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King and Priestess: Spiritual and Political Power in Ancient Ryukyu

by Kurayoshi Takara

1. The Reign of King Shō Shin

In 1477, Shō Shin became the third king of the second Shō dynasty at the early age of 12 and died in 1526 at age 61. His time on the throne of fifty years made him the longest-reigning monarch among Ryukyu's kings. The reign of Shō Shin, however, was not only long. Many historians have pointed out that it was a reign meriting particular attention within the history of the Ryukyu Kingdom.

First of all, a system of status ranks was established, headed by the king. For example, the color and pattern of the turban-like *hachimachi* worn by men served to demarcate

status differences. The status of the king's retainers was also indicated by the composition of the *kanzashi* men wore in their hair. Needless to say, because this system of status ranks was set up around the King and his family and the elites who served the king, the result was its solidification into a status system of the royal family and elite social strata.

Second, a system of official ranks was established. The retainers serving the king were granted a variety of formal positions in government and titles, and were formed into a hierarchical organization. The central organ of this administrative structure was located in the Shuri castle, and was generally called the "Royal Government" (*Shuri ōfu*).

Third, a system of provincial administration and officials was established. At this time, the area that fell within the control of the king was known abstractly as "yo" (the world) but its concrete contents consisted of *magiri* (districts) and *shima* (villages). *Magiri* were administrative units, the predecessors of today's *shi-chō-son* (city, town, village) divisions. *Shima* were the residential concentrations within the *magiri*, and functioned as the smallest administrative unit. In other words, the *shima*, in which the common people went about their lives, were distributed throughout each region,

and a *magiri* would be comprised of five to ten of them. It was a system such that the sum total of all the *magiri* corresponded to the territory under the control of the king, in other words, "yo." Needless to say, the placement of local officials was based on *magiri* and *shima*.

In this way, the reign of King Shō Shin was a time in which a system of government administration headed by the king was established, extending from Shuri to local agricultural villages and other islands.

2. Establishment of the Hierarchy of Priestesses

The fourth policy carried out during the reign of Shō Shin was the establishment of a hierarchy of priestesses as an aspect of his policy regarding religious matters. He established for the first time the highest position of *Kikoe Ōkimi*, and Shō Shin's sister, Otochitonomoikane, was appointed to the post. Under the *Kikoe Ōkimi* were a number of high-ranking priestesses known collectively as *Kimigimi*, and it is thought that the majority of them lived in or around the Shuri castle.

Under the *Kimigimi* were provincial religious officials, the *ōamo* and *norō*. The *oamo* were assigned as priestesses of specific regions, the *Ōamo* of Naha, the *Kimihae* of Kumejima, the *Aoriyae* of Nakijin, the *Ōamo* of Miyako, and the *Ōamo* of Yaeyama being well-known examples.

In contrast, the *norō* were assigned one to a *shima* or one to several *shima*, constituting the lowest level in the hierarchy of priestesses. Generally, they made use of the name of a *shima*, for example, "Yaga-norō" (the *norō* of Yaga *shima*). Yaga was the name of a *shima* in Okinawa's northern *magiri* of Haneji.

In this way, it was a characteristic of

Shō Shin's reign that the hierarchy of priestesses, headed by the *Kikoe Ōkimi*, was established from Shuri to the regional agricultural villages and other islands. This configuration was the same as the system whereby male officials were established from Shuri to the regional agricultural villages and other islands. In contrast with the males who undertook political administration, the only difference was that the priestesses undertook religious rites. Also, in contrast to the king existing at the head of the male hierarchy, the female *Kikoe Ōkimi* presided over the hierarchy of priestesses.

3. Type-A *Jireisho*

In order to understand the era of Shō Shin more thoroughly, I have been researching documents known as *jireisho* (writs of appointment) for the past ten years. We know of approximately 200 *jireisho*, and they are divided into three types, A, B, and C, based on form and time period. Those that inform our investigation of Shō Shin's reign are type-A.

Let us take a typical example of a type-A *jireisho*. This *jirei-sho* was produced on the 28th day, 8th month of 1523, and its meaning is as follows:

The statement below is an order of the king. Shiotarumoi, who belongs to the Seiyaritomi *hiki*¹ is appointed to the post of *Kansha* aboard the Takara-maru, which will soon set sail for China. This writ of appointment is given from the king to the above-named Shiotarumoi.

The year 1523 was three years prior to Shō Shin's death, and the document is the oldest known *jireisho* currently in existence.

