before the formal establishment of relations with the Ming emperor Hung Wu in 1372. Sites such as the Atta Shellmound in Onna-son have yielded white porcelain of the type found in the No. 9 Sutra Mound of the Musashidera in Fukuoka, Kyushu, which is dated to the early half of the 12th century (Kamei 1986:375). Some 35 sherds of this type of white porcelain, which has an expanded lip, were recovered. In addition, 150 pieces of grey stoneware (*kamuiyaki*) of the Tokunoshima type and 20 fragments of stone cauldrons (*ishi nabe*) were also recovered from the Atta Shellmound. This combination of artifacts is common in sites dating to the middle of the 12th century. Other sites with ceramics dating to before the middle of the 14th century include Inafuku, Gaja, Takeshita, Birozuku, Hanagusuku and Kojima. Typical forms include white

porcelain bowls with unglazed rims and celadon bowls with comb scratched decoration. Another typical form from this period is the celadon bowl with floral pattern cut into the inside bottom. The Birosuku site of Ishigaki yielded a particular type of white porcelain bowl with incurved lip, which is termed the Birosuku type.

The Makubaru site, which appears to be related to Urasoe *gusuku*, yielded 1483 sherds of the Fensa Upper Layer pottery along with celadon sherds dating as early as the 13th century. Grey stoneware of the Tokunoshima type and Korean roof tiles were also recovered.

The bottom layer of Nakijin, Layer 9 of the main enclosure, yielded Chinese ceramics and *gusuku* pottery dating from the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. The common feature of sites of this time period is the occurrence of Longquan celadon bowls with lotus petal patterns on their exteriors, which are dated to the beginning of the 13th century at the latest. Kamei concludes that Okinawans probably began to receive Chinese ceramics around the middle of the 12th century in some regions, but the importation became more common in the 13th century.

How did the ceramics enter the Ryukyus? Kamei proposes three different modes of transport. Sung and Yuan trading ships sailed to Okinawa main island, Miyako and Yaeyama to trade with the powerful local lords or *anji*. Alternatively, the local *anji* may have traded with the Song and Yuan by travelling to China. Finally, Japanese trading ships from Kyushu or other parts of Japan also brought Chinese goods to Okinawa.

In the latter part of the 12th and the 13th century, Song ships brought goods to the powerful *shoen* or manors of Japan. Kamei notes that the ceramics found in the 13th century sites are particularly uniform, suggesting that the sellers had the initiative and the circulation patterns were uncomplicated. There appears to have been no central or higher authority judging from the distribution of the ceramics.

In the latter part of the 13th century, Japanese merchants took over trading from the Chinese. The account of the drifting of Miyako people in 1317 to Yongjia in Wenzhou, on the China coast, seems to indicate that powerful chiefs from the Ryukyus were already sailing to Southeast Asia, according to Fujita Toyohachi. Kamei notes that in the first group of tribute goods taken to China in 1372, there were already peppers and sappanwood (used for red and yellow dye) which are thought to have come from Southeast Asia.

The case for Japanese merchants can be made on the basis of some of the goods found along with the Chinese ceramics. They include stone cooking cauldrons from Kyushu, along with iron wares and the grey stoneware *kamuiyaki* from Tokunoshima. It seems likely that Japanese ships brought items from Japan to Okinawa but did not handle Chinese ceramics. The Okinawans themselves relied at first on Chinese ships, and later constructed their own vessels.

Urasoe *gusuku* also reveals evidence of substantial trade in the period from Southern Song to Yuan. This comes from stratigraphic excavations in 1982, in which celadons and white wares were recovered from the bottom layer. This discovery altered the previously-

claimed date of this site, based on a surface collection, of the latter half of the 14th to the 15th century.

Sashiki, which is traditionally identified as the residence of the First Sho family, Sho Hashi and his son, was excavated in 1979. A group of ceramics from Feature ST02 included five celadon bowls with the ridged lotus petal exterior form, popular from the latter half of the Southern Song to the first half of the Yuan. Also recovered were three small plates of white porcelain with unglazed rims, which had passed out of circulation, even for heirlooms, by the middle of the 14th century. Therefore it appears that the *anji* of Sashiki had begun to receive Chinese ceramics in the 13th century, or the early part of the 14th century, at the latest. Sashiki continued to be inhabited after the move of Sho Hashi to Shuri, judging from the occurrence of ceramics from the latter half of the Ming. These include sherds of blue and white and celadon bowls with narrow incised lotus petal decoration (Kamei 1986:396).

The Katsuren castle site sheds light on the Late Gusuku Period. Possibly because of the amount of recent archaeological work done on Katsuren the ceramics appear to be of higher quality than those from Shuri. Because the quality of the ceramics is so high, it seems doubtful that the Chuzan kingdom did in fact have a monopoly on the trade (Kamei 1986:380). Kamei reports that although some 20,000 sherds of Chinese ceramics were recovered in the first and second excavations of Katsuren, no ceramics of the 13th century were recovered. The oldest belonged to the latter half of the Yuan Dynasty (first half of the 14th century) and the first half of the Ming, although it is difficult to date celadon wares. The Yuan blue and white sherds found in Katsuren date to the middle of the 14th century. Katsuren contrasts with Urasoe and Sashiki where ceramics of the 13th century have definitely been recovered. How did Katsuren begin to import such high quality wares soon after its construction? We will return to this question later.

Kamei (1986) reports the results of excavations of Omono *gusuku*, the official warehouse of the Ryukyu Imperial Household, located on an island in the present Naha port. In 1451 an embankment named Naganiji was built to connect Naha and Shuri, and facilities for foreign trade were provided in Naha. It is possible that the official warehouse began to be used at this time. The famous Koreans who drifted to Yonaguni and reported their travels in the 1450s saw the structure being built in the port (Kokubu and Kaneko 1960). This site yielded sherds of celadon, white porcelain, blue and white from the first half of the Ming Dynasty, and *temmoku*. No Yuan blue and white sherds were recovered.

TRADE AND OKINAWAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

At least two models of large scale trading interaction shed light on Ryukyu trade. Curtin (1984) outlines the concept of the trading diaspora, a nation of socially interdependent but spatially dispersed communities (1984:2). Okinawa was part of the East Asian diaspora which linked countries of the East China Sea region through the trade of Chinese luxury goods for items from East and Southeast Asia. (Note that I am not stating here that Okinawa was the center of the diaspora or constructed its own diaspora). Curtin links his model of trading diasporas to central place theory and levels of

multifunctionality. The Chuzan kingdom lay between the large cities of the China coast and the smaller communities in the outlying islands. As Curtin mentions, people in a trade diaspora are not only members of an urban society; they are also members of a plural society, in which certain cultural tensions appear. The experiences of Okinawa with Chinese trading missions and also with the absorption of Chinese culture bear this out (Ch'en 1968).

Cohen (1971) mentions that the conduct of long distance trade requires the solution of a number of technical problems such as the exchange of information about supply and demand between traders, the speedy dispatch of goods which are perishable, and the power to enforce order and respect for contractual and judicial decisions. In the Okinawan case, stability and information exchange were achieved through the induction of Okinawans into the Chinese tributary system and the transplanting of a Chinese community to Kume mura, near Naha port. Cohen mentions that the diasporas have symbolic blueprints for their organization (1971:276):

....the creation of a trading diaspora requires the mobilization of a variety of types of social relationships, the utilization of different kinds of myths, beliefs, norms, values, and motives and the employment of various types of pressure and sanctions....this is why most of the large scale diasporas about which we know are associated with a universal civilization or religion, Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism, etc.

Cohen also notes that because the diaspora is by definition dispersed, the investigation is by definition dispersed and the investigator is forced to choose between an extensive, unavoidably superficial account of the whole diaspora or an intensive study of one community within the trading network.

The diaspora model gives us a feeling for the systemic nature of long distance trade, but lacks concepts for considering the integration of entities of different levels of complexity. Wolf (1982) speaks of different modes of production which can be found in evolving, connected systems, involving states and their satellites. Three modes are proposed - capitalist, tributary, and kin-ordered. In the Okinawan case, the shift from the kin-ordered to the tributary mode is of interest. In a population bound together by co-residence and kinship, production is limited and goods for exchange are largely of local origin. If a chief can gain access to reliable and renewable resources beyond those produced by the local group he can bring about a rearrangement of social relationships in which his status is elevated. The tributary mode, which arose with the emergence of the *anji* and continued to evolve with the centralization of the Chuzan kingdom, was based on the exaction of tribute from villagers. The degree of centralization varies from the Asiatic to the feudal mode.

The regional interrelationships of castle sites at various periods, and the subsistence patterns and the degree of development of local exchange networks require a good deal of study in the future. At present the Okinawan sequence of state development appears to be truncated, with long distance trade evident in the earliest stage. I expect that up to

the beginning of the 14th century Okinawan trade in Chinese ceramics was local (perhaps in a form of prestige goods system), and that after this time the Okinawan middleman role began to generate wealth as they began to trade with groups outside their own archipelago.

Sakihara Mitsugu, whose unpublished dissertation in history at the University of Hawaii (Sakihara 1987) deals with tax and administration of the Ryukyu government during the Tokugawa Period (AD 1615 to 1868), believes that it was revenue from the overseas trade which was critical in the maintenance of the government superstructure. He states:

I can say with some confidence that the Shuri government (or the previous one at Urasoe) was largely dependent upon and supported by revenue from the overseas trade and not from the local agricultural revenue. For instance, King Eiso (AD 1260 to 1299) is said to have collected local agricultural tax only when he needed to - not on a regular basis. Even after all Okinawa was unified in the early 15th century by Sho Hashi, it was rather a loosely knit federation with local petty lords, *anji*, in their own territories, and with their own little armies. Sho Hashi was in no position to institute an all island tax collection system.