¹*Hiki* were networks into which the Ryukyuan upper classes were incorporated for the purposes of military, police, and guard service and other duties. The *hiki* are characteristic of old Ryukyu and did not exist in *kinsei* (post 1609) Ryukyu.

There were ships that sailed across the sea to China in order to conduct trade, and a member of the crew of such a ship is being appointed by the king. This is in accord with the well-known fact that international trade in the Ryukyu Kingdom was of an official nature, controlled via a bureaucracy headed by the king.

The type-A *jireisho* were written in the Japanese syllabary, *hiragana*, which indicates the close affinity of Ryukyuan and Japanese culture. The paper, however, on which the *jireisho* was written was imported from China, and the date "Jiaqing" is the Chinese era-name. While at the same time this fact indicates the trade between Ryukyu and China, it also shows that Ryukyu used the calendar of the Chinese emperor. In other words, it indicates that the king of Ryukyu received investiture from the Chinese emperor.

The essential significance of the *jireisho*, however, is in the following point: the king of Ryukyu, unrestricted by any outside agency, possessed the authority to appoint subordinates under his own name. These documents, in other words, are proof that the authority to administer the kingdom inhered in the king.

Type-A *jireisho* circulated widely throughout the island groups of Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama. This fact indicates that the territory under the administration of the Ryukyuan king extended to all of the Ryukyu islands. Viewed another way, this fact tells us that the geographical territory called Ryukyu was congruent with the area in which the type-A *jireisho* circulated, and this geographical entity was the "Ryukyu Kingdom." According to contemporary research, we know that the type-A *jireisho*, with the above-stated meaning, first appeared

during the reign of Shō Shin.

4. Priestesses Appointed by the King

By taking note of the type-A *jireisho*, we can understand the relationship between the king and the priestesses. Some previous research has concluded that the relationship between the king and the *Kikoe Ōkimi* was one of equality, characterized by a division of labor in which the king was in charge of politics and administration, and the *Kikoe Ōkimi* was in charge of rites and ceremonies. Among researchers, there are even those who have emphasized that the *Kikoe Ōkimi's* existence transcended that of the king, and that the practice of rites and ceremonies was a higher-status function than politics and administration.

The type-A *jireisho*, however, show us that our previously-held notions are in need of revision. For example, following our previously-held views, the regional priestesses at the bottom of the hierarchy, the *noro*, would have to have been appointed by the *Kikoe Ōkimi*, who was at the top of the hierarchy of priestesses. But the type-A *jireisho* leave no room for doubt that the *noro* were in fact appointed by the king.

The oldest *jireisho* connected with *noro*, produced in the 5th day of the 1st month of 1569 is a *jireisho* appointing the sister of the original *noro* of Aden (a *shima*) in Higa *magiri* in the island of Kikai in the Amami Islands. Because the heading of this document, "*Shori no Omigoto*," means, "What follows is an order from the king," it is clear that the *jireisho* was granted from the king to the appointee. In other words, she was not appointed by the *Kikoe Ōkimi*. It was the king who appointed her to the Aden *noro*.

This did not apply only to the *noro*. Other type-A *jireisho* inform us that the *ōamo* were also appointed in the name of the king.

Now, what about the case of the *Kimigimi* or *Kikoe Ōkimi* herself? There are no extant *jireisho* dealing with these cases, but judging from other documents, it is almost certain that the *Kimigimi* and *Kikoe Ōkimi* were also appointed to their positions by the king. Assuming this hypothesis is correct, it discloses the essential fact that all of the priestesses were appointed by the king. In the course of my research, I have found no evidence that runs contrary to this fact.

5. The King-Kikoe Ōkimi Relationship

The result of having examined all of the type-A *jireisho* is that the *jireisho* appointing male officials to serve the king and those charging priestesses with the conduct of rites and ceremonies are identical in form and have not a single point in which they differ.

Just as when a male retainer was appointed to a specific post and received wet and dry fields from the king as a source of income, the priestesses also received wet and dry fields called "*norokumoi chi*" (*noro* office land). Moreover, in addition to these wet and dry fields, the king recognized priestesses' right to benefit from having the common people labor in the wet and dry fields as per a set standard, just as was the case with male officials.

From the above facts we see that the restructuring of the basis of royal authority during Shō Shin's reign was not simply a matter of strengthening the administrative structure, but based on a consistent logic that included the priestesses. That is to say, the *Kikoe Ōkimi* and the king did not exist as equals. Instead, we see a policy that situated the *Kikoe Ōkimi* as the head official in the hierarchy of priestesses.

This hierarchy began in Shō Shin's time and continued thereafter as the basic framework

of the Ryukyu kingdom. Via research into the type-A *jireisho*, I have discovered the perspectives described above.

(Translated by Gregory Smits)

References

Takara Kurayoshi, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no kōzō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbun-kan, 1987).

Takara Kurayoshi, *Ryūkyū ōkoku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993).

"A Supermarket Owner," Part One of *In the Realm of a Dying Emperor* by Norma Field (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991).

The supermarket owner Norma Field profiles in this essay is Chibana Shōichi, a resident in his forties of Yomitan Village in Central Okinawa. Chibana's burning of Japan's Rising Sun flag at the 1987 National Athletic Meet gained nationwide notoriety leading to his arrest, detainment, and trial for "civil disobedience." The case was a "cause célèbre" for many, but he also became the target of a right-wing group. During the prolonged litigation and intense publicity, his life was threatened and his store was set on fire. Field first learned of Chibana's case from his book, which she read while visiting mainland Japan. She subsequently interviewed him and others in Okinawa for her essay, which is strongly supportive of Chibana's position and sympathetic to his ordeal.

Field closely examines Chibana's motives for burning the flag.

His act was intended as a political statement, protesting Japanese aggression, in which he said he was only exercising his right of free speech in a democratic society. Furthermore, he argued that he could not be accused of disloyalty to the nation since nowhere is the Rising Sun explicitly designated the official flag of Japan. He had burned the flag to prevent it from being raised

at the National Athletic Meet because he felt that paying such homage would have the effect of condoning Japanese aggression and desecrating the memory of the Okinawans who were its ultimate victims. He cited, in particular, the Yomitan villagers who hid in Chibichirigama (a cave) during the Battle of Okinawa, and 82 of whom committed mass-suicide, including 47 children.

Field discusses the legal and political ramifications of the flag-burning case, including the historical validity of the Rising Sun as Japan's official flag. She wonders, with good reason, if the government's motive for prosecuting Chibana might have been to establish the Rising Sun legally as the national flag. It is certainly an issue in need of clarification. And she notes Chibana's claim that he had supported Okinawa's reversion to Japanese sovereignty in 1972 so that he could partake fully as a citizen protected by Japan's postwar Constitution in which Article Nine permanently forbids the nation's arming for another war.

Field portrays Chibana's family as generally supportive of him, but as having some reservations about his act. His father wished at first that he had not burned the flag, but seemed more understanding after reading Chibana's book, *Yakisuterareta hi no maru: Kichi no shima Okinawa Yomitanson kara* (The burned and discarded Rising Sun; From Yomitanson, Okinawa, island of bases) (Tokyo, Shinsensha, 1988). His mother remains his loyal supporter and confidant, although at one point she wonders aloud whether it might not have been a mistake to send him to a university where ideas had been put into the mind of Shōichi who, she says, had been "such a good boy." His mother and wife agree that he was right to have taken down the flag, but question his

decision to burn it. As for his fellow-villagers, their support of him includes special trips as far south as Naha and as far north as Yambaru for bringing in customers to his store that was rebuilt after the fire.

Field seems knowledgeable about the recent history of Okinawa under Japanese and American rule. But some points in her essay require clarification. She gives the impression, for example, that school children in prewar times were made to recite the "incomprehensible syllables" of the Imperial Rescript on Education every morning. In fact, the Rescript was read by the school principal, and only on four major national holidays including the emperor's birthday. She also states that Japanese soldiers did not die uttering "banzai" to the emperor. Conscripted in high school as a battlefield nurse, I personally heard Japanese soldiers say this as they were dying. My most indelible memory is of an officer who asked me to hand him a sheet of paper so that he could write "Tennō Heika banzai" with his trembling hand because a jaw-wound prevented him from speaking. Other details in the essay about my schoolmates among the Himeyuri Nurses are in need of correction. We were not from two high schools, but from the Himeyuri Campus which consisted of the Normal College for Women and the Okinawa First Girls High School. And the youngest members of the Himeyuri-Corps were only twelve, not fourteen. In addition, contrary to what Field writes, the citizens of Naha returned to their homes rapidly after the Battle. Within one year, make-shift houses had been built on family plots, and markets and shops had sprung up. Though reconstructed from crude materials, the city was flourishing again.