...I feel that only after Ryukyu's trade with the South Seas came to an end during the 16th century did the Ryukyu government look to local taxes for support of the government. The cadastral survey of 1611 A.D. was the first one in the history of Ryukyu. (Sakihara, pers. comm. Nov. 3 1978)

The relative importance of local production and trade revenues in the development of the state in Okinawa is difficult to judge since the two are so tightly interrelated. Judging from the large amounts of goods supplied by the Chinese (69,500 celadons in the formal establishment of relations in AD 1375) and the importance of relaying trade and tribute trade at the Chinese ports, the trade provided the necessary input for the development of the superstructure. Requisite levels of population density, technology, and organization were reached in the 13th century but it was the competition of the local chieftains for trade, land and labor which led to the development of the upper levels of society and their support through commercial enterprise.

A MODEL OF GUSUKU DEVELOPMENT BASED ON TRADE, COMPETITION, AND HIERARCHY

In the preceding sections I have briefly examined the archaeological and historical evidence concerning the early period of Ryukyuan participation in the great Chinese mercantile diaspora, and have shown how it coincides with state development and consolidation. A more detailed exploration of the historical sources is contained in Pearson (n.d.). What are the functional interrelationships between the elements in this complex picture? The dynamic interplay between subsistence, trade, chiefly competition and local hierarchy seem to account for many aspects of the development.

In her study of the chiefs of Panama at the time of Spanish contact, Helms (1979) discusses aspects of chiefly power. The residences of the chiefs contained storage areas for

huge amounts of food and were richly decorated and defended. Chiefs gained followers through the distribution of scarce goods. Helms stresses the role of scarce knowledge, which was close to that of scarce goods, in the reinforcement of the chief's power. The chiefs sought to establish connections not only to geographically distant places but also with supernatural realms. Thus for the Okinawans, China was the source not only of precious goods but also of powerful knowledge.

Ryan (1990) has summarized the optional strategies which rulers employ in their pursuit of political power. These include the expansion of agricultural lands, deliberate attempts to increase political power through population increase, aggrandizement of ancestors to enhance political legitimacy (see also Gibson and Geselowitz 1987:19), and the sponsoring of religious festivals or spectacular performances. If we examine the historical stages of state development outlined by Asato (1987, 1988 and see above) through this perspective, a dynamic model which is testable through archaeology can be generated.

What is unusual about the Okinawan case is that we know the mechanisms of the trade in some detail from historical sources and the extremely durable artifactual remains, but we do not know much about the subsistence pattern or local patterns of production and consumption. The Okinawan *gusuku* share many features with the Iron Age hillforts of Europe. Issues relating to these structures which have been studied include site function, role as central places, relative chronology, subsistence base (Cunliffe 1984), the implications of the distribution of coinage (Hogg 1971) and territories (Cunliffe 1971). Cunliffe (1971) found that the probable sphere of influence of each hillfort was quite often closely related to a river valley. He stressed the role of food production in the emergence of hillfort society. In the first century BC territories averaging 97 km² were the normal socioeconomic unit for a single large hillfort in the southern English chalklands. It would be useful to estimate the catchment area or territory for the major Okinawan centers. They seem to resemble closely Renfrew's Early State Modules. These are the postulated units found in early civilizations, which are dominated by central places which are about 20 km distant from each other (Renfrew 1975). Minoan Crete, comparable in size to Okinawa, was found to have a mean separation of centers of 35 km, with a total of six palace sites on the entire island. In the initial stage, the early state modules were autonomous, and exchange between them was reciprocal, primarily between the central places. In Panama at the time of European contact, chiefly residences were spaced at about one day's ordinary travel on foot (Helms 1979:53).

The role of Chinese coins in the castle sites requires further investigation. Haselgrove (1987) found that coinage functioned in the European Iron Age primarily as a primitive valuable. Later, as it shifted to "early cash", the demand for coinage rose with the increase in the number of transactions for which it was required. In the Okinawan case, no local coinage was produced at this time. From the small quantities in each site, it seems that it must have been used as a valuable. Tabulation of coins from recent excavations, including those at Shuri, should clarify some of these distinctions in use. Fall-off patterns of particularly important coins may provide some insights into territories and hierarchies.