Many readers will be puzzled about the

motives surrounding the Chibichirigama mass suicide. Why did the Yomitan villagers remain silent about them for so long? To be sure, the memories were painful. Did they avoid discussing them out of fear, or as a show of respect for the dead? Forty years is a long time to keep such a secret. Perhaps excessive concern with secrecy is typical of small communities in rural areas. In contrast, where major fighting occurred in southern Okinawa a number of "Chibichirigama" are well-known among city dwellers who not only discuss these mass-suicides openly, but at times exaggerate the facts. They are convinced that memories must be kept alive by talking about the dead so that the world will never forget the evils and horrors of war.

The differing attitudes in the city and the country toward the wartime mass-suicides reflect a more persistent division in Okinawa—and probably elsewhere, too—between urban and rural temperaments. Chibana's act, motivated by idealism and long-suppressed rage, is more representative of the countryside. In the city people speak more easily and openly about these events. They also seem more materialistic, objecting less to such commercializations of the war as bus-loads of picture-snapping tourists who flock to the Battle memorials where vendors sell American "high-fat ice cream." It is also important to note that, in many ways, life in the countryside is harder. Readers of "A Supermarket Owner" need to be reminded that Yomitan villagers have grievances not only against Japan but against America, too, for making their village the site of a major U.S. military installation. Confrontations between villagers and U.S. commanders over land continue today. Being on the "front lines" of such conflicts explains in part why leadership in Okinawa often

emerges from the countryside with such people as Chibana Shōichi, as it did in the late 19th century when Jahana Noboru of Kochinda village led the People's Rights Movement.

On the whole, however, Okinawans have maintained the ability (or perhaps the complacency) to adapt to circumstances not of their own choosing. They might not be fully Japanese under Hi no maru, but they are certainly better off economically now than they were before the war. Long-dominated by outside powers, Okinawa offers a life that is a mixture of blessings and curses. Field recognizes this upon her return trip to mainland Japan, her arms loaded with gifts bought at the Naha market place. She describes these gifts, with a touch of irony, as the "suffering and bounty" of postwar Okinawa.

Jo N. Martin

Publications (XIV)

The following gifts of publications are gratefully acknowledged:

Inafuku, Seiki. 1992. *Igaku Okinawago jiten* (A dictionary of medical Okinawan 医学沖縄語辞典). Ginowan-shi: Roman Shobo. 268pp. ¥3,500.

The author/compiler is a practicing physician in Shuri, who doubles as professor at Okinawa Christian Junior College. Five major chapters, each broken down into several sections: anatomy and physiology, medical care, diseases, symptoms, and health maintenance. Since Okinawan is fast dying out today, it is a surprise that there ever was medical Okinawan. The words, phrases, and usages collected are largely from the language of the Shuri area where the author practices. Many fascinating entries are about positions and ranks of medical personnel of the Ryukyu Kingdom. The extent

of the Kingdom's health care establishment indicated by these entries is impressive. International Research Center for Japanese Studies. 1994. *Nichibunken Newsletter*, No. 18 (June). 22 pp.

Idem. 1994. *Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentā no gaiyō* (An outline of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies).

Idem. 1994. *Daigaku kyōdō riyō kikan. Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū senta* (Inter-university joint use institution: International Research Center for Japanese Studies). 68 pp.

One of many research projects has to do with Okinawan culture, led by Umehara Takeshi, director of the Center. The objective is to shed light on the dynamics of inter-relationships between Japanese and Okinawan cultures.

Japan Institute for Social and Economic Affairs. 1994. *Japan Update*, No. 34 (July). An article on Okinawa: Fumiko Asami, "Kith and Kiln: Okinawans Rediscover Their Culture and Crafts" (pp. 16-17).

"... a ground swell has been rising among Okinawa's younger generation, a spontaneous movement to establish the identity of the people of Okinawa through a revival of traditional culture such as pottery, dyeing, weaving, music, and even reappraisal of the native language." (p. 1)

KDD. *Japan Update*. A weekly entertainment guide: clubs, hotels, beaches, concerts, etc. The October 13-19, 1994 issue commends *The Ryukyuanist*: "Two publications are being touted among the literary public on Okinawa. One [*The Ryukyuanist*] gives readers a cultural and political insight into the Ryukyu Islands..." (p. 15).