Putting together the archaeological, ethnographic, and historical data I can construct the following summary of the relationship of trade and the rise of the Okinawan state:

1. It appears that about the 10th century there were small, self sufficient settlements with a diversified subsistence base in the coastal regions of Okinawa. Some of these sites may be under later sites, and some of them may be in areas that were suitable for pioneer cultivation. These sites are not well-known at present. Small sites in the low terrain between Naha and Itoman may fall into this category.
2. In the 13th and 14th centuries local chiefdoms emerged in different parts of the island. In *gusuku* sites such as Urasoe certain residences were roofed with Korean style tiles which were most likely imported. An unorganized trade system with the ports of Fujian and Zhejiang on the China coast flourished, judging from the quantities of ceramics found in Okinawan sites and also the historical accounts of small ships from local communities (not official ships) which were plying the East China Sea. Politics of different sizes sent delegations to China and received goods. This stage coincides roughly with the Early Gusuku Period.
3. In the 14th and 15th centuries a number of sites became local centers of exchange. They coincide with good locations for harbors in the cases of Urasoe, Sashiki, Shuri, Katsuren and Nakijin. Not only were they receiving goods from China but they were also passing on some of these to satellite communities. The situation seems comparable to the one Johnson describes for the Uruk Phase in Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium BC (Johnson 1975). Official delegations to China were sent by major centers. Along with foreign goods, ideas flowed into Okinawa. In particular, the trade ceramics functioned as civilizers, affecting local consumption patterns of food and wine. This stage coincides roughly with the Middle Gusuku Period.
4. With the centralization of control by the Shuri government and the movement of local chiefs to Shuri to become state bureaucrats, a number of processes took place. With increasing external trade of the Early State Modules the state exerted a close central control over the activities of the traders, so that much of the trade became state organized (Renfrew 1975:44). At this point of the consolidation of state power, the royal lineage attempted to "build up" its reputation by exalting its own ancestors through the construction of the Tama Udon Royal Mausoleum in 1501. Shortly after this time sumptuary laws and social ranking codes were introduced. Competition between local elites, whose power was based on agricultural production, and centralized elites, whose power was derived from trade, had to be resolved. It may be that the imposition of Shuri-government-sponsored and licensed *noro* (priestesses) on outlying communities and the suppression of local priestesses in the early 16th century reflects this process. This stage coincides roughly with the Late Gusuku Period.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL FUNCTIONS, RELATIVE WEALTH AND HIERARCHY, ACCESS TO TRADE GOODS, AND ACCESS TO LAND

Archaeological studies may be used as an independent means of investigating the social and economic significance of the *gusuku*. A good deal can be learned from published excavation reports, along with problem-oriented field surveys. The following processes occurring during the Gusuku Period can be elucidated with further research:

1. The development of multifunctionality from architectural features. The *gusuku* were the loci of specific functions and from historical sources appear to have been composed of living areas, administrative space, storage and redistribution facilities, production and manufacture facilities (for instance blacksmith shops) and defence works. An examination of the architectural features of the castles should be undertaken in hopes of discovering how many separate functions were served by the castles. I do not know if it is possible to infer functions for all spaces in the *gusuku*, based on features and artifact associations, but this should be attempted. The typologies of the structures used at present focus on formal features, such as area and details of construction, instead of inferred use. The relationship between site area and functional size has yet to be determined.
2. The emergence of redistributive centers. Centers of trade should exhibit, in addition to greater size than their satellites, access to a wider diversity of trade goods and greater wealth. Rare types of ceramics, or ceramics of special use, should be present, as well as particular types of luxury artifacts. Tabulation of ceramics should be executed by wares i.e. celadon, *temmoku*, blue and white, Annamese, etc., and also by use type. Although excavations have in many cases covered wide areas a consistent sampling strategy has not been explicitly adopted. Therefore, it is probably advisable to use measures of relative abundance instead of actual frequencies. Ceramic abundance should be compared with area and functional size.
3. Developing hierarchies of site size and wealth. Sites from the 15th century, the period of imposition of power by the Chuzan kingdom, should display a multi-tiered ranking of site size and wealth, from the capital at Shuri down through the castles of subjugated powers such as Nakijin and Ozato, the castles of competitors such as Katsuren and Nakagusuku, and finally to lesser castles. The regularity of such a pattern of ranking may give us some idea of the power of centralized state control.

Long distance trade represents one possible strategy for gaining political advantage in the evolution of states. It appears to be paramount in the case of Okinawa, since it occupies a preponderant position in the historical sources, but it must be seen in the context of a political economy in which different strategies may be employed on different occasions. The recruitment of labor, the creation of political alliances and the extension of control over land are other important arenas of competition. Political alliances are alluded to in historical accounts of Katsuren and Nakagusuku. Labor and land are not topics which occur in the documents, but it may be possible to measure these by

examining site catchments and estimations of labor requirements for castle construction. Site catchment analysis may provide some idea of how many people could be supported in the region surrounding a castle site, while estimates of labor requirements and historical accounts of construction time may permit an assessment of whether the castles were built with labor available in the immediate surrounding area.

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