Koike, Hideo. 1994. "Okinawa no shitsugyoritsu no chiikiteki sai to sono henka" (Regional Differences and changes in Okinawa's Unemployment Rates 沖縄の失業率の地域的差

異とその変化) *Aichi Gakuin Daigaku ronso* <*shogaku kenkyu*> (Journal of the Aichi Gakuin University: Commerce Study 愛知学院大学論叢「商学研究」), vol. 37, no. 3(February): 177-218.

Okinawa-ken Kyōikuchō. 1991. *Okinawaken no shinkō ni kansuru kenzōbutsu* (Okinawan architecture related to religious beliefs 沖縄県の信仰に関する建造物). Ginowan-shi: Roman Shobō.

Report on the results of an emergency survey of the near modern period's shrines and temples. Includes numerous *utaki*, tombs, and springs. The objective of the survey was to ascertain the state of preservation of these historic structures and formulate policy for their repair and maintenance. Black-and-white photos and illustrations. The report should be useful for many research purposes; e. g., diffusion of cultures at various historical stages in the Ryukyu Islands. One surprise is that the mausoleum of the 18th century Shuri playwright, Fishichya Chobin, and his clan, is located in Tarama Island - far away from Okinawa (p. 126).

Okinawa Society (Japan). 1994. *Gekkan Okinawa*, No. 21 (August/September)

Smits, Gregory. 1994. *Topics in Chinese History for History 103 and Other Courses*. Department of History, Eastern Washington University. 225pp. \$13.21.

A spinoff from the author's *Topics in East Asian History*. *Topics in Japanese History* is to follow. "It is reasonable to think of this book as an elaborate, thorough set of notes for the course. Indeed, one of the major goals in creating it was to greatly reduce or eliminate the need for note taking." "Not only does this book serve as notes, but it is also intended to serve as a point of departure for further discussion and deeper

inquiry.”

Takaesu, Asako. 1994. "Profile of Filmmaker: Tsuyoshi Takamine."

Japan Times Weekly (August 20): 8-9. A photo copy.

Extensive biographical commentary on a well-known Okinawan filmmaker, known in Okinawa as Go Takamine. (In *The Ryukyuanist* No. 15, Leon Serafim comments on Takamine's better-known product, *Untama Giru*.)

This Week on Okinawa. Published every Wednesday and printed by Ryad, Ltd. at 1349, Aza Adaniya, Kita-Nakagusuku-son, Okinawa.

The publication claims to be "the longest running English magazine on Okinawa." Its October 12-19, 1994 issue carries an advertisement about *The Ryukyuanist* placed by G.L. Thayer (p. 39).

Tokyo Okinawa Keizai Kenkyukai. 1994. *Tokyo Okinawa bunka tsūshin* (東京・沖縄文化通信) No. 48 (Autumn).

A half page interview with Mr. Kina Shokichi, called "father of modern Okinawan music," p. 3.

University of Okinawa Institute of Regional Study. 1994. *Chiiki kenkyūsho shohō* (Institute report 地域研究所所報), No. 9.

Seven articles in Japanese on agriculture,

Miyako and Daito, overwork, farming in the bases, water problem in Miyako, environment, and abolition of war.

Announcement

A welcome message to the ISRS membership has been received from a member in Okinawa.

I am sending two books that were recently published by Roman Shobo Honten for your collection and I would appreciate if you would include them in the Publications section of the next *Ryukyuanist*. [Included in the "Publications" above.] Please also note that I would be more than happy to help any member with locating Ryukyuan books in Japanese for retail plus postage and you may publish my address to this end. Further, I would like to suggest that we compile a members directory listing names, business addresses, home addresses (optional), phone/fax numbers, discipline, area of expertise/interest, etc., to encourage communication and foster cooperation between members.

G. L. "Aussie" Thayer

PSC 557 Box 1843 FPO AP 96379-1843

or

2-19-12 Oyama,

Ginowan City,

Okinawa 901-22

Japan

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preter and analyst with the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey in Japan. Later, he assisted Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison in preparation of the authoritative *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War Two*.

As a Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve, he was a frequent contributor to the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*. With a love of history instilled into him by Admiral Morison, he went on to co-author three books: *The Divine Wind, Midway, and Japanese Destroyer Captain* – all written in collaboration with Japanese authors.

This scholarship, his fluency in the Japanese language and his love of history, brought him back on call again during Admiral Morison's research and writing of the definitive biography "*OLD BRUIN*" *Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry*. Captain Pineau acted as both translator and interpreter for Morison during their two months of travel in the Far East, which included, of course, some good times trekking around on Okinawa.

Pineau went on to be editor of the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology, and managing editor of the Smithsonian Institution Press. After that, Director of the Naval Memorial Museum, too! During his time at the Smithsonian, Pineau published *The Personal Journal of Commodore Matthew C. Perry*. Roles were reversed this time, Admiral Morison assisting him. This book introduced many "lost" and unpublished works of art by expedition artist William Heine. Included were many Okinawan scenes.

In the process of compiling the book *GREAT LEW CHEW DISCOVERED: 19th century Ryukyu in Western Art and Illustration*, I also called on him. Instantly friendly to the whole idea of a "picture book" for the people of Okinawa, he threw himself (at no charge) into digging up even MORE "lost art" and unpublished manuscripts from all over America.

Pineau also engineered the return (in 1986) of the large Heine watercolor *Return of Commodore Perry, Officers and men of the Squadron, from Shuri Castle*. This watercolor, which was hanging in the

National Portrait Gallery at the time, belonged to William Middendorf, Ambassador to the U.S. Mission to the European Communities in Brussels. Captain Pineau convinced him to consider this Ryukyuan piece as a separate entity from the rest of his Heine "Japan Expedition" watercolors. The ambassador agreed. Roger and his lovely wife Maxine personally brought the painting to Okinawa, where it resides today in a private collection.

The Okinawans wouldn't let them go at the time. For 10 days they were wined, dined and feted everywhere. Included was an elegant reception in Naha (minus all the stuffy protocol) where the Chef de Cuisine served up a magnificent dinner – the same menu prepared to perfection, that Perry had served 132 years earlier to Okinawan officials on board the *Susquehanna* in Naha harbor. Pineau's presence always brought history alive.

In 1987, General James Day and Shizuo Kishaba of the Ryukyu America Historical Research Society, attempted what all said was "impossible:" getting the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis to relinquish the bell that Perry had brought back as a "souvenir" from Okinawa in 1854. Pineau contributed quietly behind the scenes, reminding the reluctant powers-that-be that Perry actually "stole" the bell, and that it should be returned. The Gokokuji bell was returned to Okinawa in 1987.

Perry also had received a stone from the people of Ryukyu to be placed in the Washington Monument, then under construction. It was never placed, and in the end, lost. But Captain Pineau was there again, when in 1989 he took part in a rare event. Ten Junior High School students, still jet-lagged after getting in from Okinawa, placed a new memorial stone high up inside the Washington Monument. With the apologies of the National Park Service, a special hole had been cut out just for this belated moment in history. Dancing at the base for all the world to see were Americans of Okinawan descent, moving to the strains of Ryukyuan melodies.

When he passed away last year at the age of 77, Roger Pineau was the world's foremost authority on Commodore Perry and his expedition to Japan. He was a living ticket to the past. Without a badge or an I.D. Card, he could walk into any of the Archives and Museums of Washington D.C. ...while dragging you along. He knew lots of secrets.

One thing was not a secret, though. In spite of his scholarly bent towards Japan, he personally preferred to relax in the company of Okinawans when in this part of the world. Away from the pomp, circumstance and "face" of the mainland, here he could relax and be himself, or anything.

I still see images of him in Ryukyu garb dancing on the lawn of Nakagusuku Castle... tracing the steps of Perry and his men by day, and partying all night. There he is,

hunkered over a bowl of Okinawa Soba, his eyes sparkling, surrounded by the nicest people in the world.

And one of them speaks up:

"Once upon a time, princess Maxine and her gallant knight Captain Roger Pineau visited the Island Paradise called Great Lew Chew where they received a royal welcome from the primitive and happy natives of the forgotten kingdom"

"To Captain Roger and Maxine Pineau Who bridged the Old and the New, the East and the West, among all, the United States of America and Great Lew Chew"

"Many thanks from the native sons and daughters of Great Lew Chew." (Uehara Masatoshi)

Rob Oechsle

The Ryukyuanist is a quarterly newsletter of the International Society for Ryukyuan Studies, an affiliate of the Association for Asian Studies. Editors: Koji Taira and Eitetsu Yamaguchi. Publisher: Shinichi Kyan, Executive Director, Okinawa Labor and Economic Research Institute, 1-1 Higashimachi, Naha, Okinawa, 900, Japan. Annual subscriptions: institutions, US \$20; individuals, US \$10 (special rate for students, US \$5); payable to Koji Taira, c/o Program in Ryukyuan Studies, Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 910 South Fifth Street, Champaign, IL 61820 U.S.A. Tel. 217-333-4850
